

GLOBAL CHILD



GENOCIDE, POLITICAL VIOLENCE, HUMAN RIGHTS
SERIES

Edited by Alexander Laban Hinton, Nela Navarro,
and Natasha Zaretsky

For a list of titles in the series, see the last page of the book.

GLOBAL CHILD

Children and Families Affected by
War, Displacement, and Migration

EDITED BY

MYRIAM DENOV, CLAUDIA MITCHELL,
AND MARJORIE RABIAU



RUTGERS UNIVERSITY PRESS

New Brunswick, Camden, and Newark, New Jersey; and London
and Oxford, UK

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Denov, Myriam S., editor. | Mitchell, Claudia, editor. | Rabiau, Marjorie, editor.

Title: Global child: children and families affected by war, displacement, and migration / edited by Myriam Denov, Claudia Mitchell, and Marjorie Rabiau.

Description: New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, [2023] |

Series: Genocide, political violence, human rights | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2022008363 | ISBN 9781978817739 (paperback) |

ISBN 9781978817746 (hardback) | ISBN 9781978817753 (epub) |

ISBN 9781978817760 (mobi) | ISBN 9781978817777 (pdf)

Subjects: LCSH: Children and war—Psychological aspects. |

Refugee children. | War and families.

Classification: LCC HQ 784.W3 G59 2023 | DDC 303.6/6083—dc23/eng/20220329

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2022008363>

A British Cataloging-in-Publication record for this book is available from the British Library.

This collection copyright © 2023 by Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

Individual chapters copyright © 2023 in the names of their authors

All rights reserved

No part of this book may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without written permission from the publisher. Please contact Rutgers University Press, 106 Somerset Street, New Brunswick, NJ 08901. The only exception to this prohibition is “fair use” as defined by U.S. copyright law.

References to internet websites (URLs) were accurate at the time of writing. Neither the author nor Rutgers University Press is responsible for URLs that may have expired or changed since the manuscript was prepared.

© The paper used in this publication meets the requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1992.

www.rutgersuniversitypress.org

Manufactured in the United States of America

CONTENTS

1	A Tri-pillared Approach to Studying Children and Families Affected by War, Migration, and Displacement MYRIAM DENOVI, CLAUDIA MITCHELL, AND MARJORIE RABIAU	1
PART I: SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL APPROACHES		
2	Unlearn and Deconstruct to Collaboratively Build a Sense of Well-Being around Children Affected by War: A Family and Community Approach MARJORIE RABIAU, MYRIAM DENOVI, AND KAREN PAUL	23
3	A Case for Preservice Teachers Reflexively Engaging in Work with War-Affected Children in Canadian Schools NAGUI DEMIAN AND CLAUDIA MITCHELL	46
4	The Thunder of War Is Much Less Heard: Engaging Young People and Older Adults to Restore Social Cohesion in the Midst of Crisis in Eastern Ukraine KAREN PAUL, INKA WEISSBECKER, KATIE MULLINS, AND ANDREW JONES	63
5	Best Practices for Children and Their Families in Postconflict Settings: A Culturally Informed, Strength-Based Family Therapy Model SHARON BOND AND JASWANT GUZDER	85
PART II: PARTICIPATORY APPROACHES		
6	Navigating Participatory Research with Children Affected by Armed Conflict: Conceptual, Methodological, and Ethical Concerns NEIL BILOTTA, MAYA FENNIG, MYRIAM DENOVI, ALUSINE BAH, AND INES MARCHAND	109
7	The Right to Be Heard in Research: Participatory Research Ethics in Kakuma Refugee Camp NEIL BILOTTA AND MYRIAM DENOVI	133

8	Ethical Tensions in Participatory Research with Queer Young People from Refugee Backgrounds: Critiquing a Code of Ethics	153
	EJ MILNE, CHURNJEET MAHN, MAYRA GUZMAN, FARHIO AHMED, AND ANONYMOUS MEMBERS OF RX	
9	An Arts-Based Participatory Approach to Research with Migrant Young People in South Africa	173
	GLYNIS CLACHERTY AND THEA SHAHROKH	
	PART III: ARTS-BASED APPROACHES	
10	Arts-Based Research Innovations in Work with War-Affected Children and Youth: A Synthesis	197
	WARREN LINDS, MIRANDA D'AMICO, MYRIAM DENOV, CLAUDIA MITCHELL, AND MEAGHAN SHEVELL	
11	Creative Arts Therapies in School-Based Interventions with Children and Youth Affected by War	223
	MIRANDA D'AMICO	
12	Drawing to Be Seen and Heard: A Critical Analysis of Girls' Drawings in Three Refugee Camps	240
	FATIMA KHAN	
13	Young People with Refugee Experiences as Authors and Artists of Picture Books	259
	APRIL MANDRONA, EJ MILNE, THEA SHAHROKH, MICHAELINA JAKALA, MATEJA CELESTINA, LEESA HAMILTON, AND CLAUDIA MITCHELL	
	Acknowledgments	279
	Notes on Contributors	281
	Index	291

GLOBAL CHILD

1 • A TRI-PILLARED APPROACH TO STUDYING CHILDREN AND FAMILIES AFFECTED BY WAR, MIGRATION, AND DISPLACEMENT

MYRIAM DENOVI, CLAUDIA MITCHELL,
AND MARJORIE RABIAU

Armed conflicts continue to wreak havoc on children, young people, and families around the world, with profound effects.¹ In 2017, 420 million children—nearly one in five—were living in conflict-affected areas, an increase of 30 million from the previous year (Save the Children, 2019). Many of these children are killed, injured, orphaned, separated from family, and recruited into armed groups. In 2021, children in armed conflict suffered a high number of grave violations. The United Nations (UN) verified 23,982 grave violations, of which 22,645 were committed in 2021, and 1,337 were committed earlier but verified only in 2021.² Violations affected 19,165 children (13,633 boys, 5,242 girls, 290 sex unknown) (UN, 2022). In addition, the COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated children’s precarity in armed conflict because, according to the UN (2021), the pandemic not only hindered monitors’ ability to verify reports of violations against children due to lockdowns and mobility restrictions but also reported “an increase in violence since the outbreak of the pandemic” (Sapiezynska, 2021, p. 25). According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees’ (UNHCR) annual Global Trends report, by the end of 2021, those displaced by war, violence, persecution, and human rights abuses stood at 89.3 million, up 8 percent from the previous year, and well over double the figure of ten years ago (UNHCR, 2022). The Russian invasion of Ukraine—causing the fastest and one of the largest forced displacement crises since World War II—and other emergencies, from Africa to the Middle East and beyond, pushed the figure past

100 million (UNHCR, 2022). As we write this introduction, millions of children and families are attempting to flee war and violence in Ukraine. The United Nations indicates that at least 12 million people have fled their homes—more than 5 million have left for neighboring countries, while 7 million people are still thought to be displaced inside Ukraine itself (BBC, 2022). According to UNICEF, children make up half of all refugees from the war in Ukraine, with more than 1.1 million of these children having arrived in Poland, and hundreds of thousands also arriving in Romania, Moldova, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic (UNICEF, 2022).

The recent surge in war-induced migration, referred to as a “global refugee crisis” (Niemann & Zaun, 2018), has made migration a highly politicized issue (Khan et al., 2016) with host countries facing unique challenges. In addition, we know from research related to asylum-seeking families that it is vital to think about children *and* families in relation to what it means to stay together, what it means for parents to be separated from their children, and the kinds of everyday tensions that emerge when people are living in dangerous, insecure, and precarious circumstances (Blanchet-Cohen et al., 2019). As a result of the deleterious impact of war and displacement on families, communities and the overall societal social fabric, research suggests that strengthening families and communities surrounding the child contributes to their healthy development and well-being (Punamäki et al., 2017).

During the past several decades, international concern and scholarly attention have increased in relation to children and families affected by armed conflict (Cardeli et al., 2018; Cummings et al., 2017). Vital research has examined children’s experiences, needs, and rights violations in the heat of conflict (Bennouna et al., 2020; Miller & Jordans, 2016). Research has also examined children’s lives in the postwar period, including the impact of war on children, children’s coping with war-related trauma (Betancourt et al., 2020; Kadir et al., 2019; Punamäki et al., 2017), and the creation of effective postwar mental health interventions (Fine & Augustinavicius, forthcoming; Crombach et al., 2017; Wessells, 2017). Given the important links between war and displacement, research has also addressed the impact of war-induced migration on children and families (Fazel & Betancourt, 2018; Newnham et al., 2018; Sangalang & Vang, 2017).

The literature has made significant contributions to the field and raised international awareness of the impact of war on children. However, recent scholarship has called for an overhaul of how researchers study children and families affected by war and migration, revealing three important shortcomings. These relate to a variety of concerns, including the following:

The lack of child participation in the research

The tendency for researchers to study children in isolation from their larger socio-ecological context

The methods used to study children and families affected by war and migration, and their ethical implications

In relation to participation, despite provisions in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child that children hold fundamental participation rights, scholarly inquiry, and the design of services rarely incorporate child participation (King, 2018). Reflecting conventional notions of power and “expert knowledge,” traditional social science research has contributed to children’s marginalization by using methods and approaches that regard them as mere objects of research, rather than active participants (Denov & Cadieux Van Vliet, 2021). Traditional research approaches have also tended to explore the lives of war-affected children in isolation from their families and communities (Boothby, 2008). Fazel and Betancourt (2018) have argued that research on war-affected children should incorporate knowledge of risk and protective factors at each level of the child’s socio-ecological system. To understand the complexity of children’s lives, researchers cannot study children in isolation; they must incorporate the views of family and community within a child’s social context that profoundly influence their long-term well-being (Wessells & Kostelny, 2013).

Given the ethical complexities and dilemmas inherent to research with war and migration-affected populations, researchers have articulated the need to develop novel methods of data collection that allow participants to represent their experiences of war in contexts of reduced stress, thus endorsing arts-based methods that have been deemed effective in this vein (Mitchell et al., 2019; Yohani, 2008; Lenette, 2019).

Finally, scholars have also called for a renewal regarding substantive issues. A great deal of past research centered on children’s maladaptive, antisocial behavior in the aftermath of war, as well as negative physical and mental health outcomes (Stark & Wessells, 2013). While providing important insights into the well-being of children facing adversity, scholarship may inadvertently reinforce popular discourses of war-affected populations as inherently victimized, pathological, and at risk (Kidron et al., 2019). This often overlooks their capacities, adaptability, and resilience, which have become increasingly developed areas of research and practice, especially with regards to war-affected children (Lenz, 2017). Moreover, it has been argued that issues of gender require more attention, particularly the ways in which the experiences and needs of girls and young women differ from those of boys and young men (Coulter, 2009). In terms of service provision, a tendency has been to rely on approaches developed in the Global North to respond to mental health needs, emphasizing psychopathology and psychotherapy. This tendency may inappropriately pathologize children and frequently overlooks the importance of context, culture, and power relations (Shenoda et al., 2018; Betancourt et al., 2013; Hassan et al., 2015).

SETTING A NEW AGENDA FOR WORK WITH WAR-AFFECTED CHILDREN, YOUNG PEOPLE, AND THEIR FAMILIES

The various concerns already noted call for, we argue, the setting of a new agenda for research and practice that not only recognizes the significance of novel approaches to drawing on the voices of war-affected children, young people, and their families but also seeks to deepen an understanding of the complexities of the issues across time, place, and political situations. Typically, the literature on war-affected children and young people locates and analyzes them in a single context, such as children's everyday lives in the middle of a war or conflict zone; families in transit and often living in temporary shelters or refugee camps; or families in resettlement settings, sometimes in the Global South and sometimes in the Global North. Yet, in escaping violence and in search of safety and security, children and families cross borders, bringing with them the complexity of the past, as well as having to face the precarity of the future. Juliet Perumal (2013) provides a detailed ethnography of refugee teachers originating from conflict zones in various parts of Africa. These teachers are conducting classes for refugee children in the late afternoons in a welcoming school in Johannesburg, South Africa, and Perumal's work highlights some of the complexities for both adults and children. As she points out, everyone, the teachers and the children, lives a precarious existence, which has an impact on everyday interactions in the classroom. However, as she also describes it, a type of African xenophobia may place war-affected children and their families in a social context where they are not truly welcome. In the context of resettlement in the Global North, researchers, teachers, or social workers may lack understanding of what it means to have left life in a war zone or camp setting, or the longing for home, albeit in different ways. We therefore acknowledge and emphasize that *context matters*; the realities and experiences of children, young people, and families living in a conflict zone may differ from those of people living in refugee camps or who have resettled in a new context as asylum seekers. These unique situations and contexts must be considered when conducting research and developing and implementing effective policy and programming responses.

COLLECTIVE RESEARCH

The many issues and contexts just noted have deeply influenced calls for renewal in the content and direction of our collective research. Our research group, Global Child McGill (<https://www.mcgill.ca/globalchild>) located in the School of Social Work of McGill University, Montreal, Canada, is dedicated to the study of children and families affected by war and migration in Canada and internationally. Founded and led by Myriam Denov, we are a group of Canadian-based researchers representing seven disciplines: social work, law, psychiatry, education, communications, psychology, and applied human sciences. We also

draw on research across many different contexts, including work with child soldiers; with children and young people in postconflict settings, such as Rwanda, Sierra Leone, and northern Uganda; with young people in refugee camps in Kenya; in traumatic settings in relation to sexual and gender-based violence in rural South Africa; as well as on the groundwork in Montreal, Canada. To address the calls for renewal, our team joined forces to advance theory, create innovative methods, and develop effective practice models through three research axes: socio-ecological, participatory, and arts based. Our research group is designed to ignite a culture of collaboration and multidisciplinary, and researchers and students in our group have been linked to one of the axes, based on their interest and expertise. The Socio-ecological Axis has incorporated family and community in research on war-affected children. The Participatory Axis has explored how youth can be actively involved in research as coresearchers. The Arts-Based Axis has examined how research methods using art can yield powerful data in contexts of reduced stress.

In our collective work over the past ten years, within each of the axes, we began to raise what might be described as “productive unknowing” questions, processes where we are “dwelling in the imaginative space” (Vasudevan, 2011, p. 1157) between what we know and don’t know:

- Why are arts-based, participatory, and socio-ecological approaches significant in work with children and families affected by war, displacement, and migration?
- What are the strengths of these approaches?
- What are their limitations?
- How can they contribute to innovations in our understanding and support of children and families affected by war, displacement, and migration?

This “stepping back process,” as we termed it (Akesson et al., 2014), provided us with an opportunity to look anew at some of the challenges and opportunities that are unique to participatory, arts-based, and socio-ecological approaches. In the following sections, we address some of the areas that we have undertaken and discuss the relevance of our framework for questions raised in this edited volume.

Axis 1: Socio-ecological Approaches

A socio-ecological approach begins with the notion that children cannot be considered, or studied, in isolation from their surrounding context (Shevell & Denov, 2021). Socio-ecological approaches de-emphasize the individual as the sole focus of research and practice and instead consider a “child’s well-being from an individual, familial, social, cultural and political perspective” (Tol et al., 2014, p. 200). Our joint work has shown that psychosocial services are best provided to war-affected populations via holistic, culturally grounded, family and community approaches (Rabiau, 2019). Our work has underscored how interventions with

children in isolation are less effective than those involving their family and community (Denov & Shevell, 2019).

Axis 2: Participatory Approaches

Our joint research on participatory approaches has focused on youth engagement and worked on developing ways to involve war-affected youth in research design and as coresearchers (Denov et al., 2017). Beginning with youth advisory groups, which expanded to youth collecting, analyzing, and disseminating data in our joint projects in Québec, Rwanda, South Africa, Uganda, and Vietnam, have addressed the challenges and opportunities of engaging youth as coresearchers and how this is best achieved (Blanchet-Cohen et al., 2019). Using participatory approaches, we also collected data from war-affected youth in Canada, Uganda, and Rwanda. Drawing on their voices, we sought to deepen understanding of children's rights violations in war and migration and identified their education and health needs on resettlement to Québec (Blanchet-Cohen & Denov, 2015; Blanchet-Cohen et al., 2017; Buccitelli & Denov, 2019; Denov & Blanchet-Cohen, 2016).

Axis 3: Arts-Based Approaches

Arts-based research approaches use the artistic process and artistic expression as a primary way of understanding and examining experiences by both researchers and participants (McNiff, 2008). Contributing to methodological innovations, we developed and then "tested" arts-based methods. In Uganda, we used drawing and mask-making to enable children born of wartime rape to depict their postwar realities (Green & Denov, 2019). In Rwanda, youth born of genocidal rape used life maps to represent their lives and experiences (Denov & Shevell, 2021). In joint projects in Canada, South Africa, Kenya, and Vietnam, we used photovoice and participatory video, where cameras and other devices were provided to marginalized youth to document their experiences (Mitchell et al., 2016; Mitchell et al., 2017; Denov et al., 2012).

COLLABORATION AND THE TRI-PILLARED APPROACH

Team members of each individual axis have met regularly over the past ten years to collaborate and conduct joint studies. The entire team, including all axes, meets several times per year to present work and exchange and plan future endeavors. At these collective meetings, axes have shared their activities, accomplishments, and challenges, noting cross-cutting themes that are relevant to all axes. Through this collaborative work, we have realized the important need for axis integration. For example, many arts-based approaches are inherently participatory, while some participatory approaches use art and various visual tools, highlighting their intersection and complementarity. However, to date, few, if any, efforts have been made to *merge* all three into one potent and commanding framework. In response, our research group has attempted to examine each approach in isolation as well as how

the three approaches are inherently interconnected, through what Denov (2015) has referred to as a tri-pillared approach. This tri-pillared approach attempts to unify the strengths of participatory, arts-based, and socio-ecological approaches and shows how converging family, community, participation and art can improve the quality of research and interventions for children affected by war, migration, and displacement. The axes have worked closely together to nourish each other. For example, the participatory axis informs the arts-based axis of best practices in both research and intervention, while the socio-ecological axis reminds the other axes of the importance of having a family and community lens in both research and interventions.

ABOUT THIS BOOK

This book draws on what we have learned through our collaborative undertakings and highlights the unique features of each approach, also demonstrating their collective strength, as well as their limitations and ethical implications. Building on work across the Global South and the Global North, this book aims to deepen an understanding of the tri-pillared approach and the potential for contributing to improved practices in working with war-affected children, young people, and their families. We recognize, however, that offering fixed definitions and categories as they relate to this population, such as “children” and “youth,” in school and out of school, or categories such as preschool, very young adolescents, and early adolescents can be highly problematic and are dependent on cultural norms and context. Moreover, children affected by war and migration often have interrupted schooling, and issues of language and culture may intervene. While much of the work described in the chapters in this book is with children and young people aged 18 years and under, wherever possible contributors have tried to indicate how they have arrived at the categories they themselves use. Several of the chapters deal specifically with services provided by schools and so, in a sense, are already contained in relation to a particular age. To highlight and acknowledge the multiple contexts in which children and families find themselves, the various chapters also address the experiences of children, young people, and families in active war zones, those in refugee camps, and those who have resettled to countries in the Global North and Global South.

Some of our Canadian contributors have been part of Global Child McGill, while others are researchers and practitioners from a variety of international contexts, including the United States, United Kingdom, Colombia, Sierra Leone, Syria, South Africa, and Ukraine. Regardless of their affiliation, contributors in this collection share a vision and goal to both enhance and unify the three approaches (socio-ecological, participatory, and arts based). Collaboration and partnership, then, are particularly relevant to this type of work. As such, we see collaboration as a thematic consideration in and of itself. Many of the chapters have emerged from collaborative, interdisciplinary, and international teamwork,

something that we are advocating in relation to advancing work with war-affected young people that is meant to be transformative. For this reason, in most of the chapters, there are several authors, giving voice and recognition to multiple players and collaborators.

This book is divided into three main sections: (1) Socio-ecological approaches, (2) participatory approaches, and (3) arts-based approaches. While we acknowledge from the outset the overlaps between the sections, especially between participatory and arts-based approaches, we have presented them as separate sections in recognition of their very strong disciplinary frameworks and foundations. Each section includes a conceptual examination of the approach, alongside empirical case studies. More specifically, each of the three sections begins with an overarching synthesis chapter, outlining what we see as the current state of the art on each approach. The state-of-the-art chapter in each section is then followed by several chapters that highlight empirically based work exemplifying the key themes “on the ground.”

Part I: Socio-ecological Approaches

The first section of the book explores socio-ecological approaches to practice with children and families affected by war and migration. The section opens with a review of the current state of the art of socio-ecological approaches with war-affected populations, with chapter 2, “Unlearn and Deconstruct to Collaboratively Build a Sense of Well-Being around Children Affected by War: A Family and Community Approach,” by authors Marjorie Rabiau, Myriam Denov, and Karen Paul. The authors argue that to collaboratively build a sense of well-being around children affected by war, researchers and service providers must use a plethora of lenses, including a socio-ecological model or family and community approach; acknowledge the importance of context and culture; and consider the intersectionality of identities at multiple stages of the migration process. Moreover, they argue that using these lenses will require unlearning and deconstructing some preconceived ideas and assumptions as individual researchers and practitioners but also as organizations. Chapter 3, the second chapter of the socio-ecological approaches section, is “A Case for Preservice Teachers Reflexively Engaging in Work with War-Affected Children in Canadian Schools,” written by Nagui Demian and Claudia Mitchell. The chapter examines the importance of schools as critical settings of psychosocial support for war-affected young people. The chapter highlights the role teachers can play in contributing toward a caring and trusting environment in the classroom and the challenges in preparing teachers through preservice teacher education programs. Chapter 4, the third chapter in the section, is “The Thunder of War Is Much Less Heard: Engaging Young People and Older Adults to Restore Social Cohesion in the Midst of Crisis in Eastern Ukraine.” The authors, Karen Paul, Inka Weissbecker, Katie Mullins, and Andrew Jones explore the unique vulnerabilities and capabilities of young people and older adults in war-affected contexts, offering a wider lens to the socio-ecological

approach moving from the family, to the school, to the community. Using a case study from International Medical Corps programs in eastern Ukraine, they advocate for the value in youth engaging with older adults in community-based programming in strengthening the social fabric of communities in the midst of war. Finally, the section on socio-ecological approaches closes with chapter 5, “Best Practices for Children and Their Families in Postconflict Settings: A Culturally Informed, Strength-Based Family Therapy Model.” Authors Sharon Bond and Jaswant Guzder are critical of the traditional narrow, individualistic focus on war-affected children that ignores the family and broader social environments. This includes the use of Western models of the biological nuclear family to apply to war-affected families that have experienced family loss and social dislocation. The chapter describes systemic and family therapy approaches to survivors of conflict-affected regions, ultimately recommending the application of culturally informed, strength-based family therapy.

Part II: Participatory Approaches

The second section of the book investigates the use of participatory approaches with young people and families affected by war and migration. In chapter 6, the opening state-of-the-art chapter, “Navigating Participatory Research with Children Affected by Armed Conflict: Conceptual, Methodological, and Ethical Concerns,” authors Neil Bilotta, Maya Fennig, Myriam Denov, Alusine Bah, and Ines Marchand describe participatory research as promoting the generation of knowledge, rather than its extraction, through a merging of academic and local knowledge to provide marginalized groups with tools for analyzing their life condition. Participatory approaches flip the script on traditional research paradigms by transforming participants from passive objects of research into active agents in a mutually reinforcing partnership with researchers. In chapter 7, the second chapter in this section, “The Right to Be Heard in Research: Participatory Research Ethics in Kakuma Refugee Camp,” authors Neil Bilotta and Myriam Denov explore research participation from the voices and perspectives of refugee young people living in Kakuma refugee camp, Kenya. The chapter reveals key insights into research ethics in conducting participatory research with war-affected populations. The authors highlight participants’ previous research experiences and how these have fostered overall feelings of disenchantment. In light of the findings, the chapter addresses participants’ two key areas of research recommendations for future research in Kakuma, with implications for participatory research with young people in other regions of the world. Chapter 8, “Ethical Tensions in Participatory Research with Queer Young People from Refugee Backgrounds: Critiquing a Code of Ethics,” is coauthored by EJ Milne, Churnjeet Mahn, Mayra Guzman, Farhio Ahmed, and anonymous members of RX, a collective of young people from refugee backgrounds living in the United Kingdom. The chapter critically reflects on the ethical tensions and paradoxes inherent in using a written code of ethics. This includes the politics of using written texts, in honoring traditions when they are multiple and

contradictory, and the question of who “owns” an agreement when the original creators have moved, died, or been replaced by people with differing worldviews. The final chapter in this section, chapter 9, is “An Arts-Based Participatory Approach to Research with Migrant Young People in South Africa,” by Glynis Clacherty and Thea Shahrokh. Drawing on participatory research with children and young people in South Africa, Clacherty and Shahrokh demonstrate how arts-based methodologies can support young people in regaining control in their lives through artistic processes. The chapter highlights the overlap and interconnectedness of participatory approaches and arts-based approaches addressed further in Part III.

Part III: Arts-Based Approaches

The third section of this book explores the use of arts-based approaches with children and families affected by war and migration. The section opens with chapter 10, “Arts-Based Research Innovations in Work with War-Affected Children and Youth: A Synthesis,” an examination of the current state of the art of arts-based approaches, particularly in their application with children and young people and populations affected by war and migration. In this review of the literature, authors Warren Linds, Miranda D’Amico, Myriam Denov, Claudia Mitchell, and Meaghan Shevell outline the approach and highlight both benefits and challenges of how different arts media can be used as a platform for expression. They demonstrate how arts-based approaches can achieve therapeutic, restorative, and empowering benefits by offering a nonverbal form of communicating and accessing traumatic memories or by acting as a catalyst for activism and self-advocacy. However, the authors also urge critical reflection on the ethical challenges in using arts-based approaches with war-affected youth. This synthetic chapter is followed by chapter 11, Miranda D’Amico’s “Creative Arts Therapies in School-Based Interventions with Children and Youth Affected by War,” which covers creative arts therapies (art, music, drama) as interventions with children and youth in the aftermath of war and displacement, referring primarily to children in resettlement contexts. In chapter 12, “Drawing to Be Seen and Heard: A Critical Analysis of Girls’ Drawings in Three Refugee Camps,” Fatima Khan provides a gendered analysis of girls’ drawings in contexts of war, revealing key themes, patterns, narratives, and socio-cultural barriers. This chapter emphasizes the importance of understanding and interpreting children’s drawings as a methodology that recognizes children’s agency and voice rather than images waiting to be consumed as simply aesthetic experiences or illustrations in a technical report. Chapter 13, the final chapter, “Young People with Refugee Experiences as Authors and Artists of Picture Books” by April Mandrona, EJ Milne, Thea Shahrokh, Michaelina Jakala, Mateja Celestina, Leesa Hamilton, and Claudia Mitchell, follows and examines a participatory arts-based project, *For Us, By Us*, with resettling refugee children in Halifax, Canada, and Coventry, United Kingdom. The project developed innovative approaches to representing and analyzing refugee children’s unique artistic and narrative voices.

OVERARCHING THEMES

Throughout the book there are several other key concepts and themes that are unique to this collection and stand out as features of contemporary work in social research. First, we highlight *unlearning* as an important theme that has emerged in our collective work and the collective voices noted earlier. As is highlighted in chapter 2, the complexity of situations of children and families, whether during armed conflict, in refugee camps, during flight or migration, or upon resettlement to a new context, requires unique reflection and accountability for researchers and practitioners. We argue that there is an important need for researchers, policy makers, and service providers, whether they are local, national, or international, to *unlearn and deconstruct* some preconceived ideas regarding family, mental health, well-being, culture, resilience, and community in order to approach the work with children and families from a position of humility and learning. For example, as we highlighted at the beginning of this chapter, the concept of family itself needs to be unpacked and deconstructed in order to ensure that it accurately reflects the unique contexts and cultures. For children and families affected by war and migration, loss, separation, and death may be common occurrences, requiring children and families to adapt, reorganize, or reinvent themselves. New constellations form between individuals in order to re-create a sense of family. This process requires a critical look at our own positionality as researchers and practitioners, compelling us to examine the assumptions that shape our ways of being and seeing. In many ways, this unlearning process serves to advance the vital research and scholarship agendas on decolonization—whereby Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples work together to dismantle the attitudes, powers, and institutions that keep practices of colonization alive (Ives et al., 2020).

Second, the theme of intersectionality is a key feature of contemporary social research, challenging singular conceptions of social identities and considering how the interplay of gender, class, race, status, sexuality, gender identity, and abilities can combine to produce and frame injustice (Crenshaw, 1991). The approach also explores how individual experience is shaped by structures and intersecting systems of oppression. In this volume, the realities of intersectionality are explored both explicitly and implicitly. For example, chapter 12 by Fatima Khan on the “seen and heard” drawings produced by girls in three refugee camps highlights the impact of gender and religion in deepening an understanding of oppression, particularly in relation to gender-based violence. Similarly, chapter 8 by EJ Milne et al. addresses ethical tensions in participatory research with queer young people from refugee backgrounds and highlights the importance of unpacking intersectionality in the lives of young people affected by war and migration.

Third, culture remains a critical issue in work with war- and migration-affected children and young people and their families. As Geertz (1973) highlights, “culture” refers to a shared system of knowledge, beliefs, values, guiding ways of being, seeing, behavior, and interrelations. Dynamic and changing, culture shapes all

aspects of care and intervention, influencing when, where, how, and to whom war-affected populations narrate their experiences of distress and healing (Kirmayer, 2006). Beyond this, as Jones (2009, p. 296) explores, cultural literacy is a critical component and is essential to helping any child or family in crisis. Thus, wherever possible, contributors of the empirical studies in each of the three sections offer detailed analyses of specific populations. Authors draw from, for example, war-affected children and young people in Eastern Ukraine, Kakuma Refugee camp in Kenya, Kutupalong Refugee Camp in Rohingya in Myanmar, Gasorwe and Gihinga Camps in the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Akkar Refugee Camp in Lebanon, which is providing refuge for thousands of Syrian refugees.

REFLECTING FORWARD: THE FUTURE ROLE OF ETHICS AND POLICY

Taken as a whole, this collection offers a look at a range of compelling, ongoing, and emerging questions about the most effective ways of working with children, young people, and their families affected by conflict, as well as what has come to be known globally as the refugee crisis. Clearly, there is a limit to what can be contained in thirteen chapters, and with the precariousness of the political landscape, we recognize that there could be newly unfolding situations—beyond the covers of this book—that threaten the stability of children, young people, and their families. In the final section of this chapter, then, we take a reflecting forward stance in order to highlight what we see as pressing concerns posed by the various chapters.

THE NEED FOR RELATIONAL ETHICS IN RESEARCH AND SERVICE PROVISION

One of the central themes that emerges from this book, and what we believe to be an ongoing concern, is the importance of ethics while working with children and families affected by war and migration in a plethora of different settings. The various chapters illustrate the ethical challenges of conducting research with this population, some of which are specific to participatory research and arts-based research. The critical lenses applied by the authors offer a number of important lessons learned through research with this population, culminating with the construct of relational ethics, an ethics embedded in interpersonal relationships based on mutual respect. A first step toward unlearning in relational ethics is decolonization and the deconstruction of power imbalances in the research relationship. As will be illustrated in many of the chapters, in research, the notion of power asymmetries between participants and researchers and the positionality of the researchers need to be reflected on and rebalanced in order to “do no harm.” The concept of relational ethics raises multiple questions concerning the notion of accountability of researchers toward the participants, the relationship between these actors, and the population at large. Some of the tenets of participatory research

include the importance of engaging in a reciprocal relationship and the notion of transparency. In addition, within participatory research, promoting empowerment and agency is a key feature of expressing respect as valued members of a team and of showing commitment not just to the participants but to their families and communities.

Lessons learned can and should also be applied to service provision. Indeed, notions of power asymmetries and positionality are also very pertinent for service providers, particularly in relation to mental health, education, health care, and social work. As practitioners, the need to unlearn and deconstruct one's preconceived assumptions—to avoid projecting and imposing one's worldview regarding health, trauma, resilience, and healing—as well as to consider the complexities of culture and context is key. This requires embodying a stance of humility and self-reflexivity, both at the level of the service provider and at all the other systemic levels of the implementation of service provision, which will require some policy adjustments at higher systemic levels.

The need to work collaboratively in the development and implementation of services is also foundational to promoting empowerment and agency in the populations for whom services are being created. Reflecting participatory approaches, consultation, and collaboration with the population throughout the process, from inception to postimplementation, should be a cornerstone of a collaborative approach. The concept of intersectionality discussed earlier is important to keep in mind to ensure that interests of all concerned are being represented in consultations. For example, age is an intersecting factor, and people throughout the age spectrum need to be represented, especially younger and older populations who are often not included. Sexual orientation and gender identity are also intersecting factors that require further attention in terms of potential further marginalization and oppression of children, young people, and families affected by war and migration and to better understand how to help families, communities, and society move toward affirmative support, regardless of the complexity of identities one carries.

An important feature of service provision draws on the idea of intergenerationality. Intergenerational relationships should be considered as a way of strengthening families and community ties. Through the socio-ecological lens, we hope to introduce the need to develop relational interventions by nurturing a sense of belonging and connectedness as well as cohesion and agency toward collective resilience and meaning-making.

WHAT'S POLICY GOT TO DO WITH IT?

Finally, policy dialogue and policy making are key features of ensuring the safety and security of war-affected children, young people, and their families wherever they find themselves. In one sense, the range of policy concerns is vast, in part because of the range of countries involved and the main players and actors, from

global structures, such as the UNHCR, to national and provincial or state bodies. Some of the issues that we raise here are inspired by the various chapters, and others go beyond any one chapter and respond to the new agenda that we raised earlier in this chapter and indeed some of the challenges of conducting research in the area of children and families affected by war and migration.

As various chapters on participatory and arts-based methodologies in this book highlight, the idea of starting with the voices of children and young people themselves is critical. Such approaches located within the context of such formulations as learning from the ground up (Choudry & Kapoor, 2010), from the ground up policy making (Mitchell & Moletsane, 2018), and changing methods (Burt & Code, 1995) are often small and once off, and rarely institutionalized within policy frameworks that take seriously the idea of consultation with those most affected. Given the emerging body of work on the role of youth advisory groups and Youth-led Participatory Action Research (YPAR) in other areas of youth services, it seems particularly appropriate to ensure that children and young people affected by war and migration have a more central voice. What would global, regional, national, and provincial services and interventions look like if there could be policy commitments to consult with children and young people?

Alongside such commitments, it is of course important to think of the very specific policy arenas in which children affected by war and migration find themselves. Education is a key one, particularly since schooling is often seen as playing a normalizing role in the lives of children and young people. We posit that there is a great deal to be learned by looking at education across sectors—ranging from Education in Emergencies in Global South contexts, to special classes and programs that are set up in the Global North. How can such types of learning be aligned? We note, for example, that in several of the chapters in this book there is a call for closer attention to support for teachers and the offering of creative art therapies for war-affected children in schools. At the same time, the realities of bullying and stigmatization of refugee children suggest that there is also a need for policy on how to monitor the behavior of children who are already part of the host setting. A tragic account of a 9-year-old Syrian girl, Amal Alshteivi, who committed suicide in Calgary, Alberta, in 2019, draws attention to the tireless bullying she received from classmates. Amal's family say that the school did little to curtail the bullying, but the news account also draws attention to the precariousness of refugee families who do not want to complain or make trouble.³

As a final point, we support the idea of policies and practices that contribute to systematizing knowledge about children, young people, and their families. Given the vast range of terms, situations, disciplinary areas, and sectors, along with the state of flux of much of this work, this is no small order. As highlighted in the program notes for the conference, "Towards Systematic Knowledge Accumulation in Migration Studies," there is some urgency to improving the systematizing of knowledge.⁴ As the conference organizers, Geddes and Scholten, note, "The field of migration studies has evolved and expanded significantly. This involves not

only a growing quantity of studies, but also growing interdisciplinarity, methodological differentiation, expansion in countries and regions covered, and of course a growing theoretical richness. However, growth is also accompanied by fragmentation. While recognizing the value of academic diversity for academic dialogue, fragmentation can also be an impediment for systematic knowledge accumulation, theory building and knowledge utilization.” Indeed, fragmentation is the antithesis of what is required, and we are encouraged by recent efforts by UNHCR in convening the first Global Refugee Forum in December 2019. The event, which took place in Geneva, included over 3,000 participants from various sectors of governments, civil society, and business, and included seventy refugees. As noted on the Global Refugee Forum website, “The pivotal role of refugees in both preparing for and participating in the forum has set an important precedent that we will build upon for the future. The forum demonstrated the importance of keeping refugees at the center in matters that relate to their lives and futures.”⁵

We invite readers, then, to consider how the chapters that follow in and of themselves might support more integrated and holistic approaches to working with children, young people, and their families affected by war and migration, as well as what else is needed at a policy level, at the level of implementation, and in relation to research. At the same time, we invite readers to consider how the following chapters might set the stage for a world that listens to and works to implement the voices and perspectives of those most affected.

NOTES

1. The United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child defines a child as “every human being below 18.” The UN defines youth as “those persons between the ages of 15 and 24 years.”
2. In 1999 the United Nations Security Council identified and condemned six grave violations against children in times of armed conflict: (1) recruitment or use of children in armed forces and armed groups; (2) killing and maiming of children; (3) attacks on schools or hospitals; (4) rape or other grave sexual violence; (5) abduction of children; and (6) denial of humanitarian access for children.
3. <https://globalnews.ca/news/5163138/calgary-syrian-family-daughter-suicide/>
4. <http://migrationpolicycentre.eu/docs/CrossMigrationprogramme.pdf>
5. <https://www.unhcr.org/5e20790e4>

REFERENCES

- Akesson, B., D’Amico, M., Denov, M., Khan, F., Linds, W., & Mitchell, C. A. (2014). “Stepping back” as researchers: Addressing ethics in arts-based approaches to working with war-affected children in school and community settings. *Educational Research for Social Change (ERSC)*, 3(1), 75–89.
- BBC (2022) *How many Ukrainian refugees are there and where have they gone?* <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-60555472>.
- Bennouna, C., Stark, L., & Wessells, M. G. (2020). Children and adolescents in conflict and displacement. In Suzan J. Song & Peter Ventevogel (Eds.), *Child, adolescent and family refugee mental health* (pp. 17–36). Springer.

- Betancourt, T. S., McBain, R. K., Newnham, E. A., & Brennan, R. T. (2015). The intergenerational impact of war: Longitudinal relationships between caregiver and child mental health in post-conflict Sierra Leone. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 56(10), 1101–1107.
- Betancourt, T. S., Meyers-Ohki, M. S. E., Charrow, M. A. P., & Tol, W. A. (2013). Interventions for children affected by war: An ecological perspective on psychosocial support and mental health care. *Harvard Review of Psychiatry*, 21(2), 70–91.
- Betancourt, T. S., Thomson, D. L., Brennan, R. T., Antonaccio, C. M., Gilman, S. E., & VanderWeele, T. J. (2020). Stigma and acceptance of Sierra Leone's child soldiers: A prospective longitudinal study of adult mental health and social functioning. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 59(6), 715–726.
- Blanchet-Cohen, N., & Denov, M. (2015). War-affected children's approach to resettlement: Implications for child and family services. *Annals of Anthropological Practice*, 39(2), 120–133.
- Blanchet-Cohen, N., Denov, M., Bah, A., Uwababyeyi, L., & Kagame, J. (2019). Rethinking the meaning of "family" for war-affected young people: Implications for social work education. *Journal of Family Social Work*, 22(1), 46–62.
- Blanchet-Cohen, N., Denov, M., Fraser, S., & Bilotta, N. (2017). The nexus of war, resettlement, and education: War-affected youth's perspectives and responses to the Quebec education system. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 60, 160–168.
- Boothby, N. (2008). Political violence and development: An ecologic approach to children in war zones. *Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Clinics of North America*, 17(3), 497–514.
- Boothby, N., Crawford, J., & Halperin, J. (2006). Mozambique child soldier life outcome study: Lessons learned in rehabilitation and reintegration efforts. *Global Public Health*, 1(1), 87–107.
- Buccitelli, A. S., & Denov, M. (2019). Addressing marginality and exclusion: The resettlement experiences of war-affected young people in Quebec, Canada. *Children*, 6(2), 18. <https://doi.org/10.3390/children6020018>
- Burt, S., & Code, L. (1995). *Changing method: Feminist transformation in practice*. University of Toronto Press.
- Cardeli, E., Abdi, S., & Ellis, B. H. (2018). The psychosocial impact of war on children and families. In Joy D. Osofsky & Betsy McAlister Groves (Eds.), *Violence and trauma in the lives of children* (Vol. 2, pp. 189–210). Praeger.
- Choudry, A., & Kapoor, D. (2010). *Learning from the ground up: Global perspectives on social movements and knowledge production*. Palgrave.
- Coulter, C. (2009). *Bush wives and girl soldiers: Women's lives through war and peace in Sierra Leone*. Cornell University Press.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241–1299. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>
- Crombach, A., Wilker, S., Hermenau, K., Wieling, E., & Hecker, T. (2017). Treating and preventing psychological trauma of children and adolescents in post-conflict settings. In M. A. Landolt, M. Cloitre, & U. Schnyder (Eds.), *Evidence-based treatments for trauma related disorders in children and adolescents* (pp. 483–504). Springer.
- Cummings, E. M., Merrilees, C. E., Taylor, L. K., & Mondy, C. F. (2017). Developmental and social-ecological perspectives on children, political violence, and armed conflict. *Development and Psychopathology*, 29(1), 1–10.
- Denov, M. (2010). *Child soldiers: Sierra Leone's Revolutionary United Front*. Cambridge University Press.
- Denov, M. (2015). Children and families affected by war: A tri-pillared approach [Unpublished Manuscript]. McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
- Denov, M., & Blanchet-Cohen, N. (2016). Trajectories of violence and survival: Turnings and adaptations in the lives of two war-affected youth living in Canada. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 22(3), 236–245. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pac0000169>

- Denov, M., & Cadieux Van Vliet, A. (2021). Children born of wartime rape on fatherhood: Grappling with violence, accountability, and forgiveness in postwar northern Uganda. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 27(4), 597–605. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000470>
- Denov, M., Doucet, D., & Kamara, A. (2012). Engaging war-affected youth through photography: Photovoice with former child soldiers in Sierra Leone." *Intervention: The International Journal of Mental Health, Psychosocial Work and Counselling in Areas of Armed Conflict*, 10(2), 117–133.
- Denov, M., & Shevell, M. (2019). *Social work practice with war-affected children and families: The importance of family, culture, arts, and participatory approaches*. Routledge.
- Denov, M., & Shevell, M. (2021). An arts-based approach with youth born of genocidal rape in Rwanda: The river of life as an autobiographical mapping tool. *Global Studies of Childhood*, 11(1), 21–39.
- Denov, M., Woolner, L., Bahati, J. P., Nsuki, P., & Shyaka, O. (2017). The intergenerational legacy of genocidal rape: The realities and perspectives of children born of the Rwandan genocide. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 35(17–18), 3286–3307. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260517708407>
- Dona, G., and Veale, A. (forthcoming). Navigating displacement: Trajecto-making among forced migrant and refugee children and youth. In M. Denov and M. Fennig (Eds.), *Research handbook on children and armed conflict*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Fazel, M., & Betancourt, T. S. (2018). Preventive mental health interventions for refugee children and adolescents in high-income settings. *The Lancet Child & Adolescent Health*, 2(2), 121–132.
- Fine, S., and Augustinavicius, J. L. (forthcoming). Mental health and psychosocial support interventions for conflict-affected children and adolescents: Strategies, challenges, and recommendations. In M. Denov and M. Fennig, M. (Eds.), *Research handbook on children and armed conflict*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures* (Vol. 5019). Basic Books.
- Green, A., & Denov, M. (2019). Mask-making and drawing as method: Arts-based approaches to data collection with war-affected children. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 18. DOI: 1609406919832479.
- Hassan, G., Kirmayer, L. J., Mekki- Berrada A., Quosh, C., el Chammay, R., Deville-Stoetzel, J.B., Youssef, A., Jefe-Bahloul, H., Barkeel-Oteo, A., Coutts, A., Song, S., & Ventevogel, P. (2015). *Culture, context and the mental health and psychosocial wellbeing of Syrians: A review for mental health and psychosocial support staff working with Syrians affected by armed conflict*. UNHCR.
- Ives, N., Denov, M., & Sussman, T. (2020). *Introduction to social work in Canada: Histories, contexts, and practices* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Jones, L. (2009). Responding to the needs of children in crisis. *International Review of Psychiatry*, 20(3), 291–303.
- Jordans, M. J., Pigott, H., & Tol, W. A. (2016). Interventions for children affected by armed conflict: A systematic review of mental health and psychosocial support in low- and middle-income countries. *Current Psychiatry Reports*, 18(1). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11920-015-0648-z>.
- Kadir, A., Shenoda, S., & Goldhagen, J. (2019). Effects of armed conflict on child health and development: A systematic review. *PLoS one*, 14(1), e0210071.
- Khan, M. S., Osei-Kofi, A., Omar, A., Kirkbride, H., Kessel, A., Abbara, A., Heymann, D., Zumla, A., & Dar, O. (2016). Pathogens, prejudice, and politics: The role of the global health community in the European refugee crisis. *The Lancet. Infectious Diseases*, 16(8), 173–177.
- Kidron, C. A., Kotliar, D. M., & Kirmayer, L. J. (2019). Transmitted trauma as badge of honor: Phenomenological accounts of Holocaust descendant resilient vulnerability. *Social Science & Medicine*, 239, 112524.
- King, E. (2018). What Kenyan youth want and why it matters for peace. *African Studies Review*, 61(1), 134–157

- Kirmayer, L. J. (2006). Beyond the 'new cross-cultural psychiatry': Cultural biology, discursive psychology and the ironies of globalization. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 43(1), 126–144.
- Lenette, C. (2019). *Arts-based methods in refugee research: Creating sanctuary*. Springer.
- Lenz, J. A. (2017). Armed with Resilience: Tapping into the experiences and survival skills of formerly abducted girl child soldiers in northern Uganda. In M. Denov & B. Akesson (Eds.), *Children affected by armed conflict: Theory, method, and practice* (pp. 112–136). Columbia University Press.
- McNiff, S. (2008). Art-based research. In G. J. Knowles & A. L. Cole (Eds.) *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research* (pp. 29–40). Sage.
- Miller, K. E., & Jordans, M. J. (2016). Determinants of children's mental health in war-torn settings: Translating research into action. *Current Psychiatry Reports*, 18(6). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11920-016-0692-3>.
- Mitchell, C., Chege, F., Maina, L., & Rothman, M. (2016). Beyond engagement in working with children in eight Nairobi slums to address safety, security, and housing: Digital tools for policy and community dialogue. *Global Public Health*, 11(5–6), 651–665.
- Mitchell, C., De Lange, N., & Moletsane, R. (2017). *Participatory visual methodologies: Social change, community and policy*. Sage.
- Mitchell, C., Linds, W., Denov, M., D'Amico, M., & Cleary, B. (2019). Beginning at the beginning in social work education: A case for incorporating arts-based approaches to working with war-affected children and their families. *Journal of Family Social Work*, 22(1), 63–82.
- Mitchell, C., & Moletsane, R. (Eds.). (2018). *Disrupting shameful legacies: Girls and young women speak back through the arts to address sexual violence*. Brill/Sense.
- Newnham, E. A., Kashyap, S., Tearne, J., & Fazel, M. (2018). Child mental health in the context of war: An overview of risk factors and interventions for refugee and war-affected youth. In N. Morina & A. Nickerson (Eds.) *Mental health of refugee and conflict-affected populations* (pp. 37–63). Springer.
- Niemann, A., & Zaun, N. (2018). EU refugee policies and politics in times of crisis: Theoretical and empirical perspectives. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(1), 3–22.
- Panter-Brick, C., Grimon, M. P., & Eggerman, M. (2014). Caregiver–child mental health: A prospective study in conflict and refugee settings. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 55(4), 313–327.
- Perumal, J. (2013). Pedagogy of refuge: Education in a time of dispossession. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 16(5), 673–695. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2013.792797>
- Punamäki, R. L., Qouta, S. R., & Peltonen, K. (2017). Family systems approach to attachment relations, war trauma, and mental health among Palestinian children and parents. *European Journal of Psychotraumatology*, 8(sup7). <https://doi.org/10.1080/20008198.2018.1439649>.
- Rabiau, M. A. (2019). Culture, migration, and identity formation in adolescent refugees: A family perspective. *Journal of Family Social Work*, 22(1), 83–100.
- Saile, R., Ertl, V., Neuner, F., & Catani, C. (2016). Children of the postwar years: A two-generational multilevel risk assessment of child psychopathology in northern Uganda. *Development and Psychopathology*, 28(2), 607–620.
- Sangalang, C. C., & Vang, C. (2017). Intergenerational trauma in refugee families: A systematic review. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, 19(3), 745–754.
- Sapiezyńska, E. (2021). *Weapon of war: Sexual violence against children in armed conflict*. Save the Children. <https://www.savethechildren.org/content/dam/usa/reports/ed-cp/weapons-of-war/weapon-of-war-report-2021.pdf>
- Save the Children (2019). *Stop the war on children: Protecting children in 21st century conflict*. https://resourcecentre.savethechildren.net/node/14409/pdf/report_stop_the_war_on_children.pdf
- Shenoda, S., Kadir, A., Pitterman, S., & Goldhagen, J. (2018). The effects of armed conflict on children. *Pediatrics*, 142(6).

- Shevell, M., & Denov, M. (2021). A multidimensional model of resilience: Conceptualizing family, community, national, global and intergenerational resilience. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2021.105035>
- Stark, L., & Wessells, M. (2013). The fallacy of the ticking time bomb: Resilience of children formerly recruited into armed forces and groups. In Fernando, C. (Ed.), *Handbook of resilience in children of war* (pp. 95–106). Springer.
- Tol, W. A., Haroz, E. E., Hock, R. S., Kane, J. C., & Jordans, M. J. (2014). Ecological perspectives on trauma and resilience in children affected by armed conflict. In R. Pat-Horenczyk, D. Brom, & J. M. Vogel (Eds.) *Helping children cope with trauma: Individual, family and community perspectives* (pp. 193–209). Routledge.
- UN. (2022). Children and armed conflict: Report of the Secretary-General A/76/871-S/2022/493. UNHCR. (2022). *Global trends: Forced Displacement in 2021*. <https://www.unhcr.org/62a9d1494/global-trends-report-2021>
- UNICEF. (2022). Two million refugee children flee war in Ukraine in search of safety across borders. <https://www.unicef.org/press-releases/two-million-refugee-children-flee-war-ukraine-search-safety-across-borders>.
- United Nations Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict. (2021). *Impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on violations against children in situations of armed conflict*. <https://childrenandarmedconflict.un.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Impact-of-the-COVID-19-pandemic-on-violations-against-children-in-situations-of-armed-conflict-1.pdf>
- Vasudevan, L. (2011). An invitation to unknowing. *Teachers College Record*, 113(6), 1154–1174.
- Wessells, M. G. (2017). Children and armed conflict: Interventions for supporting war-affected children. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 23(1), 4–13. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pac0000227>
- Wessells, M., & Kostelny, K. (2013). Child friendly spaces: Toward a grounded, community-based approach for strengthening child protection practice in humanitarian crises. Natural helpers play a critical role in ensuring children's safety during and in the aftermath of crises. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 37, 29–40. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2013.10.030>
- Yohani, S. C. (2008). Creating an ecology of hope: Arts-based interventions with refugee children. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 25(4), 309–323.

PART 1 SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL
APPROACHES

2 • UNLEARN AND DECONSTRUCT TO COLLABORATIVELY BUILD A SENSE OF WELL-BEING AROUND CHILDREN AFFECTED BY WAR

A Family and Community Approach

MARJORIE RABIAU, MYRIAM DENOVI,
AND KAREN PAUL

In 2016, humanitarian actors pledged to promote the health, development, and protection of children and youth affected by armed conflict by signing the Global Compact for Young People in Humanitarian Action. These international organizations committed to prioritizing children's needs and rights as central components of service provision and to meaningfully involve children and youth to give them visibility, dignity, and hope (World Humanitarian Summit, 2016). Service providers, including mental health practitioners, working with children affected by war face a myriad of challenges. These include high numbers of people in need, difficulties accessing those in need of support, protracted displacement, and challenges implementing longer-term services (Bennouna et al., 2018). As a way to address some of these challenges, increased attention has been given to a more comprehensive view of intervention that focuses on offering care for families and caregivers and strengthening communities in order to promote healthy child development (Bennouna et al., 2018; Save the Children, 2018; UNICEF, 2015). Research suggests that strengthening families and communities surrounding the child contributes to their healthy development and well-being despite exposure to war and political violence (Punamäki, 2014). There is also increased focus

on the need to strengthen local human resources, overall comprehensive systems of care, and coordination in order to create more long-term and durable responses (Inter-Agency Standing Committee [IASC], 2007; Save the Children, 2018). It is within this challenging but important landscape that this chapter explores how quality service provision can continue to promote healthy child development and well-being among those affected by war. Notably, this chapter considers children as nested within the interactions between their families and their communities. We posit that service provision should occur with the following three key approaches in mind: (1) a socio-ecological perspective focused on the family and the community; (2) careful consideration of culture and context; and (3) employing an intersectional lens in order to take into account complex power relations associated with race, class, gender, mobility, sexual orientation, gender identity, and other intersectional factors. The implementation of these approaches will require adaptation within the different phases of the migration process, whether during war or displacement and upon resettlement. Moreover, the foregoing approaches may require practitioners to “unlearn” and “deconstruct” assumptions that have been taken for granted.

THE THREE APPROACHES

A Family/Community Approach

Researchers and practitioners maintain that psychosocial support and services are best provided to war-affected populations through holistic, culturally grounded, family-based, and community-based approaches (Kostelny, 2006). Family and community cohesion are deeply affected by war and its consequences (Betancourt & Khan, 2008; Weissbecker et al., 2019). Given that each child exists as part of a larger system, individual well-being cannot exist independently of relational well-being. As such, fostering children’s well-being involves supporting families and strengthening communities toward collective well-being. Relational interventions become key, with the most important goals being nurturing a sense of belongingness, connectedness, cohesion, and agency toward building collective resilience.

The socio-ecological approach offers a useful framework to collaboratively build an understanding of lived experiences in order to create a sense of collective well-being and meaning-making for children, families, and communities. The socio-ecological approach begins with the notion that children cannot be considered or studied in isolation from their surrounding context. Socio-ecological approaches de-emphasize the individual as the sole focus of research and practice and instead consider a “child’s well-being from an individual, familial, social, cultural and political perspective” (Tol et al., 2014, p. 200). The approach recognizes that children’s lives and experiences are constantly shaped and influenced by the systemic structures, communities, and families that encircle them, as well as the dynamic interactions and relationships between these elements (Denov & Akesson, 2017). In relation to children affected by war, vital systems—whether

family, school, or peer group—are key determinants of war-affected children’s developmental outcomes (Boothby et al., 2006). When studying war-affected children, multiple authors have underscored the importance of incorporating knowledge of the multiple and interacting factors at each level of the child’s socio-ecological system (Boothby, 2008; Boothby et al., 2006). Yet there continues to be an emphasis on individual maladaptive conditions (Denov & Akesson, 2017), which may not be relevant within the affected culture or within the broader context and may disregard priority concerns within the community and ignore the available resources and capacities to address these challenges. Although individual interventions can be valuable and at times necessary, a much larger lens and perspective are necessary to develop and implement service provision for children and youth affected by war.

Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) ecological model provides a road map for developing interventions targeted not only toward the child or the youth but also toward the multiple systems surrounding the child. Bronfenbrenner highlights that the first layer around the child is the microsystem, or the people with whom the child has direct interactions, such as the family and the school environment. The mesosystem is the interactions between these systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994). The exosystem includes social structures slightly more removed from the child, such as neighborhood, religious institutions, and the like. The macrosystem is the larger cultural, political, and historical context around the child (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994). Interventions at all these levels could have a strong protective impact on the well-being of children affected by war (Betancourt & Khan, 2008; Boothby et al., 2006). As expressed by Betancourt and Khan (2008), “Restoration of a damaged social ecology is fundamental to improving prevention and rehabilitative interventions for war-affected children” (318). Interventions need to address all the levels of the socio-ecological systems around the child (Betancourt, Meyers-Ohki, Charrow, & Tol, 2013b). For example, strengthening family cohesion and parent–child relationships can be very helpful, although parents’ capacity to care for their children will be greatly influenced by the stressors and supports around them (Betancourt & Khan, 2008). Some conceptualizations of the socio-ecological model used to guide service provision emphasize culture and society as part of the ecological model (Duncan & Arnston, 2004; UNICEF, 2018).

Although the socio-ecological model offers a very useful framework to conceptualize service intervention with a much wider lens, adaptations to the model to further incorporate culture, context, diverse views of family, and intersectionality could be helpful to better fit today’s reality and enhance our understanding of how we function as interrelated social systems.

Velez-Agosto et al. (2017) argue for a paradigm shift in how the concept of culture is operationalized in Bronfenbrenner’s socio-ecological model. Originally, it was conceptualized as part of the macrosystem and therefore the distal environment potentially had a homogenizing influence over all the other systems nested

below. These authors propose a revision to the model in which culture plays a central role in operationalizing the functioning of microsystems, and therefore a central rather than distal process in human development. Although the initial model seems to emphasize the concept of culture as a homogenizing force, the new conceptualization highlights culture as diversifying the human experience at the microsystemic level and permeating all levels. In a similar way, the concept of family also needs a paradigm shift within the socio-ecological model to be more expansive and responsive to changing family structures, considering unique views of family within the culture and context.

A Culture/Contextual Approach

It is important to consider how interactions between the family and community are shaped by culture and context. Service provision should be culturally sensitive and context specific (Weissbecker et al., 2019). As pointed out by Lynne Jones (2008), some of the children's and families' "symptoms" can be considered normal reactions to abnormal circumstances or, at the very least, common reactions to stress. Pathologizing and implementing practices that might not apply in a particular context or culture could be more damaging than protective. Moreover, the pathologizing of common stress reactions has been found to be a key adverse effect in the implementation of interventions aimed at improving well-being and mental health in children and adolescents affected by war (Bosqui & Marshoud, 2018).

Jones (2008) notes that political, social, and cultural literacy is essential and that to help any child in crisis, one needs to understand the child's world and their perspectives on it—which would include culture and context. "Culture" describes a shared social system of knowledge, beliefs, values, and assumptions, continuously guiding and shaping our behavior and our interrelations (Geertz, 1973; Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952). Culture gives meaning, acting as a prism through which we not only perceive but also make sense of the world around us. As such, culture plays a prominent role in how individuals conceptualize and experience illness, trauma, healing, and coping. Both the nature of the event and the socio-cultural political context in which it occurs will affect the way children and families respond. As Jones (2008) succinctly asserts, "context matters" (296). Yet it is not uncommon that universal (generalized) responses are used from one context to the next, often not tailored to the unique country and culture. As an example, in their review of the mental health and psychosocial well-being of war-affected Syrians, Hassan et al. (2015) demonstrate that services aimed to mitigate experiences of illness and promote psychosocial well-being must be tailored to the particular culture and context of clientele in order to have effective and sustainable impacts. In their work with war-affected Syrians, careful consideration was given to individual expressions and idioms (e.g., of distress, of the self, of well-being/health) specific to the Syrian context. This included the interconnectedness of somatic (body) and psychological (soul) symptoms, the use of specific metaphors

to explain and express suffering, and a sociocentric and cosmocentric conceptualization of the self. While specific to Syrian cultural frameworks, much can be learned from their consideration of local idioms of distress to recognize the many ways people experience illness. Granting specific considerations to cultural systems of knowledge and contextualized explanatory models of illness is essential in delivering appropriate services, as they have critical implications for help-seeking behavior, treatment expectations and concerns, and coping.

Interventions thus need to be context specific to be meaningful to those directly affected by them. Culturally syntonic approaches have been found to be more engaging than treatment models imported from the Global North (Betancourt & Khan, 2008). Local explanatory models of health, well-being, and illness, as well as cultural idioms of distress can be used to inform cultural adaptations of treatment methods (Brown et al., 2017; Rabiau, 2019). Concepts of well-being and illness are influenced by language and culture. In some cultures, “mental illness” may translate to “craziness” or “madness”. Language carries important meaning, and, when used inappropriately, it can lead to negative connotations and stigma and therefore greatly affect access to services (Weissbecker et al., 2019). It is essential to give voice to community members because only they can provide appropriate meaning and context. Interventions are most effective if they are seen as meaningful by the people they are meant to help. In terms of increasing accessibility, consulting the community, including regarding logistical factors, such as convenient location for service delivery, has been found to be an important factor in the effectiveness of the services (Brown et al., 2017). When discussing well-being, it is important to ask, What does “well-being” mean? In whose eyes? Working in tandem with the population, including the children, the families, and the community to understand such meanings is thus paramount.

An Intersectional Approach

“Intersectionality” refers to the complex interplay between systems of oppression based on race, class, gender, Indigenous status, ability, religion, citizenship status, sexual orientation, and gender identity, which can be mutually reinforcing (Ives et al., 2020). Children, youth, and family systems are multifaceted in terms of their identities; therefore, a sense of belonging can come from the identification with more than one group. We all carry multiple identities, some more salient than others, and the saliency of each identity will also depend on the context and surroundings at any particular time and place. Intersectionality thus needs to be taken into consideration when designing wartime and postwar interventions because all aspects of each person are important and affect the functioning and the identity of the system as a whole. Important variables to take into consideration are age, gender, race, gender identity, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, and disabilities. All interventions should be designed to fight the potential impact of the different “-isms” in society: racism, ageism, sexism, ableism, classism, heterosexism, cisgenderism, and so on. Moreover, within family systems, even if

members might share some aspects of their identities, such as ethnicity or religion, some facets might be more salient for some members than for others, potentially leading to intergenerational conflict. For example, levels of religiosity might differ among members of the same family. Moreover, within each family system, some identities are not shared. A family may be coming from the same culture and have lived similar experiences in terms of war. However, the youth might not share the same sexual orientation or gender identity as other members of their family. It is important to develop interventions that are mindful and respectful of all facets of individuals' identities and the interactions with the family system and community. For example, when developing interventions, one should give attention to particular groups who may be more vulnerable to difficulties, such as human rights abuses, or may have more difficulties accessing the necessary supports due to these intersecting identities. Although the construct of identity has been used for illustration, we would like to acknowledge, as explicitly highlighted by Gzranka (2020), that the lens of intersectionality is much broader in scope than the construct of identity, as it enables an understanding of the intersection of systems of oppression and privilege, and the need to unlearn and deconstruct and challenge these different systems.

UNLEARN AND DECONSTRUCT

Given the complexity of situations among children and families, whether during armed conflict, in refugee camps, during flight or migration, or upon resettlement to a new context, we argue that there is an important need for service providers, whether they are local, national, or international, to unlearn and deconstruct some preconceived ideas regarding family, mental health, well-being, culture, resilience, and community in order to approach the work from a position of humility and learning. For example, the concept of family itself needs to be unpacked and deconstructed in order to ensure that it accurately reflects the unique contexts and cultures. Loss, separation, and death may be common occurrences for children and families affected by war, requiring the family system to adapt, reorganize, or reinvent itself. New constellations form between individuals in order to re-create a sense of family. The concept of family of choice becomes important. Family of choice is when people lose or are cut off from their families of origin (for multiple and complex reasons) and subsequently build a new family and key networks of support with people they feel close to. This can happen in situations where many family members have died or gone missing, such as during a genocide or war. A specific example is the Lost Boys of Sudan, orphans of the war who fled to neighboring Ethiopia, walking for hundreds of miles. During this dangerous journey, the youth organized themselves into groups with a structure and a leader resembling a family. Similarly, in the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide, orphaned children created "families," with older individuals acting as mothers and fathers to younger children (Schaal & Elbert, 2006).

The concept of mental health also needs to be deconstructed within the context of service provision. Mental health extends beyond the lack of mental illness (Purgato et al., 2017; World Health Organization [WHO], 2004). It includes the ability to recognize one's own strengths and the contributions to one's community. WHO (2004) defines mental health as "a state of well-being in which an individual realizes his or her own abilities, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and is able to make a contribution to his or her community" (10). It is important to consider different conceptions of well-being based on culture and context. One broad perspective outlines seven factors of well-being, including biological, material, social, spiritual, cultural, mental, and emotional aspects within the overall context of participation, safety, and development (Williamson & Robinson, 2006). This concept of well-being offers a guide for service providers to consider interventions that would address the various factors influencing well-being in a particular context (Williamson & Robinson, 2006). Using qualitative research to explore perspectives of well-being among women affected by conflict in Uganda, Bragin and colleagues (2015) found that in addition to safety and absence of war, the participants identified domains of well-being as a "good home and marriage . . . access to resources . . . religion and spirituality . . . education . . . raising children well . . . looking smart and having a 'nice' home . . . support from organizations outside the family . . . participation and advocacy . . . time to rest and relax . . . the garden . . . being able to help others" (354). Given the importance of community, it is important to consider what is meant by "community" (Wessells, 2018a), particularly across cultures and contexts. It is also important to consider how communities may be influenced by the armed conflict and how service provision may also affect the community (IASC, 2007).

There is also a need to unlearn and deconstruct common conceptualizations of resilience. Despite valiant efforts by experts in the field, the dominant view is that resilience is something individuals have, rather than a process that families, schools, communities, and governments facilitate (Ungar, 2012). There is a need to challenge the bias of Western researchers and mental health practitioners that favors individual-level variables to study risk and protective factors toward mental health (Ungar, 2012; Wessells, 2018b). Resilience is a dynamic process between individuals rather than a personal trait (Betancourt & Khan, 2008). It is important to understand resilience as a contextually and culturally embedded construct (Ungar, 2012).

Ungar (2018) redefines resilience as the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to the resources they need to succeed and their ability to successfully negotiate for resources to be provided in ways that are meaningful to them. Resilience is not latent within the person but reflects the availability and accessibility of a complex weave of individual and systemic services and supports (Ungar, 2018). The more the child's environment is rich in resources—including interpersonal resources—the more opportunities a child will have to navigate and negotiate effectively when their psychological well-being is threatened (Ungar, 2018).

The recent burgeoning literature and reorientation on strengths and capacities has led to an examination of family resilience, exploring the wider relational context of family relationships that promotes resilience (Denov et al., 2019; Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000; Patterson, 2002; Shevell & Denov, 2021). Rather than understanding resilience as merely a sum of capacities of individual family members, family resilience captures the interplay between individual members and the family unit (Simon et al., 2005). Walsh (1996; 2016) has conceptualized family resilience as a dynamic process that draws on the relational resources of the family unit in fostering positive adaptations that mutually support family members in a challenging context. Walsh (1996) argued that key components of family resilience lie in the transactional or relational pathways that foster coherence, collaboration, competence, and confidence in coping.

These multiple examples highlight the uniqueness of each context and the complexity of interventions and service provision during war, flight, and resettlement. Service providers must be aware of the frameworks and lenses they are bringing with them into different situations in order to prevent imposing them indiscriminately. Scholarship on decolonization offers important insights on the process of unlearning and deconstructing in the context of dismantling attitudes, power imbalances, and oppressive systems in the context of First Nations Peoples (Ives et al., 2020). Turning toward how communities envision the restoration of their own familial and communal social ties can foster empowerment when planning services for war-affected populations.

INTERVENTIONS OVER SPACE AND TIME: EXPLORING SERVICE PROVISION DURING CONFLICT, FLIGHT, MIGRATION, AND RESETTLEMENT

Over the past few decades, there has been great debate as to appropriate and meaningful service provision with war-affected populations (Denov & Akesson, 2017). Refugees and forced migrants may experience unique situations and difficulties during these different phases of migration (WHO, 2018). Distinct contexts may also offer different types of services (WHO, 2018), emphasizing the need to consider quality service provision at different phases of war-related migration. Given the focus on family, culture and context, and intersectionality, the aforementioned approaches are particularly relevant and meaningful when considering the lives of children and families affected by war *over time and space*. These lenses and approaches are pertinent when considering the realities and service provision needs of children and families affected by war during the heat of conflict, during war-induced flight and migration, and upon resettlement to a new context. In this chapter, we highlight how each of these approaches applies to each of these unique phases.

Approaches to Service Provision during War: An Individual, Familial, and Community Experience

As noted extensively in this book's introduction, exposure to wartime violence has been shown to be a key risk factor for children's psychological functioning (Fazel et al., 2012). War ruptures the fabric of life that supports healthy child development, causes injury and illness, severs familial and social networks, and breaks down the structures that provide preventive, curative, and ameliorative care (Devakumar et al., 2014). And yet, while individual children are deeply affected, it is vital to recognize that wars do not simply affect individual children but the entire family and community system. Families are often displaced from their homes and separated from one another, and the associated emotional stress may impair the ability to provide care and nurturance to young children (Betancourt, McBain, Newnham, & Brennan, 2015), having extensive familial and long-term effects. Moreover, as alluded to earlier, each family member may experience and respond to war differently, depending on age, gender, mobility, their role in the family structure, the surrounding context, alongside other intersecting factors relating to power and privilege. The fallout of conflict and displacement may also lead to a transformation in young people's roles and responsibilities (Hampshire et al., 2008), whereby youth often take on increased responsibilities and are active in promoting social cohesion, coping, and family unity. Similarly, armed conflict has damaging implications across the socio-ecological system—particularly at the community level. Indeed, one of the most devastating and lasting consequences of war may be the ways in which it fractures the social bonds that create community (Jones, 2014). Individual acts of war and aggression may actually be aimed at destroying community cohesion and fostering community fragmentation. As an example, systematic rape and other forms of sexual violence as tools of war are designed not only to humiliate and terrorize individual victims but also to denigrate and dominate the larger communities to which victims belong, thereby destroying community networks and sources of social support (Woolner, Denov, & Khan, 2019).

Given that exposure to war and armed conflict are familial and community experiences, they should thus be framed and responded to as such. Yet the growing evidence that trauma and resilience are a familial, community, and intergenerational experience is not always translated into effective interventions for war-affected children and families in the midst of violence, displacement, and flight. Instead, approaches and interventions for war-affected populations have tended to focus on the individual, rather than the family, or the broader community, frequently targeting children or mothers in isolation, which remains highly problematic (Denov et al., 2019; Weine et al., 2008). Research has shown that parental mental health has consistently been found to predict child mental health in conflict-affected settings (Weissbecker et al., 2019). As Jones (2008) notes, "Programmes which target children on their own without supporting or addressing

the needs and concerns of their carers and communities will usually fail” (298). While the individualized approach is slowly changing to a more inclusive approach (Weissbecker et al., 2019) with major donors and humanitarian agencies increasingly emphasizing resilience in their aid strategies (Scott-Smith, 2018), recent systematic reviews of mental health and psychosocial support (MHPSS) programs in low- and middle-income countries found a tendency to prioritize direct individual work with children affected by armed conflict (Betancourt et al., 2013a; Jordans et al., 2016) and a focus on trauma rather than on resilience (Pederson et al., 2015). Focusing solely on individual- and trauma-oriented interventions will only offer one piece, even if a very important piece, of the puzzle and therefore will not provide a holistic picture of individuals’ and families’ experiences in the midst of violence and upheaval. Given the powerful impact of intrafamilial and community-level risk factors, such as family violence, impaired parenting, and material deprivation on children’s mental health, there is an urgent need for MHPSS programs to continue to broaden their target and move beyond the individual child (Allan, 2015; Miller & Jordans, 2016).

In order to address context and culture, families and local communities can contribute a rich array of cultural resources—including traditions, elders and community leaders, and community processes and tools, such as rituals and ceremonies—to the provision of psychosocial assistance (Kostelny, 2006). Given that these resources reflect community values, beliefs, and cultural traditions, they give voice to community members and thus are likely to be sustainable and provide meaning. Ultimately, in order to truly “do no harm” in interventions related to war-affected populations in the heat of conflict, attention to the realities of context, culture, the need for substantive coordination, and recognizing individual, familial, and community strengths, as opposed to deficits, is key to effective and meaningful interventions. For example, an initiative was facilitated in Sierra Leone after the war to strengthen care for children who were vulnerable using a “community-driven approach to child protection” (Wessells, 2015a, p. 13). This initiative demonstrates meaningful community engagement in planning an intervention. In this initiative, external actors supported researchers from Sierra Leone to gather views on key concepts and concerns in order to jointly support the community to reflect on, plan, and implement an intervention to address the selected concern. This research explored community members’ perspectives on “Who is a child? What are the main harms to children? What typically happens when a particular harm arises?” (Wessells, 2015a, p. 14). The study found different perspectives on concepts such as children and harm between the local community members and international standards (Wessells, 2015a). For example, “A *child* was defined not by age but as someone who was dependent on parents or not sexually active” (Wessells, 2015a, p. 14). Participants also provided examples of harms to children, such as youth who were pregnant but not married (Wessells, 2015a). Local facilitators reflected on these research findings with community members and facilitated discussions on which harms against children to address through an intervention. These

community-level discussions utilized unique formats, ensuring that gender or income level did not create barriers to participation. Through these discussions, community members decided that teenage pregnancy was a priority concern, creating an Inter-Village Task Force, which then included male and female youth leaders in order to plan the intervention (Wessells, 2015a, p. 16). The task force collaboratively decided on activities to reduce teenage pregnancy. Communities then identified male and female youth to become peer educators in order to conduct the intervention within the communities, equipping and supporting the youth through preparatory workshops (Wessells, 2015a). This initiative also exemplifies how to include considerations of class and gender in order to promote the inclusion of diverse community members.

Ways of seeing and being differ from culture to culture, context to context, and are dynamic, changing, and multifaceted, even within a single culture. Interventions and services during an emergency must be grounded in the local cultural and social contexts; they must include an effort to interpret what clients' expressions of distress and coping mean within their particular context. Understanding these idioms and explanatory models of "(un)wellness" can better tailor interventions to galvanize the individual and collective resilience, strengths, capacities, and resources identified. And while "parachuting" may be difficult to avoid in some complex emergencies, humanitarian workers need, as much as possible, to build their knowledge of a context prior to and after arriving, as well as to ensure that they are working with a relevant and appropriate lens to work with children, families, and communities for the unique context. Conducting a desktop review can also better inform international actors on the local context and culture (Greene et al., 2017). Community-level assessments conducted in collaboration with other actors and affected community members can also promote this process. There is existing guidance on conducting community-level assessments focused on mental health and psychosocial support (WHO/UNCHR, 2012). It is also important to consider the roles of actors who are external from the affected community or context. *A Guide for Supporting Community-Led Child Protection Processes'* (Wessells, 2018a), *UNICEF Operational Guidelines: Community-Based Mental Health and Psychosocial Support in Humanitarian Settings* (UNICEF, 2018), and the *Community-Based Approaches to Mental Health and Psychosocial Support Programmes: A Guidance Note* (IASC, 2019) all provide useful strategies for external actors to meaningfully engage with affected communities. Other roles for external actors may be to support local human resources, advocate for strengthening systems such as social services or academic courses, and promote coordination in order to provide a longer-term response.

Service Provision during Flight and War-Related Migration

The International Organization for Migration (2011) defines forced displacement as "the involuntary movement, individually or collectively, of persons from their country or community, notably for reasons of armed conflict, civil unrest, or

natural or man-made catastrophes” (p. 39). Forced displacement or migration due to war makes it difficult to provide quality services that are both culturally and contextually appropriate. Concerns about border closures may cause those migrating to move quickly (International Medical Corps [IMC], 2016b), leaving little time to provide care (Ventevogel Schinina et al., 2015) or understand the needs and capacities of the migrating population. War-related migration creates challenges for children to navigate the developmental task of identity formation. War-related migration affects children’s identity development because they find themselves constantly navigating between their home culture and host community cultures (Jones, 1998; Rousseau et al., 2005). This may also lead children to “experience a state of ‘in-betweenness’ combined with uncertainty and ambiguity about their place in the world” (Denov & Akesson, 2013, p. 57). During interviews with unaccompanied children who migrated from countries affected by war, children expressed attachment to the physical places where they lived during migration (Denov & Akesson, 2013). These children also illustrated how both their country of origin and countries where they lived during migration continued to shape their identity (Denov & Akesson, 2013). Understanding the influence of war-related migration on healthy child development and their identity should inform relevant care.

Culture and traditions may also provide a framework for developing collective meaning in the midst of losses as well as a basis for supporting children as they endure hardship or separation (Rousseau et al., 1998b). In interviews with unaccompanied children who were living in Canada, the children shared examples of staying connected to their culture of origin, such as remembering beliefs shared by their family members. This ongoing connection to their roots provided them with strength in the midst of challenging circumstances (Denov & Akesson, 2013). For example, one youth who migrated from Angola through South Africa illustrated how he drew upon teachings from his mother who had passed away (Denov & Blanchet-Cohen, 2016). His mother’s teachings and values reportedly guided him during war and displacement and when he lived and survived alone and on the street. Demonstrating what Denov et al. (2019) have referred to as “intergenerational resilience,” the strengths and teachings of his mother, despite her death, reportedly helped him survive poverty, violence and structural oppression while living on the streets of a South African city (Denov & Blanchet-Cohen, 2016; Denov et al., 2019).

During war-related migration, the way services are provided may deter mutual support and develop dependency (Ventevogel et al., 2015). For example, some refugees living in camps may not feel a sense of agency over their daily activities, such as preparing meals or addressing their basic needs (IMC, 2016a). Supports may also unintentionally undermine the role of the parents rather than empower them to fulfill their roles by giving toys to their children (IMC, 2016a), rather than supporting the parents in creating their own toys for their children. It is important to involve children and youth throughout the process of designing services (Blanchet-Cohen & Denov, 2015), as well as their parents or other community

members, in order for supports to build on existing resources and strengths and to address priority concerns. During war-related migration, it is important to consider strategies to support children and youth in either the presence or the absence of their families.

Family—in its most broad conceptualization—should be considered a primary avenue for healing (De Jong, 2002). In situations where parents are present, where possible, it is important to keep children with their parents and to link separated children with their family members, including extended family members, through family tracing and reunification services (De Jong, 2002; Ventevogel et al., 2015). Parents would benefit from additional support to strengthen their ability to care for their adolescent during the migration process. For example, forced displacement affects the community, resulting in isolation among families, so supports should aim to strengthen social connections between families and the community (Ager, 2006). Yet the transitory nature of the migration process may make it challenging to provide services such as ongoing positive parenting classes, early childhood development supports, or groups for parents to provide mutual support. Yet, in some contexts, such as Serbia, the response established mobile protection teams, including a social worker and cultural mediator, to provide basic emotional support alongside fixed safe spaces in the community (IMC, 2016b). This demonstrates the importance of providing a range of supports to meet diverse needs and the ability to access services. Another option for supporting children and youth and their parents on the move may be to provide culturally and contextually appropriate information on positive parenting and coping tailored to the realities of war-related migration. Where possible, the information materials should be culturally adapted and developed with youth, their families, and community members (IASC, 2007). Additional guidance on the development of information materials is outlined in other resources (IASC, 2007). Community members may also be supported as they provide ongoing support to their own communities (IASC, 2007).

Children and youth who are separated from their family members or whose family members are deceased may require different strategies for support (Ager, 2006). In the physical absence of immediate or extended family members, other social relationships may fulfill the function of family for youth (Ager, 2006). These social relationships may be with religious leaders, neighbors, and teachers, and the greater number of persons supporting the adolescent increases the potential for positive outcomes (Kostelny, 2006). Instead of placement in orphanages, children who require family-type support can be situated within existing communities. For example, unaccompanied children from South Sudan who were unable to locate their families were supported by the community through a creative method of displaying signs with each village name in the camp, and were then cared for by an adult who was paid a small amount for their care (De Jong, 2002).

In the absence of biological family members, children and youth may also form familial-type relationships with peers. Interviews with children who migrated

from Sudan illustrated a process of moving from isolation toward familial-type connections with peers. As one participant expressed, “They [other youth] became family. We didn’t even know each other before but when we came together as a group, we became one family” (Denov & Akesson, 2013, p. 64). In addition to peers, some host communities, such as the Ethiopians, also provided a source of support for Sudanese children in the absence of their families during war-related migration (Denov & Akesson, 2013). Existing resources provide further guidance on specific forms of service provision, such as family tracing (ICRC, n.d.; IFRC, 2014), working with unaccompanied children (CONNECT Project, 2014; ICRC, 2004; Interagency Working Group on Unaccompanied and Separated Children, 2013), and mental health and psychosocial support (Ventevogel et al., 2015).

At a systemic level, it can be challenging for local and international actors to provide appropriate services to children, youth, and their families who are migrating from diverse cultures and contexts. Strengthening coordination among local, international, academic, and state actors can establish a forum to jointly problem solve difficulties, share best practices and information, and coordinate the implementation of care (IASC, 2007; IMC, 2016b). During mass migration, it may also be important to develop coordination mechanisms at a regional level (IMC, 2016b). Mental health and psychosocial support assessments, such as those conducted in Greece (IMC, 2016a) and Serbia (IMC, 2016b), can be jointly conducted and shared within coordination groups in order to develop external supports based on the existing resources and priority concerns of the migrating population. It can also be useful to develop an interagency guidance note with key messages for responders such as the one developed for the European context (Ventevogel et al., 2015). Strengthening human resources and organizations within the host country (IMC, 2016b) to provide support for populations migrating from war can also promote a more effective and sustainable response.

Service Provision Postmigration: Resettlement to High-Income Countries

When offering service provision during resettlement, it is important to maintain the lenses provided by the three approaches of working with families and communities, using a culture- and context-specific understanding of that family, as well as the intersectionality of the evolving identities of each of its members and the system as a whole within the community. Refugee families resettling to high-income countries experience “ecological transitions,” meaning significant shifts in settings, contexts, and potentially roles (Betancourt & Khan, 2008; Bronfenbrenner, 1979). On top of administrative processes of immigration, they must adapt to social, cultural, and linguistic differences (Sleijpen et al., 2016). Research demonstrates that for refugee children and their families, resilience is a dynamic process and needs to be supported with an ecological context-driven approach that focuses on the dynamic interactions among the different factors in the resettlement country (Sleijpen et al., 2016).

Discussing interventions with refugee children living in the Global North, Isakson et al. (2015) highlight the importance of flexibility in using a modularized approach that not only focuses on trauma-based interventions but also addresses multiple levels of the ecology around the child, including social connections, education, family life, and discrimination. Refugees' mental health is likely to be strongly influenced by life events and circumstances outside the therapeutic setting (Isakson et al., 2015). The training of therapists will require enlarging the focus to extend from a "psychopathology-centric" outlook to include both "ecopathology" and "ecoresilience" perspectives (Layne et al., 2014).

The experience of being a refugee can lead children, youth, and their families to a feeling of powerlessness (Betancourt, 2005). Having a sense of personal control has been found to be an important protective factor for refugee children and families and needs to be an important focus in interventions (Sleijpen et al., 2016). LeFrançois and Coppock (2014) discussed that childhood is often associated with a myth of incompetence, which is only compounded by the intersection of a mental health diagnosis. These authors address the importance for children to feel a sense of agency during interventions, not only being recipients of services from practitioners but positioning themselves as experts on their own reality. Rabaia et al. (2014) emphasized the importance of fostering a sense of agency in children affected by war and to address macrosystem issues rather than focus on individual pathology. A sense of agency has been found to be an important protective factor for overcoming the trauma of war (Cortes and Buchanan, 2007). Although a sense of agency is often measured at the individual level, a sense of agency is a construct that also applies to families and communities. Incidentally, community connection was found to be another protective factor (Cortes and Buchanan, 2007).

When working in a high resource context with refugees, the necessity to unlearn and deconstruct one's assumptions might require more priming for cultural awareness and sensitivity. Taking into account the cultural context of each client and family might be more easily overlooked. However, expression of distress and mental health symptoms need to be explored and understood within the culture in which they are embedded (Rabiau, 2019). Practitioners might feel overwhelmed with the feeling that they cannot be cognizant and informed about every potential culture that they are required to work with. A number of tools are available, such as using interpreters to address the barrier of language and cultural brokers to become better informed when working with families and communities. However, individuals and families have their own culture, and the youth and their families are the true experts and have ownership of their own narrative without the need to superimpose preconceived ideas based on culture or Western mental health constructs.

For children and youth for whom identity formation is part of their developmental tasks, the changes due to resettlement can render the task significantly more complex (Betancourt, 2005). Both the children and the entire family system need to redefine their identity or identities and find a new sense of belonging while

re-creating a sense of community (Rabiau, 2019). The need to find a balance in their newfound bicultural or multicultural context may cause intergenerational strains and create a role reversal in terms of children taking on more administrative tasks or interpreting for their parents (Sleijpen et al., 2016). Research has often highlighted the concept of an acculturation gap between generations. Frounfelker et al. (2017) report that parent and youth had conflicting views around negotiating Somali Bantu culture, often leading to strained parent–child relationships. Interestingly, they found that in contrast, youth sibling relationships were strengthened as they turned to each other to navigate the process of cultural adaptation. This research highlights that refugee mental health is linked to the functioning of the larger family and that cultural negotiations with parents is dependent on the broader socio-cultural context. From their study on file reviews, O’Driscoll et al. (2017) conclude that there needs to be a shift from Western individual, medical-based approaches toward a more ecological, culturally sensitive approach to capture the complexity and understand the multiplicity and intertwining of challenges on a broader landscape affecting the well-being of refugee children and their families. The ecological model highlights the importance of strengthening social support and a feeling of belonging within the family system, with peers, within the education system, and beyond while attending to multiple facets of their identities.

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

To collaboratively build a sense of well-being around children affected by war, service providers must use a number of lenses, including a socio-ecological model or family and community approach, acknowledge the importance of context and culture, and consider the intersectionality of identities at the different stages of the migration process. Moreover, we argue that using these lenses will require unlearning and deconstructing some preconceived ideas and assumptions, both as individual practitioners and as organizations. Ungar (2017) discusses the importance of the contribution of social workers through critical social theory and systemic thinking. He argues that this is especially important for interventions with populations that experience significant adversity and is therefore very relevant to children, families, and communities affected by war. Family-centered and community-centered solutions must replace a narrow, individualized, deficit-based paradigm in order to keep the detrimental consequences of war to a minimum (Fennig & Denov, 2018). Efforts to improve child mental health should thoughtfully engage a consideration of mental health and psychosocial family well-being across generations and within the community (Weissbecker et al., 2019) and develop comprehensive systems of care.

In many contexts of humanitarian emergencies, quick and urgent responses are necessary, and skilled humanitarian workers are vital to wartime intervention supports. Two interrelated factors are of key importance in such contexts: parachuting and culturally appropriate interventions. Humanitarian workers may have

extensive training and experience in handling wartime emergencies, yet they may arrive without a deep understanding of the significant historical, contextual, and cultural realities that are essential to designing and implementing effective interventions and supports. Moreover, even when humanitarian workers are from the conflict area themselves, the reality of unlearning and deconstructing may still apply, as every armed conflict is multifaceted and complex. Even when one shares the same context, culture, and experiences of armed conflict, many other intersectional factors are relevant to the lived experience of each individual and family, such as diverse views of language, spirituality, gender, power relations, or strategies for addressing difficulties.

We believe that humility is essential—striving to be a learner and collaborator rather than an “expert” in a new context. We need to acknowledge that academic knowledge and interventions may not be effective universally. It is vital that practitioners situate themselves in terms of the culture of the country affected by war or the culture of the client in the resettlement country. One must reflect on what values and assumptions might have been ingrained in them through their own culture, which could interfere with offering optimal support and interventions. We argue that one strategy is to actively unlearn and deconstruct concepts such as family, community, well-being, mental health, and gender. Often counterintuitive to academic knowledge and practice, at times one must listen, observe, and learn, rather than simply apply what was learned explicitly in books and formal teachings. Moreover, to be a sensitive service provider, we also need to become aware of the knowledge and potential biases that we had acquired through evolving in our own environments. If not, at best, the intervention will not be taken seriously, and at worst it might be perceived and experienced as intrusive, or even oppressive.

Individuals, families, and cultures are complex and multidimensional, with many facets of identity intersecting (e.g., age, origin, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, family compositions, etc.). Preconceived ideas may hinder understandings of the implications of intersectionality as they tend to situate people in narrow, nonoverlapping categories and lead to interventions offered in silos, resulting in a fragmented approach rather than a cohesive approach. The coordination of services requires a careful critical assessment of the needs as perceived by both the population and the service providers (Weissbecker et al., 2019).

In terms of future directions, family interventions need to go beyond dyadic interventions between mother and child by using more holistic systemic interventions: continue encouraging fathers to be involved, work with the entire family systems, include siblings, and include their chosen family. All levels of the sociology around children affected by war are important to take into consideration when planning service provision in order to foster a sense of collective well-being. Interventions should support families and strengthen communities. This requires a holistic rather than an individualistic approach to service provision as well as a focus on strengths rather than deficits. Fostering a collective sense of agency nurtures resilience at the family and community level.

REFERENCES

- Ager, A. (2006). What is family? The nature and functions of families in times of conflict. In N. Boothby, A. Strang, & M. Wessells (Eds.), *A world turned upside down: Social ecological approaches to children in war zones* (pp. 39–62). Kumarian.
- Allan, J. (2015). Reconciling the “psycho-social/structural” in social work counselling with refugees. *British Journal of Social Work*, 45(6), 1699–716. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcu051>
- Bennouna, C., Fischer, H., Wessells, M., & Boothby, N. (2018). Rethinking child protection in emergencies. *International Journal of Child Health and Nutrition*, 7, 39–46. <https://doi.org/10.6000/1929-4247.2018.07.02.1>
- Betancourt, T. S. (2005). Stressors, supports and the social ecology of displacement: Psychosocial dimensions of an emergency education program for Chechen adolescents displaced in Ingushetia, Russia. *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*, 29(3), 309–340.
- Betancourt, T. S., Borisova, I., Williams, T. P., Meyers-Ohki, S. E., Rubin-Smith, J. E., Annan, J., & Kohrt, B. A. (2013a). Research review: Psychosocial adjustment and mental health in former child soldiers: A systematic review of the literature and recommendations for future research. *JCPP Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 54(1), 17–36. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-7610.2012.02620.x>
- Betancourt, T. S., & Khan, K. T. (2008). The mental health of children affected by armed conflict: Protective processes and pathways to resilience. *International review of psychiatry*, 20(3), 317–328.
- Betancourt, T. S., McBain, R. K., Newnham, E. A., & Brennan, R. T. (2015). The intergenerational impact of war: Longitudinal relationships between caregiver and child mental health in postconflict Sierra Leone. *JCPP Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 56(10), 1101–1107. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcpp.12389>
- Betancourt, T. S., Meyers-Ohki, M. S. E., Charrow, M. A. P., & Tol, W. A. (2013b). Interventions for children affected by war: An ecological perspective on psychosocial support and mental health care. *Harvard Review of Psychiatry*, 21(2), 70.
- Blanchet-Cohen, N., & Denov, M. (2015). War-affected children’s approach to resettlement: Implications for child and family services. *Annals of Anthropological Practice*, 39(2), 120–133.
- Boothby, N. (2008). “Political violence and development: An ecologic approach to children in war zones.” *Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Clinics of North America*, 17(3), 497–514.
- Boothby, N., Strang, A., & Wessells, M. G. (Eds.). (2006). *A world turned upside down: Social ecological approaches to children in war zones*. Kumarian.
- Bosqui, T. J., & Marshoud, B. (2018). Mechanisms of change for interventions aimed at improving the wellbeing, mental health and resilience of children and adolescents affected by war and armed conflict: A systematic review of reviews. *Conflict and Health*, 12(1), 15.
- Bragin, M., Taaka, J., Adolphs, K., Gray, H., & Eibs, T. (2015). Measuring difficult-to-measure concepts in clinical social work practice operationalizing psychosocial well-being among war-affected women: A case study in Northern Uganda. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 43(4), 348–361.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Harvard University Press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U., & Ceci, S. J. (1994). Nature-nurture reconceptualized in developmental perspective: A bioecological model. *Psychological Review*, 101(4), 568–586.
- Brown, F. L., de Graaff, A. M., Annan, J., & Betancourt, T. S. (2017). Annual research review: Breaking cycles of violence—a systematic review and common practice elements analysis of psychosocial interventions for children and youth affected by armed conflict. *Journal of child psychology and psychiatry*, 58(4), 507–524.
- CONNECT Project (2014). *Working with the unaccompanied child—a tool for guardians and other actors working for the best interest of the child*. http://www.connectproject.eu/PDF/CONNECT-NLD_Tool2.pdf.

- Cortes, L., & Buchanan, M. J. (2007). The experience of Columbian child soldiers from a resilience perspective. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 29(1), 43–55.
- De Jong, J. (2002). Public mental health, traumatic stress and human rights violations in low income countries. In J. de Jong (Ed.), *Trauma, war, and violence: Public mental health in socio-cultural context* (pp. 1–92). Kluwer Academic/Plenum.
- Denov, M., & Akesson, B. (2013). Neither here nor there? Place and placemaking in the lives of separated children. *International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care*, 9(2), 56–70.
- Denov, M., & Akesson, B. (Eds.). (2017). *Children affected by armed conflict: Theory, method, and practice*. Columbia University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7312/deno17472>
- Denov, M., & Blanchet-Cohen, N. (2016). Trajectories of violence and survival: Turnings and adaptations in the lives of two war-affected youth living in Canada. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 22(3), 236.
- Denov, M., Fennig, M., Rabiau, M., & Shevell, M. (2019). Intergenerational resilience in families affected by war, displacement, and migration: “It runs in the family.” *Journal of Family Social Work*, 22(1), 17–45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10522158.2019.1546810>
- Devakumar, D., Birch, M., Osrin, D., Sondorp, E., & Wells, J. (2014). The intergenerational effects of war on the health of children. *BMC Medicine*, 12(1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/1741-7015-12-57>
- Duncan, J., & Arntson, L. (2004). *Children in Crisis: Good practices in evaluating psychosocial programming*, International Psychosocial Evaluation Committee and Save the Children Federation, Inc. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTMH/Resources/Evaluating_Psychosocial_Programming.pdf
- Fazel, M., Reed, R., Panter-Brick, C., & Stein, A. (2012). Mental health of displaced and refugee children resettled in high-income countries: Risk and protective factors. *The Lancet (London, England)*, 379(9812), 266–282. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(11\)60051-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(11)60051-2)
- Fennig, M., & Denov, M. (2018). Regime of truth: Rethinking the dominance of the biomedical model in mental health social work with refugee youth. *British Journal of Social Work*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcy036>
- Frounfelker, R. L., Assefa, M. T., Smith, E., Hussein, A., & Betancourt, T. S. (2017). “We would never forget who we are”: Resettlement, cultural negotiation, and family relationships among Somali Bantu refugees. *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 26(11), 1387–1400.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures* (Vol. 5019). Basic Books.
- Greene, M. C., Jordans, M. J., Kohrt, B. A., Ventevogel, P., Kirmayer, L. J., Hassan, G., Chiu-mento, A., van Ommeren, M., & Tol, W. A. (2017). Addressing culture and context in humanitarian response: Preparing desk reviews to inform mental health and psychosocial support. *Conflict and Health*, 11(1), 21.
- Grzanka, P. R. (2020). From buzzword to critical psychology: An invitation to take intersectionality seriously. *Women & Therapy*, 43(3–4), 244–261.
- Hampshire, K., Porter, G., Kilpatrick, K., Kyei, P., Adjaloo, M., & Oppong, G. (2008). Liminal spaces: Changing inter-generational relations among long-term Liberian refugees in Ghana. *Human Organization*, 67(1), 25–36. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/201169796?accountid=12339>
- Hassan, G., Kirmayer, L. J., Mekki-Berrada, A., Quosh, C., El Chammay, R., Deville-Stoetzel, J. B., . . . Ventevogel, P. (2015). *Culture, context and the mental health and psychosocial wellbeing of Syrians: A review for mental health and psychosocial support staff working with Syrians affected by armed conflict*. Geneva, Switzerland: UNHCR.
- Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) (2007). *IASC guidelines on mental health and psychosocial support in emergency settings*. Geneva: IASC.
- Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) (2019). *Community-based approaches to mental health and psychosocial support programmes: A guidance note*. <https://www.humanitarianresponse>

- .info/en/operations/ukraine/document/iasc-guidance-note-community-based-approaches-mhpss-emergencies
- Interagency Working Group on Unaccompanied and Separated Children (2013). *Alternative care in emergencies toolkit*. Save the Children on behalf of the Interagency Working Group on Unaccompanied and Separated Children. https://resourcecentre.savethechildren.net/node/7672/pdf/ace_toolkit_o.pdf
- International Committee of the Red Cross. (2004). *Inter-agency guiding principles on unaccompanied and separated children*. International Committee of the Red Cross, Central Training Agency and Protection Division.
- International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) (n.d.). *Trace the face—migrants in Europe. Restoring family links ICRC—family reunification service for people missing in connection with conflicts, natural disasters or migration*. <https://familylinks.icrc.org/europe/en/Pages/Home.aspx>
- International Federation of the Red Cross (IFRC) (2014). *Broken links: psychosocial support for people separated from family members*. IFRC Reference Centre for Psychosocial Support.
- International Medical Corps. (2016a). *Rapid mental health and psychosocial support assessment: Needs, services and recommendations for support to refugees, asylum seekers and migrants in northern and central Greece*. <https://cdn1.internationalmedicalcorps.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/IMC-2016-MHPSS-Assessment-North-and-Central-Greece.pdf>
- International Medical Corps. (2016b). *Rapid mental health and psychosocial support situational assessment in Serbia—services, perceived needs, and recommendations following the refugees, asylum seekers and migrants on the move in Europe*. <https://cdn1.internationalmedicalcorps.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/IMC-Serbia-2016-Rapid-MHPSS-Assessment.pdf>
- International Organization for Migration (IOM). (2011). *Glossary on migration* (2nd ed.), R. Perruchoud and J. Redpath-Cross (Eds). International Migration Law Series No. 25. https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/iml25_1.pdf
- Isakson, B. L., Legerski, J. P., & Layne, C. M. (2015). Adapting and implementing evidence-based interventions for trauma-exposed refugee youth and families. *Journal of Contemporary Psychotherapy*, 45(4), 245–253.
- Ives, N., Denov, M. S., & Sussman, T. (2020). *Introduction to social work in Canada: Histories, contexts, and practices*. Oxford University Press.
- Jones, L. (1998). Adolescent groups for encamped Bosnian refugees: Some problems and solutions. *Clinical child psychology and psychiatry*, 3(4), 541–551.
- Jones, L. (2008). Responding to the needs of children in crisis. *International Review of Psychiatry*, 20(3), 291–303.
- Jones, L. (2014). Grief and loss in societies affected by conflict and disaster. In *International maternal & child health care: A practical manual for hospitals worldwide* (pp. 110–120). Radcliffe.
- Jordans, M. J., Pigott, H., & Tol, W. A. (2016). Interventions for children affected by armed conflict: A systematic review of mental health and psychosocial support in low- and middle-income countries. *Current Psychiatry Reports*, 18(1). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11920-015-0648-z>
- Kostelny, K. (2006). A culture-based integrative approach: Helping war-affected children. In N. Boothby, A. Strang, & M. Wessells (Eds.). *A world turned upside down: Social ecological approaches to children in war zones* (pp. 19–38). Kumarian.
- Kroeber, A., & Kluckhohn, C. (1952) Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University (Vol. 47, No. 1). Peabody Museum.
- Layne, C. M., Strand, V., Popescu, M., Kaplow, J. B., Abramovitz, R., Stuber, M., Amaya-Jackson, L., Ross, L., & Pynoos, R. S. (2014). Using the core curriculum on childhood trauma to strengthen clinical knowledge in evidence-based practitioners. *Journal of Clinical Child & Adolescent Psychology*, 43(2), 286–300.

- LeFrançois, B. A., & Coppock, V. (2014). Psychiatrised children and their rights: Starting the conversation. *Children & Society*, 28(3), 165–171.
- Luthar, S. S., & Cicchetti, D. (2000). The construct of resilience: Implications for interventions and social policies. *Development and Psychopathology*, 12(4), 857–885.
- Miller, K. E., & Jordans, M. J. D. (2016). Determinants of children's mental health in war-torn settings: Translating research into action. *Current Psychiatry Reports*, 18(6), 1–6.
- O'Driscoll, J. V., Serneels, G., & Imeraj, L. (2017). A file study of refugee children referred to specialized mental health care: From an individual diagnostic to an ecological perspective. *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 26(11), 1331–1341.
- Patterson, J. M. (2002). Understanding family resilience. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 58(3), 233–246.
- Pederson, D., Kienzler, H., & Guzder, J. (2015). Searching for best practices: A systematic inquiry into the nature of psychosocial interventions aimed at reducing the mental health burden in conflict and postconflict settings. *SAGE Open*, 5(4), 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244015615164>
- Punamäki, R. (2014). Mental health and development among children living in violent conditions: Underlying processes for promoting peace. In J. Leckman, C. Panter-Brick, & R. Salah (Eds.), *Pathways to peace: The transformative power of children and families*. MIT Press.
- Purgato, M., Tol, W. A., & Bass, J. K. (2017). An ecological model for refugee mental health: Implications for research. *Epidemiology and Psychiatric Sciences*, 26(2), 139–141.
- Rabaia, Y., Saleh, M. F., & Giacaman, R. (2014). Sick or sad? Supporting Palestinian children living in conditions of chronic political violence. *Children & Society*, 28(3), 172–181.
- Rabiau, M. (2019, in press). Culture, migration, and identity formation in adolescent refugees: A family perspective. *Journal of Family Social Work*.
- Rousseau, C., Gauthier, M. F., Lacroix, L., Alain, N., Benoit, M., Moran, A., . . . & Bourassa, D. (2005). Playing with identities and transforming shared realities: Drama therapy workshops for adolescent immigrants and refugees. *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, 32(1), 13–27.
- Rousseau, C., Said, T. M., Gagné, M. J., & Bibeau, G. (1998a). Between myth and madness: The premigration dream of leaving among young Somali refugees. *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*, 22(4), 385–411.
- Rousseau, C., Said, T. M., Gagné, M. J., & Bibeau, G. (1998b). Resilience in unaccompanied minors from the north of Somalia. *Psychoanalytic Review*, 85(4), 615–638.
- Save the Children (2018). *Healing the invisible wounds of war: A roadmap for addressing the mental health needs of children and young people affected by conflict*. Report on the Wilton Park Dialogue. <https://www.wiltonpark.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/WP1581-Report.pdf>
- Schaal, S., & Elbert, T. (2006). Ten years after the genocide: Trauma confrontation and post-traumatic stress in Rwandan adolescents. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 19, 95–105. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/jts.20104>
- Scott-Smith, T. (2018). Paradoxes of resilience: A review of the world disasters report 2016. *DECH Development and Change*, 49(2), 662–677. <https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.2018.49.issue-2>
- Shevell, M. C., & Denov, M. S. (2021). A multidimensional model of resilience: Family, community, national, global and intergenerational resilience. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2021.105035>
- Simon, J. B., Murphy, J. J., & Smith, S. M. (2005). Understanding and fostering family resilience. *The Family Journal*, 13(4), 427–436. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1066480705278724>
- Sleijpen, M., Boeije, H. R., Kleber, R. J., & Mooren, T. (2016). Between power and powerlessness: A meta-ethnography of sources of resilience in young refugees. *Ethnicity & Health*, 21(2), 158–180.
- Tol, W. A., Haroz, E. E., Hock, J. C., & Jordans, M. J. D. (2014). Ecological perspective on trauma and resilience in children affected by armed conflict. In R. Pat-Horenczyk, D. Borm, & J. M. Vogel (Eds.), *Helping children cope with trauma* (pp. 193–209). Routledge.

- Ungar, M. (2012). Social ecologies and their contribution to resilience. In M. Ungar (Ed.), *The social ecology of resilience: A handbook of theory and practice* (pp. 13–32). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-0586-3_210.1007/978-1-4614-0586-3
- Ungar, M. (2017). Which counts more: Differential impact of the environment or differential susceptibility of the individual? *British Journal of Social Work*, 47(5), 1279–1289.
- Ungar, M. (2018). The differential impact of social services on young people's resilience. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 78, 4–12.
- UNICEF (2018). *Operational guidelines on community based mental health and psychosocial support in humanitarian settings: Three-tiered support for children and families (field test version)*. UNICEF. <https://app.mhpss.net/?get=309/unicef-cb-mhpss-guidelines1.pdf>
- United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (2015). *Growing up in conflict: The impact on children's mental health and psychosocial well-being, Report on the symposium, 26–28 May 2015, New Babylon Meeting Center, The Hague*, UNICEF, New York. <http://www.unicefinemergencies.com/downloads/eresource/docs/MHPSS/Growing%20up%20in%20conflict-20160104112554.pdf>
- Velez-Agosto, N. M., Soto-Crespo, J. G., Vizcarrondo-Opppenheimer, M., Vega-Molina, S., & Garcia Coll, C. (2017). Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory revision: Moving culture from the macro into the micro. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 12(5), 900–910.
- Ventevogel, P., Schinina, G., Strang, A., Gagliato, M., & Hansen, L. J. (2015, December). *Mental health and psychosocial support for refugees, asylum seekers and migrants on the move in Europe: A multi-agency guidance note*. <http://pscentre.org/wp-content/uploads/MHPSS-Guidance-note-FINAL-12-2015.pdf>
- Walsh, F. (1996). The concept of family resilience: Crisis and challenge. *Family Process*, 35, 261–281. <https://doi.org/10.1111/famp.1996.35.issue-3>
- Walsh, F. (2016). Applying a family resilience framework in training, practice, and research: Mastering the art of the possible. *Family Process*, 55(4), 616–632. <https://doi.org/10.1111/famp.12260>
- Weine, S., Kulauzovic, Y., Klebic, A., Besic, S., Mujagic, A., Muzurovic, J., Spahovic, D., Sclove, S., Pavkovic, I., Feetham, S., & Rolland, J. (2008). Evaluating a multiple-family group access intervention for refugees with PTSD. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 34(2), 149–164. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1752-0606.2008.00061.x>
- Weissbecker, I., Hanna, F., El Shazly, M., Gao, J., & Ventevogel, P. (2019). Integrative mental health and psychosocial support interventions for refugees in humanitarian crisis settings. In T. Wenzel & B. Droždek (Eds.), *An uncertain safety: Integrative health care for the 21st century refugees* (pp. 117–153). Springer.
- Wessells, M. (2015a). Bottom-up approaches to strengthening child protection systems: Placing children, families and communities at the centre. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 43, 8–21.
- Wessells, M. (2015b). Commentary: A social environment approach to promotive and protective practice in childhood resilience—reflections on Ungar (2014). *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 56(1), 18–20. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcpp.12367>
- Wessells, M. G. (2018a). A guide for supporting community-led child protection processes. Child Resilience Alliance.
- Wessells, M. G. (2018b). Supporting resilience in war-affected children: How differential impact theory is useful in humanitarian practice. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 78, 13–18.
- Williamson, J., & Robinson, M. (2006). Psychosocial interventions, or integrated programming for well-being? *Intervention*, 4(1), 4–25.
- Woolner, L., Denov, M., & Kahn, S. (2019). “I Asked Myself If I Would Ever Love My Baby”: Mothering children born of genocidal rape in Rwanda. *Violence against Women*, 25(6), 703–720. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801218801110>

- World Health Organization. (2004). *Promoting mental health: Concepts, emerging evidence, practice: summary report*. https://www.who.int/mental_health/evidence/en/promoting_mhh.pdf
- World Health Organization. (2018). *Global action plan to promote the health of refugees and migrants draft 4+*. https://www.who.int/migrants/Global_Action_Plan_for_migration.pdf
- World Health Organization & United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (WHO/ UNCHR) (2012). *Assessing mental health and psychosocial needs and resources: Toolkit for humanitarian settings*. WHO.
- World Humanitarian Summit (WHS). (2016). *Compact for young people in humanitarian action*. https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/eventpdf/CompactforYoungPeopleinHumanitarianAction-FINAL_EDITED_VERSION.pdf.

3 • A CASE FOR PRESERVICE TEACHERS REFLEXIVELY ENGAGING IN WORK WITH WAR-AFFECTED CHILDREN IN CANADIAN SCHOOLS

NAGUI DEMIAN AND CLAUDIA MITCHELL

REFLECTION 1 (NAGUI)

I started working with refugee children when I was in high school, having volunteered with a local nongovernmental organization (NGO) in Alexandria, Egypt. For many years, I witnessed the struggle of Sudanese families who fled the conflict, reached Egypt, applied for asylum through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and waited for years before getting a response and finding out their final destination. I saw Sudanese children crying after hearing a comment from their classmates or teachers. This could be “unintentionally” or “just to laugh with kids,” as a teacher told me when I asked him the reason behind this behavior with refugee students. “For sure we don’t want to hurt them.” Yes, you don’t want to but actually you do hurt them when you comment on their low academic performance, attitude, or behavior. Refugee students were very sensitive and vulnerable. Those children barely know their home country (Sudan), and they feel that they don’t belong to where they are now (Egypt). They know from their parents and siblings that they are waiting to travel to Europe one day. They are in a transit phase between war and a mysterious future in an unknown occidental country. Their transit time is long, they face poverty and bullying in schools, they have no friends and no support. Working with children, including refugees, encouraged me to do a career shift to study education and work as a teacher. Then I served in education reform projects delivering professional development programs to teachers and school principals and supporting policy reform.

In 2013, I moved to live in Montreal after accepting an offer to work with a Canadian NGO managing projects in the Middle East. I saw the arrival of Syrian refugees in 2016 and how Canadian families were making great efforts to welcome vulnerable Syrians who were coming to the country after a long and hard pathway. However, in my discussions with Canadian friends and families, I noticed that their perceptions of Syrian refugees arriving in Canada were very influenced by their background with wars and the arrival of other refugees to Canada. They assumed that Syrian refugees would have the same needs, challenges, and capacities as refugees they had met before, although the earlier conflicts had differed from that in Syria, and the skills and capacities of Syrians might be also different.

In 2017, I visited a community center in Syria, near the capital, Damascus. The center was providing humanitarian assistance to people affected by the conflict. A large room in the center was dedicated to children between 6 and 15 years for basic literacy and numeracy classes. I was working with a Canadian NGO that supported the center and decided to do a field visit to meet with children and their teachers. Suddenly, during my visit, a bomb fell near the center. We all heard the noise, but the reactions of people around me were very curious and initiated long self-reflections after my leaving the country. After hearing the noise, I froze for a few minutes, looking to the teachers, who, grouped in the middle of the room, talked and took the decision to close the center for the rest of the day. Their discussion was very quiet and quick, with no stress and no panic. The center manager looked back to the students: “We will end the activities for today. You can now gather your stuff and go back home. Please be careful while you are walking in the streets and go straight home.” Children heard the message, took their small notepads and pencils, walked to the door and left the center as if it was the end of an ordinary day, no fear, no stress, no cries, no panic, nothing! I was the only shocked person in the room, wondering if the children—or even the teachers—were realizing the risks. What do they feel now? Are they used to this situation? Is it becoming a part of their daily routine? Are they used to living with their fears? Do they know how to deal with it? Or, are they in a “survival mode,” trying to avoid risks with the highest possible self-control for the moment, but when the war is over all this stress will come up? I was looking to the people in the streets, their faces, the destroyed building around me, and wondering . . . how are people living around all of this? How will they survive? What will the future be for those children? Where?

REFLECTION 2 (CLAUDIA)

Learning that close to a thousand asylum seekers were living in a semi-abandoned hospital across the street from my office in the Faculty of Education in downtown Montreal was a wake-up call for me. Day after day in 2017 and early in 2018, I would hear on the radio that asylum seekers were crossing the border in record numbers from the United States into Canada (Quebec) at Roxham Road. I would hear

commentary about these numbers and about what procedures might need to be in place to process the large numbers, but I wasn't really thinking about the people themselves, and I hadn't fully grasped the number of children there would be. Thanks to colleagues who were already involved in informal support services to asylum seekers, I started to learn about the situation and especially that children were not being admitted to Montreal schools; many of them were living in the hospital setting day after day while their parents tried to deal with all the paperwork that was required. It seemed straightforward, at first, to swing into action, and with a team in my faculty committed to art and healing, we set up some art-making sessions.

Offering the sessions was short-lived, however. Hospital staff and others informed us that there was a more formal process and that it was not possible, even in the hospital setting, to provide these sessions without approval from the provincial authorities. Several months passed, and I kept hearing myself asking anyone who would listen whether they knew that there were more than a thousand asylum seekers living in that building. Eventually there was a breakthrough; with the remarkable support of a local nongovernmental organization (NGO) that did have permission from the provincial authorities to work with the children, we managed to get permission to work with children from two reception centers. Over a period of six weeks, we were able to offer an art-making project to more than 150 children from Syria as well as from Mexico, Brazil, Colombia, Angola, Nigeria, and Pakistan, with the project culminating in an art book, *Art Connecting: Workshops with Children of Asylum-Seeking Families*. For the fifteen or more volunteers from the Faculty of Education and the community at large, it was an opportunity to learn more about the children and their situation. For the children, we think that it had benefits in the sense of "doing something" besides waiting in the dormitories, and of course the group activities and art making were very engaging. There were some restrictions of course. One was the fact that the children could not take the art they had made back to the residences they and their families occupied. Given the notion of ownership about art, this was a concern. Potentially more troubling was the idea of our not getting to know about the children and their lives. Many people assumed that we were doing research, but we were actually making art together. No one said anything to us, but we specifically did not ask questions of the children about how they felt other than where they were from or what art they would like to do. The art making itself, while not specifically political, did emphasize space and presence and something of identity in that they engaged in activities such as drawing large body maps or producing chalk art on a parking lot at the university. Such activities emphasized place and space, even if they were not explicitly designed to engage children in talking about such issues. What were we learning through this project? As many of the volunteers commented in their short reflections that appear at the end of *Art Connecting* (noted above), this was for many the first time that they had ever had any experience working with refugees. More than anything, perhaps, we learned that we had a lot more to learn.

We offer these reflections as two researchers/teacher educators working with beginning teachers in a Canadian Faculty of Education. The first is Nagui's story of encountering children in a transitory position in camps in Syria. Nagui positions himself as an Egyptian-born male, heterosexual, and a relative newcomer to Canada and to the academy. The second is Claudia's story, linked to resettlement but still, as we know, very transitory when it comes to the experience of the children and their families. Claudia positions herself as white settler, queer, and long-time academic in South African and Canadian institutions. Our short academic auto-ethnographies, as Pillay, Naicker, and Pithouse-Morgan (2016), term them, are framed in ideas of self-study, reflexivity, positionality, and other autoethnographic approaches to "starting with ourselves" (Mitchell, 2016), and helped us to pose many questions: Is there a prototype of conflicts, war contexts, and refugee profiles that we recall each time we work with refugees? Do we realize that not only conflicts are distinct but also that each refugee has a unique experience and needs? More precisely and drawing on our work as teacher educators, what should the roles of teachers be in supporting war-affected children? What can be done to better support children affected by war in school settings, and how can reflexivity of new teachers become central to this work?

To answer these questions, we explore three main areas. First, we offer a context for why and how this is a key issue for teacher education institutions in Canada and other Global North contexts. We then consider the literature on schooling, teachers, and war-affected youth, drawing attention to the significance of cultural competencies in professional learning. Third, we move into the idea of reflexivity in providing support to the preparation of new professionals working with war-affected children. We believe that teachers can play a crucial role in supporting war-affected children. However, teachers need to be well prepared to provide this support. We are particularly interested in preservice teachers' preparation because they are in a structured learning setting. There are likely to be fewer professional development opportunities for in-service teachers who, at the same time, are frequently overwhelmed with school tasks.

THE CONTEXT

Situation of War-Affected Children in Canada

The answers to the questions raised are complicated. On the one hand, the Canadian government put in place many services to support newcomers and refugees. These services include social assistance, income support, health assistance, programs that introduce refugees to the society and cities where they have settled, personal finance help (e.g., budgeting, using credit and debit cards, etc.), and schooling assistance (House of Commons Canada, 2018). On the other hand, the reality shows that the resettlement of refugees in Canada is challenging. In general, social and educational services were reported to be highly inadequate (Blanchet-Cohen et al., 2017). Moreover, the number of refugees in Canada,

including war-affected children, is increasing. In total, 94,000 refugees were resettled in Canada between 2015 and 2017 (Government of Canada, 2018). In 2016, the Canadian Liberal Government made the promise to resettle 25,000 Syrian refugees in Canada and opened the door to private sponsorship for an additional number. Today almost 60,000 Syrian refugees have reached Canada since 2015 (Statistics Canada, 2019). They are the largest group to resettle in Canada since 1980 (Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). In February 2019, Statistics Canada released a report on Syrian refugees who resettled in Canada in 2015 and 2016. The report shows that 85 percent of Syrian refugees are families with children (on average 2.8 children per family), whereas refugee families from other countries represent 65 percent (with an average of 2.2 children per family) (Statistics Canada, 2019). In addition, in 2016, 44 percent of Syrian refugees were under age 15 compared with 31 percent for refugees from other countries; they have a lower employment rate than other refugees and a considerable language proficiency barrier (55% of Syrian refugees did not speak English or French).

Interventions to Support War-Affected Children

A lot has been done by international and national organizations to support the mental health and psychosocial well-being of war-affected children. Wessells (2017) grouped these interventions under nine main categories: (1) the child-friendly spaces; (2) community-based child protection mechanism; (3) community-based psychosocial supports; (4) disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration supports; (5) family support; (6) peace building; (7) psychosocial first aid; (8) psychotherapy; and (9) school-based support. Each of these interventions seeks to promote resilience in the lives of war-affected children while placing them in the center of each intervention, allowing them to express their feelings and represent their experiences. Research shows that interventions meant to address and support children in and outside war zones must be comprehensive and reflect a multilevel approach (Derluyn et al., 2012; Fernando & Ferrari, 2013; Wessells, 2016). However, many scholars aimed to assess the efficiency and effectiveness of supporting interventions for war-affected children, and a frequent emerging result was the need to better understand the context of war-affected children in order to plan for adequate support (Blanchet-Cohen & Denov, 2015; Blanchet-Cohen et al., 2017; Derluyn et al., 2012; Stewart, 2012; Wessells, 2017). This “better understanding” keeps being the challenge for professionals working with war-affected children in different sectors. This raises two main questions: first, How should these professionals develop their understanding? And second, What should professionals know in advance to be able to support war-affected children?

Schools and War-Affected Children

Schools are sites of positivity and resilience for war-affected children (Hamilton, 2004) (see also D’Amico, chapter 11, this volume). The type of support war-affected

children receive in school is an important factor that contributes to their integration into a receiving society and where they can develop a sense of belonging (Albanese, 2016). Albanese (2016) argues that the type of support immigrant children receive in school is an important factor that contributes to their integration into the hosting society. The other factors are children's age when they arrive in their country of destination, children's language skills, the parents' social and economic status, and the children's well-being. For Anderson et al. (2010) education for refugees "mitigate[s] the psychological impact of conflict and disaster" (p. 88). Moreover, refugee students perceive education as a pathway to freedom (Guerrero & Tinkler, 2010). In fact, schools are primary places where war-affected children can overcome the impact of war, feel valued, build their individual identities, and develop a sense of belonging (Cummins, 2001; Kanu, 2008). This sense of belonging depends mainly on the values and attitudes expressed by the teacher (Cummins, 2001). Therefore, it is important to ensure that schools be a "welcoming space" in which war-affected children feel valued and can build their own individual identities (Cummins, 2001; Stewart, 2011; Whiteman, 2005).

From a socio-ecological perspective, children both influence and are influenced by their natural environment, which includes schools (Bronfenbrenner, 1999). This has given rise to many debates on how schools can be effective in children's contexts. For Pinson and Arnot (2010), effective educational interventions that target refugee children should follow a "whole child" approach. This approach "addresses the whole: the spirit, mind and body of the child" and tackles the child's academic achievement, well-being, personal, and social development (Pinson & Arnot, 2010, p. 256). Many techniques have been developed to assess school effectiveness, and the following characteristics have been associated with effective schools: a safe school environment, strong leadership by the principal, teachers who have positive attitudes and positive expectations for students' abilities to achieve, comprehensive monitoring of student progress, effective use of instructional time, and a high level of parental involvement (Hamilton, 2004; Teddlie & Reynolds, 2001). Four of these characteristics could be considered crucial in war-affected children's contexts: school leadership, parental involvement, school environment, and teachers' attitudes and expectations.

Unfortunately, the reality shows that war-affected children are among the most vulnerable students in schools; they faced the trauma of war, displacement, and the challenge of adapting in a new environment in a different culture with, more likely than not, a different language (Anderson et al., 2004; Denov & Blanchet-Cohen, 2014). They go through all this during a critical phase in their social development, and it is not surprising that they experience mental health issues in their resettlement in Canada (Fazel et al., 2012). Mental health issues are not just limited to children, they also affect their families, which creates an extra burden on the resettlement (Crowley, 2009; Hansson et al., 2012).

Teachers and War-Affected Children in Canada

Teachers play important roles in the lives of war-affected children. They interact with students on a daily basis, they take the time to know students, understand their individual circumstances, and build with them a personal relationship. Teachers are often acting as role models for their students, and they usually link them with other ecological systems. They also play an important role in helping refugee students to adjust in their school environment and facilitate links between refugee families and social services (Hamilton, 2004).

However, research points out that schools in Canada are not meeting war-affected children's needs and, in fact, further contribute to their marginalization. War-affected children are marginalized in classrooms due to issues such as language, discrimination, and racism (Blanchet-Cohen et al., 2017; Kanu, 2008; Stewart, 2011). Stewart (2011) found that not all teachers in Canada are welcoming refugee students in their classrooms. During his interviews with teachers, Stewart noted that teachers might have negative perceptions of refugee students, especially if these students are lacking language skills, which is often the case. The negative perceptions can lead teachers to avoid working with refugee students and to prefer having homogeneous classrooms with only Canadian students. The same study showed that teachers might assume that war-affected children are like any other immigrants and should not be given preferential treatment or that they have to teach the same way they are used to despite who is in their classroom.

Other teachers are willing to work with war-affected children, but they fear their personal well-being will be emotionally affected by being involved in traumatic experiences (Young & Jacky Chan, 2014). Others feel that they lack adequate preparation and training to effectively work with war-affected children (Blanchet-Cohen et al., 2017; Stewart, 2011; Young & Jacky Chan, 2014). This lack of preparation could lead to negative consequences in working with war-affected children. For example, Denov and Blanchet-Cohen (2014) found that war-affected children might recall their trauma after hearing unintentionally harmful comments from their teachers. A simple sentence like "We will leave you here alone if you don't do this" can be terrifying for children who heard the same sentence in a context filled with brutality. Moreover, teachers commented on the challenges of balancing the needs of war-affected children with the needs of other children in the classroom (Young & Jacky Chan, 2014).

Therefore, working with war-affected children not only requires motivated teachers who are willing to support children affected by conflicts but also teachers who know how to provide this support. It is thus imperative that teachers gain comprehensive understanding of challenges faced by war-affected children, their needs, and the best practices to address those needs. This should also take into consideration that the experiences of war-affected children vary depending on the particular contexts and types of trauma, which will differ within and across refugee groups (Young & Jacky Chan, 2014). This means that teachers should be ready, not after the fact but before they begin working with war-affected students.

SUPPORTING TEACHERS TO SUPPORT WAR-AFFECTED CHILDREN

Although the Association of Canadian Deans of Education (2017), in the General Accord on Initial Teacher Education, presents principles of social justice and equity, and teacher education programs are increasingly concerned with diversity (Crocker & Dibbon, 2008; MacDonald, 2010; Van Nuland, 2011), teachers still require preparation to work with war-affected children. To date there is relatively little research on teacher preparation and pedagogy related to working with refugee children in the Global North. The majority of existing research on teacher preparation addresses the needs of refugees and immigrants but through a lens of diversity and multiculturalism, with the objective to facilitate their integration in their new societies. Research from this perspective focuses on the academic achievement of immigrant students, the effect of language on their learning, and the gap between teacher and student educational expectations (Wiseman & Galegher, 2019). These areas of focus do not directly address the work with war-affected children or refugee students. Although, the available research points to the need to include work with war-affected children in teacher's education programs (Blanchet-Cohen et al., 2017; Denov & Akesson, 2017; Stewart, 2011; Wiseman & Galegher, 2019), few have identified the topics and issues that such programs should include. An exception is the work of Blanchet-Cohen et al. (2017), who see that understanding war-affected children's experiences, especially their premigration experiences, is crucial in working with them and that teachers should be equipped with this knowledge before working with children. Moreover, they argue that teacher professional programs must include creating safe spaces where war-affected children can share their stories and complex histories. Without these safe spaces war-affected children are exposed to the risks of deepening feelings of isolation and marginalization. Similarly, Strelakova and Hoot (2008) note that teachers need to be informed about the history of refugee children and how it affects their behavior in school. Stewart (2011), as well, argues that courses on teaching war-affected children should be integrated into preservice and in-service teachers' training programs. He recommended including activities for teachers that tackle teachers' self-management, including self-reflection; issues that students have as they enter the classroom and the available support for students; peace building; counseling skills; stress reduction and wellness; anger management; resilience; and storytelling as a path toward healing.

MacNevin (2012), while exploring the teaching and learning practices surrounding refugee students in Prince Edward Island, Canada, noted that despite the fact that teachers received some types of professional development related to teaching students from different countries, cultures, and backgrounds, they still want more professional development that is related to refugee students and how to meet their needs. Teachers would like to receive training on how to work with refugee students, how to include them in school learning communities, and how

to support them in acquiring basic language skills. Accordingly, MacNevin recommends the following areas of training in teacher professional development: inclusion and skills in building on students' prior experiences. For Ghosh et al. (2019), it is key that teachers know the background of students, the students' communities, the signs of trauma and the kind of professional help available, and how to identify the specific type of help needed. And finally, teachers need to know more about themselves, their perceptions, biases, attitudes, and behaviors.

In addition, Cummins (2012) argues that teachers' interactions that respect and affirm student identity are the most empowering. For Cummins, the sense of belonging that a child develops in school depends mainly on teachers' values and attitudes. However, it is widely acknowledged that teacher–student interactions are moderated by teachers' expectations for students' different levels of achievements or performance (Dusek, 1985; Hamilton, 2004). Thus, if teachers have rigid stereotypes or cultural biases related to students, they will be more likely to generate negative expectations that lead to negative behavior in the classroom. This could be manifested in negative feedback or comments to students. Knowing that war-affected children come from cultures that are different than the ones in their hosting communities, the risk of teachers' negative stereotypes is high. Therefore, Hamilton (2004) argues that interventions which seek to influence teachers' views, knowledge, and expectations of refugee children are important in supporting them. He highlights the danger of teachers' low expectations for refugee children in terms of their academic capabilities. Such low expectations can influence teachers' behavior toward their students.

WHAT'S CULTURE GOT TO DO WITH IT? CROSS-CULTURAL COMPETENCIES AND CULTURAL SAFETY

We would be remiss if we did not put culture at the center of this work. We know that teachers need much more than academic skills to work with war-affected children. Interestingly, Wiseman and Galegher (2019) noted that teacher-training programs in countries affected by war and immediate post-conflict zones (e.g., refugee camps) are more frequent and more highly developed than programs in stable, developed hosting countries. This is because national governments and international organizations are more focused on building the capacities of teachers to support war-affected children in their early vulnerable situation.

In our discussion, we start with reviewing the idea of cross-cultural competencies. To avoid developing low expectations, Hyder (1998) recommends supporting teachers in developing their cross-cultural competencies and gaining knowledge of the different cultures that exist in their classroom. This preparation requires an awareness of one's own cultural beliefs and values, then understanding other cultures that exist in classrooms. For Sparks (1989), adopting culturally responsive

teaching approaches includes acknowledging the cultural diversity in classrooms, supporting and valuing this diversity, and using different learning styles to build on existing cultural backgrounds. Researchers have begun to explore skills and competencies needed to work with war-affected children and refugees in general. For example, Akesson (2018) argues that practitioners working with refugee children, especially those affected by war, must be aware of the various ways that people from different backgrounds cope. For Akesson (2018), “those who work with war-affected children should educate themselves and others about culturally competent practice . . . [which] reflects an ongoing commitment to learning about the experiences of refugee youth” (p. 371).

Lum (2007) has identified four key components of cultural competence—cultural awareness, knowledge acquisition, skill development, and inductive learning—that could be applied to practitioners working with war-affected children to help them develop their knowledge and address children’s needs. Cultural awareness starts with understanding oneself, reflecting on personal experiences, engaging with people from other cultures, and exploring any biases that might arise. Knowledge acquisition entails understanding others’ cultures (e.g., cultures of refugees’ origins) and their personal experiences (e.g., experiences of oppression, migration), and critically evaluating this knowledge. Skill development involves developing the appropriate skills to work with particular cultures. Finally, inductive learning means that those working with war-affected children, drawing on their enhanced knowledge and skills, follow a lifelong process of understanding others’ experiences and cultures (Akesson, 2018).

But the idea of cultural competencies does not fully address the precarious situation of war-affected children, particularly in the context of inequities in power between teachers and other professionals and war-affected children. For that reason, we want to emphasize the notion of cultural safety. Much of the work on cultural safety comes out of work with Indigenous communities, particularly in the context of health care. There are many definitions of cultural safety (see Curtis et al., 2019). In relation to the work with war-affected children, Lenette (2019) states that “in a research context, cultural safety means that Knowledge Holders’ perspectives about project design, implementation, evaluation and dissemination and the research team are central, not peripheral, concerns. Knowledge Holders are able to contribute their perspectives without fear of being misunderstood. They are confident that their narratives will be respected and recognised to their just value rather than be de-contextualised to fit agendas that serve the needs of researchers and academic institutions” (p. 15). Applied to educational contexts, we think of the many different ways that particular forms of knowledge are privileged over others. But we also think of the “taken for grantedness” of the institution of school itself and the everyday life of the classroom typically orchestrated by the teacher who makes assumptions about home and community and what is safe for children to reveal in public contexts.

CRITICAL REFLECTION: STARTING WITH OURSELVES

We consciously teach what we know but unconsciously we teach what we are.
(Hamachek, 1999, p. 194).

As highlighted in the previous section, teachers' self-knowledge is key. Reflection is a promising area for further exploration in teacher preparation for working with war-affected children and is something we attempt to model in the introduction to this chapter in our own reflexive accounts. Research on reflection can be traced back decades to the work of Dewey (1910), who criticized the technical view of teaching that dominated the 1980s. He questioned the nature of teaching, differentiated between teaching as transmission and teaching for understanding, and drew serious attention to the notion of reflection. For Dewey (1910), "Genuine freedom is intellectual; it rests in the trained *power of thought* to turn things over, to look at matters deliberately" (p. 66; italics mine). He described reflection as a process that involves the act of looking at and describing experience, and a way of meeting and responding to problems. In conceptualizing reflection Dewey defined three important aspects: open-mindedness, responsibility, and wholeheartedness. Open-mindedness is the ability to see problems from different points of view, to listen to others, to be sensitive, and to understand others' arguments. Responsibility is the need to question and examine why something is worth believing in. Wholeheartedness is the full engagement of one in the flow of thoughts and the interest in, enthusiasm for, and willingness to seek knowing (Loughran, 2006). Thus reflection involves "intuition, emotion, and passion and is not something that can be neatly packaged as a set of techniques for teachers" (Zeichner & Liston, 1996, p. 9). Reflection encourages teachers to become researchers of their own learning by helping them to foster a spirit of inquiry to identify the connection between the nature of knowing and the nature of learning (Brandenburg et al., 2017; Mitchell & Weber, 1999).

Many scholars have explored, extended, and challenged the work of Dewey on reflection. There are scholars who focused on the transformative aspect of reflection and how reflection and critical analysis change practices, which contributes to transforming societies (Zeichner & Liston, 1987). For example, Zeichner and Liston (1987) argue that teachers contribute to building socially just societies when they reflect on instructional and institutional practices. However, a significant work that extended Dewey's approach to reflection was that of Donald Schön (1987; 1994) who linked reflection and practice. Schön highlighted that the need to be a skilled professional drives individuals to develop their understanding about the way they conduct their work. This placed practice as a part of the knowledge base of many professions. In education, this knowledge base might be found in books; however, practitioners need to better understand what they know and develop this knowledge of practice. Schön, followed by other scholars, held that reflection would help teachers reconsider what they learned in practice and further develop

their knowledge (Loughran, 2002). For Schön, learning in practice starts with teachers taking a step back from their work to look at it, with the perspective of identifying and solving problems. To detail this process, Valli (1997) accounted for five different types of reflection: technical reflection, reflection in and on action, deliberative reflection, personalistic reflection, and critical reflection.

Reflection on practice is an essential attribute of good teacher performance, and reflection is a cornerstone for the pedagogy of teacher education; many teacher education programs adopt reflection as a foundation (Loughran, 2002; Valli, 1997). However, as highlighted by Loughran (2002), being encouraged to reflect is not enough; the need to reflect, the context, the nature of the problem, and the anticipated value of such reflection have an impact on what is reflected on and for what purpose. All these elements are important in examining reflection in preservice teacher education programs, otherwise reflection risks becoming routinized. For example, Loughran considered identifying a problem and the way we frame it as the anchor of an effective reflective practice. If preservice teachers simply state a problem to student teachers, this will not make it visible to them. They need a reason to see the problem in different ways, which is the most important aspect of developing reflective practice. Therefore, reflection in preservice teacher education is encouraged to engage teachers and students to get into a learning process where they are active researchers reflecting on their own experiences and where they do both “seeing” and “action” (Brandenburg et al., 2017; Mitchell & Weber, 1999). Moreover, Loughran (2002) asserts that engaging preservice teachers in a project and creating an opportunity for them to be researchers, with a focus on practice, encourages them to start framing and reframing problematic situations. In doing so, much of the learning about practice that preservice teachers develop will be driven by their own experiences and concerns, and they will be responsive and ready to attend to future situations.

However, as Brandenburg et al. (2017) note, reflection is not likely to be value free; therefore, emerging frameworks that include the notion of social justice are particularly promising. This is something that Mitchell et al. (2020) highlight in their work related to gender-based violence and HIV and AIDS with preservice teachers in rural South Africa. For this reason, we see it as vital to look at ways to incorporate a broad range of practices that are meant to engage new teachers in reflection and self-study, and in essence questioning their own personal and professional positionalities, something that can be seen increasingly in work that questions settler perspectives in Indigenous education. Hampton and DiMartini (2017), for example, describe the use of preservice teacher-produced digital storytelling creations in a teacher education classroom as an entry point to critically engage in issues related to land and colonization. Mitchell et al. (2019) highlight how the use of film viewing in the preparation of professionals in areas such as education, nursing, and social work can be helpful as a tool for questioning power as an issue that is key in working with newcomers and war-affected children. They observe the following in their work on critical reflection:

Research suggests that interacting with authority figures after lengthy immigration processes is often a source of trauma for resettled refugees (George, 2012). New social work students may not have developed the reflexivity to realize that they themselves represent a profession that can be experienced as an instrument of social control by those they serve and not the practice of promoting social justice as the student coming into social work may believe. The many films portraying professionals such as teachers coming into community practice with, for example, inner-city youth as we see in *Dangerous Minds* (Simpson et al., 1995) highlight this dichotomy with a particular astuteness allowing students to “see ourselves as others see us” and to consider how they themselves will navigate the formation of their professional identity (Clarke et al., 2016). The “perspective-taking” process in holistic humanities educational activities closely resembles the linkages between individuals, family, community, environmental and multicultural influences (Moxley & Feen, 2016). (Mitchell et al., 2019, pp. 75–76)

We think of the emerging collection of fictional films dealing with children in marginalized and refugee status, such as *Capernaum*, would be useful in supporting reflexive approaches. Central to this work might be questions of one’s identity as the viewer, but also which stories are absent, and in the process making a place for a consideration of where, for example, are the stories of refugee adolescent girls, refugee children with disabilities, and so on.

At the same time, one might look at ways of supporting preservice teachers’ reflective practice through action research and participatory initiatives with war-affected children. For example, a number of the student volunteers who supported the Art Connecting workshops described in Claudia’s reflection at the beginning of this chapter, talked (in their reflective pieces presented at the end of the art book *Art Connecting*) about how participating in that project had not only made them more aware of the situation of children of asylum seekers but also how they felt motivated to embark on participatory classroom-based or community projects where they might take further action. Such student-led or student-driven projects could also become incorporated as more formal aspects of a “curriculum in the making” model of professional development in which preservice teachers develop arts-based activities, such as art-making, developing picture books, photovoice, cellphilm (cellphone+video), and digital storytelling with war-affected children (see also Mandrona et al., chapter 13, this volume). Alongside the obvious value for the children involved, such initiatives are ideal for framing the kinds of questions that are so important for beginning teachers in becoming reflexive: Where am I in this project? What does it mean to coproduce knowledge? What am I learning about power? What difference does this work make? In summary, we see such approaches as being particularly valuable in programs for preparing new teachers to work with war-affected children.

CONCLUSION

Clearly, schools are important places where war-affected children can receive support and start developing a sense of belonging. (See also D'Amico, chapter 11). School staff, especially teachers, are well placed to support war-affected children because they are in daily contact with them. However, research shows that schools in Canada are not meeting the needs of war-affected children. Teachers in Canada often feel the lack of adequate preparation to work with war-affected children, and additional professional development is needed in this area. Much of the literature on schools and teacher education addresses the needs of refugees through a multiculturalism and diversity lens, which is often more related to the profiles of immigrants who face the challenges of fitting in to a new world. Our analysis reflects a gap between war-affected needs and teachers' preparation to work with war-affected children, and we laud efforts, such as the General Accord on Initial Teacher Education (2017) as developed by the Association of Deans of Education of Canada, to influence policies related to guiding teaching education programs in relation to war-affected children. While we know that there are no easy answers, we regard reflexive "starting with ourselves" approaches as aligning well with the global project of supporting refugee children and young people.

REFERENCES

- Akesson, B. (2018). Refugee youth affected by war and displacement: A socio-ecological approach. In S. Wilson-Forsberg & A. M. Robinson (Eds.), *Immigrant youth in Canada* (pp. 361–377). Oxford University Press.
- Albanese, P. (2016). *Children in Canada today* (2nd ed., Themes in Canadian sociology). OUP Canada.
- Anderson, A., Hamilton, R., Moore, D., Loewen, S., & Farter-Mathieson, K. (2004). Education of refugee children: Theoretical perspective and best practice. In R. Hamilton & D. Moore (Eds.), *Educational interventions for refugee children: Theoretical perspective and implementation practice*. Routledge Flamer.
- Anderson, A., Hoffman, J., & Hyll-Larsen, P. (2010). The right to education in emergencies. *Journal of Education for Children in Emergencies. Legal Studies*, 2(1), 84–126.
- Association of Canadian Deans of Education (2017). *Accord on teacher education: A vision for teacher education in Canada*. <http://csse-scee.ca/acde/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2018/05/Accord-on-Teacher-Education.pdf>
- Blanchet-Cohen, N., & Denov, M. (2015). War-affected children's approach to resettlement: Implications for child and family services. *Annals of Anthropological Practice*, 39(2), 120–133. <https://doi.org/10.1111/napa.12075>
- Blanchet-Cohen, N., Denov, M., Fraser, S., & Bilotta, N. (2017). The nexus of war, resettlement, and education: War-affected youth's perspectives and responses to the Quebec education system. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 60, 160–168.
- Brandenburg, R., Glasswell, K., Jones, M., & Ryan, J. (2017). *Reflective theory and practice in teacher education*. Springer Singapore.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1999). Environments in developmental perspective: Theoretical and operational models. In *Measuring environment across the life span: Emerging methods and concepts* (pp. 3–28). American Psychological Association.

- Clarke, J., Lovelock, R., & McNay, M. (2016). Liberal arts and the development of emotional intelligence in social work education. *British Journal of Social Work*, 46(3), 635–651. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcu139>
- Crocker, R., & Dibbon, D. (2008). *Teacher education in Canada: A baseline study*. Society for the Advancement of Excellence in Education.
- Crowley, C. (2009). The mental health needs of refugee children: A review of literature and implications for nurse practitioners. *Journal of the American Academy of Nurse Practitioners*, 21(6), 322–331. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-7599.2009.00413.x>
- Cummins, J. (2001). *Negotiating identities: Education for empowerment in a diverse society* (2nd ed.). California Association for Bilingual Education.
- Cummins, J. (2012). The intersection of cognitive and sociocultural factors in the development of reading comprehension among immigrant students. *Reading and Writing: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 25(8), 1973–1990. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11145-010-9290-7>
- Curtis, E., Jones, R., Tipene-Leach, D., Walker, C., Loring, B., Paine, S.-J., & Reid, P. (2019). Why cultural safety rather than cultural competency is required to achieve health equity: A literature review and recommended definition. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 18(1).
- Denov, M., & Akesson, B. (2017). Approaches to studying children affected by armed conflict: Reflection on theory, method, and practice. In M. Denov & B. Akesson (Eds.), *Children affected by armed conflict theory, method, and practice*. Columbia University Press.
- Denov, M., & Blanchet-Cohen, N. (2014). The rights and realities of war-affected refugee and asylum-seeking children and youth in Quebec: Making children's rights meaningful. *Canadian Journal of Children's Rights*, 1(1), 18–43.
- Derluyn, I., Mels, C., Parmentier, S., & Vandenhoe, W. (2012). *Remember: Rehabilitation, reintegration and reconciliation of war-affected children*. Intersentia.
- Dewey, J. (1910). *How we think*. D.C. Heath.
- Dusek, J. E. (1985). *Teacher expectancies*. Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Fazel, M., Reed, R., Panter-Brick, C., & Stein, A. (2012). Mental health of displaced and refugee children resettled in high-income countries: Risk and protective factors. *Lancet (London, England)*, 379(9812), 266–282. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(11\)60051-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(11)60051-2)
- Fernando, C., & Ferrari, M. (2013). *Handbook of resilience in children of war*. Springer Science. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-6375-7_20
- George, M. (2012). Migration traumatic experiences and refugee distress: Implications for social work practice. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 40(4), 429–437. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-012-0397-y>
- Ghosh, R., Sherab, D., Dilimulati, M., & Hashemi, N. (2019). Creating a refugee space in the Canadian school context. In A. W. Wiseman, L. Damaschke-Deitrick, E. L. Galegher, & M. F. Park (Eds.), *Comparative perspectives on refugee youth education: Dreams and realities in educational systems worldwide*. Routledge.
- Government of Canada. (2018). *2018 annual report to parliament on immigration*. www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publication-manual-report-parliament-immigration-2018/report.html
- Guerrero, A. L., & Tinkler, T. (2010). Refugee and displaced youth negotiating imagined and lived identities in a photography-based educational project in the United States and Colombia. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 41(1), 55–74.
- Hamachek, D. (1999). Effective teachers: What they do, how they do it, and the importance of self-knowledge. In R. P. Lipka & T. M. Brinthaupt (Eds.), *The role of self in teacher development* (pp. 189–224). State University of New York Press.
- Hamilton, R. (2004). Schools, teachers and the education of refugee children. In R. Hamilton & D. Moore (Eds.), *Education interventions for refugee children* (pp. 83–96). Routledge.
- Hampton, R., & Dimartini, A. (2017). We cannot call back colonial stories: Storytelling and critical land literacy. *Canadian Review of Education*, 40(3), 245–271.

- Hansson, E. K., Tuck, A., McKenzie, K., & Lurie, S. (2012). Rates of mental illness and suicidality in immigrant, refugee, ethnocultural, and racialized groups in Canada: A review of the literature. *The Canadian Journal of Psychiatry, 57*(2), 111–121.
- House of Commons, Canada (2018). *Report 3, settlement services for Syrian refugees—immigration, refugees and citizenship Canada, of the fall 2017 reports of the auditor general of Canada*. Ottawa: House of Commons, Canada. http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2018/parl/xc16-1/XC16-1-1-421-43-eng.pdf
- Hyder, T. (1998). Supporting refugee children in the early years. In C. Jones & J. Rutter (Eds.), *Refugee education: Mapping the field*. Trentham Books.
- Kanu, Y. (2008). Educational needs and barriers for African refugee students in Manitoba. *Canadian Journal of Education, 31*(4), 915–940.
- Lenette, C. (2019). *Arts-based methods in refugee research: Creating sanctuary*. Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-8008-2>
- Loughran, J. (2002). Effective reflective practice: In search of meaning in learning about teaching. *Journal of Teacher Education, 53*(1), 33–43.
- Loughran, J. (2006). *Developing a pedagogy of teacher education: Understanding teaching and learning about teaching*. Routledge.
- Lum, D. (2007). *Culturally competent practice: A framework for understanding diverse groups and justice issues*. Thomson Brooks/Cole.
- MacDonald, R. (2010). Bridging the theory–practice divide: Teaching science methods off campus. In T. Falkenberg & H. Smits (Eds.), *Field experiences in the context of reform of Canadian teacher education programmes* (Vol. 2, pp. 261–274). Faculty of Education of the University of Manitoba.
- MacNevin, J. (2012). Learning the way: Teaching and learning with and for youth from refugee backgrounds on Prince Edward Island. *Canadian Journal of Education, 35*(3), 48–63.
- McGill Art Hive Initiative (2019). *Art connection: Workshops with children in asylum-seeking families in Montreal*. Participatory Cultures Lab.
- Mitchell, C. (2016). Autoethnography as a wide-angle lens on looking (inward and outward): What difference can this make to our teaching? In D. Pillay, I. Naicker, & K. Pithouse-Morgan (Eds.), *Academic autoethnographies: Inside teaching in higher education* (pp. 175–190). Rotterdam: Sense.
- Mitchell, C., Linds, W., Denov, M., D'Amico, M., & Cleary, B. (2019). Beginning at the beginning in social work education: A case for incorporating arts-based approaches to working with war affected children and their families. *Family Social Work Practice, 22*(1), 63–82. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10522158.2019.1546949>
- Mitchell, C., Moletsane, R., MacEntee, K., & de Lange, N. (2020). Participatory visual methodologies in self-study for social justice teaching: A reflexive eye. In J. Kitchen, A. Berry, H. Guðjónsdóttir, S. M. Bullock, M. Taylor, & A. R. Crowe (Eds.), *Springer international handbooks of education. Second international handbook of self-study of teaching and teacher education*. Springer.
- Mitchell, C., & Weber, S. (1999). *Reinventing ourselves as teachers: Beyond nostalgia*. Falmer.
- Moxley, D., & Feen, H. (2016). Arts-inspired design in the development of helping interventions in social work: Implications for the integration of research and practice. *British Journal of Social Work, 46*(6), 1690–1707. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcvo87>
- Pillay, D., Naicker, I., & Pithouse-Morgan, K. (Eds.). (2016). *Academic autoethnographies: Inside teaching in higher education*. Sense.
- Pinson, H., & Arnot, M. (2010). Local conceptualisations of the education of asylum-seeking and refugee students: From hostile to holistic models. *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 14*(3), 247–267. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603110802504523>
- Schön, D. (1987). *Educating the reflective practitioner: Toward a new design for teaching and learning in the professions* (1st ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

- Schön, D. (1994). *Frame reflection: Toward the resolution of intractable policy controversies*. Basic Books.
- Simpson, D., & Bruckheimer, J. (Producers), & Smith, J. N. (Director). (1995). *Dangerous minds* [Motion Picture]. Hollywood Pictures, Don Simpson/Jerry Bruckheimer Films.
- Sparks, L. (1989). *Anti-bias curriculum: Tools for empowering young children*. National Association for the Education of Young Children.
- Statistics Canada. (2019). *Study: Syrian refugees who resettled in Canada in 2015 and 2016*. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/75-006-x/2019001/article/00001-eng.htm>
- Stewart, J. (2011). *Supporting refugee children: Strategies for educators*. University of Toronto Press.
- Stewart, J. (2012). Transforming schools and strengthening leadership to support the educational and psychosocial needs of war-affected children living in Canada. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, 6(3), 172–189.
- Strekalova, E., & Hoot, J. L. (2008). What is special about special needs of refugee children? Guidelines for teachers. *Multicultural Education*, 16(1), 21–24.
- Teddle, C., & Reynolds, D. (2001). Countering the critics: Responses to recent criticisms of school effectiveness research. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 12(1), 41–82.
- Valli, L. (1997). Listening to other voices: A description of teacher reflection in the United States. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 72(1), 67–88.
- Van Nuland, S. (2011). Teacher education in Canada. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 37(4), 409–421. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02607476.2011.611222>
- Ward, C., Branch, C. & Fridkin, A. (2016). What is Indigenous cultural safety—and why should I care about it? *Visions Journal*, 11(4), 29.
- Wessells, M. G. (2016). Children and armed conflict: Introduction and overview. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 22(3), 198–207.
- Wessells, M. G. (2017, December). Supporting resilience in war-affected children: How differential impact theory is useful in humanitarian practice. *Child Abuse and Neglect*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2017.12.010>
- Whiteman, R. (2005). Welcoming the stranger: A qualitative analysis of teachers' views regarding the integration of refugee pupils into schools in Newcastle upon Tyne. *Educational Studies*, 31(4), 375–391.
- Wilkinson, L. A., & Garcea, J. (2017). *The economic integration of refugees in Canada: A mixed record*. Migration Policy Institute.
- Wiseman, A. W., & Galegher, E. L. (2019). Teacher preparation, classroom pedagogy, and the refugee crisis in national education systems. In A. W. Wiseman, L. Damaschke-Deitrick, E. L. Galegher, & M. F. Park (Eds.), *Comparative perspectives on refugee youth education: Dreams and realities in educational systems worldwide* (pp. 75–101). Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Young, M., & Jacky Chan, K. (2014). School-based interventions for refugee children and youth: Canadian and international perspectives. In C. A. Brewer & M. McCabe (Eds.), *Immigrant and refugee students in Canada* (pp. 31–53). Brush Education Inc.
- Zeichner, K., & Liston, D. (1987). Teaching student teachers to reflect. *Harvard Educational Review*, 57(1), 23–49.
- Zeichner, K. M., & Liston, D. P. (1996). *Reflective teaching: An introduction*. Lawrence Erlbaum.

4 • THE THUNDER OF WAR IS MUCH LESS HEARD

Engaging Young People and Older
Adults to Restore Social Cohesion
in the Midst of Crisis in Eastern Ukraine

KAREN PAUL, INKA WEISSBECKER,
KATIE MULLINS, AND ANDREW JONES

Armed conflict weakens the social fabric of the affected community (Somasundaram, 2007, 2010; Ventevogel, 2015). The social fabric consists of the cohesion, connectedness, and emotional and practical support experienced by community members. Insecurity affects social cohesion as the safe places to gather and socialize lessen, community members are displaced or move away. Despite the impact of armed conflict on this communal social fabric, young people and older adults are an important remaining resource, contributing to restoring relationships and natural support systems. Joint initiatives engaging both young people and older adults may foster healthy development and well-being. Yet the academic and gray literature pays little attention to joint initiatives between these two groups in the midst of armed conflict. To address this gap, this chapter highlights the challenges young people and older adults experience within conflict settings alongside their abilities to contribute to community restoration. This chapter emphasizes joint initiatives using participatory techniques between young people and older adults as a promising practice by drawing on the experience of International Medical Corps in Eastern Ukraine.

THE ARMED CONFLICT IN UKRAINE

In 2019, armed conflict in Eastern Ukraine was a protracted crisis affecting an estimated 5.2 million people, leaving 1.5 million persons internally displaced (Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs [OCHA], 2019).¹ Young people

and older adults constitute a large portion of affected Ukrainians. Approximately 30 percent of those in need of humanitarian support were conflict-affected older adults (OCHA, 2018). Among households of internally displaced persons, an estimated 18 percent of persons were 60 or older (International Organization for Mobilization [IOM], 2018). Twenty-eight percent of persons were younger than 18 (IOM, 2018). The armed conflict also influences Ukraine's social fabric. Ukrainian adults and young people who were internally displaced reported feelings of fear, longing for home, their children's experiences with conflict at school, and difficulties developing relationships with the host community (Murray et al., 2018). Some Ukrainians who were internally displaced felt stronger connections to their previous communities than their current community (IOM, 2018). Some internally displaced Ukrainians also reported feeling discriminated against, due to their status as an internally displaced person (IOM, 2018). These changes to the social fabric, combined with the large presence of Ukrainian young people and older adults, creates a strong rationale for increased attention to these age groups.

YOUNG PEOPLE AND OLDER ADULTS AFFECTED BY ARMED CONFLICT

The Need to Focus on Young People Affected by Armed Conflict

Armed conflict may negatively influence a young person's development (Masten & Narayan, 2012; Miller-Graff & Cummings, 2017) due to exposure to violence and the multiple losses experienced by young people (Bragin, 2007). For example, children may lose cultural continuity, connection to loved ones, familiar places, and language (Bragin, 2007). The conflict may also influence their parents' ability to care for them, further affecting their development (Bragin, 2007). Armed conflict may also negatively affect young people's ability to successfully navigate their key developmental tasks, such as identity formation (Jones, 1998). However, among children affected by war or who have experienced maltreatment, factors such as having supportive relationships with parents, innovative coping strategies, and a shared sense of hope are associated with healthy development (Flores, Cicchetti, & Rogosch, 2005; Masten & Narayan, 2012; Tol, Song, & Jordans, 2013; Panter-Brick et al. 2014 as cited in Punamäki, 2014). For war-affected children, research demonstrates the importance of spiritual activities, cultural rituals, and community support to promote their well-being and healthy cognitive development (Betancourt et al., 2013; Eggerman & Panter-Brick, 2010, as cited in Punamäki, 2014). Including young people in the design and implementation of interventions can foster a sense of agency, feelings of hope, and usefulness (Bragin, 2007), promoting their healthy development and well-being, even in the midst of war. Further, young people are active agents who contribute to their families' and communities' health as well as their own health (World Health Organization [WHO], 2014). WHO (2014) stresses the importance of young persons' involvement to create, implement, and evaluate interventions. Yet there is a need for further

exploration on how to support young people and older adults to successfully develop and implement effective intergenerational interventions in the midst of armed conflict.

Ukrainian Young Persons

Within Eastern Ukraine, community-level assessments explored the experiences of young people (United Nations [UN], 2015; UNICEF, 2019) as well as children and young people (International Medical Corps, 2016a; International Medical Corps-UNICEF, 2018). To learn more about the concerns and resources among young persons in Eastern Ukraine, International Medical Corps conducted an assessment, consisting of 465 surveys, to guide program development. Participants included parents (274), adult family members or relatives (49), relatives (41), teachers (33), guardians (18), social workers (18), grandparents (23), familiar persons (6), and other participants (3). Two local Ukrainian nongovernmental organizations conducted the assessment. This assessment explored participants' perceptions of stressors, difficulties, and the impact of the conflict on children and young people's daily lives in order to understand their priority concerns. Young people aged 12 to 18 reported the following key stressors and challenges: the military situation, attacks, shooting, curfew, admission to university, family financial difficulties, negative information in the media, and social problems (International Medical Corps, 2016a). Within the villages, additional challenges for young people were low wages, unemployment, organizing leisure activities, communicating with each other, fighting, insecurity, armed conflict, fear of mobilization, and high tuition fees.

The conflict has affected young people's daily lives as they experienced anxiety and fears; increased patriotic identity; loss of faith; poor choice of educational institutions; a lack of affordable places; and a lack of confidence in tomorrow (International Medical Corps, 2016a). Parents or caregivers of children and young people in Eastern Ukraine reported the following difficulties, listed in order of the most frequently described: financial difficulties, low standard of living, unemployment, stresses, war, uncertainty of tomorrow, the deteriorating situation in the country, and family relationships (International Medical Corps, 2016a). More recently, children and young people continued to report difficulties related to the conflict, such as challenges with parents, problems socializing, as well as a lack of social and recreational activities (International Medical Corps-UNICEF, 2018). Regarding challenges with parents, children and young people reported problems communicating with parents, financial stress among parents, and distress related to family separation, such as divorce (International Medical Corps-UNICEF, 2018).

Despite these challenges, resources exist within Ukrainian children, young people, and their broader environments. Based on International Medical Corps's (2016a) assessment, perceptions of traits at the individual level that help children and young people do well were self-confidence or self-esteem, commitment, optimism, passion about work or public life, and perseverance. At the family level,

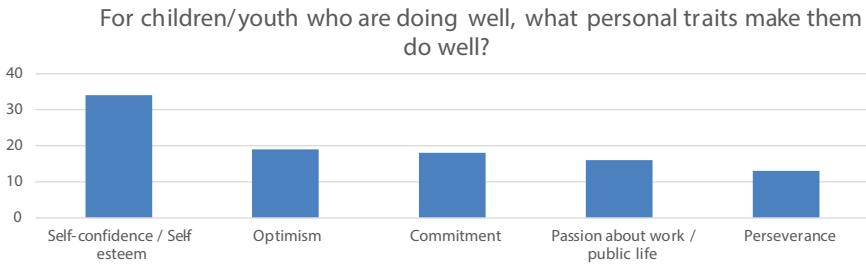


FIGURE 4.1. Personality traits. Results from International Medical Corps's (2016a) assessment with children and young people in Eastern Ukraine in 2016.

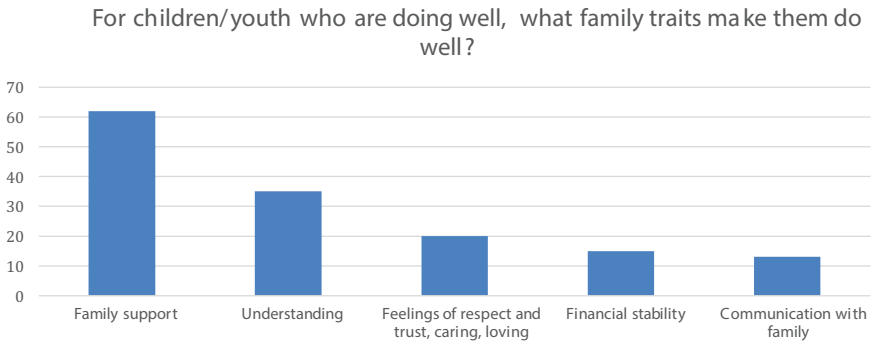


FIGURE 4.2. Family traits. Results from International Medical Corps's (2016a) assessment with children and young people in Eastern Ukraine in 2016.

perceptions of family traits among children and young people who are doing well were family support, understanding, feelings of respect and trust, caring, loving, financial stability, and communication with family (International Medical Corps, 2016a). Perceptions of community traits that help children and young people do well were the support of friends, teachers, and community; family support; mutual assistance; harmonious development; and calm in the situation in the state and society as well as peace (International Medical Corps, 2016a). Figures 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3 depict the perceived individual, family, and community characteristics of children and young people who are doing well.

More recently, children and young people reported participating in activities perceived to be examples of positive coping strategies, such as sports, fitness, music, and art as well as communicating with family and friends (International Medical Corps-UNICEF, 2018). Based on a study from Eastern Ukraine, support from parents and teachers combined with executive and collaborative skills fosters resilience among young people who experience violence at home or school (UNICEF, 2019). Supportive peer relationships, an emotional connection to school, joint problem-solving abilities, interdependent values, and a tolerance for diversity also characterize young people who are more resilient amid the conflict in Eastern Ukraine (UNICEF, 2019). UNICEF (2019) considered social tolerance

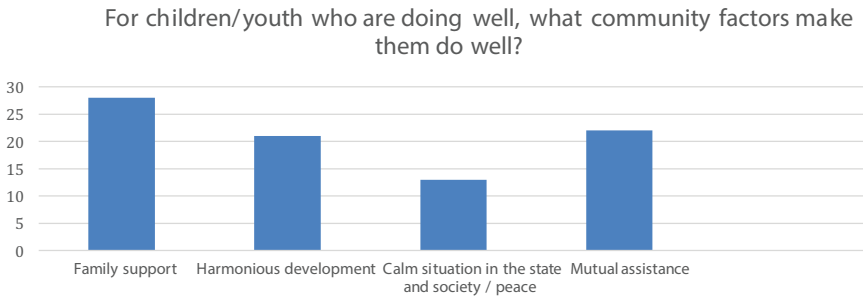


FIGURE 4.3. Community factors. Results from International Medical Corps's (2016a) assessment with children and young people in Eastern Ukraine in 2016.

as “the degree to which one is tolerant toward different groups (e.g., Muslims, Jews, Roma) in terms of personal interaction and/or acceptance in the community” (p. 54). This study found that tolerance for diversity is “a key motivator for non-violent citizenship. Adolescents who can celebrate diversity intuitively understand the rationale of non-violent engagement, namely to peacefully negotiate differences in perspectives, concerns and priorities between diverse people and groups, for a more cohesive society” (UNICEF, 2019, p. 42). Building on UNICEF’s (2019) findings, supporting young people’s efforts to engage with diverse groups, such as older adults, may further restore young people’s ability to meaningfully engage with diverse groups in the community affected by conflict, thus promoting restoration of social cohesion. As described in chapter 1 on the state of the art of the socio-ecological model, intersectionality acknowledges the existence of structural forces that may leave a person more vulnerable based on their identities, such as age, gender, race, class, or citizenship status. Therefore, applying an intersectional lens to intergenerational activities and supporting young people and older adults in efforts to embrace diversity as well as to engage with others of different identities may be an important means of promoting social cohesion among communities affected by conflict.

Community-level assessments identified existing sources of support for children and young people within their families, schools, and communities. When asked who is providing support to children and young people in this situation, participants stated parents or family, volunteers or public organizations, social services as well as friends or relatives (International Medical Corps, 2016a). Children and young people receive the available help or support through targeted assistance from organizations, participation in various activities; conversations with parents, relatives or friends, and humanitarian aid (International Medical Corps, 2016a). Parents supported children or young people through organizing leisure, providing more communication and support, giving material support, creating a positive family atmosphere, and giving moral support. Participants stated that the community helped children or young people through rehabilitation centers and

family support centers, direct support of organizations or volunteers, and school or kindergarten activities (International Medical Corps, 2016a). Some participants also stated that the community didn't help them, or the participants didn't know how the community helped children and young people (International Medical Corps, 2016a).

More recently, children and young people reported accessing social support from teachers, parents or caregivers, family members, friends, and older adults in the community (International Medical Corps-UNICEF, 2018). When experiencing distress, children and young people also accessed support through the internet or from school psychologists (International Medical Corps-UNICEF, 2018). Notably, males received support from health facilities and athletic coaches (International Medical Corps-UNICEF, 2018). Children and young people reported involvement in their community through concerts, sports, or recreational activities (International Medical Corps-UNICEF, 2018). Children and young people also engaged in activities to restore their communities, such as preparing community spaces for events or helping with repairs at church (International Medical Corps-UNICEF, 2018). The following were barriers for children and young people to participate in recreational and leisure activities: limited finances for activities, a lack of spaces to organize activities, difficulties with transportation, isolation, and low levels of motivation (International Medical Corps-UNICEF, 2018).

Assessment respondents described the following additional things that could be done to help young people in this situation: creating centers for young people, ending the military conflict or opening borders, providing affordable education and medicine, developing new places to work, and attracting young people to volunteer (International Medical Corps, 2016a). To support caregivers of children and young people, recommendations are to create new workplaces, provide decent wages, open psychological centers, give psychological support, end the military conflict, improve financial and humanitarian assistance, and receive state assistance (International Medical Corps, 2016a). In a more recent assessment, participants described additional actions that could be taken to engage children and young people, such as facilitating recreational activities, material and financial support, social and psychological support, human resources, and relationships with adults. Notably, children, young people, and adults all highlighted the need to strengthen relationships between the younger generation and adults. Children and young people reported difficulties in communicating with educators, parents, and caregivers. Similarly, adults described the need for support to talk with children and young people (International Medical Corps-UNICEF, 2018).

Despite these challenges, young people are active in their communities across Ukraine (UN, 2015). Sixteen percent of young people who responded to a United Nations survey stated that they provided support to internally displaced persons or those affected by military actions (UN, 2015). Fifteen percent of young people who responded provided support to persons affected by other crises (UN, 2015). Thirty-eight percent of respondents participated in civil society organizations

during the past year. Specifically, the young people engaged in volunteer activities, humanitarian initiatives, and sports activities (UN, 2015). Most frequently, young people reported volunteering to raise money for participants involved in the crisis in Eastern Ukraine, cleaning land, and facilitating assistance for those in need (UN, 2015). Young people also expressed interest in supporting those affected by crisis (UN, 2015). Similarly, the findings from UNICEF's (2019) recent study suggested that young people who experience the conflict find purpose and strength by creating feelings of solidarity and pursuing goals that extend beyond themselves (UNICEF, 2019). Connection to school, tolerance of diversity, and a pro-social orientation—such as collaboration skills, empathy, and interdependent values—support young people to peacefully engage as citizens (UNICEF, 2019).

The Need to Focus on Older Adults Affected by Armed Conflict

The *Humanitarian Inclusion Standards for Older People and People with Disabilities* (ADCAP, 2018) defines older adults in humanitarian contexts as persons 50 and over. Older adulthood is another important time for development, yet the key developmental tasks for older adults differ from those of young people. Relevant milestones for emotional and social development in late adulthood are to “come to term(s) with life” and continually pursue opportunities for fulfillment and personal development (Berk, 2017, p. 643). Armed conflict may influence older adults' abilities to achieve these developmental milestones. In an emergency, the losses and movement of people influence the social fabric. Older adults are more vulnerable to these disruptions, particularly if they require care from others and their social support is limited (WHO, 2008). As older adults are not a homogeneous group, it is important to consider unique needs and contributions of diverse older adults during program assessment and design (Kaga & Nakache, 2019). For example, some older adults may have physical disabilities, and female older adults may be especially vulnerable to abuse during a crisis (Ridout, 2016). Despite these challenges, older adults are active agents who can contribute to their communities (HAI, 2000; Wells, 2005). Older adults are a significant asset to promote recovery from crises (WHO, 2008). For example, older adults cared for orphans and children within refugee camps in Sudan (Wells, 2005). Yet older adults constitute a population receiving minimal attention in conflict settings (HAI, 2000; Wells, 2005). There is a lack of research exploring mental health and psychosocial support interventions for older adults in humanitarian crises (Blanchet et al., 2017). Although the conflict may create barriers to older adults' healthy development, older adults' ability to contribute to the community may still provide them with opportunities to achieve these key developmental tasks.

Ukrainian Older Adults

Organizations that support older adults in Eastern Ukraine conducted assessments, exploring the experiences of conflict-affected older adults (HAI, 2018; International Medical Corps, 2016c). Through these assessments, older adults in Eastern

Ukraine described feelings of loneliness, isolation, and a lack of community involvement (HAI, 2018). Ukrainian older adults also reported problems with abuse or violence, as well as psychosocial challenges, such as changes in sleep routines, crying, or ongoing memories associated with the conflict (HAI, 2018). Older adults may also be frustrated and in need of support, feel sad, and require places to speak (International Medical Corps, 2016c). Ukrainian older adults may also experience difficulties accessing their benefits or entitlements (International Medical Corps, 2016c). Some participants stated that older adults may feel a stronger sense of safety at home and prefer to be in their houses, compared with young people, who may be more mobile (International Medical Corps, 2016c). Older adults may also experience more difficulties than children because they lack jobs and are worried (International Medical Corps, 2016c). Yet other participants stated that older adults may be calmer and do not feel as tense or anxious from the bombs and shelling (International Medical Corps, 2016c).

Community-level assessments highlighted existing community resources for older adults (International Medical Corps, 2016c). For example, a librarian hosted parties for older adults during the holidays (International Medical Corps, 2016c). In one village, there was an Older People Society Group for older adults and veterans (International Medical Corps, 2016c). To decrease isolation among older adults, assessments identified the need for community-based activities involving older adults (HAI, 2018). Notably, the key informants from villages in Eastern Ukraine emphasized the lack of activities for older adults and the potential benefit of including older adults in events (International Medical Corps, 2016c). Participants described how older adults requested activities for themselves, stating that children already participate in activities at their schools, whereas older adults are not supported (International Medical Corps, 2016c).

EXISTING GLOBAL GUIDELINES FOR SERVICE PROVISION

Overall Relevant Global Guidelines

Existing global guidelines (IASC, 2007; Sphere, 2018), operational guidelines (UNICEF, 2018) and guidance notes (IASC, 2019) offer direction to provide care for young people and older adults in the midst of humanitarian settings. Communities affected by a crisis may experience a lack of involvement in the provision of care and services (IASC, 2007). However, involvement in the emergency response can increase feelings of control and promote recovery from the emergency (IASC, 2007). Local community members often begin responding to the emergency. However, external actors may disregard these existing initiatives started by the local population to care for themselves and others. Further, external supports may undermine these existing initiatives rather than building on them, resulting in an unsustainable response (IASC, 2007). To address this problem, global guidelines highlight the importance of fostering community mobilization and self-help (IASC, 2007; Sphere, 2018). A recent guidance note provides additional recom-

mentations on how to implement community-based mental health and psychosocial support led by community members themselves, through the process of community mobilization (IASC, 2019). Community mobilization addresses challenges and priority concerns within affected communities by building on the available resources (IASC, 2019). The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) Guidelines for Mental Health and Psychosocial Support (MHPSS) in Emergencies (IASC, 2007) also recommend conducting an assessment to identify existing resources and priority needs in order to inform programing. Where possible, it is important to coordinate this assessment with other actors. Based on the recommendations from these global guidelines, older adults and young people should be considered as potential community leaders who may already be responding to the emergency, particularly in the Ukrainian context, where there is a large presence of both older adults and young people.

Global Guidelines Focused on Young People

In many emergency settings, external actors may provide services targeted toward young people or children without consideration of their caregivers or family members. Yet caregivers and family members play a significant role in the healthy development and well-being of children (UNICEF, 2018). Existing global guidelines emphasize the importance of caring for caregivers (IASC, 2007) and the importance of strengthening natural and informal supports surrounding children (IASC, 2007; UNICEF, 2018). Young people and older adults themselves are a critical natural support that should not be undermined. Older adults are another resource in the affected community that should be considered as a potential resource to support healthy development and well-being among young people.

Global Guidelines Focused on Older Adults

Global guidelines, documents, and tools discussing the experiences of older adults affected by emergencies outline the need for increased attention to the unique circumstances of older adults in humanitarian emergencies (ADCAP, 2018; Akerkar & Bhardwaj, 2018; HAI, 2000, 2015; Hutton, 2008; UN, 2002; Wells, 2005; WHO, 2008). Among these documents, a key theme is the importance of considering older adults' unique vulnerabilities (HAI, 2000; UN, 2002; Wells, 2005), such as isolation, which makes older adults even more vulnerable (HAI, 2000). Older adults may also be viewed negatively as lacking full potential due to their age (HAI, 2000). Within humanitarian emergencies, consultations to guide programing may lack older adults' perspectives (HAI, 2000). However, global guidelines and key documents outlining best practices emphasize the need for humanitarian actors to identify and consult with older adults to properly assess older adults' concerns, as well as existing resources, and then develop quality services (HAI, 2000, 2015; Wells, 2005; UN, 2002). Key approaches for supporting older adults affected by emergencies are the importance of ensuring that older adults have access to services (HAI, 2000; UN, 2002), including older adults in the design and

delivery of interventions (HAI, 2000; Wells, 2005; UN 2002), recognizing the contribution of older adults (HAI, 2000; UN, 2002), and considering older adults within the broader “context of their families and communities” (HAI, 2000, p. 2). To support older adults within the broader context of their family and community, it is important to “assist older persons to re-establish family and social ties” (UN, 2002, p. 32). WHO (2008) also recommends including older adults as participants and leaders in social, spiritual, educational, or recreational activities.

THE BENEFITS OF ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN YOUNG PEOPLE AND OLDER ADULTS

Young people and older adults may both benefit from mutual engagement (Stanford, 2016). A recent review conducted by Gualano et al. (2018) explored the impact of intergenerational activities on both older adults and children, finding an overall positive influence on both children and older adults. Yet their review also emphasized the need for organized activities and training for service providers involved in the intergenerational activities. However, these studies are limited as they are mainly from high- or middle-income, peaceful settings. Another recent systematic review explored the impact of various interventions promoting social inclusion and respect on older adults’ health and well-being (Ronzi et al., 2018). Based on this review, intergenerational activities, such as singing and music, were suggested to have a positive impact on older adults’ health (Ronzi et al., 2018). However, most of the studies included in this review by Ronzi et al. also occurred in high- or middle-income settings. This creates a strong rationale for further attention to promising practices for intergenerational programs in conflict settings.

International Medical Corps’s Program in Ukraine

Beginning from the early days of the conflict in 2015, International Medical Corps implemented child protection and psychosocial support activities in Eastern Ukraine. International Medical Corps supported local Ukrainian organizations that provided care to veterans, internally displaced persons, and affected communities. Notably, Ukrainians represented the majority of International Medical Corps’s teams. While volunteers and international, state, local, and academic actors responded to this crisis in Eastern Ukraine, there was a lack of knowledge on global guidelines and best practices for providing mental health and psychosocial support to populations affected by a humanitarian crisis. To address these challenges, International Medical Corps implemented a project, with support from the United States Agency for International Development, to contextualize the IASC Guidelines on MHPSS in Emergencies (2007) to Ukraine. International Medical Corps strengthened coordination among a range of MHPSS actors in order to share global guidelines, discuss and solve common problems, map existing services, and strengthen referral networks. During this time, Ukraine’s Ministry of

Health was leading mental health reform. With support from the World Bank, International Medical Corps conducted community-level assessments of depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, alcohol use disorder, as well as help seeking and mental health care in three Ukrainian cities. This assessment provided recommendations to strengthen community-based mental health care (Weissbecker et al., 2018).

Programs with Young People and Older Adults in Eastern Ukraine

Within the context of International Medical Corps's overall programs to respond to the conflict in Ukraine, this chapter focuses on the child protection and psychosocial support activities with young people and older adults in Eastern Ukraine. The projects occurred in urban and rural areas in the Donetsk Region. With funding from the Office of U.S. Foreign Affairs and Disaster Assistance and UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund), the project aimed to implement programs in accordance with international best practices and guidelines, as well as engage affected families and communities in promotion of psychosocial well-being and self-care. The psychosocial support component sought to enhance psychosocial well-being and reduce psychological and social suffering for at-risk groups affected by the conflict. The child protection program sought to ensure access to emergency support, improve well-being and resilience, as well as strengthen the protective environment for the most vulnerable, conflict-affected children, young people, and their parents. To tailor these programs to address the concerns and resources of young people and older adults in Eastern Ukraine, International Medical Corps conducted community-level assessments as previously described in this chapter (International Medical Corps, 2016a, 2016c; International Medical Corps-UNICEF, 2018). International Medical Corps created curricula for young people and older adult programming using participatory techniques. Throughout the process of project implementation, monitoring, and evaluation, International Medical Corps identified challenges and lessons learned to guide future practice with conflict-affected young people and older adults. International Medical Corps and its Ukrainian partners also facilitated joint activities with young people and older adults, a promising practice for future programs. Notably, these programs occurred within the context of comprehensive service provision, including the Healthy Habits For Happy Kids program; Positive Parenting programs; mapping of services; recreational activities for children, adolescents, and their families; a new group for adolescent males; and community-based projects engaging adolescents and their caregivers. These programs also occurred within the broader context of International Medical Corps initiatives to strengthen the capacity of Ukrainian service providers on child protection and psychosocial support, and ongoing support to mental health reform at the national level. However, detailed descriptions of these program components fall beyond the scope of this chapter.

PARTICIPATORY CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

Through conducting community-level assessments (International Medical Corps, 2016a, 2016c; International Medical Corps-UNICEF, 2018), International Medical Corps gained further insights on the key concerns and existing capacities among young people and older adults in Eastern Ukraine. The child and young person's assessment identified a lack of children and young people's access to recreational activities to stimulate appropriate social and emotional development in areas of high concern, as well as near the contact line (International Medical Corps 2016a). In the villages, the assessment of the overall population highlighted the need for activities to include older adults (International Medical Corps, 2016c). As a result, International Medical Corps decided to facilitate programs focused on older adults. More recently, International Medical Corps-UNICEF's (2018) assessment emphasized challenges with communication between children, young people, and adults, as well as peers, alongside difficulties with expression of emotions, bullying, and low self-esteem. These findings also informed curriculum development.

To design programs suited to the context and culture of Eastern Ukraine, International Medical Corps utilized a process of participatory curriculum development. While incorporating feedback from affected community members, International Medical Corps also drew on various evidence-based approaches, with adaptations to the local context. As an example, International Medical Corps developed the active longevity programs for older adults according to evidence-based practices, such as strengthening social support. However, the groups used strategies to foster social support tailored to Ukrainian culture, such as singing groups. The circumstances in Eastern Ukraine are continually changing, so updated assessments are important to identify changing needs and resources. International Medical Corps also used an ongoing process to contextualize curriculums based on the evolving needs and resources of the communities.

Curriculum Development for Young People

International Medical Corps designed a Youth Empowerment Program (YEP) curriculum, implemented previously with conflict-affected young people in the Middle East (International Medical Corps/Rayes, 2017). The YEP uses nonformal education and age-appropriate participatory activities, such as role-play, to enhance life skills. In Ukraine, staff from International Medical Corps and its partners adapted the YEP curriculum to the local context. The YEP curriculum includes topics such as alcohol use and abuse, decision-making skills, healthy lifestyles, and relationships. Updated versions of the YEP curriculum prioritized the following themes: relationships with peers, communication skills, relationships with parents, anti-bullying, making decisions, gender relations, nutrition, and self-esteem. In addition to the weekly sessions on specific topics, young people design, develop, and implement community-based youth projects.

Through these community-based projects, young people created child-friendly spaces in their schools, completed minor renovations and repairs in local health centers, organized recreational activities for peers and community members, and facilitated intergenerational communication. These community-based projects provide young people with an opportunity to apply the life skills taught during the YEP weekly sessions. These community-based projects also give young people an opportunity to create projects that positively affect their communities; increase motivation, leadership skills, and self-esteem; and instill a sense of ownership—boosting attributes that the prolonged conflict in Eastern Ukraine may negatively affect.

Older Adult Program Curriculum Development

International Medical Corps's staff developed the Active Longevity curriculum with input from older adults through a pilot project. During this pilot project, staff began weekly structured activities with a few key themes and then asked the community to give suggestions for future topics. Based on the recommendations from older adults, staff developed relevant activities. After implementing the topic, the International Medical Corps psychologist gathered feedback from the older adults. Through the feedback and experience gained in this pilot, International Medical Corps's team developed the Active Longevity curriculum. In partnership with International Medical Corps, a local Ukrainian organization also implemented a four-month program for older people at an in-patient rehabilitation center for older adults in Mariupol. This program included group discussions and activities guided by a curriculum drafted by the local organization with support from International Medical Corps. Group topics included strategies to increase physical activity, expand one's social life, reduce isolation, cope with difficult emotions, and increase well-being. International Medical Corps's other local partner facilitated groups for older adults that aimed at restoring physical health, psychosocial support, and helping older adults adjust to new challenges that arose as a result of the conflict, such as social isolation and lack of family supports.

Joint Programming between Young People and Older Adults

Through the program activities, young people engaged with older adults. As part of the YEP, young people developed and implemented community-based projects. In one village, young people decided to renovate the handwashing stations at the local school, where students can wash their hands prior to entering the dining room. To complete the project, the young people identified the necessary supplies, such as paints and paintbrushes. Using these supplies, the young people renovated and decorated the handwashing stations. The young people planned an opening ceremony to share their work, inviting local older adults from International Medical Corps's Active Longevity club to attend. During the opening ceremony, participants cut a red ribbon to celebrate the young people's initiative to

renovate the space. After the ceremony, the young people and older adults ate, danced, and sang together. The older adults organized a concert of Ukrainian, Russian, and Greek songs for the young people. Afterward, the young people incorporated the poetry, renovations, decorations, and intergenerational celebration into a video. This community-based project led by young people successfully promoted intergenerational connections within the community and strengthened the social cohesion among the families and communities.

Staff from International Medical Corps's local partner who are involved with the YEP also recommended a joint event between young people and older adults. For this event, older adults invited YEP participants to one of their activities. During the event, young people prepared tea for the older adults. Young people and older adults engaged in conversation over tea. Though there were more older adults in attendance than young people, the event still provided a forum for the two generations to discuss "what unites them, about their interests. They were speaking about modern means of communication. Children have asked about interests and life of older adults, listened to their life stories" (International Medical Corps, 2016b).

International Medical Corps gathered feedback on the meeting through monitoring and evaluation procedures. Overall, participants stated that they were satisfied with the meeting. The young people stated that they liked the concept of having meetings together with older adults, describing the impact of the event on their own lives as well as on their perception of older adults. Young people said that the joint event increased their positive view of older adults in the community, which in turn provided older adults with more attention and respect. Some young people also expressed an increased empathy toward the circumstances of older adults as a result of the interaction. The young people also stated that the joint engagement with older adults increased their own confidence. Some young people felt worried about meeting with the older adults prior to the meeting. However, during the interaction with older adults, the young people began to see there were many interesting topics they could discuss. After the meeting, children also started to visit older adults in different areas of the city. Some young people also started to visit a center for older adults to spend time visiting, connecting, and sharing experiences with the older adults. Based on the feedback from participants, older adults were grateful for the attention they received during the joint meeting and emphasized the importance of these types of gatherings. Older adults said that the engagement in the joint activity with young people gave them a meaningful role in the community, and that the activity provided them with additional emotional and physical strength and fostered their positive role in the community (International Medical Corps, 2016b). More recently, as part of International Medical Corps's recreational and awareness-raising activities, some villages facilitated activities for families with a focus on older adults.

DISCUSSION AND LESSONS LEARNED ON JOINT ACTIVITIES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE AND OLDER ADULTS

Successes from Programs with Young People

Program monitoring and evaluation data highlighted improved social skills and stronger relationships with peers and family members among young people who participated in International Medical Corps's programs. While an extensive discussion of monitoring and evaluation is beyond the scope of this chapter, program monitoring and evaluation included qualitative and quantitative data collected through pre-and post-tests and community-based feedback mechanisms. Based on the programming from 2016 and 2017, interviews with school educators and psychologists indicated the following impacts of International Medical Corps's programming on children and young people:

- Children and young people applied improved life and social skills to their daily lives, enhancing their ability to cope with stressful situations and plan for the future.
- The sessions that focused on dealing with adults and activities where children and young people asked their parents or caregivers for ideas to improve their behavior may have contributed to enhanced communication with parents or caregivers.
- Children and young people had strengthened peer-to-peer networks and improved interactions with peers.
- Young people who exhibited disruptive behavior, disrespect, and low engagement in the weekly sessions on social and life skills developed a high level of commitment to designing and implementing the community-based projects. During the community-based projects, these young people demonstrated high levels of leadership and responsibility.

Similarly, feedback from Positive Parenting, Healthy Habits for Healthy Children and the YEP evaluations from 2018 to 2019 suggested that these activities strengthened relationships among the entire family rather than only the relationships between parents or caregivers and their children. Specifically, group participants stated that children and young people began to spend more time with their families and engaging in positive activities. Group members also noted the development of more open and honest communication. When the program finished, educators most frequently noticed positive changes among their students' communication skills, assertiveness, problem solving, self-control, empathy, and cooperation.

Successes from Older Adults' Programs

Older participants reported increased social circles, self-esteem, communication skills, self-care, and understanding of the advantages of older age as a result of

the activities. Some participants articulated the positive impact of the programming as follows: “At those sessions, the thunder of war is much less heard”; “We used to just say hello to each other on the street, now we are friends”; and “I used to be sad and had problems from childhood, but this group really helped me.” The Active Longevity sessions continue to be implemented by participants or local partners in a majority of the locations targeted after International Medical Corps finished its support. The groups shared roles and responsibilities among themselves. For example, group members began to take on the responsibility to gather participants to arrange administrative details and the content of the sessions. Participants in the groups for older adults implemented by International Medical Corps’s local partner in the inpatient rehabilitation center reported that the groups enhanced their mood, helped them cope with external stress factors, and feel more involved. The groups for older adults implemented by International Medical Corps’s other local partner helped older adults to identify new interests and activities to fill leisure time, reduce social isolation, and improve vitality. More recently, field staff who facilitated the older-adults program observed that participants started to care more for each other and support each other. This feedback suggests that the activities may have strengthened social cohesion within the community.

CHALLENGES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on challenges and lessons learned within the previously described programs, International Medical Corps staff identified the following recommendations for future activities:

Community Mobilization and Engagement with the Affected Population

- *Allow sufficient time to strengthen coordination with local leaders.* When selecting locations for program activities, it is important to allocate sufficient time to explore involving the community leaders who are respected and trusted by other community members. This may promote stronger participation of local community members. Community leaders may include school or village administrators.
- *Strengthen coordination with the village administration.* Collaborate with the village administration through regular communication about programs and services. Use a consistent mode of communication centered on community issues, resources, and areas of support to promote the village administration’s engagement in service provision. For example, within the programs described in this chapter, locations with stronger coordination with village administration provided more opportunities for communities to access case management, as well as psychological and emergency supports, while linking those in need to services provided by other agencies and government entities.

Programs Focused on Children and Adolescents

- *Begin the community-based projects process earlier in the Youth Empowerment Program to allow for project monitoring.* While risk mapping and identification of risks and solutions occur earlier in the YEP, provide young people with an opportunity to begin planning the community-based projects closer to the beginning of the YEP, to allow more time to design and implement these projects. Starting community-based projects earlier also provides more opportunities to monitor projects. Project monitoring should explore the implementation of community-based projects, identify areas in need of additional support, and address challenges. Addressing challenges may require meetings with community leaders, such as school or village administrators.
- *Support activity facilitators to model positive behaviors for children and young people.* Provide activity facilitators with training and ongoing supervision to improve their own abilities to understand and manage emotions, express empathy, show self-awareness, demonstrate self-control, and use healthy communication styles. Build activity facilitators' ability to apply these social-emotional skills to their own lives and work through initial training and ongoing supervision, using role-plays and opportunities for reflective practice.
- *Continue to engage educators, parents, and caregivers of children and young people within programs focused on children and young people.* Collaborate with school administrators, educators, parents, and caregivers to share key messages from school-based, group interventions for children and young people. This is particularly important when work or other responsibilities may prevent parents or caregivers from participating in these activities. Sharing these key messages informs parents or caregivers of the knowledge and skills presented to their children within these groups, allowing the parent or caregiver to provide further support in line with these values, attitudes, and behavior at home. It also enables parents and caregivers to learn more about community services. For example, collaborate with parent or caregiver-teacher committees in schools to organize awareness-raising activities to disseminate messages on positive coping, communication skills, and stress management among parents and caregivers.
- *Develop programs based on children's and young people's developmental stage rather than only their chronological age.* Rather than developing programs only for young people based on chronological age or school grade, it is important to consider the students' developmental stage. For example, it can be difficult to decide if students who are in grade 6 should attend Healthy Habits for Happy Children or the Youth Empowerment Program as some students in grade 6 may benefit more from attending the YEP rather than Healthy Habits for Happy Children.

Intergenerational Programming

- *Include children and young people within the intergenerational programs.* As the intergenerational activities described in this chapter involved only young people and older adults, future intergenerational activities could also include children.

For example, include grandparents in two or three sessions of Positive Parenting Programs after parents and children have completed some joint sessions on topics such as psychological first aid for children and positive parenting. However, it is also important to encourage children and young people to participate in a range of programming in order to promote their healthy development. For example, encourage children and young people to participate in Healthy Habits for Happy Kids or Youth Empowerment Programs, as well as joint activities with parents and grandparents.

- *Consider the capacity building required for staff to successfully design and implement intergenerational activities.* Consider the capacity building or competencies required to effectively facilitate intergenerational programming. For example, it is important to have an understanding of the situational challenges for the distinct age groups of children, young people, and older adults. It is also important to explore any potential risks when engaging the two age groups, as well as strategies to mitigate any potential harms. As another example, consider if the young people engaged in the program experience behavioral difficulties that may be overwhelming for older adults who are unprepared to address these challenges.
- *Incorporate the intergenerational program aspect at the program design stage.* Within the project described in this chapter, the intergenerational aspect of programming emerged during program implementation. Future programs should develop a strategy to incorporate the intergenerational component into the program design and implementation from the beginning.
- *Strengthen participatory processes to identify themes for intergenerational programs.* Future joint activities could include intergenerational themes. Projects could use a participatory process to pre-identify topics for discussion within the joint activities or for the activities themselves. Before implementing the activities, constructive dialogue could engage young people and older adults to design the activities as well as tailor the activities to their key concerns and existing resources or strengths. Identifying potential themes for intergenerational activities could improve preparation, develop preset conversations, and provide more structure to the activities. For example, a program could facilitate a session to discuss potential themes for intergenerational activities. An example of a potential theme for intergenerational discussion could be the challenges young people and children currently experience in the community, such as engagement with technology.
- *Integrate an intergenerational approach within the Youth Empowerment Program.* Though the YEP included a community-based project led by young people, programs could also explore ways in which these community-based projects could engage older adults. For example, programs could explore the potential for young people to do home visits to isolated adults in the villages, as safe and appropriate. It is also important to explore the necessary training and support required for young people to effectively provide home visits for isolated older adults in communities affected by conflict. As another example, when young

people are planning their community-based projects, it is important to consider what information program facilitators should provide to young people about the older adults within their community. This information may encourage young people to design a community-based project with older adults. Since the YEP includes a community mapping exercise, young people could consider mapping the infrastructure and generational components of the community, including older adults.

- *Incorporate opportunities for older adults to share skills with youth within programs.* Develop programs that incorporate opportunities for older adults to share skills with children and young people. For example, a project could map skills among older adults, as well as interests among children and young people. The project could then match older adults with children and young people who are interested in the same activities. Potential themes could include gardening; food preparation, such as pickling foods like melon rinds; baking; or music, such as playing instruments and singing. In Ukraine, older adults know many songs about their communities. It is important to consider if the children and young people already know these songs or if the songs will eventually be lost. To prevent the songs from being lost, older adults, children, and young people could create a community book of songs. As another example, children, young people, and older adults could develop a community storybook describing local historical events and containing examples of ways people helped each other or describing certain traditions. This may contribute to the preservation of and passing along of cultural traditions between generations.

CONCLUSION

This chapter contributes to the existing knowledge on intergenerational programming in settings affected by armed conflict by describing the engagement between young people and older adults as part of International Medical Corps's programs in Eastern Ukraine. This chapter also highlights the importance of participation and strengthening family ties among children, young people, and older adults in the midst of conflict. Intergenerational activities should consider the unique life stages, vulnerabilities, and resources among populations affected by conflict. Future research and program monitoring and evaluations should continue to explore how to effectively implement intergenerational programming, as well as explore the impact of intergenerational programming on the well-being and healthy development of children, young people, and older adults affected by armed conflict.

NOTE

1. It is important to note that this chapter was written prior to February 2022. As such, this chapter does not include more recent assessment reports, implications, and recommendations pertaining to the conflict's escalation in 2022.

REFERENCES

- Age and Disability Capacity Programme (ADCAP) (2018). Humanitarian inclusion standards for older people and people with disabilities. https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Humanitarian_inclusion_standards_for_older_people_and_people_with_disabi...pdf
- Akerkar, S, & Bhardwaj, R. (2018). *Good practice guide: Embedding inclusion of older people and people with disabilities in humanitarian policy and practice—lessons learnt from the ADCAP programme*. Age and Disability Consortium (ADCAP). Oxford Brookes University, Oxford. <https://www.cbmuk.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Good-Practice-Guide-FINAL-ONLINE.pdf>
- Berk, L. (2017). *Development through the lifespan* (7th ed.). Pearson.
- Betancourt, T. S., Borisova, I., Williams, T. P., Meyers-Ohki, S. E., Rubin-Smith, J. E., Annan, J., & Kohrt, B. A. (2013). Research review: Psychosocial adjustment and mental health in former child soldiers—a systematic review of the literature and recommendations for future research. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 54(1), 17–36.
- Blanchet, K., Ramesh, A., Frison, S., Warren, E., Hossain, M., Smith, J., Knight, A., Post, N., Lewis, C., Woodward, A., Dahab, M., Ruby, A., Sistenich, V., Pantuliano, S., & Roberts, B. (2017). Evidence on public health interventions in humanitarian crises. *The Lancet*, 390(10109), 2287–2296.
- Bragin, M. (2007). The psychological effects of war on children: A psychosocial approach. In E. K. Carl (Ed.), *Trauma psychology: Issues in violence, disaster, health and illness* (pp. 195–229). Praeger.
- Eggerman, M., & Panter-Brick, C. (2010). Suffering, hope, and entrapment: Resilience and cultural values in Afghanistan. *Social Science & Medicine*, 71(1), 71–83.
- Flores, E., Cicchetti, D., & Rogosch, F. A. (2005). Predictors of resilience in maltreated and nonmaltreated Latino children. *Developmental Psychology*, 41(2), 338.
- Gualano, M. R., Vaglino, G., Bert, F., Thomas, R., Camussi, E., & Siliquini, R. (2018). The impact of intergenerational programs on children and older adults: a review. *International Psychogeriatrics*, 30(4), 451–468.
- Help Age International. (2000). Older people in disasters and humanitarian crises: Guidelines for best practice. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/4124b9f44.html>
- Help Age International. (2015). A new convention on the rights of older people: A concrete proposal. <https://social.un.org/ageing-working-group/documents/sixth/HelpAgeInternational.pdf>
- Help Age International. (2018). Emergency protection-based support to conflict affected older women and men in the GCAS locations of Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts baseline report. https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/helpage_baseline_report_usaid_echo_july_2018.pdf
- Hutton D. (2008). *Older persons and emergencies: Considerations for policy and action*. World Health Organization. www.who.int/ageing/publications/active/en/index.html
- Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC). (2007). *IASC Guidelines on Mental Health and Psychosocial Support in Emergency Settings*. IASC. <https://interagencystandingcommittee.org/iasc-task-force-mental-health-and-psychosocial-support-emergency-settings/iasc-guidelines-mental-health-and-psychosocial-support-emergency-settings-2007>
- Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC). (2019). Community-Based Approaches to MHPSS Programmes: A Guidance Note. IASC. <https://interagencystandingcommittee.org/iasc-reference-group-mental-health-and-psychosocial-support-emergency-settings/iasc-community-based-approaches-mhpss-programmes-guidance-note>
- International Medical Corps. (2016a). *Children and youth assessment* [Unpublished report].
- International Medical Corps (2016b, December). *Partner organization report* [Internal report].
- International Medical Corps. (2016c). *Rapid field assessment* [Unpublished report].

- International Medical Corps/Rayes, D. (2017). *Empowering Syrian refugee youth living in urban and camp settings in Jordan—summary of International Medical Corps Youth Empowerment Program evaluation*. https://cdn.internationalmedicalcorps.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/LMC-Jordan-YEP_Eval.pdf
- International Medical Corps-UNICEF. (2018) *Needs assessment of children, adolescents, parents and caregivers in southern Donetsk Oblast*. [Unpublished report].
- International Organization for Mobilization (IOM). (2018). *National monitoring system report on the situation of internally displaced persons September 2018*. http://www.iom.org.ua/sites/default/files/nms_round_11_eng_press.pdf
- Jones, L. (1998). Adolescent groups for encamped Bosnian refugees: Some problems and solutions. *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 3(4), 541–551.
- Kaga, M., & Nakache, D. (2019). Whose needs count in situations of forced displacement? Revaluating older people and addressing their exclusion from research and humanitarian programmes. *International Journal of Migration and Border Studies*, 5(1–2), 134–151.
- Masten, A. S., & Narayan, A. J. (2012). Child development in the context of disaster, war, and terrorism: Pathways of risk and resilience. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 63, 227–257.
- Miller-Graff, L. E., & Cummings, E. M. (2017). The Israeli–Palestinian conflict: Effects on youth adjustment, available interventions, and future research directions. *Developmental Review*, 43, 1–47.
- Murray, L. K., Haroz, E. E., Doty, S. B., Singh, N. S., Bogdanov, S., Bass, J., Dorsey, S., & Bolton, P. (2018). Testing the effectiveness and implementation of a brief version of the Common Elements Treatment Approach (CETA) in Ukraine: A study protocol for a randomized controlled trial. *Trials*, 19(1), p. 418.
- Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (OCHA). (2018). *Ukraine situation report*. Last updated December 31, 2018. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Situation%20Report%20-%20Ukraine%20-%2031%20Dec%202018.pdf>
- Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (OCHA). (2019). *Ukraine situation report*. Last updated May 1, 2019. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Situation%20Report%20-%20Ukraine%20-%2001%20May%202019.pdf>
- Panther-Brick, C., Grimon, M. P., & Eggerman, M. (2014). Caregiver—child mental health: A prospective study in conflict and refugee settings. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 55(4), 313–327.
- Punamäki, R. (2014). Mental health and development among children living in violent conditions: Underlying processes for promoting peace. In J. Leckman, C. Panther-Brick, & R. Salah (Eds.), *Pathways to peace: The transformative power of children and families*. MIT Press.
- Ridout, A. (2016) *Older voices in humanitarian crises: Calling for change* (pp.1–20). HelpAge International, London, UK. <https://www.ageinternational.org.uk/globalassets/documents/older-voices-in-humanitarian-crises—report.pdf>
- Ronzi, S., Orton, L., Pope, D., Valtorta, N. K., & Bruce, N. G. (2018). What is the impact on health and wellbeing of interventions that foster respect and social inclusion in community-residing older adults? A systematic review of quantitative and qualitative studies. *Systematic reviews*, 7(1), 26.
- Somasundaram, D. (2007). Collective trauma in northern Sri Lanka: A qualitative psychosocial-ecological study. *International Journal of Mental Health Systems*, 1(1), 1–27. doi:10.1186/1752-4458-1-5
- Somasundaram, D. (2010). Collective trauma in the Vanni—a qualitative inquiry into the mental health of the internally displaced due to the civil war in Sri Lanka. *International Journal of Mental Health Systems*, 4(1), 1–31. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1752-4458-4-22>
- Sphere Association. (2018). *The Sphere handbook: Humanitarian charter and minimum standards in humanitarian response* (4th ed.). Geneva, Switzerland. www.spherestandards.org/handbook

- Stanford Center on Longevity. (2016). *Hidden in plain sight: How intergenerational relationships can transform our future*. <http://longevity3.stanford.edu/hidden-in-plain-sight-how-inter-generational-relationships-can-transform-our-future/>
- Tol, W. A., Song, S., & Jordans, M. J. (2013). Annual research review: Resilience and mental health in children and adolescents living in areas of armed conflict—a systematic review of findings in low- and middle-income countries. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 54(4), 445–460.
- UNICEF. (2018). *Operational guidelines on community based mental health and psychosocial support in humanitarian settings: Three-tiered support for children and families (field test version)*. <https://app.mhpss.net/?get=309/unicef-cb-mhpss-guidelines1.pdf>
- UNICEF Ukraine. (2019). *An evidence-based analysis of the psychosocial adaptability of conflict-exposed adolescents and the role of the education systems as a protective environment*. <http://un.org.ua/images/documents/4638/School%20Connectedness%20ENG.pdf>
- United Nations (UN). (2002) *Political declaration and Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing, Second World Assembly on Ageing, Madrid*. <https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/ageing/MIPAA/political-declaration-en.pdf>
- United Nations Ukraine. (2015). *Youth of Ukraine 2015*. [http://www.un.org.ua/images/documents/3687/doslidzhennya_block_eng\(1\).pdf](http://www.un.org.ua/images/documents/3687/doslidzhennya_block_eng(1).pdf)
- Ventevogel, P. (2015). The effects of war: Local views and priorities concerning psychosocial and mental health problems as a result of collective violence in Burundi. *Intervention*, 13(3), 216–234. <https://doi.org/10.1097/WTF.000000000000100>
- Ventevogel, P., Jordans, M., Eggerman, M., van Mierlo, B., & Panter-Brick, C. (2013). Child mental health, psychosocial wellbeing, and resilience in Afghanistan: A review and future directions. In C. Fernando & M. Ferrari (Eds.), *Handbook of resilience in children of war* (pp. 51–79). Springer.
- Weissbecker, I., Khan, O., Kondakova, N., Poole, L., & Cohen, J. (2018). *Mental health in transition: Assessment and guidance for strengthening integration of mental health into primary health care and community-based service platforms in Ukraine*. Global Mental Health Initiative. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/747231517553325438/Психічне-здоров'я-на-перехідному-етапі-оцінка-та-керівництво-для-посилення-інтеграції-психічного-здоров'я>
- Wells, J. (2005). *Protecting and assisting older people in emergencies*. Humanitarian Practice Network. London: Overseas Development Institute. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/43cfa4364.html>
- World Health Organization (WHO). (2008). *Older persons in emergencies: An active ageing perspective*. http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/43909/9789241563642_eng.pdf?sequence=1
- World Health Organization (WHO). (2014). *Health for the world's adolescents: A second chance in the second decade*. https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/112750/WHO_FWC_MCA_14.05_eng.pdf?sequence=1

5 • BEST PRACTICES FOR CHILDREN AND THEIR FAMILIES IN POSTCONFLICT SETTINGS

A Culturally Informed, Strength-Based Family Therapy Model

SHARON BOND AND JASWANT GUZDER

The war acquires comparatively little significance for children so long as it only threatens their lives, disturbs their material comfort, or cuts their food rations. It becomes enormously significant the moment it breaks up family life and uproots the first emotional attachments of the child within the family group. (Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham, 1943, as cited in Jones, 2019, p. 833)

Despite the impact of family factors on the mental health adjustment of children and young refugees being widely acknowledged, working with the whole family is relatively rare in practice or in the clinical literature. Most psychosocial and mental health interventions for children in conflict-affected and resettlement settings have focused more narrowly on children rather than on their lives embedded within families and social environments. Studies exploring the impact of refugee experiences have been criticized for their exclusive focus on individual mental health with minimal attention to the contributions toward resilience and framing the strengths of the larger family network. When clinical interventions occur, they typically remain focused on mothers and children, often excluding the narratives or influence of fathers. A recent systematic review of the immigrant and refugee literature underlined the absence of fathers in caretaking or family roles (Panter-Brick et al., 2014). In fact, 95 percent of research on refugee and displaced populations focused on women and girls, with only 5 percent on refugee men and boys (Affleck et al., 2018). Mainstream research has long considered mothers the

only important caregiver, a bias that is overdetermined in the immigrant literature. A significant gender bias also exists in refugee research where boys and men are significantly underrepresented (Affleck et al., 2018; Lamb & Bougher, 2009). Looking beyond the heterosexual refugee and immigrant family system, it is essential to underscore how refugees identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ+) are often forced to flee their countries of origin during times of war where their same-sex relationships or gender identities are either criminalized or victimized because of political persecution or draconian homophobic and transphobic “propaganda laws” prevalent across the globe (Alessi, 2016, p. 203). Sexual and gender minority individuals from war-affected countries experience significant resettlement challenges, having experienced “multiple traumatic events” from their countries and often families of origin, including “physical and emotional abuse, assault, corrective rape, forced heterosexual marriage, conversion therapy,” to name a few (Shidlo & Ahloa, 2013 as cited in Alessi, 2016, p. 203). Yet the literature on postconflict resettlement recognizes the family as a significant base of social support and security as individual adults and children navigate their external environments (Boehnlein & Kinzie, 1995; Pieloc et al., 2016; Weine et al., 2008; Alessi, 2016). An extensive review of traumatic stress forced migration and the resettlement challenges for LGBTQ+ sexual minority refugees (Alessi et al., 2018) elaborates on these issues. The family remains the primary source of cohesion and protection, providing the needed buffer during the anguish of postwar resettlement (De Haene & Rousseau, 2020). As discussed in the introductory chapter, the concept of family needs to be operationalized, especially when implementing services taking into consideration who will be included in the family services offered.

This chapter focuses on systemic and family therapy approaches within the resettlement context for survivors of conflict-affected regions. An overview of best practices for the treatment of war-affected children and their families in post-conflict settings includes the important role of fathers. The chapter will specifically demonstrate an overview of a culturally informed, strength-based family therapy model.

The cumulative impact of social and psychological stressors of familial dislocation, war-related mourning, and complex trauma, in addition to social dislocation and unemployment exert important impacts on the structural organization of war-affected families. The role of grief and shared trauma experiences among family members impacts unique postmigratory processes where therapists may support the integration of a shared narrative that will be important to their meaning-making, healing, adaptation, and resilience.

WORKING WITH WAR-AFFECTED CHILDREN AND THEIR FAMILIES: FAMILY THERAPY ON THE FRONT LINE

It is widely understood that the devastation of war takes an enormous toll on individual mental health and family functioning, including the impact of post-

traumatic response patterns in conflict and postconflict populations (Nickerson et al., 2011; Weissbecker et al., 2019). Loss of family members, dislocation, loss of homeland, and family restructuring are only a few of the many challenges facing families in the aftermath of war (Kamy & Pravder Mirkin, 2019; Pacione et al., 2013). As eloquently expressed by Denov et al. (2019), “War ruptures the fabric of life that supports healthy child development, severs familial and social networks, and breaks down the structures that provide preventive, curative and ameliorative care” (p. 17). The impact of war and traumatic loss has long-term, intragenerational consequences for both individuals and the family (Denov et al., 2019; Jones, 2019; Yehuda & Bierer, 2008). The sense of displacement, confusion, and distrust of social institutions can further intensify, turning to families as a protective structure to maintain cultural continuity (Punamäki et al., 2017; Rivera et al., 2008). This concept is nicely illustrated by Punamäki et al. (2017) through the following quote: “Families face hardships together, forming a system in which each member takes on an ‘emotional share of work,’ showing endurance, manifesting symptoms, and caring for one another” (p. 1).

Despite best practice recommendations, conceptualizing the individual within their relational context is rarely implemented in practice on the front line in conflict and disaster zones (Petersen et al., 2015). Applying an ecosystemic framework includes the provision of a “layered system of complementary supports to address the complex needs of the individual, family and larger community” (Jones, 2008, p. 298). A systematic review of best practices in both conflict and postconflict settings (Petersen et al., 2015) identifies improved mental health outcomes when psychosocial support was adapted to cultural and relational contexts using a holistic approach to mental health.

A culturally responsive model of mental health literacy facilitates both help seeking and clinical response to ethnocultural minority populations (Na et al., 2016) by appreciating the complexity of cultural diversity. Measham et al. (2014) recommend three mental health principles for guiding treatment with war-affected children and their families: (1) the use of comprehensive, community-based services; (2) the provision of culturally competent services; and (3) the integration of evidence-based practice. Attention to family strengths and resilience should underscore all treatment approaches (Measham et al., 2014; Pacione et al., 2013; Ungar, 2010, 2015; Walsh, 2016).

FAMILY SYSTEMS INTERVENTIONS WITH WAR-AFFECTED FAMILIES: THE IMPORTANCE OF FAMILY

As early as 1943, Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham highlighted the devastating impact of loss of family for children in their groundbreaking work in the wartime nurseries. Their work guided considerations for the following key areas for clinical attention to war affected families: (1) attachment disruption; (2) a holistic approach to family-informed systems therapy; (3) attention to the

migration trajectory and related challenges to the family system; and (4) family resilience.

Attachment Disruption

Attachment disruption in the context of premigratory war stressors and postmigratory resettlement stressors remains a central feature of the resettlement process. Immigrants and refugees endure dislocation and loss of family members in the aftermath of war as they rebuild their lives to find meaning and hope in new-found relationships and community (Alessi, 2016). However, cumulative losses and primary attachment disruption remain crucial to potential long-term mental health adjustment (Dalgaard et al., 2016; Nickerson et al., 2011). Cumulative losses can include loss of language, social network, and sense of home and place and all that is familiar. Eloranta et al. (2017) explain that “Children in war zones can experience multiple traumatic experiences, such as threats and humiliation towards family members, human and material losses, and witnessing atrocities” (p. 302). These traumas have a profound impact on one’s personal sense of safety and well-being, including connection to the larger community.

The significance of loss of children’s primary attachment figures should not be minimized. Lynne Jones, a humanitarian child psychiatrist working in conflict and disaster settings (in an interview with Carroll, 2018) references the original writings of Freud and Burlingham (1943) to underscore the importance of family attachment for children of war: “Although being shelled or living in a squalid refugee camp may seem like worst-case scenarios for children, they’re not. What’s actually most devastating, more than anything, children need to be with people who love them” (Jones, as cited in Carroll, 2018, p. 1). Jones (2008) underscores the essential role of family for children and that clinicians should be “particularly alert to socially isolated children, children who have lost close family relatives” (p. 293). She stresses that psychological consequences can result when children lose these primary bonds of affiliation. Efforts to strengthen family attachment security promote better postwar outcomes, providing a counterbalance to the devastation of adverse life events (Eloranta et al., 2017). It remains our essential clinical task to support these primary attachment connections, to facilitate family cohesion and strengthen attachment security.

A Holistic Approach: Family-Informed Systems Therapy

A growing body of literature supports a broad-based, family-informed intervention framework in conflict and war-affected regions (Charles, 2015, 2019; Greene et al., 2017; Guzder, 2014; Jones, 2008; Mooren et al., 2019; Patterson et al., 2018; Slobodin & de Jong, 2015; Wieling, 2018). Best practice models advocate for a family-informed socio-ecological systems approach that focuses on the social, cultural, psychological, economic, and political environments, and human rights advocacy that shape child and family development (Bond, 2019; Falicov, 2019).

Family systems theory provides a comprehensive framework for understanding how migration intersects with the life cycle process, with heightened stress intersecting at pivotal developmental life course transitions as described here: “The family systems approach to mental health is warranted in war conditions, and therapeutic interventions for children should, thus, also involve parents and siblings. Knowledge of unique family attachment patterns across cultures informs therapeutic treatments and preventive interventions for war-affected children and families” (Punamäki et al., 2017, p. 3).

Attention to the Migration Trajectory: Challenges to the Family System

Migration is rarely a linear process but rather an undulated course. It involves flight from war, displacement often with a protracted period of multiple dislocations prior to the final resettlement in the host country (Denov et al., 2019; Fazel et al., 2012). Forced war-induced migration typically involves family separation, with physical relocation separating individuals from extended family systems, nuclear families, or, at minimum, community, or friendship circles. Migrants have typically endured adverse experiences along their migration journey (Slobodin & De Jong, 2015). The clinician needs to sensitively attend to possibilities of both pre- and postmigration trauma while simultaneously identifying strengths and capacities that fuel adaptations during migratory and resettlement processes (Braga et al., 2012). Research has confirmed that families that have endured hardships together are often strengthened by their close connection and caring for one another that nourish them in the face of adversity (Crittenden & Dallos, 2009; Montgomery, 2004; Walsh, 2016). Meaning-making from traumatic experiences can serve as an important framework and motivate the determination and resolve to push forward in adaptation.

Premigratory Trauma

In order to understand how people, move forward in the face of the terror of war and profound losses, we need to understand the often unspoken extent of premigratory trauma. Men’s experience of premigratory trauma is often neglected, though they have often been exposed to more extreme forms of trauma than women (Bond, 2019). Men are also subjected to more torture and imprisonment, often for a longer duration than women (Abu-Ras & Suarez, 2009). Like women, men are also victims of sexual violence and sexual torture during war, often at shockingly high rates (Affleck et al., 2018). These forms of premigratory trauma have a direct effect on parental caregiving and parenting capacity and postmigratory adjustment for both men and women (Ee et al., 2013; Sim et al., 2018). A study exploring the specific pathways of intergenerational transmission of trauma with Syrian refugees in Lebanon linked parental distress to harsh parenting practices, poor child adjustment, and impaired parent-child interaction (Sim et al., 2018). The family consequences of refugee trauma cannot be understated, underscoring the importance of adopting a family approach for refugee trauma.

Case of Premigratory Loss and Father Functioning

This clinical case illustrates a family therapy approach with a family who had survived years of war and refugee dislocation. Mr. Tien presented to the community clinic with symptoms of depression, post-traumatic stress (PTSD), and high levels of family conflict, including harsh paternal practices. The family was seen in family therapy with a focus on understanding the impact of the father's profound premigratory war trauma on the family system. The therapeutic space and systemic interventions allowed each member of the family system to process this suffering and the sessions aimed at supporting and strengthening their family relationships.

Mr. Tien is a 45-year-old father of Vietnamese origin who immigrated to Canada in 1982 as part of the Vietnamese "boat people" who fled Vietnam by boat after the Vietnam war. Mr. Tien experienced the war in Vietnam and as a young adolescent was imprisoned and tortured for attempting to escape the country. He finally managed to leave by boat at age 15. On passage to Canada their boat was overcome by pirates; their boat sank and many of the refugees died. Mr. Tien was a witness to these horrific events and had memories of dead corpses floating in the water, having to bury bodies in the jungle and all that he had to do to survive. The premigratory trauma was a salient feature in this case and continues to reverberate within the family system. For Mr. Tien, political imprisonment premigration, and the traumatic migration trajectory (witnessing deaths from malaria and other diseases contracted during the crowded and unsanitary passage, and the drowning of fellow refugees) were some of the many factors contributing to Mr. Tien's adjustment process and parental authority within the family.

A family-focused trauma approach recognizes the complex impact of trauma on the family system and the healing that occurs over time within a relational context, with members drawing strength and a sense of safety from one another. A research team conducting a qualitative investigation of Bosnian refugee families in Chicago developed the model "Family Consequences of Refugee Trauma (FAMCORT)" exploring four realms of family life: 1) changes in family roles and obligations; 2) changes in family memories and communication; 3) changes in family relationships; 4) changes in family relationships with the ethnic community and nation state" (Weine et al. 2004, p. 147). This method, entitled "Families rebuilding lives," recommends therapeutic strategies for each realm of family life to manage the consequences of trauma on the family system. A family-focused trauma approach was applied to the Tien family with the creation of a safe relational space to explore stories of trauma within the family context (De Heane et al., 2018). Applying the FAMCORT framework described above, areas focused on were the changes in family structure, roles, relationships, communication processes as well as the family's relationship with their ethnic community and the larger society. Although the family treatment allowed for the sharing of the family's migratory experiences, the unfolding of traumatic memories proceeded with caution and attunement to the affective responses of each family member. Parental trauma experiences are often

transmitted through a complexity of communication processes and mental states that include anger, affect intensity, and dissociation. The recommendation was for a slow-paced modulated disclosure of trauma material with therapeutic sensitivity to the possible impact of this type of sharing in session (Dalgaard & Montgomery, 2015; De Heane et al., 2018). Similarly, challenges with resettlement, gender role reversal, and reworking parenting practices were handled with care and sensitivity. The children were able to share their worry about their parents and fears of burdening them with their problems of everyday life. The family treatment progressively facilitated improved communication between members with the goal of adjusting parenting practices to facilitate increased parental understanding of their children's emotional and developmental needs.

The Aftermath of War: Postmigration Resettlement and Challenges to the Family Structure

There is increasing recognition of the importance of adopting a family approach when working with trauma and war-affected refugee families (Weine et al., 2004; Sime et al., 2018; Wieling, 2018). When families do resettle in a new homeland, it has been shown that postmigration stressors predict distress as powerfully as war exposure (Denov et al., 2019). A large body of research has identified that mental health is greatly affected by factors within the host country, including socioeconomic stress, social and interpersonal difficulties, and the challenges inherent in the immigration process (Kronick, 2018). As expressed by Measham et al. (2014), during resettlement, "child mental health is dependent on the family system, the larger community systems and the wider cultural and political climate" (p. 209). The family and positive community supports have been identified as important protective factors for children in high-income countries, namely "family cohesion, social support and positive school experiences" (Measham et al., 2014, p. 209). As clinicians, we need to search for and strengthen protective factors that support individual resilience and coping, which coexist alongside trauma responses (Braga et al., 2012).

Immigration and resettlement are considered a complex life cycle transition that may include major changes in the family structure, such as the shifting of familial roles and responsibilities. The complexity of the immigrant's experience, from premigration to resettlement and postmigratory adjustment, initiates an extended chain of change and adaptation in all spheres of life (Falicov, 1995, 2003, 2019; McGoldrick, 2008; McGoldrick et al., 2011; McGoldrick et al., 2005). Families of war experience fragmentation, including the loss of the primary familial leadership. These losses are multilayered and overlap many areas of social and personal functioning. They may lose their relationship with their language, country of origin, sense of home, of what is culturally familiar, professional or educational status and social status, cultural values, and beliefs, history, religion and spiritual practices, ability for self-expression, systems of mutual cooperation, and extended family supports and go-betweens (Kamya & Pravder Mirkin, 2019).

Resettlement can increase exposure to social forces of oppression, such as violence, susceptibility to exploitation, heightened poverty, economic insecurity, and feelings of cultural and linguistic isolation (Gangamma & Shipman, 2018; Rousseau et al., 2001). Gangamma and Shipman (2018) recommend a framework of transnational intersectionality to “better understand complexities of power and oppression across national contexts and their influence on refugees’ lives” (p. 206). This framework draws our attention to the larger systemic forces, the experience of social oppression and injustice that accompanies the resettlement journey. Migration and resettlement involve multilayered transitions and changes in roles, culture, language, and location, including significant economic and social adaptation. These transitions can contribute to “family relationship challenges, specifically cultural conflicts between traditional values that are collectivist in nature and American cultural values of individualism” (Ho & Birman, 2010, p. 3).

Family Challenges with Resettlement: Acculturation and Adaptation

The loss of cultural moorings and familiar community networks are a salient factor in the acculturation and adaptation process (Kamya & Pravder Mirkin, 2019). Falicov (2003) identifies the concept of meaning systems as a framework for understanding the sense of personal discontinuity for immigrants in their new environment. Falicov (2003) explains that “uprooting of meaning systems is perhaps the most fundamental dislocation of migration, that is the uprooting from known structures of cultural meanings tied to those national contexts” (p. 41–42). The inevitable differences of pacing evolving acculturation processes between refugee and immigrant parents and their children can lead to the rise of “acculturative distance,” that is, when parents strive to maintain and endorse their own cultural practices, whereas their children tend to embrace the cultural attitudes and behaviors of the host country (Ho, 2014; Ying & Han, 2007).

Acculturation difficulties can heighten gender role conflicts, including issues related to ethnic and religious identity and intergenerational conflict and dissonances within the family. Structural challenges to the family systems surface with the often staggered process of migration, including “separations and reunions between extended and nuclear family members but also among nuclear family members, such as when the father or the mother migrates first alone, to be reunited later with the children” (Falicov, 2003, p. 44). For fathers specifically, the changes in gender roles postmigration can be particularly stressful as they often experience the lessening of responsibility and power differentials in relation to their wives, feelings of disappointment (depression and low self-esteem), limited work opportunities (exclusion from professional employment, lack of achievement), and discrimination and social exclusion (Thapa & Hauff, 2005). These changing family roles are often accompanied by the decline in self-esteem due to unemployment, poverty, and loss of social status. These interrelated factors have been linked with higher rates of paternal depression and acute feelings of grief, loss, guilt, isolation and marginalization, and the risk of increased alcohol intake (Lamb, 2010). Fathers

who suffer from depression or post-traumatic stress disorder are significantly compromised in their caregiving capacity, which has a direct effect on child developmental outcomes (Panter-Brick, et al., 2014).

Ambiguous Loss and Grief

An important and distinctive feature of the refugee and immigrant experience is unprocessed and ambiguous loss. Ambiguous loss “refers to a type of trauma that defies closure because of its chronic ambiguity and uncertainty” (Perez & Arnold-Berkovits, 2018, p. 92). The construct of ambiguous loss was developed by Pauline Boss (2004) and refers to the psychological construct that can be applied to any family member or person who is “there but not there.” Her seminal research has been applied to families living with members suffering from Alzheimer’s disease, and various types of war-related losses, such as soldiers missing in action. War refugees have experienced a sense of “cultural bereavement,” often including numerous losses, both physical and psychological. Boss (2004, 2006) posits that these significant losses leave immigrants in an ongoing state of ambiguity and uncertainty, interfering with their capacity to mourn this loss and move forward. Living with ambiguity and uncertainty may interfere with the family’s task of processing and working through their loss. For families, these losses remain particularly salient. It could be argued that even when immigrant families are well prepared for the parenting tasks in their country of origin, their parenting capacity is potentially compromised with the losses incurred with resettlement, and the challenges of adapting to a new society (Falicov, 2019; Kamyra & Pravder Mirkin, 2019).

The Pivotal Role of Fathers

A case study that illustrates the painful impact of ambiguous loss involved a refugee family from Syria who were seen during the early stage of resettlement while they were dealing with the disappearance of their father. The family had to flee Syria when the mother learned of his death indirectly—though his body had never been recovered following his imprisonment, nor has there been an official confirmation of his death. The family’s postmigratory distress was complicated by their premigratory journey through two previous displacements. These premigratory dislocations were particularly disorienting and painful for the children, who experienced waves of inconsolable grief as they attempted to process uncertainty complicating the loss of their country in exile while living with the reality of the father’s absence. Their trauma amplified their pain in an ongoing state of ambiguity and uncertainty that affected each family member differently and interfered with their capacity to mourn this profound loss and move forward (Boss, 2004). Their experience joins them to thousands of Syrian refugees who are attempting to reassemble their lives in exile. A father’s important position as the family authority in a family from a collectivist culture cannot be overstated (Rezania, 2015; Shimoni et al., 2003). The father’s role, as the parental authority, left a huge

vacuum for the family structure and functioning. Although the older siblings were sad, withdrawn, suffering nightmares and trauma flashbacks, the youngest and overtly distressed adolescent son was at a vulnerable stage of development and had felt particularly close to his father. He adamantly maintained a position of denial toward his father's death, which sustained his sense of closeness and loyalty. He was both bewildered and intensely angry in his despair. He could not tolerate the mother's attempt to acknowledge his father's death and accept efforts at closure when she had progressively accepted the indirect news of his death by torture during imprisonment. Their familial experience of paternal loss reflects the pivotal role of fathers that has long been neglected in the parenting and family literature, where fathers are often not considered as central to family life as mothers are (Shapiro & Krysik, 2010). Ambiguous grief adds to the complexity of resettlement acculturation processes. This complex grief remains especially salient for immigrant and refugee families where the cultural values and identity issues of collectivist and other cultural issues are so crucial to the evolving hybridity of migrating children experiencing exile and displacement (Guzder, 2020).

Refugee adolescents in particular are considered at high-risk for emotional distress when compared to local samples (Toussignant et al., 1999). Findings from the Quebec Adolescent Refugee Project identified single mothers in refugee families as having more difficulty asserting their authority with their adolescent sons. This finding mirrors the societal norms of individuation for North American adolescent boys, that of distancing themselves from parents, particularly the mother; this distancing is considered an integral part of becoming independent (Falicov, 2019). This places these children in a precarious structural space until the family reestablishes a secure base from which to grow and find support as the mother encourages her children to form new attachments in Canada.

Family Resilience

Alongside the trauma of war-inflicted loss and devastation, migration adjustment also brings forth familial strength and resilience as part of post-traumatic growth and mobilizes their unique adaptive capacities during times of adversity. There is ample evidence that children can rebound and thrive in varied family structures that are stable, nurturing, and protective (Walsh, 2016). From an ecological perspective, the family within its socio-ecological context can be seen as nested contexts for nurturing and reinforcing resilience (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Kirmayer & Gómez-Carrillo, 2018; Walsh, 2007, 2016). Strong cultural or spiritual community resources, such as work or school networks and peer groups, are important sources of family resilience (Walsh, 2016).

A systematic review of resilience studies of children and adolescents living in areas of armed conflict in low- and middle-income countries highlighted the importance of studying resilience as a dynamic concept at multiple levels of the social ecology (Tol et al., 2013). Ungar (2015) and his research across cultures recommends a resilience framework of diagnostic screening consisting of five assessment

dimensions: “1. Severity of adversity, 2. Chronicity, 3. Ecological level (psychological/biological, microsystemic, mesosystemic, exosystemic, macrosystemic, chronosystemic), 4. Attribution of causality, 5. Cultural and contextual relevance (factors in the social ecology)” (p. 6).

However, it remains important to be mindful that resilience is not an isolated entity nor a capacity of either being resilient or not but rather a complex process that changes over the life course. Kidron et al. (2019) highlight how resilience is intrinsically embedded within vulnerability, and these processes are not binary nor linear constructs but, rather, interdependent processes, one enveloped within the other. Vulnerability and resilience are understood as a culturally interactive process of meaning-making, “working in tandem to configure identity in relation to ongoing experiences of distress and well-being” (Kidron et al., 2019, p. 26). These researchers developed the concept of “resilient vulnerability” through their study of adult children of Holocaust survivors to highlight a “distinctive configuration of both emotional vulnerability and resilience” (Kidron et al., 2019, p. 23). This concept was developed to “capture the way the two processes reinforce each other, while underscoring the experience of an enduring vulnerability that is qualified by its contribution to resilience” (p. 23). Post-traumatic growth evolves with meaning-making as an outcome of these dynamic and interactive processes as children adjust and move between cultural realities.

Cultural factors can either support or impede resilience as the individual adapts to their new social environment. Ungar (2015) proposes a resiliency tree for diagnostic assessment. This research recommends that specific dimensions of individual, parental, familial, or community capacity be considered in our assessment process to determine how these domains mitigate the negative consequences of adversity. The strength of close and loving family members that are living alongside the cherished memories of loving family members lost to war can provide the needed buffer from the traumas of war, social upheaval, and struggles with resettlement. In Kidron et al.’s (2019) important research of adult children of Holocaust survivors, they underscore how the act of honoring the memory of lost family members, never forgetting their important legacy, can provide the needed fuel to strengthen resilience and coping.

BEST PRACTICE GUIDELINES

Cultural Safety: The Bedrock of Clinical Practice with War-Affected Families

Creating and striving for conditions for cultural safety is fundamental to practice with refugee families and involves clinic approaches and efforts that promote therapeutic sensitivity and cultural humility. The concept of cultural safety was first introduced by indigenous nurse educators in New Zealand, recognizing the significant impact of structural inequities, linking poor health outcomes of the Maori people in part to cultural inappropriateness and insensitivity of health services (Smye et al., 2010). Attention to cultural safety “emphasizes the importance of

explicit attention to historical and current social factors that make the clinical encounter unsafe” (Kirmayer & Gómez-Carrillo, 2018, p. 14; see also Brascoupé & Waters, 2009). This concept has been endorsed by the Mental Health Commission (2012) as the gold standard approach to mental health practice with a focus on “issues of power, voice and discrimination as an essential complement to professionals’ cultural competence” (Kirmayer, 2013, p. 366). In the aftermath of the Mosque massacre in New Zealand, the outpouring of community solidarity with the performance of Indigenous Haka rituals in the streets by all cultural groups in the country reflected a process of collective healing and cultural safety. This shared ritual of the Haka was a response grounded in a common acculturation ritual of collective healing that joined members of a diverse society and demonstrates how lived experience in a context of cultural safety may facilitate healing.

The lack of emotional safety may be enhanced within social and health care institutions of the host society and presents another significant barrier to effective clinical intervention for many immigrants and refugees. Premigratory trauma at the hands of the legal state authority in the country of origin can set the stage for an unsafe service context, enhancing distrust of authority figures, including social workers and health care providers in the host country. A negative reception in the host country of settlement with “rising Islamophobia and anti-immigrant stances there is often mistrust in mental health workers and state supported service delivery systems” (Gangamma & Shipman, 2018, p. 208). A history of premigratory trauma can contribute to the immigrant’s reluctance to engage with health care providers and experience of retraumatization at the hands of service practitioners (Gangamma & Shipman, 2018; Yako & Biswas, 2014). It is very common for refugee families to experience mistrust of health care providers, experience exclusion or racism, and experience a reluctance to establish a therapeutic alliance and disclose premigratory trauma and marital and sexual violence. Patients will sometimes selectively share information with a trusted practitioner while withholding important information from members of the mental health and child welfare systems, often with justified fears or concerns about consequences of disclosures impacting resettlement or care. At times offering sessions to family members separately can allow each person to speak more freely about their concerns and offer emotionally safer spaces during transitions of settlement. In addition, clinical engagement and approaches to the family must respect cultural notions of hierarchy and authority (Kirmayer et al., 2011), which often needs the support and assistance of culture brokers in therapeutic contexts.

Barriers such as language difficulties and the impact of racial discrimination can further limit the engagement and trust of immigrant families with mental health treatment in the host country. Trauma survivors’ reluctance to disclose traumatic material from the past is well documented in the literature, running contrary to Western notions of openness, and sharing as a necessary pathway toward healing (Dalgaard et al., 2013). These authors contend that the process of disclosure is highly culturally embedded, and suggest that family therapy should

endorse a modulated pace of disclosure attuned to the family's capacity to disclose trauma to facilitate family healing during the resettlement phase with refugee families as essential to their sense of emotional safety. Refugees' migratory trauma background necessitates a specialized framework with attention to cultural safety and therapist attitudes of cultural humility.

Components of Cultural Safety: Attention to the Therapist–Client Relationship

The alliance and allyship built in the therapist–client relationship forms the bedrock for clinical work with war-affected families. A key component supporting therapeutic safety involves allyship as clinical teams can assist in addressing instrumental needs of survivorship, including advocacy pertaining to school, legal, social service, primary care, or community engagement issues. The therapist is an integral part of the therapeutic system; thus, awareness of self, social location, and attention to the intersection with the client-family system is key to sound alliance formation. This therapeutic engagement and process involves the clinician's capacity to continuously reflect on their own social location with respect to emerging the uncovering of family history, especially in navigating fundamental issues of power, beliefs, gender, or cultural assumptions encountered while the family is in treatment. Therapists need to be aware of the possibility of their own "racism and xenophobia and second, they need to create opportunities in therapy for clients to discuss their experiences of oppression" (Gangamma & Shipman, 2018, p. 211). Working with war-affected families refers to the "ability of clinicians to provide care for families with diverse values, beliefs, and behaviors, including tailoring interventions to meet families' social, cultural, and linguistic needs" (Kirmayer & Gómez-Carrillo, 2018, p. 14). Maintaining an open and nonjudgmental attitude is fundamental to creating therapeutic spaces where possibilities for sharing many potentially different perspectives and interpretations relating to "how problems are perceived, understood and responded to" (Mooren et al., 2019, p. 247).

Falicov (1995) underscores how the therapeutic encounter is a personal interactive space "between the therapist's and the family's cultural and personal constructions" (p. 18). She expands on the importance of understanding how the therapist's personal family cultural narrative influences their "views about family and family problems" (Falicov, 2003, p. 40). Unpacking meaning, suspending judgment, and increased capacity to listen and learn from one's clients are core to cultural work. Falicov (2003) draws our attention to cultural meaning systems, deconstructing conflicting cultural experiences and perspectives within the same family. Guzder and Rousseau's (2013) years of training in cultural psychiatry propose a model wherein clinicians maintain a reflective self-examination and position of "not knowing" to develop the capacity to understand the voice of the Other and not directly ascribe standard Western practice models. They recommend working in clinical spaces with teams, and ongoing supervision settings grounded in the creation of safety within the clinical encounters. Flexibility is needed to explore meaning systems with the application of several key

strategies, attention to the self, therapeutic attitudes and stance, and therapist–client intersectionality.

Attention to the Self

Clinical work with this population necessitates a progressive reflective capacity and developed use of self embracing the inherent complexity of working with cultural minorities and families as a path toward cultural competence and the creation of cultural safety (Kirmayer, 2013). Therapists must expand self-knowledge of their *cultural borderlands* between self and client system (Falicov, 1995, 2003).

Therapeutic Attitudes and Stance

Key to working with war-affected families is a therapeutic stance to both embrace and tolerate unknowns and uncertainty in the clinical encounter, avoiding judgment or closure on meaning or presentation of their distress (Kirmayer, 2013). *Cultural humility* “has been proposed as a more realistic and effective stance that acknowledges the limited nature of clinicians’ knowledge and the continuous need to learn from patients about their life worlds” (Kirmayer & Gómez-Carrillo, 2018, p. 14; Tervalon & Murray-Garcia, 1998).

Working with war-affected families demands an approach that strives to limit our bias or assumptions and widen our understanding of histories and context of the family’s lived experience. Therapists trained in Western theoretical or ethnocentric developmental constructions need to suspend judgment (Greenberg & Witztum, 2001). Cautious approaches to problem categorization that incorporates the internalized world of the Other are crucial to inviting multiple perspectives that may be new territory for the therapist. Pedagogical learning and assumptions may unwittingly contribute to therapeutic bias, missing cultural idioms of distress, and slanting clinical interpretation based on bias or stereotyping embedded in Western models of health and illness. The concept of unlearning and deconstructing identified by Rabiau et al. (2022) further reinforces the notion of suspending judgment and taking in the family at the most basic level. Falicov (2003) recommends an intermediary stance of integration of both “not knowing and some knowing” stances to allow the therapist to integrate existing knowledge of cultural and family paradigms while simultaneously approaching the family through a fresh perspective (p. 51). Taking the needed time and space to understand meaning systems, language, world, and perspectives can greatly enhance the client–therapist relationship.

Therapist–Client Intersectionality

It is essential to be mindful of elements of intersectionality impacting the client–therapist relationship, and in particular the need to be attentive to distinctions of social location, race, power, privilege, and ethnicity. Kirmayer et al. (2011) highlight that when “cultural differences do exist between a clinician and a patient particularly one that either has precarious migration status or migration trauma, the

patient's apprehension of being discriminated against, misunderstood or simply not believed can interfere with trust and disclosure" (p. 11). Intercultural work adds a layer of complexity to realities of Otherness within the identity context of the client-family and that of the therapist, including an understanding of intersectional issues of race, power, and privilege as these factors unfold within the clinical encounter. Histories of colonialism, racism, and exploitation remain implicit and often explicitly interfere with safety and trust. Clinicians need to be particularly mindful of these intersections and develop strategies to manage these therapeutic roadblocks and seek professional consultation when needed.

GUIDELINES FOR REPAIR OF THERAPEUTIC RUPTURE

Seiff-Haron et al. (2014) recommend four clinical principles to facilitate alliance repair: (1) *Cultural disclosure* can serve as a powerful connector. This process can facilitate repair of inferred injuries or invalidations in the therapeutic process; (2) The use of collective *reflection* when asking a client about their war experience can be highly reparative; (3) Adopting a posture of *cultural conjecture* when suggesting a possible cultural dynamic can avoid unwanted stereotyping or labeling; and (4) The pacing of exploration, through *slicing culture thinner* is a useful clinical technique. Exploration of the client's cultural experience through the repetition of the client's words and a slow pacing can increase empathy and validation (Seiff-Haron et al., 2014, p. 326)

Exploration of Cultural Meaning

Cultural meanings are explored through dialogue and the unfolding of conversation rather than through unchecked assumptions, stereotypic formulations, or presuppositions. Falicov (2003) recommends a four-step process of cultural meaning deconstruction from identification of difference, to "contextualize the social forces that shape meaning distinctions, the dilemmas of co-existing difference of understanding and future directions and resolutions" (p. 50). Our language frames meaning and remains central to this agenda of deconstructing meaning in cultural work and can introduce inadvertent harm or pathologize rather than support a narrative unfolding in the session. Involving interpreters and culture brokers remains essential to cross-cultural work as the therapist strives to understand and deconstruct meaning in the relational and cultural context. Culture brokers and interpreters can further understanding of local histories, explanatory models referencing the causes and meanings of distress that remain important determinants of illness experience and help-seeking across cultures (Kirmayer & Bhugra, 2009).

Strengthening Family Attachment Security

A core therapeutic intervention in family therapy is to strengthen familial attachment security. Intrafamilial processes have been linked to the development of

attachment security in children raised by war-affected traumatized parents. Dalgaard et al.'s (2016) seminal research on children's attachment security during conditions of war examined the parents' past traumatic experiences and their impact on children's psychosocial adjustment and attachment security. The quality of intrafamilial trauma communication styles was associated with children's attachment security. More specifically the study found "a specific association between the unfiltered speech style of communication and insecure attachment in children" (Dalgaard et al., 2016, p. 84). Contrary to what is often assumed within the therapeutic literature, disclosure with an emphasis on open styles of communication was not associated with positive outcomes in children. An unfiltered parental style of communication was identified as an important risk factor for insecure attachment in children. Sensitizing parents to the way they communicate with their children and its impact on child well-being is an important aspect of family work. Promoting parental awareness of their communication style is recommended to strengthen attachment security by monitoring trauma disclosure, affective intensity, and sensitizing parents to their child's experience in the family.

CLINICAL RECOMMENDATIONS TO ENHANCE ATTACHMENT SECURITY: MODULATED DISCLOSURE AND INTERVENTION PACING

A modulated approach to disclosure is advisable and associated with enhancing family resilience and attachment security in children. Modeling modulation can support parental mentalization capacities and enhance supportive communication with their children. An important study by Dalgaard et al.'s (2016) concluded that slowing down communication processes enhances attachment security in offspring. These findings underscore the importance of strengthening family structure and cohesion as a pathway to increased attachment security and family resilience during times of war and resettlement. The phenomenon of maintaining high levels of secure family functioning in conditions of severe unsafety may indicate strengths of parental commitment and motivation to protect their children's development and well-being despite adversity. A similar resilience-enhancing rationale has been found among families suffering transgenerational trauma (Fosson et al., 2015; Punamäki et al., 2017).

CONCLUSION AND REFLECTIONS

This chapter provides an overview of the research and clinical recommendations based on best practices for systemic work with war-affected children and families. The importance of family as a source of cohesion and security during times of adversity was highlighted as a pathway for resilience and postwar adaptation. A culturally informed family systems approach was presented as the practice standard, with attention to the whole family as the setting of treatment though therapy

may shift when it is appropriate from individual, couple, or whole family meetings. Efforts should be made to acknowledge the unique agendas relevant to LGBTQ+ populations and additionally to include fathers in treatment with a proactive commitment to seeking out paternal involvement when barriers to their inclusion are presented. In addition, when working with war-affected families, it is essential to attend to all family members, those who are living, deceased, or “missing in action” and weaving the historical legacy of those lost through war as their ongoing influence resonates generationally in family relationships and evolving identities.

It is indeed a privilege to work with war-affected families, to bear witness to their stories of trauma and resilience and accompany them through a postmigration journey. A positive therapeutic encounter can be crucial to children and adult family members feeling safe enough to seek therapeutic help at times of crisis or strain, as trauma healing often evolves slowly and progressively. Through the provision of comfort, hope, and healing, clinicians can facilitate the capacity to access family strength and resilience by honoring the heroic narratives and rich cultural heritage of war-affected families.

REFERENCES

- Abu-Ras, W., & Suarez, Z. (2009). Muslim men and women's perception of discrimination, hate crimes, and PTSD symptoms Post 9/11. *Traumatology, 15*(3), 48–63.
- Affleck, W., Selvadurai, A., & Sikora, L. (2018). Underrepresentation of men in gender-based humanitarian and refugee trauma research: A scoping review. *Intervention, 16*(1), 22–30.
- Alessi, E. (2016). Resilience in sexual and gender minority forced migrants: A qualitative exploration. *Traumatology, 22*(3), 203–213.
- Alessi, E., Kahn, S., Woolner, L. & Van Der Horn, R. (2018). Traumatic stress among sexual and gender minority refugees from the Middle East, North Africa, and Asia who fled to the European Union. *Journal of Traumatic Stress, 00*, 1–11.
- Boehnlein, J., & Kinzie, J. (1995). Refugee trauma. *Transcultural Psychiatric Research Review, 32*(3), 223–252. <https://doi.org/10.1177/136346159503200301>
- Bond, S. (2019). The essential role of the father: Fostering a father-inclusive practice approach with immigrant and refugee families. *Journal of Family Social Work, 22*(1), 101–123. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10522158.2019.1546965>
- Boss, P. (2004). Ambiguous loss research, theory, and practice: Reflections after 9/11. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 66*(3), 551–566.
- Boss, P. (2006). *Loss, trauma, and resilience: Therapeutic work with ambiguous loss*. W.W. Norton.
- Braga, L. L., Mello, M. F., & Fiks, J. P. (2012). Transgenerational transmission of trauma and resilience: A qualitative study with Brazilian offspring of Holocaust survivors. *BMC Psychiatry, 12*(1), 134. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-244X-12-134>
- Brascoupé, S., & Waters, C. (2009). Cultural safety: Exploring the applicability of the concept of cultural safety to Aboriginal health and community wellness. *International Journal of Indigenous Health, 5*(2), 6–41.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development*. Harvard University Press.
- Carroll, L. (2018, September 4). Lessons learned about children from war zones and refugee camps. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-children-war/lessons-learned-about-children-from-war-zones-and-refugee-camps-idUSKCN1LK2LX>

- Charlés L. (2015). Scaling up family therapy in fragile, conflict-affected states. *Family Process*, 54(3), 545–558. <https://doi.org/10.1111/famp.12107>
- Charlés, L. (2019). My global team of family therapy consultants. In L. L. Charlés & T. S. Nelson (Eds.), *Family therapy supervision in extraordinary settings* (pp. 128–137). Taylor and Francis.
- Crittenden, P. M., & Dallos, R. (2009). All in the family: Integrating attachment and family systems theories. *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 14(3), 389–409.
- Dalgaard, N. T., Montgomery, E., Grietens, H., & Verschueren, K. (2013). Attachment narratives in refugee children: Interrater reliability and qualitative analysis in pilot findings from a two-site study. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 26(3), 413–417. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jts.21820>
- Dalgaard, N., Todd, B., Daniel, S., & Montgomery, E. (2016). The transmission of trauma in refugee families: Associations between intrafamily trauma communication style, children's attachment security and psychosocial adjustment. *Attachment & Human Development*, 18(1), 69–89. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616734.2015.1113305>
- De Haene, L., Rousseau, C. (Eds.). (2020). *Working with refugee families: Trauma and exile in family relationships*. Cambridge University Press.
- De Haene, L., Rousseau, C., Kevers, R., Deruddere, N., & Rober, P. (2018). Stories of trauma in family therapy with refugees: Supporting safe relational spaces of narration and silence. *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 23(2), 258–278.
- Denov, M., Fennig, M., Rabiau, M., & Shevell, M. (2019). Intergenerational resilience in families affected by war, displacement, and migration: "It runs in the family." *Journal of Family Social Work*, 22(1), 17–45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10522158.2019.1546810>
- Ee, E., Sleijpen, M., Kleber, R., & Jongmans, M. (2013). Father-involvement in a refugee sample: Relations between posttraumatic stress and caregiving. *Family Process*, 52(4), 723–735. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1111/famp.12045>
- Eltanamy, H., Leijten, P., van Rooij, F., & Overbeek, G. (2021). Parenting in times of refuge: A qualitative investigation. *Family Process*. 000, 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1111/famp.12717>
- Eloranta, S., Peltonen, K., Palosaari, E., Qouta, S., & Punamäki, R-L. (2017). The role of attachment and emotion regulation in the psychosocial intervention among war-affected children. *Journal of Child & Adolescent Trauma*, 10(4), 301–314. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40653-016-0115-y>
- Falicov, C. (1995). Training to think culturally: A multidimensional comparative framework. *Family Process*, 34(4), 373–388.
- Falicov, C. J. (2003). Culture in family therapy: New variations on a fundamental theme. In T. Sexton, G. Weeks, & M. Robbins (Eds.), *Handbook of family therapy: The science and practice of working with families and couples* (pp. 37–55). Brunner-Routledge.
- Falicov, C. (2019). Transnational journeys. In M. McGoldrick & K. Hardy (Eds.). *Revisioning family therapy: Addressing diversity in clinical practice* (3rd ed., pp. 108–122). Guilford.
- Fazel, M., Reed, R. V., Panter-Brick, C., & Stein, A. (2012). Mental health of displaced and refugee children resettled in high-income countries: Risk and protective factors. *The Lancet*, 379(9812), 266–282.
- Fossion, P., Leys, C., Vandeleur, C., Kempnaers, C., Braun, S., Verbanck, P., & Linkowski, P. (2015). Transgenerational transmission of trauma in families of Holocaust survivors: The consequences of extreme family functioning on resilience, sense of coherence, anxiety and depression. *Journal of Affective Disorders*, 171, 48–53.
- Freud, A., & Burlingham, D. T. (1943). *War and Children*. Willard.
- Gangamma, R., & Shipman, D. (2018). Transnational intersectionality in family therapy with resettled refugees. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 44(2), 206–219. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jmft.12267>
- Greenberg, D., & Witztum, E. (2001). *Sanity and sanctity: Mental health work with the ultra-Orthodox in Jerusalem*. Yale University Press.

- Greene, M., Jordans, M., Kohrt, B., Ventevogel, P., Kirmayer, L., Hassan, G., Chiumento, A., van Ommeren, M., & Toli, W. (2017). Addressing culture and context in humanitarian response: Preparing desk reviews to inform mental health and psychosocial support. *Conflict and Health, 11*, 21. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13031-017-0123-z>
- Guzder, J. (2014). Family systems in cultural consultation. In L. Kirmayer, J. Guzder, & C. Rousseau (Eds.), *Cultural consultation: Encountering the other in mental health* (pp. 139–164). Springer.
- Guzder, J. (2020). Exile and belonging: Negotiating identity, acculturation and trauma in refugee families. In L. De Haene & C. Rousseau (Eds.), *Working with refugee families: Trauma and exile in family relationships* (pp. 172–186). Cambridge University Press.
- Guzder, J., & Rousseau, C. (2013). A diversity of voices: The McGill “Working with Culture” seminars. *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry, 37*, 347–364. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11013-013-9316-0>
- Ho, G. W. (2014). Acculturation and its implications on parenting for Chinese immigrants: A systematic review. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing, 25*(2), 145–158. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1043659613515720>
- Ho, J., & Birman, D. (2010). Acculturation gaps in Vietnamese immigrant families: Impact on family relationships. *International Journal of Intercultural Relation, 34*(1), 22–23.
- Jones, L. (2008). Responding to the needs of children in crisis. *International Review of Psychiatry, 20*(3), 291–303. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09540260801996081>
- Jones, L. (2019). Adversity and resilience: 10 lessons I have learnt from working with children in humanitarian emergencies. *Archives of Disease in Childhood, 104*(9), 833–836.
- Kamya, H., & Pravder Mirkin, M. (2019). Working with immigrant and refugee families. In M. McGoldrick & K. Hardy (Eds.), *Revisioning family therapy: Addressing diversity in clinical practice* (3rd ed., pp. 403–418). Guilford.
- Kidron, C. A., Kotliar, D. M., & Kirmayer, L. J. (2019). Transmitted trauma as badge of honor: Phenomenological accounts of Holocaust descendant resilient vulnerability. *Social Science & Medicine, 239*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2019.112524>.
- Kirmayer, L. J. (2013). Embracing uncertainty as a path to competence: Cultural safety, empathy, and alterity in clinical training. *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry: An International Journal of Cross-Cultural Health Research, 37*(2), 365–372. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11013-013-9314-2>
- Kirmayer, L. J., & Bhugra, D. (2009). Culture and mental illness: Social context and explanatory models. In I. M. Salloum & J. E. Mezzich (Eds.), *Psychiatric diagnosis: Patterns and prospects* (pp. 29–37). John Wiley & Sons.
- Kirmayer, L. J., & Gomez-Carrillo, A. (2018). Cultural clinical psychology and psychiatry. In A. Maercker, E. Heim, & L. J. Kirmayer (Eds.), *Cultural clinical psychology and PTSD* (pp. 3–21). Hogrefe.
- Kirmayer, L. J., Rousseau, C., & Measham, T. (2011). Sociocultural considerations. In D. M. Benedek & G. H. Wynn (Eds.), *Clinical manual for management of PTSD* (pp. 415–444). American Psychiatric Publishing.
- Kronick, R. (2018). Mental health of refugees and asylum seekers: Assessment and intervention. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry, 63*(5), 290–296. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0706743717746665>
- Lamb, M. (2010). *The role of the father in child development* (5th ed.). John Wiley & Sons.
- Lamb, M., & Bougher, L. (2009). How does immigration affect mothers’ and fathers’ roles in their families? Some reflections on recent literature. *Sex Roles, 60*(7), 611–614.
- McGoldrick, M. (Ed.) (2008). *Re-visioning family therapy: Race, culture, and gender in clinical practice* (2nd ed.). Guilford.
- McGoldrick, M., Carter, B., & Garcia-Preto, N. (2011). *The expanded family life cycle: Individual, family, and social perspectives* (4th ed.). Allyn & Bacon.

- McGoldrick, M., Pearce, J. K., & Giordano, J. (Eds.). (2005). *Ethnicity and family therapy* (3rd ed.). Guilford.
- Measham, T., Guzder, J., Rousseau, C., Pacione, L., Blais-McPherson, & Nadeau, L. (2014). Refugee children and their families: Supporting psychological well-being and positive adaptation following migration. *Current Problems in Pediatric and Adolescent Health Care*, 44, pp. 208–215.
- Mental Health Commission of Canada (2012). *Changing directions, changing lives: The mental health strategy for Canada*. Ottawa: Mental Health Commission of Canada.
- Montgomery, E. (2004). Tortured families: A coordinated management of meaning analysis. *Family Process*, 43(3), 349–371.
- Mooren, T., Bala, J., & Sleijpen, M. (2019). War, persecution, and dual transition: A developmental perspective of care for refugee adolescents in host countries. In T. Wenzel & B. Drozdek (Eds.), *An uncertain safety: Integrative healthcare for 21st century refugees* (pp. 233–255). Springer Nature.
- Na, S., Ryder, A., & Kirmayer, L. (2016). Toward a culturally responsive model of mental health literacy: Facilitating help-seeking among East Asian immigrants to North America. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 58, 211–225. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12085>
- Nickerson, A., Bryant, R., Brooks, R., Steel, Z., Silove, D., & Chen, J. (2011). The familial influence of loss and trauma on refugee mental health: A multilevel path analysis. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 24(1), 25–33.
- Pacione, L., Measham, T., & Rousseau, C. (2013). Refugee children: Mental health and effective interventions. *Current Psychiatry Reports*, 15(2), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11920-012-0341-4>
- Panter-Brick, C., Burgess, A., Eggerman, M., McAlliser, F., Pruett, K., & Leckman, J. (2014). Practitioner review: Engaging fathers—recommendations for a game change in parenting interventions based on a systematic review of the global evidence. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 55, 1187–1212.
- Patterson, J. E., Abu-Hassan, H., Vakili, S., & King, A. (2018). Family focused care for refugees and displaced populations: Global opportunities for family therapist. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 44(2), 193–205. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jmft.12295>
- Perez, R., & Arnold-Berkovits, I. (2018). A conceptual framework for understanding Latino immigrant's ambiguous loss of homeland. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 40(2), 91–114.
- Petersen, D., Kienzler, H., & Guzder, J. (2015). Searching for best practices: A systematic inquiry into the nature of psychosocial interventions aimed at reducing the mental health burden in conflict and postconflict settings. *SAGE Open*, 5(4), 1–25.
- Pieloc, K., McCullough, M., & Marks, A. (2016). Resilience of children with refugee statuses: A research review. *Canadian Psychology*, 57(4), 330–339. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/cap0000073>
- Punamäki, R. L., Qouta, S., & Peltonen, K. (2017). Family systems approach to attachment relations, war trauma, and mental health among Palestinian children and parents. *European Journal of Psychotraumatology*, 8(7), 1439649. <https://doi.org/10.1080/20008198.2018.1439649>
- Rabiau, M., Denov, M., & Paul, K. (2022). Unlearn and deconstruct to collaboratively build a sense of well-being around children affected by war: A family and community approach. In M. Denov, C. Mitchell, & M. Rabiau, (Eds.), *Children and families affected by war, displacement & migration: A tri-pillared approach*. Rutgers University Press.
- Rezania, S. (2015). *Refugee fathers in a new country: The challenges of cultural adjustment and raising children in Winnipeg, Canada* [Master's thesis, University of Manitoba].
- Rivera, F. I., Guarnaccia, P. J., Mulvaney-Day, N., Lin, J. Y., Torres, M., & Alegria, M. (2008). Family cohesion and its relationship to psychological distress among Latino groups. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Science*, 30, 357–378.

- Rousseau, C., Mekki-Berrada, A., & Moreau, S. (2001). Trauma and extended separation from family among Latin American and African refugees in Montreal. *Psychiatry*, 64(1), 40–59.
- Seiff-Haron, J., Hirotsaki, H., & Sonnier, T. (2014). *Cross-cultural couples therapy* [Lecture]. Arizona Center for Emotionally Focused Therapy, Scottsdale, Arizona.
- Sim, A., Fazel, M., Bowes, L., & Gardner, F. (2018). Pathways linking war and displacement to parenting and child adjustment: A qualitative study with Syrian refugees in Lebanon. *Social Science and Medicine*, 200, 19–26.
- Shapiro, A. F., & Krysiak, J. (2010). Finding fathers in social work research and practice. *Journal of Social Work Values and Ethics*, 7(1), 1–8.
- Shidlo, A. & Aloha, J. (2013). Mental health challenges of LGBT forced migrants. *Forced Migration Review*, 42, 9–11.
- Shimoni, R., Este, D., & Clark, D. E. (2003). Paternal engagement in immigrant and refugee families. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 34, 555–568.
- Slobodin, O., & de Jong, J. (2015). Family interventions in traumatized immigrants and refugees: A systematic review. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 52(6), 723–742.
- Smye, V., Josewski, V., & Kendall, E. (2010). Cultural safety: An overview. *First Nations, Inuit and Métis Advisory Committee*, 1, 28.
- Tervalon, M., & Murray-Garcia, J. (1998). Cultural humility versus cultural competence: A critical distinction in defining physician training outcomes in multicultural education. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, 9(2), 117–125.
- Thapa, S. B., & Hauff, E. (2005). Psychological distress among displaced persons during an armed conflict in Nepal. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, 40(8), 672–679.
- Tol, W., Song, S., & Jordans, M. (2013). Annual research review: Resilience and mental health of children and adolescents living in areas of armed conflict—a systematic review of findings in low- and middle-income countries. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 54(4), 445–460. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcpp.12053>
- Toussignant, M., Habimana, E., Biron, C., Malo, C., Sidoli-lebianc, E., & Bendris, N. (1999). The Quebec Adolescent Refugee Project: Psychopathology and family variables in a sample from 35 nations. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 38(11), 1426–1432.
- Ungar, M. (2010). Families as navigators and negotiators: Facilitating culturally and contextually specific expressions of resilience. *Family Process*, 49, 421–435.
- Ungar, M. (2015). Review: Diagnosing childhood resilience—a systemic approach to the diagnosis of adaptation in adverse social and physical ecologies. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 56(1), 4–17. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcpp.12306>
- Walsh, F. (2007). Traumatic loss and major disasters: Strengthening family and community resilience. *Family Process*, 46(2), 207–227.
- Walsh, F. (2016) Family resilience: A developmental systems framework. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 13(3), pp. 616–632. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17405629.2016.1154035>
- Weine, S., Muzurovic, N., Kulauzovic, Y., Besic, S., Lezic, A., Mujagic, A., Spahovic, D., Feetham, S., Ware, N., Knafl, K., & Pavkovic, I. (2004). Family consequences of refugee trauma. *Family Process*, 43(2), 147–160.
- Weine, S., Kulauzovic, Y., Klebic, A., Besic, S., Mujagic, A., Muzurovic, J., & Rolland, J. (2008). Evaluating a multiple-family group access intervention for refugees with PTSD. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 43, 169–164.
- Weissbecker, I., Hanna, F., Mohamed El Shazly, M. E., Gao, J., & Ventevogel, P. (2019). Integrative mental health and psychosocial support interventions for refugees in humanitarian crisis settings. In T. Wenzel & B. Droždek (Eds.), *An uncertain safety: Integrative health care for the 21st century refugees* (pp. 117–153). Springer Nature.

- Wieling, E. (2018). Family interventions for populations exposed to traumatic stress related to war and violence. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 44(2), 189–192. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jmft.12297>
- Yako, R., & Biswas, B. (2014). “We came to this country for the future of our children. We have no future”: Acculturative stress among Iraqi refugees in the United States. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 38, 133–141. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2013.08.003>
- Yehuda, R., & Bierer, L. M. (2008). Transgenerational transmission of cortisol and PTSD risk. *Progress in Brain Research*, 167, 121–135.
- Ying, Y., & Han, M. (2007). The longitudinal effect of intergenerational gap in acculturation on conflict and mental health in Southeast Asian American adolescents. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 77(1), 61–66.

PART 2 PARTICIPATORY
APPROACHES

6 • NAVIGATING PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH WITH CHILDREN AFFECTED BY ARMED CONFLICT

Conceptual, Methodological,
and Ethical Concerns

NEIL BILOTTA, MAYA FENNIG,
MYRIAM DENOV, ALUSINE BAH,
AND INES MARCHAND

Scholarship documenting participatory research with children is plentiful. However, much less is known about the methodological and ethical principles of participatory research with children affected by armed conflict. The limited literature that explores research ethics and participatory research with resettled refugee youth (Gilhooly & Lee, 2017), former child soldiers in Africa (Denov et al., 2012), and youth in refugee camps (Cooper, 2005) has generated favorable results. Participatory research is a collaborative approach that seeks to break down the barriers between the researcher and participants and views children as the experts on their own lives and realities. The approach has been enthusiastically embraced by scholars working in the field of refugee studies. This is not to suggest, however, that participatory research is a universally accepted approach. For instance, notions of power, agency, and ethics have all been cited as both benefits and challenges of participatory research with children (Holland et al., 2010). Gallacher and Gallagher (2008), moreover, raise concern that participatory research with children is often employed uncritically and naively, with researchers often assuming that it is a “fool proof” approach that “will enable research involving children to achieve ethical and epistemological validity” (p. 514). Given their unique sociopolitical contexts of upheaval, violence, and deprivation, can it be argued that participatory principles may be more complex when used with children affected by armed conflict?

Indeed, it has been suggested that war dramatically alters the lives of children (Slone & Mann, 2016). For instance, children who have been exposed to war may have experienced displacement, disruption in social support networks (e.g., family, community, school), severe hunger, malnutrition, disease, insecurity, and disrupted formal education. They may have witnessed or taken part in killings and severe injuries, and they may live in crowded refugee camps, and constant insecurity. Ample scholarship has examined the cognitive and psychiatric distress (Attanayake et al., 2009) as well as developmental problems (Tol et al., 2013) associated with children who have experienced war. While certainly not all children and youth who have experienced war develop cognitive impairments, data have shown that young people who have been exposed to armed conflict are at greater risk of developing trauma-related impairments, such as post-traumatic stress disorder (Attanayake et al., 2009). Given these potential impacts of sociopolitical contexts, is it ethical to assume that principles of participatory research can be universally applied to *all* children? This chapter addresses this question by exploring the ways in which the theoretical principles of a participatory approach may be maintained when translated and applied to children affected by armed conflict. We argue that, in its current form, participatory research with children affected by armed conflict is fraught with challenges that demand further attention. While some of these dilemmas are not specific or unique to war-affected children, others appear more apparent. Therefore, we suggest that a deeper, more comprehensive examination of participatory research, specific to children affected by armed conflict, is necessary. In doing so, our aim is to provide researchers, research partners, service providers, and practitioners (e.g., educators, social workers, etc.) with an initial understanding of what *actually* constitutes participatory research with children affected by war.

This chapter first provides a historical snapshot of the evolution of research with children affected by armed conflict. It then unpacks what is meant by participatory research with children and youth affected by armed conflict. This includes an expansive review of the literature that focuses on participatory research that has been facilitated by and with children affected by war. Next, we identify several of the methodology's guiding principles, followed by its benefits. We then shift our focus and detail some of the significant challenges and critiques of applying this methodology with children affected by war. Finally, we discuss the implications of participatory approaches with these communities, while recommending pathways forward for researchers interested in this work.

RESEARCH INVOLVING CHILDREN AND YOUTH AFFECTED BY WAR

Despite being key players in contemporary war (e.g., combatants), children's views on armed conflict, its causes, and its impact, have only been recently considered in depth. Indeed, reflecting on conventional notions of power, and what is

regarded as “expert” knowledge, children are often *talked about* by scholars, rather than *talked to* (Denov, 2010). As Downe (2001) has observed, “Despite the undeniable visibility of children in . . . academic and popular representations of despair, rarely are the experiences, thoughts, actions and opinions of the children explored analytically in a way that gives voice to these marginalized social actors or that elucidates what it means to be a child under such conditions. In effect, the children are seen, but not heard.” (p. 165)

In addition, research on children and youth affected by armed conflict has historically identified this population as “victims” and “vulnerable” (Bilotta & Denov, 2018). Such scholarship commonly results from the exclusion of war-affected children’s perspectives, and children rarely control the narratives produced about them (Watters, 2001).

Efforts to reverse children’s invisibility and increase their participation and voice were solidified with the creation of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1989. In addition to recognizing children as holders of rights as opposed to objects of international law (Westwood, 2013), the CRC identifies that children should be included and engaged in decision-making processes that have an impact on their lives (UNCRC, 1989). Indeed, a child’s right to participate is explicitly written as its own distinct human right (UNCRC, 1989). A major outcome of the CRC, which is the most widely ratified UN document, has led to an increased effort by researchers to seek ways to elicit children’s perspectives and actively engage in the research process. This includes a concerted effort to prioritize children as active subjects or participants of research (Kellet, 2010), and not simply objects of research. Kellet (2010) argues that this shift toward increasing children’s participation in research was driven by three main principles: (1) recognizing children as capable social actors in society, (2) acknowledging that children are users of various social services, and (3) paying increased attention to children’s rights (see also Coad & Lewis, 2004; Kirby et al., 2003). It must also be noted that children’s participation in research is a complex process that shifts with culture and adjusts to the changing needs of society (Kellet, 2010). For instance, culture and context can shape what is considered normative or acceptable practice with respect to children’s participation (Denov & Shevell, 2019).

Despite the CRC’s declaration, children’s participation in research has been a contested concept. Historically, children were deemed as cognitively and morally incompetent (Kellet, 2010). Over time, and through the changing conceptualizations and constructions of childhood, alongside the evolution of the child rights movement, children have increasingly been regarded as critical members of society whose voices should be privileged (Roberts, 2017). For instance, it became clear that children offer valuable insight into their contemporary realities with regard to planning programs where children are the intended beneficiaries. The shifts in the constructions of children and childhood have slowly trickled into the realm of research and have been particularly apparent with the growing interest

in participatory approaches. Although participatory research with children affected by armed conflict remains in its infancy, the existing scholarship indicates that participatory research with war-affected children may be empowering as it engages this population as active, contributing members throughout the holistic process of research—from conceptualization to knowledge dissemination. Due to the CRC, coupled with the fact that participatory research with young people affected by war has yielded positive results (Cooper, 2005; Denov et al., 2012; Lui, 2005), researchers increasingly rely on and utilize such approaches. Yet jumping on the participatory “bandwagon” without adequate context, critique, and reflection, may be unwise—and even dangerous—for both researchers and participants. Indeed, despite its effectiveness, several questions and concerns remain about participatory research. For instance, issues of research ownership, and leadership, and the inherent “ethical minefields” (Denov, 2010) therein, must be cautiously and consistently negotiated with participants throughout the research process (Smith et al., 2010). Prior to exploring some of these issues, it is imperative that we first unpack what is meant by participatory research.

PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

Participatory research (PR) is a collaborative approach that involves individuals and communities whose lives and work are being studied in all phases of the research process. This requires an environment of shared authority in which each research partner’s (i.e., participants’) knowledge and capabilities are of value (Israel et al., 1998; Minkler & Wallerstein, 2003). PR is an umbrella term that encompasses a variety of overlapping approaches to research, such as community-based PR, collaborative inquiry, participatory action research (PAR), participatory rural appraisal, and arts-based PR. Each of these approaches differs in its goals and strategies for change. However, collectively they share a set of fundamental principles, placing at their core the equitable involvement of all partners in the research process, and they strive for social change (Israel et al., 1998; Minkler, 2005).

The historical and theoretical roots of PR can be found in Lewin’s (1946) action research approach, the critical grounding of Freire’s (1970) emancipatory focus, and Chambers’s (1997) work on international development. From Lewin’s work, the participatory approach emphasizes active involvement in the research of those affected by the problem under study by proceeding in a spiral of steps—planning, action, observation, and reflection on the result of the action, leading to further inquiry and action for change. In the same vein, the work of Freire highlights that action and reflection are inseparable. His social concepts of critical consciousness and praxis (action based on critical consciousness) are at the heart of the participatory approach. Later contributions of Chambers further built on these concepts, emphasizing a constant awareness of how we, the Westerners, the professionals, “the uppers,” actively create the reality that we want to see.

Cornwall and Jewkes (1995) have identified two defining aspects of the PR approach. The first aspect relates to the relationships between the researcher and the researched, “which in turn determines how, by and for whom research is conceptualized and conducted” (p. 1667). The second aspect is the “corresponding location of power at every stage of the research process” (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995, p. 1667). As such, there is not a single “player” who holds all the information and absolute power; rather, PR entails a partnership, through the sharing of experience, expertise, and training. By turning traditional “top down” methods (e.g., researcher in control of all decision making) upside down and handing the power to communities and marginalized groups, the participatory approach creates a power reversal by enabling local people to take control of the research process (Chambers, 1997, p. 237).

PR rejects the notion of researcher as expert and is instead based on the assumption that research participants are better equipped to understand the social forces that shape the conditions of their lives (Nygreen et al., 2006) and are, therefore, the true experts of research (Cooper, 2005). As such, the outside researcher acts as a catalyst for the participants, who ideologically establish research goals, questions, research methods, data analysis, and dissemination practices (Cooper, 2005). Another important perspective of PR is being attuned to participants’ cultures and ensuring that research processes are facilitated in ways that are appropriate and relevant to the complex and multifaceted contexts and cultures of research partners. McIntyre (2008) argues that participatory approaches include a collective commitment to investigating an issue or problem, a reliance on local knowledge to recognize and better understand the problem, and alliances between researchers and partners throughout the research to address the problem.

PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH WITH CHILDREN AFFECTED BY WAR

Various forms of PR have been documented in the scholarly literature concerning war-affected children. These include PAR, community-based PR, and arts-based PR. A PR approach has been used in a range of diverse settings relevant to the migration and refugee journey, namely postconflict countries in which war-affected youth are internally displaced (Sims et al., 2011; Green & Kloos, 2009), refugee camps in exile (Cooper 2007; Oh, 2012; Sawhney, 2009), and resettlement contexts (Gifford et al., 2007). While the majority of researchers adopting a participatory approach have engaged with preteens and teens (e.g., Chatty et al., 2005), it has also been used with young children under the age of 6 (Sims et al., 2011). Many studies have engaged war-affected youth as individuals; however, some have included them with family and community members (Afifi et al., 2011; McKay et al., 2011; Collie et al., 2010). For example, Collie et al. (2010) conducted a PAR project with young Assyrian women in New Zealand. The study sought to gain a more comprehensive understanding of their settlement experiences in New

Zealand and to identify ways to support their adjustment to life in their new country. During this project, advisers from the community recommended involving the young women's parents and teachers in order to gain a more holistic understanding of their experience. Without a participatory approach to this study, the community component of settlement into New Zealand may have been overlooked.

Many studies that have adopted a participatory approach have used visual arts-based methods, such as photovoice (Denov et al., 2012), digital storytelling/photo novellas (Lenette et al., 2015), theater/performance (High, 2014), and filmmaking (Lui, 2005). Others have combined a participatory approach with ethnographic methods (Hinton, 2000; Collie et al., 2010), intervention mapping methods (Affi et al., 2011), or integrated multimethod approaches (Gifford et al., 2007; Chatty et al., 2005). Several researchers have highlighted the need to pilot and adapt various participatory tools and methods with children in order to ensure that they are developmentally appropriate, as well as sensitive and valid for the particular culture and context (Sims et al., 2011; Armstrong et al., 2004). For instance, in a longitudinal participatory study exploring the well-being of 100 newly resettled refugee young people, Gifford et al. (2007) noted that the particular background of the youth, namely, their disrupted schooling, the varying levels of literacy in their own language, the limited comprehension of English, and the lack of prior experience of being involved in research, made the piloting of arts-based methods crucial. Using arts-based methods made data collection more accessible and enabled data to be collected in a way that was more reflective of the young people's experiences. White and Bushin (2011), moreover, found that adopting a flexible approach—"allowing fluidity between methods" (p. 335)—opened up a space for the children themselves to modify the research materials and tools so they could better express their subjectivities and self-identities. Chapter 10 of this volume, "Arts-Based Research Innovations in Work with War-Affected Children and Youth: A Synthesis," explores these approaches in greater depth.

While some researchers have chosen to adopt a participatory approach at the outset of the research project, others have used the approach in the midst of data collection as a way to mitigate the numerous ethical dilemmas they encountered. For example, Hinton (1995, 2000) spent more than one year conducting research with Bhutanese children residing in a refugee camp in Nepal. While her initial intent was to use traditional ethnographic methods, during her fieldwork, the power differentials between the researcher and the community did not allow her to continue with traditional methods. As Hinton (1995) notes, "Displaced and disempowered, denied access to decision-making structures, they wanted a channel for their views" (p. 1). By incorporating a participatory approach and allowing the children and the community to lead and own the data generated, she was able to resolve some of the dilemmas around power and voice and ultimately conduct her research effectively.

Researchers have used participatory approaches to explore an array of issues from mental health and well-being (Vindevogel et al., 2015; Betancourt et al., 2015;

Affi et al., 2011), to reintegration (Mckay et al., 2011; Denov et al., 2012), to education (Cooper, 2007), to resettlement (Gifford et al., 2007). For example, in a PAR project that included three war-torn countries—Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Northern Uganda—Mckay et al. (2011) worked with 658 young mothers associated with armed forces or armed groups (ages 15–30) and over 1,200 of their children to explore reintegration processes. Rather than adopting internationally defined notions and adult-centric statements about what reintegration means, the research team worked in partnership with the young mothers to understand and explore reintegration from their point of view. This included understanding how they conceptualized successful reintegration for themselves and their children.

Participatory projects with war-affected youth vary considerably in the extent to which they have involved children and youth in the continuum of participation for research activities. For instance, while projects have often involved children and youth in identifying critical needs (e.g., Betancourt et al., 2015), it has been less common for projects to engage young people throughout the entire research process, particularly in conducting data analysis (see Cooper, 2007 for a notable exception). When children are supported to analyze data, they are provided with a sense of agency, which may also support the researcher in developing themes.

In terms of social justice outcomes, a substantial number of studies highlight the benefits of the research process on the children themselves. Researchers have emphasized the increase in social justice awareness among the children, which in turn inspired cognitive, emotional, or intellectual insights. For example, in their project with children in Batticaloa, a province in Sri Lanka that has experienced years of conflict and displacement, Armstrong et al. (2004) noted that engagement in the data collection process (via participatory tools such as visual mapping) had a positive impact on the children's ability to understand and analyze issues that are of concern to them. However, only a limited number of research projects reported external social change outcomes, such as actions targeting the immediate causes of social injustice or its root causes (Green & Kloos, 2009).

While not a systematic review of the literature specific to PR with children affected by war, our review exploring literature between the years of 1995 and 2018 does indicate a dearth of empirical scholarship on the issue. This gap in the literature consists of participatory approaches and ethical concerns regarding research with war-affected children and youth. This, in turn, highlights the need for further research and attention to be given to this important population.

BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

Numerous benefits of PR approaches have been identified and cited in academic literature (Jacquez et al., 2013; Macaulay et al., 2011). This section identifies some of the major benefits of facilitating PR, particularly with young people affected by armed conflict. These include centering participants' voices, trust building, and capacity building.

Centering Participants' Voices

In relation to war-affected children and youth, emerging research has highlighted several key benefits of participatory approaches. First, PR methods and results are more grounded, relevant, and tailored to participants' realities (Green, 2008). Davidson et al. (2008) have specifically highlighted that existing, nonparticipatory research with people of refugee backgrounds is methodologically problematic: "[it] relies on assessment tools and techniques that are not necessarily sensitive to refugees' cultural and linguistic backgrounds, pathologizes refugees' suffering and distress following extreme adversity, and shifts attention and resources away from engagement that promotes individual and community resilience onto engagement that is aimed primarily at symptom relief" (p. 168). Instead, participatory approaches position children's perspectives and voices at the *center* of the research process. Consequently, participatory methods also provide war-affected youth the opportunity to tell their own stories (McKay et al., 2011; Oh, 2012). As previously mentioned, provided the opportunity, children may conceptualize distress and healing in ways that differ from those assumed for them by outside professionals. Garnering their perspectives can enhance the reliability and validity of research findings (Ellis et al., 2007; Sonn et al., 2013). For example, in their work in postwar northern Uganda, Vindevogel et al. (2015) used a participatory ranking methodology to explore key indicators of young people's resilience. By allowing different stakeholders (the youth themselves, parents, elders, teachers) to control the data-gathering process and collectively explore and reflect on the meaning of resilience, the authors report being able to ascertain more culturally sensitive and contextually relevant indicators of resilience. Indeed, an underlying assumption of a participatory approach is that young people hold the knowledge and the capacity to articulate and solve their own problems. By not imposing external research agendas and providing war-affected children and youth the opportunity to choose and design the research methods, the likelihood that data collection is facilitated in ways that are sensitive to children and youth's local contexts is increased (Sonn et al., 2013; McKay et al. 2011). For instance, working in partnership with a refugee community in Beirut, Afifi et al. (2011) were able to construct a logic model, a visual illustration of an intervention's assumptions, resources, activities, and expected outcomes, for a youth mental health promotion intervention that was more relevant to community needs, more feasible for implementation, and ultimately more sustainable.

Building Trust

Another advantage of PR lies in the domain of trust and access. Israel et al. (1998) note that one of the most frequently mentioned challenges researchers encounter when conducting effective community-based research is a "lack of trust and perceived lack of respect, particularly between researchers and community members" (p. 183). The issue of trust is particularly salient when conducting research with hidden and hard-to-reach populations, such as refugees and other

war-affected communities (Miller, 2004). Due to their past and ongoing experiences of trauma, oppression, and marginalization, war-affected youth have, understandably, developed a self-protective insularity and mistrust of outsiders (Ní Raghallaigh, 2013). Moreover, Mackenzie et al. (2007) and Pittaway et al. (2010) note that a long history of exploitative and unethical research, including the publication of names and photos without authorization, and researchers having participants revisit traumatic events without offering follow-up support, has led war-affected youth to be wary of outside researchers. Gaining and earning participants' trust is, therefore, a central methodological concern when conducting research with war-affected children and youth as it significantly impacts access to the community and subsequently the truthfulness and accuracy of the data collected (Afifi et al., 2011; Miller, 2004). Although participatory approaches cannot in and of themselves, guarantee trust between researchers and young people, the centrality that these approaches place on respect, reciprocity, consultation, and mutual contribution may make it more likely for trust to develop than traditional research approaches. For example, White and Bushin (2011) describe the benefits of "hanging out" and building relationships with asylum-seeking children over a long period of time, and then stepping back and allowing the young people to take the lead, enabling the time to build trusting relationships. Here, using a variety of diverse participatory child-centered methods (e.g., allowing children's voices to be heard as opposed to depending on assumptions, spending long periods of time with children, active listening, etc.) yielded richer data and allowed the researchers to gain access to the complex nuances within children's experiences of living in a refugee accommodation center (White & Bushin, 2011). Furthermore, the researchers claim that while building trust was by no means a straightforward process, the adoption of a participatory approach encouraged the children to feel at ease and take an active part in the research process (White & Bushin, 2011).

Building Capacity

War-affected children and youth's engagement in the research process can offer direct benefits by enhancing youth's skills and insight. Scholars have argued that by building children's capacity, participatory approaches may facilitate a sense of agency, allowing war-affected children and youth not only to benefit from research outcomes but also from the process itself (Jagosh et al., 2015; McKay et al., 2011). This principle is seen in Freire's concept of critical consciousness, a process by which people become aware of and begin to enact their own agency. In this process, people come to recognize the social, political, and economic realities that shape their lives and their capacity to transform those oppressive elements (Freire, 1970). This process may be particularly important in settings of conflict where children are often forced to play a central role in their own protection and in the care of their family and loved ones (Hart & Tryer, 2006). The engagement in research provides children and youth with the opportunity for reflection and offers increased awareness and knowledge of their situation

that may be helpful for both them and their families (Hart & Tryer, 2006). Moreover, the dissemination of study results back into the community, a key feature in PR, enables refugee children, refugee-led organizations and service partners to use the knowledge gained through research to advance individual and community well-being (Betancourt et al., 2015). For example, based on a PAR project with young people in a refugee camp in Kenya, Cooper (2007) describes how the engagement of youth as peer researchers led to various benefits. These included emotional (increased sense of responsibility) and practical (tangibly acquiring skill sets that led to job opportunities and improved material circumstances) benefits.

Despite the numerous advantages of employing PR approaches with children affected by armed conflict, several challenges remain. The next section exposes some of these challenges, prior to providing considerations for future PR with children affected by war.

CHALLENGES OF PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH: "TRANSFORMATION," "EMPOWERMENT," FALSE PROMISES, AND STRUCTURAL BARRIERS

PR is often lauded because of its potential for transformation (Kyoon-Achan et al., 2018) and participant empowerment (Cargo & Mercer, 2008; Ozer & Douglas, 2015), as well as its ability to "address real-world needs," and translate research into practice (Cargo & Mercer, 2008, p. 328). PR is said to be driven by values of social or environmental justice, and the interests of those at the bottom of the vulnerability hierarchies. Highlighting the community benefits of participatory work, Cargo and Mercer (2008) note that partnerships within participatory work create conditions conducive to consciousness-raising and mutual learning that are critical for galvanizing communities to act and attain emancipation. They maintain that "community participation in the research process enables individual, interpersonal, organizational and community empowerment, ownership and capacity building" (Cargo & Mercer, 2008, p. 330). Despite such declarations, one cannot assume empowerment, ownership, or capacity building will inevitably occur. Moreover, who deems that the research has been "transformative" and "emancipatory"? How is this assessed? What does it mean to be "empowered," and who defines it? What is regarded as "transformation" and in whose benefit? Both micro- and macro-level constraints may inhibit a truly authentic PR agenda with children and youth affected by war. One such constraint is the inherent power of a researcher.

Researcher's Power

Perhaps the first concern of PR with children affected by armed conflict is the intrinsic power of the researcher, as compared with the research participants. If unrecognized or underrecognized, researchers may inadvertently position them-

selves in places where participants' and researchers' expectations are misaligned. For instance, while researchers and participants may both believe that PR could actually incite change, there may be intensified hope or expectations for participants. Akesson et al. (2014) highlight the "real danger" for researchers to engender false expectations that cannot be realistically fulfilled through the course of research. This is primarily associated with the social change and transformative (Wang & Burris, 1994) principles of PR coupled with the population: children affected by war. For instance, in their participatory project with children affected by war in Sierra Leone, Denov et al. (2012) note that following a photovoice exhibition, discussions with policy makers ultimately failed to yield concrete changes for the participants. This inevitably left both the participants and the researchers questioning the feasibility of photovoice and other participatory methods as viable long-term, transformative social change, and the dangers of creating false expectations in research participants. They questioned the ability of the method to achieve participant "emancipation" as a result of structural barriers and conditions largely out of the control of researchers and the research process. If participants' expectations of transformation and empowerment are not realized, the participatory process may be experienced as the antithesis of empowering, leaving participants feeling potentially frustrated or exploited. Ultimately, the danger of creating false expectations in research participants regarding transformation, empowerment, and emancipation is real.

Bennett (2004) also notes that there is a danger that participants may become alienated from their community by virtue of their association with a research project. In addition, a heightened awareness by a marginal group of its oppression (as can be the case through research participation) can increase unhappiness. At the other extreme, participatory work can result in the creation of a "participating elite" among local people—ultimately fostering factionalism within a community (Denov and Shevell, 2019). The participating elite may, essentially, create a hierarchy among a community of potential research partners.

Moreover, unpacking what is meant by "participation" is essential, given the risk and dangers of tokenistic participation, specifically with war-affected children, where researchers declare their work participatory, and yet meaningful, consistent, and sustainable participation may, in fact, be negligent. Although coined nearly three decades ago, Hart's (1992) declaration of "tokenistic" PR with children remains relevant. According to Hart (1992), tokenism describes "those instances in which children are apparently given a voice, but in fact have little or no choice about the subject or the style of communicating it, and little or no opportunity to formulate their own opinions" (p. 9). Indeed, it has been noted that achieving equal partnership (in accordance with the fundamental principles of PR) can be challenging (Wallerstein & Duran, 2006). In fact, a systematic review of PR studies ascertained that only four of sixty community-based participatory studies demonstrated community participation across all research phases (Viswanathan et al., 2004).

Structural Barriers: Culture and Context

As noted, participatory approaches can elicit feelings of both empowerment and vulnerability in participants. This is especially relevant when participants may face complex social, political, and power dynamics that can have significant implications (Veale et al., 2017). For instance, in their PR with those affected by war in Uganda and Sierra Leone, Veale et al. (2017) illustrate the effectiveness of PR along a continuum of interconnectedness between individual emotional experience and the broader emotional climate. They highlight individual agency and individual and community resilience and public engagement within their research context. Thus, without the connection between the individual and broader social surroundings, participants in PR may struggle when reintegrating into broader social contexts.

Barriers related to the surrounding institutions and structures may also affect the long-term feasibility and principles of empowerment related to PR. In some cases, nondemocratic governments may obstruct or impede projects that subtly or overtly challenge government dictates, directives, norms, and accepted discourse. For example, one of the authors of this chapter worked on a participatory project over a three-year period with a group of war-affected youth. Toward the end of the project, the research team sought to share the research findings with the local community via a community conference that aimed to engage over one hundred community members. However, twelve hours prior to the conference, government officials telephoned members of the research team to “advise” them that sharing the findings of the project could lead to “negative consequences” for all involved, “advising” the team to cancel the conference. Out of fear of negative political, social, and long-term consequences for all involved, including the research participants, the research team canceled the conference. The children involved in the project were understandably devastated; they had spent six months of dedicated time and concerted effort to plan the conference sharing their unique perspectives and experiences, just for those efforts to go unnoticed and unheard. Participants were keen to continue the project and work to influence future policy and practice. However, the surrounding political climate and external factors and forces prevented the project from advancing in the ways that the local community, youth, and entire research team had hoped for. These types of structural and institutional barriers, while outside the control of the researchers and participants, need to be taken into account at all stages of the research process as they too can lead to feelings of frustration and even a sense of betrayal in participants.

Cultural factors may also inhibit the advancement of the “social action” principle of PR. Indeed, in their participatory study with Assyrian young women in New Zealand, Collie et al. (2010) found that their participants wanted adults in their community to understand their desire to adapt some Assyrian culture norms, so they could situate better in New Zealand, but they “feared they would

be criticized if they conveyed this in a public way” (p. 141). This is connected to the fact that cultural norms of the Assyrian, as well as other immigrant and refugee communities, were under threat in New Zealand. Thus the participants’ desires to shift some of these cultural norms could have engendered negative reverberations across the Assyrian community in New Zealand (Collie et al., 2010). This example illustrates the complexity of the social advocacy or social action component of PR. In this case, had the researchers shared their findings in order to generate social change, participants and the Assyrian community may have received adverse consequences from mainstream, dominant New Zealand communities.

Insider/Outsider Tensions

As noted earlier in this collection, culture and context play a prominent role in how individuals conceptualize and experience war, violence, migration, healing, and coping. Wilson et al. (2018) and Collie et al. (2010) highlight the importance of culture and context in participatory work. Collie et al. (2010) suggest that researchers must be prepared to adapt the process so that it best meets what the community wants to achieve. To be effective, critical reflection on how the socio-cultural and situational context is affecting the knowledge and action produced within PR is required. By grounding projects in participants’ particular goals and sociocultural context, richer and more effective results can be delivered for both the participants and academia. In a similar vein, Wilson et al. (2018) argue that when outside researchers do not share the same culture, race, and social location as community partners, cultural misunderstandings can arise. They advocate for culturally sensitive methods of collecting data and analysis, although the underpinnings of the meaning of “culturally sensitive” methods need further unpacking, particularly with war-affected children.

Sharing the same race, culture, and social location, however, will not do away with ethical challenges and complexities—and in some ways can further complicate them. Those who are part of the community can, at times, be defined as insiders, yet at other times they may be defined by community members as outsiders as a result of their role and status as researchers working within their communities. As such, these individuals may struggle to navigate multiple and competing roles (Denov et al., 2018). There is often an assumption that as researchers, we are either insiders or outsiders, or put simply, we are either members of the communities that we study, or we are outsiders in these communities. However, as researchers, we can be both insiders and outsiders. For example, Denov et al. (2018) highlight the example of a PR project where one of the facilitators was himself a war-affected individual. In the following quote, this individual, who was a former child soldier, reflected on his dual role as both insider and outsider in his work with war-affected youth: “I have to say it was difficult. Because . . . you know, here I am [acting] as a referee. Yet at the same time you are watching a game, but you are also part of the game. . . . You know it was very emotional. At the same time,

you want to help these [youth] by listening to them, but at the same time, what they are telling you is close to you. It was a difficult process. I was playing a dual role, at the same time dealing with emotions.”

DISCUSSION: WAYS FORWARD

PR is complex and messy with any population or community. The challenges associated with experiencing armed conflict and working with children are two compounding variables that only intensify the dilemmas of facilitating PR. As previously mentioned, due to the intensity of experiencing war, children are more predisposed to psychiatric and developmental impairments than young people who have not experienced armed conflict (Attanayake et al. 2009). As it currently stands, minimal scholarship has addressed the practicality or reality of objectively engaging in PR approaches with children affected by armed conflict. Thus, as researchers, we are left to apply common PR principles with a unique and distinctive population. While we are not recommending a checklist approach to facilitate PR with this community, we are advocating for a more nuanced and comprehensive exploration of *specific* ways to use PR with children affected by armed conflict that will benefit both researchers and research participants. In this section, therefore, we provide particular areas of consideration for researchers and practitioners when facilitating participatory work with this population. These include positioning research participants at the forefront of research, a further exploration of what constitutes “community” for war-affected young people, and researchers’ accountability to move beyond procedural ethics.

Participant-Centered Research

There is a generalized assumption in PR that the methodology is inherently empowering for participants. Nonetheless, minimal scholarship has examined this from the perspectives of children affected by armed conflict who have participated in PR. Instead, due to the inherent power asymmetries in research relationships, researchers may, albeit inadvertently, define how PR with children affected by war is conceptualized, understood, and perceived during and after a research project on behalf of their participants. However, as researchers, can we assume that understandings of PR consistently align with those of participants, especially with young people affected by armed conflict? We argue that no, we cannot. Situating participants at the center of PR throughout the research endeavor would ultimately facilitate a research process that would benefit both researchers and participants. Without discussing with our participants their perspectives on research, there is little reason to suggest *our* approach as researchers and practitioners is the most valuable and beneficial approach for all parties involved. Moreover, *all* war-affected children and youth should not be lumped into one homogeneous category. Indeed gender, age, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, language, mobility, sexual orientation, gender identity, and education level—to name

a few—are all intersectional factors that may constitute privileged or marginalized positions *within* each community. As such, social locations and identities of each participant must be recognized and critically accounted for.

While more research is needed, a preliminary exploration of some of these questions has been done by Bilotta (2019). In a research project exploring “research ethics” in the Kakuma refugee camp, Bilotta found that war-affected refugee youth previously experienced research as an asymmetrical process between participant and researcher. For instance, refugee youth participants commonly referred to researchers as “self-benefiting” and felt as if researchers prioritized their own academic needs (e.g., publications, achieving tenure) over those of the participants. Furthermore, the participants in this research recommended that future researchers in Kakuma refugee camp, at minimum, continuously “check-in” with participants to verify whether their needs are also being met. In fact, when detailing a previous PR experience, one participant claimed that “we [participants] came upon a problem after the researcher left and when we [participants] tried to reach him [researcher] to ask advice, he was nowhere to be found” (Bilotta, 2019, p. 167).

Given the foregoing realities, we argue that concerns related to PR projects should not terminate with data collection. As researchers, our responsibility includes responding to research-related inquiries well beyond data collection. Without consistently considering the needs and values of our participants, can researchers be sure that participatory approaches genuinely constitute participant-centered approaches? A more in-depth and concerted effort to comprehend the experiences of how research participants experience PR approaches is needed. The results of such studies may engender greater collaboration between participatory researchers and research participants to identify and generate participatory principles that are participant-centered and mutually beneficial to both researchers and participants, ultimately enhancing the quality, impact, and reach of research results.

Family/Community Inclusion

Currently, there appears to be a dearth of research exploring the role of community with respect to PR with youth affected by armed conflict. This is disconcerting, considering that a preponderance of postconflict settings—particularly in Africa, Asia, and Latin America—represent collectivist societies where the “community” is a vital element of the culture, context, and daily life (Betancourt et al., 2014). Indeed, many children affected by armed conflict originate from contexts where an individual’s existence is recognized through familial or social networks, associations with other people, and their relations to the larger community (Corbin, 2008). Thus facilitating PR with children affected by war without acknowledging family or community members may be incomplete or even unethical. We suggest that prior to engaging in PR with war-affected children and youth, researchers would do well to inquire with key family and community members to determine

and include their perspectives and realities. Ascertaining this information may yield a more respectful, culturally relevant, and informed research process where the integral members of the young person's life are considered. Finally, if family and community are of tantamount importance to the individual, researchers must continuously consult with family and community members throughout the research process. Essentially, PR with children affected by war should not only be participant centered but family and community centered as well.

It is also important to acknowledge that the meaning of "family" may be more fluid for children affected by war who may have lost key family members through death or displacement. Research with war-affected youth has shown that in the absence of formal family structures, young people report actively and deliberately developing personal networks that included their peers, surrogate families, and communities who provided psychosocial support, information, or resources (Blanchet-Cohen & Denov, 2015). Understanding "family" from a broader and more integrative perspective is vital to meeting the unique needs and perspectives of war-affected youth (Blanchet-Cohen et al., 2019).

Similarly, researchers must explore what constitutes community. In other words, how is "community" defined? Who determines the constitution of community in diverse settings? Is it the responsibility of the researcher to inquire with participants, family, and community members to understand the significance of community in each context? If there are no family members present, how do participants define "community?" Does their definition include elders, teachers, government officials, extended family members, neighbors, friends, social workers, among others? How might determining these parameters of community affect the research? Moreover, when family or community members and participants in PR are so closely connected to the research, how is "ownership" understood? For instance, does the researcher or the community own the research? And what constitutes "owning" the research? Is ownership related to data, knowledge gained, and the like? If it is a true collaborative effort, and the data are co-owned, how is authorship understood and determined? How does this work in practice? For instance, are all members of the community considered authors for publication? As it currently stands, the researcher generally authors PR projects with children and youth affected by armed conflict. This, ostensibly, indicates that it is the researcher who owns the data and the research. We argue that such considerations must be acknowledged and negotiated, among researchers, participants, and family and community members, prior to the commencement of the research project.

Researcher Accountability: Procedural and Relational Ethics

Researchers must be held accountable to consider the ethical implications of facilitating research with young people affected by armed conflict. Although academic research ethics protocols require researchers to consider various procedural ethi-

cal principles of research (e.g., respect for persons, beneficence), we argue that researchers engaged in participatory work with young people affected by armed conflict must also reflect on relational ethics. Vervliet et al. (2015) distinguish between *procedural ethics* and *relational ethics*, with procedural ethics referring to the process whereby researchers go through internal review boards and obtain official ethical approval within their institutions. To protect and safeguard participants, procedural ethics require researchers to be clear, forthright, and protective regarding what will be required of participants, informed consent, privacy and confidentiality, the right to withdraw from a study without consequence, and dissemination practices (Court, 2018; Vervliet et al., 2015). Once researchers have satisfied the procedural ethical requirements of the internal review board, researchers then receive approval, usually through a signed document, enabling them to commence the research. This process tends to reflect an approach of standardization and objectivity, and yet, as this chapter has highlighted, research, and the ensuing relationships that develop within it, are often messy, blurry, and murky. As Ellis (2007) suggests, once the research begins, there are no definitive rules or principles regarding what to do in every situation or relationship other than the rather vague and generic ethical principal of “do no harm.” Moreover, while the formalized and “objective” realities of straightforward issues, such as consent in one context, may, in fact, in another context, raise complexities and uncertainties. As one academic from the Global North explained in relation to her research in a refugee camp in the Global South, “Informed consent is a joke when there is no food, no proper interpreters to read the legalistic forms we take . . . sometimes it makes me feel sick to have to ask people” (Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2013, p. 159). Adding further complexity, PR, with its emphasis on challenging power dynamics and fostering greater decision-making power among participants, raises unique ethical challenges where “doing no harm” is not always clear or obvious.

Within this context, and in the spirit of participatory approaches, relational ethics may be an important resource for researchers to draw on. Unlike procedural ethics, relational ethics requires researchers to act from their hearts and minds, acknowledge their interpersonal bonds to others, and take responsibility for their actions and the consequences thereof, as researchers (Ellis, 2007). Relational ethics emphasize the importance of respect within the research process (Lawrence et al., 2013, 2015), reciprocity between researchers and participants (Chilisa, 2012; MacKenzie et al., 2007), and researchers’ reflexivity (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004), and they highlight the necessity to unpack researcher/participant power relations (Barker & Smith, 2001). Moreover, seeking a collaborative rather than a hierarchical relationship, relational ethics seek to privilege a partnership and collaboration between researchers and participants, challenge asymmetrical relationships, and include key actors in participants’ lives, such as teachers, guardians, social workers, religious leaders, and key community leaders (Ellis, 2007; Vervliet et al., 2015). This kind of approach is well suited to participatory approaches and could be a

means to ensure more meaningful and honest engagement with participants. A relational approach compels the researcher to move beyond rigid objective ethical standards and participate in often uncomfortable questioning of our roles as researchers and practitioners.

Guidelines/Recommendations for Researchers

As previously acknowledged, given the complexities of participatory approaches and the vast and multifaceted contexts in which they are carried out, we do not advocate for a universalized set of PR principles for research with young people affected by war, nor a checklist of elements that researchers should abide by. Given the uniqueness of cultures and contexts, universalized approaches to PR would contradict its core underpinnings. Included here, however, is a list of *general* considerations that researchers could familiarize themselves with prior to facilitating PR with children and youth affected by armed conflict.

- Prior to commencing a research project, structural, contextual, and institutional constraints need to be carefully considered as researchers determine whether and how war-affected children's participation takes place, as well as the possibility of realistically reaching research goals. Specific attention should be given to assessing the structural barriers (e.g., political climate, legal status, sociocultural perceptions of childhood) and the facilitators required for community action in order to avoid creating false expectations of transformation, empowerment, and emancipation.
- When creating spaces for participation, efforts should be made to identify and include children who may be excluded because of gender, language or education level, clan or ethnic affiliation, race, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, gender identity, disability, or other key intersectional and identity markers.
- Researchers should engage war-affected children and youth not only as individuals but also as members of families and communities, involving their family members, peers, teachers, elders, or other members of their social network in the research process throughout the duration of the study.
- We recommend that researchers who apply specific participatory methods consider modifying or adapting them, so that they resonate with the culture, context, gender, and age group of the population under study. This will ensure that the tools used are culturally appropriate and reflect children's values, customs, age, levels of ability, literacy and language, and familiarity with research (e.g., Castleden & Garvin, 2008).
- Given the lack of empirical knowledge regarding how children affected by war perceive and experience their involvement in PR (Jacquez et al., 2013), research projects should be accompanied by continuous and consistent monitoring and evaluation of the process and outcomes of participation. This should include

any unintended consequences, both positive and negative. This process will ensure that assumptions regarding the benefits of PR are supported by inquiry rather than assumptions.

- To help manage expectations and ensure accountability of all parties, researchers should establish advisory boards as well as a memorandum of understanding with community partners to determine how issues would be handled. In this process, acknowledging and addressing issues of power, particularly the power associated with researchers' status (e.g., social locations, positionalities, etc.) is critical and will help facilitate a more equitable partnership.
- In order to mitigate some of the ethical challenges associated with PR, we recommend exploring and ascertaining how war-affected children understand and define abstract concepts, such as participation, voluntary consent, and confidentiality. Particularly in PR with war-affected children, it may be more useful to view informed consent as a participatory iterative process, in which the initial research agreement is renegotiated at multiple stages of the research (e.g., Ruiz-Casares & Thompson, 2016, which used participatory methods to develop visual consent forms with children).

CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated that PR approaches with children and youth affected by war can be beneficial. We argue, however, that such approaches be exercised with caution given the unique experiences of this population and the inherent power of the researcher. When facilitating PR approaches with children and youth affected by armed conflict, researchers should consistently situate the participants at the center of the research process, for the duration of the project. This includes regularly communicating with participants to ascertain their experiences of participating in the research. In addition, researchers should consult with the immediate and broader community. For instance, researchers would benefit from connecting with family members, elders, educators, and mentors and ascertain what constitutes "community" for the child or youth. Moreover, researchers must extend beyond procedural ethics and explore how relational ethics may influence participatory approaches with this population. Finally, while the common principles of PR approaches are important to consider with children and youth affected by war, researchers should be comfortable adapting those principles to fit the unique needs of each participant group and each particular context.

This chapter provides an initial exploration into the nuance and complexity of PR approaches with children and youth affected by armed conflict. Therefore, to gain a deeper awareness of such approaches, future research should examine this topic more critically. This is not only vital for the purpose of research, but more importantly, for the participants who so graciously participate in our research.

REFERENCES

- Afifi, R. A., Makhoul, J., El Hajj, T., & Nakkash, R. T. (2011). Developing a logic model for youth mental health: Participatory research with a refugee community in Beirut. *Health Policy and Planning*, 26(6), 508–517.
- Akesson, B., D'Amico, M., Denov, M., Khan, F., Linds, W., & Mitchell, C. A. (2014). “Stepping back” as researchers: Addressing ethics in arts-based approaches to working with war-affected children in school and community settings. *Educational Research for Social Change (ERSC)*, 3(1), 75–89.
- Armstrong, M., Boyden, J., Galappatti, A., & Hart, J. (2004). *Piloting methods for the evaluation of psychosocial programme impact in Eastern Sri Lanka*. Report for USAID, Oxford. https://www.essex.ac.uk/ARMEDCON/story_id/rrpilotingmethodso4.pd
- Attanayake, V., McKay, R., Joffres, M., Singh, S., Burkle, Jr., F., & Mills, E. (2009). Prevalence of mental disorders among children exposed to war: A systematic review of 7,920 children. *Medicine Conflict and Survival*, 25(1), 4–19.
- Barker, J., & Smith, F. (2001). Power, positionality and practicality: Carrying out fieldwork with children. *Ethics, Place & Environment*, 4(2), 142–147.
- Bennett, M. (2004). A review of the literature on the benefits and drawbacks of participatory action research. *First Peoples Child and Family Review*, 1(1), 19–32.
- Betancourt, T. S., Frounfelker, R., Mishra, T., Hussein, A., & Falzarano, R. (2015). Addressing health disparities in the mental health of refugee children and adolescents through community-based participatory research: A study in 2 communities. *American Journal of Public Health*, 105(S3), S475–S482
- Betancourt, T. S., McBain, R., Newnham, E. A., & Brennan, R. T. (2014). Context matters: Community characteristics and mental health among war-affected youth in Sierra Leone. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 55(3), 217–226.
- Bilotta, N. (2019). *Navigating ethical terrains: Perspectives on “research ethics” in Kakuma Refugee Camp* [Doctoral dissertation, McGill University Libraries].
- Bilotta, N., & Denov, M. (2018). Theoretical understandings of unaccompanied young people affected by war: Bridging divides and embracing local ways of knowing. *The British Journal of Social Work*, 48(6), 1576–1593.
- Blanchet-Cohen, N., & Denov, M. (2015). “War-affected children’s approach to resettlement: Implications for child and family services.” *Annals of Anthropological Practice*, 39(2), 120–133.
- Blanchet-Cohen, N., Denov, M., Bah, A., Uwababyeyi, L., and Kagame, J. (2019). Rethinking the meaning of “family” for war-affected young people: Implications for social work education and practice. *Journal of Family Social Work*, 22, 1.
- Cargo, M., & Mercer, S. L. (2008). The value and challenges of participatory research: Strengthening its practice. *Annual Review of Public Health*, 29, 325–350.
- Castleden, H., & Garvin, T. (2008). Modifying Photovoice for community-based participatory Indigenous research. *Social Science & Medicine*, 66(6), 1393–1405.
- Chambers, R. (1997). Shortcut and participatory methods for gaining social information for projects. *Sustainable development: Social organization, institutional arrangements and rural development*, 6, 177–208.
- Chatty, D., Crivello, G., & Hundt, G. L. (2005). Theoretical and methodological challenges of studying refugee children in the Middle East and North Africa: Young Palestinian, Afghan and Sahrawi refugees. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 18(4), 387–409.
- Chilisa, B. (2012). *Indigenous research methodologies*. Sage.
- Coad, J., & Lewis, A. (2004). Engaging children and young people in research: Literature review for the national evaluation of the Children’s Fund (NECF).

- Collie, P., Liu, J., Podsiadlowski, A., & Kindon, S. (2010). You can't clap with one hand: Learnings to promote culturally grounded participatory action research with migrant and former refugee communities. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 34(2), 141–149.
- Cooper, E. (2005). What do we know about out-of-school youths? How participatory action research can work for young refugees in camps. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 35(4), 463–477.
- Cooper, E. (2007). Praxis in a refugee camp? Meanings of participation and empowerment for long-term refugee youth. *Children Youth and Environments*, 17(3), 104–121.
- Corbin, J. N. (2008). Returning home: Resettlement of formerly abducted children in northern Uganda. *Disasters*, 32(2), 316–335.
- Cornwall, A., & Jewkes, R. (1995). What is participatory research? *Social Science & Medicine*, 41, 1667–1676.
- Court, D. (2018). *Qualitative research and intercultural understanding: Conducting qualitative research in multicultural settings*. Routledge
- Davidson, G., Murray, K., & Schweitzer, R. (2008). Review of refugee mental health and well-being: Australian perspectives. *Australian Psychologist*, 43(3), 160–174.
- Denov, M. (2010). *Child soldiers: Sierra Leone's Revolutionary United Front*. Cambridge University Press.
- Denov, M., Blanchet-Cohen, N., Bah, A., Uwababyeyi, L., Kagame, J., & Buccitelli, A. (2018). Co-creating space for voice: Reflections on a participatory research project with war-affected youth in Canada. In I. Berson (Ed.), *Participatory methodologies to elevate children's voice and agency*. Information Age Publishing.
- Denov, M., Doucet, D., & Kamara, A. (2012). Engaging war affected youth through photography: Photovoice with former child soldiers in Sierra Leone. *Intervention*, 10(2), 117–133.
- Denov, M., & Shevell, M. (2019). Social work practice with war-affected children and families: The importance of family, arts-based, and participatory approaches. *Journal of Family Social Work*, 22, 1. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10522158.2019.1546809>
- Downe, P. (2001). Playing with names: How children create identities of self in anthropological research. *Anthropologica*, 43(2), 165–177.
- Ellis, C. (2007). Telling secrets, revealing lives: Relational ethics in research with intimate others. *Qualitative inquiry*, 13(1), 3–29.
- Ellis, B. H., Kia-Keating, M., Yusuf, S. A., Lincoln, A., & Nur, A. (2007). Ethical research in refugee communities and the use of community participatory methods. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 44(3), 459–481.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Herder and Herder.
- Gallacher, L. A., & Gallagher, M. (2008). Methodological immaturity in childhood research? Thinking through participatory methods. *Childhood*, 15(4), 499–516.
- Gifford, S., Bakopanos, C., Kaplan, I., & Correa-Velez, I. (2007). Meaning or measurement? Researching the social contexts of health and settlement among newly-arrived refugee youth in Melbourne, Australia. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 20(3), 414–440.
- Gilhooly, D., & Lee, E. (2017). The Karen resettlement story: A participatory action research project on refugee educational experiences in the United States. *Action Research*, 15(2), 132–160.
- Green, E., & Kloos, B. (2009). Facilitating youth participation in a context of forced migration: A Photovoice project in northern Uganda. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 22(4), 460–482.
- Green, L. W. (2008). Making research relevant: If it is an evidence-based practice, where's the practice-based evidence? *Family Practice*, 25(suppl 1), i20–i24.
- Guillemin, M., & Gillam, L. (2004). Ethics, reflexivity, and “ethically important moments” in research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 10(2), 261–280.

- Hart, J., & Tyrer, B. (2006). *Research with children living in situations of armed conflict: Concepts, ethics and methods* [Refugee Studies Centre Working Paper No. 30]. Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford University.
- Hart, R. (1992). *Children's Participation: From Tokenism to Citizenship*. Innocenti Essays No. 4. UNICEF International Child Development Centre, Florence, Italy.
- High, S. (2014). *Oral History at the Crossroads: Sharing Life Stories of Survival and Displacement*. UBC Press.
- Hinton, R. (1995). Trades in different worlds: Listening to refugee voices. *Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) Notes*, 24(1), 21–26.
- Hinton, R. (2000). "Seen but not heard": Refugee children and models of coping. In C. Panter-Brick & M. Smith (Eds.), *Abandoned children* (pp. 199–212). Cambridge University Press.
- Holland, S., Renold, E., Ross, N. J., & Hillman, A. (2010). Power, agency and participatory agendas: A critical exploration of young people's engagement in participative qualitative research. *Childhood*, 17(3), 360–375.
- Israel, B. A., Schulz, A. J., Parker, E. A., & Becker, A. B. (1998). Review of community-based research: Assessing partnership approaches to improve public health. *Annual Review of Public Health*, 19(1), 173–202.
- Jacquez, F., Vaughn, L. M., & Wagner, E. (2013). Youth as partners, participants or passive recipients: A review of children and adolescents in community-based participatory research (CBPR). *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 51(1–2), 176–189.
- Jagosh, J., Bush, P. L., Salsberg, J., Macaulay, A. C., Greenhalgh, T., Wong, G., Cargo, M., Green, L. W., Herbert, C. P., & Pluye, P. (2015). A realist evaluation of community-based participatory research: Partnership synergy, trust building and related ripple effects. *BMC Public Health*, 15(1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-015-1949-1>
- Kellett, M. (2010). Children and young people's voices. In H. Montgomery & M. Kellett (Eds.), *Children and young people's worlds: Developing frameworks for integrated practice* (pp. 237–252). Policy.
- Kirby, P., Lanyon, C., Cronin, K., & Sinclair, R. (2003). *Building a culture of participation: Involving children and young people in policy, service planning, delivery and evaluation*. London: Department for Education and Skills.
- Kyoon-Achan, G., Lavoie, J., Avery Kinew, K., Phillips-Beck, W., Ibrahim, N., Sinclair, S., & Katz, A. (2018). Innovating for transformation in first nations health using community-based participatory research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 28(7), 1036–1049.
- Lawrence, J. A., Kaplan, I., & McFarlane, C. (2013). The role of respect in research interactions with refugee children and young people. In K. Block, E. Riggs, & N. Haslam (Eds.), *Values and vulnerabilities: The ethics of research with refugees and asylum seekers* (pp. 103–126). Australian Academic Press.
- Lawrence, J. A., Kaplan, I., & Dodds, A. E. (2015). The rights of refugee children to self-expression and to contribute to knowledge in research: Respect and methods. *Journal of Human Rights Practice*, 7(3), 411–429.
- Lenette, C., Cox, L., & Brough, M. (2015). Digital storytelling as a social work tool: Learning from ethnographic research with women from refugee backgrounds. *British Journal of Social Work*, 45(3), 988–1005.
- Lewin, K. (1946). Action research and minority problems. *Journal of Social Issues*, 2(4), 34–46.
- Lui, J. J. (2005). *"Redefining Canadian": A participatory filmmaking, action research project with immigrant and refugee youth*. School of Communication–Simon Fraser University.
- Macaulay, A. C., Jagosh, J., Seller, R., Henderson, J., Salsberg, J., Pluye, P., Cargo, M., Greenhalgh, T., Wong, G., Green, L. W., & Herbert, C. P. (2011). Assessing the benefits of participatory research: A rationale for a realist review. *Global Health Promotion*, 18(2), 45–48. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1757975910383936>

- Mackenzie, C., McDowell, C., & Pittaway, E. (2007). Beyond “do no harm”: The challenge of constructing ethical relationships in refugee research. *Journal of Refugee studies*, 20(2), 299–319.
- McIntyre, A. (2008). *Participatory action research*. Sage.
- McKay, S., Veale, A., Worthen, M., & Wessells, M. (2011). Building meaningful participation in reintegration among war-affected young mothers in Liberia, Sierra Leone and northern Uganda. *Intervention*, 9(2), 108–124.
- Miller, K. E. (2004). Beyond the frontstage: Trust, access, and the relational context in research with refugee communities. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 33(3–4), 217–227.
- Minkler, M. (Ed.). (2005). *Community organizing and community building for health*. Rutgers University Press.
- Minkler, M., & Wallerstein, N. (2003). Part one: Introduction to community-based participatory research. In M. Minkler & N. Wallerstein (Eds.), *Community based participatory research for health* (pp. 5–24). Jossey-Bass.
- Ní Raghallaigh, M. (2013). The causes of mistrust amongst asylum seekers and refugees: Insights from research with unaccompanied asylum-seeking minors living in the Republic of Ireland. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 27(1), 82–100.
- Nygreen, K., Ah Kwon, S., & Sanchez, P. (2006). Urban youth building community: Social change and participatory research in schools, homes, and community-based organizations. *Journal of Community Practice*, 14(1–2), 107–123.
- Oh, S. (2012). Photofriend: Creating visual ethnography with refugee children. *Area*, 44(3), 282–288.
- Ozer, E. J., & Douglas, L. (2015). Assessing the key processes of youth-led participatory research: Psychometric analysis and application of an observational rating scale. *Youth & Society*, 47(1), 29–50.
- Pittaway, E., & Bartolomei, L. (2013). Doing Ethical Research: Whose problem is it? In K. Block, E. Riggs, & N. Haslam (Eds.), *Values and vulnerabilities: The ethics of research with refugees and asylum seekers* (pp. 151–170). Australian Academic Press.
- Pittaway, E., Bartolomei, L., & Hugman, R. (2010). “Stop stealing our stories”: The ethics of research with vulnerable groups. *Journal of Human Rights Practice*, 2(2), 229–251.
- Roberts, H. (2017). Listening to children: And hearing them. In P. M. Christensen & A. James (Eds.), *Research with children: Perspectives and practices* (3rd ed., pp. 154–171). Routledge.
- Ruiz-Casares, M., & Thompson, J. (2016). Obtaining meaningful informed consent: Preliminary results of a study to develop visual informed consent forms with children. *Children's Geographies*, 14(1), 35–45.
- Sawhney, N. (2009, June). Voices beyond walls: The role of digital storytelling for empowering marginalized youth in refugee camps. In *Proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Interaction Design and Children* (pp. 302–305). <https://doi.org/10.1145/1551788.1551866>
- Sims, M., Nagaddya, T., Nakaggwa, F., Kivunja, C., Ngungutse, D., & Ayot, E. (2011). Children's experiences of social exclusion—what is it like living in a slum in Kampala? *International Research in Early Childhood Education*, 2(1), 17–29.
- Slone, M., & Mann, S. (2016). Effects of war, terrorism and armed conflict on young children: A systematic review. *Child Psychiatry & Human Development*, 47(6), 950–965.
- Smith, L., Bratini, L., Chambers, D. A., Jensen, R. V., & Romero, L. (2010). Between idealism and reality: Meeting the challenges of participatory action research. *Action Research*, 8(4), 407–425.
- Sonn, C. C., Grossman, M., & Utomo, A. (2013). Reflections on a participatory research project: Young people of refugee background in an arts-based program. *Journal for Social Action in Counseling and Psychology*, 5(3), 95–110.
- Tol, W. A., Song, S., & Jordans, M. J. (2013). Annual research review: Resilience and mental health in children and adolescents living in areas of armed conflict—a systematic review of

- findings in low- and middle-income countries. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 54(4), 445–460.
- UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, November 20, 1989. United Nations, Treaty Series, Vol. 1577, p. 3. <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b38fo.html>
- Veale, A., Worthen, M., & McKay, S. (2017). Transformative spaces in the social reintegration of former child soldier young mothers in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Northern Uganda. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 23(1), 58–66.
- Vervliet, M., Rousseau, C., Broekaert, E., & Derluyn, I. (2015). Multilayered ethics in research involving unaccompanied refugee minors. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 28(4), 468–485.
- Vindevogel, S., Ager, A., Schiltz, J., Broekaert, E., & Derluyn, I. (2015). Toward a culturally sensitive conceptualization of resilience: Participatory research with war-affected communities in northern Uganda. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 52(3), 396–416.
- Viswanathan M., Ammerman, A., Eng, E., Garlehner, G., Lohr, K. N., Griffith, D., Rhodes, S., Samuel-Hodge, C., Maty, S., Lux, L., Webb, L., Sutton, S. F., Swinson, T., Jackman, A., & Whitener, L. (2004). Community-based participatory research: Assessing the evidence. *Evid Rep Technol Assess* (Summer), Aug 1–8. PMID: 15460504.
- Wallerstein, N. B., & Duran, B. (2006). Using community-based participatory research to address health disparities. *Health Promotion Practice*, 3, 12–23.
- Wang, C., & Burris, M. (1994). Empowerment through photo novella: Portraits of participation. *Health Education Quarterly*, 21(2), 171–186.
- Watters, C. (2001). Emerging paradigms in the mental health care of refugees. *Social Science & Medicine*, 52(11), 1709–1718.
- Westwood, J. (2013). Childhood in different cultures. In T. Maynard & S. Powell (Eds.), *An introduction to early childhood studies* (3rd ed., pp. 11–21). SAGE.
- White, A., & Bushin, N. (2011). More than methods: Learning from research with children seeking asylum in Ireland. *Population, Space and Place*, 17(4), 326–337.
- Wilson, E., Kenny, A., & Dickson-Swift, V. (2018). Ethical challenges in community-based participatory research: A scoping review. *Qualitative health research*, 28(2), 189–199.

7 • THE RIGHT TO BE HEARD IN RESEARCH

Participatory Research Ethics in Kakuma Refugee Camp

NEIL BILOTTA AND MYRIAM DENOY

REFUGEE YOUNG PEOPLE LIVING IN KAKUMA: ETHICS AND ANTI-OPPRESSIVE RESEARCH PRACTICES

Over the last two decades, ample research has focused on the realities of young refugees and their complex plight, especially those living in the context of refugee camps. More specifically, research has highlighted children's experiences of being forced to flee their homes (Wilkes, 1994), as well as the reproductive health (Krause et al., 2015), nutrition (Jemal et al., 2017), risk of disease and illness (Hawkes et al., 2016), education (Mareng, 2010), and mental health (Vossoughi et al., 2018) of refugee children.

While much attention has been given to the realities of refugee young people (RYP), minimal scholarship has considered their perspectives on the process of research participation. Displaced persons may experience profound precarity and disruption in their everyday surroundings, making ethical participation in research of critical importance. Yet exercising "ethical research practices" with refugee communities is fraught with various complications that have been acknowledged in the literature (Block et al., 2013; Hugman et al., 2011). This includes the inherent power and positionality of researchers when compared to research participants (Block et al., 2013). Such difficulties surface throughout the research process, from formulating a research question to dissemination (Block et al., 2013). Nontheoretical, practical solutions aimed at navigating these challenges, however, are less acknowledged (Block et al., 2013).

In addition, evidence suggests that due to the complexity of research with refugee communities, refugees face a heightened risk of exploitative research, despite researchers' benevolent intentions (Pittaway et al., 2010). Indeed, Pittaway and

Bartolomei (2013) ascertained that refugees and internally displaced persons distrusted and felt exploited by researchers, and that researchers instilled false promises. In fact, a research participant housed in a refugee camp in Thailand claimed, “We never heard from the researchers again . . . they stole our stories” (as cited in Pittaway et al., 2010, p. 236). From such information, it has been documented that the ethics of research with displaced communities needs to be reassessed in order to better meet the needs of participants (Hugman et al., 2011; Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2013).

Given the profound ethical realities and challenges inherent in this work, alongside the significant power asymmetries in the research relationship, researchers working with RYP have a responsibility to consider and investigate the impacts of research with their participants (Gillam, 2013). This is particularly apparent for young refugees living in the context of Kakuma refugee camp, where academic researchers have, over decades, been omnipresent (Jansen, 2011; Russell & Stage, 1996). This chapter qualitatively explores research ethics with RYP in Kakuma refugee camp, Kenya. Based on participants’ previous research experiences, this chapter includes two participant-inspired recommendations for future researchers working in Kakuma refugee camp or similar contexts. In analyzing our data, we frame this chapter within an anti-oppressive research (AOR) prism.

Established in 1992, the Kakuma refugee camp is positioned in the semiarid region of northwest Kenya. It is situated about 100 kilometers (62 mi.) south of the South Sudan border and 1,000 kilometers (621 mi.) northwest of Nairobi. The protracted refugee camp encompasses four zones (Kakuma I–IV) over 10 kilometers (6.2 mi.) wide, and houses roughly 148,000 refugees, which is 48,000 above capacity (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2017). Inhabitants of the camp hail mainly from South Sudan and Somalia, though significant populations from Sudan, Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and less from Eritrea, Uganda, and Rwanda reside within (UNHCR, 2017). Like other refugee camps, Kakuma is host to a myriad of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations that provide a gamut of services. At the time of writing, the camp has been scheduled to close (in June 2022), inciting further uncertainty and precarity for its inhabitants.

Since its inception, the Kakuma refugee camp has been exposed to immeasurable research, both qualitative and quantitative. The disciplines and topics of research have traversed an expansive range. For instance, early researchers in the camp explored children’s experiences of being forced to flee their homes (Wilkes, 1994), the ways Sudanese women were adapting to life in Kakuma (Russell & Stage, 1996), and the reproductive health of young people (Jones, 1998), among others. NGOs also conducted research that included assessing childhood nutrition (International Rescue Committee [IRC], 1997) and household food economies in the camp (Lawrence et al., 1996). Research continued in the early 2000s and explored issues of identity and citizenship (Bartolomei et al., 2003), resettlement (Jansen, 2008), intimate partner violence (Horn, 2010), disease

and illness (Shultz et al., 2009), education (Mareng, 2010), refugees' mental health (Kamau et al., 2004), and the camp's growth and development (Jansen, 2011).

Given the complexities of the unique context of Kakuma and the myriad ethical dilemmas inherent in conducting research on RYP living there, research frameworks and approaches are needed that are able to address complex power relations, power asymmetries, oppression, and intersectional dynamics. An AOR practice framework may thus be particularly relevant in this context as it represents a constellation of theories and practices concerned with (1) identifying and understanding individual, institutional, and systemic oppression; and (2) engaging in processes to dismantle it (Clarke & Wan, 2011; Holley et al., 2012; Mullaly & West, 2018). AOR is adapted from the social work theoretical orientation, anti-oppressive practice (AOP). Sakamoto and Pitner (2005) argue that the ultimate goal of AOP is the "eradication of oppression through institutional and societal changes" (p. 436). To instill systemic change, AOP infers that power dynamics be initially addressed at the individual level or the microlevel prior to institutional or societal platforms. AOP offers a conceptual model for understanding the intersection of oppression, privilege, and power dynamics at individual, institutional, and structural levels (Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005). With that understanding, AOP attempts to shift the oppressive structural mechanisms of social work service through macrolevel changes that will promote social justice and equality (Dalrymple & Burke, 2006).

Anti-oppressive Research

As a result of power inequities in research, AOR practices have gained credence in the past decade. AOR scholars have highlighted the incongruence between traditional research methodologies (both quantitative and qualitative) and AOP values (Rogers, 2012; Strier, 2006). Consequently, more emancipatory research methods, such as advocacy and participatory research methodologies, have been fortified (Strier, 2006; Thomas & O'Kane, 1998), though certainly not deemed a panacea (Potts & Brown, 2008).

A fundamental objective of AOR is to shift the ownership of knowledge from the researcher back into the hands of those who experience the research phenomena (Potts & Brown, 2008). Consequently, researchers have a responsibility to contribute to assuaging power differentials. Included in anti-oppression work is the notion of intersectionality. Intersectionality, situated in feminist theory, suggests that numerous categories of oppression (due to class, race, sexuality, gender, ability, ethnicity, religion, etc.) intersect with one another, resulting in entirely new and complex relations of power (Crenshaw, 1991). These intersecting systems of oppression are mutually constitutive and may reinforce or complicate each other, resulting in multifaceted forms of subjugation and exclusion (Lee & Brotman, 2013). Finally, AOR is defined as politicized research that is committed to addressing the systems of oppression and unequal power relations that generate

current social orders (Danso, 2015; Potts & Brown, 2008). Anti-oppressive researchers are thus not interested in identifying “truths,” but instead they search for meaning, understanding, and the procedures to accomplish change (Holley et al., 2012).

AOR in the Kakuma Refugee Camp

The debilitating effects of European colonialism in the Global South have affected research among marginalized communities, particularly in Africa (Chilisa, 2012). Tuihawai Smith (2012) states, “From the vantage point of the colonized . . . the term ‘research’ is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism” (p. 1). Furthermore, Chilisa (2009) posits that researchers working with formerly colonized populations have a heightened responsibility to familiarize themselves with colonial epistemologies and social constructions of historically oppressed groups in order to deconstruct and reframe them. AOR practices are designed to engage in such processes. AOR is particularly relevant with formerly colonized, displaced, and conflict-plagued communities in order to address and redress the cultural images that classify the colonial subjects as “othered” (Chilisa, 2012; Strier, 2006).

It can be argued that AOR is simply good research practice, and therefore should be applied in all research. Although this is a rational assertion, AOR “focuses purposively on the study of the most oppressed populations that are largely excluded from the main spheres of public and economic life” (Strier, 2006, p. 860). Given the objectives of deconstructing the colonial and oppressive mechanisms that have historically plagued colonial research subjects, AOR is unmistakably germane to the Kakuma context. Yet, are researchers applying such practices and frameworks in the field? What are RYP’s experiences of being researched? What have been positive and negative findings in terms of their participation in research? What does “ethical” research mean to participants? What do these refugee youth recommend for areas of improvement?

Drawing on the voices of a sample of thirty-one RYP living in the Kakuma refugee camp, we explore their experiences and perspectives on participation in research. In particular, the chapter outlines RYP’s previous research experiences in Kakuma and the ways in which such experiences fostered overall feelings of disenchantment. We highlight the reasons behind the reported disenchantment, as well as participants’ two key areas of recommendations for improvement. These recommendations are important because they can act as guiding principles for ethical practice, and for future research in Kakuma, with implications for other refugee camp settings.

METHODOLOGY

This qualitative, critical ethnography draws on thirty-one semistructured, in-depth interviews conducted over a period of five months (January–May 2017) by

the first author. The analysis is part of a larger qualitative research project examining the constitution of research ethics in the Kakuma refugee camp according to young people who have previously participated in qualitative research projects.

To be included in this research, participants had to be between the ages of 18 and 30 during the time of data collection. For instance, if participants were over 30 years old, but previously participated in research during the ages of 18 and 30 years, they were not included. This age bracket, which denoted “refugee young people,” was influenced by Clark-Kazak’s (2017) research with Congolese young people in Uganda coupled with feedback from residents of Kakuma. Criteria for inclusion also entailed participation in research that was facilitated by outside (i.e., non-Kenyan) researchers that took place a minimum of two years prior to the interviews. This was assessed on the notion that the two-year minimum seemed like sufficient time for participants to reflect on and process their previous experiences. A maximum amount of time that research participants could have previously participated in research was not applied, although all participants spoke of their participation in research within the past five years. Furthermore, only three out of the thirty-one participants had engaged in research with Kenyan and non-Kenyan researchers. For this study, those three participants spoke exclusively of their experiences with non-Kenyan researchers.

This chapter focuses only on those who participated in qualitative research, which entailed individual interviews. The exclusion of RYP with solely quantitative research participation experience was twofold: (1) out of the thirty-one interviewees only four mentioned responding to surveys or questionnaires (in addition to qualitative interviews) and (2) qualitative interviews are commonly more intimate and thus may influence how participants unpack engaging in research. Of thirty-one participants in this study, eighteen were male-identifying and thirteen female-identifying. The research participants originated from a number of different backgrounds, including South Sudan, Sudan, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Uganda, Eritrea, Somalia, and Burundi.

It should be noted that all participants were housed in an overcrowded, resource-deprived refugee camp in rural Kenya. All were Black and born in countries that are former colonies to powerful nations in the Global North. Furthermore, as refugees, all participants were equally subject to physical and verbal abuse at the hands of the patrolling Kenyan police and the local Kenyan Turkana living on the outskirts of the camp. The young women participants experienced heightened subjugation when compared to the participants who identified as young men. The patriarchal social structure in Kakuma is evidenced in the ways that women were seldom observed dining at restaurants or congregating in public. One participant stated that “women do not go to socialize at places alone, because it looks like they are not serious with themselves and must be at home cooking for their families” (personal communication, March 2, 2017). The Kakuma refugee camp also hosts a “protection area” for self-identified lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer, and intersex (LGBTQ+) refugees from the neighboring countries.

Six research participants identified as LGBTQ+. The members of this community experienced many forms of oppression, including verbal and physical abuse from the police, local Turkana, and fellow refugees. In consequence, many members of the LGBTQ+ Kakuma chose not to depart from their makeshift living quarters (i.e., “protection area”) because of safety concerns.

Participants were drawn into this study via various methods: display documents detailing research protocols were posted at numerous locations, including notice boards in all regions of the camp, NGO locales within the camp, community health centers, restaurants and shops, as well as by word of mouth. The interested participants utilized numerous ways to make initial contact. These included sending text messages or calling the first author’s local mobile phone. Of the thirty-one interviewees, only two requested a translator or interpreter. One interview was translated from Swahili to English and another from Dinka to English.

Although data collection in Kakuma was limited to five months, trusting relationships with each participant were a key aim, inspired by what Lincoln and Guba (1985) define as “prolonged engagement” (p. 301) in the research relationship. By constant or repeated engagement, researchers and participants may develop a trusting partnership that may minimize biases and reactivity (Akesson et al., 2014; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In addition, a prolonged engagement “increased the probability that credible findings will be produced” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 301). Therefore, the first author interacted with each interviewee between two and four times prior to the “official” interview. Our preliminary encounters generally consisted of conversing at participants’ houses, eating a meal together, or spending time with participants and their friends.

Formal interviews were conducted at locations selected by the RYP participants. Interviews lasted between forty-five minutes to two hours. In order to assess participants’ construction of research in general, they were encouraged to describe their motivations for participating in this research, followed by their hopes for and expectations of the interview. This method was acquired from Bell (2011), who claims that commencing with such questions provides researchers with an “indication of the participant’s perspective of the process and . . . how the interview process might need to be negotiated” (p. 527).

Individual interviews included a broad and consistent structure, though unique variations were incorporated throughout. Participants were queried on their general perceptions of research, followed by their own research participation experiences. The latter half of the interview prompted them to offer advice for future researchers entering the Kakuma refugee camp. Further discussion investigated the reasons substantiating such advice or recommendations. All interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder and transcribed verbatim.

Data analysis, via a deductive thematic analysis, was rigorous and time consuming, yet imperative to the overall research process. Braun and Clarke (2006) and King (2004) argue that thematic analysis is a useful method for examining the perspectives of different research participants, highlighting similarities and

differences, and generating unanticipated insights. Despite its wide use, Nowell et al. (2017) posit that in its current state, the academic literature does not offer researchers with objective guidelines on how to practically apply thematic analysis to their data. Instead, they claim a researcher's "trustworthiness" is critical to thematic analysis (Nowell et al., 2017). Lincoln and Guba (1985) define trustworthiness as researcher's credibility (prolonged engagement), transferability (thick descriptions, so that those who seek to transfer the findings to their own study can judge transferability), dependability (research is logical, traceable, and clearly documented), confirmability (research interpretations are derived from the data), audit trails (field notes), and reflexivity (reflexive journal). Open and axial coding techniques were employed for the thematic analysis, as informed by Strauss and Corbin (1998).

There are several limitations of this research: (1) a failure to interview researchers who conduct research in refugee camps or similar contexts, (2) the paradox of outside researchers facilitating research exploring research ethics, (3) the small sample size, and (4) using a translator/interpreter for two interviews. Furthermore, RYP participants offered numerous recommendations for future research(ers) in the Kakuma refugee camp; this chapter details two of the most common recommendations offered by participants. By presenting and analyzing these two recommendations, an initial starting point has been established to expand the study of research ethics in refugee camps or similar contexts.

Findings: Refugee Young People's Reflections on Participation in Previous Research

Out of thirty-one research RYP participants, seventeen reported having participated in multiple research projects with more than one researcher. Not many participants recalled the academic disciplines that the facilitating researchers were members of. Those that recalled the disciplines reported being interviewed by social workers, anthropologists, medical doctors, and educators. Participants indicated that projects covered diverse qualitative research topics, which included girls' education in the camp, livelihood issues, food (in)security, challenges of camp life, reasons to flee their country of origin, the impacts of war on family, mental and physical health of refugees, unaccompanied refugee minors, child protection in the camp, cultural variations in Kakuma refugee camp, conflict within the camp, relationships between camp residents and local Turkana Kenyans, hygiene in Kakuma, repatriation, religion, violent extremist behavior, LGBTQ+-related research, police brutality in the camp, and intimate partner violence.

Overall, RYP participants generally referred to research by using a dualistic binary, as either good or bad, though nuanced when considering the researcher. For instance, the majority of the participants identified research as bad, though not necessarily claiming researchers were bad people. When asked about previous researchers, the nationality or gender of the researcher did not appear relevant. Instead, what seemed more important was whether researchers were able to meet

the expectations of RYP participants. As not many participants reported that they had had their needs or expectations met in their previous research experiences, research was generally described as bad. Florence¹ illustrated this point. “So emotionally, research is somehow bad. You know, you actually trust and give them [researchers] your time and everything that you have, and nothing comes back” (RYP10).

Prior to uncovering the participants’ recommendations for research, it was pertinent to investigate the ways in which they have understood their previous research experiences. Block et al. (2012) attest that whether positive or negative, research participation inevitably affects the lives of refugee participants. RYP participants in Kakuma acknowledged two recurring themes while reflecting on previous research experiences: (1) a prevailing sense of unmet (research) expectations, and (2) feelings that researchers instilled false promises. Prossy spoke of unmet expectations: “Of course, we expect the researchers to come and return with feedback. Isn’t that the whole point of research? . . . to share the results . . . but they never came back” (RYP19). Moreover, Bilan shared his experiences of false promises: “These researchers used to come and promise us that they will change something about our situation. But, I don’t see that they have changed it” (RYP27). Indeed, not one of the thirty-one participants claimed to have experienced researchers following up with participants on completion of their work in Kakuma. Paired together, unmet expectations and feelings of false promises conveyed a general sense of disappointment for RYP who had participated in previous research.

Although there is a dearth of literature analyzing the impacts of promise-making in social sciences research (Akesson et al., 2014), researchers have been cautioned to resist coercing participation through excessive incentives (Mita & Ndebele, 2014). It is also imperative to explore how a researcher’s presence of simply entering the camp and asking about RYP’s experiences may be perceived as a potential promise. Goodhand (2000) argues that in conflict and postconflict settings, the risk for researchers to instill false hopes is amplified since participants may experience few external means of support. Given the unique context, researchers must engage in precautionary measures to clearly communicate the precise benefits, or lack thereof, prior to engaging in research (Goodhand, 2000). Grounded in unmet expectations and false promises, RYP participants interviewed in Kakuma unequivocally felt disappointed and frustrated with their previous research experiences. One participant expressed it this way: “Yeah, it’s a bit disappointing. I mean, you opened up to that researcher, you’ve told them everything that is happening and you’re expecting something. But in the end, you don’t get it. It’s difficult” (RYP10). Because of this, it was important to ascertain how research could be improved from the perspectives of previously researched RYP. This was inspired by the initial attempt of Horn et al. (2014), who proposed that refugee “research advocates” contribute to discourses on research protocols and the continuous monitoring of research. In this vein, the next section of the chapter identi-

fies two commonly cited recommendations by participants for future researchers who intend to facilitate research in Kakuma, namely (1) providing feedback to participants and (2) exercising direct and transparent communication.

Provide Feedback: Feedback Is Reciprocity

The appeal for researchers to share their findings with participants in Kakuma was a universal recommendation from nearly all RYP participants. The relevance of receiving feedback from researchers could be interpreted as participants' desire to engage in reciprocal relationships. The notion of reciprocal research (Hugman et al., 2011) has been examined extensively, particularly by Indigenous scholars (Chilisa, 2012; Kovach, 2010; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). Chilisa (2012) defines research reciprocity as "the extent to which the researcher is contributing or giving back to the relationship and the extent to which sharing, growth, and learning are taking place" (p. 118). The denotation of "giving back to the [research] relationship" may represent incongruencies between participants and researchers. Thus further evaluation of researchers' comprehension of "giving back" is warranted. This notion of reciprocity will be examined further from the perspectives of RYP in Kakuma. For RYP in Kakuma, reciprocity commonly signified researcher/participant sharing, recognition of participants' contributions, and being trustworthy.

Nearly all participants recommended that future researchers in Kakuma provide research results as a method of fulfilling the reciprocal research relationship. Joseph's quote illustrates a connection between future research and sharing: "Research is sharing. You are asking the questions and we are giving you answers. That is sharing. But when you take something without giving any feedback, then you realize it's not sharing. So, you must come back with feedback, because we want to share" (RYP4). Marley associated reciprocal research relationships with the metaphor of cooking soup: "It is important to see the results [of research] because I want to see what I worked for. It's obvious that everybody wants to see what they do. You cannot cook soup and at the end of the day you pour it out. You will want to taste the results of your cooking" (RYP26). Tasting the results of your cooking insinuates that participants are essentially co-cooks, co-creators, or co-owners of the research project. The participants, however, predominantly felt as though their participation was subjugated to that of the researcher. Nadia linked researchers' post-Kakuma disappearances with their aspirations of attaining full credit for the work: "You need to come back with the feedback from the research. If you don't come with the feedback and are only interested in improving your grades in school or being a great researcher—well, what about me? What about the person who participated? It's not always about money and fame for you, but what about me as a person who participated? Am I being recognized somewhere? You know, I'll feel good if I see the finished research and my words are quoted there, meaning that someone is learning from me. But if you don't show us, and take all the credit for yourself, then it's really unfortunate that I never even see the finished research" (RYP31).

Like Nadia, Abdul referenced researchers' inclusion of RYP in their works without presenting it to them. If he were to be interviewed by a researcher writing a book, Abdul said he would not only request to read it, but that he should be provided a copy: "And if these researchers come only to write a book, then we should be receiving a copy of the book. Why are we not seeing or owning the book if it is about us?" (RYP18).

Discovering that a reciprocal relationship was expected by the vast majority of participants was unsurprising, especially in the Kakuma context. In fact, reciprocity is a defining characteristic of many African cultures (Darley & Blankson, 2008) whereby mutually benefiting reciprocities, communal responsibility, and interdependence tend to be privileged (Mphahlele, 1962; Otite, 1978). The relationship between Africa and sharing was underscored by Yann: "In Africa we share together. Once there is something in front of us, we must share. Those who go to do research, they have to come back and explain to us, tell us—they have to be open to us to give us the full information with what they have got as a result of their research. That's our African behaviours, our beliefs" (RYP20).

The notion of sharing and working together was evidenced throughout RYP's contribution to this research project. Receiving postresearch feedback, was believed to foster a sense of belonging or connection between researchers and RYP. For instance, in addition to "sharing ideas" and "applying those ideas" to various needs in the camp (e.g., improved educational infrastructure), Nancy stressed that feedback would cement a "feeling that I am a part of the entire research project" (RYP3). By obtaining feedback, participants acknowledged that they would develop trust in the researcher, which could help fortify the communal or collectivist nature (e.g., "sense of belonging" and ownership) of the research relationship.

The concept of trust as an integral ethical component of research has been well documented (Israel, 2015; Maiter et al., 2008; Yassour-Borochowitz, 2004). Without researcher-participant trust, there are few guarantees of the validity and authenticity of information exchanged (Fitzgerald, 1997). The following participant quotes highlight the perceived connection between receiving feedback from researchers and engendering trust: "Us interviewees, we would be given some motivation by the feedback that the research could bring to us. It would make us trust the researcher. The first time the first interviewer comes and gives all the feedback, next time, when another one comes, we'll feel encouraged to give out more information about our society" (RYP29). "The most important thing for researchers is to share the feedback. As participants, we will feel good and free to give out information, because we have trusted you . . . because at the end of the day, we know we will get feedback" (RYP18).

Exercise Direct and Transparent Communication

Ensnared in the undercurrents of unmet expectations, but particularly false promises, is participants' request that researchers communicate directly and transparently in order for researchers to engender reciprocal and trustful research

relationships. This includes postresearch plans and an exchange of expectations and benefits. This recommendation was inspired by participants' reports that researchers were indisputably fabricating and misinforming RYP, primarily in communicating participant benefits and expectations. Participants, therefore, advise researchers to tell the truth about postresearch objectives and benefits, regardless of what constitutes that truth. When queried on the ways researchers could augment their practices with RYP in Kakuma, Prince highlighted communication: "There is something that has to be done with researchers. They have to do some kind of improvement on how they conduct themselves. They really have to improve on providing feedback and the communication. Mostly, the communication, that is really important. We need researchers to be honest communicators" (RYP₂).

Reflecting on these comments, it became apparent that RYP participants were most concerned with researchers' transparency about the research agenda (including motives, benefits, and expectations), irrespective of whether the truth contradicted RYP's expectations. For instance, when asked to elaborate on "communication," Prince asserted, "Okay, if the research will not provide any benefits to us, they [researchers] need to state that first. Just tell the truth about your [researcher] motives for the research. If you tell us before the research that you are not coming back, or I should not expect help, then I can decide if I want to participate or not, knowing that I won't get help after it's over. But when they [researchers] don't say anything about their research, about what will happen after they leave here, that is not good" (RYP₂).

Claiming that he had previously experienced researchers' false promises, Jamal spoke to researchers' honesty: "Researchers need to be honest with us. It's like they are not even being truthful. Just speak openly. They should speak the truth and say that they are not capable of helping if they are not capable. But do not lead us with false information by saying that you will come back with feedback if you will never come back with the feedback" (RYP₆).

In providing direct and transparent communication, researchers can effectively avert potential misunderstandings that may lead participants to assume that researchers have broken their promises (Akesson et al., 2014; MacKenzie et al., 2007). Abdul explained that RYP would rather be told that researchers will not come back with feedback, as opposed to holding onto false hopes: "Communication is very simple. If you cannot come back, you say, 'I will not come back' and you give your reason. Then, we will know and not feel bad because we have understood that you will not come back. Because, some people when they do research they say, 'Okay, I will come back.' But, at the end they never come back. That is very bad" (RYP₁₈). According to Fawisa, researchers' transparency would assuage RYP's (unmet) expectations: "Researchers need to tell people the truth. They should tell people exactly what they are doing, and don't make people expect things, like that they will be able to help. So, by being honest, you won't give expectations to us" (RYP₁₄). Several participants noted that direct communication

equates to researchers' respect for participants. Moreover, researchers with unclear communication were frowned upon and often labeled as "disappearing." Isaac explained, "Researchers, they must be honest. They have to respect us. If you are honest, it means you really respected us. . . . You should try to give us feedback. But, if you can't or you don't want to help, or you don't have the budget, you just have to be honest and tell us. It is much better to be honest than to disappear" (RYP₂₃).

The research recommendations articulated by RYP participants in Kakuma align more closely with concepts linked to relational ethics (such as respect, reciprocity, etc.) (Vervliet et al., 2015), as opposed to concepts related to procedural ethics (such as informed consent, confidentiality, research ethics boards, etc.) (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). The concept of direct and transparent communication, however, traversed across relational and procedural ethics boundaries. For instance, participants suggested that researchers include documenting their postresearch plans on informed consent documents. Jamal spoke directly to this point: "The document [informed consent] should state the future plans of the researcher. Like, tell us if you will come back to us with the results. If we see that you will come back, we will actually have hope of waiting for the date you stated. But, if you cannot come back, you must also include that, and we will not feel badly" (RYP₆). Others, however, equated informed consent with a contract, as Nadia's quote illustrates in relation to researcher accountability: "You need to explain everything that you will talk about in the informed consent. Like, 'I am interested in making a change, so I will be back this day to show you the results.' Or, 'If I cannot come back, I plan to do such and such by this date.' And if the date has to be changed, that's okay, but you need to communicate that with us. And make sure you sign the document, because, now, if you break your word, it's on you and not me" (RYP₃₁).

Francis deemed direct communication a greater moral imperative than including future research plans on the informed consent form: "You do not need to explain, in that consent document, that you will or will not come back. Because, it's really a moral aspect. It should just be in the researcher's conscience that they will come back with the results or try to help in some way" (RYP₁₅).

DISCUSSION: AN ANTI-OPPRESSIVE RESEARCH AGENDA IN KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP

In providing their research recommendations, RYP in the Kakuma refugee camp indirectly indicated that future researchers would do well to adopt an AOR agenda, which is actually enshrined in the social work mandate to prioritize social justice and human rights, while maintaining ethical awareness in social sciences research (IASSW-IFSW, 2012). Moreover, AOR practices must be prioritized in formerly colonized contexts (Chilisa, 2012; Strier, 2006). As such, this section draws connections between AOR and the two research recommendations. Additionally, it

exposes nuances embedded within academia that may preclude particulars of RYP recommendations from being achieved. Finally, interwoven throughout the discussion section are our recommendations for researchers to improve the research process for both RYP and researchers in the Kakuma refugee camp.

RYP Research Recommendations and AOR

The first research recommendation from RYP participants in Kakuma—providing feedback to RYP—is a plea for researchers to return the results of their work back to participants. This request parallels anti-oppressive academic literature that situates itself in a decolonizing research methodologies framework (Chilisa, 2012; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). For instance, in an effort to assuage colonial and oppressive methods in research, Tuhiwai Smith (2012) poses the following questions: “Whose research is it? Who owns it? Who benefits from it? How will the results be disseminated?” (p. 10). Such questions were unpacked in chapter 6 of this volume. While RYP participants were not necessarily bidding to own the research, they were clearly invested in the work. This recommendation indicates that being a recipient of the results will, according to participants, engender feelings of reciprocity and respect that are well aligned with the values and principles of many community contexts and AOR (Chilisa, 2012).

Numerous social science scholars argue that researchers have an ethical commitment to share results with participants, which parallels supporting social justice initiatives and AOR practices (Bocarro & Stodolska, 2013; Krause, 2017). By receiving and reading “books written about us” (RYP₁₅), RYP participants will at least own a copy of the co-constructed knowledge, which is a prevailing aspect of AOR (Potts & Brown, 2008). RYP participants were substantively interested in receiving copies of the research, as opposed to owning or co-owning the data.

Researchers are unlikely to enter into Kakuma with an agenda of engaging in oppressive research practices. Why then haven’t any researchers, according to study participants, distributed their results to RYP in Kakuma? In unpacking this question, two phenomena must be considered: (1) power as it relates to the research process and (2) the nature and structure of the academy. There exist explicit and subtle notions of power that transcend the political, emotional, and physical landscapes of Kakuma. For instance, partly as a consequence of the historical and contemporary colonial underpinnings of Kenya, outside researchers may be perceived as self-benefiting and disrespectful toward RYP participants. Indeed, research has been identified as a neocolonial entity (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012), wherein unacknowledged power hierarchies between the educated and privileged researcher and the subjugated and oppressed research participant constitute oppressive research practices (Rogers, 2012).

Conversely, many RYP participants also acknowledged researchers as being in a position to help them regardless of researchers’ capabilities. This role assumption may be a direct result of the individual and systemic levels of power that non-Kakuma-resident researchers affiliated with academic institutions embody.

Reigning on the upper echelon of the power hierarchy in Kakuma reinforces the presupposition of researchers as experts (Rogers, 2012) in the lives of RYP. An exploration and deconstruction of the power imbalances in the research relationship, specifically with subjugated communities, is not a prerequisite for facilitating research. However, researchers may inadvertently bear the expert role and inevitably prioritize their own values, interests, and ethics above those of the participant. In doing so, they may fail to ask participants about their research expectations and desires. Self-reflexive processes, as referenced in AOR and discussed further here, could assuage some of the commonly unrecognized, multifaceted power discrepancies in research (Baines, 2017; Rogers, 2012).

Finally, challenges in returning results to participants may exist despite researchers' self-reflexivity and comprehension of RYP's desires and expectations. This may be linked to the requirements and constraints of the academy. Researchers in the social sciences and social work support providing results to participants (MacKenzie et al., 2013; Rose & Flynn, 2017), though they have acknowledged the clear and persistent challenges associated with doing so. For instance, researchers are routinely bound by numerous responsibilities, including semester-based teaching, funding proposals, and tenure conditions (Castleden et al., 2012). While this is not intended to diminish the importance of participants' recommendation, it indicates some of the challenges that may act to limit its possibilities. Researchers sport multiple hats that may encumber their ability to physically return results. This notion, coupled with the fact that returning research results is nonbinding according to research ethics boards, may highlight some of the reasons why findings are seldom provided to participants. Many RYP participants recognized the costs and constraints researchers face and, therefore, suggested an alternative to receiving physical copies of research results. For example, Kizza observed that if researchers were incapable of returning results, e-mail correspondence would suffice: "Some of us understand that it is very expensive for you [researcher] to go back to your country and then return here to give out the results. Yes, it will be better for you to come and show us and explain the results to us, but if you cannot, you can e-mail them to us" (RYP24). Like Kizza, Idil reinforced the proposal of electronic communication between participant and researcher: "If you cannot come back, which we really hope you can, you can even e-mail us the results or provide us booklets. The mode of feedback can depend on how the researcher is best able to give it. Maybe, if you even have a website where you can share them, that could also work" (RYP21). Unequivocally RYP's most pressing aspect of the first recommendation is for the researcher simply to not "disappear." Jean alluded to this: "You know, to cut off the communication, and not share your contacts is a big problem, which has not pleased us here. It is like you have gone in vain. If you provide us with e-mail—you know some of those researchers don't give us their contacts—but if you give them to us, then we at least know that you have not gone in vain and we can be proud of what we participated for" (RYP30).

Although disseminating research results via e-mail was recommended, not all RYP participants in this research had e-mail access or an e-mail account. This point illustrates that despite efforts to simplify returning results, pragmatically, there are multiple barriers obstructing this recommendation. Further research is necessary to examine how this recommendation might be practically formalized.

Although the second RYP research recommendation—exercising direct and transparent communication—may seem obvious, participants noted a significant lack of transparent communication on the part of researchers. Miscommunication between researchers and RYP has been likened to a paternalistic relationship in which researchers' inherent power and privilege are unacknowledged in the dyad (Block et al., 2012). Potts and Brown (2008) claim that research cannot commence without transparent and comprehensive communication practices between researchers and participants; such relationships are vital to AOR. Indeed, according to the guide "Research Ethics in Africa" (Kruger et al., 2014), establishing a trusting and respectful relationship includes ongoing and transparent communication between researchers, participants, and members of the community. This includes a full disclosure of both researcher and participant expectations. Indeed, not engaging in such relationships connotes a Euro-American paradigm that suggests a "fundamentally oppressive and unethical" imposition to non-European, subjugated research participants (Ramsey, 2006, p. 167).

Moving Forward: Beyond Kakuma

As stated, researchers have consistently been working in Kakuma refugee camp since its inception in the early 1990s, with residents of Kakuma being asked to participate in numerous studies over time. Feedback from this study suggests that there is a misalignment between the ways researchers and research participants understand research protocols and procedures. Based on reports that their expectations were unmet and that researchers instilled false promises, participants in Kakuma recommend that future researchers provide feedback to participants and exercise direct and transparent communication.

Unmet expectations and false promises were commonplace among RYP in Kakuma. Why are researchers in Kakuma, according to RYP participants, ineffectively communicating with participants? In fact, misunderstandings stemming from ineffective communications between researchers and participants are well documented. Mfutso-Bengo and colleagues (2008) identify "therapeutic misinformation" as a process whereby research participants overestimate the benefits of research participation. Further research is needed to determine whether therapeutic misinformation is associated with Kakuma RYP's second research recommendation. For instance, because of their privileged position, will researchers be perceived as authoritarian figures to whom expectations of assistance may be attached (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003)? Or do researchers genuinely lack constructive cross-cultural communication skills, precisely in regard to research participants' expectations and benefit?

Regardless of the underpinnings, researchers have an ethical responsibility not to raise false expectations of assistance (Akesson et al., 2014; Pittaway et al., 2010). To solidify direct and transparent communication in the research endeavor, researchers in and beyond Kakuma should not only engage in extended efforts to communicate expectations authentically but also consider creating a communications guide or plan. For instance, can researchers be “guided by a communications plan in terms of the process and the end-of-study results dissemination?” (Kruger et al., 2014, p. 148). This communications guide could parallel an informed consent document, though it would be specific to expectations, benefits, postresearch plans, dissemination, and providing research results. Such a communications guide or plan would inevitably mitigate communication misunderstandings between RYP and researchers. It could, moreover, potentially assuage unrealistic expectations and false promises. RYP may feel that they are “within their rights in seeking to control all aspects of research and information management processes which impact them” (Schnarch, 2004, p. 81). Future researchers in contexts like Kakuma and beyond, therefore, should consider providing a communications guide and include a dissemination agenda on the informed consent document. Included in the guide could be dissemination plans and whether or not the researcher is in a position to return with research results or forward results to those in positions to help participants. For instance, the research could be disseminated to NGOs or funding bodies that are able to provide tangible support to the needs of refugees. Such a guide could minimize the risk of participants’ unmet expectations and researchers’ “false promises.” This is not only relevant for refugee and displaced communities, but also in all research where the power of the researcher and marginalization of the participant are conspicuous.

Further research is needed to determine how other marginalized and oppressed research participants relate to research ethics and research participation. For instance, this same research could be carried out in different contexts of displacement around the globe to increase the relevance of the results in several cross-cultural settings. Although this research reflects the context of the Kakuma refugee camp, there are broader implications of this topic outside Kakuma. These include refugee and displaced camps across the Global South that are exposed to outside research.

Research ethics as a research topic could also benefit a variety of subjugated communities across the globe. Scholars have debated whether or not ethical research principles and procedures can or should be universally applied across cultural contexts (Healy, 2007). By exploring research ethics with several oppressed researched communities, researchers may begin to understand the justification for context-specific research ethics protocols.

Minimal research has formally inquired into how participants experience the research process and encourage direct feedback from researchers. By examining participants’ experiences and subsequent recommendations, as researchers, we can better assess and understand how participants experience the research

process, promote participant empowerment and agency, challenge existing researcher–participant power relations, as well as develop improved procedures in relation to ethical, equitable, and participatory modes of research design, data collection, analysis, and dissemination. The results of this study indicate that researchers in Kakuma have a responsibility to situate their work within the confines of AOR. Contrary to most academic scholarship, the research recommendations were primarily derived from the research participants themselves. The participants have suggested that researchers initiate significant changes to our methods and approaches, as researchers may not be meeting the needs and expectations of participants. The fundamental rights to be heard and to participate are key tenets of the UN *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Such rights are also relevant and significant for the realm of research whereby participants have an inherent right to be heard both during and following their engagement in a research study. Moving forward, it is vital that we acknowledge and encompass the participants' research recommendations within the boundaries of AOR to illustrate our respect and commitment to them as individuals and a collectivity. As is a central theme in this volume, it is critical that researchers take the time to reflect on and deconstruct their practice, and in some cases, unlearn practices that may be deemed acceptable in theory, but deemed inappropriate by or even unethical to participants in practice.

NOTE

1. All names are pseudonyms.

REFERENCES

- Akesson, B., D'Amico, M., Denov, M., Khan, F., Linds, W., & Mitchell, C. A. (2014). "Stepping back" as researchers: Addressing ethics in arts-based approaches to working with war-affected children in school and community settings. *Educational Research for Social Change (ERSC)*, 3(1), 75–89.
- Baines, D. (2017). *Doing anti-oppressive practice: Social justice social work* (3rd ed.). Fernwood Publishing.
- Bartolomei, L., Pittaway, E., & Pittaway, E. E. (2003). Who am I? Identity and citizenship in Kakuma Refugee Camp in northern Kenya. *Development*, 46(3), 87–93.
- Bell, K. (2011). Participants' motivations and co-construction of the qualitative research process. *Qualitative Social Work*, 12(4), 523–539.
- Block, K., Gibbs, L., Riggs, E., & Warr, D. (2013). Addressing ethical and methodological challenges in research with refugee-background young people: Reflections from the field. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 26(1), 69–87. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fes002>
- Block, K., Riggs, E., & Haslam, N. (Eds.). (2013). *Values and vulnerabilities: The ethics of research with refugees and asylum seekers*. Australian Academic Press.
- Bocarro, J., & Stodolska, M. (2013). Researcher and advocate: Using research to promote social justice change leisure research symposium. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 45(1), 2–6.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101.

- Castleden, H., Morgan, V. S., & Lamb, C. (2012). "I spent the first year drinking tea": Exploring Canadian university researchers' perspectives on community-based participatory research involving Indigenous Peoples. *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe canadien*, 56(2), 160–179.
- Chilisa, B. (2009). Indigenous African-centered ethics: Contesting and contemplating dominant models. In D. Mertens & P. E. Ginsberg (Eds.), *The handbook of social research ethics* (pp. 407–425). Sage.
- Chilisa, B. (2012). *Indigenous research methodologies*. Sage.
- Clarke, J., & Wan, E. (2011). Transforming settlement work: From a traditional to a critical anti-oppression approach with newcomer youth in secondary schools. *Critical Social Work*, 12(1), 13–26.
- Clark-Kazak, C. (2017). Ethical considerations: Research with people in situations of forced migration. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, 33(2), 11–17.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241–1299.
- Dalrymple, J., & Burke, B. (2006). *Anti-oppressive practice: Social care and the law*. Open University Press.
- Danso, R. (2015). An integrated framework of critical cultural competence and anti-oppressive practice for social justice social work research. *Qualitative Social Work: Research and Practice*, 14(4), 572–588.
- Darley, W. K., & Blankson, C. (2008). African culture and business markets: Implications for marketing practices. *Journal of Business & Industrial Marketing*, 23(6), 374–383.
- Fitzgerald, J. L. (1997). Confidentiality, disseminated regulation and ethicolegal liabilities in research with hidden populations of illicit drug users. *Addiction*, 92(9), 1099–1107.
- Gillam, L. (2013). Ethical considerations in refugee research: What guidance do formal ethics documents offer? In K. Block, E. Riggs, & N. Haslam (Eds.), *Values and vulnerabilities: The ethics of research with refugees and asylum seekers* (pp. 21–40). Australian Academic Press.
- Goodhand, J. (2000). Research in conflict zones: Ethics and accountability. *Forced Migration Review*, 8(4), 12–16.
- Guillemin, M., & Gillam, L. (2004). Ethics, reflexivity, and "ethically important moments" in research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 10(2), 261–280.
- Hawkes, M., Paul, M., Claude, K., Charchuk, R., & Houston, S. (2016). Burden of malaria is higher among children in an internal displacement camp compared to a neighbouring village in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. *Malaria Journal*, 15(1), 1–9.
- Healy, L. M. (2007). Universalism and cultural relativism in social work ethics. *International Social Work*, 50(1), 11–26.
- Holley, L. C., Stromwall, L. K., & Bashor, K. E. (2012). Reconceptualizing stigma: Toward a critical anti-oppression paradigm. *Stigma Research and Action*, 2(2), 51–61.
- Horn, R. (2010). Responses to intimate partner violence in Kakuma refugee camp: Refugee interactions with agency systems. *Social Science & Medicine*, 70(1), 160–168.
- Horn, L., Sleem, H., & Ndebele, P. (2014). Research vulnerability. In M. Kruger, P. Ndebele, & L. Horn (Eds.), *Research ethics in Africa: A resource for research ethics committees* (pp. 81–90). African SUN MeDIA.
- Hugman, R., Pittaway, E., & Bartolomei, L. (2011). When "do no harm" is not enough: The ethics of research with refugees and other vulnerable groups. *British Journal of Social Work*, 41(7), 1271–1287.
- IASSW-IFSW. (2012). International Association of School of Social Work–International Association of Social Workers: *Statement of ethical principles*. <http://ifsw.org/policies/statement-of-ethical-principles/>
- International Rescue Committee (IRC). (1997). *Nutritional status of school aged children in Kakuma refugee camp*. Nairobi: International Rescue Committee.

- Israel, M. (2015). *Research ethics for social scientists: Between ethical conduct and regulatory compliance*. Sage.
- Jacobsen, K., & Landau, L. (2003). The dual imperative in refugee research: Some methodological and ethical considerations in social science research on forced migration. *Disasters*, 27(3), 185–206.
- Jansen, B. J. (2008). Between vulnerability and assertiveness: Negotiating resettlement in Kakuma refugee camp, Kenya. *African Affairs*, 107(429), 569–587.
- Jansen, B. (2011). *The accidental city. Violence, economy and humanitarianism in Kakuma refugee camp* [Doctoral dissertation, Thesis, Wageningen University].
- Jemal, Y., Haidar, J., & Makau, W. K. (2017). The magnitude and determinants of anemia in Ethiopia. *South African Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 30(1), 1–6.
- Jones, R. K. (1998). Reproductive health for adolescent refugees. *Siecus Report*, 27(2), 15–18.
- Kamau, M., Silove, D., Steel, Z. C., R., Bateman, C., & Ekblad, S. (2004). Psychiatric disorders in an African refugee camp. *International Journal of Mental Health, Psychosocial Work and Counselling in Areas of Armed Conflict*, 2(2), 84–89.
- King, N. (2004). Using templates in the thematic analysis of text. In C. Cassell & G. Symon (Eds.), *Essential guide to qualitative methods in organizational research* (pp. 256–270). Sage.
- Kovach, M. E. (2010). *Indigenous methodologies: Characteristics, conversations, and contexts*. University of Toronto Press.
- Krause, S., Williams, H., Onyango, M. A., Sami, S., Doedens, W., Giga, N., Stone, E., & Tomczyk, B. (2015). Reproductive health services for Syrian refugees in Zaatari Camp and Irbid City, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan: An evaluation of the minimum initial services package. *Conflict and Health*, 9(S1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/1752-1505-9-S1-S4>
- Krause, U. (2017). *Researching forced migration: Critical reflections on research ethics during fieldwork* [Refugee Studies Centre Working Paper No. 123]. Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford.
- Kruger, M., Ndebele, P., & Horn, L. (2014). *Research ethics in Africa: A resource for research ethics committees*. Stellenbosch: AFRICAN SUN MeDIA.
- Lawrence, M., Boudreau, T., & King, A. (1996). *Household food economy assessment of Kakuma refugee camp*. London: Save the Children.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Sage.
- MacKenzie, C., McDowell, C., & Pittaway, E. (2007). Beyond do no harm: The challenge of constructing ethical relationships in refugee research. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 20(2), 299–319.
- Maiter, S., Simich, L., Jacobson, N., & Wise, J. (2008). Reciprocity: An ethic for community-based participatory action research. *Action Research*, 6(3), 305–325.
- Mareng, C. D. (2010). Reflections on refugee students' major perceptions of education in Kakuma refugee camp, Kenya. *Intercultural Education*, 21(5), 473–481.
- Mfutso-Bengo, J., Masiye, F., & Muula, A. (2008). Ethical challenges in conducting research in humanitarian crisis situations. *Malawi Medical Journal*, 20(2), 46–49.
- Mita, K., & Ndebele, P. (2014). Payment of research participants. In K. Mariana, N. Paul, & H. Lyn (Eds.), *Research ethics in Africa: A resource for research ethics committees* (pp. 135–142). Stellenbosch: AFRICAN SUN MeDIA.
- Mphahlele, E. (1962). African culture trends. In P. Judd (Ed.), *African independence* (pp. 109–139). Dell Publishing.
- Mullaly, R. P., & West, J. (2018). *Challenging oppression and confronting privilege: A critical approach to anti-oppressive and anti-privilege theory and practice* (3rd ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Nowell, L. S., Norris, J. M., White, D. E., & Moules, N. J. (2017). Thematic analysis. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 16, 1–3.

- Otite, O. (1978). The introduction: The study of social thought in Africa. In O. Otite (Ed.), *Themes in African social and political thought* (pp. 1–34). Fourth Dimension Publishers.
- Pittaway, E., & Bartolomei, L. (2013). Doing ethical research: Whose problem is it? In K. Block, E. Riggs, & N. Haslam (Eds.), *Values and vulnerabilities: The ethics of Research with refugees and asylum seekers* (pp. 151–170). Australian Academic Press.
- Pittaway, E., Bartolomei, L., & Hugman, R. (2010). “Stop stealing our stories”: The ethics of research with vulnerable groups. *Journal of Human Rights Practice*, 2(2), 229–251.
- Potts, K., & Brown, L. (2008). Becoming an anti-oppressive researcher. In M. Webber & K. Bezanson (Eds.), *Rethinking society in the 21st century: Critical readings in sociology* (pp. 255–283). Canadian Scholars’ Press.
- Ramsey, G. (2006). Ethical responsibilities of an African-centered research. In R. Apollo & G. Ramsey (Eds.), *Challenges and responsibilities of social research in Africa: Ethical issues* (pp. 166–171). Addis Ababa: OSSREA.
- Rogers, J. (2012). Anti-oppressive social work research: Reflections on power in the creation of knowledge. *Social Work Education*, 31(7), 866–879.
- Rose, C., & Flynn, C. (2017). Animating social work research findings: A case study of research dissemination to benefit marginalized young people. *Visual Communication*, 17(1), 25–46.
- Russell, R. V., & Stage, F. K. (1996). Leisure as burden: Sudanese refugee women. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 28(2), 108–121.
- Sakamoto, I., & Pitner, R. O. (2005). Use of critical consciousness in anti-oppressive social work practice: Disentangling power dynamics at personal and structural levels. *The British Journal of Social Work*, 35(4), 435–452.
- Schnarch, B. (2004). Ownership, control, access, and possession (OCAP) or self-determination applied to research: A critical analysis of contemporary First Nations research and some options for First Nations communities. *International Journal of Indigenous Health*, 1(1), 80–95.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Procedures and techniques for developing grounded theory*. Sage.
- Strier, R. (2006). Anti-oppressive research in social work: A preliminary definition. *British Journal of Social Work*, 37(5), 857–871.
- Thomas, N., & O’Kane, C. (1998). The ethics of participatory research with children. *Children & Society*, 12(5), 336–348.
- Tuhiwai Smith, L. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Zed Books.
- UN General Assembly. (1989, November 20). Convention on the Rights of the Child, United Nations [Treaty Series, Vol. 1577, p. 3]. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b38f.html>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2017, November 17). Kakuma camp population statistics by country of origin, sex, and age group. <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/60695>
- Vervliet, M., Rousseau, C., Broekaert, E., & Derluyn, I. (2015). Multilayered ethics in research involving unaccompanied refugee minors. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 28(4), 468–485.
- Vossoughi, N., Jackson, Y., Gusler, S., and Stone, K. (2018). Mental health outcomes for youth living in refugee camps: A review. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, (19)5, 528–542.
- Wilkes, S. (1994). *One day we had to run! Refugee children tell their stories in words and paintings*. Millbrook Press.
- Yassour-Borochowitz, D. (2004). Reflections on the researcher–participant relationship and the ethics of dialogue. *Ethics & Behavior*, 14(2), 175–186.

8 • ETHICAL TENSIONS IN PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH WITH QUEER YOUNG PEOPLE FROM REFUGEE BACKGROUNDS

Critiquing a Code of Ethics

EJ MILNE, CHURNJEET MAHN, MAYRA
GUZMAN, FARHIO AHMED, AND
ANONYMOUS MEMBERS OF RX

Sometimes researchers turn up [to meet us], encourage our participation in telling, or show our life stories, which they then (from our perspective) “steal” for their own purposes and career prospects. . . . It might be controversial to say this, but being an academic and having doctorates and being trained in research methods does not always a good researcher make. When we, and our colleagues at RX,¹ see how the majority of researchers research . . . refugees, when we read how they construct and represent our lives and our countries, we see what is absent and missing. How we have become unrepresented . . . by taking part in research we too often become a number. A faceless statistic. It is important for each of us that this does not happen, and we have some guiding principles [in our Code of ethics] to ensure that it doesn’t. . . . We have the lived experience and the right to undertake research about ourselves, our organisation and our own lives, and also to engage with, and in, academic environments. This is because, ultimately, research has a very real impact on each of us. (Excerpt from an anonymized conference paper by the authors).

This distrust of researchers, and how co-engaged research is still possible, is the core of this chapter. The aim is to engage readers in critical discussion about ethical codes, using as a case study a code of ethics developed as part of a

community-based participatory research project examining the creation of safe spaces for queer-identifying² young people in a UK-based refugee organization. This chapter analyzes the underpinning negotiation of who was involved in code-signing, coproducing, and codelivering the research, and the process of negotiating ethics and developing a mutually viable process.

This chapter focuses on the first three months of the research process, during which we produced a document that distilled our ideas about democratic working practices, ethical approaches to research, and inclusive processes into a code of ethics. While this was an important document for satisfying our universities, funders, and the trustees of RX, it was a document primarily designed to reflect the values of RX, a collective of young people from refugee backgrounds. This was particularly important so that negative experiences of exploitative research practices were less likely to be reproduced.

The overwhelming majority of young people from migrant and refugee backgrounds at RX had lived in, or had family heritage that linked to, a country that had been subject to European colonization. “Decolonial” was a word that had resonance in RX, especially as it gave a shorthand for “how settler perspectives and worldviews get to count as knowledge and research and how these perspectives—repackaged as data and findings—are activated in order to rationalize and maintain unfair social structures” (Tuck & Wayne Yang, 2012, p. 2). In a context where the word “research” is approached with distrust, and where an organization is highly, and rightly, skeptical of how “data” about the organization and its members may be produced, what knowledge or approaches can be used to think differently, to facilitate different worldviews that could be critical of whiteness and heteronormativity? This chapter highlights how decolonial methodologies derived from Indigenous,³ queer, and feminist work offered a route into discussing the difficult questions of ethics, power, and ownership. As Smith (1999) argues in *Decolonizing Methodologies*, “From the vantage point of the colonized, a position from which I write, and choose to privilege, the term ‘research’ is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, ‘research,’ is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary” (p. 1).

This chapter comprises three sections. We commence by providing an overview of the research project and a discussion of the theoretical framework upon which RX operated, including critical pedagogy, participatory action research, and anti-racist activism. In the middle section we highlight the political origins of our code of ethics and how we aimed to produce a document as a means to mitigate some of the distrust of academics and the academy by creating a document against which authors Milne, Mahn, and their institutions could, if necessary, be held to account. In this section, we illustrate the process that we used to develop our code, the key themes that arose out of discussions, and a summary of the content of the document. In the third section of this chapter, we critically discuss three key tensions and ethical paradoxes that arose from the written code of ethics: first, the politics of language and the implications of privileging the written

over other texts, particularly where signatories may be from oral traditions or have specific learning difficulties; second, the paradoxes inherent in honoring traditions and worldviews that may be multiple and contradictory; and third, empowerment versus protectionism, and how undertaking a project for young people from queer backgrounds makes an organization and its members vulnerable to individual and institutional homophobia, particularly when working with people from multiple faith and cultural backgrounds, some of whom regarded being queer as a Western disease and extension of colonialism.

This chapter is written in a collective voice; however, this does not mean that our views are homogeneous. Instead, this chapter draws, in written form, on a series of dialogues and tensions that we wrestled with, and continue to wrestle with. These were fractured and more complex than the linear nature in which this chapter communicates. The writing draws on and incorporates agreed excerpts, written reflections, field notes, and emails, which were formed into a written chapter and then discussed and amended by the community researcher coauthors via email and phone conversations. In terms of author background, Milne has extensive life experience of being a migrant, as well as being a settler in Australia and Canada; Mahn is a queer woman of color from a migrant background; and Guzman and Ahmed are young people with refugee experiences. Some of the coauthors identify as queer, others as allies. During the project, our team (consisting of both the named and the anonymized authors of this chapter) was able to work together, eat together, and share stories and struggles from our lives. However, Milne and Mahn's institutional framework (the university) continued to resurface as a mark of suspicion. While Milne and Mahn shared their own skepticism toward the neoliberal operation of contemporary universities keen to do work with "marginalized" communities or in international contexts to demonstrate their reach, relevance, and commitment to social justice, it did not detract from the reality that as academic researchers they were also *part* of the university.

SETTING THE CONTEXT: OUR RESEARCH PARTNERSHIP

This chapter is based on a research project on making space for queer-identifying young people in RX, a UK-based organization set up to support young refugees and migrants. The research project developed as a result of a peripheral conversation at a research funding event hosted by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC)⁴ aimed at fostering links between researchers and community organizations and producing research collaborations to "answer" the challenge of how research could address social division and disconnection. A community activist, Bev,⁵ who had experienced higher education and worked at RX, attended to represent the organization. RX had already attracted several grants from the AHRC and was viewed by the funder as a successful case study of a community organization that had benefited from codesigned and codelivered research undertaken with university partners. The workshop produced a competitive atmosphere as researchers and

community organizations vied for the “best” collaborative partners, as representatives from the funders watched and offered challenges to emerging ideas.

During a break from the structured workshops, Bev, Milne, and Mahn discussed something that connected them, an interest in experiences of queerness and discrimination. This, in a small way, was the impetus for our larger project. Over coffee, Bev presented a challenge. RX, she said, was an amazing organization. Even though it relied on funding, had coordinators, and a board of trustees, effectively it was run as a collective, with young people taking on leadership roles.⁶ RX may exist as an organization to be recognizable to funders, but really, for Bev and others, it was a radical, anti-racist collective that used art to develop skills and confidence among young people from migrant and refugee backgrounds. Members of the collective read bell hooks to understand structural racism, and Paulo Freire to understand how people marginalized from power could challenge that power through education and resistance. RX was, for Bev, her family. However, she knew that young, queer people in the collective would do what we had just done—recognize one another, and connect outside the more central spaces of the group, its discussions, and its actions. RX was used to thinking about the specificity of gender and already had subsidiary groups for women and young men, but why not sexuality? What was preventing a queer group from emerging? If one was set up, what would the challenges be? How would RX change or adapt? Through RX’s work, some members were aware of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and policy makers working on LGBTQ+ asylum, and some had already spoken with Bev and identified a gap when it came to supporting young people from migrant and refugee backgrounds who were coming out or were queer in other stages of their migration journeys or lives.

For Bev, funding that could support the time of community researchers would not only help to address these questions but would also add desperately needed financial capacity to an organization reliant on unpaid time and labor (even more so due to government cuts in the name of austerity). For Milne, this project posed interesting questions about critically engaging with participatory arts-based methods with young people who already had access to tools and knowledge about those methods. What, if anything, could researchers add, and how might community researchers be able to engage in critiques of research processes and practices used by the academy? Mahn was researching narratives by queer people of color who had crossed geographical borders. She was interested in how the language of queerness did and did not translate across languages, cultures, and contexts. So it was decided, after Bev had engaged in further discussion with members of RX, that we would collectively apply for funding.

RX had experience working with academic researchers, and Bev outlined the two absolute requirements of the application and the project. First, that “nothing about us without us” was a necessary step in delivering the project. To meet the funding deadline, it was understood that Mahn and Milne may lead the formal writing process of a grant that was recognizable to the AHRC, but the organ-

ization and two of the young people from RX would contribute to the project design and be named as coinvestigators. There was also a tacit understanding that if the grant was awarded, the collective team of community and academic researchers would negotiate, design, and deliver every aspect of the work. That led to the second requirement, that two members of the RX collective, themselves queer young people from migrant and refugee backgrounds, both of whom had university degrees, would be paid researchers for the project's duration. Even though these young people had not held research leadership roles before, RX would mentor and support them with their collective knowledge.

THEORETICAL FRAMING OF RX AND THE RESEARCH PROJECT

RX's philosophy has roots in critical pedagogy and praxis and draws on the work of Freire (1970), Fals-Borda (1979), Cahill and Torre (2007) and Cammarota and Fine (2008), among others. Critical pedagogy originated in the work of Freire (1970), who argued that everyone, no matter who, has the capacity to critically evaluate and engage with their own circumstances to take action and bring about change. Freire (1974) reflected critically on when "oppressors" join as allies warning that "they almost always bring with them the marks of their origin . . . which include a lack of confidence in the people's ability to think, to want, and to know. [They] believe that they must be the executors of the transformation. They talk about the people, but they do not trust them. . . . A real humanist can be identified more by his trust in the people, which engages him in their struggle, than by a thousand actions in their favor without that trust" (p. 46). This is significant because it speaks to the issue of distrust that participants might have of researchers and the academy that we highlighted in the quote which opened this chapter, and which we discuss further in the next section.

As a philosophy, critical pedagogy emphasizes interdisciplinary knowledge and the importance of questioning and reclaiming power and identity, particularly around class, ethnicity, gender, and race (Giroux, 1983). Building on Giroux's (1981) notion of praxis, RX's policy was to move beyond critical thought to use the experiences of members "as a starting point for dialogue and analysis" (p. 123) and as a springboard for action. At the heart of RX was using participatory action research and creative arts to undertake "collective inquiry grounded in experience and social history" (Mahn et al., 2019). Previous research projects had incorporated theater, photography, and visual arts to inform research.

As part of collective inquiry, the organization is grounded in collectivist principles, including nonhierarchical structures and collective decision making. This drew on traditions of consensus decision making, which reflected both the radical roots of RX and the cultural and decolonial traditions of members. RX has a strict open-access policy with a right of access to all physical, digital, and virtual spaces for all members. This means that all members of the collective have a right to

access any data held on computers and attend any meeting or activity. This is a political response, first to countering traditional research practices, where data are produced about refugees but are owned and controlled by academics at their institutions. Secondly, it is a response to borders and the U.K. Border Agency, where files are created and maintained on people seeking asylum or holding refugee status, where processes are typically secretive and exclusionary. For example, 59 percent of asylum cases are denied, and three quarters of these decisions are appealed. Where an appeal is deemed sensitive due to public interest or national security, hearings can be closed and the applicant denied an opportunity to see the documentary evidence or to cross-examine it (Library of Congress, n.d.).

When we found out we had been awarded the funding, there was collective excitement. Bev had moved elsewhere in the United Kingdom, but we started our work with two young people who had been suggested on the grant as community researchers. We shared a meal at RX and talked about the space the funding gave us. It gave us permission to sit and talk about the different kinds of discrimination we had all experienced, from racism to xenophobia and homophobia. It gave us a space to think about how our personal experiences could connect to the process of research that could create meaningful change within the collective by making queer lives more visible and included in RX's daily work. We had funding to support two community researchers, but six people (queer and allies) shared the role as the funding was distributed by RX to financially support as many people as possible. Guzman and Ahmed are two of the community researchers who then helped to analyze and write the findings of the collective work. The researchers involved in the project from RX had received university-level education, although not necessarily in a humanities or social sciences subject. The project dealt with the reality of precarity within the collective by sharing resources where possible. But we want to stop here to reduce the danger of romanticizing our work, because, what divided us was also significant, although it was initially put aside in the interests of securing funding.

SPACE FOR QUEER PEOPLE IN RX

Although RX had developed an internal practice of antiracist activism and education around histories of colonialism and empire (this was expressed, for example, in community-led film festivals about empire and racism and workshops about discrimination), there was not a strong embodied knowledge or practice about how colonialism and empire produced some of the language and structures of homophobia (Han & O'Mahoney, 2018). In the opening stage of the project we discussed how places like Morocco, which had historically been the most hospitable to queers, especially white queers, had now come to be seen as the most "problematic" or dangerous for queer people, especially because they were historically Muslim (Boone, 2014; Massad, 2007). This was a pertinent issue because one of the challenges to creating a space for queer people in RX was some migrants' resistance to

faith, especially that of Muslims.⁷ The apparent contradiction between being queer and being Muslim in the United Kingdom has been the subject of increasing research, with leading members of LGBTQ+ activism in the United Kingdom being called out for Islamophobia (Ahmed, 2011). The *whiteness* of queer activism and its co-option by capitalism and neoliberalism has been subject to extensive debate (Puar, 2007; Schulman, 2012). This may have been a partial explanation for RX's lack of engagement with other collectives, organizations, and NGOs in London working with young queer people, with their whiteness presenting a barrier to engagement.

RX was already using the work of queer women of color (in particular, bell hooks and Audre Lorde) in their consciousness-raising about the effects of racism, but there was no consideration of what the queerness of these activists brought to their work. Our research project had the potential to inform this critical knowledge gap. We began by asking what we meant by a "safe space," a term that the researchers at RX identified as an ideal outcome of the project. Was it a room only queer people were allowed in? Was it a space anyone could be in? In *Teaching to Transgress*, bell hooks (1994) powerfully unravels the assumptions that some institutional spaces are more inclusive, progressive, or "safe." Describing the gasps of fellow students in a women's studies program when a Black student has not read the work of Audre Lorde, hooks demonstrates how privilege (in this case she points to the whiteness of the classroom) can rewire the work of inclusion at the expense of people, and often women, of color. bell hooks (1994) reflects on the different uses of safe space, especially in the classroom, issuing the following imperative: "Making the class a democratic setting where everyone feels a responsibility to contribute is a central goal of transformative pedagogy" (p. 39). In our project, the topic of the classroom ranged from the personal (a positive sense of belonging to a queer identity) to the larger/structural (how a specific refugee collective can become more queer inclusive).

"Safe space," a term that emerged from the women's movement to denote a separate but inclusive site, has been continually contested by feminist and queer scholars and activists (Doan, 2007; Lewis et al., 2015; The Roestone Collective, 2014; Valentine, 1997). While "safer spaces" might be a more accurate term, the idea of whose safety is paramount becomes the key to unlocking the intersectional politics of alternative spaces of action that promote democratic, inclusive, and progressive practice. The term "intersectional" has become a mainstay of queer and feminist writing, a shorthand that stands for diversity and which erases some of the more radical thinking around power that underpinned its emergence in Black feminist thought. As Ferree (2013) points out, "The idea of intersectionality as a moment of resistance to the mainstream erasure of inequalities has been converted into the idea of 'diversity' understood as a positive, albeit neoliberal, approach to social inclusion" (p. 11). One of the initial ways the project developed allies within RX was to demonstrate the way in which work on queer and feminist methods was *already* taking place in RX through (re)reading the works of bell

hooks and Audre Lord, and considering power and hegemony, which were understood as part of decolonial practices.

For our project, the team understood “safe space” literally and figuratively. As a term, it was a placeholder in the refugee collective, a reminder that queer people existed, and that they needed space and a process through which to discuss their issues of identity and marginalization specific to them, without being challenged to account for, or explain, who they were. For the individuals involved in the project, it was a space insulated from the broader RX collective where we could explore the specific obstacles young queer people had faced in the organization. In this sense, there was a very material and practical reason for using the term “safe space.” It meant we could work in spaces or rooms where we could not be overheard, with additional time devoted to the project respected and protected by the collective. The most important outcome of these conversations among the project team, however, was a realization of how much queer thinkers had influenced RX and how many queer people were in RX. With all this queer presence, what was preventing queer visibility within RX? And what was at stake in making these lives more visible? The researchers based in RX who identified as queer reported feeling more distanced from the collective as they explored queer issues. Was this a collaboration that would produce a queer affinity among some members of the project team at the cost of race- and class-based solidarity within RX that kept university researchers at a distance? The following sections analyze the process of producing a collectively designed code of ethics for the project that developed from our detailed conversations about decolonial, queer, and feminist practices.

DEVELOPING A CODE OF ETHICS

As highlighted by the quote that opened this chapter, the most fundamental challenge to a collaborative research project was trust, or the lack thereof, by members of RX toward academic researchers. Members were understandably very cautious about academic researchers, having experienced a sense of theft and appropriation of (their) knowledge for the academic’s gain in some prior collaborations. These concerns about the extractive and appropriative nature of research and issues of (dis)trust are echoed by Krause (2017), Ní Raghallaigh (2013), Pittaway et al. (2010), and Daniel and Knudsen (1995), among others. They also have resonance with the experiences of Indigenous Peoples as seen in the earlier quotation by Smith (1999). These concerns are not limited to academics using traditional research methods, as Eversole (2010) writes, “‘participation’ can be used as a cloak of words to disguise business as usual: to hide power inequalities, gloss over differences, and enable elites to pursue their own agendas” (p. 2). RX had regularly experienced research as a “cloak,” even where researchers shared similar philosophical approaches and incorporated participatory action research or creative co-inquiry (see Mahn et al., 2019). As a means to mitigate some of the power imbalances and distrust of academic researchers and their institutions, we decided

to commence the project by negotiating a code of ethics. This would provide a written document through which we could all be held accountable.

Due to the resonance between RX's experiences of colonization, distrust of researchers and the academy, traditions of resistance and the importance of consensus decision making, we decided to start by looking to best practices in decolonizing approaches to research. Central to this was a case study from the Kanien'kehá:ka⁸ (Mohawk) community of Kahnawá:ke in Montreal, Canada, who had drawn on their cultural values of collective knowledge and responsibility in decision-making processes to create their own code of ethics (Tremblay, 2018). This developed as part of a long-term collaboration between community members, an organization, and university academics and their institutions. Their aim was to create a model through which to build shared leadership and power in research collaborations and community ownership of data, thus preventing the misuse of data and findings by Western academics (Macaulay et al., 1997). The code was designed as an innovative model for best practice to be used not only by Indigenous Peoples in Canada and elsewhere, but also by non-Indigenous people as a means to strengthen participatory and community-based research with other marginalized groups. By learning from their experience and knowledge, we sought to design our own code of ethics in an attempt to mitigate power imbalances and reduce mistrust, which can arise when organizations, community researchers, and academics come together on funded, often time-limited, projects.

In order to start the project from a point of mutual understanding and shared expectations, our first activity after award of funding was to hold a collaborative workshop, bringing together the project team and interested members of RX. The aim was to individually and collectively reflect on our dreams and anxieties as we commenced the project, and use these to shape the ethical foundations and create our initial code of ethics. Using Post-it Notes and pens we wrote down our thoughts before coming together to collectively analyze them by grouping them under key themes (see figure 8.1).

There were nine key themes around which our anxieties and ethical concerns converged: impact on RX, personal, roles, life outside / working across groups, practical, communication and tension, resources, confusion, and worry/danger (see elaboration of themes in table 8.1).

With the agreement of the participants, Milne compiled the workshop notes into a draft code of ethics, mirroring the language and style of the revised Kahnawá:ke Code of Research Ethics (Kahnawake Schools Diabetes Prevention Project, 2007). As discussed earlier, we chose this model first for its decolonizing intent, second that it had been widely reflected on and commented on by researchers, and third because it disrupted traditional academic modes of knowledge production and power relations. The draft was circulated widely within RX so that everyone could comment on it, make revisions, or decide not to have it, as the team members and wider RX collective or trustees wished. Once initially approved, it was with the proviso that the code was to be an evolving guide, rather than fixed



FIGURE 8.1. Negotiating a Code of Ethics Workshop © Project Team.

and unchangeable. Our initial code of ethics was thirteen pages, supplemented by a two-page glossary of terms. This document was revisited and amended, as necessary, every three months. The contents are summarized in figure 8.2.

The members, staff, and trustees acknowledged the value of a code of ethics and the amount of collective work that was undertaken to create it, while simultaneously voicing how complex the agreement was, and inaccessible even to someone with a degree. In addition, the community researchers and organization’s staff also questioned if the code had unknown implications for both individual and

TABLE 8.1. Key themes from initial ethics workshop

Impact on RX

- Not creating [an] “us” and “them”
- To be seen as the LGBTQ+ project person
- My full skills not used

Roles

- Not knowing what my role is / why I’m here
- What is my role in the team?
- Not clear about what our roles are and how we are going to do things and progress

Personal

- My family does not know about this
- Coming out all the time
- The fear that I am coming out every day
- Accessing memories that have been long suppressed

Life outside/working across groups

- How can I provide my full support to the project and earn a living?
- [Will the project] create a “wedge” between me and other people in RX
- Money, travel expenses
- [Will I be seen as] “the academic” What happens if I] say “no” [to something? How will that affect the relationship with RX?]
- Managing the funder/university
- Pressures to achieve academic outputs (i.e., publications) and fitting in with nonacademics’ interests and time scales

Practical

- Time
- Keeping focus
- That we will get distracted [because] there are so many interesting (related) things to chat about
- How are we going to start?

Communication and tension

- Potential for conflict [around role expectations] and [between] community and academic expertise and ways of working
- Communication and linking this work with overall work of RX
- What goes on the website/web publicity and how and what do we tell others about the project? (outing myself to family and their friends?)
- Communication [how do we do this effectively where there are different cultural and organizational ways of working and commitments outside this project]

(cont.)

TABLE 8.1. (cont.)

- How are we going to work together?
 - Full-time job
 - Members living outside London
 - Staff changes in RX
- Are people going to be available or here to do the project?
- Making it an accessible, possible, and achievable project
- That we won't do a "professional job"

Resources

- Capacity and resources with one staff member leaving and a community researcher now having a full-time job
- How/where are we going to store data?
- Will it "work"? (and what does that mean?)

Worry/danger

- Keeping people safe and supported
- Will there be 1:1 support for someone who unwittingly needs it as a result?
- Am I up to the task ahead?
- Worrying [about if] everyone who needs to is benefiting
- Worrying [that] everyone is OK and [has] got what they need
- Can I provide support to another young LGBTQ+ refugee?

Confusion

- Challenges that we would face when we come across other communities and being judged
- Not being clear about shared aims and processes
- Different goals/expectations

- Managing conflict
- How to manage debates in a productive way so that people don't get offended
- Risk—I hate difficult situations. Will everyone be okay?
- That I will be silent/back off if there is conflict, rather than voice disagreement/conflict

Logos of Signatory Institutions
Code of Research Ethics
Version number
Date to be revisited

Introduction

- Whom the agreement is between, including the name of the project, funder, and collaborators
- How the project team defines and understands the collaboration and the stages of the research project will be worked upon collaboratively
- Acknowledgment of ideas, resources, knowledge, expertise, and capabilities; and how bringing these together strengthens the project and its outcomes
- Acknowledgment of the values and philosophy of RX, and academic integrity, and an agreement to respect and value RX, its members, and the project

The Code of Ethics

- Summary of the principles and purpose of the code of ethics
- Links to supporting policies that complement the code: e.g., safeguarding policies, Research Governance, Institutional Codes of Ethics

Policy Statement

- Acknowledgment of self-determination of community partner(s) to make decisions
- Acknowledgment of obligations of academic researchers
- The aim of the research

Principles

- This section clearly lists each project principle: e.g., equal partnership; collective ownership; ethics; confidentiality and anonymity; data sharing; protection and location and responsibility for storage; language and practices of project reporting; dissemination; decision-making processes and practices.

Obligations

- This section outlines obligations and roles of each member of the research teams: e.g., community researchers, academic researchers, named staff at supporting organizations (e.g., administrators, support staff, etc.).

The Rights of the Community Organization and Participants

- This section outlines the rights of the community organization and reporting requirements: e.g., report to the Trustees every two months, including authorship processes and access to report; safeguarding or other policies to be adhered to.

Ethics Review Process

- Outline the stages of ethical review at each partner institution; and statement of which organizations, if any, waive their review processes.

Communications

- The methods of communication that will be used (e.g., phone/WhatsApp; email/Skype), timescale for response, emergency or high priority contact processes

(cont.)

Data Management

- Roles and responsibilities, including name of lead
- Name of person/institution overseeing control of data, including access and permissions
- Data storage and data sharing requirements/regulations: e.g., no data to be shared that records the immigration status or sexuality of anyone involved in the project or at any of the partner organizations
- Anonymization of data
- Statement of who has ownership, control, access, and possession of data
- List of who has access to data

Dissemination

Introduction

- What dissemination is; processes (e.g., internal nomination and approval processes prior to external dissemination); types of dissemination including public events, creative outputs, presentations, and written internal and external reports and publications, acknowledgments to be included, e.g., funder; statement of commitment to disseminate work in nonwritten ways as much as possible

Ethical Principles for Dissemination

- Modes of dissemination: e.g., commitment to funders and organizational partners to honor their requirements; anonymity, consent, identification options

Creative Output Guidelines

- Agreement processes for designing and creating public events, creative outputs, performances, presentations, and writing
- Procedures for the creative processes including roles and responsibilities for lead and co-creators, support processes, right to opt-in and be named/anonymized, right to disagree or veto
- Acknowledgments and dissemination obligations to funders, team members, partner organizations and agreed wording and logos, including open-access requirements

Signatories to agreement

Date of agreement

Acknowledgments: Kahnawake Schools Diabetes Prevention Project, Participatory Research at McGill, and the Kanien'kehà:ka (Mohawk) community of Kahnawá:ke in Montreal, Canada, whose code influenced the discussion and the writing of our code.

Glossary of Terms

FIGURE 8.2. Summary of content in the agreed-upon code of ethics.

RX's collective practice. Having time to think about this, and actively reflect on it, while also undertaking other work and organizational commitments, in addition to family and community responsibilities, placed a heavy burden on RX and the community researchers. This is an important point to consider when developing a code of ethics.

After agreeing on a number of revisions, the team collectively adopted the document with the proviso that it was an interim agreement and would be revisited after three months, once we all had time to reflect on and consider the implications for practice. The code of ethics was revisited at several points during the project and, as we neared the end of the funded work, Guzman and Ahmed reflected on how significant and important the code had been during the research journey.

TENSIONS IN A WRITTEN CODE OF ETHICS

As our research journey evolved and the formal project ended, we wrestled with three key tensions beyond the burden of time it took to create: (1) the politics of language through the production of a written code, (2) how one honors commitments to different cultures and traditions when they may be inherently contradictory, and (3) the question of with whom a code of ethics is agreed upon—particularly where both the people who form organizations and the organizations themselves can be dynamic and transient.

The Politics of Language

The first tension presented itself from the outset and concerned the politics of language and the privileging of written over oral and visual or other texts. Our code of ethics was a written agreement, part of a “procedural ethics” process (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004, p. 262), which is increasingly encouraged and required by university ethics processes. It also spoke to the need to have a tangible guide outlining our philosophy and ethical practice as people transitioned into the project or elders or trustees questioned our processes. However, as Guilleman and Gillam reflect, there is tension between procedural ethics and “ethics in practice.” In our project, we were working with people who spoke multiple languages, came from oral traditions, or had specific learning difficulties, including dyslexia. In these instances, a written code of ethics can become exclusionary as well as inherently political. As Mackenzie et al. (2007) have argued, “Some refugees may mistrust the motives and independence of researchers as well as the information provided to them about the research” (p. 302). This includes raising doubts about what might be contained (or hidden) in the print of written documentation, such as ethical codes, participants’ information sheets, consent forms, and so forth. By creating a written code of ethics that was intended to reassure and reduce suspicions, and against which academics could be held accountable by the community partner and community researchers, we inadvertently created a document that

reinforced suspicion, hindered the building of relationships, and created division. While group reflections (at the end of the project, and after its conclusion) commented on the usefulness and benefit of having had a written code of ethics, this was with hindsight. This does not take away from the very real difficulties that a written document created at the start of the project in terms of the burden of labor and, in particular, suspicion of written documentation.

Honoring Traditions and Cultures When They May Be Multiple and Contradictory

Our second tension concerned whether, and how, it is possible to create a code of ethics that speaks to and honors the differing traditions and cultures of all parties, particularly when they may be multiple and contradictory. Our code was designed to incorporate and complement the values and philosophy of RX and its members, as well as the academic integrity of the project. At the core of the project was ensuring the well-being of members and the wider RX collective, as well as honoring a commitment to RX's policy of open access. However, in projects, an ethics of openness can simultaneously jeopardize safe spaces. This occurred in several ways.

Our first challenge was the paradox between empowerment and protectionism. RX had a policy of open access in all spaces, whether physical, or virtual. This was to counter suspicion that can arise where information is created and stored about people, or decisions are made behind closed doors. This had challenging ethical implications in protecting the identities and experiences of participants. This was a challenge not only for the stories the young people were willing to share, record, and store in electronic form in case they were accessed by other members of the RX collective, but also for university ethics boards. The university under whose ethical procedures we were governed would not allow data to be stored unless it was secure, encrypted, and inaccessible to people outside the project team. In addition, while RX policy demanded access to activities and venues for all members, the very nature of the research meant that the research team and interested participants required a private and safe space for the project. This created a second ethical paradox: the need to be simultaneously open and inclusive while also protective and exclusionary to foster safe spaces. As a way to try to resolve this paradox, we decided to create a physically remote safe space without fear of being overheard or disrupted. We collectively arranged a series of six residential and nonresidential workshops, all of which were in a different geographic location than RX's offices. Through invitations circulated to the wider collective, and personal invitation, Queer-identifying members and allies who were willing to engage in creative mapping, co-reflection, and critical discussion on sexuality, race, faith, socioeconomic class, language, and travel were invited to join us for some or all of the activities.

Our second challenge was how to honor multiple, yet contradictory, world-views. By undertaking a project that explored queer identities and safe spaces within a mainstream refugee organization, we became marginalized within the

broader RX collective. By having an open-access policy where all members had the right to shape or envision a project, team members became vulnerable to individual and institutional homophobia. This was because all members of the collective had a right to access the spaces, be involved in shaping and planning the project, make decisions about the project, or veto project activities. By requiring a physically safe space to enable us to engage in emotionally, mentally, and spiritually difficult conversations, we ran counter to the organizational philosophy of open access. Significantly, by running the project we created difficulties for an organization providing services and support to people from multiple faiths and cultural backgrounds, some of whom regarded being queer as a Western disease and extension of colonialism. These are complex questions that were ultimately unresolved, not least because of the dynamic and changing nature of the collective. This leads to our third tension: whether it is possible to agree on written codes when community membership and organizations are dynamic and transient.

A Code of Ethics with Whom?

Our code of ethics was a negotiated process between an organization run on collectivist principles with its trustees, staff, and community researchers. By using the Kahnawake Schools Diabetes Prevention Project code of ethics as a base from which created our own, we had failed to take into account the differing nature of the communities. We had created a document that works well for a defined geographic community undertaking co-engaged research to improve community health and well-being. However, in our instance, we were working with a transient, fragmented community where people could choose to enter or exit the project, and where members increased or reduced their involvement depending on the nature of their employment, health, and availability. In addition, some members found the very existence of our project fundamentally problematic and created some very real issues, which we outlined earlier.

In our project, we were working with a geographically, culturally, politically, and spiritually diverse group of people who, by virtue of their refugee and asylum seeker backgrounds, were relocated at short notice or chose to relocate, sometimes internationally. Our process of negotiating and renegotiating the code of ethics took into account the changing nature of the project team and the organizational membership. What we had not foreseen, however, was quite how transient members of the collective were. By the end of the project, all the staff members, community researchers, co-investigators, and a significant number of participants had left the collective, and there was a new board of trustees. The institutional memory and political and practical support for the project had disappeared, and not all community researchers or participants were contactable. This leads us to ask, with whom is a code of ethics agreed to? Is it with the trustees, staff, and members who have scant, if any, knowledge of how the code was negotiated, the project's origins, and commitment to publication and dissemination? If so, what if this leads to them using their rights to change the direction of or veto

the research, if not the publication? Such a precedent has potential to leave open space for institutional homophobia or silencing. Is the agreement with the community researchers and if so which ones? Is the responsibility passed on when a new community researcher joins the project after an earlier one leaves or dies, or does it remain with all original and additional signatories?

CONCLUSION

This chapter presents a case study of an innovative, cross-disciplinary, community-based, participatory research project with queer young people from refugee backgrounds, a refugee organization, and two universities. Having contextualized the project with a discussion of our theoretical underpinnings in critical pedagogy, participatory action research, and anti-racist activism, we highlighted why we made the decision to create a written code of ethics. This was created as a tool for responding to deep-rooted legacies of distrust and suspicion in which the academy and academic researchers were held by RX and its members. The second part of the chapter discusses the process of creating the code of ethics and the key themes the team wished to answer through the document, as well as providing a summary of content. Through our critical reflections we illustrate how, rather than mitigating distrust, the code of ethics served to inadvertently create additional issues, which are outlined in the final section of the chapter. Here we highlight three specific issues that we argue need critical engagement with, and reflection on, when researchers are considering creating a written code of ethics. First, we discuss the politics of privileging a written code over other texts; second, we consider how it is possible (if it is) to honor competing cultures, traditions, and worldviews; and third, we ask the question: With whom does a co-negotiated code of ethics stand? While we have had much dialogue and reflection, we have little resolution. However, we recommend that organizations reflect on the issues we have discussed in order to build in solutions and future-proof any code of ethics. This includes incorporating discussions about what should happen if someone dies or leaves the project, an organization closes or is reformed in its entirety so that only some, if any, of the people involved in its creation work for, or are part of, the organization. We also recommend highlighting how co-creating ethical codes is an affective process that challenges the distribution of power across participants. While it provides a foundation and point of reference that can guarantee the rights of individuals to be respected, the most challenging work happens in the marginalia of ongoing interactions and interpretations of the document.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The project team gratefully acknowledges funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council, United Kingdom, under the Connected Communities Scheme.

Grant Number AH/M005968. We are sincerely grateful to the anonymous members of RX who collaborated with us on this project and the support and encouragement of the wider collective, staff, and trustees. We also thank our reviewers for their comments, which greatly strengthened this chapter.

NOTES

1. RX has been anonymized in this chapter due to the sensitivity of the research in the organization and to protect the identity of some of the participants in the research.
2. We use “queer” as an umbrella term for nonheteronormative communities and practices.
3. In this chapter the term “Indigenous” is capitalized to recognize its status as a collective noun, and to show respect. Where used in quotations we only use capitalizations if included in the original text.
4. The AHRC is one of the primary funders of arts and humanities research in the United Kingdom. The majority of its funding is allocated by the U.K. government.
5. “Bev” is a pseudonym to protect RX’s identity.
6. We cannot confirm how many people belonged to the collective at any one time, but during this research project in 2014–2016, members of the collective estimated its size to be about 200 people.
7. We note that the majority of the researchers involved in this project were from a Muslim background.
8. The Kanien’kehá:ka are part of the wider Haudenosaunee or Iroquois Peoples, or Six Nations Confederacy.

REFERENCES

- Ahmed, S. (2011). Problematic proximities: Or why critiques of gay imperialism matter. *Feminist Legal Studies*, 19(2), 119–132.
- Boone, J. (2014). *The homoerotics of orientalism*. Columbia University Press.
- Cahill, C., & Torre, M. (2007). Beyond the journal article: Representations, audience, and the presentation of participatory action research. In S. Kindon, R. Pain, & M. Kesby (Eds.), *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods: Connecting People, Participation and Place* (pp. 196–206). Routledge.
- Cammarota, J., & Fine, M. (Eds.) (2008). *Revolutionizing education: Youth participatory action research in motion*. Routledge.
- Daniel, E. V., & Knudsen, J. (1995). *Mistrusting refugees*. University of California Press.
- Doan, P. L. (2007). Queers in the American city: Transgendered perceptions of urban space. *Gender, Place and Culture*, 14, 57–74.
- Eversole, R. (2010). Remaking participation: Challenges for community development practice. *Community Development Journal*, 47(1), 29–41.
- Fals-Borda, O. (1979). *El problema de como investigar la realidad para transformarla: Por la praxis* (2nd ed.). Ediciones Tercer Mundo.
- Ferree, M. (2013, December 16). Inequality and intersectionality: Disentangling the politics of discourse. *Intersectionality—a cross-disciplinary ex-change* [Workshop], Free University Brussels.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Herder and Herder.
- Freire, P. (1974). *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (Myra Bergman Ramos, Trans.). Seabury. (Original work published 1968).
- Giroux, H. (1981). *Ideology, culture and the process of schooling*. Temple University Press.

- Giroux, H. (1983). *Theory and resistance in education: A pedagogy for the opposition*. Bergin & Garvey.
- Guillemin, M., & Gillam, L. (2004). Ethics, reflexivity, and “ethically important moments” in research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 10(2), 261.
- Han, E., & O’Mahoney, J. (2018). *British colonialism and the criminalization of homosexuality: Queens, crime and empire*. Routledge.
- hooks, b. (1994). *Teaching to transgress*. Routledge.
- Kahnawake Schools Diabetes Prevention Project. (2007). *Code of research ethics* (Rev. ed.). www.ksdpp.org
- Krause, U. (2017). *Researching forced migration: Critical reflections on research ethics during fieldwork*. RSC Working Paper Series, 123. Refugee Studies Centre.
- Lewis, R., Sharp, E., Remnant, J., & Redpath, R. (2015). Safe spaces: Experiences of feminist women-only spaces. *Sociological Research Online*, 20(4), 1–14.
- Library of Congress (n.d.). Refugee law and policy: United Kingdom. <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/refugee-law/unitedkingdom.php>
- Macaulay, A., Delormier, T., McComber, A.M., Cross, E. J., Potvin, L. P., Paradis, G., Kirby, R. L., Saad-Haddad, C., & Desrosiers, S. (1997). Participatory research with Native community of Kahnawake creates innovative code of research ethics. *Canadian Journal of Public Health. Revue Canadienne de Sante Publique*, 89(2), 105–108.
- Mackenzie, C., McDowell, C., & Pittaway, E. (2007). Beyond “Do No Harm”: The challenge of constructing ethical relationships in refugee research. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 20(2), 299–319. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fem008>
- Mahn, C., Milne, E., Guzman, M., & Ahmed, F. (2019). Negotiating space for queer-identifying young people in a refugee organization: Viability, complexities and tensions. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 34(2), 1477–1493. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fez101>
- Massad, J. (2007). *Desiring Arabs*. Chicago University Press.
- Ní Raghallaigh, M. (2013). The causes of mistrust amongst asylum seekers and refugees: Insights from research with unaccompanied asylum-seeking minors living in the Republic of Ireland. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 27, 82–100.
- Pittaway, E., Bartolemei, L., & Hugman, R. (2010). “Stop stealing our stories”: The ethics of research with vulnerable groups. *Journal of Human Rights Practice*, 2(2), 229–251.
- Puar, J. K. (2007). *Terrorist assemblages*. Duke University Press.
- The Roestone Collective. (2014). Safe space: Towards a reconceptualization. *Antipode*, 46, 1346–1365.
- Schulman, S. (2012). *Israel/Palestine and the queer international*. Duke University Press.
- Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Zed Books.
- Tremblay, M-C., Martin, D., McComber, A. M., McGregor, A., & Macaulay, A. (2018).
- Tuck, E., & Wayne Yang, K. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1(1), 1–40.
- Understanding community-based research through a social movement framework: A case study of the Kahnawake Schools Diabetes Prevention Project. *BMC Public Health*, 18, 487.
- Valentine, G. (1997). Making space: Lesbian separatist communities in the United States. In P. Cloke, & J. Little (Eds.), *Contested countryside cultures* (pp. 109–122). Routledge.

9 • AN ARTS-BASED PARTICIPATORY APPROACH TO RESEARCH WITH MIGRANT YOUNG PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

GLYNIS CLACHERTY AND THEA SHAHROKH

Integrating creative methods into research builds on a growing body of participatory work that aims, through age-appropriate and culturally relevant methodologies, to make visible the knowledges and experiences of children and young people marginalized through social inequalities (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2015; Clacherty, 2019; Langa, 2011; Mitchell & de Lange, 2011; Mitchell et al., 2016; Opfermann, 2015; Wanjiku Kihato, 2007). This chapter describes examples of arts-based participatory research we have undertaken in the cities of Cape Town and Johannesburg in South Africa with children and young people with migration-related life experiences.¹ Most of the young people we worked with inhabited what has been described as a “landscape of trauma” (Kistner, 2007), where both past and present experiences were and are overwhelmingly difficult. Despite this landscape of trauma, these children and young people have shown incredible resilience in negotiating their lives through circumstances of extreme adversity, deeply fractured social realities, and displacement by war, political conflict, or poverty.

As Kohli (2006) articulates, young people who have been forced to migrate often choose silence as a way of dealing with psychological vulnerability. Our concern is that dominant approaches in participatory research center around dialogue and consensus building, something the young people we worked with found difficult in this context of silence. Centering the verbal has meant that young migrants’ voices have often gone unheard because they are not working in a familiar language or because power imbalances reduce them to silence, and their

concerns are overlooked. Focusing on discussion alone preoccupies space for alternative ways of processing and communicating experience for people made vulnerable through marginalization and social inequalities. Our use of arts-based methodologies as an approach to participatory research has proven to be an effective, nonverbal form of expression to counter these dominant approaches (see also Linds et al., chapter 10). Drawing on our research with children and young people in South Africa, we demonstrate how arts-based methodologies can support young people in regaining control in their lives through artistic processes, as well as provide a channel to safely and ethically communicate both past and present with a researcher/facilitator, and with each other. See also the chapters in Part III.

PARTICIPATORY ARTS-BASED RESEARCH

We reflect here on our learning from a number of different participatory arts-based research projects conducted over the last ten years. The children and young people we have worked with in the past have ranged in age from 6 to 25 years, with countries of origin including Angola, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Somalia, and Zimbabwe. The research itself took place in diverse settings ranging from residential places of safety to informal support groups in places where migrant children and young people gathered. We have drawn on our learning from these different research projects, and though the detailed aims of the research were different, in all cases we aimed to understand the realities of young people with migration experiences in an urban South African context.

This chapter focuses on our work using arts-based participatory research methods. In all instances, we used a mixture of different art processes, which included photography, drama, writing, digital storytelling, and various visual media, such as printing, drawing, painting, wax resist, collage, and sculpture. In all contexts, we sought to create a relaxed, safe, fun, and engaging environment in an open space, both literally in a large open room with art materials all around and figuratively in an accepting, safe, nonjudgmental space. We began by introducing the children and young people to the “language” of different art forms without any specific thematic prompts. For example, showing them how to use charcoal or a digital camera, write a storybook, or construct a drama. We then supported the young people to explore the art forms in their own way and develop their own creative process without directing them toward a particular issue.

Throughout this process we emphasized the choice to participate, privileging process over product. Additionally, children and young people were also given the choice of whether and how they wanted to speak about their artwork. Sharing perspectives on artwork typically started as reflective dialogue in a small group process, initially on the artwork and then expanding the discussion to what they chose to share about their lives. The creative process often moved through cycles of personal and collective reflection to create in-depth, layered, and relational

knowledge. The research process also enabled children and young people to choose whether, and how, to share their artwork publicly with an audience, such as through screenings of digital stories, art exhibitions, performances, or reading aloud books they had made. These audiences varied from participants at a conference on migration, staff at a nongovernmental organization (NGO) shelter for unaccompanied youth, other children and young people, their guardians and teachers, government officials, and the general public. In all cases, agency and choice were critical, whereby young people chose what to share, how to share it, and if they wished to remain anonymous.

The approach we have developed is a response to the specific context in which we found ourselves as researchers. In South Africa, migrant children and young people have access to minimal (if any) services; yet they often experience daily challenges that render them particularly vulnerable psychologically. We next describe this context in more detail in order to situate the research.

BEING A YOUNG MIGRANT IN SOUTH AFRICA

The migrant community in South Africa is diverse, and the young people we worked with reflected this diversity. South Africa has a long history of migration, rooted in the historical labor migration of men from surrounding southern African countries to the mines in the Johannesburg area in the early 1900s (Bank, 2015). Alongside this history, the economic development of the country has made South Africa a “land of opportunity” in the popular imagination of the region (McDonald et al., 1999). This economic migration continues, with many young people choosing to move to South Africa to find work or to escape poverty in the surrounding countries (e.g., Malawi, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe). In particular, the last fifteen years has seen many unaccompanied children and young people choosing to leave the economic and political collapse of Zimbabwe (Mahati & Palmary, 2018). Additionally, families and unaccompanied children from Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) have also made their way to South Africa in efforts to escape the conflict in the Great Lakes Region (Misago, 2015). Finally, there are a number of migrant children from Angola in South Africa, who fled the Angolan conflict of the late 1900s and early 2000s with their parents. Some of these young people now find themselves unaccompanied, without Angolan nationality in a state of legal limbo in South Africa (Carciotto, 2016). Some of the young people we worked with arrived in South Africa unaccompanied, while others had lost their parents to illness or violence following their arrival. Furthermore, due to their displacement, these children often had no extended family support, frequently finding themselves alone.

Currently, South African policy requires refugees to register as asylum seekers when they arrive in the country, and to then apply for refugee status (Crush & McDonald, 2001). A key difference between these includes that only refugee status allows for the issuance of a formal identity document, which is a critical prerequisite

for many of life's daily functions (Amit, 2015). Most of these migrants settle in the urban metropolises of Cape Town and Johannesburg (Statistics South Africa, 2016). It is worth noting that the process of renewing asylum seeker papers and applying for refugee status is fraught with inefficiency and corruption (Amit, 2015), with a number of barriers to the legal documentation for unaccompanied children (Ackermann, 2018). Consequently, many of the young people we worked with, even though they had the right to refugee status, were undocumented. Young people who come to find work in South Africa from Malawi, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique use the long-standing informal routes across the border into the country and are also, consequently, undocumented. A few of the young people we worked with had been identified as "a child in need of care," a legal category stipulated by the Refugee Act (South African Government, 1998) and had been placed in a state-registered place of care. In spite of being in state care, because of the complexity of accessing documentation, even these young people had no legal status (Ackermann, 2018; Willie & Mfubu, 2016). This means that they would leave care at 18 years of age undocumented.

State social services are overwhelmed and inadequate for South African children (Schmid, 2012). For migrant children, access to state services is even more constrained due to the negative attitudes of social workers toward nonnationals, coupled with young people's negative perceptions of institutions (Walker, 2018). A few NGOs offer services such as psychosocial services, basic needs, and specific residential care support to migrant families and children in Johannesburg and Cape Town, but these services are overwhelmed and underfunded (Walker, 2018). Consequently, many unaccompanied migrant children fend for themselves, or with the help of other young migrants or adult migrants from their home countries (Clacherty, 2015). Apart from those living in state care, a majority of the young people we worked with lived in shared rented rooms with other young people. They usually found money for rent and food by doing small jobs for neighbors or living off the kindness of older migrants. Many could not access schooling because they lacked documentation and the money required for school fees; others had fallen so far behind in their schooling, due to time lost during displacement, that it was no longer possible for them to register in formal schools (Hlatshwayo & Vally, 2014).

Alongside the poverty, young migrants in South Africa also experience high levels of xenophobia (Landau & Misago, 2009). Violence against foreign nationals has been an ongoing feature of postapartheid South Africa, with nonnationals experiencing daily verbal and physical harassment as well as intense periods of attack against migrants (e.g., the burning of houses and shops, such as in May 2008, April 2015, and September 2019) (Monama & Landau, 2016). Continued violence has led to migrant and refugee communities calling on the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to be resettled out of South Africa (Shoba & Tobias, 2019). This means that young migrants live with the ongoing threat of violence almost all the time. Alongside this, the neighborhoods they live in are characterized

by high levels of violent crime and gang violence (Magqibelo et al., 2016). Additionally, their legal precarity places them at risk of being the targets of the violence and corruption of police services that patrol the streets of their neighborhood, often asking for bribes in place of arrest (Clacherty, 2016).

ENGAGING WITH PAST AND PRESENT TRAUMA

Apart from the everyday violence and precarity in which the young people lived, many of the young migrants we worked with had experienced extreme circumstances in their past, prior to their arrival in South Africa. These were related to war, the death of their parents, flight, residence in refugee camps, material deprivation caused by political insecurity, loss of family and community, and dangerous journeys. The two examples from the young people we worked with, provided here, illustrate the nature of this past pain and loss carried with them, as expressed through the arts. The first example is a drawing made by a 16-year-old boy from the DRC during a book-making process where the young people illustrated storybooks. The drawing is accompanied by the boy's description of what he aimed to capture through the art piece.

This is a story of a big house where there was happiness. Congolese music was there in that house.

I used to lie on my bed and listen to the music on the radio in that house. I could feel the happiness.

Then they came and shot my father. I was the only one there.

Then they burned the house—my happiness on fire.

We had to run away. I lost my happiness.

The second example is from an arts-based process with youth in South Africa where young people worked with suitcases, using multiple visual art media to tell their stories on and in the suitcase. Made by a 15-year-old boy, the suitcase was used as a metaphor to describe his life.

I made this sign here—"My life is like a suitcase with no handle"; it tells more about the guy [I drew] on the suitcase, his life is not balanced, it is not straight. He is always falling and then needing to get up again. Like me. . . . I was also thinking of my mum, my mother. She was always on my mind. I was thinking of the way my mum took care of us, loved us and spoiled us. She loved us very much, she loved us. Although she is not around anymore, she will always be my mum. She went to Angola, but rumours said she is dead, so I really don't know. She went back and didn't return.

These two examples give some sense of the depth of the traumatic experiences of the past that the young people carried with them in South Africa. Lester (2013,

p. 753) in her work on trauma, calls such experiences “edge-of-existence experiences.” We find this phrase particularly useful as a metaphor to illustrate how such experiences push children and young people to their limits psychologically.

Additionally, we have noted in our work with young people who have experienced deep loss or trauma related to war and migration that they often choose silence as a coping strategy. The children and young people we have worked with were very skeptical about discursive methods that resembled individual counseling, where they felt there was an expectation for them to “tell.” For example, one 16-year-old young man from Burundi described his experiences with a counselor he had seen: “This woman was pressurising me to talk, talk, talk.” Another 16-year-old young woman, originally from Angola, emphasized the need to understand the challenges that come with sharing: “A lot of the issues that the youth face are around rejection and trust, opening up is very hard and it is what most teenagers face but there is something about all of the things refugee youth have been through that makes this very difficult.” A 14-year-old boy from the DRC suggests that he keeps quiet because he is afraid of what would happen if he remembers: “In Congo, I ran again. I had to run twice. I have bad memories inside my head—a lot. The way it is, to talk about them reminds me of things, a lot of things. It’s not good. It’s too painful. If you want to cry, when are you going to stop?”

A 16-year-old young woman with Burundian-Tanzanian heritage and a 16-year-old young man from the DRC spoke of how they didn’t want their “face to change,” from the smile that they managed to keep hold of in the present, to the tears that would come with connecting to the past. Kohli (2006) explains that children and young people control and contain the effect of their edge-of-existence experiences through silence. In his article about unaccompanied refugee children in the United Kingdom, he notes that “unaccompanied minors (often) maintain silence about their past lives or remain economical with the truth about their flight . . . war silences children, and . . . silence is a way of dealing with deep disturbance” (Kohli, 2006, p. 708).

In the context of participatory research, this silence presents a challenge when working with children and young people made vulnerable by war and loss. Participatory research is a practice where participants create their own reflective and relational knowledge based on their experiences (Park, 2001). As such, it is built on dialogue and sharing ideas and perspectives. When we first began to do the work described here, we wondered how we could use participatory processes, which base themselves on reflection and then sharing this reflection with others, and still support the children and young people to preserve the precarious sense of control and containment (evidenced in their silence) that they used to cope. The rest of this chapter illustrates how arts-based methodologies can facilitate an approach to participation in research that enables choice, emotional safety, positive identity construction, and trusting relationships for children and young people. We argue that these are foundational principles for an approach that can transform a sense of self and belonging, allowing for a more meaningful and

ethical approach to participation in research with young people living with past pains in precarious situations.

All the research referred to in this chapter applied a set of strict ethical principles for working with children and young people made vulnerable through their lived experiences (Boyden, 2000; Powell, 2012; Schenk & Williamson, 2005), and was approved by ethics committees at the universities we were associated with. However, we argue in this chapter that our work went beyond the use of standardized, child-appropriate ethical norms, because the core of an arts-based approach is protective while also striving to be transformative or empowering for the young participant. We also explore the various ethical dilemmas and considerations throughout our work, with a reflexive attitude toward the process as a central practice (Lykes, 2017).

ARTS-BASED APPROACHES SUPPORT CHOICE

The actual art-making process is central to supporting young people's sense of control. Creating this sense of control is achieved largely by focusing on the *art form* within the research space; for example, if we are using visual art media, we work in an open room with art materials set up all around the room. We begin the process by spending time exploring the art media, such as paints or wax resist, or, if we are using photography, we begin with learning how to use a camera or how to create digital stories. Then we work with the young people to explore the media in the way they choose. This emphasis on the process, rather than the product, allows for more agency for participants, freeing them to choose in what way to best express themselves.

Participants direct the process, and the use of art form and media evolves over time. For example, work done with young women in a shelter started with us using secondhand clothes as a base for creating "story dresses," with pasted and sewn-on pictures about their lives. The young women decided that they did not want to work on old clothes because these reminded them of the old clothes donated to the shelter, which made them feel that they were "charity cases." Instead, they opted to make ball gowns that reminded them of what they dreamed of becoming. We then sourced dressmaker mannequins along with paper, wire, found objects, and cloth to be used to make fantasy gowns that reflected their lives. These became rich resources for them to share their life experiences with us and each other, including both past and present, while countering the label of "victim," which they felt was imposed on them (see Walker & Clacherty, 2015).

The choices made by one group of young men and one group of young women living in two separate child and youth care centers also illustrate how selecting the form of expression is important. The young men in the group chose to each make a digital story² (a more public artwork) and used this to generate knowledge about the experiences of young men living in care. In contrast, the young women wanted the process to be more private, choosing instead to do visualization with creative

writing, which included both private elements that they kept for personal reflection and public components that they shared with the group.

Beyond choosing how to develop their art, the young people we worked with were also presented with the choice about whether and how to speak about it. In some cases, children and young people never spoke about their artwork, and that was always accepted. We have learned that the role of creative expression can enable communication on difficult issues by young people, at a pace and in a form that feels safe for them. For example, one young woman who was part of a long-term research project had not made any art or spoken at all in our discussions for over three months, until one morning she began to make a collage about how she was raped. She used magazine cutouts to tell the story of her trauma, placing tissue paper over it and drawing on the tissue paper the people who had supported her through the experience. As well as choosing *when* to tell her story, this young woman was also able to choose *how* to tell her story. In her case, for example, the anonymous photos used in her selected magazine medium helped distance herself from the trauma of the event in a way that a painting may not have.

CHOICE: REFLECTING ON ETHICS

While choice can be a way to overcome challenges in research with young migrants, choice can also present additional challenges. The emphasis on choice can be particularly challenging in cases where young people have had their trust in people and relationships fractured through their past experiences. We found that if building trust is overlooked during research, then young people do not feel safe to be able to engage with and move forward with the process. The building of trust can take time, especially when the young people are living in circumstances where trust continues to be broken in their everyday lives. Where such longer-term processes are not possible, the emphasis on control can be fostered within the art-making and story-sharing processes that create space for young people's expressions of agency. We have learned that connection to the past is an important part of young people's redefinition of the self. In our work, we found that many young people would find hope in claiming a new narrative, and in recognizing for themselves that painful experiences of the past do not define who they are. It is, however, important to be particularly careful to ensure that talking about the past remains a choice.

We worked hard to create an environment in which choosing not to talk is deemed acceptable, countering prevailing unspoken pressures of participatory group processes where some might feel that sharing is expected or will please the adult facilitator. One way we have worked with this issue is by supporting young people to think about whom they feel happy to talk to about their artwork at different moments in time—it may be a friend, or a small group or even alone. Young people should not feel that sharing is a required component of participation, or that it is a marker of successful participation. Rather, the marker of “success”

should be the extent to which the young person feels in control of their engagement with the process. Research participation needs to be situated within the broader, long-term journey of connecting to the self, and connecting to their aspirations for change.

ARTS-BASED APPROACHES SUPPORT EMOTIONAL SAFETY

The approaches we used are informed partly by the art therapy approach of Johnson (1987), who describes how the “concrete and impersonal transitional space of the artwork, music, roleplay, or poetry . . . is more safe than the abstract and personal one of the transference. . . . Instead of the discussion of a feeling, one has a discussion of a picture of a feeling, a less threatening situation . . . because the picture is concrete and external to the self” (p. 11). Using an arts-based approach to participatory research facilitates a safer emotional distance from the difficult event or feelings contained in the artwork that children and young people produce. The art process supports young people to find ways to share even the most personal and sensitive feelings and experiences in a safe way (Haen, 2009; Mottram, 2007). We have found that artistic processes enable forms of expression that provide ways for young people to participate meaningfully while retaining power over what they say and why. For example, during reflection after a session using clay to construct representations of the self, a 15-year-old young man from the DRC explained, “It was good because it helps me to talk about my story but I don’t want to go too deep. I am able to say something about myself that I want to say and I am not worried afterwards that I said something that I didn’t want to. I feel good, I feel normal.”

In creating artwork, young people have the preparatory time to work through what they are able to share safely with others in the group, while still allowing for much to be left unsaid; they decide what is right for themselves. The art-making process can also help young people to find their voice by providing a platform to share through the use of metaphor. Mottram (2007) describes how metaphor in art supports a safer way to tell painful stories. This can be seen in the following example of a 9-year-old girl who had been entrusted by her parents to an uncle who was to bring her from the DRC to South Africa. He subsequently abused her once they had arrived in South Africa. She could not verbally articulate the horror of life with her uncle, so she used instead a visual metaphor of a huge, greedy lion to describe her uncle. “This is a lion getting out of the jungle and coming to the city. He is a big lion. He is coming to the city to eat people. He is like my uncle, bad. Trying to kill people and jealous of people. He will harm them and take their things. He wants things to be his.” Other examples include a young man aged 16, also from the DRC, who made a story book that shared why he was in South Africa; in the book he represented the violent death of his father with a simple, deeply poignant drawing of his father’s spectacles that had fallen to the floor as he was attacked. This young man used art, like the other young participants, to explore what was for him unmentionable, but in a form that he could deal with.

An 18-year-old young woman from the DRC made a digital story about fighting for her mother's possessions from her extended family. She represented her mother's belongings using a number of carefully collected stones, pebbles, and shells. The stones were a way for her to metaphorically share about the loss of her mother through an empowered story of her fighting for her mother's memory.

What we have found is that young people in their own time begin to describe the metaphors used in their artwork, eventually sharing the art's meaning with the wider group. A 15-year-old young woman originally from the DRC describes a painting she made of the sun and trees: "I love nature, I love being outside and having the sun shining on me. I am a calm person and am sometimes quiet and keep myself to myself. I am trying to find peace in my life although this is not always easy." Her final sentence illustrates how she used the drawing and the metaphor of the sunshine to show us what she is hoping for in her future. As researchers, these gradual and sometimes small interactions led by the young people themselves allow us to imagine their lived realities.

EMOTIONAL SAFETY: REFLECTING ON ETHICS

While using art may help create the emotional distance needed for young migrants to share their difficult experiences, it is also important that we as researchers reflect on what we do with what young people share with us. Often driven by our need to collect data and our training as qualitative researchers, there is a sense that we should ask for more. For ethical reasons, we as researchers need to take the story as told and not overanalyze or probe further, as this could break down the strategies children use to manage their traumatic memories. We have found a phrase from Parsons (2012) to be particularly helpful in thinking about how to respond when young people share narratives of difficult experiences. In his work with young Zimbabwean children who were ill and dying from AIDS in a time before widespread treatment was available, he talks about researchers applying "an ethic of restraint" (Parsons, 2012, p. 13) in the presence of suffering, meaning to be quiet and still, to "witness," to pause before rushing to analyze and interpret.

ARTS-BASED WORK CAN BUILD RELATIONSHIPS

Many of the young people we have worked with had learned to manage their difficulties alone and were distrustful of peers and adults. This coping mechanism, though it helped in some of the difficult circumstances they faced, also isolated them, making them feel more dislocated and alone as a result. Lester's (2013) work around the consequences of trauma helps us understand why so many of the children and young people we worked with distrusted relationships. Past trauma has often "torn the bonds" (Lester, 2013, p. 753) that hold children to family and friends. The following example from a young woman of 15 who came originally from Burundi illustrates this idea of torn bonds. "I remember I had a special book.

I have drawn this book here. When I was little, my mom used to read for me that book. It looked lovely. The name of the book was [the same as my name]. My Mom died in the village. And when my mom died, I didn't want anybody to read for me a book ever again."

Relationships are central in the context of participatory research, with various relationships being built at different levels throughout the period of the participatory process. It is critical that we support equal partnerships between young people and researchers. This goes beyond establishing equal relationships between researchers and participants and aims to use participatory research as a process for social change to transform existing relationships. The constraints of significant structural injustice such as we face in South Africa make broader social change considerably difficult, but one change we *can* make is to help young people practice trust and create supportive relationships with each other.

Lester's (2013) exploration of the importance of relationships in a context of recovery from trauma helped us to understand how important it was to create research processes that sought to build relationships. She describes how in response to war, "People find ways to go on living—not just by resolving deep psychological conflicts or by reorganizing their experience to meet existing categories, but through ongoing, iterative, continuous processes of meaning-making that emerge in relationship with others, across a variety of levels and contexts, and through time" (p. 754).

In this context, we have found that the praxis of arts-based work facilitates the building of relationships between young people themselves by encouraging participation, not only in talking together but also in making and sharing their art. Making art involves more than speech, it is an embodied practice (Liamputtong & Rumbold, 2008) involving the hands interacting with the materials and often joint activity, such as making a video or sculpture or piece of theater together. Adding arts-based methodologies to research can add other layers to participation.

One of the key ways in which an arts-based approach supports young people in building relationships is through the sense of belonging fostered through making artwork together and discovering shared aspects of identity through making art. The following two quotes are from a 16-year-old boy from Burundi and a 14-year-old girl from the DRC, revealing the value of relationship building in arts-based participatory research. The second quote is particularly interesting, as the young woman describes how her identity is linked to being part of an art group. From the 16-year-old boy: "[We] are not just for coming here and doing art. We are also coming here and getting to know each other. I never used to know J so much, but now I know him and he is like a brother to me, and I see him on the street and I feel good. We were next-door neighbours once but we didn't know each other, because the way Hillbrow is, everyone minds their own business. Now we are like brothers"; and from the 14-year-old girl: "The time we wanted to go into the art exhibition this (security) man chased us away—he thought we are the street kids. Diane came and said we were the ARTISTS! I liked that. We were the ARTISTS."

Through making the art or watching a digital story or reading a picture book another young person had made, the art process enabled them to listen to and learn from others (Graham & Fitzgerald, 2010). Through this research, we have seen how an arts-based participatory approach can foster participants' inner strength. Bottrell (2009) explains how resilience is grounded in the support and care that come from relationships. We have seen how relationships are formed as young people make art together, as they share in a search for meaning. This process allows for recognizing each other's pain and the "common effort towards overcoming adversity and reinstating normalcy [which] are all an essential part of integrating experience and healing in individuals" (Boyden, 2000, p. 20). For example, many of the young people did not know that there were young people "like them" living in South Africa, and being in the research group was the first time they realized this. As one participant expressed, "I am not alone, that you are like me, and you have lived through some of the things that I have, this is not something that I could have ever thought of, that I could have friends, that I could be with other people and they would accept me (19-year-old young man from Zimbabwe)." Another quote illustrates how making a digital story and then sharing it with the group and others made one young man realize the added value of relationships. These new relationships helped participants overcome silence as they worked through the difficulties related to sharing painful experiences. A 21-year-old young man from Angola expressed, it this way: "Our instinct is just to keep things to ourselves, if it is bad then we just won't talk about it and it is hard to just talk, and to have the courage to talk about that in front of everyone without holding back is important. It takes courage and strength to do that, because you are also building confidence, because you think, well this is my thing, what is he going to think and I'm telling him my story? . . . We cannot do it if we don't feel like we are in this together."

Over time, young people in many of the groups began to identify that they could support each other. This is illustrated in the following discussion among young men from Burundi, Rwanda, and DRC:

Can I ask a question? Like if you are not sure what to do and we have no home or people to ask. How can you find people to believe in, that you can ask?

I think you can ask peer counselors at school.

But what if you don't want people to know about your question? You need someone to trust.

I think friends. Like all of you [he refers to the others in the group].

A 17-year-old young woman born in the DRC who grew up in Angola and is now living in South Africa eloquently explained this relational learning process: "For me I have learnt so much—I have learnt that through listening, truly transformative things can happen. It is through listening that people can find their voice and then find a way to build a voice with others. It is so important that I give recognition

to you and what you have taught me, to be relaxed in who you are and find your voice and your story and share that.” This young woman clearly articulates the power of listening in group-based artistic processes—through listening, “you can find your voice,” and rich, meaningful insight and knowledge can be created. She explains that in finding your voice, you can build the voice of others—emphasizing the importance of young people themselves nurturing the voice of others and helping each other to grow (Freire, 1970). An arts-based approach where the young people make art alone in a form that makes them feel safe at first, then are given the choice to share what they have made in a way that makes them feel safe, facilitates the building of trust and relationships.

RELATIONSHIPS: REFLECTING ON ETHICS

We have found that this emphasis on relationships is particularly significant within these young migrants’ lives, as they are still transitioning between harmful, exploitative relationships in their wider environments and the positive support of the group. However, this also implies that young people may move in and out of holding trust with others within the group process. In the context of precarity that most of the young people lived in, they often moved from schools and homes and subsequently lost friendships that had come to mean a lot to them. This begs the question as to whether it is ethical to encourage friendships in this context. Do we risk setting the young people up for further loss? Within this context, building trust and relationships should not be seen as linear processes. Rather, the nature of group building is that these dynamics need to be constantly negotiated, with the young people supported to engage with the changing contexts they are embedded in. We found that where young people were able to engage constructively with changing relationships, they could also build resilience because there was a wider supportive processing space to accompany this change.

CREATIVE PRACTICE FACILITATES THE DEEPENING OF IDENTITY

We have seen how arts-based approaches support choice and the building of trust, how they create emotional safety and distance from painful experiences, and how they can facilitate building the relationships that so many children and young people with migration experiences long for. Over the years of doing this work, we have realized that one of the most powerful reasons for using an arts-based approach is that it facilitates a shift in how young people see themselves (Suffla et al., 2015).

As a result of their lived experiences of migration many children and young people we have worked with find themselves “render[ed] . . . passive objects” (Burman, 1994, p. 238). This perceived victim identity (Huijsmans, 2011) grows both from the bureaucracies they have to negotiate to survive and from many of

the adults they interact with. For example, many of them had to continually repeat a life narrative that fit with the label of “unaccompanied refugee child” or “child in need of care,” in order to access documentation and services from the government and from nongovernmental social service system (Mahati, 2015). Of course, many of these young people have indeed experienced grave circumstances that have resulted in vulnerabilities. However, reducing them to this stereotype denies them the recovery of a more complex identity that includes the strength and agency needed to rebuild their present and future lives.

We have found that using an arts-based participatory approach supports young people in constructing a rich picture of their “whole-person—of pain and joy” (Kalmanowitz & Lloyd, 2002, p. 46), undoing the limiting stereotypes imposed on them. For example, through making art the young people could represent the joy of their past lives. As a 13-year-old young woman from Burundi shared, “This (doing artwork) reminds us of our country and helps us think back to the good things.” In their artwork, children represented the sun that shone on them as a child, the river they swam in with friends, birds that flew from the trees as they walked to the fields, the pathway to school, the garden they worked in with their grandfather, the restaurant their mother owned in the city, the hairdressing salon. In the example that follows, a 16-year-old young woman originally from the DRC used oil pastels to create an image of the bedroom she used to share with her mother before her mother abandoned her, leaving her to fend for herself in South Africa. She explained, “This picture is about me and my mother and the bond that a daughter has. This is the bed that we would lie in together. These are the colours that I remember, the colours are bright because we were happy then. Our relationship with God made us closer, we would pray together every day.”

Through making art, the young people recalled parts of their identities beyond “victim,” extending to a time when they were a loved child, sister, grandchild, friend. They wanted people to see them not as just an “undocumented migrant” or *makwerekwere*,³ but as a young person with a past, with a history outside persecution, beyond a label or category.

Alongside this deepening of their identity, arts-based processes also enable young people to have a sense of possibility, of how their lives could be. Through the digital storytelling methodology, Gachago (2016) argues, “Storytellers have the possibility of experimenting with different variations of self that could become real with time and repeated performance” (p. 305). One 15-year-old young man originally from the DRC, describes how the narrative he constructed through his digital story enabled a new way of seeing himself and others, in a way that helped him conceptualize the possibility of change: “I have tried to listen to my brother and take him as my role model and work hard and stop going on the fights and stop bunking school. Start listening to the people that are talking to me and choosing positive friends. All of this stuff can help me to become a stronger person, and maybe one day I can support my mum and I do understand now why she didn’t

come. And I understand that life is tough out there and that I have to work hard to be who I want to be and to support my family.”

Young people also used these processes as a way of challenging their social exclusion and the abuse of rights they had experienced. A 16-year-old boy from the DRC described his drawing of police harassment on the streets, and concluded by outlining how he could possibly speak back to this harassment: “For me to build a secure future for me and others is by talking to the government and say that they should stop this from happening and give us respect that we deserve not because we are foreigners but that we are human beings, and we deserve respect.” These examples show that through the creative process, there was the possibility of young people not only reflecting on and understanding their past but also acknowledging their agency and looking forward to how they could improve their futures.

IDENTITY: REFLECTING ON ETHICS

We have seen how a participatory research process can be a positive experience for young people. However, those who have been through severe or long-term negative encounters, such as war and migration, require more than participation in a short-term, arts-based project. In a context of almost no psychological support, we often question how ethical it is to ask these young people to tell their stories, whether in words or through artwork. For this reason, most of the research work we have undertaken has been with young people who are participating in a long-term support group through a local organization so that a referral system can be put in place for further psychological care as needed. Yet, this also highlights a key limitation in that we seldom reach nor hear from the more marginalized and vulnerable young people who cannot access the limited services that are available. How can we ethically work with these young people if there is no one to refer them to once the research process is over for long-term support?

RECLAIMING THE RIGHT TO NAME THE WORLD

Through the processes we have described, young people are able to reflect on the challenges they have faced, as well as the injustices and the contextual realities that they are experiencing. In doing so, they were reclaiming the right “to name the world” (Freire, 1970, p. 69), and effect change in their lives. As we undertook the research projects, we were constantly reminded by the children and the young people’s words and artwork of the systemic inequalities that shaped the environments in which they were trying to build their lives. The children and young people we have worked with wanted those with power to know about their lives. As two of the young people told us:

It is like I need other people to hear my story.

Yes. There are rich people out there who live large. They don't know how poor people, like refugees, live—they don't know. They got to know.

We, therefore, created an opportunity for them to engage those who had some power over these systemic inequalities, maybe not to bring about actual change but at the least to tell them about their lives. We worked with the young people to think about whom the audience would be; what they would want the audience to think, feel, hear, and see; and what kind of change they were hoping for. We openly discussed the power dynamics involved in engaging with different audiences, and we assessed the risks involved in taking their work into the public sphere. So together we developed opportunities for their aspirations to “speak” to the inequalities and injustices they face in their lives. In some of the projects, we have supported children and young people to speak publicly through exhibitions or performances of their work, enabling its wider transformative power. In other projects, we set up careful, confidential, and ethical processes, such as structured dialogues where the young people could engage social workers, child and youth care workers, and NGO service providers about their practice. This critical engagement often shifted power relations and actual practice in institutional settings; for example, one group of young people developed a “build belonging” program with their social workers for new residents who came into their residential care facility.

NAMING THE WORLD: REFLECTING ON ETHICS

Yet, we ask ourselves, is this enough? How can we intervene in the cycles of inequality and injustice that pervade the lives of young migrants, of young people that have lived through and continue to live with violence? Are we seeing structural change? What does it look like? The dynamic nature of the children and young people's vulnerability as (mostly undocumented) migrants became even more visible over time. In our ongoing contact with many of the young people after the research ended, the limited changes they had been able to make in their lives have been stifled by the increasing complexity of their situation as they reach adulthood, which has been frustrating and deeply painful for everyone involved. We are conscious that this work requires space and time to evolve with processes that engage with these questions, and we critically evaluate the contribution to structural change (Tandon, 1988). In light of this, we believe that as participatory researchers, our commitment to a transformative practice must evolve further to engage more deeply with the contextual realities affecting young migrants.

CONCLUSION

Our use of arts-based methodologies has shown us an approach to participatory research that supports young people to regain some sense of control over their

lives through artistic processes, and to safely and ethically connect with both past and present, and with each other. We argue that space for personal processing and reflection is needed in group-based participatory inquiries and that art-based practices can provide this space. We also suggest that this personal processing builds a sense of agency that allows them to listen to the stories of others, to build relationships, and to slowly look toward the systemic injustices they face as migrants and how they can “speak truth to power.”

We have shared five principles and practices through which arts-based participatory research can achieve this transformative work with young migrants.

1. **Choice:** Underpinning this work is a recognition of children and young people’s choice and agency. Respect for participants’ autonomy needs to be embedded throughout the process, as it drives whether and how young people engage with different art forms, and how the longer-term participatory process unfolds. Respecting autonomy and giving choice recenters young people’s agency in directing their lives, allowing for greater recognition for their stories and experiences, supporting them to some extent to reclaim their narratives.
2. **Emotional safety and control:** The use of artistic expression supports young people to retain emotional control within the research process. Their participation is held gently by the artistic and creative methods, where they are encouraged to work at a pace that feels right for them. The creative process supports young people to feel strength and power, which can be translated into their self-expression within participation.
3. **Relationships:** Processes that bring children and young people together are powerful as they can help them to overcome isolation and loneliness, facilitating opportunities to reflect on shared realities and to build solutions to diverse social problems. When trust is nurtured within the group, young people can thrive with space for processing at the personal level through art making, and then move with a deeper sense of self into working creatively together.
4. **Deepening identity:** It is important to recognize that for many young people their ability to safely connect with their life experiences has been fractured. Providing opportunities for young people to reclaim positive memories from their past, and to articulate new ways of seeing themselves in the present can deepen their sense of self. From this, young people can reconnect to whom they are, and whom they can become, bringing this self-worth into a group dialogue with others. This also challenges stereotypes of young migrants as lacking agency or value.
5. **Public engagement:** The emphasis on participatory arts-based processes creates unique and powerful opportunities for children and young people to reclaim their right to name the world. The process rather than the product, however, is what drives this, enabling a connection between change within the group and a drive for social change in their wider realities. Tensions lie between young people’s aspirations for change and the structural inequalities that are

pervasive in their lives. This needs to be carefully navigated, and researchers have a responsibility to connect to wider long-term societal change.

This work with children and young people affected by war and migration embodies an ethic of reciprocity in the research relationship, which is centered on enabling resilience and empowerment. Becoming artists, photographers, and creators is meaningful for participants, showing them that they are much more than victims, they are young people with a story to tell. Facilitating a process in which these stories can be told creates a deeper understanding of the complexity of migrant children and young people's lives, thereby generating knowledge that exposes the structural inequalities that shape their environments.

Further critical evaluative work is needed on how to link the process of personal and relational transformation that occurred in the processes we describe with these larger issues of justice and inequality. Can what we have learned through these transformative processes be used to transform those with the power to change the sociopolitical and legal context? This is the kind of question we should seek to answer in future participatory research work.

NOTES

1. We use the terminology children and young people with "migration-related life experiences" so as to not reduce young people to a label, or a status that does not recognize the complexity, and heterogeneity of their lived experiences. We include the language of "migrant" as a shortened version. However, we do so with a view that this complexity should be retained.
2. Digital storytelling is a creative and group-based learning experience where, through multi-modal expression, participants produce and edit a three-minute film made up of their own artwork combined with a personal story about a key moment of change in their life that they narrate in first person.
3. A derogatory name given to Black African nonnationals by South Africans.

REFERENCES

- Ackermann, M. (2018). Unaccompanied and separated children in South Africa: Is return the only option? *Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa (SIHMA)*, 1, 975–994. <https://sihma.org.za/journals/Marilize-Ackermann.pdf>
- Amit, R. (2015). *Queue here for corruption: Measuring irregularities in South Africa's asylum system*. Johannesburg: Lawyers for Human Rights and African Centre for Migration and Society.
- Bank, L. (2015). City slums, rural homesteads: Migrant culture, displaced urbanism and the citizenship of the serviced house. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 41(5), 1067–1081.
- Blackbeard, D., & Lindegger, G. (2015). The value of participatory visual methods in young masculinity research. *Procedia—Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 165, 85–93. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.12.608>
- Bottrell, D. (2009). Understanding "marginal" perspectives: Towards a social theory of resilience. *Qualitative Social Work*, 8(3), 321–339.
- Boyden, J. (2000). Conducting research with war-affected and displaced children. *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, 24(2), 70–72.

- Burman, E. (1994). Innocents abroad: Western fantasies of childhood and the iconography of emergencies. *Disasters*, 18(3), 238–253.
- Carciotto, S. (2016). Angolan refugees in South Africa: Alternatives to permanent repatriation? *African Human Mobility Review AHMR*, 2(1), 21.
- Clacherty, G. (2015). The suitcase project: Working with unaccompanied child refugees in new ways. In I. Palmary, B. Hamber, & L. Nùñez (Eds.), *Healing and change in the city of gold case studies of coping and support in Johannesburg* (pp. 13–30). Springer.
- Clacherty, G. (2016). *Understanding trauma and trauma intervention in new ways through an examination of the Suitcase Project, a project for unaccompanied refugee children in Hillbrow, Johannesburg* [PhD, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg].
- Clacherty, G. (2019). Art-based, narrative research with unaccompanied migrant children living in Johannesburg, South Africa. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/o8865655.2019.1621766>
- Crush, J., & McDonald, D. A. (2001). Introduction to special issue: Evaluating South African immigration policy after apartheid. *Africa Today*, 48(3), 1–13.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Education for critical consciousness*. Bloomsbury Academic.
- Gachago, D. (2016). The performativity of digital stories in contexts of systemic inequality. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 30(3), 296–308. <https://doi.org/10.20853/30-3-649>
- Graham, A., & Fitzgerald, R. (2010). Children's participation in research: Some possibilities and constraints in the current Australian research environment. *Journal of Sociology*, 46(2), 133–147.
- Haen, C. (2009). Editorial/introduction to the special issue. *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, 36, 59–60.
- Hlatshwayo, M., & Vally, S. (2014). Violence, resilience and solidarity: The right to education for child migrants in South Africa. *School Psychology International*, 35(3), 266–279. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0143034313511004>
- Huijsmans, R. (2011). Child migration and questions of agency. *Development and Change*, 42(5), 1307–1321.
- Johnson, D. (1987). The role of the creative arts therapies in the diagnosis and treatment of psychological trauma. *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, 14(1), 7–13.
- Kalmanowitz, D., & Lloyd, B. (2002). Inhabiting the uninhabitable: The use of art-making with teachers in southwest Kosovo. *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, 29(1), 41–52. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0197-4556\(01\)00133-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0197-4556(01)00133-2)
- Kistner, J. (2007, October 17). *HIV/AIDS, trauma and "landscapes of suffering."* [Address on World Trauma Day]. Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in Johannesburg.
- Kohli, R. (2006). The sound of silence: Listening to what unaccompanied asylum-seeking children say and do not say. *British Journal of Social Work*, 36, 707–721.
- Landau, L. B., & Misago, J. P. (2009). Who to blame and what's to gain? Reflections on space, state, and violence in Kenya and South Africa. *Africa Spectrum*, 44(1), 99–100.
- Langa, M. (2011). *Women empowerment: A case study of a refugee women's group at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation*. Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.
- Lester, R. (2013). Back from the edge of existence: A critical anthropology of trauma. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 50(5), 753–762. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1363461513504520>
- Liamputong, P., & Rumbold, J. (Eds.). (2008). *Knowing differently: Arts-based and collaborative research methods*. Nova Science Publishers.
- Lykes, B. M. (2017). Community-based and participatory action research: Community psychology collaborations within and across borders. In M. A. Bond, I. Serrano-García, C. B. Keys, & M. Shinn (Eds.), *APA handbook of community psychology: Methods for community research and action for diverse groups and issues* (pp. 43–58). American Psychological Association.

- Magqibelo, L., Londt, M., September, S., & Roman, N. (2016). Challenges faced by unaccompanied minor-refugees in South Africa. *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, 52(1), 73–89.
- Mahati, S. T. (2015). *The representations of childhood and vulnerability: Independent child migrants in humanitarian work* [PhD, University of the Witwatersrand, Faculty of Humanities, School of Social Sciences].
- Mahati, S. T., & Palmary, I. (2018). Independent migrant children, humanitarian work and statecraft: Mapping the connections in South Africa. In L. O'Dell, C. Brownlow, & H. Bertilsdotter-Rosqvist (Eds.), *Different childhoods: Non/normative development and transgressive trajectories* (pp. 105–117). Routledge.
- McDonald, D., Mashike, L., & Golden, C. (1999). *The lives and times of African migrants and immigrants in post-apartheid South Africa*. Migration Policy Series, No. 13. Southern African Migration Project and International Migration Research Centre.
- Misago, J. P. (2015). *Xenophobic violence in South Africa: Reflections on trends, explanations and responses*. Johannesburg: African Centre for Migration and Society.
- Mitchell, C., & de Lange, N. (2011). Community-based participatory video and social action in rural South Africa. In E. Margolis, & L. Pauwels (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of visual research methods* (pp. 171–185). Sage.
- Mitchell, C., de Lange, N., & Moletsane, R. (2016). Me and my cellphone: Constructing change from the inside through cellfilms and participatory video in a rural community. *Area*, 48(4), 435–441.
- Monama, E., & Landau, L. (2016, March). Tragedy or farce? Xenophobic violence against foreign nationals and other “outsiders” in post-apartheid South Africa [ACMS Issue Brief].
- Mottram, P. (2007). Group painting. In D. Spring (Ed.), *Art in treatment: Transatlantic Dialogue*. Charles C. Thomas.
- Opfermann, L. S. (2015). Testing the “triple imperative”: A drama-based exploration of migrant children's views. *Transnational Social Review*, 5(3), 224–240.
- Park, P. (2001). Knowledge and participatory research. In P. Reason & H. Bradbury (Eds.), *Handbook of action research: Participative inquiry and practice* (pp. 81–90). Sage.
- Parsons, R. (2012). *Growing up with HIV in Zimbabwe: One day this will all be over*. Weaver Press.
- Powell, M. A. (2012). *Ethical principles, dilemmas and risks in collecting data on violence against children: A review of available literature*. UNICEF, United Nations Children's Fund. <https://resourcecentre.savethechildren.net/library/ethical-principles-dilemmas-and-risks-collecting-data-violence-against-children-review>
- Schenk, K., & Williamson, J. (2005). *Ethical approaches to gathering information from children and adolescents in international settings: Guidelines and resources*. Washington, DC: Population Council.
- Schmid, J. (2012) *Trends in South African child welfare from 2001–2010* [CSDA Research Report]. Centre for Social Development in Africa, University of Johannesburg
- Shoba, S., & Tobias, N. (2019, November 6). UNHCR urges refugees to stay in South Africa, despite their circumstances. *Daily Maverick*. <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2019-11-06-unhcr-urges-refugees-to-stay-in-south-africa-despite-their-circumstances/>
- South African Government. (1998). *Refugee Act 130 of 1998*. Pretoria: Government Printing Office.
- Statistics South Africa. (2016). *Community survey 2016: In brief*. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa. Report 03-01-06. <https://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/03-01-06/03-01-062016.pdf>
- Suffla, S., Seedat, M., & Bawa, U. (2015). Reflexivity as enactment of critical community psychologies: Dilemmas of voice and positionality in a multi-country photovoice study. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 43(1), 9–21. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.21691>
- Tandon, R. (1988). Social transformation and participatory research. *Convergence*, 21(2/3), 5–18.
- Walker, R. (2018). Migrant mothers and the burden of care: Reflections from Johannesburg. *Families Relationships and Societies*, 7(2), 349–353.

- Walker, R., & G. Clacherty. (2015). Shaping new spaces: An alternative approach to healing in current shelter interventions for vulnerable women in Johannesburg. In I. Palmary, L. Nunez, & B. Hamber (Eds.), *Healing and change in the city of gold: Case studies of coping and support in Johannesburg* (pp. 31–58). Springer.
- Wanjiku Kihato, C. (2007). Invisible lives, inaudible voices? The social conditions of migrant women in Johannesburg. *African Identities*, 5(1), 89–110.
- Willie, N., & Mfubu, P. (2016). No future for our children: Challenges faced by foreign minors living in South Africa. *African Human Mobility Review*, 2, 423–442.

PART 3 ARTS-BASED
APPROACHES

10 • ARTS-BASED RESEARCH INNOVATIONS IN WORK WITH WAR-AFFECTED CHILDREN AND YOUTH

A Synthesis

WARREN LINDS, MIRANDA D'AMICO,
MYRIAM DENO, CLAUDIA MITCHELL,
AND MEAGHAN SHEVELL

The arts have increasingly been used as an instrument for research, practice, and social change. This burgeoning work in arts-based research, arts-informed practice, and art for social change highlights the use of the arts in research and programming as multifaceted with the potential to offer therapeutic, restorative, transformative, and empowering value. Arts-based approaches can be helpful tools, both in fostering personal benefits for the participant and as a catalyst for social change within the broader society.

While broad in its conceptualization, arts-based research can be defined as “research that uses the arts, in the broadest sense, to explore, understand and represent human action and experience” (Savin-Baden & Wimpenny, 2014, p. 1). Arts-based research approaches use the artistic process and artistic expression as a primary way of understanding and examining diverse human experiences by both researchers and participants (McNiff, 2008). Arts-based research can be undertaken in a number of different forms and mediums, including the use of visual and digital arts (e.g., photography, drawing, videography, and cellphilm), and performance arts (e.g., theater, drama, music, and rap). While arts-based research has been used with a number of diverse populations, particularly marginalized groups, academic attention has only recently addressed using arts-based research with war-affected populations. This dearth of literature is further compounded when examining the use of arts-based research with war-affected children and youth.

Scholarship has begun to highlight the benefits of using arts-based approaches with war-affected populations because they can enable survivors of war to represent their wartime experiences in a context of reduced stress (Denov et al., 2012) and provide a viable nonverbal alternative to traditional verbal communication, which can be particularly conducive to communicating highly distressing events, such as those experienced in the context of war and migration (Denov & Shevell, 2019). Given the sensitivity and ethical considerations of exploring war-related experiences, particularly with children, the use of art has been found to ease children's ability to communicate their realities, in a less threatening and pressurized context (D'Amico et al., 2016). Arts-based research can also offer psychological benefits to war-affected participants because the arts provide a means to safely access and process traumatic memories, ultimately helping with healing and recovery (Gantt & Tinnin, 2009).

Moreover, arts-based approaches with war-affected youth enrich our knowledge and understanding of their lived realities while also enabling youth to build critical skills by fostering opportunities for "youth [to] express their voices, connect with communities and increase their civic engagement" (Friesem, 2014, p. 45). Arts-based research with war-affected youth has been found to promote participant activism, engagement, and empowerment (Denov et al., 2012; Mitchell, 2011).

The scholarly literature on arts-based research with war-affected youth is beginning to develop, but the literature to date is diffuse, with discussions often limited to one art form (e.g., photovoice or drawing or digital storytelling) or framed in silos within distinct disciplinary perspectives. A notable exception can be found in Lenette's (2019) book *Arts-Based Methods in Refugee Research: Creating Sanctuary*, which draws together work on photography, participatory video, digital storytelling, and community music, offering a more integrative approach that examines how the various art forms and disciplinary perspectives complement each other, and also how they might relate to policy change. As Lenette highlights, it is critical to find ways to strengthen this area so that researchers, policy makers, and practitioners working with war-affected children and youth can navigate this broad range of work more effectively. As an understudied area, this often translates into the underutilization of arts-based approaches or the unidimensional use of arts-based approaches. The cost is overlooking the complexity of the approach and the population under study, as well as failing to appreciate the overlaps across methods and disciplinary perspectives.

This synthesis chapter on the current state of the art of arts-based methodologies with war-affected children and youth aims to provide an integrative snapshot of how arts-based research has been understood historically, conceptually, and practically. Because the experiences of war-affected children and youth and the relevancy of arts-based approaches are highly contingent on cultural and contextual factors, this chapter aims to situate the discussion within the unique contexts of war and migration through the use of diverse case studies and examples at the

individual, family, community, and national levels. This chapter also provides an examination of both the process of arts-based approaches as well as the outcome or impact, particularly as it relates to war-affected populations and contexts of conflict/postconflict.

Through its overview of six art forms used with war-affected populations, this chapter reveals the value of methodologies that are participant centered, privileging the participants and their expertise throughout all stages of the research process. The chapter also explores the relevance of arts-based approaches across the entire conflict/postconflict cycle, including in-country (either in cases of protracted conflict or in postconflict recovery), during migration, and upon resettlement. The chapter begins by providing a brief historical context in order to demonstrate the long-standing use of arts-based approaches with war-affected populations, along with a contextualized discussion of how we got here. The chapter then outlines six potential arts-based tools and approaches and how they have been used specifically with war-affected populations. We examine potential benefits of each of the tools and approaches, as well as a broader consideration of possible limitations and challenges, with particular attention to ethical considerations. The chapter concludes with next steps in utilizing various arts-based approaches with war-affected populations.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF ARTS-BASED APPROACHES IN WORK WITH WAR-AFFECTED CHILDREN

The use of art with war-affected children is not a new phenomenon. If we look back on human history—across a broad time span and across multiple armed conflicts and situations of political violence—we can find numerous examples of how the arts have been used to elicit children's perspectives on their lived realities. In the discussion that follows, we highlight the use of the art-making activities with children and youth in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War, during the Holocaust, and in the context of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Ultimately, prefacing our discussion of arts-based approaches with war-affected youth further contextualizes our understanding of the topic and allows for tracing the progression of the discourse itself across time and place. In particular, consideration of historical underpinnings enables a deeper examination into critical questions around how we got here and where we go from here.

We start with Weissberger (1938), who explores children's representations of the Spanish Civil War through archived children's drawings. This example is particularly noteworthy because the Spanish Civil War was the first conflict in which modern arms were intentionally used against the civil population on a large scale; as such, it marks the onset of children witnessing military attacks firsthand. Weissberger highlights that children began to reflect on their wartime experiences through their drawings of the bombardments, the evacuations, and the separation from family, as well as the games, lessons, and other activities within the school

colonies. Weissberger notes that examining these children's drawings in a contemporary context reveals a valuable and direct testimony of multiple aspects of this particular conflict otherwise unseen: life before the war, the presence of the war in their daily lives, humanitarian support and evacuation, the politicization of children, organization and life in the school colonies—all from the perspective of children themselves.

In an example of the use of art with war-affected children during the Second World War, Hana Volavková (1993) describes how art and poetry were used as tools to educate Jewish children during the war and as a means for children to express their unique wartime experiences. Volavková's work underscores specifically the reality of war in Terezin, a town north of Prague, which, during the Second World War, was turned into the transport camp (where Jews awaited transport to the concentration camp in Auschwitz) Ghetto of Theresienstadt. In the Ghetto during this period, education of Jewish children was strictly forbidden. Nonetheless, Volavková documents that volunteer teachers in the Ghetto created a system where children could be taught without breaking the law by using art. This was done through chanting mathematical problems and playing games that taught children about geography and history. In addition to using arts-based tools for education, children created artwork, sang songs, and recited poetry as a means of preserving the spirit and minds of children and youth. Similarly, Zivya Seligman (1995) highlights the ways in which theater and drama were used with both adults and children in concentration camps. Seligman (1995) documents that in Theresienstadt, a marionette theater was founded for children in the camp: "[the] songs and dances on familiar themes caused them great joy and the success of the show gave them great satisfaction" (p. 124). These unique and historical art forms continue to serve as a powerful reminder of how art is able to capture children's unique wartime experiences, illustrating both the horror and the hope in war-affected children.

Hill and White (2012) and Pruitt (2011) have highlighted the ways in which art, specifically music and mural-making, has been used as a peacemaking tool with conflict-affected youth in Northern Ireland. Murals have figured as a prominent feature of the visual environment of Northern Ireland since the early twentieth century, developing into one of the best-known examples of political art in the world. Hill and White (2012) address the Re-Imaging Communities program launched in Northern Ireland in 2006, and its attempt to intervene in the visual environment in an effort to steer the muralscape away from divisive expressions of sectarianism toward more positive themes. These authors (Hill & White, 2012; Pruitt, 2011) underscore that art has been used as a peace-building tool in the aftermath of the Troubles. While not an exhaustive overview, the historical use of arts with war-affected children points toward art as a compelling means to highlight and illustrate children's unique experiences of war, political violence, and civil unrest. Furthermore, all these examples reveal how art has historically been used as a thoughtful and therapeutic means to support and educate children during and in

the aftermath of war. This examination of the historical context further underscores the implications of arts as a tool to advance not only epistemology on the experiences of children but also as a tool to advance healing, resilience, and recovery.

EXPLORING ART FORMS: DRAWING, PHOTOVOICE, PARTICIPATORY VIDEO AND CELLPHILMING, DIGITAL STORYTELLING, DRAMA/THEATER, AND MUSIC

Storytelling is a prominent feature in the various art forms discussed in this section. Storytelling has its roots in oral history, where a story is the central means through which people share their lived experiences. Particular histories have been relayed from generation to generation. As Jerome Bruner (2004) writes, “Narrative imitates life, life imitates narrative” (p. 692), demonstrating the dynamic interplay between storytelling and realities. Storytelling has historically offered a way of understanding the self and a method of passing forward knowledge and unpacking experiences to better connect with the world around us. For war-affected youth, storytelling extends as a vehicle for unpacking traumatic experiences and connecting with those of shared experience. This is especially critical for those that are displaced (either internally or internationally) as they struggle to reconnect to and resettle in their new contexts. Refugees must navigate across linguistic, cultural, and physical boundaries, continuously shaped through ongoing interactions. Homi Bhabha (1994) conceptualizes the site of this dynamic process as Third Spaces, whereby meanings continuously emerge through ongoing encounters with new environments. Visual methodologies, such as drawing, photovoice, video/cellphilmimg, digital storytelling, drama/theater, and music/rap, enable access to these Third Spaces and allow us to better understand meaning-making of experiences through these methods. Furthermore, visual methodologies provide a medium through which participants might express how they see and interact with their surroundings, thereby “helping displaced youth and researchers to mitigate linguistic barriers” (Vecchio et al., 2017, p. 134).

Arts-based approaches are driven by a number of overlapping principles with participatory research, such as placing the participant at the center of the research process. Arts-based research privileges the participants’ perspectives, suggesting that participants’ experiences and knowledge are legitimate, valid, and worth collecting and sharing with others (see also Clacherty and Shahrokh, chapter 9). Arts-based approaches help to provide a space for young participants to exercise their agency in exploring and selecting topics, allowing participants to drive research design, data collection and analysis, and discussions on findings and implications. In addition to providing a nonverbal alternative to traditional qualitative methodologies, many arts-based approaches also offer a low-tech and low-cost option that can be made accessible in low resource postconflict settings.

The following section examines a range of possible art forms that can be drawn upon for arts-based research with war-affected youth and families, including

low-tech and digital methodologies along a range of economic costs. The chapter also includes consideration of visual, audio, and performance arts, in its overview of the use of the following art forms with war-affected youth: drawing, photo-voice, video and cellphilm, digital storytelling, drama and theater, and music and rap. While these are by no means the only viable art forms to engage in arts-based research with war-affected youth, they each offer valuable insights into better understanding and create space and place for the Third Space. Examining each of the art forms separately, yet in concert, in stepping back and critically reflecting on arts-based research with war-affected youth more generally ultimately allows for a more integrative interdisciplinary account of the current state of the art. Finally, it is imperative to emphasize that despite the violence and traumas endured through their experiences of war, migration, and displacement, war-affected children overwhelmingly demonstrate noteworthy degrees of resilience as evidenced through the robust case studies and examples provided with each art form: "Running throughout the children's stories is a sense of strength, courage and resilience despite the seeming overwhelming circumstances of their lives" (Berman et al., 2001, p. 29).

Drawing

Drawing has been used, especially with young people, as a clinical and diagnostic research method to provide data to inform the implementation of appropriate interventions (D'Amico et al., 2016). Research on drawing in clinical and educational settings has confirmed that using drawing to facilitate talking increased the amount of verbal information that children shared as compared to a traditional interview or conversation (Woolford et al., 2015). Drawing as a form of artistic communication gives children and youth the opportunity to represent their feelings safely and can be easily used as a venue for emotional expression to address psychosocial difficulties, as well as a mechanism of psychological support (Rousseau et al., 2005). Drawing has also been shown to be a developmentally sensitive tool that allows for the inclusion of children's point of view regardless of developmental stage in communication or linguistic abilities. Drawing may be used as a springboard for children to express themselves freely, such as sharing their dreams and pains. This enables them to communicate what they know and what they have experienced and, in turn, gives those working with them additional insight into their psychosocial status (Farokhi & Hashemi, 2011; Green & Denov, 2019).

Children's drawings represent a valuable tool to better understand their experiences in the context of war and prolonged political violence (Akesson et al., 2014). Verbalizing emotions and feelings can be especially difficult for war-affected youth as they have encountered violence and displacement and possibly endured traumatic experiences, which can influence how they construct their collective identities (Beauregard et al., 2017a, b). For example, when drawings were used with immigrant and refugee children in school settings as a form of creative expression, they elicited discussions around how to enhance the adjustment process for refugee

students, while also providing a venue to process and communicate traumatizing experiences (Rousseau et al., 2005). Multiple empirical works have pointed to the benefits of drawing with war-affected children because it offers a nonverbally oriented approach to processing traumatic experiences (Green & Denov, 2019). Drawing as a form of self-expression also provides a powerful vehicle for coping; this activity “helps children avoid destructive burial of feelings of insecurity, anxiety, fear, terror, distrustfulness and unhappiness produced by the impact of major disruption, violence and despair” (Kilbourne, 1994 cited in Janzen & Janzen, 1999, p. 593).

There is ample scholarly literature on the beneficial use of drawings with war-affected children. In their work with Rwandan genocide survivors, Janzen and Janzen (1999) show the ways in which children expressed their lived experiences of the genocide in drawings to mitigate self-destructive feelings and behaviors. Child survivors ranging from 6 to 15 years old were invited to draw some of their experiences of home and family before and after the genocide. The drawings revealed a “rich inventory” of their worlds of coexistence and interdependence before and their worlds of loss, hardship, and restoration after (Janzen & Janzen, 1999). In a study on Iraqi refugee children’s drawings, Jabbar and Betawi (2018) found that drawing provided a functional way of understanding how children conceptualized war and peace, and how they make sense and meaning of their own personal experiences with war and peace. Jabbar and Betawi (2018) stated that the “drawing, now, and later, will help them cope with the traumatic events they have been through, and preserve their identities that have been shattered out of their control” (p. 15).

Drawings offer a valuable mechanism for healing and recovery following traumatic experiences of war and displacement, and they can also unlock insights that can be critical in improving the implementation of interventions. For example, a key component in collecting information to inform the design of child-centered interventions has been to ask children themselves to draw their hopes for the future and the obstacles preventing these hopes (Clacherty, 2018). Drawings are then used to inform programming in order to address their self-identified needs and develop a family support group model. Furthermore, building on the aforementioned psychological benefits, drawings can function as important interventions for therapeutic healing. Drawings can be used as a feasible and effective intervention that can easily and safely be delivered by nonspecialist providers to improve access to care. They are easily accessed by local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in humanitarian settings and can be used as basic assessment tools and to advocate for support services.

Furthermore, drawings and arts-based activities can be instrumental in facilitating refugee resettlement and reintegration. Schools can use drawing activities to enhance the adjustment of affected children to “build bridges between the past and the future by attaching meaning to experience” (Rousseau & Heusch, 2000, p. 31). Drawing allows children to make some sense of their lives and recapture

lost hope (Gangi & Barowsky, 2009) as well as to connect with students of shared experiences. Research has also examined extensively how drawings can be interpreted to reveal deeper meaning and symbolism (e.g., size, placement, use of color, emphasized aspects), which can signal the child's emotional attitude toward a particular topic. Furthermore, drawing offers an outlet for communication and a window into the child's inner personality (Farokhi & Hashemi, 2011). Janzen and Janzen (1999) state that "these children's drawings of war are powerful firsthand documentation that carry with them a level of authenticity which cameras of foreign journalists could not—cannot—capture" (p. 593).

Photovoice

Photovoice is a participatory arts-based visual methodology that refers to the practice of providing cameras to participants, typically those from marginalized communities, to represent the ways that they see critical issues in their everyday lives. Building on Wang et al.'s (1996) ground-breaking work, the significance of photovoice extends beyond the photographic outcome or product to include the process in which participants themselves work with the images (Mitchell, 2011). As a participatory methodology that privileges participant engagement and agency, photovoice aims to involve participants in all phases, including design, photo-taking, analysis, and preparing the photos for an exhibition (see Mitchell et al., 2017). While photovoice is participant driven, this approach, as with other participatory arts-based approaches, typically includes a facilitator working with the group to identify an overarching theme—such as security, or addressing access to schooling or health care—and foster a safe space that is conducive to discussion. Once a theme is determined and an appropriate prompt to guide taking photographs is established with the group (e.g., feeling safe and not so safe), participants take photos either individually or in small groups, and then select images that they themselves deem best exemplify their perspective on the identified topic to be shared and discussed. Typically, participants also create captions for the photos that capture their perspective in words to complement their visual representation. Photovoice approaches can also engage children in the analysis phase of the research through participatory analysis (Mitchell et al., 2016).

Photovoice studies have been conducted with both adults and children in relation to addressing a variety of social issues (e.g., homelessness, violence, health issues such as HIV and AIDS, disability), and can be a particularly appropriate method for seeing through the eyes of war-affected children and young people. As an arts-based method that is often group oriented, it can also be used in the context of exploring collective expression and collective identity. Notwithstanding the rich body of photography work conducted with children (and at times including refugee children) by Wendy Ewald (2000) dating back to the 1970s (see *The Promise of Tomorrow*¹ photo project), the bulk of the literature on the specific use of photovoice with war-affected children and youth has taken place in the last two decades. Recent technological advancements have made this approach

increasingly feasible, accessible, and easy to use for NGOs on the ground through the use of economical disposable and digital cameras, along with portable (and battery operated) photo printers.

The literature on photovoice with war-affected children and youth can be looked at across a number of interrelated thematic areas, including geographic location and phase of postconflict. For example, studies can be geographically organized across the phases of war and migration to include in-country, in-migration, and resettlement/reintegration experiences. In a study conducted in Sierra Leone (Denov et al., 2012), photovoice was used to highlight the post-conflict experiences of former child soldiers, and their reintegration into postwar mainstream society. The young people in this study, as represented through their photographs, highlight the crucial issues that they perceive as having an impact on their lives. Using the photographs as a catalyst for discussion and self-reflection, the youth were able to express their perspectives and experiences concerning controversial issues regarding their participation in wartime violence, postconflict stigma, and community reintegration. In this study, participants also played an integral role in choosing photographs for their exhibitions, which brought together community members, local and international nongovernmental organizations, policy makers, and government representatives to showcase the issues that most affected them. Studies have also focused on the experience of war-affected youth in-migration, such as in refugee camps. For example, Green and Kloos (2009) use photovoice to look at the experiences of youth in refugee camps in northern Uganda. Photovoice studies have also been used to examine reintegration and resettlement, as can be seen in Liz Orton's (2009) work.

A second thematic area focuses on the growing recognition of the impact of the images produced through photovoice, as highlighted in Susie Linfield's (2010) book *The Cruel Radiance: Photography and Political Violence*. A key strength of photovoice work is that the images produced lend themselves to being exhibited; photovoice enables participants to specifically tailor their message to target or reach a particular audience or stakeholder (see Mitchell, 2015). For example, Gary Dumbrell's work (2008) engaged refugee parents through photovoice to create targeted messages for the specific audience of child welfare workers. Overall the parents produced messages related to three major themes: understanding the hopes and fears they had for their children, understanding resettlement challenges, and the importance of working together (parents and child welfare workers) to coproduce child welfare policies and services.

Finally, much of the literature on photovoice highlights its transformative potential for both participants and communities and the ways in which it can be a tool for advocacy and in some cases policy change (see also Mitchell et al., 2017). Ideally, children and young people have the opportunity to see this for themselves. In a photovoice project involving children living in an informal settlement in South Africa, for example, the photos and captions the children produced on school absenteeism on market day were presented to local businesses and other

community stakeholders. The children's pictures drew attention to the fact that they had to work in the local market on Fridays in order to have money to buy food on the weekends. Their photos convinced stakeholders that they needed to establish a weekend feeding scheme that would supplement the school feeding scheme that existed during the week (Mitchell et al., 2006).

Participatory Video and Cellphilming

Participatory video (sometimes referred to as collaborative video) refers to participant-led production of films using digital cameras, cellphones, tablets (e.g., iPads), and other devices. Typically, the productions are short (3–5 minutes) and, similarly to photovoice, draw on working in small group contexts. The use of participatory video in work with war-affected children and young people has become increasingly possible as a result of relatively easy access for NGOs and researchers to low-cost, easy-to-use equipment, and especially as a result of the widespread use of cellphones, tablets, and other devices, which require relatively little training to use (Milne et al., 2012).

With the expansion of telecommunication and increasing popularity of smartphone technology, tablets, and cellphones to produce short films—referred to as cellphilming—have become increasingly used for participatory video methodology (MacEntee et al., 2016; Mitchell et al., 2011). Cellphilming is a particularly feasible strategy because it does not require advanced training on videography or editing. Mitchell's (2011) work, for example, on the no-editing-required approach highlights participant-friendly practices that do not require access to editing equipment. Furthermore, with increasing access to easily downloadable apps, editing poses less of a challenge even in community research.

There are several key themes that can be seen in work using participatory video and cellphilming with war-affected children. One salient theme highlights the power of the process itself; the act of engaging young people using the tool of participatory video can often serve as the point in and of itself, as noted by Skartveit and Goodnow (2010) in their edited book on museum practices involving refugee youth. Various authors draw attention to the process, especially the incorporation of young people in film-production practices, such as engaging youth in the creation of the storyboards, as storyboards capture a critical component of storytelling (Labacher et al., 2012; Mitchell et al., 2011). Similarly, Lee and Bolton (2007) draw attention to one project in Kenya where young people in a refugee community learned to use video as a tool for storytelling and communication. As the authors note, the project seeks “to develop participants’ confidence and self-esteem, to engage critical thinking, and provide a means of communication” (Lee & Bolton, 2007, p. 5).

Another theme in the literature relates to the impact of the work on its various audiences. Screening of “playbacks,” as coined by Molony et al. (2007), was proven to be particularly vital in engaging audiences of thirty to a hundred people to discuss the issues of sexual- and gender-based violence raised in the videos screened

as part of an intervention in Liberia. As Molony et al. (2007) highlight, the ways in which such arts-based tools can promote dialogue is perhaps the most compelling component.

Digital Storytelling

Digital storytelling uses digital media to create stories or narratives, frequently combining a number of different arts-based tools in a multimedia format (see Gubrium, 2009). An important aspect of this visual methodology includes its ability to move away from the limitations of text-based communication in a multi-lingual context. Digital storytelling is particularly relevant with youth populations, given the current state of social media and the excessive consumption, production, and exchange of photographs and video through digital media. As there is considerable overlap with the other art forms outlined in this chapter, this section will primarily focus on the unique and critical elements of dialogue and rapport, particularly as they pertain to integration and intercultural rapport in refugee contexts. While the literature on other participatory visual methodologies focuses more on the process or the creation stage, less is written on involving participants in sharing their productions outside workshop settings to catalyze discussions about the stories told.

With the unbridled rise of war-induced migration around the globe, there is an increasing need for intercultural dialogue in order to break down barriers and cultivate belonging. Furthermore, spaces for intercultural dialogue are crucial in connecting us all in a way that allows us to discover “the other” through our own process of self-reflection and self-discovery. It is also important to note that “narrativising one’s past experiences is an ongoing and interpretive act and one that implies taking risks but that has the potential to offer personal and professional benefits” (Luchs & Miller, 2016, p. 447).

This section considers the many uses of digital storytelling with war-affected youth, with specific attention to the value of storytelling as a means of fostering dialogue. Current scholarly literature on digital storytelling with war-affected children and youth underscores the need for adopting an intercultural perspective by offering opportunities to go beyond the surface level through the communal exchange of personal stories. Through such intercultural dialogue, processes of “othering” war-affected refugees can begin to be disentangled in the development of a shared society. For example, López-Bech and Zúñiga’s (2017) work with a group of young refugees living in Belgium and Sweden used digital storytelling to share their powerful experiences of war and migration and revealed that “in the sharing of a personal story—of something that belongs to you—with someone else, there is an implicit sense of belonging developed within the recipient. Sharing a personal and intimate story generates trust and mutual empathy, going beyond the surface and stereotypes that create barriers between people. In most of the cases, participants find the possibility to access and make an impact in their new social context through their stories” (p. 226)”

Another example of the value of outreach through storytelling includes Luchs and Miller's (2016) collaborative Mapping Memories project with refugee youth and a team of educators, filmmakers, policy advocates, and service organizations along with the Canadian Council for Refugees. Through this digital project, refugee youth shared their stories in a citywide tour of various schools, expressing themselves creatively as they shaped their experiences into compelling digital stories, photo-essays, mixed media collages, and even bus and walking tours. The project culminated with *On Tour*, a five-year participatory media project with refugee youth in Montreal, Canada. The final phase explored the potential impact of digital storytelling in cultivating peer-to-peer intercultural dialogue: "Live presentations [were combined with] digital stories to instigate peer-to-peer dialogue about stereotypes that frame refugees as victims, outsiders or 'burdens to the system'" (Luchs & Miller, 2016, p. 442). Furthermore, as one participant explained, the goal was "to offer inspiration to students who might be afraid to share a personal story" (Luchs & Miller, 2016, p. 444). However, in order to extend the reach and sustainability of a project with a set number of sessions, the Mapping Memories project identified that there is a need to work more closely with teachers to prompt greater reflection and consideration of how what is learned can be used to shape pedagogy after the termination of the project.

Finally, the potential impacts of digital storytelling extend beyond its capacities for intercultural dialogue to include individual as well as global benefits in fostering translocal identities, communities, and sense of belonging. Research has demonstrated that marginalization is a predominant feature of the war-affected refugee experience, thus serving as a significant barrier toward integration but also in developing their own identities in their new context. Raelene Wilding (2012) points out that with digital technology we see new opportunities for refugee youth to "seek their sources of identity and identification elsewhere—through family, peer and cultural connections that transcend the limitations of place" (p. 501), and use digital storytelling to span geographical boundaries. For example, Gifford and Wilding's (2013) digital media project Home Lands explored Karen Burmese refugee youth's experiences of identity and belonging in their resettled contexts of Melbourne, Australia. Using audiovisuals, website creation, and digital production, resettled refugee youth were connected with their peers in refugee camps on the Thai–Burma border and elsewhere. The project found that an enhanced sense of connection to their Karen community and identity was not in opposition to a sense of being Australian, but was instead complemented by it. The researchers contend that "if resettled refugee young people are able to maintain their connections to family and friends around the world, this might enhance their sense of being at home in Melbourne" (Gifford & Wilding, 2013, p. 558). This project demonstrates that online technologies can open up possibilities of cultural renewal and reconstruction, as storytelling can enable "becoming at home" in their new environment while, simultaneously, being global citizens in their translocal identities. War-affected refugee youth were successful in transforming themselves while

engaging with both local and transnational opportunities. Furthermore, this project reveals robust levels of agency in balancing and integrating multiple overlapping systems, such as ethnic, religious, communal, peer, and family systems. Ultimately, the foregoing examples demonstrate enormous hope and potential in using digital storytelling to enable war-affected youth not only to have a voice but also to articulate that voice to others.

Drama and Theater

Drama and theater provide a medium through which a story can be physically enacted or performed, and an emotive outlet for processing complex experiences. As Malvern Lumsden (1997) points out, “Theatre is perhaps the clearest example of an important resource—a transitional zone that acts as a ‘safe space’ for traumatized individuals and communities . . . [to work] through terrifying emotions and [try] new approaches to social relations” (p. 263). Drama and theater processes can help build trust, develop voice, and share power. These characteristics are especially meaningful for war-affected children and youth in a number of contexts, including in-country in cases of protracted civil war, in postconflict societies, as well as in postmigratory contexts of refugee resettlement.

One of the most significant examples of drama/theater with war-affected youth in protracted conflict contexts includes the Theatre Action Group’s (TAG’s) psychosocial interventions using theater in refugee camps, schools, and villages in Jafna, Sri Lanka. Sithampparanathan’s (2003) review of these psychosocial interventions reveals how drama and theater can function as a healing process paralleled by traditional counseling methods, because TAG created a therapeutic space encompassed by “warmth, respect and interest” (p. 44). This was further evidenced by notable changes in children’s behavior, such as becoming more assertive and sociable and less aggressive. Furthermore, the use of drama and theater methodologies in contexts of war can also affect audience members, whereupon spectators become involved in discussion on the themes performed. Over time, this can usher in social change within the broader community.

For example, in Israel/Palestine, where conflict is ongoing, engaging in dialogue proved challenging, but theater proved to be effective in facilitating rapport. Using Image Theatre (Boal, 1979), where stories are shared through frozen “photographs” using bodies in relationship, participants were asked to “develop an image of their self-defined community’s strengths and weaknesses” (p. 236). Sonia Arsham Kuffinec (2009) notes that theater processes such as Image Theatre address the transformation of situations of violence by transforming participant relationships in the present and future. As she notes, “A transformed Image Theatre offers a way to manifest perspectival difference, a step towards the possibility of a shared vision of a just future” (Kuffinec, 2009, p. 241).

Another example in the same context of ongoing conflict in Palestine includes the use of theater to develop strategies of resistance, where children practiced theater as a means of communication and negotiation. Abeer Musleh (2011) docu-

ments the work of Abdelfattah Abusour, the director of Alrowwad Youth Theatre in the Aida refugee camp in Bethlehem as he collaborates with children as actors and playwrights. Here, war-affected youth are placed at the center of the theater process, actively engaging youth in the decision-making process. Through theater, students developed “self-esteem, maturity, acceptance of others, dialogue skills, and the ability to work as part of a team” (Musleh, 2011, p. 106). Drama served as a nonloaded platform, where youth could discuss sensitive issues that they would otherwise be reticent to discuss, expressing “personal language derived from feelings, thoughts and perceptions that are too often hidden in public discourse” (Musleh, 2011, p. 107).

In postconflict societies, memories can continue to be raw and relationships strained and often complicated, exacerbated by enduring impacts of war. Literature reveals that drama and theater can be effective vehicles for postconflict reconstruction and peacebuilding. Hanebrink and Smith (2013) explore how visual methodologies were used as tools for building peace and empowering war-affected youth in northern Uganda, where the Acholi’s use of artistic expression through dance, art, music, drama storytelling, and writing enabled the emergence of social and cultural identities that had been challenged during the war. Kuflinec (2009) reports on a series of projects by Seeds of Peace, an American-based organization that brings together adolescents in South Asia, the Balkans, and the Middle East for dialogue through summer camp activities and trainings. For example, in Ohrid, Macedonia, the use of Image Theatre for youth from the former Yugoslavia “exposed the ways in which individuals attach to social groups and helped, at least temporarily, to realign those relationships” (Kuflinec, 2009, p. 235). As one participant shared, “I learned something more deep about this conflict between us through the images . . . that it wasn’t so black and white” (Kuflinec, 2009, p. 235). Another example includes the use of a theater/drama education program and a theater group for youth in Bosnia as a tool for peacebuilding, with its primary goal of helping youth cope with trauma and heal.

Finally, drama and theater can also be effective mediums for the reintegration of war-affected youth in resettlement contexts. For example, Spackman and Zaytzeff (2012) write about a children’s rehabilitation program where former child soldiers who had been abducted from Rwanda to the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo used theater upon their escapes and return to Rwanda as a way to talk about their experiences in a safe, playful, and imaginative way. Through games, activities, storytelling, and the use of puppets, the youth developed a story that conveyed their tumultuous journeys from children to soldiers to former child soldiers. Ultimately, this approach helped these children to make sense of their experiences, as well as express the difficulties they faced reintegrating into a country considered their home but where they had never lived nor known anyone. Theater and drama can also be used in adaptation programs for war-affected migrants and refugees. This is particularly salient in the context of rising migration figures, whereby “the majority of recently arrived children and adolescents, whether refu-

gees or immigrants, now come from countries in which there is an internationally recognized form of organized violence, due either to a repressive regime responsible for major social tensions or to internal armed conflict” (Rousseau et al., 2005, p. 13). Rousseau et al. describe a drama workshop program in Quebec, Canada, that was designed to enable newly arrived youth in high school to help adapt to their new environments, as part of a follow-up to a series of creative expression workshops with the same students while they were in elementary school. The program’s goal was “to make it easier for adolescents to adjust to their new environment through creative group work involving identity issues related to being migrants and members of cultural minorities. The program also sought to improve intergroup relations in multiethnic schools” (Rousseau et al., 2005, p. 13). Sharing and comparing stories allowed students to realize they were facing similar experiences as a group, consequentially reducing their feelings of isolation.

In postmigration contexts, theater and drama are also useful in fostering intergroup relationships in multicultural host societies. For example, Laura Day’s (2002) study in England investigated the experiences and interactions of Forum Theatre workshop participants in which the program addressed issues refugee children faced at school. Findings revealed that the workshop was highly relevant to both refugee students and students from the host society, reflecting moral dilemmas that they faced in their everyday lives in their interactions at school. Students felt that the workshop enabled them to put themselves “in other people’s shoes,” both the fictional characters in the workshop as well as actual people they knew at school. However, there is a greater need for more follow-up action for the initiative to extend beyond a drama project to include more responsibility for action in transforming relationships with refugee youth in the school.

Sloane and Wallin (2013) describe a similar project that used participatory theater to enable former youth and adult war-affected refugees in Canada to identify issues they were facing within the community and then perform them to wider audiences. The project was participant-driven, with refugee youth defining which social justice issue would inform the workshops and the play, defining, scripting, and sharing their struggles in the wider community. This illustrates a movement from simply identifying individual problems to bringing together war-affected adults and youth with those in the host community. As arts-engaging inquiry, it illustrates how a theater/drama approach provides participants with the opportunity to “develop a collective consciousness to critique power relations, and support agency. Given the opportunity to have their voices heard and respected, participants were able to demonstrate their resilience and to open new pathways for creating more peaceful, joyful communities” (Sloane & Wallin, 2013, p. 471).

Music: Rap and Hip-Hop

Former child soldier turned international pop singer Emmanuel Jal began processing his wartime experiences through music. Using music as a political message, as well as a form of healing, Jal has aptly articulated, “In times of war,

starvation, violence and injustice, such tragedy can only be put aside if you allow yourself to be uplifted through music. . . . It can be used to communicate messages to the masses and create awareness, to influence the people positively” (as cited in Nuxoll, 2008, p. 7). Jal is not alone in his engagement with music as a tool for healing and expression. Youth affected by war and violence have used multiple musical art forms, such as hip-hop and rap, to initiate dialogue, express lived experiences, tell collective stories, and enact youth agency (Marsh, 2012). Similarly, Vandy Kanyako (2015) maintains that the arts play an important role in healing and rebuilding social relations for communities affected by war and that, among other art forms, music is an indispensable tool for fostering reconciliation, both during and following armed conflict. For youth, musical art forms such as rap and hip-hop have become a powerful means of communication, a catalyst to raise awareness of sociopolitical grievances, a platform to articulate protest and incite social action (Marsh, 2012). Rap and hip-hop hold resonance with war- and violence-affected youth globally, allowing youth to actively engage with and express issues of concern to them, including systemic issues of poverty and marginalization (Marsh, 2012). As a medium that is more easily distributed, accessed, and consumed than traditional academic publications, music can have a highly accessible widespread, immediate, and powerful impact (MacDonald, 2013). Also, musical methods that put production in the hands of youth can project a credibility and authenticity that more polished works of art cannot achieve (McNiff, 2008).

Though music can take on a number of different iterations, styles, and genres, the value of rap and hip-hop in meaning-making and social justice advocacy is not unique to the Western context, but rather can be observed in a number of different cultural contexts. Daniel Künzler (2007) notes that signs of the hip-hop culture can be found throughout Africa. He asserts that “it is not just an option of the American model, but this global culture is locally adapted and used to respond to global challenges” (Künzler, 2007, p. 89). For example, McClain Opiyo (2015) notes that the Acholi people of northern Uganda credit music with playing a central role in ending more than two decades of armed conflict. According to McClain Opiyo, Acholi communities experience and perceive music as creating peaceful change through the community-identified roles of music as education, voice, memory, and healing. In a similar vein, Wai (2008) highlights the political importance of popular music in Sierra Leone: “Music has now become a major way of initiating political conversation about the country’s future and the youth’s role in it. Through music, spaces for social action were created, and these in turn helped in raising the consciousness of the population and [drew] their attention to the myriad of problems in Sierra Leone society and to the possibilities” (p. 58). Susan Shepler (2010) notes that popular music in the context of Sierra Leone can be seen as a form of journalism that “us[es] a bricolage of musical forms to get people singing along and to tell the news from the streets” (p. 629). Music continued to maintain its importance in Sierra Leone in the postwar context. Shepler

notes that a new space was opened up for youth political expression through popular music in the postwar period. She writes, "Popular music, like other forms of popular culture, not only expresses socio-cultural reality, but generates it. The youth took that space and filled it beyond anyone's imagining" (Shepler, 2010, p. 633).

Cornelia Nuxoll (2008) has also observed that the hip-hop movements based on rap music are omnipresent among youth across sub-Saharan Africa more broadly as well. She asserts that rap music serves as a powerful means of communication, especially in conveying suppressed grievances, for alienated young people. For example, Künzler (2007) notes that hip-hop "criticizes the elites in power in countries as different as Algeria, Israel, Palestine, Serbia, Colombia and elsewhere. . . . Hip-Hop is seen as the 'CNN of the poor'" (p. 93). Künzler argues that within the network of hip-hop artists, rap music has frequently been used to raise awareness and shape a collective identity, as well as to articulate protest in public. Katrin Lock (2005) adds that "the common plight of generations experiencing unemployment and exclusion is articulated with surprising eloquence in hip hop lyrics. Hip hop texts show an astonishing sensitivity and understanding of power structures, and differ accordingly from country to country" (p. 159). These unique musical forms are therefore a potent mode of social action, while also a helpful tool for coping with problems related to modernization and social change. Furthermore, hip-hop is not just the call of a resigned youth, but rather is often linked with mobilization, hope for improvement, and the appeal to take charge of one's life (Künzler, 2011). Similarly, Kaiser (2006) notes that in the context of war-affected refugee populations, songs and discos have become a contested domain where intergenerational conflict and concerns about interethnic relations within refugee settlement are played out.

Music, of all art forms, can have a positive impact within conflict situations, as well as its aftermath, contributing directly or indirectly to peace efforts between adverse groups. Music can be used to stir resistance against repressive regimes and lend support to postconflict reconciliation and remembrance. Alternatively, Pruitt (2011) notes that in conflict settings, music can be a useful way to bring youth together to share meaning and engage in dialogue for building peace. It can also help war-affected youth reconsider their views of themselves and others, thus challenging conflict identities. Finally, as noted by Pruitt, by taking part in music programs, violence by, between, and against youth may be reduced or prevented.

We acknowledge the many strengths and contributions of arts-based methods, but they are in no way a panacea, and they can bring forth profound issues and tensions related to power and positionality. Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that art forms, including music, film, photography, and others, can be used in detrimental and dangerous ways during contexts of war and violence. These realities point to the importance of ethical considerations in arts-based work, which we address next.

CHALLENGES AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN ARTS-BASED WORK WITH WAR-AFFECTED CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Although each of the six art forms brings its own challenges and limitations, we consider that the area of ethics intersect across these approaches. As already explored, the use of various visual methodologies can unlock a number of potential benefits, both on an individual level and within the broader society. While there are unique ethical challenges inherent in conducting research with children, working with children who have been affected by war introduces unique and important ethical considerations and key questions that researchers must continue to ask themselves and reflect on.

How Do We Construct Ethical Relationships in Arts-Based Research Approaches?

In addressing how the challenges of constructing ethical relationships in arts-based research are approached, we strive to place the participant at the center of the process, privileging means and methods of knowledge-making that are best suited to the participants in order to understand their experiences (D'Amico et al., 2016). Recognizing that children and young people are capable of making sense of and influencing the world around them, we see that the arts-based approaches described in this chapter allow war-affected children and youth to participate in research while helping to restore a sense of control, especially within a context of insecurity and instability (D'Amico et al., 2016).

In our previous work (Akesson et al., 2014; D'Amico et al., 2016), we highlighted four ethical issues that are vital to consider when using art-based approaches or methods: (1) informed consent; (2) truth, interpretation, and representation; (3) dangerous emotional terrain; and (4) aesthetics. Although the principle of informed consent is a common, and perhaps universal, practice whereby parental consent is obtained, it is culturally acceptable in some instances that consent for children and youth to participate in research may be provided by others in charge of their well-being, whether in refugee camps or schools. As a cautionary practice, we emphasize that researchers need "to adopt methods of applying [informed consent] that respect the cultural values, traditions and peculiar health-care systems of the country or region of interest" (Veronese et al., 2017, p. 366). For example, Krogstad et al. (2010) found that parental consent in some cultural instances should be verbal, given that written informed consent is often considered suspicious. Keeping in mind that consent or assent is at the forefront of any research activity, it needs to be emphasized that youth are free to withdraw entirely or decline to take part in select activities if they wish. Questions of informed consent and choice remain vital, as do privacy and anonymity in the reporting of data and the implications of the intervention. Alongside this work, we also recognize that ownership itself is a key

issue, particularly since participants are producing art works themselves (Khan, 2018) (see also Khan, chapter 12).

How Can We Promote Research That Does Not Remarginalize or Restereotype Individuals or Perpetuate the Same Discourse?

Ethical issues are not something to consider *after* designing research but, rather, are an intrinsic and ongoing part of the design and implementation processes (D'Amico et al., 2016, p. 540), and as such, this process allows for participants to further understand their experiences. For example, in considering issues of “voyeurism” and “tokenism,” participants may risk being misconstrued and their experiences being diminished. However, their alternative to remain silent can exacerbate related mental health issues resulting from their experience. This presents a perplexing conundrum, demanding careful balance between investigation and expression, whereby “curiosity, then, is not totally objectifying, but an act of moving closer, asking questions, and possibly learning” (Ignagni & Church, 2008, p. 633).

How Do We Ensure That Data from Arts-Based Methodologies Contribute to the Positive Growth of War-Affected Children and Youth?

As we think about these issues, we consider them in relation to all involved: those who create the art work, those who might view the art form, and the participants as “research participants” (Sinding et al., 2008). What ethical considerations need to be taken into account when bringing the sensitive representations beyond process and into the realm of outreach? What methods should be used to ensure that everyone involved benefits? Participants in arts-based approaches run the risk of being identified and misrepresented, and then witnessing their lives and struggles analyzed and objectified; as such, Richards and Schwartz (2002) suggest going back to participants at the end of the study to seek additional consent to use the findings once the analysis is complete or the report is written. Furthermore, sharing findings through art adds additional layers of ethical complexity: “When research results are presented as art, and public access to the work is both enabled and deliberately arranged, our recontextualizations of research participants’ stories and lives become audible, visible, felt by them, in visceral and potentially lasting ways” (Sinding et al., 2008, p. 465). This then raises the additional question as to how we can ensure that people who have seen the artwork become its ambassadors and the responsible repository of the knowledge acquired.

How Do We Truly Respect Youth Voice and Child and Youth Agency?

We raise this question in the context of viewing the child and youth participants as a vulnerable population. Martino and Schormans (2018) point out the danger in undermining participation of individuals labeled as vulnerable because it “can sometimes lead to forms of protectionism that take precedence over participants’ agency, including their right to make their own decisions, share their own

perspectives, and take informed risks” (p. 14). Supporting war-affected children and youth in addressing the related mental health issues resulting from their experiences and advocating and applying this knowledge “would bring progression to the implementation of the children’s [and youth’s] right to participation (Convention on the Rights of the Child, art. 12)” (van Os et al., 2018, p. 16). Using arts-based methodologies allows war-affected youth to be “recognised as important actors in the realization of their rights” (Arnold, 2018, p. 58). The proposed shift in power, from traditional research to the participant as co-learner, is noticeably its greatest and most desirable strength empowering youth to engage in social and policy change.

CONCLUSION: EMERGING ISSUES, AREAS OF PROMISE, AND NEXT STEPS

Arts-based approaches, as evident in the numerous examples provided, hold a great deal of promise as a qualitative methodology with war-affected youth, but also as a tool for coping, healing, integration, intercultural dialogue, peacebuilding, social change, resistance, empowerment, and self-advocacy for the youth themselves. Arts-based approaches can yield particularly transformative benefits, beyond personal benefits for participants, to include the wider society. In order to maximize reach, sustainability, and impact, it is critical that arts-based research with war-affected children and youth is situated within the wider systems that encompass their everyday realities, such as the family or community. Exploration of the application of various art forms with war-affected youth and their families as provided here reveals how arts engagement can be used within family and community-based contexts, both as critical target audiences and as key partners or stakeholders.

As evidenced in the foregoing examination of the six art forms, there are distinct advantages to using arts-based approaches with war-affected children and youth, but they also provide a unique set of ethical challenges. When applied in a culturally and contextually relevant manner, arts-based research can be used as a modality of inquiry to gain more knowledge to inform service provision, education, and training, and also a springboard for social transformation, reintegration, and therapeutic healing, as seen through the examples provided across various stages of conflict (including protracted conflict, postconflict, displacement/migration, and reintegration). The therapeutic benefits of the arts (beyond art therapy) have been well documented to provide a particularly healing and cathartic effect for children and youth who have experienced violence or trauma, as well as to offer a nonverbal alternative form of expression to convey deeply sensitive and difficult experiences. Specifically, we have seen how arts-based research can be used to elicit recommendations from intended beneficiaries in order to ensure that services and programming are tailor-made to the unique needs of war-affected

youth and families. This approach further supports a rights-based approach, such that arts-based approaches can provide a platform for child and youth voices to be heard on matters that affect them in an effort to inform decision-making processes that affect their daily lives.

Furthermore, as exemplified in this chapter, arts-based research can be particularly beneficial in facilitating the reintegration process for war-affected refugee children youth in its use with both refugee youth and host communities. Art can also serve as an agent of change, acting as a catalyst for transformation within the broader society. However, using arts-based research with war-affected populations is not without challenge. As Bilger and Van Liempt (2009) argue, “Ethical questions are not static” (p. 13), but rather demand constant critical self-reflection and adaptation as they continuously shift. The current global context of the millions of war-affected children and youth, as well as the many researchers, practitioners, and policy makers entering the field to work with war-affected children and youth, highlights the need for those engaged in this field to continuously reflect on and revisit their obligations and practices in order to “resonate with the changing times and the changing needs of participants” (Bilger & Van Liempt, 2009, p. 13). Bilger and Van Liempt emphasize that this requires researchers to know about the reality of war-affected children before embarking on arts-based approaches with them and to treat the knowledge in a way that rejects universality.

To be able to accomplish this, researchers, practitioners, and policy makers must engage in dialogue with war-affected youth and spend time and energy building trust and showing interest, empathy, and care while being genuinely willing to learn from them. Furthermore, research with war-affected youth requires innovative methodologies, such as arts-based approaches that privilege the participant at the center of the process in all phases of the research project. Finally, we recognize the promise of intersectionality as an important framework for both the critique and expansion of the field of arts-based approaches with war-affected children and youth. How, for example, do we ensure that issues of gender, sexuality, disability, and spatial location become central to how we conceptualize this work from the beginning and in relation to how we report findings? Building on the emerging body on ethical challenges in arts-based research with girls and young women with disabilities (see Mitchell et al., 2016; Nguyen et al., 2020), and in arts-based research with girls in rural contexts (see Moletsane et al., 2021), we advocate for a greater focus on intersecting factors in the lives of war-affected children and youth and the ways in which these intersecting factors impact their daily lives and experiences.

As we rush to the field to hear the voices of refugee children and youth, these issues require constant reevaluation, reflection, and reexamination. This chapter’s exploration of the current state of the art on arts-based methods sheds light on the need to strip down what is already known and rebuild within various cultural contexts.

NOTE

1. Ewald, W. (2016, September 5). *Towards a promised land*. <http://wendyewald.com/portfolio/margate-towards-a-promised-land/>

REFERENCES

- Akesson, B., D'Amico, M., Denov, M., Khan, F., Linds, W., & Mitchell, C. A. (2014). "Stepping back" as researchers: Addressing ethics in arts-based approaches to working with war-affected children in school and community settings. *Educational Research for Social Change*, 3(1), 75–89. <http://ersc.nmmu.ac.za/index.php?id=1>
- Arnold, S. (2018). *Children's rights and refugee law: Conceptualizing children within the refugee convention*. Routledge.
- Beauregard, C., Papazian-Zohrabian, G., & Rousseau, C. (2017a). Connecting identities through drawing: Relationships between identities in images drawn by immigrant students. *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, 56, 83–92. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.aip.2017.08.003>
- Beauregard, C., Papazian-Zohrabian, G., & Rousseau, C. (2017b). Making sense of collective identity and trauma through drawing: The case study of a Palestinian refugee student. *Inter-cultural Educating*, 28, 113–130. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675986.2017.1294851>
- Berman, H., Ford-Gilboe, M., Mountrey, B., & Cekic, S. (2001) Portraits of pain and promise: A photographic study of Bosnian youth. *Canadian Journal of Nursing Research*, 32(4), 21–41.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The Location of culture*. Routledge.
- Bilger, V., & Van Liempt, I. (2009). Methodological and ethical dilemmas in research among smuggled migrants. In I. Van Liempt & V. Bilger (Eds.), *The ethics of migration research methodology: Dealing with vulnerable immigrants* (pp. 118–137). Sussex Academic Press.
- Boal, A. (1979). *Theatre of the oppressed* (C. A. McBride & M. L. McBride, Trans.). Pluto Press.
- Bruner, J. (2004). Life as narrative. *Social Research*, 71, 691–710.
- Clacherty, G. (2018). *Protecting children through village-based family support groups in a post-conflict and refugee setting in Northern Uganda: Case study*. <https://bettercarenetwork.org/sites/default/files/Children-of-the-World-Draft-FINAL-.compressed.pdf>
- Cooper, C., Goodsmith, L., Lotter, E., & Molony, T. (2010). *Communication, participation, and social change: A review of communication initiatives addressing gender-based violence, gender norms, and harmful traditional practices in crisis-affected settings*. The American Refugee Committee (ARC) and Communication for Change (C4C).
- D'Amico, M., Denov, M., Khan, F., Linds, W., & Akesson, A. (2016). Research as intervention? Exploring the health and well-being of children and youth facing global adversity through participatory visual methods. *Journal of Global Health*, 11(5–6), 528–545. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2016.1165719>
- Day, L. (2002). "Putting yourself in other people's shoes": The use of Forum theatre to explore refugee and homeless issues in schools. *Journal of Moral Education*, 31(1), 21–34.
- Denov, M., Doucet, D., & Kamara, A. (2012). Engaging war affected youth through photography: Photovoice with former child soldiers in Sierra Leone. *Intervention*, 10(2), 117–133.
- Denov, M., & Shevell, M. (2019). "Drawing" on local knowledge: The "River of Life" as an arts-based approach to research with conflict-affected populations [Unpublished manuscript].
- Dumbrill, G. C. (2008). Your policies, our children: Messages from refugee parents to child welfare workers and policymakers. *Child Welfare*, 88(3), 145–168.
- Ewald, W. (2000). *Secret games: Collaborative works with children 1969–1999*. Scalo.
- Farokhi, M., & Hashemi, M. (2011). The analysis of children's drawings: Social, emotional, physical, and psychological, social and aspects. *Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 30, 2219–2224. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2011.10.433>

- Friese, E. (2014). A story of conflict and collaboration: Media literacy, video production and disadvantaged youth. *Journal of Media Literacy Education*, 6(1), 44–55.
- Gangi, J., & Barowsky, E. (2009). Listening to children's voices: Literature and the arts as a means of responding to the effects of war, terrorism, and disaster. *Childhood Education*, 85(5), 357–363. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00094056.2009.10521401>
- Gantt, L., & Tinnin, L. W. (2009). Support for a neurobiological view of trauma with implications for art therapy. *The Arts in Psycho-therapy*, 36, 148–153. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.aip.2008.12.005>
- Gifford, S., & Wilding, R. (2013). Digital escapes? ICTs, settlement and belonging among Karen youth in Melbourne, Australia. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 26(4), 558–575. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feto20>
- Green, A., & Denov, M. (2019). Mask-making and drawing as method: An arts-based approach to data collection with war-affected children. *International Journal of Qualitative Research*, 18, 1–13.
- Green, E., & Kloos, B. (2009). *Facilitating youth participation in a context of forced migration: A photovoice project in Northern Uganda*. Oxford University Press.
- Gubrium, A. (2009). Digital storytelling: An emergent method for health promotion research and practice. *Health Promotion Practice*, 10(2), 186–191. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524839909332600>
- Hanebrink, J., & Smith, A. (2013). The art of peace in northern Uganda. *African Conflict & Peacebuilding Review*, 3(2), 195–218.
- Hill, A., & White, A. (2012). Painting peace? Murals and the Northern Ireland peace process. *Irish Political Studies*, 27(1), 71–88.
- Ignagni, E., & Church, K. (2008). Disability studies and the ties and tensions with arts-informed inquiry. One more reason to look away? In G. Knowles & A. Cole (Eds.), *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research: Perspectives, methodologies, examples, and issues* (pp. 625–638). Sage.
- Jabbar, S., & Betawi, A. (2018). Children express: War and peace themes in the drawings of Iraqi refugee children in Jordan. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, 24(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673843.2018.1455058>
- Janzen, R. K., & Janzen, J. (1999). "Ayiwewe": War-traumatized children draw their memories. *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 33(2–3), 593–609. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00083968.1999.10751176>
- Kaiser, T. (2006). Songs, discos and dancing in Kiryandongo, Uganda. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32(2), 183–202.
- Kanyako, V. (2015). Arts and war healing: Peacelinks performance arts in Sierra Leone. *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, 5(1), 106–122.
- Khan, F. (2018). Curating children's drawings: Exploring methods and tensions in children's depictions of sexual violence. In C. Mitchell & R. Moletsane (Eds.), *Disrupting shameful legacies: Girls and young women speaking back through the arts to address sexual violence* (pp. 215–234). Brill | Sense.
- Krogstad, D., Diop, S., Diallo, A., Mzayek, F., Keating, J., Koita, O., & Toure, Y. (2010). Informed consent in international research: The rationale for different approaches. *American Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene*, 83(4), 743–747. <https://doi.org/10.4269/ajtmh.2010.10.0014>
- Kuftinec, S. (2009). Violent reformations: Image theatre with youth in conflict regions. In P. Anderson & J. Menon (Eds.), *Violence performed: Local roots and global routes of conflict* (pp. 223–243). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Künzler, D. (2007). The "lost generation": African hip hop movements and the protest of the young (male) urban. In M. Herkenrat (Ed.), *Civil society: Local and regional responses to global challenges* (pp. 89–128). Transaction Publishers.

- Künzler, D. (2011). South African rap music, counter discourses, identity, and commodification beyond the Prophets of Da City. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 37(1), 27–43.
- Labacher, L., De Lange, N., Mitchell, C., Moletsane, R., & Geldenhyts, M. (2012). What can a visual researcher do with a storyboard? In E.-J. Milne, C. Mitchell, & N. De Lange (Eds.), *Handbook of participatory video* (pp. 149–163). AltaMira Press.
- Lee, K., & Bolton, P. (2007). *Impact of FilmAid programs in Kakuma, Kenya: Final report*. <http://www.comminet.com/africa/content/impact-filmaid-programs-kakuma-kenya-final-report>.
- Lenette, C. (2019). *Arts-based methods in refugee research: Creating sanctuary*. Springer.
- Linfeld, S. (2010). *The cruel radiance: Photography and political violence*. University of Chicago Press.
- Lock, K. (2005). Who is listening? Hip-hop in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Senegal. In M. I. Franklin (Ed.), *Resounding international relations: On music, culture and politics* (pp. 141–1160). Palgrave MacMillan.
- López-Bech, L., & Zúñiga, R. (2017). Digital storytelling: Putting young asylum seekers at the heart of the story. *Intercultural Education*, 28(2), 224–228. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675986.2017.1294854>
- Luchs, M., & Miller, E. (2016). Not so far away: A collaborative model of engaging refugee youth in the outreach of digital stories. *Area*, 48(4), 442–448. <https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12165>
- Lumsden, M. (1997). Breaking the cycle of violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, 34(4), 377–383.
- MacDonald, R. A. R. (2013). Music, health, and well-being: A review. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-Being*, 8(1), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.3402/qhwv8i0.20635>
- MacEntee, K., Burkholder, C., & Schwab-Cartas, J. (Eds.). (2016). *What's a cellphilm? Integrating mobile phone technology into participatory visual research and activism*. Sense.
- Marsh, C. (2012). Research overview: Hip-hop as methodology: Ways of knowing. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 37, 193–203.
- Martino, S. A., & Schormans, F. A. (2018). When good intentions backfire: University research ethics review and the intimate lives of people labeled with intellectual disabilities. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 19(3), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-19.3.3090>
- McClain Opiyo, L. (2015). Music as education, voice, memory and healing: Community views on the roles of music in conflict transformation in northern Uganda. *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, 1(5), 41–65.
- McNiff, S. (2008). Art-based research. In J. G. Knowles & A. L. Cole (Eds.), *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research: Perspectives, methodologies, examples, and issues* (pp. 29–40). Sage.
- Milne, E.-J., Mitchell, C., & De Lange, N. (Eds.). (2012). *Handbook on participatory video*. AltaMira Press.
- Mitchell C. (2011). *Doing visual research*. Sage.
- Mitchell, C. (2015). Looking at showing: On the politics and pedagogy of exhibiting in community-based research and work with policy makers. *Educational Research for Social Change*, 4(2), 48–60. <http://ersc.nmmu.ac.za/index.php?id=1>
- Mitchell, C., Chege, F., Maina, L., & Rothman, M. (2016). Beyond engagement in working with children in eight Nairobi slums to address safety, security, and housing: Digital tools for policy and community dialogue. *Global Public Health: An International Journal for Research, Policy and Practice*, 11(5–6), 651–665. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2016.1165720>
- Mitchell, C., De Lange, N., & Moletsane, R. (2011). Before the camera rolls: Drawing storyboards to address gendered poverty. In L. Theron, C. Mitchell, A. Smith, & J. Stuart (Eds.), *Picturing research: Drawing as visual methodology* (pp. 219–231). Sense.
- Mitchell, C., De Lange, N., & Moletsane, R. (2017). *Participatory visual methodologies: Social change, community and policy*. Sage.

- Mitchell, C., De Lange, N., & Nguyen, X. T. (2016). Visual ethics with and through the body: The participation of girls with disabilities in Vietnam in a photovoice project. In J. Coffey, S. Budgeon, H. Cahill (Eds.), *Learning bodies: Perspectives on children and young people* (vol 2). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-0306-6_15
- Mitchell, C., Stuart, J., Moletsane, R., & Nkwanyana, C. B. (2006). "Why we don't go to school on Fridays": On youth participation through photo voice in rural KwaZulu-Natal. *McGill Journal of Education*, 41(3), 267–282. <http://mje.mcgill.ca/index>
- Moletsane, R., A., Wiebesiek, L., Treffry-Goatley, A., & Mandrona, A. (2021). *Ethical practice in participatory visual research with girls and young women in rural contexts*. Berghahn Press.
- Molony, T., Konie, Z., Goodsmith, L. (2007). Through our eyes: Participatory video in West Africa. *Forced Migration Review*, 27, 37–38.
- Musleh, A. (2011). Theatre, resistance and peacebuilding in Palestine. In C. Cohen, R. Varea, & P. Walker (Eds.), *Acting together: Performance and the creative transformation of conflict: Volume 1. Resistance and reconciliation in regions of violence* (pp. 97–122). New Village Press.
- Nguyen, X. T., Dang, L., & Mitchell, C. (2020). How can girls with disabilities become activists in their own lives? Creating opportunities for policy dialogue through "knowledge mobilization spaces." *Agenda Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, 35(1), 67–79. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2020.1846276>
- Nuxoll, C. (2008, May 1–3). *Little drummer boys: Music and child soldiers in the new wars* [Paper presentation]. Probing the Boundaries: War, Virtual War and Human Security, Interdisciplinary Net, Budapest.
- Orton, L. (2009). *Photography and integration: A case study of a PhotoVoice project*. Oval House Theatre, 2–8. <https://baringfoundation.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2009/05/YoungRefugee.pdf>
- Pruitt, L. J. (2011). Music, youth, and peacebuilding in Northern Ireland. *Global Change, Peace & Security*, 23(2), 207–222.
- Richards, H. M., & Schwartz, L. J. (2002). Ethics of qualitative research: Are there special issues for health services research? *Family Practice*, 19(2), 135–139.
- Rousseau, C., Drapeau, A., Lacroix, L., Bagilishya, D., & Heusch, N. (2005). Evaluation of a classroom program of creative expression workshops for refugee and immigrant children. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 45(2), 180–185.
- Rousseau, C., & Heusch, N. (2000). The trip: A creative expression project for refugee and immigrant children. *Art Therapy*, 17(1), 31–40.
- Savin-Baden, M., & Wimpenny, K. (2014). *A practical guide to arts-based research*. Sense.
- Seligman, Z. (1995). Trauma and drama: A lesson from the concentration camps. *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, 22(2), 119–132.
- Shepler, S. (2010). Youth music and politics in post-war Sierra Leone. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 48(4), 627–642. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X10000509>.
- Sinding, C., Gray, R., & Nisker, J. (2008). Ethical issues and issues of ethics. In G. Knowles & A. Cole (Eds.), *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research: Perspectives, methodologies, examples, and issues* (pp. 459–467). Sage.
- Sithampparanathan, K. (2003). Intervention and methods of the Theatre Action Group. *International Journal of Mental Health, Psychosocial Work & Counselling in Areas of Armed Conflict*, 1(1), 44–47.
- Skartveit, H.-L., & Goodnow, K. (Eds.). (2010). *Changes in museum practice: New media, refugees and participation*. Berghahn Books.
- Sloane, J., & Wallin, D. (2013). Theatre of the Commons: A theatrical inquiry into the democratic engagement of former refugee families in Canadian public high school communities. *Educational Research*, 55(4), 454–472. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131881.2013.844948>
- Spackman, E. S., & Zaytzeff, A. N. (2012). Theatre with former child soldiers. *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, 24(3), 325–331. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659.2012.704323>

- van Os, C., Zijlstra, E., Knorth, E., Post, W., & Kalverboer, M. (2018). Finding keys: A systematic review of barriers and facilitators for refugee children's disclosure of their life stories. *Trauma, Violence and Abuse, 21*(2), 242–260. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838018757748>
- Vecchio, L., Dhillon, K. K., & Ulmer, J. B. (2017). Visual methodologies for research with refugee youth. *Intercultural Education, 28*(2), 131–142, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675986.2017.1294852>
- Veronese, G., Pepe, A., Jaradah, A., Murannak, F., & Hamdouna, H. (2017). “We must cooperate with one another against the Enemy”: Agency and activism in school-aged children as protective factors against ongoing war trauma and political violence in the Gaza Strip. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 70*, 364–376.
- Volavková, H. (1993). *I never saw another butterfly: Children's drawings and poems from Terezin concentration camp, 1942–1944*. Schocken Books.
- Wai, Z. (2008). The role of youths and the Sierra Leone diaspora in democratic awakening. In A. B. Zack-Williams (Ed.), *The quest for sustainable democracy, development and peace: The 2007 Sierra Leone elections* (pp. 37–63). Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Wang, C., Burris, P., & Ping, X. (1996). Chinese village women as visual anthropologists: A participatory approach to reaching policymakers. *Social Science & Medicine, 42*(10), 1391–1400.
- Weissberger, J. A. (Ed.). (1938). *They still draw pictures! A collection of 60 drawings made by Spanish children during the war*. New York, NY: The Spanish Child Welfare Association of American for the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers).
- Wilding, R. (2012). Mediating culture in transnational spaces: An example of young people from refugee backgrounds. *Continuum, 26*(3), 501–511, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10304312.2012.665843>
- Woolford, J., Patterson, T., McLeod, E., Hobbs, L., & Hayne, H. (2015). Drawing helps children to talk about theory presenting problems during a mental health assessment. *Clinical Child Psychology, 20*(1), pp. 68–83. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1359104513496261>

11 • CREATIVE ARTS THERAPIES IN SCHOOL-BASED INTERVENTIONS WITH CHILDREN AND YOUTH AFFECTED BY WAR

MIRANDA D'AMICO

In line with arts-based research innovations in work with children and youth affected by war and the socio-ecological perspective espoused in this book on well-being and resilience, this chapter covers creative arts therapies (art, music, drama) as interventions with children and youth in the aftermath of war and displacement and particularly in school settings (see also Demian & Mitchell, chapter 3). Creative arts therapies are integrative mental health services that are effective interventions for a range of significant mental health issues, such as externalizing behaviors (D'Amico et al., 2015), trauma and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Sajnani et al., 2019), learning difficulties (Cortina & Fazel, 2015), depression (Nan & Ho, 2017), and attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (Sela et al., 2019). These interventions increase positive emotions, life satisfaction, and optimism in children and youth and serve a protective function. Creative arts therapy modalities, such as art, music, and drama, allow individuals affected by war and its resulting trauma to find ways of expressing themselves other than using words; often, these individuals have suffered or witnessed traumatic events, which due to their very nature are difficult to process and talk about (Akesson et al., 2014; D'Amico et al., 2016; Denov et al., 2012; Mitchell et al., 2017; Mitchell et al., 2019).

Thus far, the work of our research group at Global Child McGill has focused on arts-based methods, not only as a potential data point to better understand the experiences of youth affected by global adversity and to give voice and agency to their experiences but as interventions that in due course may improve the psychosocial well-being and quality of life of children, youth, and families affected by

global adversity (see e.g., Akesson et al., 2014; D'Amico et al., 2016; Denov et al., 2012; Mitchell et al., 2017; Mitchell et al., 2019). This chapter describes the arts as part of the process of therapy and as they are used to supplement verbal assessment and promote insight. Here, “art-in-therapy” is seen as a diagnostic tool helping those engaging in it to make sense and move forward—whereas, we have previously reviewed the use of the arts as a therapeutic intervention (D'Amico & Lalonde, 2017; D'Amico et al., 2015; Snow & D'Amico, 2009). All these are with the knowledge that these modalities work to sort out often-traumatic experiences, which access to verbal therapy alone cannot resolve. As Van der Kolk's (2014) work on trauma so strongly emphasizes, successful therapy requires that one “break the silence.” “Silence about trauma leads to death—the death of the soul. . . . We may think we can control our grief, our terror, or our shame by remaining silent, but naming offers the possibility of a different kind of control” (p. 234).

Current research indicates that in the case of trauma, whether sudden or prolonged, the creative arts therapies can offer comfort and relief (Carey, 2006; Perry, 2008; Van der Kolk, 2014). As Rubin (2006) observes, “Making creative activities available to people who have suffered trauma is a ‘secondary prevention’—helping those who are at increased risk for psychological problems. Like medication at the first signs of an infection, offering the arts to people who are in the throes of responding to overwhelming events may well prevent more serious and prolonged emotional damage” (p. 9).

In current usage, *trauma* (Greek for *wound*) is an emotional response to a terrible event. Immediately after the event, shock and denial are typical. Longer-term reactions include unpredictable emotions, flashbacks, strained relationships, and somatic symptoms, such as headaches or nausea. While these feelings are normal, some people have difficulty moving on with their lives (American Psychological Association, 2019). Traumatic experiences, whether physical, emotional, or both, are a shock to the system and elicit powerful reactions for which words are inadequate, yet the arts can help to both “express” and “contain” in other ways, overshadowing feelings and emotions (Rubin, 2006). It is well known that children and youth who have experienced violence and war face challenges to their development and well-being, including myriad long-term adverse psychological issues. Using creative arts therapies offers a different way of addressing the psychological impact on health and well-being. This chapter extends this arts-based and trauma-informed paradigm to the use of art, drama, and music as therapeutic and clinical tools in helping children and youth who have experienced and witnessed serious life disruptions, such as war, loss, displacement, and resettlement (D'Amico et al., 2016). Although more large-scale research is needed to further support the efficacy of the creative arts therapies among children and youth affected by war, there is ample evidence that these interventions, especially group- and school-based interventions, improve mental health outcomes for participants (Newnham et al., 2018). In particular, recent research indicates that schools can play an important

role in delivering mental health interventions. “Schools present a safe and convenient location for young people to engage with health services and establish trusting relationships with mental health professionals” (Newnham et al., 2018, p. 55).

This chapter begins by providing a brief summary of the mental health issues faced by war-affected individuals, followed by a brief overview of creative arts therapy modalities, emphasizing their effectiveness in working with children and youth affected by war. Although most of the work described here is with children and adolescents, we recognize that there is no age limit for therapeutic healing facilitated through the creative arts therapies; parents and families affected by war, especially within a socioecological framework, can also benefit (Rubin, 2006). This chapter focuses on the creative arts therapies as applied to refugee children and adolescents exposed to war, violence, and displacement and aims to critically review the research that is available, given that most of the work reported is conducted with small sample sizes, and that there are still relatively few outcome studies.

MENTAL HEALTH OF WAR-AFFECTED INDIVIDUALS

An important area of clinical work has been the mental health of forcibly displaced populations and a focus on research to understand how the interaction between physical, mental, communal, and ethnic processes determine how individuals vary on a continuum from effectual assimilation and adjustment to maladaptive and chronic mental illness (Fazel & Betancourt, 2017). As evidenced from the work discussed in the various chapters in this book, the psychological impact on a child and their caregivers is significant. The evidence points to two important factors that are of key significance in understanding the risk and protective factors shaping the mental health of refugee children, as well as being potential gateways for interventions: “Exposure to past and ongoing traumatic events and the complexities of navigating the post-migration environment such as dealing with school, discrimination, and reconfigured family life” (Fazel & Betancourt, 2017, p. 2). The current research on the mental health of war-affected children and youth looks at schools not only as institutions that address language and cultural assimilation but also in terms of their role in providing mental health resources to support refugee and asylum-seeking students’ mental health issues (see e.g., Newnham et al., 2018).

Creative Arts Therapies

“Creative arts therapies” is an overarching term used to describe a number of therapeutic art modalities and interventions, such as art, music, drama, dance and movement, play, and sandplay within the context of psychotherapy, counseling, rehabilitation, or medicine (Malchiodi, 2006; Malchiodi & Crenshaw, 2014; Snow & D’Amico, 2009; Snow et al., 2003). Additionally, these therapies are sometimes referred to as being integrative when various arts are purposively used in

combination. Such treatments offer comprehensive professional therapeutic interventions that assist individuals and groups of people in exploring forms in which visual imagery, dramatic arts, or music can both nurture significant insights related to the psychological issues participants may face and help participants develop new ways of understanding self and others (Centre for the Arts in Human Development [CAHD], 2019; van Westrhenen et al., 2019). There is neurological evidence, based on the visual and emotional nature of traumatic memories stored in the brain, that by using creative arts therapies, specifically for traumatic events, one can in a therapeutic milieu work on the resulting issues without relying on the narrative retelling of the story (Perry, 2008; Van der Kolk, 2014). Additionally, given the increasing multicultural diversity of groups with whom mental health practitioners' worldwide work, creative arts therapies have also become more important as they provide a means to deal with language barriers. Also, encouraging the use of the arts meshes well with incorporating practices that historically and culturally have been central to healing—such as arts, drama, and music. In using creative arts therapies, the therapist's focus is not on the aesthetic merits of the art, drama, or music, but on the needs of the individual to try to articulate through the therapeutic process their emotional state (Malchiodi, 2006; Malchiodi & Crenshaw, 2014).

Few studies aim to assess the impact of creative arts therapies across multiple domains of the refugee experience. Sajnani (2019) states that creative arts therapy “makes the ambiguous and intrusive ghost of trauma tangible. Once tangible in the form of a song or monologue, it is available to be worked with and shared, thereby facilitating understanding and social support, which can in turn, reduce stigma, isolation, and loneliness” (p. 5). Rubin (2006), in reviewing work by Solomon and Siegel (2003), states that “the arts are powerful tools in the processing, metabolizing, and assimilating of the toxic effects of trauma that linger, fester, and affect the developing brain (p. 9). Current neurological research indicates that no matter how long ago the trauma occurred, it has long-lasting and indelible effects on the mind, brain, and body, which affect the individual's ability to survive in the present and to adapt to future adversity (Van der Kolk, 2014)

The previous chapters have described how the mental health of children and adolescents affected by war and displacement is a multifaceted phenomenon that needs to be understood and addressed across multiple domains that influence all potential determinants of psychosocial well-being and health (see Rabiau, Denov & Paul, chapter 2 in this volume)—including housing, education, economic opportunities, and the larger policy and political context, including immigration (Newnham et al., 2018). The multidimensional and collective character of challenges facing refugee children and families calls for comprehensive psychosocial interventions through which healing the psychological wounds of war is complemented by restoring and supporting the social and physical environment to one in which children and their families can thrive (Fazel & Betancourt, 2017). The current state of interventions to address mental health problems in children and youth

affected by war is limited and even more so for prevention programs (Fazel & Betancourt, 2017). When faced with the formidable task of providing support to the individuals affected by war, mental health practitioners need to find constructive and culturally appropriate moderators of treatment for managing their clients' mental health needs and related services (Newnham et al., 2018).

Creative Arts Therapies as Intervention in School

As already described, children and youth affected by war face significant psychosocial issues. Schools in most instances are best situated to provide mental health services because they may be the first providers of psychoeducational services (Sullivan & Simonson, 2016). The relationship between mental health and academic performance is well documented, and schools are in the unique position of ensuring that these children receive the much-needed support if they are to integrate, adapt, and benefit from the learning environment.

The greatest evidence base lies in intervention studies that have focused mainly on schools treating mental health problems that result from PTSD (Tyrer & Fazel, 2014). These interventions, whether they have targeted the whole classroom or have been conducted within a prioritized system of identifying needs, have the potential as preventive interventions, but small sample sizes currently limit our ability to generalize across experiences (Ellis et al., 2013). The current literature on the effectiveness of creative arts therapies is emerging slowly when it comes to interventions for war-affected children and youth. Primarily, the research on the efficacy of the creative arts therapies has been conducted on individuals suffering from PTSD due to being combatants in war, due to abuse and extreme deprivation, and other comorbidities (Johnson et al., 2009). However, a review by Beauregard (2014) on classroom-based creative therapy programs with refugee and nonrefugee children in nine countries (Nepal, Palestine, Turkey, Indonesia, Israel, Uganda, Sri Lanka, United States, and Canada) found that participating in creative arts therapies improved coping skills, increased pro-social behaviors, showed decreases in behavioral and aggressive problems and increased self-esteem and resiliency. Beauregard found that although there is a paucity of outcome studies, integrating this type of intervention in the regular school curricula as a preventive measure can offer a nonthreatening, playful approach to treatment that other forms of therapy cannot achieve, especially with very young children who do not have the verbal skills to express their internal states.

Quinlan et al. (2016) have emphasized that school-based mental health initiatives that use creative arts therapies minimize the language barriers or cultural misunderstandings about seeking help for mental health issues because within the school context interpreters may be readily available and an accepted part of the school culture. In a study conducted in a high school in Brisbane, Australia, an intensive English language school and settlement service for newly arrived immigrant and refugee students, mostly from the Middle East, Africa, and East Asia, they implemented the HEAL (Home of Expressive Arts and Learning) program.

This program is a school-based mental health initiative that uses creative arts therapies to help refugee children address social, behavioral, and emotional issues (Quinlan et al., 2016). The program includes the use of arts psychotherapy and music therapy, delivered by appropriately qualified therapists, as part of the school services to identified refugee students. Forty-two students participated in a therapy trial, comprising a creative arts group and a control group. Mental health and behavioral difficulties were assessed pre- and postintervention, and findings indicated a reduction in behavioral difficulties and a significant reduction in emotional symptoms for the treatment group (Quinlan et al., 2016).

In discussing how the Syrian crisis has had a negative impact on children's well-being, Gurle (2018) found that refugee children in southeast Turkey might have difficulties expressing themselves, with postcrisis children facing greater adversity, such as the loss of a caregiver, domestic violence, or child neglect due to caregiver stress. In giving children strategies to express themselves, such as using creative arts therapies, children and youth develop and gain communication skills that allow them to express themselves and, in turn, receive treatment. Children's responses to adversity depend on their age, development, and personality as well as gender, secure attachments, with caregivers and the home situation; their resilience to the crisis experienced will be mediated by these factors (Gurle, 2018).

As stated earlier, children and youth affected by war manage to navigate a substantial number of changes and challenges, and although many exhibit considerable resilience and strength, a proportion—because of previous adverse experience, or current family, school, and living circumstances as well as biological predisposition—can develop major mental health difficulties with associated implications for academic and social functioning, which can be addressed by creative arts therapy modalities (Fazel & Betancourt, 2017; Newnham et al., 2018). We know for example, that mental health problems and adjustment might impede a child's ability to get accustomed to the learning culture of the classroom or to acquire a new language, with repercussions across several key areas of their resettlement, such as establishing and accessing social support networks (Beauregard, 2014; Fazel & Betancourt, 2017; Rousseau, Drapeau, et al., 2005).

ART, DRAMA, AND MUSIC INTERVENTION IN SCHOOLS

Art Therapy

Art-based approaches to healing foster nonverbal modes of communication to express emotional difficulties and diverse life-world experiences in ways that spoken language cannot (American Art Therapy Association, 2019; CAHD, 2019). The art therapist uses the development of basic art skills to enhance the participant's expressive abilities and expand their use of symbols in artwork, so that their feelings, fantasies, and wishes can be shared through the artwork, verbally, or both. Both nondirective and directive art-making experiences may be used to help participants reach their stated goals. Even in directed art-making experiences, the

therapist ensures that choices are made available to provide experiences of autonomy. Therapists use various art-based techniques, such as drawing, mask making, mind mapping, and papermaking, and the art created is then used during the verbal processing phase to explore feelings, manage behaviors, and foster the expression of inner feelings and thoughts (D'Amico & Lalonde, 2016; Snow & D'Amico, 2009). Art therapy is offered in both individual and small group formats.

Art therapists are trained to use different materials and modalities and can provide growth-enhancing processes for children and youth affected by war, for example, through “empathic listening, attunement, mirroring, understanding and helping i.e., the kind of environment which was most likely missing in their early years due to displacement and/or war” (Irwin, 2006, p. 97). The various forms of nonverbal communication available through the arts promote communication, and where words often seem to be the means of expression, time and again “therapy is enacted rife with embodied meanings, dependent on nonverbal and pre-symbolic (sensory-motor) forms of communication” (Irwin, 2006, p. 97). These simple ways of relating represent a less threatening way of “talking” with the “traumatized” child. Schore (2003) states that in view of the fact that emotive material from the painful past is stored in the right brain as implicit knowledge rather than in the cognitive (left) brain as explicit knowledge, it is often difficult to access these images and feelings in talk therapy. In children, these early traumatic, non-conscious events and emotions can, however, be accessed in psychologically safe ways through expressive arts processes that emphasize action and affect, methods that are at the core of all arts experiences (Irwin, 2006). Irwin (2006) states that in “beginning where the child is, emotionally and developmentally, therapists build slowly toward the construction of a shared symbolic world, promoting communication, integration, and healing” (p. 98). Through art making, the child participates in their own treatment. Therapeutic art making enables the participants to express their emotions and thoughts in a personal way and through other means. In using art materials and creative processes, participants are afforded the opportunity to reconcile emotional conflicts, increase self-awareness, develop social skills, foster coping mechanisms, increase self-esteem, reduce anxiety, and think creatively, thereby improving their problem-solving skills (Malchiodi, 2006).

Urgurlu et al. (2016), assessed the effects of an art therapy intervention on post-traumatic stress, depression, and anxiety symptoms in Syrian refugee children living in Turkey (N = 64; mean age = 9.2 years; no control group). A number of psychological assessments were conducted prior to the intervention to examine the severity of psychological symptoms that these children may have been exhibiting. These children and their families had all been in Syria for between six months and two years. Findings of the study indicated that after participating in the art therapy intervention, trauma, depression, and trait anxiety symptoms of children were significantly reduced at the post-assessment phase. The foregoing study reports promising results for art therapy interventions in reducing psychological problems among Syrian refugee children. Given the increasing numbers of

Syrian refugee children living in Turkey, effective intervention programs are crucial to the health and well-being of these children, youth, and their families (Urgurlu et al., 2016).

A study by Kalaf and Plante (2019) explored the lived experience of nine young Syrian refugee children aged 12 to 16, who participated in an expressive arts workshop, Art4Lives, about resilience in Aley, Lebanon. Unstructured interviews, field notes, and participants' artistic outputs were collected and analyzed while they were engaged in creating a short stop-motion animated movie about resilience revealing various factors related to positive outcomes for at-risk youth (Kalaf & Plante, 2019). The participants used multiple forms of creative art activities in their therapies, such as drawing, painting, collage, story writing, acting, and photography. The results of this study suggest that expressive therapies are a practical way to assess resilience while nurturing it and that the personal and environmental factors that mediated resilience through Art4lives, such as developing supportive relationships, community engagement, empowerment, meaning making, and experiencing positive affect are the same as those documented in the literature (see e.g., Ellis et al., 2013). The participating children also identified what was important to them by stating that the intervention provided "a sense of safety that the children needed; an opportunity to work in teams and foster positive relationships, which they identified as an essential source of resilience; and an opportunity to make meaning of their experiences or restore hope in their prospects. In other words, it provided opportunities for participants to foster their resilience in a way that is congruent with their personal and cultural definition of resilience" (Kalaf & Plante, 2018, p. 26).

We recognize that as children are affected, so too are their parents, thus impairing parenting and affecting broader socioeconomic and cultural interventions. However, very few studies have been done using the creative arts therapies with parents. In an example of family art therapy, which can involve even several generations within a family, Saul (2014) describes a program, the Klorer Family program, which accepts, the "youngest to the oldest," giving members an occasion to voice their individual reactions to the traumatic incidents. "Because silence so often becomes a family's way of avoiding the pain of dealing with the trauma, one of the goals of therapy is to give family members ways to express their feelings" (p. 17).

In countries that have endured protracted wars, entire communities can experience long-term trauma spanning generations; there may not be one event, but a series of events that cause a collective traumatic reaction that becomes part of the culture (Saul, 2014). "There may be a universal collusion of silence and a reluctance to express feelings when to acknowledge such feelings awakens the ongoing terror" (Saul, 2014, p. 126). By using art therapy techniques language ceases to be a stumbling block since one can express their memories through their artwork, experiencing the process in a supportive way.

According to Fitzpatrick (2002), whose work has focused on Bosnian refugees in Australia, art therapy allows children to feel a sense of competence and struc-

ture and helps them reassert their identities and offset their losses. Recovery, however, can only happen by rebuilding trusting and caring relationships. Art therapy uses metaphors of the performance of recovery itself, and the emphasis in the therapeutic work is on the collective capacity of families and communities to recover from massive psychosocial trauma and loss while trying to establish new lives in exile, through nonthreatening and noninvasive arts-based techniques (Saul, 2014). From an ecological perspective, collective trauma threatens to undermine people's basic sense of communality. Yet as Saul (2014) observes, "People and their communities often harbor remarkable capacities to rejuvenate, to revive, and even to thrive in the aftermath of tragedy" (p. 182).

Drama Therapy

The term "drama therapy" refers to "the intentional and systemic use of drama/theater processes to achieve psychological growth and change" (Emunah, 1994, p. 3). Drama therapy sessions, which are offered in both individual and group formats, strive to help participants improve in all spheres of functioning, especially the expressive and communicative; to provide tools to work through personal issues; and to afford opportunities for behavioral practice through acting out real-life situations within the safe context of drama. Participants can engage in a full range of the therapeutic processes of drama therapy, including dramatic play, improvisational role-playing, guided imagery, storytelling, projective techniques with puppets and masks, and psychodramatic methods (CAHD, 2019). The essential aim of drama therapy is to enhance the capacity of each participant for greater social integration. Drama therapy is an active approach that helps the participant tell their story to solve a problem, achieve catharsis, extend the depth and breadth of their inner experience, understand the meaning of images, and strengthen their ability to observe personal roles while increasing flexibility between roles (North American Drama Therapy Association, 2019).

Sajnani (2013) explains how there are various embodied methodologies that are useful to drama therapists, and the method that most aligns with an intersectional framework is "performance ethnography." Advocates of intersectionality are very cognizant in therapy to take into account the significance of the social group membership that the participant is part of. In this instance, being a war-affected child or youth is but one collective experience; gender, religion, ethnicity, and other factors in one's lived experience intersect to create a very different psychological experience and response to the experience of war and displacement and the resulting trauma. It is a form of qualitative analysis concerned with "participation and social justice" and involves the interpretation of "stories, practices, and desires" into performance to facilitate "a dynamic cross-cultural process of reflection-in-action that encourages a sociocultural shift in attitudes, values and actions" (Oberg, 2008, p. 2, as cited in Sajnani, 2013).

In performance ethnography, a communal and conversational space emerges wherein all involved—be it researchers, participants, or audiences—know how to

describe their feelings without apprehension and reflect on an experience without the reprisal of reexperiencing trauma and victimization (Landy, 2009; Sajnani, 2013; Snow et al., 2003). The multiple ways we use performance ethnography to address and represent the forms of suffering and interconnecting oppressions that surface in drama therapy are significant. Sajnani (2013) states, "the performance of lived experience can, with a measure of humor and irony, permit one to inhabit contradictions, call deeply held ideas about our roles into question, while remaining in relationship to the ensemble and to one's audience. As creative arts therapists, we are well placed to give these often-silenced realities form in gesture, sound, image, and role" (p. 385).

A study by Rousseau et al. (2007) evaluated the efficacy of a school-based drama therapy program for immigrant and refugee adolescents that was designed to prevent emotional and behavioral problems and to enhance school performance. The intervention involved 136 children and youth aged 12 to 18, new to Canada and attending integration classes in a multiethnic school in Montreal, Quebec. Pre- and post-test data were collected from the students and their teachers; the adolescents in the intervention group reported lower mean levels of impairment by symptoms than those in the control group. It was also found that performance in mathematics also increased significantly in participants compared to that of their control group peers. The findings suggest that the drama therapy had an impact both on social adjustment of recently arrived immigrants and refugees and on their academic achievement in mathematics. Drama therapy in this study was shown as an efficacious intervention for adolescents who have been exposed to different types of harsh conditions, such as violence and war, in a pre-emptive and nondisparaging manner.

In a drama therapy workshop program designed to facilitate the adjustment of newly arrived teens from countries in which there is an internationally recognized form of organized violence and armed conflict (China, Russia, Romania, Pakistan, Iran), Rousseau, Gauthier, and Lacroix (2005) developed and implemented drama therapy creative expression workshops involving identity issues, addressing the lived experiences of being migrants and members of cultural minorities. The program also aimed at improving intergroup relations in multiethnic schools. Through the drama therapy intervention, teens were able to express and work through the importance of identity issues at this life cycle stage and develop skills to facilitate positive integration (Rousseau, Gauthier, et al., 2005).

Sajnani (2013) proposes embracing an intersectional framework in drama therapy which increases our knowledge of suffering and health in ways that can allow individuals working with children, youth and families affected by war, to be more efficacious in their efforts to facilitate individual and collective healing: "Therapeutic performance research arises from the interplay of performance ethnography and therapeutic theatre in drama therapy; it is a practice that carries the potential for compelling art, rigorous inquiry, and healing for participants and audiences. Bodies engaged in this art form, when given a platform, become influential public

texts that change with each reading thus creating a living archive of social memory” (Sajjani, 2013, p. 385). It would allow us to better highlight complexity when researching and representing lived experience, and using performance ethnography would allow this complexity to be translated onto the stage (Sajjani, 2013).

Music Therapy

Music therapy uses music as a primary tool in promoting therapeutic change, growth, and development in individuals on psychological, physical, and spiritual levels, within the context of the individual–therapist relationship (CAHD, 2019). Depending on the therapeutic goals, individual goals are also set for each person along with group goals, where warranted. Group musical improvisation, in which participants express their own rhythms, melodies, and songs, comprises the primary mode of expression in the groups. How participants express themselves, including which instruments they choose to play, gives the music therapist valuable information about each individual. A wide variety of music therapy techniques, within both directive and nondirective approaches, are utilized to achieve individual and group goals (CAHD, 2019).

Current research indicates that—in addition to more traditional interventions, such as support groups, counseling, and medications—music therapy can serve as an effective intervention, improving mental health and well-being in children, youth, and families (Green, 2011; Snow & D’Amico, 2009). Baker and Jones (2005) conducted a study of a group-based music therapy program for refugee adolescents ($N = 31$; no control group) from various backgrounds in Australia. Assessments were taken over a twenty-week period to determine if music therapy was effective in addressing behavioral problems. Teachers reported that students participating in music therapy significantly decreased their externalizing behaviors over the entire course of the therapy, while no differences were reported for adaptive behavior skills, school problems, or internalizing behaviors (Baker & Jones, 2006).

A study using a randomized controlled trial on music therapy versus “treatment as usual” for seventy adult refugees (aged 18–67 years) in Denmark diagnosed with PTSD, found that the extended use of music therapy in the treatment of refugees with severe trauma resulted in significant decreases in trauma symptoms, increases in well-being, and sleep quality (Beck et al., 2018). The results of the music therapy intervention further corroborated it as an effective intervention that can improve overall refugee health and integration (Beck et al., 2018).

In a community-based music therapy project developed in South Africa, Fouché and Stevens (2018) describe how MusicWorks, a nonprofit organization, offers psychosocial support through music to young people growing up in marginalized communities. They underscore the emergence of broader theoretical music therapy perspectives that emphasize an ecological understanding of people, music, and music therapy. This perspective is useful when considering their use of music therapy practice that often takes place in nonconventional

places and spaces immersed in political and gang violence, violence, and abject poverty (Fouché & Stevens, 2018). The child or individual participating in music therapy, as seen from an ecological perspective, “allows us to consider the broader context that is situated in and is engaging with and enables us to consider how music (therapy) can be useful not only for the child, but also for the family structure, school system, and broader socio-political context and systems that the child interacts with, within an ecology that is connected and interdependent” (Ansdell, 2014, as cited in Fouché & Stevens, 2018, p. 3). In using an ecological model and a theoretical lens that integrates the child within their “micro-to-macro-context,” MusicWorks’ practice lines up with a community music therapy approach that addresses societal and systemic circumstances of complex trauma and ongoing adversity. It does so, while emphasizing how the discourse around the social ecology of resilience is a supportive theoretical construct specifically generated from within a South African context and remarks on its implication for music therapy practice in communities where adversity is a multifaceted and constant fact (Fouché & Stevens, 2018).

To summarize, art, drama and music therapy have been used by individuals, groups, and “communities to recover the stories of war—reflect upon its effects and re-thread community” (Lykes, 2006, p. 275). The work represented in this chapter seeks to incorporate the best of these resources to enhance the participant’s capacity to facilitate personal and community change. The chapter focuses mostly on war-affected children and youth who have experienced (or are still experiencing) global adversity and the repercussions associated with being survivors of “traumatic exposure,” and how creative arts therapies can help reestablish psychosocial balance. Creative arts therapies can be less threatening than verbal therapy alone, and more effective in providing children and youth affected by war accessibility to treatments which have been shown to be efficacious and to support psychosocial well-being.

ETHICAL AND CULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

This chapter advocates the use of creative arts therapies, especially, as school-based psychosocial therapeutic interventions that give children and youth voice and agency and empower those who have witnessed and experienced traumatic events. In this context then, it is worth remembering that participation in these types of therapies requires a thoughtful and critical reflection on the benefits to the individual versus the group and the inevitable responsibility of creating safe and ethical spaces (Akesson et al., 2014).

Creative art therapies are specialized therapy services and, as such, are not the responsibility of the teacher but of qualified professionals who are part of the school-based mental health services for those who show clinically significant psychological issues. They should be provided in addition to interventions to support

academic needs. Rubin (2006) offers a cautionary note on the use of art therapy, which is applicable to all the other creative arts therapies intervention: “Art is a powerful tool—one that, like the surgeon’s must be used with care and skill if it is to penetrate safely beneath the surface” (p. 387).

It is critically important that moving forward we take into account the principles of evidence-based research; yet the absence of empirical evidence on creative art therapies, such as case studies and qualitative analysis, when compared to research on other psychotherapeutic modalities, poses a challenge (Green, 2011). Small sample sizes, the lack of control groups, the dearth of longitudinal data, and the absence of follow-up assessment in some instances, need to be addressed (Newnham et al., 2018) to improve the design and delivery of art, drama, or music therapy and to increase their acceptance and utilization. However, as we advance this research we need to recognize that ethical issues are a fundamental and ongoing part of the design and implementation process of research and intervention (D’Amico et al., 2016). “As the burgeoning body of work with war affected youth and their families highlights, it is critical ‘now more than ever’ to find methods and tools in professional practice that recognize the healing potential and their potential to deepen an understanding of the issues” (Mitchell et al., 2019, p. 78).

The cultural and situational appropriateness of art and creative therapies is also an issue that needs to be addressed with sensitivity. Art therapy often implies a specific Western concept, and it is important to demonstrate respect for the profession of creative arts therapies in countries where it is regulated (Potash et al., 2012). To describe what has been done in the field and to show its efficacy, we use the “professional” term in this review while being aware that international work in the field might use alternative terms (e.g., therapeutic arts, creative arts workshops, creative arts intervention, creative expression workshops).

Children and youth who have experienced adversity because of war usually manifest enduring psychosocial problems. Creative art therapies allow symbolic means for expressing, making sense of experience and of developing coping skills to strengthen the capacity to adapt. However, “art therapists cannot simply rely on ethnocentric assumptions about the nature of art and its relationship to healing” (Potash et al., 2012, p. 77). The conceptual understanding of creative arts therapies and how they are practiced varies from place to place and, ideally, therapists are able to switch between an individualistic and a collectivistic lens, as well as between ethnocentric and ethnorelative perspectives (Karkou et al., 2011). While therapists may conceive of the arts as a means for self-expression and healing, other project stakeholders must be acknowledged, who may consider the arts to be evidence of achievement, a means for education or activism, or culturally embedded components of spiritual and communal rituals (Huss et al., 2015; D’Amico et al., 2016). The complex dynamics among conceptions of health, art, and therapy within a given cultural context will largely determine the nature and scope of creative arts therapies used in the community (Potash et al., 2012).

CONCLUSIONS

It is proposed, much like the research that has been reviewed, that schools can be the place that helps war-affected children and youth by providing school-based creative art therapy interventions and, also, leverage for prevention. Art, drama, and music therapy have the potential to make a significant difference in the well-being of children and youth affected by war as they embark on a journey toward psychosocial recovery. While this chapter focuses on the impact of arts-based therapies for children and youth, an additional important issue to consider outside our present scope is the paucity of research on interventions for parents (families). Although child-focused interventions, particularly when school and group based, may strengthen social ties among children and between children and teachers, they do not address ongoing threats to children's well-being at home or in the community (Miller & Jordans, 2016). While the challenges to altering stressful social conditions are significant, recent studies have documented that toxic stressors, such as harsh parenting and the use of violence by teachers, can be successfully reduced. We are not suggesting that such interventions should supplant direct work with children, but that they should form essential components of multilevel approaches to supporting children in conflict and post-conflict settings (Miller & Jordans, 2016).

Now more than ever, given the number of war-displaced individuals, we need to advance programs that promote the well-being of war-affected children and youth with the hope of preventing further difficulties that will have wide-ranging effects not only for them but also for their families, the communities in which they live, and successive generations (Fazel & Betancourt 2017). Offering creative arts therapies services in schools (along with other psychosocial interventions), will not only improve the mental health of war-affected children and youth, but embedding these services in the life of the school can in turn, support and sustain children's academic success and nurture a sense of belonging.

REFERENCES

- Akesson, B., D'Amico, M., Denov, M., Khan, F., Linds, W., & Mitchell, C. (2014). "Stepping back" as researchers: Addressing ethics in arts-based approaches to working with war-affected children in school and community settings. *Educational Research for Social Change*, 3(1), 75–89. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2016.1165719>
- American Art Therapy Association (2019). *About art therapy*. <https://arttherapy.org/>
- American Psychological Association (2019). *Trauma*. <https://www.apa.org/topics/trauma/>
- Baker, F., & Jones, C. (2005). Holding a steady beat: The effects of a music therapy program on stabilising behaviours of newly arrived refugee students. *British Journal of Music Therapy*, 19(2), 67–74. <https://doi.org/10.1177/135945750501900205>
- Baker, F., & Jones, C. (2006). The effect of music therapy services on classroom behaviors of newly arrived refugee student in Australia: A pilot study. *Emotional and Behavioral Difficulties*, 11(4), 249–260.
- Beauregard, C. (2014). Effects of classroom-based creative expression programmes on children's well-being. *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, 41, 269–277. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.aip.2014.04.003>

- Beck, B., Lund, S., Søgaaard, U., Simonsen, E., Tellier, T., Cordtz, T., Laier G., & Moe T. (2018). Music therapy versus treatment as usual for refugees diagnosed with posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD): Study protocol for a randomized controlled trial. *BMC*, *19*, 301. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13063-018-2662-z>
- Carey, L. (Ed.). (2006). *Expressive and creative arts methods for trauma survivors*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Centre for the Arts in Human Development (CAHD). (2019). Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada. <https://www.concordia.ca/research/cahd/services/creative-arts-therapies.html>
- Cortina, A., & Fazel, M. (2015). Art room: An evaluation of a targeted school-based group intervention for students with emotional and behavioral difficulties. *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, *42*, 35–40.
- D'Amico, M., Denov, M., Khan, F., Linds, W., & Akesson, A. (2016). Research as intervention? Exploring the health and well-being of children and youth facing global adversity through participatory visual methods. *Journal of Global Health*, *11*(5–6), 528–545. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2016.1165719>
- D'Amico, M., & Lalonde, C. (2017). The effectiveness of art therapy for teaching social skills to children with autism spectrum disorder. *Art Therapy*, *34*(4), 176–182. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07421656.2017.1384678>
- D'Amico, M., Lalonde, C., & Snow, S. (2015). Evaluating the efficacy of drama therapy in teaching social skills to children with autism spectrum disorders. *Drama Therapy Review*, *1*(1), 21–38. https://doi.org/10.1386/dtr.1.121_1
- Denov, M., Doucet, D., & Kamara, A. (2012). Engaging war-affected youth through photography: Photovoice with child soldiers in Sierra Leone. *Intervention*, *10*(2), 117–133. <https://doi.org/10.1097/WTF.0b013e328355ed82>
- Ellis, B., Miller, A., Abdi, S., Barrett, C., Blood, E., & Betancourt, T. (2013). Multi-tier mental health program for refugee youth. *Journal of Consulting Clinical Psychology*, *81*(1), 129–140. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0029844>
- Emunah, R. (1994). *Acting for real*. Brunner/Mazel Publishers.
- Fazel, M., & Betancourt, T. (2017). Preventative mental health interventions for refugee children and adolescents in high-income settings. *Lancet: Child Adolescent Health*, *2*(2), 121–132. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S2352-4642\(17\)30147-5](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S2352-4642(17)30147-5)
- Fitzpatrick, F. (2002). A search for home: The role of art therapy in understanding the experiences of Bosnian refugees in Western Australia. *Art Therapy*, *19*, 151–158. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07421656.2002.10129680>
- Fouché, S. F., & Stevens, M. (2018). Co-creating spaces for resilience to flourish: A community music therapy project in Cape Town, South Africa. *Voices: A Word Forum for Music Therapy*, *18*(4). <https://doi.org/10.15845/voices.v18i4.2592>
- Green, A. (2011). Art and music therapy for trauma survivors. *Canadian Art Therapy Association Journal*, *24*(2), 14–19.
- Gurle, N.S. (2018). Enhancing the awareness of emotions through art and drama among crisis-affected Syrian refugee children in southeast Turkey. *Intervention*, *16*(2), 164–169. https://doi.org/10.4103/INTV.INTV_41_18
- Huss, E., Kaufman, R., Avgar, A., & Shouker, E. (2015). Using arts-based research to help visualize community intervention in international aid. *International Social Work*, *58*(5), 673–688. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020872815592686>
- Irwin, E. (2006). Peter: A study of cumulative trauma: From “robot” to “regular guy.” In Carey, L. (Ed.), *Expressive and creative arts methods for trauma survivors* (pp. 93–113). Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Johnson, D., Lahad, M., & Gray, A. (2009). Creative arts therapies for adults. In Foa, E., Keane, T., Friedman, M., & Cohen, J. (Eds.), *Effective treatments for PTSD* (pp. 479–490). Guilford.

- Kalaf, L., & Plante, P. (2019). The lived experience of young Syrian refugees with an expressive arts workshop about resilience (L'expérience vécue de jeunes réfugiés syriens dans un atelier d'arts expressifs sur la résilience). *Canadian Art Therapy Association Journal*, 32(1), 18–30. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08322473.2019.1600895>
- Karkou, V., Martinsone, K., Nazarova, N., & Vaverniece, I. (2011). Art therapy in the postmodern world: Findings from a comparative study across the UK, Russia and Latvia. *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, 38, 86–95. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.aip.2010.12.005>
- Landy, R. (2009). Role theory and the role method of drama therapy. In D. R. Johnson, & R. Emunah (Eds.), *Current approaches in drama therapy* (pp. 89–116). Charles C. Thomas.
- Lykes, B. (2006). Creative arts and photography in participatory action research in Guatemala. In Reason, P., & Bradbury, H. (Eds.), *Handbook of action research* (pp. 269–278). Sage.
- Malchiodi, C. (2006). *The art therapy sourcebook* (2nd ed.). McGraw-Hill.
- Malchiodi, C., & Crenshaw, D. (2014). *Creative arts and play therapy with attachment problems*. Guilford.
- Miller, K., & Jordans, M. (2016). Determinants of children's mental health in war-torn settings: Translating research into action. *Current Psychiatry Reports*, 18(58). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11920-016-0692-3>
- Mitchell, C., De Lange, N., & Moletsane, R. (2017). *Participatory visual methodologies: Social change, community and policy*. Sage.
- Mitchell, C., Linds, W., Denov, M., D'Amico, M., & Cleary, B. (2019). Beginning at the beginning in social work education: A case for incorporating arts-based approaches to working with war-affected children and their families. *Journal of Family Social Work*, 22(1), 63–82. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10522158.2019.1546949>
- Nan, J., & Ho, R. (2017). Effects of clay art therapy on adult's outpatients with major depressive disorder: A randomized controlled trial. *Journal of Affective Disorders*, 217, 237–245. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jad.2017.04.013>
- Newnham, E. A., Kashyap, S., Tearne, J., & Fazel, M. (2018). Child mental health in the context of war: An overview of risk factors and interventions for refugee and war-affected youth. In Morina N. & Nickerson A. (Eds.), *Mental health of refugee and conflict-affected populations* (pp. 37–63). Springer.
- North American Drama Therapy Association. (2019). *Drama therapy*. <https://www.nadta.org/>
- Oberg, C. (2008). Performance ethnography: Scholarly inquiry in the here and now. *Transformational Dialogues: Teaching and Learning Journal*, 2(1), 1–4.
- Perry, B. D. (2008). Child maltreatment: A neurodevelopmental perspective on the role of trauma and neglect in psychopathology. In T. P. Beauchaine & S. P. Hinshaw (Eds.), *Child and adolescent psychopathology* (pp. 93–128). John Wiley & Sons.
- Potash, J., Bardot, H., & Ho, R. (2012). Conceptualizing international art therapy education standards. *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, 39(2), 143–150. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.aip.2012.03.003>
- Quinlan, R., Schweitzer, R., Khawaja, N., & Griffin, J. (2016). Evaluation of a school-based creative arts therapy programme for adolescents from refugee backgrounds. *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, 47, 72–78.
- Rousseau, C., Drapeau, A., Lacroix, L., Bagilishya, D., & Heusch, N. (2005). Evaluation of a classroom program of creative expression workshops for refugee and immigrant children. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 46(2), 180–185.
- Rousseau, C., Gauthier, M. F., Lacroix, L., Alain, N., Benoit, M., Moran, A., Rojas, M. V., & Bourassa, D. (2005). Playing with identities and transforming shared realities: Drama therapy workshops for adolescent immigrants and refugees. *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, 32(1), 13–27. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.aip.2004.12.002>
- Rousseau, C., Benoit, M., Gauthier, M.F., Lacroix, L., Alain, N., Rojas, M.V., Moran, A., & Bourassa, D. (2007). Classroom drama therapy program for immigrant and refugee adoles-

- cents: A pilot study. *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 12(3), 451–465. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1359104507078477>
- Rubin, J. (2006). Foreword. In Carey, L. (Ed.), *Expressive and creative arts methods for trauma survivors* (pp. 9–13). Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Sajjani, N. (2013). The body politic: The relevance of an intersectional framework for therapeutic performance research in drama theory. *Arts in Psychotherapy*, 40, 382–385.
- Sajjani, N. (2019). Make art (not) after war: The role of the creative arts therapies in the treatment of trauma. *Arts in Psychotherapy*, 62, 5–6. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.aip.2019.05.003>
- Sajjani, N., Mayor, C., Burch, D., Feldman, D., Davis, C., Kelly, J., Landis, H., & McAdam, L. (2019). Collaborative discourse analysis on the use of drama therapy to treat trauma in schools. *Drama Therapy Review*, 5(1), 27–47.
- Saul, K. (2014). *Collective trauma, collective healing: Promoting community resilience in the aftermath of disaster*. Routledge.
- Schore, A. (2003). Early relational trauma, disorganized attachment, and the development of a predisposition to violence. In Solomon, M. & Siegel, D. (Eds.), *Healing trauma: Attachment, mind, body and brain* (pp. 107–167). W.W. Norton.
- Sela, T., Livni, T., & Feniger-Schaal, R. (2019). The point of no return: A drama therapy group intervention for parents of children with ADHD. *Drama Therapy Review*, 5(2), 235–249.
- Snow, S., & D'Amico, M. (2009). *Assessment in the creative arts therapies: Designing and adapting assessment tools for adults with developmental disabilities*. Charles Thomas Publishers.
- Snow, S., D'Amico, M., & Tanguay, D. (2003). Therapeutic theatre and well-being. *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, 30, 73–82.
- Solomon, M. F., & Siegel, D. (Eds.). (2003). *Healing trauma: Attachment, mind, body and brain*. W.W. Norton.
- Sullivan, A., & Simonson, G. (2016). A systematic review of school-based social-emotional interventions for refugee and war-traumatized youth. *Review of Educational Research*, 86(2), 503–530. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654315609419>
- Tyrer, R., & Fazel, M. (2014). School and community-based interventions for refugee and asylum-seeking children: A systematic review. *PLoS One*, 9(2), e89359. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0089359>
- Ugurlu, N., Akca, L., & Acarturk, C. (2016). An art therapy intervention for symptoms of post-traumatic stress, depression and anxiety among Syrian refugee children. *Vulnerable Children and Youth Studies*, 11(2), 89–102. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450128.2016.1181288>
- Van der Kolk, B. (2014). *The body keeps the score: Brain, mind, and body in the healing of trauma*. Penguin.
- van Westrhenen, N., Fritz, E., Vermeer, A., Boelen, P., & Kleber, R. (2019). Creative arts in psychotherapy for traumatized children in South Africa: An evaluation study. *PLoS ONE*, 14(2): e0210857. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0210857>

12 • DRAWING TO BE SEEN AND HEARD

A Critical Analysis of Girls' Drawings in Three Refugee Camps

FATIMA KHAN

Today's complex geopolitical crises and armed conflicts have devastated the lives of millions of children worldwide, resulting in their death, displacement, and marginalization, and the violation of their basic human rights. As refugees and internally displaced people, they are forced to seek solace and some semblance of safety in ever-expanding refugee camps and settlements. Their plight is made more evident by the striking images that emerge from makeshift shelters from around the world and from other dramatic images, such as the picture of little Alan Kurdi, a 3-year-old Syrian refugee who drowned and washed up on the shores of Turkey. Perhaps more devastating is the realization that such visuals provide only a fraction of insight into their daily realities. Girls and young women, in particular, are uniquely vulnerable to the multitude of risks and challenges that emerge from within refugee camps, often being the first to lose their sense of safety and security and their rights to an education and the first to be excluded from social and political engagement (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2019a). Their well-being is frequently imperiled along with their agency, which is minimized in intervention strategies. Within the paradigm of "new childhood studies," effective interventions in humanitarian aid and development are vital in ensuring an egalitarian and inclusive approach that does not render girls as those merely acted upon but rather as active participants or social actors in their own lives (Boyden & de Berry, 2004; James & Prout, 2015; Mayall, 2002).

One such strategy is the use of drawings in child-friendly spaces (CFSs), which aims to develop a more well-rounded conceptualization of girls' well-being in fragile states and that looks to them as critical thinkers and enablers of social change. Drawing is often the first methodology used in humanitarian and devel-

opment settings; with little material required, drawing can help girls express their memories, feelings, and hopes. Because drawings can be created rather quickly, crucial themes emerge, such as hope, optimism, remembrance, fear, despair, and loss. Ultimately, drawings allow girls to be visible, and their perspectives and narratives can be front and center in policy dialogue and social action.

This chapter provides a critical analysis of girls' drawings that emerge from adverse contexts of violence, such as war and conflict, and considers the sociocultural barriers that may influence girls' visual reproduction and representation of their experiences. I explore the themes and narratives that become evident from art created by refugee girls within collections of drawings found in the public domain from three contexts: Kutupalong Refugee Camp, Bangladesh; Gasorwe and Gihinga Camps, Burundi; and Akkar Refugee Camp, Lebanon. With evolving conflicts and widespread incidences of violence in refugee camps and the perils of forced displacement, I conclude by examining how girls' drawings emerging from refugee camps can contribute toward community-based knowledge production within.

DRAWING AS METHODOLOGY IN CHILD-FRIENDLY SPACES

In the field of humanitarian development and postconflict rehabilitation, adults are naturally presumed to provide stabilizing and protective structures for girls living in adverse contexts, regulated by legal instruments such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Karen Wells (2015), in *Childhood in a Global Perspective*, argues that language found within such global legal frameworks “speaks more to the duties of adults to protect children than it does to the child’s rights to be involved in determining his or her life” (p. 29). Dawes (as cited in Burman, 1994) contributes to the notion that while girls face a myriad of traumatic incidents as a result of conflict, it is imperative that their perspectives and frame of mind be emphasized rather than assumed. “[Girls] do not just react to violence as ‘natural’ entities, but as social creatures—as individuals with a personal history and as members of groups with a social history. This element of social history is important in framing the individual’s experience of adversity” (p. 244). Consequently, when studying girls’ psychosocial well-being in adversity, it is necessary to view them as “social agents able to influence their immediate contexts” (Denov & Akesson, 2017, p. 9). This is particularly essential in refugee camps where girls are vulnerable to physical, sexual, and gender-based violence, postconflict traumatic stress, confinement, and marginalization.

Child-Friendly Spaces: An Overview

In order to counter these vulnerabilities (and harsh realities), humanitarian agencies operate CFSs as a first response in conflict-affected communities. Essentially, a CFS is designed to “support the resilience and well-being of children and young people through community organized, structured activities conducted in a safe, child friendly, and stimulating environment” (UNICEF, 2011, p. 2). Such safe places

enable children to relax, play, learn new skills, express themselves, and engage with other children in order to make sense of their lives and new challenges. As an inclusive and participatory intervention, a CFS has three specific objectives (Snider & Ager, 2018). First, its design aims to protect children from risk by considering children's physical safety and security as well as building on existing structures that provide a supportive and nondiscriminatory environment. Second, a CFS promotes psychosocial well-being and resilience by engaging children in various cooperative and interactive play, arts-based workshops, and educational activities. Third, a CFS is a community-based approach, intended to work with and promote existing structures and capacities such as health care, social and legal services, and youth and women groups, as well as raise awareness of child protection issues through community information and training. In an Armenian Red Cross CFS, a youth volunteer eloquently captures their necessity, "Child friendly spaces are where children can see the world does not end in the refugee dormitory; they see that the world can be bigger and full of hopeful opportunities" (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), 2017, p. 41).

Drawing as a Progressive Approach

One particular method to empower and amplify girls' voices and experiences is through the use of drawings as a participatory visual methodology. According to Mitchell et al. (2017), such methodologies are "effective in engaging community participants, and especially in altering some of the typical power dynamics related to the researched/researcher, and to ensuring spaces for marginalized populations to both speak about and then speak back through interactive workshop sessions to social conditions" (p. 4). Drawing is a progressive approach and an effective form of intervention for vulnerable girls that counters their invisibility in adverse contexts by engaging them in artistic and imaginative strategies to construct meaning from their experiences (de Lange et al., 2007; Gubrium & Harper, 2013; Malchiodi, 1998; Margolis & Pauwels, 2011; Mitchell, 2011; Theron et al., 2011). With minimal material required, drawing can help girls—and others unable to vocalize their experiences—express their memories, feelings, and hopes and ultimately allow them to be visible, and their perspectives and narratives can be front and center in policy dialogue and social action. Indeed, a 2018 study on displaced adolescent Rohingya girls in Bangladesh's Cox's Bazar clearly indicated that girls requested they be consulted about their needs by humanitarian actors (Lee-Koo & Jay, 2018). Moreover, they astutely observed and concluded that consultations were primarily relegated to immediate concerns rather than their ability to contribute insightfully to interventions and their community.

Drawing Collections from War, Armed Conflict, and Adversity

Some of the earliest collections date back to the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) in *They Still Draw Pictures: A Collection of 60 Drawings Made by Spanish Children during the War* (Weissberger, 1938) where children (aged 6–14) were encouraged

to draw their experiences, memories, and hopes for the future using pencils, crayons, ink, and watercolor on cheap paper in war-free zones of Spain and southern France (Columbia University Libraries, n.d.). For the collection, sixty drawings (labeled as plates) were chosen featuring children's general impression of the war, their flight from despair, and their life once they arrived in homes and colonies in Spain and France.

Similarly, art educator Friedl Dicker-Brandeis used drawings as a therapeutic tool to help children living in Theresienstadt concentration camp—located in Nazi-occupied Czechoslovakia—make sense of their surrounding environment and to tap into their perceptions, experiences, and emotional trauma as a result of their persecution (Wix, 2009). From her collection of over 5,000 children's drawings, Holocaust survivor and curator Hana Volavková (1993) selected sixty colored drawings and poems in her edited book . . . *I Never Saw Another Butterfly . . . Children's Drawings and Poems from Terezín Concentration Camp, 1942–1944*.

Another painful yet illuminating collection was curated following the September 11 terrorist attacks in New York City, where New York University's Child Study Center initiated a project that encouraged children to use drawings to showcase “profound images of violence, terrorism, and destruction, which are countered by equally powerful expressions of patriotism, strength, and hope” (Goodman et al., 2002, p. 11). They solicited artwork from children and received over 800 drawings and paintings created in the first four months after the attacks by children aged 5 to 18. A jury—consisting of artists, curators, art teachers, mental health professionals, parents, and students—selected eighty-three raw and immediate illustrations, which were put together in the book, *The Day Our World Changed: Children's Art of 9/11* (Goodman et al., 2002).

In one particularly distinct collection, *The Suitcase Stories: Refugee Children Reclaim Their Identities* (Clacherty et al., 2006), the multimodal nature of drawings can be appreciated. In 2001, researcher Glynis Clacherty began working with refugee children from across Africa who had fled to and were living in an inner-city residential neighborhood in Johannesburg, South Africa. These children and young people struggled daily with issues of identity, voicelessness, xenophobia, and marginalization in their host country, and psychological trauma from past experiences of war and displacement. In collaboration with Diane Welvering, an art teacher, they provided children with old suitcases and gave them creative freedom to fill the inside and decorate the outside with any materials or objects that represented their present lives. Many of them included detailed drawings that focused on memories of their childhood, their journey and life in South Africa, and their future aspirations.

In *Conflagrations: A Century of Children's Drawings of War, Conflict and Mass Crimes* (Girardeau, 2017), over 150 drawings provide a historical conceptualization of children's lives as a result of geopolitical violence. This powerful and haunting collection, coordinated by curator Zérane S. Girardeau, spans over a century of conflicts, including the First World War, the Vietnam War, and civil strife in

Lebanon, Rwanda, Cambodia, Salvador, and Algeria. The book contains contributions from renowned artists, historians, psychologists, and humanitarian workers along with the captions provided by children themselves. Such a collection provides considerable insight into the realities of war through depictions of universal themes, such as home, separation, massacres, captivity, mourning, and numerous others.

The collections highlighted in this section are not exhaustive, but they indicate the need to provide a forum for girls living in adverse conditions—including overcrowding, poverty, poor sanitation, lack of privacy, and fears of domestic, physical, and sexual violence—to be able to voice their perspectives. These drawings, ultimately, are bound by global themes of difficulty, trauma, remembrance of home, and, endearingly, hope for a better future.

GIRLS' EXPERIENCES IN REFUGEE CAMPS

In 2019, the United Nation's High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) determined that of the nearly 26 million refugees (not including internally displaced persons and asylum seekers), 57 percent come from only three countries, Syria, Afghanistan, and South Sudan, and over half of them are under the age of 18 (UNHCR, 2019b). Fear of war, violence, and a number of forms of persecution has rendered them unable to return. As a result of the droves of families fleeing for their lives, host countries have hastily constructed temporary accommodations, attempting to provide adequate medical facilities, food security, and safety and security. While the intent of a refugee camp is to provide brief respite from violence and persecution, there are many instances of hundreds of thousands of people trapped in one location, unable to escape their limbo. Camps such as Kakuma in northwest Kenya; Cooper's Camp in West Bengal, India; Shu'fat Camp on the outskirts of Jerusalem; and the Jalozai Camp (now closed) in Peshawar, Pakistan, have each existed for at least twenty years (Finch, 2015). Despite efforts made to address the challenges that refugee camps present, the living conditions have had a lasting and damaging impact on the psychosocial well-being of children. As a result of these conditions, the experiences of girls are distinct from those of boys and women living in similar circumstances. Out of the myriad of vulnerabilities they face, I will briefly examine three, restricted movement, fear of violence, and educational marginalization, each interconnected but equally detrimental to their mental and physical well-being, as well as participation in their communities.

Restricted Movement

Cultural factors play a role in preventing girls from leaving their shelters. In many conservative Islamic communities, the societal structure is divided based on location: boys and men are relegated to the public sphere, whereas girls and women are confined to the private sphere. For example, Afghan traditions dictate that girls and women observe *purdah*, which is the practice of separating and secluding women from unrelated men. In Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan, *purdah* was intensified

due to the close proximity in which refugees lived with nonfamily members (Martin, 2004). Within the same traditions, girls and women are expected to uphold the honor of their families, with any (unintended) deviations placing them at risk of stigma and physical and emotional abuse by family members.

Such isolation can cause an inability to cope with their circumstances, further exacerbate their trauma, and increase their risk for *toxic stress*, characterized as “exposure to extreme, frequent, and persistent adverse events without the presence of a supportive caretaker” (Murray, 2018, p. 1). Left untreated, or inadequately addressed, girls’ experience of trauma in these formative years can lead to negative emotional, physical, and mental health outcomes, potentially culminating in depression, substance abuse, or suicide (McDonald, 2017; Park & Katsiaficas, 2019).

Fear of Violence within the Camps

Although the initial escape from certain death and persecution from war-torn regions is somewhat alleviated in refugee camps, they generate a new vulnerability for girls—the unabating fear (and reality) of violence that permeates refugee camps around the world. At the onset, camp conditions are not ideal with untenable temporary shelters and structures, limited electricity and poor lighting, extreme overcrowding, and a lack of access to water, sanitation, and educational facilities (de Bruijn, 2009; Elmasry, 2018). In such an environment, the lack of privacy and security has resulted in instances of gender-based violence, such as physical abuse, sexual violence, family violence, forced prostitution, child and forced marriage, and human trafficking (UN Women, 2018).

The occurrence of sexual violence, particularly targeted toward girls and women, is often associated with the “collapse of social networks, the breakdown of norms and mores, the destruction of infrastructure, [and the] changed relationships within the family” (IFRC, 2015, p. 17). Despite legal frameworks in place, the pervasiveness of sexual violence against girls in refugee camps is disconcerting and horrific, and accurate data remain elusive. Incidences of sexual violence are unreported or underreported due to unknown causes of death of many victims, fear of retaliation and stigma, feelings of shame and guilt, impunity for perpetrators, unavailability of service providers, and insufficient knowledge of requesting or seeking beneficial resources (Aubert & Holder, 2013; IFRC, 2015; Marsh et al., 2006). With their susceptibility to sexual violence, compounded by the lack of remedial assistance programs and structures, girls experience long-term damage to their physical, psychological, and social well-being. In a report describing the conditions of the Moria refugee camp in Greece that has included gang rapes of girls and women attacked inside latrines, one mother reveals that her 13-year-old daughter, Fatima, sleeps with a knife under her pillow (Tondo, 2018). Her fear of rape, combined with severe depression and psychological trauma, led her to attempt suicide more than once. Shamsa, Fatima’s mother, explains, “My daughters have transformed since we’ve been here. They’ve become aggressive. We fled Iraq last May in search of peace, but here in Moria we found hell” (Tondo, 2018, para. 10).

Educational Marginalization

In refugee camps, humanitarian responses often struggle to provide adequate primary and secondary education in contexts that beget violence. Parents and communities are dependent on schools to be sources of comfort and normalcy for their children and to “compensate for many social and economic factors that affect children,” such as political instability, conflict, violence, and displacement (Senge et al., 2012, p. 11). Furthermore, education is a stabilizing force rather than a social service that needs to be delivered (Kirk, 2007). Unfortunately, over 3.7 million refugee children are currently unable to attend school (UNHCR, 2019a), with girls being 2.5 times more likely to be out of school in crises (World University Service Canada, 2018).

The lack of access to quality education can have serious and long-term consequences on girls’ well-being and development. Within refugee camps, girls face certain barriers to education, particularly from their own families. In predominantly patriarchal cultures, gender norms and segregation significantly influence parents’ decision to send girls to school, with many placing the burden of household duties on their daughters, thereby eliminating their ability to attend school (UNHCR, 2019c). Other attitudes include barring attendance due to the absence of female teachers, distance to schools, and the fear of physical and sexual violence around the settlement (Kirk, 2004). In one Rohingya refugee camp, a 14-year-old girl explains why education is imperative: “I want to be educated but cannot. This is the biggest interruption/barrier in my life. I have a desire to establish myself by studying” (Lee-Koo & Jay, 2018, p. 23). A parent provides an alternative perspective: “It’s far. That’s why I don’t let them go to school. Everyone here does not belong to the same country. There are people of other countries. Thus, I don’t let them lose sight of my eyes” (Lee-Koo & Jay, 2018, p. 23).

What each interconnected vulnerability illustrates is that despite the atrocities girls have witnessed and the barriers they face to their well-being, many are determined to secure a better future and be actively involved in their community. One of the ways in which local, national, and international communities are able to build the resilience of girls is to provide opportunities for progressive coping strategies in CFSs. Creative activities and practices—such as drawing, games, sports, plays, writing—are essential in alleviating girls’ stress and trauma and “act as a forum to exercise [their] own agency” (Winthrop & Kirk, 2008, p. 659).

LOOKING AT DRAWINGS ACROSS THREE SETTINGS: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

Visual Representations and Analysis

Within CFSs, refugee girls can (and have) told their stories through visual representations. In many instances, psychosocial support personnel, such as art

teachers, psychologists, and nongovernmental organization workers conducting art-making sessions in refugee camps with girls provide their own reflections on the drawings based on their analysis of what has been drawn but also based on what they know of the girl's past and present experiences. In one of Save the Children's HEART (Healing and Education Through the Arts) programs in southern Syria, art teacher Rasha describes how a 5-year-old girl communicates her trauma through her drawing: "I got to know one five-year-old girl through her drawings. She drew her family and the mother was so small. Usually children draw their parents big and themselves and their siblings smaller. When I asked her where her mother was, she said I have one but she doesn't love me. She didn't trust anyone or talk to anyone. Eventually we realised that she had lost her mother" (McDonald, 2017, p. 19). What can we, as academics, researchers, humanitarian workers, or even the general public learn from the nature of these drawings by refugee and displaced girls? How do these drawings depict the barriers and vulnerabilities faced by girls in refugee camps? Does the dissemination of their drawings through various forms of collections—either online or in print—accurately represent their perspectives or is there a power imbalance whereby girls are spoken *for* rather than *with*?

In an effort to answer these questions, I turn to a visual analytic framework that can contribute to at least the beginnings of an understanding of children's experiences in adverse settings. With increasing consumption of images through an abundance of social media sites such as TikTok, Instagram, Snapchat, Reddit, and Facebook, a sociocultural transformation toward visualization is evident and has evolved as "an unquestionable contemporary medium of communication" (Lenette & Cleland, 2016, p. 72). Images such as "the Afghan girl," "the starving girl and vulture," "the Syrian boy," and "the napalm girl" may trigger memories and evoke a forceful and sympathetic response from the public. Visual analysis, to a degree, enables the researcher to decipher drawings by illuminating themes that seem apparent and offer an alternative consideration to the dehumanization that children already experience as a refugee, asylum seeker, or internally displaced person.

In their study on asylum seekers confined to detention centers in Australia, Lenette et al. (2017) examined how children conveyed their emotional experiences and perceptions using drawings. The themes that emerged—confinement, childhood, community, sadness, and suffering—indicated that children expressed primarily negative feelings in a manner more evocative than what any textual analysis could provide. In their conclusion, they determined that drawings, through visual analysis, "offer[ed] a novel avenue to consider visual representations of asylum seeker children in detention as a particularly vulnerable group that can often be overlooked" (p. 55). By prioritizing children's voices, there is a pressing opportunity to influence public opinion and also impact policy-making decisions for the betterment of their lives.

Setting the Stage

The following section critically examines refugee girls' drawings within a collection from three different refugee contexts: (1) Rohingya Muslims in the Kutupalong refugee settlement, Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh; (2) Congolese refugees in Gasorwe and Gihinga Camps, Burundi; and, (3) Syrian refugees in Akkar refugee settlements, Lebanon.

Each context chosen shares the sheer magnitude of how the refugee crisis has manifested itself in their respective host countries, both from a humanitarian perspective and as a result of the intricate geopolitics that created the conditions for armed conflict, persecution, and forced displacement. Unfortunately, refugees are almost instantly faced with new challenges as Nutt (as cited in Strohlic, 2018) captures succinctly: "People believe that once they become a refugee the struggle is over, but in fact the struggle is just beginning. The risks they face escalate once they become a refugee" (para. 6). This is evident in the swaths of refugees attempting to cross dangerous waters in the Mediterranean, move through arid deserts near the U.S.–Mexico border, or trek through jungles in Central America in an attempt to attain security and a better livelihood. The contexts contribute to the existing notion that armed conflict and civil war are no longer contained within a specific region but have a global impact. While it is onerous to represent accurately the complexities that give rise to such violence, it is perhaps more essential to distinguish the politics from the lived experiences of the refugees, particularly girls and young women, through art. Cynthia Milton (2014), in *Art from a Fractured Past*, offers further critical insight:

Art has the potential to help us, the audience, get closer to an understanding of what happened. Perhaps it is the only medium that allows us to hold in the same frame many of the complexities of this tragedy. Yet *art is not bound to truth*. It is a medium in which competing claims to the past emerge and are recounted. The stakes for cultural productions over the past are high. The images and narratives of the past presented through popular media may be more important for establishing collective or, potentially, a national memory of the past than even a truth commission, programs for reparations, and court cases. (p. 23)

The contentious civil wars in Syria and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), as well as the Rohingya genocide perpetrated by Myanmar armed forces, are mired in a multitude of opposing and contradictory narratives. In overcrowded refugee camps, it is ironic, regressive, and counterproductive that girls remain invisible and unheard. Examining the drawings that emerge from such contexts supports the notion that girls are not social actors merely acted upon, they are producers of their own knowledge by being "actively involved in the construction of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and the societies in which they live" (James & Prout, 2015, p. 4). The drawing collections also provide insight into how girls' lives and experiences are interconnected with glaring similarities

and subtle differences through captions or shared analyses. Mitchell et al. (2011) stress the importance of the latter, whereby this process “encourage[s] collaborative meaning-making and allow[s] the drawer to give voice to what the drawing was intended to convey. When the analysis is shared in this way, valid knowledge production occurs” (p. 25).

Context 1: Kutupalong Refugee Camp, Rohingya Muslims

For over six decades, the Buddhist-majority Myanmar state has repeatedly denied the Rohingya Muslim minority recognition as a native ethnic group and contends, rather, that they are illegal immigrants from Bangladesh. As a result, the state institutionalized discrimination by placing restrictions on various aspects of life, such as education, religious freedom, movement, and employment (Albert, 2017). In late 2017, simmering religious and ethnic differences culminated in armed conflict resulting in over 500 deaths, the destruction of Rohingya villages, and the exodus of hundreds of thousands of refugees from the troubled Rakhine State (Amnesty International, 2017). The sea of Rohingya began to cross the heavily forested border into Bangladesh, fleeing from what the United Nations described as a “textbook example of ethnic cleansing” (Safi, 2017, para. 1), systematic discrimination, and extreme violence. Girls and women, in particular, fell victim to sexual violence (including gang rape) committed by Myanmar’s military prior to, during, and after these major attacks, with some victims as young as 13 (Human Rights Watch, 2017). As a result of the influx of refugees, Bangladesh responded by hastily constructing shelters made from bamboo and tarpaulins, yet these were lacking in water, sanitation, security, and basic services. Two years later, the Kutupalong Refugee Camp, located in Cox’s Bazar district near the Myanmar border, is currently the largest refugee settlement in the world, housing over 600,000 Rohingya Muslims in an area approximately covering 13 square kilometers (5 square miles) (UNHCR, 2019d).

Within this refugee camp, organizations such as Save the Children have conducted drawing sessions with thousands of children in hundreds of CFSs. Global Citizen, a movement focused on ending extreme poverty by 2030, partnered with Save the Children UK to condemn the violence against Rohingya children and their families and to call on the U.K. government to bring the perpetrators of genocide to justice at the International Criminal Court (Sepehr & Calderwood, 2018). Save the Children UK provided Global Citizen with a small collection of seven drawings by girls and boys where they were prompted to think of and draw a message they wished to share with the world. Out of the seven drawings, five were created by girls and two did not include an accompanying caption or shared analysis. The drawings, all in full color, contain the child’s age and gender; their real names are changed for their safety, security, and risk of exploitation. They are haunting and evocative illustrations of the extreme violence and forced displacement that the children experienced back home in Myanmar.

Majuma, a 12-year-old girl, provides a richly detailed drawing¹ of her memories of the persecution she faced. It is quite remarkable how she is able to reenact so

vividly a series of events through her choice of color, layering, and object placement, all contributing to the expression of inhumanity and cruelty at the hands of the perpetrators.

Apparent in the foreground are five men (one visibly angry) carrying raised weapons and appearing to charge ahead. It is difficult to tell whether they are soldiers, police, or Buddhist militias that have knowingly carried out mass executions and gang rapes of girls and women, and have burned houses and villages to the ground. In front of them appears to be a river of blood emanating from a tree and large flower that has been scribbled across in red and black, indicating a state of chaos. In the three houses behind the men, Majuma uses red and orange to illustrate what may have taken place inside them. The red color possibly indicates that its occupants were killed, with the orange color expressing the militiamen setting the houses on fire. In the background, she has drawn a row of houses, also in three different conditions: orange houses seem to represent houses ablaze, red houses potentially indicate death, and the green houses remain untouched. Interestingly, of the five captions and shared analysis provided by the children, Majuma is only one of two children expressing her wish to return home: “I want to go back to Myanmar if it is safe, and I want to go to school. If there is no oppression, we want to go back. We want to go back if it is safe, and we want to go to school” (Sepehr & Calderwood, 2018, para. 15). Her insistence on returning and seeking an education may be interpreted as a response to her current, dire living conditions in the Kutupalong refugee camp as highlighted in previous sections. Malchiodi (1998) argues that despite the trauma that children have endured, the act of making art provides some joy and that “there is a natural experience of wholeness or working toward wholeness and this, in and of itself, may be what is most important to understand about traumatized children’s drawings” (p. 137). In Majuma’s drawing, perhaps the intact green houses—almost hidden away in the corner as a protective gesture—portray a hopeful future devoid of violence and persecution. Her message to the international community also speaks to the anguish millions of refugees face as displaced individuals, longing for a peaceful home and a sense of identity, which eludes them.

Context 2: Gasorwe and Gihinga Camps, Congolese Refugees

The roots of the Congolese refugee crisis in and surrounding the DRC date back to the struggle for independence under brutal Belgian colonial rule that left the country ethnically divided with different factions fighting over its vast resources and attempting to seize political power from an inept and corrupt government through armed conflict (Rosen, 2013). Commonly known as Africa’s First World War, years of internal infighting, regional conflicts, and the spillover effects of the Rwandan genocide led to the destabilization of DRC (then Zaire), culminating in a proxy war by several surrounding countries to overthrow the Zaire government, simultaneously perpetrating ethnic and gender-based violence, widespread destruction, and plundering of the resource-wealthy nation (McGreal, 2008).

Hostilities ended in 1997 following its collapse but were renewed with ferocity a year later when the transitional government alienated previous allies, resulting in civil war that drew in several neighboring African countries and armed groups (BBC News, 2019). Despite the devastating war ending in 2003, the country remains mired in conflict and political turmoil and is responsible for the deaths of over 5 million people, many of whom succumbed to disease and starvation; and the displacement of over 2 million (Soderlund et al., 2013). Sexual violence against girls and women, including gang rape, forced prostitution, mutilation, sexual slavery, and abductions have been rampant, committed by both armed groups as well as Congolese security forces (Human Rights Watch, 2018).

As a result of the political upheaval and resulting armed conflict, the UNHCR refugee data portal estimates that there are almost 900,000 Congolese refugees, the majority of whom are seeking asylum in Uganda (UNHCR, 2019e). Almost 85,000 people have fled the violence in DRC's volatile South Kivu region to neighboring Burundi. Approximately 40 percent are settled in urban regions, whereas 60 percent live in refugee camps; 79 percent of the refugees consist of children and women (UNHCR, 2018). Two of these refugee camps are Gasorwe, located in northern Burundi and home to approximately 10,000 refugees (Baddorf, 2010), and Gihinga, a now-closed settlement in Burundi's central province that housed 2,500 refugees (IRIN, 2009). Similar to Kutupalong, these camps faced shortages in food, water, sanitation, lack of access to social and economic programs, and risks to the well-being of girls and young women.

Emerging from these two refugee camps is a collection of twenty-seven drawings by children aged 10 to 14. In *My Dreams for the Future: Drawings of Congolese Refugee Children in Burundi*, members of UNHCR Burundi conducted a competition prompting children to draw what they wanted to achieve in life. The collection is divided into five themes representing the responses of the refugee children: ambition, engagement, justice, hope, and resilience. A full spread is devoted to drawings containing speech bubbles or text in French on one side and translations of the text into English and Dutch on the other. The collection indicates the child's name and age; however, it does not contain any captions or a shared analysis provided by the children. A number of children illustrate their ambitions of continuing their education and becoming doctors, journalists, teachers, judges, or police officers. Els Keuleers, a child and youth psychologist involved in the competition, observes that survival is a recurring theme. Furthermore, it is apparent that the children are acutely aware of the violence and persecution they have experienced: 12-year-old Mbabazi Alice, whose drawing is categorized under justice, depicts a woman writing about her experience regarding sexual violence with the speech text, "My mother has been raped by Laurent Nkunda's soldiers. Women's rights have not been respected" (UNHCR, 2010, p. 36). Directly below this illustration is the speech text of a female broadcaster reporting on what needs to be done: "Equality between men and women by law and in all the institutions" (UNHCR, 2010, p. 36).

In her drawing of resilience, 13-year-old Neige Ngwasho carefully and concisely depicts a scene of sexual exploitation in the form of a short, four-panel narrative.² It shows an interaction between a young girl and a man who publicly accosts and entices her, proclaiming, “You look really nice. If you come with me, I’ll give you some soap and money” (UNHCR, 2010, p. 64). Alarmed, anxious, and alone in the second panel, the girl is forced to consider the proposition: “My family really needs this money. . . . But I think I would make a mistake” (p. 64). Although she does not explicitly refuse him, it is clear in the third panel that she is visibly angry with a scowl on her face, her arms crossed, and her walking away from the offender. Nonetheless, he persists stating, “Hey girl, you can always come to see me. I will wait for you” (p. 64). In the final panel, the young girl is in conversation with a female adult who tells her, “My dear, you were right to leave because it was not a solution for you and your family. You have to finish school. There are other ways to earn some money” (p. 64).

The scene that Neige Ngwasho constructed, unfortunately, is all too familiar to hundreds of thousands of refugee girls around the world who are sexually exploited by fellow male refugees, humanitarian workers, peacekeepers, and community leaders in exchange for relief items and other necessities (Ferris, 2007). While Neige does not provide a caption or shared analysis that might further offer insight into the process behind this drawing, her attention to detail and use of color are notable. Her drawing of the sweater that the man wears contains the same number and thickness of colored circles, possibly indicating a deliberate and conscious attempt to draw from her own memory and experience. Although conjecture, the framing of the man in the third panel indicates a threatening posture with his hands in his pockets and legs splayed. The girl’s arms, which are crossed, can be interpreted as an exercise in agency: through careful consideration, and despite the hardships her family faces, the girl makes the decision not to engage with the man and to remove herself from the situation. Her decision was recognized and supported by the female adult, thus bolstering her self-esteem and resilience. The drawing was effective not only in portraying survival but also in reinforcing the notion that girls are aware of their predicament, particularly in refugee camps, and are able to provide solutions to their problems when respectfully and actively involved in decision making.

Context 3: Akkar Refugee Camp, Syrian Refugees

The Syrian civil war, which has been raging since 2011, is a complex geopolitical conflict involving a number of regional and international actors. What began as peaceful grassroots protests against President Bashar al-Assad (supported by Russia and Iran) for political reforms and the reinstatement of civil rights following a five-decade state of emergency, quickly turned violent with the creation of a number of antigovernment rebel groups (supported by the United States, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey) attempting to overthrow the government (Al Jazeera, 2018). The

dangerous presence of terrorist militant groups, such as Islamic State and al-Nusra Front (affiliated with al-Qaeda), further plunged the region into chaos, leading to a multitude of proxy wars that has destroyed much of Syria's infrastructure, killed over 400,000 Syrians, forced more than 5.6 million from the country, and internally displaced over 6 million (Bremmer, 2018). The majority of refugees are currently living in seas of makeshift camps in Lebanon, Jordan, and Turkey, with many making the decision to seek a better life in Europe, a perilous journey that has claimed the lives of thousands of asylum seekers. Lebanon's northern Akkar region is home to almost 300,000 Syrian refugees living in overcrowded makeshift shelters: 24 percent of the population live in conditions that are dangerous and below humanitarian standards (UNHCR, 2019f). These include but are not limited to shelters at risk of collapsing, sanitation pipes that are not functional, and inadequate electricity. The inability of many refugees to obtain legal residency, tensions with host communities over competition for jobs and resources, and the implementation of strict curfews have increased the vulnerability of girls and women to sexual and gender-based violence, with instances of such incidents most likely to be underreported (UNHCR et al., 2019).

A collection emerging from the Syrian civil war is *Home—Drawings by Syrian Children* (Quilty, 2018). In 2016, Australian artist Ben Quilty encountered over 200 Syrian refugees heading toward a complex housing refugees in Serbia. Acutely aware of their trauma, Quilty carefully engaged with the children and asked them to draw something about themselves. What followed that day was a necessity “for the world to see drawings by every child who has survived the Syrian disaster. Big people have big voices and most of them ignore the small voices of the smallest among us” (p. 12). The art created by Syrian children in World Vision's and their partners' CFSs was assembled from refugee camps in Lebanon, Iraq, and Jordan, after children survived the substantial Mediterranean crossing from Turkey to Lesbos and Chios, Greece, and from the suburbs of Germany and Australia. This reflects the far-reaching consequences of armed conflict and the distances that refugees are driven from home to seek asylum. The collection contains over 260 drawings by children aged 6 to 16 and divided into six categories: threat, light, dark, dream, tears, and home. For each drawing, Quilty provides the name, age, origins, current location, and organizational affiliation of the child. In a number of instances, the parents do not divulge their child's name due to their fear of retribution. Accompanying the drawings is a detailed description of their dimensions and the type of material used as well as a caption or shared analysis. Looking closely at the collection and names of the children and taking into consideration the unattributed drawings, more than half of them are contributions by young boys. This may speak to the limited visibility of girls within refugee camps and their limited movement in participating in such CFSs.

From the dream section on, 12-year-old Inas provides a brief glimpse into her life in an informal refugee camp in Akkar with a drawing of a small park (Quilty,

2018, p. 189). Using pencils and watercolor on paper, she illustrates various singular objects, such as a tree, a slide, a roundabout, and possibly a swimming pool. Inas, herself, is visible sitting alone in a swing. In the foreground, it is difficult to interpret what the black and red rectangular object among the grass might represent. In her caption, Inas shares her aspirations: “I dream of living on a farm with my family, because life in a tent is very hard” (Quilty, 2018, p. 189).

Her expression of hardships living in informal settlements is certainly shared by over 1.5 million refugees that currently live across Lebanon as harsh winters and unbearable summers have severely reduced their quality of life and have affected their well-being. In her drawing, the use of color is contrasted by the amount of blank space, perhaps illustrating that visiting the park provides a few moments of respite in her difficult life. Despite these adversities, Inas hopes for a better future with her family, indicated by the sun peeking through the clouds behind her. In another safe space in northern Lebanon, 18-year-old Syrian refugee Alaa expresses a sense of agency over her life that Inas is seemingly building toward: “The most valuable lesson I have learned here is that, although life is hard and it’s scary, I can’t give up. I have to take ownership of my own life—it is mine and it will be full” (Anera, 2019).

CONCLUSION

The discussion of drawings highlighted in each context serve to provide an understanding of girls’ experiences in refugee camps using their own words and meaningful illustrations. This “difficult knowledge,” as Lehrer et al. (2011) term it, highlights that “there is an enduring sense that reluctant publics must be forced to confront horrific realities with which we may be somehow complicit—if only in our desire not to really know” (p. 1). Clearly, there are a number of ethical challenges when working with such collections (e.g., informed consent, ownership, confidentiality, safety and security, accessibility, and interpretation and representation), an area that is discussed in detail in a chapter exploring tensions in depicting children’s drawings of sexual violence (Khan, 2018). However, what this chapter most reminds us of is that such collections are imperative in contextualizing girls’ experiences from their own words and illustrations. There is a moral obligation to ensure that these drawings and their collections are not viewed in isolation but essentially as representative of girls’ lives in how they see themselves as active members of their communities.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Claudia Mitchell, for her unwavering support and invaluable assistance in the completion of this chapter. I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewer who provided their helpful comments and suggestions.

NOTES

1. To view Majuma's (age 12) drawing, visit: <https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/rohingya-refugee-children-drawings-one-year/>
2. To view Neige's (age 13) drawings, visit: https://www.unhcr.org/be/wp-content/uploads/sites/46/2017/11/UNHCR-Children_Drawing_Book-screen.pdf

REFERENCES

- Al Jazeera. (2018, April 14). *Syria's civil war explained from the beginning*. Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/05/syria-civil-war-explained-160505084119966.html>
- Albert, E. (2017, October 4). *The Rohingya crisis*. Council on Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/rohingya-crisis>
- Amnesty International. (2017). *Myanmar 2016/2017*. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/asia-and-the-pacific/myanmar/report-myanmar/>
- Anera. (2019). *A safe space for refugee girls and young women in Lebanon*. <https://www.anera.org/stories/a-safe-space-for-refugee-girls-and-young-women-in-lebanon/>
- Aubert, V., & Holder, A. (2013). *Unspeakable crimes against children: Sexual violence in conflict*. Save the Children.
- Baddorf, Z. (2010, September 15). *Congolese refugees demand more food in Burundi*. Voice of America. <https://www.voanews.com/africa/congolese-refugees-demand-more-food-burundi>
- BBC News. (2019, January 10). *DR Congo country profile*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13283212>
- Boyden, J., & de Berry, J. (2004). *Children and youth on the front line: Ethnography, armed conflict, and displacement*. Berghahn Books.
- Bremmer, I. (2018, February 16). These 5 proxy battles are making Syria's civil war increasingly complicated. *Time*. <https://time.com/5162409/syria-civil-war-proxy-battles/>
- Burman, E. (1994). Innocents abroad: Western fantasies of childhood and the iconography of emergencies. *Disasters*, 18(3), 238–253.
- Clacherty, G., Welvering, D., & The Suitcase Storytellers. (2006). *The suitcase stories: Refugee children reclaim their identities*. Double Storey Books.
- Columbia University Libraries. (n.d.). *Children's drawings of the Spanish Civil War*. <https://exhibitions.cul.columbia.edu/exhibits/show/children>
- De Bruijn. (2009). The living conditions and well-being of refugees. United Nations Development Programme. http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdrp_2009_25.pdf
- De Lange, N., Mitchell, C., & Stuart, J. (Eds.). (2007). *Putting people in the picture: Visual methodologies for social change*. Sense.
- Denov, M., & Akesson, B. (2017). Approaches to studying children affected by armed conflict: Reflections on theory, method, and practice. In M. Denov & B. Akesson (Eds.), *Children affected by armed conflict: Theory, method, and practice* (pp. 1–21). Columbia University Press.
- Elmasry, F. (2018, March 22). *Re-imagining refugee camps as livable cities*. Voice of America. <https://www.voanews.com/science-health/re-imagining-refugee-camps-livable-cities>
- Ferris, E. G. (2007). Abuse of power: Sexual exploitation of refugee women and girls. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 32(3), 584–591. <https://doi.org/10.1086/510338>
- Finch, T. (2015). In limbo in world's oldest refugee camps: Where 10 million people can spend years, or even decades. *Index on Censorship*, 44(1), 53–56. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306422015569438>
- Girardeau, Z. S. (Ed.). (2017). *Conflagrations: A century of children's drawings of war, conflict and mass crimes*. Anamosa.
- Goodman, R. F., Henderson, A., & Almontaser, D. (2002). *The day our world changed: Children's art of 9/11*. Harry N. Abrams.

- Gubrium, A., & Harper, K. (2013). *Participatory visual and digital methods*. Routledge.
- Human Rights Watch. (2017, February 6). *Burma: Security forces raped Rohingya women, girls*. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/02/06/burma-security-forces-raped-rohingya-women-girls>
- Human Rights Watch. (2018, June 10). *Democratic Republic of Congo: Ending impunity for sexual violence*. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/06/10/democratic-republic-congo-ending-impunity-sexual-violence>
- International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. (2015). *Unseen, unheard: Gender-based violence in disasters: Global study*. International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.
- International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. (2017). *Child friendly spaces in emergencies: Case study report*. International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.
- IRIN. (2009). *Burundi: Congolese refugees too scared to move camp*. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/4aaf4cd51a.html>
- James, A., & Prout, A. (Eds.). (2015). *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood*. Routledge.
- Khan, F. (2018). Curating children's drawings: Exploring methods and tensions in children's depiction of sexual violence. In C. Mitchell & R. Moletsane (Eds.), *Disrupting shameful legacies: Girls and young women speak back through the arts to address sexual violence* (pp. 215–234). Brill Sense.
- Kirk, J. (2004). Promoting a gender-just peace: The roles of women teachers in peacebuilding and reconstruction, *Gender & Development*, 12(3), 50–59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13552070412331332310>
- Kirk, J. (2007). Education and fragile states. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 5(2), 181–200. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14767720701425776>
- Lee-Koo, K., & Jay, H. (2018). *Adolescent girls in crisis: Voices of Rohingya*. Plan International.
- Lehrer, E., Milton, C., & Patterson, M. (2011). *Curating difficult knowledge: Violent pasts in public places*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lenette, C., & Cleland, S. (2016). Changing faces: Visual representations of asylum seekers in times of crisis. *Creative Approaches to Research*, 9(1), 68–83.
- Lenette, C., Karan, P., Chrysostomou, D., & Athanasopoulos, A. (2017). What is it like living in detention? Insights from asylum seeker children's drawings. *Australian Journal of Human Rights*, 23(1), 42–60. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1323238X.2017.1314805>
- Malchiodi, C. A. (1998). *Understanding children's drawings*. Guilford Press.
- Margolis, E., & Pauwels, L. (Eds.). (2011). *The Sage handbook of visual research methods*. Sage.
- Marsh, M., Purdin, S., & Navani, S. (2006). Addressing sexual violence in humanitarian emergencies. *Global Public Health: An International Journal for Research, Policy and Practice*, 1(2), 133–146. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17441690600652787>
- Martin, S. F. (2004). *Refugee women* (2nd ed.). Lexington Books.
- Mayall, B. (2002). *Towards a sociology for childhood: Thinking from children's lives*. Open University Press.
- McDonald, A. (2017). *Invisible wounds: The impact of six years of war on the mental health of Syria's children*. Save the Children. <https://www.savethechildren.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Invisible-Wounds-FINAL-020317.pdf>
- McGreal, C. (2008, May 16). The roots of war in eastern Congo. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/may/16/congo>
- Milton, C. (2014). *Art from a fractured past: Memory and truth-telling in post-shining path Peru*. Duke University Press.
- Mitchell, C. (2011). *Doing visual research*. Sage.

- Mitchell, C., De Lange, N., & Moletsane, R. (2017). *Participatory visual methodologies: Social change, community and policy*. Sage.
- Mitchell, C., Theron, L., Stuart, J., Smith, A., & Campbell, Z. (2011). Drawings as research method. In L. Theron, C. Mitchell, A. Smith, & J. Stuart (Eds.), *Picturing research: Drawing as visual methodology* (pp. 19–36). Sense.
- Murray, J. S. (2018). Toxic stress and child refugees. *Journal for Specialists in Pediatric Nursing*, 23(1), e12200. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jspn.12200>
- Park, M., & Katsiaficas, C. (2019). *Mitigating the effects of trauma among young children of immigrants and refugees: The role of early childhood programs*. Migration Policy Institute [Issue brief]. <https://www.buildinitiative.org/Portals/0/Uploads/Documents/Issues/DiversityEquity/Trauma%20MPI%20Trauma%20Informed%20Care.pdf>
- Quilty, B. (Ed.). (2018). *Home—drawings by Syrian children*. Penguin Random House.
- Rosen, A. (2013, June 26). The origins of war in the DRC. *The Atlantic*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/06/the-origins-of-war-in-the-drc/277131/>
- Safi, M. (2017, September 11). Myanmar treatment of Rohingya looks like “textbook ethnic cleansing,” says UN. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/11/un-myanmars-treatment-of-rohingya-textbook-example-of-ethnic-cleansing>
- Senge, P., Cambron-McCabe, N., Lucas, T., Smith, B., & Kleiner, A. (2012). *Schools that learn: A fifth discipline fieldbook for educators, parents, and everyone who cares about education*. Crown Publishing.
- Sepehr, J., & Calderwood, I. (2018, August 24). These illustrations by Rohingya children depict violence no child should ever have to face. *Global Citizen*. <https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/rohingya-refugee-children-drawings-one-year/>
- Snider, L., & Ager, W. (2018). *Operational guidance for child friendly spaces in humanitarian settings*. Copenhagen, Denmark: World Vision International and the IFRC Reference Centre for Psychosocial Support.
- Soderlund, W. C., Briggs, E. D., Najem, T. P., & Roberts, B. C. (2013). *Africa's deadliest conflict: Media coverage of the humanitarian disaster in the Congo and the United Nations response, 1997–2008*. Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Strohlic, N. (2018, June 20). After fleeing war, refugee children face lasting psychological trauma. *National Geographic*. <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/news/2018/06/refugee-mental-health-trauma-children-lesbos-greece-crisis-world-refugee-day-culture/>
- Theron, L., Mitchell, C., Smith, A., & Stuart, J. (Eds.). (2011). *Picturing research: Drawing as visual methodology*. Sense.
- Tondo, L. (2018, October 3). “We have found hell”: Trauma runs deep for children at dire Lesbos camp. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/oct/03/trauma-runs-deep-for-children-at-dire-lesbos-camp-moria>
- UNHCR. (2010). *My dreams for the future: Drawings of Congolese refugee children in Burundi*. UNHCR.
- UNHCR. (2018). *Congolese situation: Responding to the needs of displaced Congolese and refugees*. <http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/2018%20congolese%20Situation%20SB%20-%20Burundi.pdf>
- UNHCR. (2019a). *Stepping up: Refugee education in crisis*. UNHCR. <https://www.unhcr.org/steppingup/wp-content/uploads/sites/76/2019/09/Education-Report-2019-Final-web-9.pdf>
- UNHCR. (2019b). *Figures at a glance*. <https://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html>
- UNHCR. (2019c). *Her turn: It's time to make refugee girls' education a priority*. <https://www.unhcr.org/herturn/>
- UNHCR. (2019d). *Rohingya emergency*. <https://www.unhcr.org/rohingya-emergency.html>
- UNHCR. (2019e). *Refugees and asylum seekers from DRC*. <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/drc>

- UNHCR. (2019f). *Syria regional refugee response*. <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria/location/71>
- UNHCR, UNICEF, & WFP. (2019). *VASyR 2019: Vulnerability assessment of Syrian refugees in Lebanon*. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/73118.pdf>
- UNICEF. (2011). *Guidelines for child friendly spaces in emergencies*. https://www.unicef.org/protection/Child_Friendly_Spaces_Guidelines_for_Field_Testing.pdf
- UN Women. (2018). *Gender brief on Rohingya refugee crisis response in Bangladesh*. <https://www2.unwomen.org/-/media/field%20office%20eseasia/docs/publications/2017/10/gender-advocacy-paper-for-rohingya-refugee-crisis-response-in-bangladesh-r10.pdf?la=en&vs=2521>
- Volavková, H. (1993). *I never saw another butterfly: Children's drawings and poems from Terezin concentration camp, 1942–1944*. Schocken Books.
- Weissberger, J. A. (Ed.). (1938). *They still draw pictures! A collection of 60 drawings made by Spanish children during the war*. The Spanish Child Welfare Association of America for the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers).
- Wells, K. (2015). *Childhood in a global perspective* (2nd ed.). Polity Press.
- Winthrop, R., & Kirk, J. (2008). Learning for a bright future: Schooling, armed conflict, and children's well-being. *Comparative Education Review*, 52(4), 639–661. <https://doi.org/10.1086/591301>
- Wix, L. (2009). Aesthetic empathy in teaching art to children: The work of Friedl Dicker-Brandeis in Terezin. *Art Therapy: Journal of the American Art Therapy Association*, 26(4), 152–158. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07421656.2009.10129612>
- World University Service Canada. (2018). *Supporting girls' education in crisis on world refugee day*. <https://wusc.ca/supporting-girls-education-in-crisis-on-world-refugee-day/>

13 • YOUNG PEOPLE WITH REFUGEE EXPERIENCES AS AUTHORS AND ARTISTS OF PICTURE BOOKS

APRIL MANDRONA, EJ MILNE,
THEA SHAHROKH, MICHAELINA JAKALA,
MATEJA CELESTINA, LEESA HAMILTON,
AND CLAUDIA MITCHELL

This chapter draws on an ongoing transnational research study that positions young people as producers of their own media content, primarily as a platform for disrupting problematic representations of refugees and newcomers. The impetus for this project comes from recognition that despite the ubiquity of literature for children in schools and homes, the industry is dominated by adult authors and illustrators with relatively few opportunities for young people to contribute to the creation of narratives that reflect their unique lived realities, imaginings, and knowledges (exceptions include initiatives such as the Scholastic Art & Writing Awards¹). Currently, the majority of books for young readers in the Global North still reflect dominant white, middle-class perspectives, although there are some contributions that incorporate storylines which include the perspectives of refugees and migrants, people of color, Indigenous Peoples, gender and sexual minorities, and people with disabilities. In the U.S. context, the Cooperative Children's Book Center, a national book examination body, tracks annually the number of books by or about minority groups. In 2018, for example, just 12 percent of all books received were either by or about Latinx peoples (Cooperative Children's Book Center, 2019).

In 2017, we began the Picture Book Project, a research partnership between the Nova Scotia College of Art & Design in Halifax, Canada, and the Centre for Trust, Peace & Social Relations at Coventry University in the United Kingdom. The goal of the project is to support young people with refugee experiences in the creation

and dissemination of their own picture books. The project explores the possibilities of this literary genre by looking at what belonging, displacement, movement, and mobility mean at various points in time, in various locales, for different young people. We are particularly interested in how young people can express themselves through art-making and narrative and how adult researchers can affirm collaborative, dialogic relationships that make visible the oft-observed social identities and realities of contemporary young people. The research teams in each study location also partnered with local area service providers. The Halifax team worked in collaboration with Immigrant Services Association of Nova Scotia (ISANS). The Coventry team worked in collaboration with Coventry Libraries and Coventry City Council and Partners.

CONTEXT

Since the beginning of the so-called European refugee crisis, the number of forcibly displaced peoples has risen to 70.8 million, the highest since World War II, and nearly 25.9 million refugees, over half of whom are under the age of 18 (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2018). Although people may leave their homes for many reasons, including persecution, climate change, or war, the majority of today's refugees come from Syria where violent conflict puts civilians at risk of bodily harm, death, and extreme poverty. Of the 12 million Syrians who have fled, half are children (ISANS, 2017). Operation Syrian Refugees was Canada's response to the humanitarian crisis in Syria (Government of Canada, 2017). Over the span of 100 days, beginning in November 2015, the Canadian government worked with individuals and organizations to welcome more than 25,000 Syrian refugees. As of January 29, 2017, Canada has resettled 40,081 Syrian refugees (Government of Canada, 2017). According to the UN Global Trends Report, in 2018 alone, Canada resettled 28,100 of the 92,400 who were resettled in twenty-five countries worldwide (UNHCR, 2018). In Halifax, Nova Scotia, over 300 refugee children entered the school system in 2016 (Tutton, 2016). England has similarly pledged to resettle 23,000 refugees by 2020 (Refugee Council, 2019). Coventry, a city of 330,000 people, has actively campaigned to host refugees and has given homes to the largest number of Syrian refugees outside London (590 up to March 2019). Dubbed the City of Peace and Reconciliation and a City of Sanctuary, Coventry has a history of providing sanctuary and support to asylum seekers, refugees, and migrants.

Despite the efforts of governments and individuals, newcomers clearly face significant obstacles, including isolation and pervasive discrimination (Proctor, 2016). The resettlement of children from refugee backgrounds presents specific challenges related to educational and sociocultural issues, such as trauma from past experiences, previously disrupted schooling, language barriers, lack of culturally responsive learning materials and instruction, and bullying (Dryden-Peterson,

2016). Parents of young refugees also experience barriers to understanding and connecting with local community members and navigating institutional structures (Li, 2015). For example, the representatives from ISANS indicated that they had recently resettled a family that had been waiting in a refugee camp for twenty years. Daily life in a camp is very different from what can be expected in Canada and the United Kingdom, and a significant number of young people from refugee backgrounds have not had access to formal education and have also experienced different schooling practices.

THEORIZING CHILDREN'S NARRATIVES AND POETICS

The Picture Book Project² builds on the research team's participatory creative work with children on social justice issues (Jakala, 2013; Mandrona, 2014; Mitchell et al., 2016; Wilson & Milne, 2015), alongside work with young people and book publishing (Mitchell, 2006; Mitchell & Longmoore, 1987; Mitchell & Singh, 1991). The conceptualization of this work with children within participatory research approaches and in the context of human rights and social justice issues serves to reframe the agenda of child-led book publishing. An extensive body of research affirms that reading picture books has significant positive effects on children's language and literacy development (Aram & Biron, 2004; Neuman et al., 2000; Phipps, 2016; Strickland & Morrow, 1989). It is also established that for children of migrant and refugee backgrounds, participating in initiatives that involve telling one's story (Emert, 2014), including through artistic expression (Clacherty, 2015), can have a positive effect on well-being and dealing with trauma.

The present research is informed by critical childhood studies (Esser et al., 2016; James & Prout, 2015; Jamieson & Milne, 2012), which conceptualizes children as a diverse group of people capable of responding to the world around them in myriad ways. This theoretical framework positions children as beings in their own right with valid insights and as agents of social change capable of making contributions to areas such as public policy, education, and research methodologies. In this approach, we recognize children as active citizens with a right to create their own representations and literacy materials, and a need to be listened to and interact with others. Although recent feminist- and postcolonial-informed approaches to research and pedagogy have made significant attempts to access children's perspectives, the majority of research paradigms are largely adult centered. Working with narrative frameworks that emphasize fluid and reflexive approaches to engaging with participants' realities offers a way to encapsulate different reflections and narrations of children's lives.

We also recognize an inherent tension that emerges from inviting young people to generate narratives and artwork that are then arranged into textual forms when oral traditions of many cultures from which contemporary refugees

come are vitally important to the maintenance of cultural and interpersonal relationships. In contexts of state and factional violence, minority discourses and dissent must often be expressed orally to help protect the speakers, given that such voices are viewed as a threat or subversion to be silenced. There is also something to be said for children's own culture that is infused with the oral narration of their lives and imaginings, often through play. But we also recognize the inherent power of the picture book—as a legitimized object that defines what information and experience is knowable, archived, and made visible for young people, and the power that comes with identifying oneself in a story. The power of books as platforms for communication, understanding, recognition, and expression is undeniable. The book's longevity and shareability make it an essential vehicle of knowledge dissemination. Thus, through this project, we have been looking for ways to create openings in this genre to amplify voices in ways that disrupt dominant (mis)representations of forcibly displaced young people.

Emergent research is beginning to more fully address the impact of devastating external influences, such as war, on young people's lives. The representation of violent conflict and trauma in children's productions provides a point of entry for understanding individual and collective agency and expression. Books of poetry and drawings by children imprisoned in Nazi concentration camps like *I Never Saw Another Butterfly* (Volakova, 1962) show the brutality of the Holocaust and the intricacies of children's rejection of and adherence to the social identities imposed on them. More recently the art of Canadian "Indian" Residential School survivors (now in their 60s and 70s) was part of an exhibition at the Museum of Vancouver titled *There is Truth Here: Creativity and Resilience in Children's Art from Indian Residential and Day Schools*.³ The work made visible their connection to their culture that was being systematically severed. Amid the ongoing detention of migrant children separated from their parents by U.S. Customs and Border Protection, pediatricians shared disturbing drawings made by the children that depicted people in cages. The Smithsonian National Museum of American History has expressed interest in obtaining the drawings, stating that "the museum has a long commitment to telling the complex and complicated history of the United States and to documenting that history as it unfolds" (Ingber, 2019, para. 7). While such images help to sharply focus moments of great injustices and cruelty suffered by vulnerable groups, equally important is what comes next for survivors. In the case of children with refugee experiences, once they have moved or have been resettled, we ask them what choices and challenges they face. What are their processes of adaptation? Little is known about the perspectives, priorities, expectations, aspirations, or creativity of these young people. What do they imagine as possible futures for themselves and others? For those fleeing destruction and persecution, this co-occurs with a loss of cultural heritage and artistic values, traditions, and narrative

histories (Sharma, 2016). How then can the visual become a space of reclamation and revisioning?

OBJECTIVES

In response to continuing racist and xenophobic sentiments and events, hundreds of North American authors and illustrators have committed to the creation of children's literature that combats divisive and oppressive political and social structures. For example, the Declaration in Support of Children, signed by almost 700 (and counting) of those working in children's literature and developed by the Brown Bookshelf reads as follows:

We, the undersigned . . . do publicly affirm our commitment to using our talents and varied forms of artistic expression to help eliminate the fear that takes root in the human heart amid lack of familiarity and understanding of others; the type of fear that feeds stereotypes, bitterness, racism, and hatred. . . . For our young readers, we will create stories that offer authentic and recognizable reflections of themselves, as well as relatable insight into experiences which on the surface appear markedly different. . . . We will plant seeds of empathy, fairness and empowerment through words and pictures. (Lyons, 2016, paras. 2 and 5)

The Brown Bookshelf is an American group that promotes the positive representation of people of color in children's literature. The group affirms that children's literature is possibly the most influential literary genre of all and that it is their mission to promote understanding and justice through art.

This declaration also positions adult scholars and authors as necessary allies for young people directly affected by prejudice, misrepresentation, and erasure. It is clear that failure to more fully address whose stories get told and why will have devastating effects for marginalized young people. Increasing the diversity of narratives that are given a platform will also greatly benefit children from dominant social groups, for such practice helps to redefine what is knowable and what lived realities are valued. We have three objectives: (1) To develop innovative, child-centered approaches to picture book making that promote acceptance of and solidarity with refugees, (2) to amplify the voices and engagement of children through activities based on their creative input and decision making, and (3) to produce a toolkit and knowledge mobilization platforms to engage relevant stakeholders in refugee settlement and integration.

It is well established that in the Global North, picture books (reading and being read to) support children's language and literacy development, as well as critical thinking skills and empathetic understanding of others. In this context, picture books are a part of children's daily routines and experiences in both home and school; however, this was not a reality for a number of the young people with

whom we worked. Relatedly, there are numerous picture books and literature for young adults that address pressing social issues. Notable titles include *Stepping Stones: A Refugee Family's Journey* by Margriet Ruurs (2016); *Two White Rabbits* by Jairo Buitrago (2015); *A Is for Activist* by Innosanto Nagara (2012); and *A Family Is a Family* by Sara O'Leary (2016). Fiction and nonfiction picture books are used to develop children's emotional and embodied understanding of concepts like community, inclusion, family, friendship, home, and belonging (Roche, 2015; Cotton, 2000) and what it is like to experience loss of these structures due to forced displacement, poverty, discrimination, and violence (Hope, 2015). Picture books have long been promoted as an effective way for children to explore difference, develop empathy, and exercise civic participation (Nikolajeva, 2013; Wan, 2006). This is something we see in a picture book on the teen climate change activist, Greta Thunberg, *Our House Is on Fire* by Jeanette Winter (2019). With reference, specifically to "critical multicultural analysis of children's literature," Botelho and Rudman (2009) argue for a focus on "the examination of power as a factor in what gets written, illustrated, and published" (p. 101).

As pointed out by published child author Adora Svitak (2010), rarely do children's book publishers work directly with children to develop content, let alone content that allows them to explore personally meaningful narratives. One notable exception is the South African author Beverly Naidoo's (1995) work with street children to produce *No Turning Back: A Novel of South Africa*. In Svitak's (2010) words, "Our inherent wisdom doesn't have to be insiders' knowledge. Kids already do a lot of learning from adults, and we have a lot to share; I think that adults should start learning from kids . . . the reality is a little different and it has to do with trust or a lack of it. When you don't trust someone, you place restrictions on them. What's even worse than restriction, is that adults often underestimate kids' abilities" (n.p.). Another exception is the book *If I Go Missing* by a 17-year-old Indigenous girl in Canada, Brianna Jonnie (2019), written with the assistance of her aunt, Nahanni Shingoose, and dealing with the situation of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls.

RESEARCH

To date, the *Picture Book Project* has involved close to sixty children, both boys and girls ranging in age from 7 to 18. Older and younger participants attended separate workshops to better identify their unique concerns and ways of working. The majority have refugee experiences (as a displaced person forced to leave their home due to violence, persecution, or climate disaster), or they are the children of refugees. Most have come from Syria, with others from Iran, Iraq, Myanmar, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sudan, and Yemen. All participants were known to our partner organizations and were invited to participate based on interest in art-making. Some self-identified as refugees, whereas others actively rejected such designations because of the negative connotations associated with the terms and the discrimination that

they often experienced from peers, the general public, government workers, and educators. The length of time spent in the host countries also ranged, with some children having arrived only a few weeks before the onset of the project and others having lived in the country for many years or for their entire life.

Each book-making workshop has involved young people working alongside artists, storytellers, translators, students, and parents who helped to plan and facilitate the art-making and storytelling activities. The artists were members of the local communities who were migrants themselves or who had experiences of migration to other countries. Similarly, the hiring practices for the student facilitators and artists employed by the project prioritized those who had migration experiences. At the time of the workshops, the young people had varying levels of English proficiency, from limited to fluent, so where needed young people were supported by interpreters (Arabic, Aramaic, Kurdish, Farsi, and Turkish), many of whom also had artistic skills. It is important to note that a number of the young people used the book-making activity and their readings at the book launch as a positive motivation to learn English.

The Process

The picture book creation process invited participants to design what Gangi and Barowsky, (2009) refer to as multimodal narratives that represent and reflect upon their lives and interests, through what Li (2015) refers to as a “mediated space” or “multidirectional interaction and negotiation focusing on commonalities between and among cultures, and negotiating different views and practices among members involved” (p. 242). This approach is situated within a perspective which recognizes that literacy is neither singular nor bound solely to text but is understood as involving reading, writing, speaking, listening, and visualization practices (Skinner & Hagood, 2008).

Workshops followed two formats: several consecutive days of concentrated activities to work through a series of prompts and art projects; and workshops that lasted for a few hours, recurring over several weeks. Both formats followed similar patterns of discussion, reading/listening, making, and sharing. In each of the steps the facilitators emphasized the importance of the young people telling the story that *they* wanted to tell in the way that *they* wanted to tell it. Some of the participants chose to work collectively on a single narrative, although most chose to be sole authors. The general prompt for the workshops was notions of “home” and the various meanings associated with it. This includes the physical space of home as well as familial, affective, and cognitive understandings (figure 13.1). The young people were not asked to disclose anything about “being a refugee,” such as their journeys or what they may have witnessed. However, some were adamant that this was the story they wanted to tell. Where this was important to the young person, they were supported to create a narrative, which would support their storytelling without their or the readers’ retraumatization. Participant consensus on narrative devices, art medium, length, and



FIGURE 13.1. Mapping various meanings of “home.”

subject matter was neither possible nor desirable. The following is a composite description of the two workshops at each site because the workshops did not follow the same format, but each responded to the specifics of the given context.

Phase 1: Establishing Space

- The first meeting set the communal goals of the workshops. This included an extended discussion of the ethics of making stories with others (beyond the processes required by institutional protocol, see Story Centre, n.d.) that helped to establish an outline for how participants wanted the creative process to unfold, and how they conceptualized respectful listening and telling (respect of people, space, ideas, materials). The guidelines generated focused on well-being and how to act toward others rather than how not to act. For example, “Encourage each other with kind words,” “Try new things,” and “Ask questions.”
- Although some of the participants knew one another (they had shared involvement with settlement organizations or were neighbors or classmates), we all engaged in personal mapping activities that the participants and research team used to visually communicate to the group their ideas, experiences, and aspira-



FIGURE 13.2. Workshop facilitator and research assistant Benja telling an oral story about a lion and his human friend.

tions. Mixed-media collage was used to answer questions such as What is a meaningful place for you? What are you interested in? and What makes you most happy?

- Each young person then received an idea board and a notebook where they could put images, words, and thoughts. Facilitators led discussions to identify the young people's insights, emotional responses, and meaningful ideas or moments (e.g., What sort of story do you want to tell? What do you think your story means?).
- A small library of books specifically selected for diversity of subject matter, characters, art form, style, language, and text (with and without) were on hand for participants to look at and add to.

Phase 2: Narrative Building

- Story generation was introduced through the reading of books, both from the project library and through other sources, such as short animations and digital narratives in multiple languages. Some facilitators also performed stories orally while live drawing simple illustrations (figure 13.2). Participants were invited to consider how to formulate their own stories, in what language, with only images, through writing or dictation, what form any text was to take (prose, poetics), the story arch (linear, open, nonsensical), and genre (fiction, nonfiction).

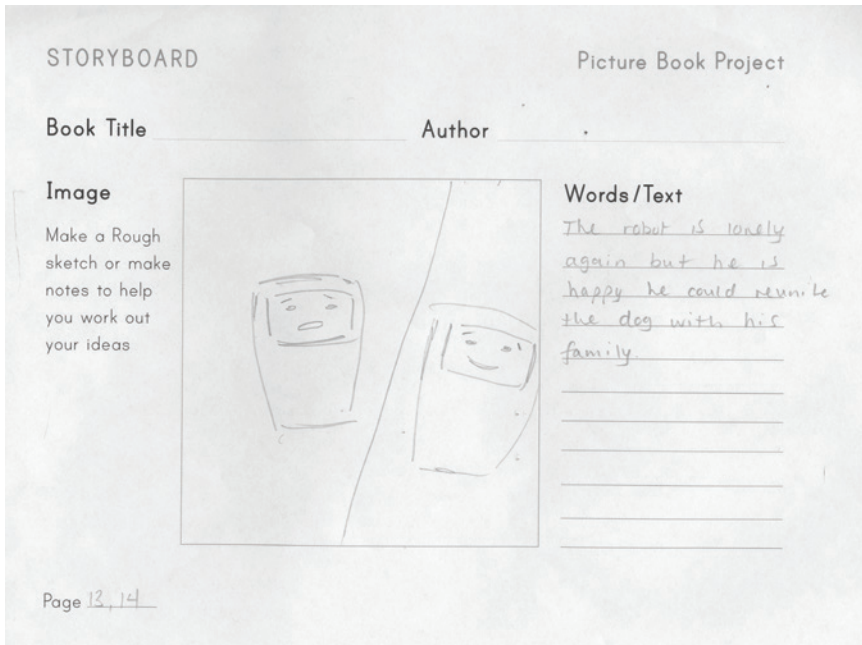


FIGURE 13.3. Participant storyboard example.

- To concretize the narratives, storyboards were provided for mapping out the relationship between message, image, and presentation style (figure 13.3).
- Discussions on the ingredients for a story were used to begin to think through notions of character, setting, action, events, and theme, and facilitators worked with participants individually and in groups to refine their narratives. As the nature of the workshops was known to participants prior to the workshops, some came with stories already written on their mobile phones or in notebooks.

Phase 3: Material Explorations

- Art media varied across study locations and reflected the interests and expertise of the facilitators and participants. Two- and three-dimensional arts forms included textiles, embroidery, weaving, collage, drawing, acrylic and water-color painting, silk screen, relief printing, letter press, paper sculpture, photography, polymer clay and plasticine sculpture, and mixed media compositions. Media and concepts like characters were introduced through short activities that could then be expanded upon to create the more complex story visuals (figure 13.4).
- Explorations of and development of characters: working from the ideas in the storyboards, participants used the materials and tools at their disposal to repre-



FIGURE 13.4. Moveable paper character digitally imposed on photographed felted background by facilitator and designer Emma Allain.

sent concepts of roles, identities, and interactions. Guiding questions ranged from Who or what can a character be (a person, shape, color, thing)? to How would others describe your character?

- Explorations and development of setting/environment/background: participants created the story environments through a process similar to the character development: What can be a setting? What is the relationship between the setting and the character(s)?

Phase 4: Story Compilation and Finding Closure

- Young people then worked to compile the visuals and, where they were being included, texts, into a final picture book. This involved clearly identifying the sequencing of the final images and corresponding text. This is important because through iterations of developing the story young people may not end with the story they had planned in their storyboard.
- In order to create a sense of closure within the process the young people shared their completed picture books in a final story circle. This provides an important witnessing space for the young people's stories and builds insight into the lives and imaginations of the others they had gone through the process with. It also acts as a celebration to mark their achievements and cements the friendships that have been formed.

Phase 5: Design and Layout

- The young people chose what language(s) to write the final texts in. In Coventry for example, the majority of participants chose to write their original stories in English, a few used their first or second language, and one created a trilingual text. However, when it came to the final stage, all wanted their texts in English.
- Once the narratives and artwork were finalized by the young people, the designer created mock-ups using Adobe software. At the request of the participants, text was coedited with them for consistency and adherence to conventions of the chosen language(s). The participants reviewed each draft and physically signed off on each page of the final versions before they went to print. We used the self-publishing platform Blurb because of the company's many printing locations around the world.

Phase 6: Dissemination

- To share the young people's stories with wider audiences including community members, policy makers, service providers, government, educators, libraries, and the media, book readings and exhibitions were held in the study locations. With the help of translators, the participants read their books aloud in multiple languages and discussed the book-making process. In Coventry the authors were also invited to give a public book reading and question and answer session as part of Refugee Week activities run by Coventry Central Library.
- Copies of all the books published are part of the regular circulations at the local libraries. Digital copies of the books are available via the online catalog at Coventry Libraries, and are also available upon request by community groups, settlement organizations, libraries, and schools. Each young person was also given several copies to send to family members living overseas, and to donate to their school, members of the community, and local community groups. The accompanying toolkit for the implementation of the book making is under way at the time of writing this chapter.

TOWARD A FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

Because this project is intentionally designed as a pilot, we are working toward best practices for supporting children in the telling and visualizing of stories. Analysis as a whole has involved several layers: dialogue (the workshops and reflections were recorded); participant feedback (how they felt about each day and general impressions); team reflections (all members shared ongoing feedback and ideas to address questions of voice, power, and social positioning as well as pedagogical logistics); and the books and artwork were explored for patterns in style, content, narrative devices, artistic approaches, message, and the relationship between text and images. Here we focus mostly on aspects of the books and participant statements.

The Picture Books: Shifting Narratives

The young people created stories that touch on a variety of topics and subjects of importance to them, including family, destruction, cooperation, love, and creativity. The main characters included both people and animals. Of the diverse range of narrative and representational strategies used by the participants, three main approaches emerged: fantasy, narrative fiction, and autobiography. Here we offer a closer reading of a selection of books from the foregoing strategies before concluding with some reflections on the practice of making books with young people as a means of better understanding the relationships between their art, words, and the sphere of contemporary children's book publishing. In doing so we recognize the nuanced nature of the meaning and knowledge embedded in the young people's creative decisions and intentions and in the aspects of themselves that they offer through the books. We enter into such analysis "with a sense of both appreciation for and skepticism about what we can claim to know about the young people's selves and identities" through their art-making (Luttrell et al., 2012, p. 165).

Fantasy

A Heart, a Duck, an Old Man, and Outer Space is a collectively produced volume of four stories from one of the Halifax groups. One of the stories, *The Duck and the Snail*, has elements of the mundane and the fantastical. Made by young boys who combined their individual screen-printed artworks, it has few words but is strong in its message:

This is a snail's home.
 He went for a walk.
 The snail gets stuck in the mud and the rocks.
 A big girl saw the snail. The girl stepped on the snail by accident.
 A duck saw the hurt snail.
 A car was driving and ran over the duck.
 The car kept going, and drove over the mountains.
 The driver saw a monster.
 The end.

The high contrast of the two-tone screen-printed images is a fitting aesthetic for the intensity of the narrative. The images are sharp but whimsical. The words are matter-of-fact. Arranging the text into stanzas reveals the poetics, with multiple interpretations possible. The narrative is inconclusive; it follows an open structure. For the reader, it could be about comeuppance or a reflection of how events in the world often unfold: bad things may happen by accident or because of the deliberate actions of others. And sometimes there are monsters.

Fantasy was also used to enable metaphor in young people's storytelling. This worked to provide a safer way to speak to painful experiences, make sense of

them, and imagine new possibilities. In one girl's story, *The Magical Wood*, we are introduced to Centrella, a young woman from Blackpool who has a piece of wood that turns out to be magical. At night she dreams—of sweets, of her dead mother, and a new love—and the piece of wood helps to manifest new realities. Each time Centrella exclaims, “That is MAGIC!” We see Centrella's life unfold with her husband Jack. At the end of the book the couple die, but their two children discover the magic. The story depicts death and heartache with playfulness and in the context of regeneration and enduring love. The tale has elements of deep sorrow, but it is also clearly hopeful and bright. This story also presents where the boundaries between personal experience and fantasy are agitated as well as those between the physical and spiritual planes; it is fantastical but draws on acute experiences of pain and future possibility. The author's mother died a few years ago, so the book became a way of using magic and dreams to bring back a version of her mother and continue their relationship. In the young author having her mother's reassurance through her dreams and the magic gift that her mum had given her (to magic things up), she could live her imagined future, with all working out well.

Narrative Fiction

Many of the books produced fall into narrative fiction, as the authors describe people, things, and events that could exist or that were inspired by happenings in their own lives. In both study locations participants independently opted to write about lost animals, specifically pets, who were eventually reunited with their caregivers. This topic was significant for the young authors. Other participants also spoke about or showed photos on their cell phones of the pets that they had to leave behind. In Salem's aptly named story *The Lost Dog*, the foreword says, “I love dogs. I left my dog in Lebanon. I miss her.” The main human character, Jonny, has a tiny puppy that grows bigger with each passing year, and as he grows his owner has less and less time for him. One day the dog gets lost in a park but is found by an old man, whom the dog loves. When the old man sees a poster made by Jonny, he reunites the two. Jonny realizes that the old man and the dog are very fond of each other so the three of them often visit and spend time together. The book ends with the old man's death and Johnny and the dog visiting his grave for solace.

In a futuristic telling of a similar adventure (currently untitled), a lonely robot whose job it is to clean up the city streets, finds a lost dog that he proceeds to take care of until he discovers a “lost dog” poster. The robot then returns the missing pet to a young girl. The short narrative ends with the robot feeling happy that he could help but also saddened by the prospect of facing a lonely existence.

As with the other picture books described here, the experience and emotions conveyed are not straightforward. Exchanges between different characters and their respective environments unfold in unexpected ways. Affect is presented as a complex experience with polar emotions like pain, loss, care, and love entwined.

Autobiographies

Several of the participants chose to capture their own interpretations of violence, loss, relocation, and hope. These books recount their lives prior to settlement in Canada or England and depict what they fled but also what they left behind and the ways in which they now navigate the world.

The opening page of *My Story* states the young author's name and that she is from Syria. It continues, "I am 11 years old and I made this story. This is a real story that happened to me." The straightforward declaration dissolves any doubts that the reader may have about the authenticity of what they are about to read. The book expresses her love for Syria and that it is *her* country. She tells us that her brother died, and that her family fled to Lebanon and eventually resettled (unhappily) in England. The author ends with, "I just carried on life with my family," an unapologetic assessment of what it means to leave your home behind and live in a new place. In contrast, some of the young people like Mohammed (11 years old), wanted to express joy at living in a new place: "I'm feeling happy now!"

Others had similar purposes. About her book, *The Flower of Sadness*, one 18-year-old young woman explained, "I wanted to show the life or death situation my family was in. It was terrible. It was dangerous and many people had to leave their homes. We are thinking about others who have been through or are going through what it was like for us. Life is very different in Coventry." The autobiographical nature was also important to another young woman in Coventry who wanted to counter jibes she had experienced where one teenager from Coventry was told, "You can't be a refugee, refugees arrive in boats." Writing about her journey and arrival in England by airplane allowed her to present a counter to this narrative and explain the role of the United Nations in resettling refugees in the United Kingdom.

Children's Media in the Media

For the purposes of this chapter we focus on the Coventry site. The Coventry book launch event was attended by media from local news radio stations and BBC Online. Despite the range of aesthetics, genres, approaches, art forms, and communicative devices used by the participants, the members of the press who were in attendance were preoccupied with the circumstances that had rendered these young people refugees. The research team was prepared to engage with the press and had developed a press statement and strategies to ensure that the young people could voice their opinions but were also supported in their communication with reporters. We provided a variety of images and excerpts to showcase in the news story, yet the featured stories were almost exclusively focused on accounts of death, destruction, fear, poverty, and illness. Even when these themes occurred alongside positive elements demonstrating resilience and agency of the young people the expected tropes of violent conflict dominated. This sentiment was coupled with an articulation of relief and joy felt by the young people upon starting their new lives in the United Kingdom.

Although we recognize that this was only one radio interview and one article written by the BBC about the research, it nonetheless risked retraumatization as the reporters asked the young people to recount violent attacks and journeys to safety. It also reifies the discourse of Western nations (and the United Kingdom in particular), as the saviors of refugees from the atrocities of war, alongside ideas of deservingness of refugee status being associated with extreme vulnerability and victimhood. The personal and collective capacity and strength of those who have been displaced are overshadowed by the narrow refugee-as-victim rhetoric. This experience with the mainstream media has prompted us to carefully revisit our presumptions and preparations regarding the fulfilment of the research goals, particularly “to amplify the voices and engagement of children through activities based on their creative input and decision-making.”

CONCLUSION

Picture book production invites intimate telling, making experiences and thoughts, even those that are beyond comprehension, concrete and knowable in some way. As suggested by neuroscientist Oliver Sacks (1998), “To be ourselves we must have ourselves—possess, if need be repossess, our life-stories. We must ‘recollect’ ourselves, recollect the inner drama, the narrative, of ourselves” (p. 111). In so doing, Sacks argues, we shape our sense of self in neurological as well as social ways. In essence we are our biographies. However, it is also here that a significant ethical tension arises. For while these young people are, like all of us, products of their realities, they are not defined by them. The participants are infinitely more than their histories. Perhaps in the retelling and framing of their stories by the boundaries of the page, they simultaneously possess and lose control of their own narratives, because once committed to the printed form the stories are made available for others to interpret and assume what they will.

For researchers like ourselves, the answer to this dilemma is not obvious. Asking young people to depict only topics we deem acceptable—for fear that they may be traumatized or stigmatized should their stories of war trap them in the flattened category of “refugee”—does a disservice to them. Yet, is it possible to enable the telling of difficult knowledges and also prevent any negative repercussions? The ethics of using storytelling in any format at this present moment is very difficult to navigate. This moment is made up of both exclusionary public and political narratives as well as reductive identities that limit what we can know and how we can build connections across lines of perceived difference. One of the things that has yet to be addressed in a deep and effective way is how any participant-produced media is intertwined in a global culture that fails to protect people from discrimination and abuse and may actually create opportunities for further marginalization.

Researchers then are left with the choice of pursuing arts-based methods and limiting the dissemination of participant productions, encouraging wider dissem-

ination that may risk the well-being of participants, or moving away from this sort of methodology altogether. It is also here that tension arises between researchers as benevolent paternalists and researchers as allies who support participants in the telling and sharing of their own content. None of these three options seem appropriate given the urgency with which researchers must respond to the continued maltreatment of those with refugee experiences. The matter is made additionally complex by working with those who may also be minors, as there are additional layers of discrimination and gatekeeping imposed on the young. Thus we call for a wider discussion in the academic and activist communities about how and when we use participatory arts-based research methods. We consider not only how to support the creation of content that counters negative images but how to embed such methodologies with approaches for navigating the media landscape more broadly (e.g., how to speak to the press, policy makers, and service providers and how to address any backlash) and creating mechanisms for meaningful change in terms of how nonmainstream understandings are taken up.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The project team would like to thank all the children and young people who trusted us enough to tell us their stories and create their books. The team would like to thank our artists, Andrea Mbarushimana and Laura Nyahuye; our interpreters, Ola Ahmed Rula, Al-Asmar Easa, Al Hariri, Rana Aytug, Esra Kaytaz, Shadi Mostofi, Iman Saad, Mahmoud Soliman, Yasmin Youssef; our research assistants, Julian Covey, Séamus Gallagher, Benjamin Muriithi, Séamus Gallagher, Layne Sharpe; our designer, Emma Allain; and our community partners, ISANS, Coventry Libraries, Coventry City Council and Partners, especially Peter Barnett, Sorrelle Clements, Sandeep Viridi, Mona Whitbread, and Abdulmunem Radwan.

NOTES

BBC media coverage of the project can be read at <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-coventry-warwickshire-46461154>

1. The United States' longest-running and most prestigious recognition program for creative teens in grades 7 to 12: <https://www.artandwriting.org/>
2. The project is supported by an Insight Development Grant from the Social Sciences & Humanities Research Council of Canada (entitled "For Us by Us": Children's Picture Books to Promote Solidarity & Acceptance in the Age of Refugees).
3. Museum of Vancouver. *There is truth here: Creativity and resilience in children's art from Indian residential and day schools* [Exhibition]. <http://uvac.uvic.ca/gallery/truth/>.

REFERENCES

- Aram, D., & Biron, S. (2004). Joint storybook reading and joint writing interventions among low SES preschoolers: Differential contributions to early literacy." *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 19, 588–610.

- Botelho, M. J., & Rudman, M. K. (2009). *Critical multicultural analysis of children's literature: Mirrors, windows, and doors*. Routledge.
- Buitrago, J. (2015). *Two white rabbits*. Groundwood Books.
- Clacherty, G. (2015). The suitcase project: Working with unaccompanied child refugees in new ways. In I. Palmary, B. Hamber, & L. Núñez (Eds.), *Healing and change in the city of gold: Case studies of coping and support in Johannesburg* (pp. 13–30). Springer.
- Cooperative Children's Book Center. (2019). *Publishing Statistics on Children's/YA Books about People of Color and First/Native Nations and by People of Color and First/Native Nations authors and illustrators*. <https://ccbc.education.wisc.edu/books/pcstats.asp>
- Cotton, P. (2000). *Picture books sans frontières*. Stoke.
- Dryden-Peterson, S. (2016). Refugee education in countries of first asylum: Breaking open the black box of pre-resettlement experiences. *Theory and Research in Education*, 14(2), 131–148.
- Emert, T. (2014). Interactive digital storytelling with refugee children. *Language Arts*, 91(6), 401.
- Esser, F., Baader, M. S., Betz, T., & Hungerland, B. (2016). *Reconceptualising agency and childhood: New perspectives in childhood studies*. Routledge.
- Gangi, J. M., & Barowsky, E. (2009). Listening to children's voices: Literature and the arts as means of responding to the effects of war, terrorism, and disaster. *Childhood Education*, 85(6), 357–363.
- Government of Canada. (2017). #WelcomeRefugees: Key figures. <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/refugees/welcome/milestones.asp>
- Hope, J. (2015). "A well-founded fear": *Children's literature about refugees and its role in the primary classroom* [Doctoral dissertation, Goldsmiths, University of London].
- Immigrant Services Association of Nova Scotia (ISANS). (2017). *Welcoming refugees: Facts and statistics*. <http://www.isans.ca/welcomingrefugees/#facts>
- Ingber, S. (2019, July 9). *Smithsonian museum considers collecting drawings made by detained migrant children*. NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2019/07/09/739792638/smithsonian-museum—considers-collecting-drawings-made-by-detained-migrant-childr>
- Jakala, M. (2013). Pictures of home: A reflection on young people and home in post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina. *Visual Sociology: Newsletter of the International Sociological Association Visual Sociology Working Group TGo5 7*(October), 2–7.
- James, A., & Prout, A. (Eds.). (2015). *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood*. Routledge.
- Jamieson, L., & Milne, S. (2012). Children and young people's relationships, relational processes and social change: Reading across worlds. *Children's Geographies*, 10(3), 265–278.
- Jonnie, B., & Shingoose, N. (2019). *If I go missing*. Lorimer Children & Teens.
- Li, X. (2015). International students in China: Cross-cultural interaction, integration, and identity construction. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, 14(4), 237–254.
- Luttrell, W., Restler, V., & Fontaine, C. (2012). Youth video-making: Selves and identities in dialogue. In E-J Milne, C. Mitchell, & N. de Lange (Eds.), *The handbook of participatory video* (pp. 164–177). AltaMira.
- Lyons, K. S. (2016). *A declaration in support of children*. The Brown Bookshelf. <https://thebrownbookshelf.com/2016/11/14/a-declaration-in-support-of-children/>
- Mandrona, A. (2014). *What can we make with this? Creating relevant art education practices in rural KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa* [Doctoral dissertation, Concordia University, Montreal, Canada].
- Mitchell, C. (2006). "In my life": Youth stories and poems on HIV/AIDS: Towards a new literacy in the age of AIDS." *Changing English*, 13(3), 355–368.
- Mitchell, C., Chege, F. Maina, L., & Rothman, M. (2016). Beyond engagement in working with children in eight Nairobi slums to address safety, security, and housing: Digital tools for policy and community dialogue. *Global Public Health*, 11(5–6), 651–665.

- Mitchell, C., & Longmoore, C. (1987). Real authors don't have to be over five feet tall. *Reading-Canada-lecture*, 5(3), 190–192.
- Mitchell, C., & Singh, R. (1991). Writing for children/writing with children: The personal as pedagogical in teacher education. *McGill Journal of Education*, 26(2), 157–164.
- Nagara, I. (2012). *A is for activist*. Triangle Square.
- Naidoo, B. (1995). *No turning back*. Puffin.
- Neuman, S. B., Copple, C., & Bredekamp, S. (2000). *Learning to read and write: Developmentally appropriate practices for young children*. National Association for the Education of Young Children.
- Nikolajeva, M. (2013). Picturebooks and emotional literacy. *The Reading Teacher*, 67(4), 249–254.
- O'Leary, S. (2016). *A family is a family is a family*. Groundwood Books.
- Phipps, H. (2016). *Engaging with picture books: Exploring students' and teachers' experiences with literature and collaboration in immersion classrooms* [Doctoral dissertation, McGill University, Montreal, Canada].
- Proctor, J. (2016, 3 October). *CB–Angus Reid Institute poll: Canadians want minorities to do more to "fit in."* CBC. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/poll-canadians-multi-culturalismimmigrants-1.3784194>
- Refugee Council. (2019). *Refugee resettlement: The facts*. http://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/what_we_do/refugee_services/resettlement_programme/refugee_resettlement_the_facts
- Roche, M. (2015). *Developing children's critical thinking through picture books: A guide for primary and early years students and teachers*. Routledge.
- Ruurs, M. (2016). *Stepping stones: A refugee family's journey*. Orca.
- Sacks, O. (1998). *The man who mistook his wife for a hat: And other clinical tales*. Simon & Shuster.
- Sharma, A. (2016). Cultural heritage and art: The silent victims of war. *International Journal of Innovative Knowledge Concepts*, 2(4), 53–56.
- Skinner, E., & Hagood, M. C. (2008). Developing literate identities with English language learners through digital storytelling. *The Reading Matrix: An International Online Journal*, 8(2), 12–38.
- Story Centre. (n.d.). Ethical practice. <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/55368c08e4bod419e1c01f7/t/579134a05016e13dde264720/1469133984611/Ethics.pdf>
- Strickland, D. S., & Morrow, L. M. (1989). *Emerging literacy: Young children learn to read and write*. International Reading Association.
- Svitak, A. (2010). *What adults can learn from children* [Video file]. https://www.ted.com/talks/adora_svitak?language=en
- Tutton, M. (2016, April 4). *Syrian refugee influx straining Halifax-area schools: Teachers*. CBC. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/novascotia/syrian-refugee-halifax-influx-school-education-1.3519427>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (UNHCR) (2018). *Global trends: Forced displacement in 2018*. Geneva, Switzerland: UNHCR.
- Volakova, H. (1962). *I never saw another butterfly: Children's drawings and poems from Terezin Concentration Camp 1942–1944*. McGraw-Hill.
- Wan, G. (2006). Teaching diversity and tolerance in the classroom: A thematic storybook approach. *Education*, 127(1), 140.
- Wilson, S., & Milne, E-J. (2015). Visual activism and social justice: Young people creating “home” across public and domestic spaces. *Current Sociology*, 64(1), 140–156.
- Winter, J. (2019). *Our house is on fire: Greta Thunberg's call to save the planet*. Beach Lane.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to thank the Fonds de Recherche du Québec sur la Société et la Culture (FRQSC), which has generously supported our research group—Global Child McGill—since 2012. Multiple grants from FRQSC have facilitated our collective work since the inception of our research group. We are also grateful to the Canada Council for the Arts (Killam Program), the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and the Canada Research Chair Program, which have supported several of the projects upon which many of the chapters and their contents are based.

We also thank all those who helped support this book project from its early development through the final stages of production, providing us with vital intellectual and practical help along the way. We are immensely grateful to doctoral candidate Pamela Lamb, whose helpful work, organizational skills, and support of this book were invaluable. Thanks also go to Sahar Fazeli, Alusine Bah, Neil Bilotta, Maya Fennig, Karen Paul, and Nesa Bandarchian for their practical assistance and commitment to our research group and book project.

Special thanks go to Lisa Banning at Rutgers University Press who believed in this book from the outset. We are also grateful to the anonymous reviewers who provided critical feedback that improved the manuscript, and to Helen Wheeler, our very helpful and supportive production editor.

Most especially, we extend our deepest thanks to the children, families, and communities whose lives are highlighted in this book. In particular, young people affected by war, migration, and displacement, currently living in Bangladesh, Burundi, Canada, Kenya, Lebanon, South Africa, Eastern Ukraine, and the United Kingdom, contributed their lived experiences and stories and provided their perspectives on opportunities and challenges through narrative as well as through artistic means via drawings, photographs, and picture books.

Finally, we would like to sincerely thank all the members of Global Child McGill. It is a pleasure and a privilege to be able to collaborate with each and every one of you. It has led to incredibly stimulating conversations and great opportunities for individual and collective growth.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

FARHIO AHMED is a former student nurse. She is currently working in the charity sector and as a trustee for a U.K.-based organization working with young leaders from a refugee and migrant background. Farhio has spent her life advocating for and working alongside the most vulnerable groups of people in society, with a goal to promote independence, quality of life, and positive change. She has a strong interest in working with marginalized groups, particularly refugee, migrant, and homeless communities.

ALUSINE BAH is an MSW student at McGill School of Social Work, Montreal, Canada. As a former child soldier, Alusine has been advocating for youth in Canada and around the world. In 2007, he was recognized as a peace promoter and received the YMCA Award for Community Building in Canada. Alusine occupies an interesting position because his positionalities intersect between his life as a former child soldier and that of an academic. He therefore offers a unique insider perspective combined with critical inquiry about both conducting research and social work practice with youth affected by armed conflict. Currently, Alusine is a research assistant for Dr. Myriam Denov and a member of the Global Child McGill research group. Alusine also holds a bachelor's degree in human relations from Concordia University. Prior to enrolling at McGill, Alusine was an active member and group facilitator of the Refugee Youth Forum at Global Child McGill, McGill University.

NEIL BILOTTA, PHD, MHS, MSW, is a clinical assistant professor of social work at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He is a social worker and researcher focusing on two independent and intersecting phenomena: (1) deconstructing racism/white supremacy in everyday surroundings—specifically social work practice, education, policy, and research, and (2) exploring the overt and subtle effects of Eurocentrism, colonialism, whiteness, and othering on refugee resettlement processes. He examines how emancipatory and participatory research and decolonizing epistemologies can shift social work theory and interventions to align with refugees' realities, as opposed to outside, top-down approaches. Neil has taught Anti-Oppression in Social Work Practice, Global Social Problems, and Social Welfare Policy. He has also co-facilitated unlearning white privilege groups and has been a social worker with “unaccompanied refugee minors” in the United States. Neil's recent work explored Eurocentric research practices with refugee young people in Kakuma refugee camp, Kenya. He has also collaborated with Lebanese social workers supporting Syrian refugees in Lebanon. Neil has published articles on international social work field placements and deconstructing power and colonialism in research/research methodologies with refugee communities.

SHARON BOND, associate professor, McGill School of Social Work, Montreal, Canada, is best known for her pioneering development of McGill's first specialized master's program in couple and family therapy. Dr. Bond has been a faculty member since 1998 and is an associate member, Department of Psychiatry, McGill University, Faculty of Medicine. A licensed couple and family therapist and psychotherapist, Dr. Bond pioneered the development of the McGill Couple and Family Clinic, Department of Psychiatry, Jewish General Hospital, and she is the Family Therapy Fellowship co-director, McGill Psychiatry. Her years of clinical, supervisory experience with couples and families inform her teaching and research. Her research and clinical expertise covers a wide range, with specific attention to the development of specialized clinical practice in the area of attachment, therapeutic alliance, and cultural factors in the treatment of diverse family systems. A sampling of her research publications includes "Attachment Styles and Violence within Couples"; "Alliance, Attachment and Child Outcomes within a Multi-modal Treatment Centre"; "Psychosocial Services for Couples in Infertility Treatment"; and "Best Practices in Field Supervision for Multidisciplinary Training in Family Therapy." Her recent focus is on war-affected children and their families, specifically fostering a father-inclusive practice approach with immigrant and refugee families, and best practices for children and their families in postconflict settings. Dr. Bond maintains an active clinical and supervisory practice.

MATEJA CELESTINA is a research associate in the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations, Coventry University, United Kingdom. Her research concerns conflict-affected populations. She is particularly interested in lived experiences of forced migrants in protracted situations of displacement. She focuses on both spatial and temporal aspects of the phenomenon and the relationship between the two. Through the examination of loss of place and the subsequent making of place, she challenges the time frame within which displacement is usually considered and explores the intertwined nature of displacement and emplacement. Dr. Celestina's other research interests include politicization and effectiveness of humanitarian aid, policy categories and their impact on identity and identification, social relations, memory, and belonging. She is the author of *Living Displacement: The Loss and Making of Place in Colombia* (2018).

GLYNIS CLACHERTY, PHD., has worked in the southern, eastern, and central African region for the past twenty years as a researcher for organizations such as Save the Children, UNICEF, PLAN International, Soul City, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and CARE International. She is recognized as an expert in ethical participatory research with vulnerable children, particularly migrant children, and has published a number of articles around art-based research with refugee children in South Africa. Together with a group of migrant children she wrote a book, *The Suitcase Stories*, which was shortlisted for the prestigious South African Alan Paton Award for nonfiction. She has also authored a number

of children's stories based on children she has met through her research. She is currently a research associate of the African Centre for Migration and Society at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

MIRANDA D'AMICO is a professor in the Department of Education at Concordia University, Montreal, Canada. She holds a PhD in educational and counseling psychology and is trained as a school psychologist with a particular focus on the psycho-educational assessment and evaluation of individuals with developmental and intellectual disabilities. For over thirty years she has worked with children and adults with developmental disabilities in rehabilitative and therapeutic settings. In 1986 she joined Concordia University, where she has been the coordinator of educational psychology and served as both undergraduate and graduate program director in child studies and as associate dean of Student Academic Services. Her research interests include the cognitive and emotional development of individuals with disabilities; school and community-based inclusion of individuals with disabilities; and the assessment and evaluation of the efficacy of creative arts therapies and arts-based approaches on individuals with special needs. In 1996, she cofounded the Centre for the Arts in Human Development at Concordia, a unique research and clinical training program, where she is the codirector of research. Dr. D'Amico has published articles and lectured on various aspects of social inclusion and quality of life issues for individuals with developmental disabilities and has served as a reviewer on a number of journals that deal with these concerns.

NAGUI DEMIAN is a PhD student in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education at McGill University, Montreal, Canada. He served as a teacher in Egypt for many years and currently works in international development with different organizations in the Middle East and Canada. His work tackles education reform, teacher education, teaching mathematics, teaching practices, critical thinking, education in emergencies, child protection, children's rights, and gender equality. Nagui holds a master's in education, master's in child protection, and master's in business administration. His doctoral research focuses on how to prepare teachers to work with war-affected children.

MYRIAM DENOVI is a full professor at McGill University, Montreal, Canada, and holds the Canada Research Chair in Children, Families and Armed Conflict (Tier 1). Her research interests lie in the areas of children and families affected by war, migration, and its intergenerational impact. She is the founding director of *Global Child McGill*—a research group dedicated to children and families affected by war and migration. A specialist in participatory and arts-based research, she has worked with war-affected children and families in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Denovi has presented expert evidence in court on child soldiers and has advised government and nongovernmental organizations on children in armed conflict and girls in armed groups. She has authored and coauthored/coedited several

books addressing the impact of war on children, including *Child Soldiers: Sierra Leone's Revolutionary United Front* and *Social Work Practice with War-Affected Children* (with M. Shevell). Her current research is exploring the intergenerational effects of wartime sexual violence and children born of wartime rape in northern Uganda, Rwanda, and Cambodia. Denov is the 2020 winner of the SSHRC Impact Award and the Killam Research Fellowship. She holds a PhD from the University of Cambridge, where she was a Commonwealth Scholar.

MAYA FENNIG is a PhD candidate at McGill's School of Social Work, Montreal, Canada. Her current research interests are in the intersections between social work, psychiatry, and ethnography. Her dissertation research explores how culture and context shape the way Eritrean refugees living in Israel express, experience, and make sense of psychological distress. Maya has more than ten years of program development and research experience with the African refugee community in Israel and has co-organized numerous advocacy campaigns to protect and uphold the rights of people seeking asylum. In recognition of her research and leadership, Maya has received several awards, including the Vanier Canada Graduate Scholarship and the Jeanne Sauvé Public Leadership Fellowship.

JASWANT GUZDER is a professor in the McGill Department of Psychiatry, Montreal, Canada, and a psychoanalyst, child and cultural psychiatrist, and artist. She has been director of Childhood Disorders Day Hospital and Head of Child Psychiatry from 2004 to 2018. She was the founding clinical director in 1995 with Dr. Kirmayer of the McGill Cultural Consultation Service and is currently a senior clinical consultant of Cultural Consultation Service. She is active in global mental health work, primarily in the Caribbean and Asia. Her recent research and writing include topics of refugee and migrant mental health, children at risk, and cultural psychiatry. She has been active with colleagues as a trainer in family therapy with the McGill School of Social Work and initiated a subspecialty psychiatry program in family training. Her recent art exhibitions and art seminars have been presented in Rome at the Museo della Mente and in Berlin with SAAVY International, as well as at Visual Arts Center, Montreal, Canada, for her work as an art instructor. Her latest books are (in Italian, 2019) *Ibridazione: Politiche delle cure e delle culture* (Hybridization: the politics of healing and culture) and *Cultural Consultation: Encountering the Other in Mental Health* (2014, edited by Kirmayer, Guzder, & Rousseau) with a translation into Italian.

MAYRA GUZMAN is an experienced activist and community researcher working with people from migrant and refugee backgrounds. She uses participatory action research and creative arts to assist young people in exploring identities, belonging, and sexuality. She also works as an arts practitioner and is passionate about community health and well-being and supporting people to overcome trauma.

LEESA HAMILTON is a textile artist and educator based in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada. She is currently working at NSCAD University (Nova Scotia College of Art

and Design) in the textiles department and coordinating community engagement programming. She has a long history in community arts program development and delivery with underrepresented communities, with a particular focus on working with street-involved youth. She has studied costume design at Dalhousie University and fashion at George Brown College, and she holds a master's in adult education from the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

MICHAELINA JAKALA is an ethnographer at the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations, Coventry University, United Kingdom. She has a PhD in peace studies from the University of Bradford, United Kingdom. Her doctoral research was on peacebuilding, transitional justice, and reparation among survivors of wartime sexual violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Her research interests broadly focus on the everyday experiences of peacebuilding and transitional justice with a particular interest in justice, reparation, and education among marginalized groups. She has experience with participatory research and arts-based methods. Dr. Jakala has organized, chaired, and presented at a variety of international conferences and workshops, and currently teaches in the MA in Peace and Conflict Studies program and supervises PhD students.

ANDREW JONES works as the International Medical Corps, Child Protection and Psychosocial Support Program manager. He is a dedicated and passionate psychosocial support/protection professional with over seven years of experience in working with national and international community-based organizations and international nongovernmental organizations. He has a breadth of experience in community engagement, advocacy, youth development, research, and data analysis. Andrew graduated with a master's of public health, forced migration and humanitarian assistance from Columbia University Mailman School of Public Health. He worked with International Medical Corps as a Child Protection and Psychosocial Support program manager in Ukraine.

FATIMA KHAN is a PhD candidate in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education at McGill University, Montreal, Canada. Her research explores children's well-being in adverse contexts (i.e., conflict zones and disaster-struck areas) from historical, cultural, and psychosocial perspectives. By conceptualizing and understanding the trauma children face, she is interested in how drawings, as a participatory arts-based methodology, have been used and curated as a result of such adversity. In doing so, she aims to highlight some of the tensions and ethical issues that may arise when working with and exhibiting children's drawings.

WARREN LINDS is an associate professor in the Department of Applied Human Sciences, Concordia University, Montreal, Canada, and the graduate program director of the master's in human systems intervention in the same department. Dr. Linds has been a full-time faculty member at Concordia since August 2004. Beginning his graduate studies at the University of British Columbia in 1996, he

spent seventeen years working in international development education. Dr. Linds also worked for six years in community television, radio, and newspapers in Vancouver and Newfoundland. He has had extensive experience in popular theater and community development. This background has been critical to his teaching approach, where he brings practical experiences and theoretical approaches together. Dr. Linds has published in the areas of group facilitation, anti-oppression, and anti-racism pedagogy; the fostering of youth leadership; and alternative and arts-based approaches to qualitative research and documentation. He was a principal investigator on the research team in the Canadian Institutes for Health Research and the Saskatchewan Health Research Foundation–funded project *Acting Out! But in a Good Way*, which linked well-being and the arts with Indigenous youth in Saskatchewan, Canada. He is the coeditor (with Elinor Vettrai) of *Playing in a Hall of Mirrors: Applied Theatre as Reflective Practice* (with Linda Goulet and Ali Sammel), *Emancipatory Practices: Adult/Youth Engagement for Social and Environmental Justice*, and *Unfolding Bodymind: Exploring Possibility through Education* (with Johanna Haskell and Brent Hocking). He has presented at both national and international conferences in education, critical pedagogy, popular theater, and the arts and wellness with Indigenous youth.

CHURNJEET MAHN is a chancellor's fellow and senior lecturer in English at the University of Strathclyde, United Kingdom. Churnjeet's research has focused on writing about travel, migration, and exile, with a special focus on discourses of Orientalism and the construction of whiteness. She is currently leading a British Academy project, *Cross-Border Queers: The Story of South Asian Migrants to the UK*, which seeks to challenge the heteronormativity of research on and about South Asian migrants to the United Kingdom from the 1960s. She is the author of *British Women's Travel to Greece* (2012) (with Gauri Rajee) and *Making Lives, Making Communities: South Asians in Glasgow* (2018) and an editor and author of *Creativity and Resistance in a Hostile World* (2020).

APRIL MANDRONA, art education specialist and assistant professor, teaches courses related to art education, research methods, visual culture, and human development at the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design (NSCAD), Halifax, Nova Scotia. As program director, Mandrona is also implementing NSCAD's new master's program in art education. She received her PhD in art education from Concordia University in Montreal, Quebec, and was a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) postdoctoral fellow at McGill University in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education. Mandrona's current SSHRC-funded research supports children with refugee experience in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, and Coventry, United Kingdom in creating and sharing picture books that reflect their perspectives, experiences, and creative capacities. It is the first initiative of its kind to examine the role that the development of children's literature and learning materials by newcomer children themselves plays in the culture

of tolerance and acceptance. Mandrona has published articles and book chapters on young people's visual culture, art education, rurality, ethics, and participatory visual research. She is the current editor-in-chief of *Canadian Art Teacher* journal. Her coedited volume, *Visual Encounters in the Study of Rural Childhoods*, was released in spring 2018. The companion coedited volume, *Our Rural Selves: Memory, Place, and the Visual in Canadian Rural Childhoods*, was published in early 2019.

INES MARCHAND is a social worker and has worked with trauma survivors, child soldiers, and war-affected populations in Colombia and Canada for over thirty years. She is specialized in crisis intervention, intergenerational trauma, and integrating art in therapeutic work. Since 2006, she has been providing support to war-affected Colombian refugees in Québec. She founded *Agape por Colombia*, a nongovernmental organization that offers psychosocial support, accompaniment, and reconciliation strategies to war-affected Colombians. She has been a member of the research team Global Child McGill since 2014. She has published in *Contemporary P/CVE Research & Practice*; *Countering Violent Extremism: Developing an Evidence-Base for Policy and Practice*; *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*; and *Intervention: Journal of Mental Health and Psychosocial Support in Conflict Affected Areas*.

EJ MILNE is an associate professor at the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations at Coventry University, United Kingdom, and a research associate at the African Centre for Migration and Society at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa. Her research focuses on critical participation and creative approaches to researching how young people, refugees, and migrants experience and shape belonging. EJ has published in *AREA*, the *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *Takam Tikou*, and *Current Sociology* in addition to coediting the *Handbook of Participatory Video* (2012) and contributing to the *Handbook of Visual Research Methodologies* (2019).

CLAUDIA MITCHELL is a Distinguished James McGill Professor in the Faculty of Education, McGill University, Montreal, Canada, and an honorary professor at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. At McGill she is the director of the Institute for Human Development and Well-Being and the founder and director of the Participatory Cultures Lab. She is also the cofounder and editor-in-chief of the award-winning journal *Girlhood Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*. Her research focuses on participatory visual and arts-based approaches to working with young people and communities in relation to addressing critical social issues, such as gender equality and gender-based violence, and in a wide range of country contexts in West Africa, Southern and Eastern Africa, and East Asia Pacific. Her recent coauthored and coedited publications include *Doing Visual Research; Participatory Visual Methodologies: Social Change, Community and*

Policy (with N. de Lange and R. Moletsane); *Disrupting Shameful Legacies: Girls and Young Women speaking Back through the Arts to Address Sexual Violence* (with R. Moletsane); *Our Rural Selves* (with A. Mandrona); *Visual Encounters in the Study of Rural Childhoods* (with A. Mandrona); and *Participatory Visual Methodologies in Global Public Health* (with M. Sommer).

KATIE MULLINS is a psychosocial support specialist, Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS). In the role of psychosocial support specialist, Katie coordinates with the international, regional, and country offices to provide support for psychosocial activities. These activities help individuals and communities affected by displacement achieve better mental health and social connections as a way of promoting their well-being and resilience. Prior to joining JRS, Katie managed mental health, psychosocial support, and child protection projects around the world, including in Israel, Liberia, Palestine, Uganda, Ukraine, most recently, the United States in the aftermath of Hurricane Harvey. Katie has a master's in social work from Tel Aviv University, with a concentration in trauma and crisis, and a bachelor's in communications.

KAREN PAUL is currently a doctoral student in the faculty of social work at McGill University, Montreal, Canada. Situated in Global Child McGill, which researches and advocates for the well-being of children and families affected by war in Canada and internationally, Karen is exploring perspectives on what constitutes effective social work in settings of armed conflict. Karen worked for over four years in predominantly high-conflict-intensity settings, including Afghanistan, Libya, and Ukraine with International Medical Corps. Focused on mental health and psychosocial support in conflict settings, Karen supported national staff to provide care in their own contexts.

MARJORIE RABIAU, PHD, is an assistant professor in the School of Social Work at McGill University, Montreal, Canada. She is a clinical psychologist and a couple and family therapist (member of the Ordre des psychologues du Québec and Ordre des travailleurs sociaux et des thérapeutes conjugaux et familiaux du Québec.) After over ten years of clinical practice, Dr. Rabiau is now a core faculty member for the M.Sc.(A) in Couple and Family Therapy. Her expertise lies in working with children, adolescents, and their families using primarily a systemic lens. Her research interests include the development of identity within the context of family and community. Her current domains of study are the importance of working with the family when working with refugee youth, as well as when working with gender creative youth.

RX is an anonymized collective of young people from refugee and migrant backgrounds living in the United Kingdom. It has its foundations in anti-racist activism and uses participatory action research and creative arts to develop skills, confidence, and leadership among young people. The anonymous coauthors are queer

identifying members and allies and include community researchers, young people, and staff members of RX.

THEA SHAHROKH has ten years of experience as a researcher and facilitator innovating in participatory methodologies, including arts and story-based approaches with people facing marginalization to drive transformative social change. Her experience has grown through community-based participatory research partnerships in the United Kingdom and the Global South, and she works within an emancipatory epistemology. This places those most affected by social issues at the center of research decision making. She aims to support a deeper, more critical understanding of complex social issues through reflexive and dialogic learning processes that address power asymmetries and social divides. She has published these methodological innovations with Wheeler and Derakhshani under the umbrella of Transformative Storywork, including in *The Handbook of Development Communication and Social Change*. She is passionate about working with young people in particular, whose powerful voices are often overlooked. Her doctoral research with the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations at Coventry University, United Kingdom, focused on young people's agency, identities, and belonging and the construction of counternarratives in South Africa. She has undertaken research with young people with migration experiences and, during her time at the Institute of Development Studies, with diverse young people on issues of gendered violence, social inclusion, and social justice movement building. Her work in the Participation, Inclusion and Social Change team there contributed to pathbreaking research on participatory approaches to accountability for those most marginalized from development decision making.

MEAGHAN SHEVELL is currently an analyst for Gender Equality and Inclusion Practice at Universalia. Previously, she was the research coordinator to Dr. Myriam Denov's Born of War research project, which examined the impacts of conflict-related gender-based violence and the lived realities of children born of sexual violence during war and genocide in Cambodia, Rwanda, and Northern Uganda. Meaghan has multiple publications on the well-being of war-affected children and families, and is the coeditor (with Myriam Denov) of the book *Social Work Practice with War-Affected Children: The Importance of Family, Art, Culture, and Context*. Meaghan graduated from Columbia University with a master's degree in human rights studies, specializing in children's rights and child protection in conflict and humanitarian settings. Previously, Meaghan's academic training was in the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, and psychology, through her bachelor of arts completed at McGill University.

INKA WEISSBECKER is the Global Mental Health and Psychosocial Advisor for the International Medical Corps (IMC). In this role, she provides remote and on-site technical oversight and support to IMC project countries in the areas of assessment, program design, project implementation, and evaluation of mental health and

psychosocial programs. She has completed field assignments in Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Gaza, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Lebanon, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, South Sudan, Syria, and Turkey. Inka has been a contributor to several global Inter-Agency Standing Committee and World Health Organization guidelines and working groups. She has also served as a nongovernmental organization representative of the International Union of Psychological Science to the United Nations (Economic and Social Council, United Nations and Department of Public Information, United Nations). Her academic credentials include a PhD in clinical psychology specializing in health and public sector psychology from the University of Louisville and University of South Florida as well as an MPH in global health and population studies from the Harvard School of Public Health.

INDEX

- Abusour, Abdelfattah, 209–210
- accountability, 11; at Kakuma refugee camp, 144; in PR, 124–125; procedural ethics and, 122; in queer code of ethics, 167–168; relational ethics and, 12
- acculturation gap, in resettlement, 38
- Afghanistan/Afghans, 244
- Age and Disability Capacity Programme (ADCAP), 69
- agency, 10, 13, 34; in arts-based research, 215–216; digital storytelling for, 209; drama/theater for, 211; in PR, 215; resilience and, 39; of war-affected children, 37; for well-being, 64
- Ahmed, Farhio, 9
- A Is for Activist* (Nagara), 264
- Akesson, B., 55, 119
- Albanese, P., 51
- Algeria/Algerians: drawing in, 244; music in, 213
- Alice, Mbabazi, 251
- Alrowwad Youth Theatre, 210
- Alshteiji, Amal, 14
- Anderson, A., 51
- Angola/Angolans: in Canada, 48; in South Africa, 34, 174, 175
- anti-oppressive research (AOR): feminist theory and, 135; in Global South, 148; intersectionality in, 135. *See also* Kakuma refugee camp
- anxiety: art therapy for, 229–230; drawing for, 203; of Ukrainians, 65, 73
- Arnot, M., 51
- Art Connecting*, 48, 58
- Art4Lives*, 230
- Art from a Fractured Past* (Milton), 248
- Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), 155–156, 171n4
- Arts-Based Axis, 5, 6, 10, 195–275; arts-based research on war-affected children, 197–217; creative arts therapies in schools, 223–236; drawing by girls, 240–254; picture books by RYP, 259–275
- Arts-Based Methods in Refugee Research* (Lenette), 198
- arts-based participatory research in South Africa, 173–190
- arts-based research: agency in, 215–216; benefits of, 216–217; cellphilmimg in, 201, 206–207; digital storytelling in, 201, 207–209; drama/theater in, 201, 209–211; drawing in, 201, 202–204; ethics in, 214–216; historical context for, 199–201; intersectionality in, 217; music in, 201, 211–214; photovoice in, 201, 204–206; PR and, 201; on war-affected children, 197–217
- art therapy, 228–231
- al-Assad, Bashar, 252
- Association of Canadian Deans of Education, 53, 59
- asylum seekers, in South Africa, 175–176
- attachment disruption, in families, 88
- attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, creative arts therapies for, 223
- audiences, 175, 188, 206, 211, 216, 231, 232, 270
- Australia: Bosnians in, 230–231; creative arts therapies in, 227–228; girls' drawing in, 247
- autobiographies, in picture books, 273
- Bah, Alusine, 9
- Bangladesh, Rohingya in, 246, 249–250
- Barowsky, E., 265
- Bartolomei, L., 134
- Bell, K., 138
- belonging: digital storytelling for, 207; of queer, 159; in resettlement, 37–38; in schools in Canada, 51; in South Africa, 178–179
- Bennett, M., 119
- Betancourt, T. S., 3, 25
- Betawi, A., 203
- Bhabha, Homi, 201
- Bhutan/Bhutanese, 114
- Bilger, V., 217
- Bilotta, Neil, 9, 123
- Blanchet-Cohen, N., 52, 53
- Block, K., 140
- Bolton, P., 206
- Bond, Sharon, 9

- Bosnia/Bosnians: art therapy for, 230–231; in Australia, 230–231; drama/theater for, 210; in United States, 90
- Boss, Pauline, 93
- Botelho, M. J., 264
- Bragin, M., 29
- Brandenburg, R., 57
- Braun, V., 138
- Brazil/Brazilians, 48
- Bronfenbrenner, U., 25
- Brown, L., 147
- Brown Bookshelf, 263
- Bruner, Jerome, 201
- Buitrago, Jairo, 264
- bullying, 14
- Burlingham, Dorothy, 87, 88
- Burundi/Burundians: AOR on, 137; Congolese in, 250–252; girls' drawing in, 248–254; in South Africa, 174, 175, 178, 183
- Bushin, N., 117
- Cambodia/Cambodians, 244
- Canada: creative-arts therapies in, 227; digital storytelling in, 208; drama/theater in, 211; drama therapy in, 232; father's absence in, 94; Kanien'kehá:ka in, 161, 171n8; Picture Book Project in, 259–275; picture books in, 259–275; resettlement in, 46–59; Syrians in, 47, 50, 260; teachers in, 46–59; Vietnamese in, 90; war-affected children in, 49–54
- Canadian Council for Refugees, 208
- capacity, in PR, 117–118
- Capernaum, 58
- caregivers: mothers as, 85–86; secure attachments with, 228; in Ukraine, 68, 71, 79; of war-affected children, 23
- Cargo, M., 118
- cellphilmimg, 58, 201, 206–207
- Centre for Trust, Peace & Social Relations, at Coventry University, 259–260
- Chambers, R., 112
- child-friendly spaces (CFSs), for drawing, 240–241, 240–242, 246–247, 253
- Childhood in a Global Perspective* (Wells), 241
- Chilisa, B., 136, 141
- Clacherty, Glynis, 10, 243
- Clarke, V., 138
- Clark-Kazak, C., 137
- code of ethics, for queer, 160–169
- Collie, P., 113–114, 120–121
- Colombia/Colombians, 7; in Canada, 48; music in, 213
- commitment: to familial attachment security, 100; in Ukraine, 65, 66
- Community-Based Approaches to Mental Health and Psychosocial Support Programmes* (IASC), 33
- Conflagrations* (Girardeau), 243–244
- Congolese, in Burundi, 250–252
- Convention on the Rights of the Child, of UN, 3, 11, 149, 216, 241
- Cooper, E., 118
- Cooperative Children's Book Center, 259
- Coppock, V., 37
- Cornwall, A., 113
- Coventry University, Centre for Trust, Peace & Social Relations at, 259–260
- COVID-19 pandemic, 1
- creative arts therapies: arts therapy in, 228–231; culture in, 234–235; drama therapy in, 231–233; ethics in, 234–235; for mental health, 225–228; music therapy in, 233–234; in schools, 223–236; for war-affected children, 223–236
- critical consciousness, 117
- Cruel Radiance, The* (Linfield), 205
- cultural borderlands, 98
- cultural conjecture, 99
- cultural/contextual approach, to well-being, 26–27, 32–33
- cultural disclosure, 99
- cultural humility, 95, 97, 98
- cultural meaning, 92, 97, 99
- cultural safety: in New Zealand, 95–96; in resettlement, 95–98; for war-affected children in Canadian schools, 54–55
- culture, 11–12; in creative arts therapies, 234–235; girls' drawing and, 244–245; in intergenerational resilience, 34; at Kakuma refugee camp, 142; for mental health, 27, 87; in PR, 113, 120–121; in queer code of ethics, 168–169; in resettlement, 37, 92–93; resilience and, 95; of Syrians, 26–27; teachers in Canada and, 54–55; in Ukraine, 64
- Cummins, J., 54
- Czech Republic, 2
- Dalgaard, N. T., 100
- Dangerous Minds*, 58

- Daniel, E. V., 160
 Davidson, G., 116
 Day, Laura, 211
Day Our World Changed, The (Goodman), 243
 Declaration in Support of Children, 263
 decolonization, 11; PR on queer and, 154, 157, 160, 161; relational ethics and, 12; RYP and, 145; unlearning and, 30
Decolonizing Methodologies (Smith, L.), 154
 deconstruction. *See* unlearning/deconstruction
 Demian, Nagui, 8
 Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)/Congolese: AOR in, 137; culture in, 12; drama/theater in, 210; in South Africa, 174, 175, 177, 178, 181–182, 183, 184, 187
 Denov, Myriam, 4–5, 7, 8, 9, 34, 52, 119, 121
 dependency, 34–35
 depression: art therapy for, 229–230; creative arts therapies for, 223; girls' drawing for, 245; from premigratory loss, 90; in resettlement, 90, 92, 93; of Ukrainians, 73
 Dewey, J., 56
 Dicker-Brandeis, Friedl, 243
 digital storytelling, 58, 190n2; in arts-based PR in South Africa, 179–180, 182, 184; in arts-based research, 201, 207–209; in PR, 112, 179–180, 182, 184
 DiMartini, A., 57
 disclosure: cultural, 99; modulated, 100; in resettlement, 96–97
 Downe, P., 111
 drama/theater: in arts-based research, 201, 209–211. *See also* creative arts therapies
 drama therapy, 231–233
 drawing: in arts-based research, 201, 202–204; in art therapy, 230; CFSs for, 240–242, 246–247, 253; critical analysis of, 246–254; as progressive approach, 242; by RYP, 240–254
 Dumbrell, Gary, 205
 edge-of-existence experiences, 178
 education, 14; girls' drawing and, 246; at Kakuma refugee camp, 135; PR for, 115
 Egypt, Sudanese in, 46
 Ellis, C., 125
 emotional safety: in arts-based PR in South Africa, 178, 181–182; in resettlement, 96, 97
 empathy, 69; art therapy for, 229; digital storytelling for, 207; for older adults, 76; picture books for, 263; therapeutic rupture and, 99
 employment/unemployment: music and, 213; self-esteem from, 92; of Syrians in Canada, 50
 Eritrea, 137
 ethics: in arts-based research, 214–216; code for, for queer, 160–169; in creative arts therapies, 234–235. *See also* relational ethics
 Ethiopia, Lost Boys of Sudan from, 28
 ethnography: in drama therapy, 231–232; at Kakuma refugee camp, 136–137
 Eversole, R., 160
 Ewald, Wendy, 204
 exosystem, for well-being, 25
 Falicov, C. J., 92, 97, 98, 99
 false promises: at Kakuma refugee camp, 140–141; in PR, 118–122
 familial attachment security, in resettlement, 99–100
 families: art therapy for, 230; attachment disruption in, 88; creative arts therapies for, 223; in PR, 123–124; resettlement of, 85–95; resilience in, 30; in Rwanda, 28; tracing and reunification of, 35, 36; in Ukraine, 64, 65, 66, 68, 71; unlearning/deconstruction of, 28; of war-affected children, 23
 family/community approach to well-being, 24–26, 31–33; in Ukraine, 67–68
 Family Consequences of Refugee Trauma (FAMCORT), 90
 family-informed theory, in resettlement, 88–89
Family Is a Family Is a Family A (O'Leary), 264
 fantasy, in picture books, 271–272
 fathers: gender roles of, 92; in resettlement, 92–94
 Fazel, M., 3
 feminist theory: AOR and, 135; picture books and, 261
 Fennig, Maya, 9
 filmmaking: in PR, 112. *See also* cellphilmimg
 First Nations Peoples, decolonization of, 30
 Fitzpatrick, F., 230–231
 Fouché, S. F., 233–234
 Freire, P., 117, 156
 Freud, Anna, 87, 88
 Frounfelker, R. L., 38

- Galegher, E. L., 54
 Gallacher, L. A., 109
 Gallagher, M., 109
 Gangamma, R., 92
 Gangi, J. M., 265
 Gauthier, M. F., 232
 Geertz, C., 11
 General Accord on Initial Teacher Education, 53, 59
 Ghosh, R., 54
 Gifford, S., 114, 208
 Girardeau, Zérane S., 243–244
 girls: drawing by, 240–254; of Rohingya, 242
 Global Child McGill, 4–5, 7–8, 223–224
 Global Compact for Young People in Humanitarian Action, 23
 Global North, 4, 7; education in, 14; picture books in, 261–262; PR in, 125; resettlement to, 37; teachers in, 53
 Global Refugee Forum, of UNHCR, 15
 Global South, 7; AOR in, 148; education in, 14; PR in, 125
 Goodhand, J., 140
 Goodman, R. F., 243
 Goodnow, K., 206
 Greece, Iraqi/Iraqis in, 245
 Green, E., 205
 Gualano, M. R., 72
 Guba, E. G., 138, 139
Guide for Supporting Community-ed Child Protection Processes, A (Wessells), 33
 Gurle, N. S., 228
 Guzder, Jaswant, 9, 97
 Guzman, Mayra, 9
 Gzranka, P. R., 28
- Hamachek, D., 56
 Hamilton, R., 54
 Hampton, R., 57
 Hanebrink, J., 210
 Hart, R., 119
 Hassan, G., 26
 Healing and Education Through the Arts (HEART), 247
 Healthy Habits For Happy Kids, in Ukraine, 73, 79, 80
Heart, a Duck, an Old Man, and outer Space, A, 271–272
 Hill, A., 200
 Hinton, R., 114
- hip-hop. *See* music
 HIV/AIDS: photovoice for, 204; in South Africa, 57; in Zimbabwe, 182
Home (Quilty), 253–254
 Home of Expressive Arts and Learning (HEAL), 227–228
 homophobia, 86, 155, 169
 hooks, bell, 156, 159–160
 Hoot, J. L., 53
 Horn, R., 140
Humanitarian Inclusion Standards for Older People and People with Disabilities (ADCAP), 69
 human trafficking, 245
 Hyder, T., 54
- identity: in arts-based PR in South Africa, 185–187; digital storytelling for, 208; drama therapy for, 232; intersectionality of, 28; at Kakuma refugee camp, 134; in resettlement, 37–38
If I Go Missing (Shingoose), 264
 Image Theatre, 209
 Immigrant Services Association of Nova Scotia (ISANS), 260
 India, 244
 Indonesia, 227
I Never Saw Another Butterfly (Volavková), 243, 262
 informed consent, in arts-based research, 214
 Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC), 33; MHPSS by, 71
 intergenerationality, 13; benefits of, 72–73; music and, 213; of premigratory trauma, 89; in Ukraine, 63–81
 intergenerational resilience, 34
 International Medical Corps, 9; MHPSS by, 65, 72–73; in Ukraine, 65, 72–76, 79, 80–81; YEP of, 74–76, 77, 79, 80–81
 International Organization for Migration, The, 33–34
 intersectionality, 11; in AOR, 135; in arts-based research, 217; in drama therapy, 233; of oppression, 135; in PR, 123; of queer, 159–160; in relational ethics, 13; in resettlement, 98–99; in Ukraine, 67; of well-being, 27–28
 Inter-Village Task Force, in Sierra Leone, 33
 intimate partner violence, at Kakuma refugee camp, 134, 139

- Iraqi/Iraqis: drawing by, 203; in Greece, 245
- Irwin, E., 229
- Isakson, B. L., 37
- Islamophobia, 96; queer and, 159
- isolation: creative arts therapies for, 226; for girls' drawing, 245; in resettlement, 92; of Ukrainians, 70; of war-affected children, 2, 3, 31, 53
- Israel: creative-arts therapies in, 227; drama/theater in, 209–210; music in, 213
- Jabbar, S., 203
- Jal, Emmanuel, 211–212
- Janzen, J., 203, 204
- Janzen, R. K., 203, 204
- Jewkes, R., 113
- Johnson, D., 181
- Jones, Andrew, 8
- Jones, Lynne, 26, 31–32, 88
- Kaiser, T., 213
- Kakuma refugee camp, Kenya, 6, 9; accountability at, 144; anti-oppressive research in, 134–149; culture in, 12; drawing in, 244; ethnography at, 136–137; false promises at, 140–141; findings at, 139–144; interviews at, 138; intimate partner violence at, 134, 139; LGBTQ+ at, 137–138; NGOs at, 134–135, 138, 148; PR in, 118, 123, 133–149; prolonged engagement at, 138; reciprocity at, 141–142; relational ethics at, 144; RYP in, 133–149; thematic analysis at, 138–139; transparency and direct communication at, 142–144; trust at, 142
- Kalaf, L., 230
- Kanien'kehá:ka, in Canada, 161, 171n8
- Kanyako, Vandy, 212
- Karan, P., 247
- Kellett, M., 111
- Kenya: cellphilm in, 206. *See also* Kakuma refugee camp
- Keuleers, Els, 251
- Khan, Fatima, 10, 11, 25
- Kidron, C. A., 95
- King, N., 138
- Kirmayer, L. J., 98–99
- Kloos, B., 205
- Knowledge Holders, 55
- Knudsen, J., 160
- Kohli, R., 173, 178
- Van der Kolk, B., 224
- Krause, U., 160
- Krogstad, D., 214
- Kuftinec, Sonia Arsham, 209, 210
- Künzler, Daniel, 212, 213
- Kurdi, Alan, 240
- Lacroix, L., 232
- language proficiency: in creative arts therapies, 226; picture books for, 263; PR on, 114; in resettlement, 96–97; of Syrians in Canada, 50
- Lebanon: culture in, 12; drawing in, 244; girls' drawing in, 248–254; Syrians in, 12, 89, 252–254
- Lee, K., 206
- LeFrançois, B. A., 37
- Lenette, C., 198, 247
- lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ+): at Kakuma refugee camp, 137–138; marginalization of, 6; oppression of, 6; resettlement of, 86, 101. *See also* queer
- Lester, R., 177–178, 182, 183
- Lewin, K., 112
- Li, X., 265
- Liberia: cellphilm in, 207; PAR in, 115
- Van Liempt, I., 217
- Lincoln, Y. S., 138, 139
- Linfield, Susie, 205
- Liston, D. P., 56
- Lock, Katrin, 213
- López-Bech, L., 207
- Lorde, Audre, 159, 160
- Lost Boys of Sudan, 28
- Lost Dog, The*, 272
- Loughran, J., 57
- Luchs, M., 208
- Lum, D., 55
- Lumsden, Malvern, 209
- Macedonia, drama/theater in, 210
- Mackenzie, C., 167
- MacNevin, J., 53–54
- macrosystem, for well-being, 25
- Mahn, Churnjeet, 9, 154, 156
- Malawi, in South Africa, 174, 176
- Malchiodi, C. A., 250
- Mapping Memories, 208
- Marchand, Ines, 9

- marginalization: in Canadian schools, 52; digital storytelling for, 208; drawing for, 241; girls' drawing and, 246; of LGBTQ+, 6; photovoice for, 6; in resettlement, 92; from social science research, 3; of war-affected children, 53
- Martino, S. A., 215–216
- McClain Opiyo, L., 212
- McKay, S., 115
- Measham, T., 87
- mental health, 3; creative arts therapies for, 225–228; culture for, 27, 87; at Kakuma refugee camp, 135; music therapy for, 233; PR for, 114–115; in resettlement, 37, 51, 86–87, 91–92; of Syrians, 26–27; unlearning of, 29; of war-affected children, 225–228. *See also* well-being; *specific topics*
- mental health and psychosocial support (MHPSS), 32, 36; by IASC, 71; by International Medical Corps, 65, 72–73
- Mental Health Commission, 96
- Mercer, S. L., 118
- mesosystem, for well-being, 25
- Mexicans, in Canada, 48
- Mfutso-Bengo, J., 147
- microsystem, for well-being, 25, 26
- migrant young people. *See* arts-based participatory research in South Africa
- migration trajectory, in resettlement, 89
- Miller, E., 208
- Milne, E. J., 9, 11, 154, 156, 161
- Milton, Cynthia, 248
- Mitchell, Claudia, 8, 57, 242
- modulated disclosure, 100
- Moldova, 2
- Molony, T., 206–207
- Morocco, 158
- Mottram, P., 181
- Mozambique, 174, 176
- Mullins, Katie, 8
- music: in arts-based research, 201, 211–214; therapy, 233–234. *See also* creative arts therapies
- MusicWorks, 234
- Musleh, Abeer, 209–210
- Muslims/Islam: queer, 159. *See also* Islamophobia
- Myanmar: culture in, 12; picture books by, 264. *See also* Rohingya
- My Dreams for the Future*, 251
- My Story*, 273
- Nagara, Innosanto, 264
- Naicker, L., 49
- Naidoo, Beverly, 264
- narrative fiction, in picture books, 272
- Nepal: Bhutanese in, 114; creative-arts therapies in, 227
- New Zealand: cultural safety in, 95–96; PAR in, 113–114, 120–121
- Ngwasho, Neige, 252
- Nigeria/Nigerians: in Canada, 48; picture books by, 264
- Nkunda, Laurent, 251
- non-governmental organizations (NGOs): in arts-based PR in South Africa, 175, 176; in Canada, 46, 47, 48; for cellphilmimg, 206; for drawing, 203; at Kakuma refugee camp, 134–135, 138, 148; for photovoice, 205
- Northern Ireland, 200–201
- No Turning Back* (Naidoo), 264
- Nova Scotia College of Art & Design, 259–260
- Nowell, L. S., 139
- Nuxoll, Cornelia, 213
- O'Driscoll, J. V., 38
- Office of U.S. Foreign Affairs and Disaster Assistance, 73
- older adults: empathy for, 76; program curriculum development for, 75–76; service provision for, 71–72; in Ukraine, 69–70
- Older People Society Group, in Ukraine, 70
- O'Leary, Sara, 264
- On Tour, 208
- open-mindedness, 56
- oppression: intersectionality of, 135; of LGBTQ+, 6; in resettlement, 92. *See also* anti-oppressive research
- optimism, in Ukraine, 65, 66
- orphans, 35–36
- Orton, Liz, 205
- Our House Is on Fire* (Thunberg), 264
- Pakistan/Pakistanis: in Canada, 48; drawing in, 244–245; picture books by, 264
- Palestine: creative-arts therapies in, 227; drama/theater in, 209–210; music in, 213
- Parsons, R., 182
- participatory action research (PAR), 112, 113–114; on reintegration, 215

- Participatory Axis, 5, 6, 9–10, 107–190;
 arts-based PR in South Africa, 173–190; PR
 and, 109–127; PR in Kakuma refugee camp
 and, 133–149; PR on queer, 153–170
- participatory research (PR), 109–127;
 accountability in, 124–125; agency in, 215;
 arts-based research and, 201; benefits of,
 115–118; capacity in, 117–118; challenges of,
 118–122; culture in, 113, 120–121; digital
 storytelling in, 112, 179–180, 182, 184; for
 education, 115; false promises in, 118–122;
 families in, 123–124; guidelines/recommen-
 dations for, 126–127; historical and
 theoretical roots of, 112; improvements to,
 122–127; insider/outsider tensions with,
 121–122; intersectionality in, 123; in Kakuma
 refugee camp, 118, 123, 133–149; on language
 proficiency, 114; for mental health, 114–115;
 in New Zealand, 120–121; photovoice in, 112;
 power asymmetries in, 122; on queer,
 153–170; reciprocity in, 117, 125; reflection in,
 117–118; relational ethics in, 124–125;
 researcher/researched relationship in, 113;
 researcher's power in, 118–119; for resettle-
 ment, 115; on resilience, 116; in Sierra Leone,
 119, 120; social justice in, 115; structural
 barriers to, 120–121; tokenism in, 119; trust
 in, 116–117; in Uganda, 120; for war-affected
 children, 109–127; on well-being, 114–115.
See also arts-based participatory research in
 South Africa
- Paul, Karen, 8
- peer relationships, 35–36
- perseverance, in Ukraine, 65, 66
- perspective-taking, 58
- Perumal, Juliet, 4
- photo novellas, 112
- photovoice, 58; in arts-based research, 201,
 204–206; for marginalization, 6; in
 PR, 112
- picture books: analysis framework for,
 270–274; autobiographies in, 273; in
 Canada, 259–275; design and layout of, 270;
 dissemination of, 270; fantasy in, 271–272;
 material explorations for, 268–269;
 narrative building for, 267–268; narrative
 fiction in, 272; narratives and poetics of,
 261–263; objectives of, 263–264; process of,
 265–270; research on, 264–270; by RYP,
 259–275; story and closure for, 269
- Pillay, D., 49
- Pinson, H., 51
- Pithouse-Morgan, K., 49
- Pitner, R. O., 135
- Pittaway, E., 133–134
- Plante, P., 230
- Poland, Ukrainians in, 2
- policy, 13–15; photovoice for, 205–206
- Positive Parenting, in Ukraine, 73, 80
- post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), 110; art
 therapy for, 229–230; creative arts therapies
 for, 223, 227; music therapy for, 233; in
 resettlement, 90, 93; of Ukrainians, 73
- Potts, K., 147
- power asymmetries: in Kakuma refugee camp,
 134; in PR, 122; for queer, 160–161
- powerlessness, in resettlement, 37
- pre migratory loss: in arts-based PR in
 South Africa, 177–179; in resettlement,
 90–91, 96
- pre migratory trauma: in arts-based PR in
 South Africa, 177–179; in resettlement, 89.
See also war-affected children
- procedural ethics: accountability and, 122; in
 PR, 125; for queer, 167
- Promise of Tomorrow, The, 204
- Pruitt, L. J., 213
- Punamäki, R. L., 87
- Quebec Adolescent Refugee Project, 94
- queer: code of ethics for, 160–169; intersec-
 tionality of, 159–160; in Morocco, 158;
 Muslims, 159; power asymmetries for,
 160–161; PR on, 153–170; as RYP, 153–170;
 safe space for, 159–160; trust with, 160–161;
 vulnerability of, 155
- Quilty, Ben, 253–254
- Quinlan, R., 227–228
- Rabaia, Y., 37
- Rabiau, Marjorie, 8, 98
- rap. *See* music
- rape. *See* sexual violence
- reciprocity: at Kakuma refugee camp, 141–142;
 in PR, 117, 125
- reflection, 11; in arts-based PR in South Africa,
 180–181, 185, 186; photovoice for, 205; in PR,
 117–118; in resettlement, 98; for teachers in
 Canada, 56–58
- Refugee Act, in South Africa, 176

- refugee young people (RYP): arts-based research for, 217; drawing by, 240–254; in Kakuma refugee camp, 133–149; music therapy for, 233; photovoice for, 205; picture books by, 259–275; as queer, 153–170
- Re-Imaging Communities, in Northern Ireland, 200
- reintegration: drawing for, 203–204; PAR on, 215; photovoice for, 205
- relational ethics: at Kakuma refugee camp, 144; in PR, 124–125; in service provision, 12–13
- resettlement, 85–101; ambiguity and uncertainty in, 93; best practices for, 95–100; in Canada, 46–59; creative arts therapies in, 224; cultural humility in, 98; cultural safety in, 95–98; culture in, 37, 92–93; disclosure in, 96–97; drawing for, 203–204; familial attachment security in, 99–100; of families, 85–95; family-informed theory in, 88–89; fathers in, 93–94; intersectionality in, 98–99; from Kakuma refugee camp, 134; language proficiency in, 96–97; of LGBTQ+, 86, 101; mental health in, 37, 51, 86–87, 91–92; migration trajectory in, 89; modulated disclosure in, 100; negative reception to, 96; oppression in, 92; photovoice for, 205; postmigration stressors in, 91–92; premigratory loss in, 90–91, 96; premigratory trauma in, 89; PR for, 115; racial discrimination in, 96–97; reflection in, 98; resilience in, 94–95, 100; service provision in, 36–38; in South Africa, 176–177
- resilience: agency and, 39; art therapy for, 230; intergenerational, 34; PR on, 116; in resettlement, 94–95, 100; in Ukraine, 66–67; unlearning of, 29–30; vulnerability and, 95
- Rohingya, 12; in Bangladesh, 246, 249–250; girls of, 242
- Ronzi, S., 72
- Rousseau, C., 97, 211, 232
- Rubin, J., 224, 226, 235
- Rudman, M. K., 264
- Ruurs, Margriet, 264
- Rwanda/Rwandans, 5, 6; AOR on, 137; drama/theater in, 210; drawing by, 203, 244; families in, 28; in South Africa, 175
- safe space: CFSs for drawing, 240–242, 246–247, 253; in creative arts therapies, 234; for drawing, 240–242; in photovoice, 204; for queer, 159–160
- Sajmani, N., 226, 232–233
- Sakamoto, L., 135
- Saul, K., 230, 231
- Save the Children, HEART of, 247
- Schön, Donald, 56–57
- schools: creative arts therapies in, 223–236; photovoice in, 205–206; war-affected children in Canada in, 49–54
- Schore, A., 229
- Schormans, F. A., 215–216
- Second World War, 200
- Seeds of Peace, 210
- Seiff-Haron, J., 99
- self-esteem: art therapy for, 229; drama/theater for, 210; from employment, 92; in Ukraine, 65, 66
- Seligman, Zivya, 200
- September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, 243
- Serbia/Serbians, 213
- service provision: in flight and war-related migration, 33–36; global guidelines for, 70–72; for older adults, 71–72; relational ethics in, 12–13; in resettlement, 36–38; in war, 31–33; for well-being, 30–38; for young people, 71
- sexual violence, 31; girls' drawing and, 245, 251; as premigratory trauma, 89
- Shahrokh, Thea, 10
- Shepler, Susan, 212–213
- Shingoose, Nahanni, 264
- Shipman, D., 92
- Siegel, D., 226
- Sierra Leone, 5, 7; cultural/context approach in, 32; music in, 212–213; PAR in, 115; photovoice in, 205; PR in, 119, 120
- Sithampparanathan, K., 209
- Skartveit, H.-L., 206
- Sloane, J., 211
- Slovakia, Ukrainians in, 2
- Smith, A., 210
- Smith, L. T., 154, 160
- Smith, Tuhiwai, 136, 145
- social justice, in PR, 115
- social tolerance, in Ukraine, 66–67
- Socio-ecological Axis, 5–6, 8–9, 21–101; for resettlement, 85–101; for teachers in

- Canada, 46–59; for Ukraine social cohesion, 63–81; well-being in, 23–39
- Solomon, M., 226
- Somalia/Somalis: acculturation gap of, 38; AOR on, 137; in South Africa, 174
- South Africa, 5, 6, 7, 10; Angola to, 34; AOR on, 137; asylum seekers in, 175–176; drawing in, 243; HIV/AIDS in, 57; identity in, 185–187; as land of opportunity, 175; music therapy in, 233–234; NGOs in, 175; photovoice in, 205–206; picture books from, 264; Refugee Act in, 176; resettlement in, 176–177. *See also* arts-based participatory research in South Africa
- South Sudan: drawing by, 244; orphans in, 35
- Spackman, E. S., 210
- Spanish Civil War, 199–200, 242–243
- Sparks, L., 54–55
- Sri Lanka: creative-arts therapies in, 227; drama/theater in, 209
- Statistics Canada, 50
- stepping back process, 5
- Stepping Stones* (Ruurs), 264
- Stevens, M., 233–234
- Stewart, J., 52, 53
- Strekalova, E., 53
- Sudan/Sudanese: to Egypt, 46; picture books by, 264. *See also* South Sudan
- Suitcase Stories, The* (Clacherty), 243
- Svitak, Adora, 264
- Syria/Syrians, 7; art therapy for, 229–230; in Canada, 47, 50, 260; creative arts therapies in, 228; culture of, 26–27; drawing by, 244; father's absence for, 93–94; girls' drawing in, 247; in Lebanon, 12, 89, 252–254; mental health of, 26–27; picture books by, 264; premigratory trauma of, 89; in Turkey, 229–230, 240
- teachers, in Ukraine, 68
- teachers in Canada, 46–59; culture and, 54–55; reflection for, 56–58; support for, 53–54; war-affected children and, 52–54
- Teaching to Transgress* (hooks), 159
- Thailand, 134
- Theatre Action Group (TAG), 209
- thematic analysis, at Kakuma refugee camp, 138–139
- They Still Draw Pictures* (Weissberger), 242–243
- Thunberg, Greta, 264
- tokenism, in PR, 119
- torture: of fathers, 94; as premigratory trauma, 89; in sexual violence, 89; in Vietnam, 90
- transparency: at Kakuma refugee camp, 142–144; in PR, 13
- trauma, 13, 26, 31–32, 52, 58, 86–100, 117, 173, 177–182, 202, 223–230, 244, 250, 262
- trust: in arts-based PR in South Africa, 178, 180; digital storytelling for, 207; at Kakuma refugee camp, 142; in PR, 116–117; with queer, 160–161
- Turkey: art therapy in, 229–230; creative-arts therapies in, 227; Syrians in, 229–230, 240
- Two White Rabbits* (Buitrago), 264
- Uganda: AOR in, 137; creative-arts therapies in, 227; drama/theater in, 210; music in, 212; PAR in, 115; PR in, 116, 120; well-being in, 29
- Ukraine/Ukrainians, 1, 2, 7; armed conflict in, 63–70; challenges and recommendations in, 78–81; culture in, 12; intergenerationality in, 63–81; International Medical Corps in, 65, 72–76, 79, 80–81; local leaders in, 78; older adults in, 69–70; participatory curriculum development in, 74–76; successes in, 77–78; village administration in, 78; war-affected children in, 63–81; well-being in, 63–81; young people and older adults in, 64–70
- unemployment. *See* employment/unemployment
- Ungar, M., 29, 38, 94–95
- UNICEF: programs in Ukraine by, 73; on social tolerance, 66–67; on solidarity, 69
- UNICEF Operational Guidelines*, 33
- United Kingdom (UK), 7, 9–10; Centre for Trust, Peace & Social Relations in, 259–260; PR for queer in, 153–170
- United Nations (UN), 1, 2; in Ukraine, 68–69
- United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), 3, 15n1; girls' drawing and, 241, 244, 251; Kakuma refugee camp and, 149; on participatory research, 111–112
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 1–2, 46; Global Refugee Forum of, 15; policy of, 14; South Africa and, 176
- United Nations Security Council, 15n2
- United States, 7; Bosnians in, 90; creative-arts therapies in, 227

- United States Agency for International Development, 72
- unlearning/deconstruction, 11; decolonization and, 30; of mental health, 29; of resilience, 29–30; for well-being, 28–30
- Urgurlu, N., 229
- Valli, L., 57
- Veale, A., 120
- Velez-Agosto, N. M., 25–26
- Vietnam/Vietnamese, 6; in Canada, 90; premigratory loss by, 90
- village administration, in Ukraine, 78
- Vindevogel, S., 116
- Volavková, Hana, 200, 243, 262
- vulnerability: in arts-based PR in South Africa, 173, 178, 179; of children, 111; in girls' drawing, 246; of queer, 155; resilience and, 95
- Wai, Z., 212
- Wallin, D., 211
- Walsh, F., 30
- Wang, C., 204
- war-affected children: agency of, 37; arts-based research on, 197–217; creative arts therapies for, 223–236; isolation of, 53; marginalization of, 53; mental health of, 225–228; PR for, 109–127; teachers in Canada for, 46–59; in Ukraine, 63–81; well-being of, 23–39; xenophobia at, 4
- Weissbecker, Inka, 8
- Weissberger, J. A., 199–200, 242–243
- well-being: agency for, 64; creative arts therapies for, 223; cultural/contextual approach to, 26–27, 32–33; in culture, 27; drawing for, 240; family/community approach to, 24–26, 31–33, 67–68; intersectionality of, 27–28; music therapy for, 233; picture books for, 266; PR on, 114–115; service provision over space and time and, 30–38; in Ukraine, 63–81; unlearning/deconstruction for, 28–30; of war-affected children, 23–39
- Wells, Karen, 241
- Wessells, M. G., 33, 50
- White, A., 117, 200
- Wilding, Raelene, 208
- Wilson, E., 121
- Wiseman, A. W., 54
- World Bank, in Ukraine, 73
- World Health Organization (WHO), 29, 64
- xenophobia: in arts-based PR in South Africa, 176–177; cultural safety and, 97; of queer, 158; at war-affected children, 4
- Yemen/Yemenis, picture books by, 264
- Youth Empowerment Program (YEP), of International Medical Corps, 74–76, 77, 79, 80–81
- Youth-led Participatory Action Research (YPAR), 14
- Zaytzeff, A. N., 210
- Zeichner, K. M., 56
- Zimbabwe/Zimbabweans: HIV/AIDS in, 182; in South Africa, 174, 176
- Zúñiga, R., 207

Available titles in the Genocide, Political Violence, Human Rights series

- Nanci Adler, ed., *Understanding the Age of Transitional Justice: Crimes, Courts, Commissions, and Chronicling*
- Jeffrey S. Bachman, *The Politics of Genocide: From the Genocide Convention to the Responsibility to Protect*
- Bree Akesson and Andrew R. Basso, *From Bureaucracy to Bullets: Extreme Domicide and the Right to Home*
- Alan W. Clarke, *Rendition to Torture*
- Alison Crosby and M. Brinton Lykes, *Beyond Repair? Mayan Women's Protagonism in the Aftermath of Genocidal Harm*
- Lawrence Davidson, *Cultural Genocide*
- Myriam Denov, Claudia Mitchell, and Marjorie Rabiau, eds., *Global Child: Children and Families Affected by War, Displacement, and Migration*
- Daniel Feierstein, *Genocide as Social Practice: Reorganizing Society under the Nazis and Argentina's Military Juntas*
- Joseph P. Feldman, *Memories before the State: Postwar Peru and the Place of Memory, Tolerance, and Social Inclusion*
- Alexander Laban Hinton, ed., *Transitional Justice: Global Mechanisms and Local Realities after Genocide and Mass Violence*
- Alexander Laban Hinton, Thomas La Pointe, and Douglas Irvin-Erickson, eds., *Hidden Genocides: Power, Knowledge, Memory*
- Douglas A. Kammen, *Three Centuries of Conflict in East Timor*
- Eyal Mayroz, *Reluctant Interveners: America's Failed Responses to Genocide from Bosnia to Darfur*
- Pyong Gap Min, *Korean "Comfort Women": Military Brothels, Brutality, and the Redress Movement*
- Walter Richmond, *The Circassian Genocide*
- S. Garnett Russell, *Becoming Rwandan: Education, Reconciliation, and the Making of a Post-Genocide Citizen*
- Victoria Sanford, Katerina Stefatos, and Cecilia M. Salvi, eds., *Gender Violence in Peace and War: States of Complicity*
- Irina Silber, *Everyday Revolutionaries: Gender, Violence, and Disillusionment in Postwar El Salvador*
- Samuel Totten and Rafiki Ubaldo, eds., *We Cannot Forget: Interviews with Survivors of the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda*
- Eva van Roekel, *Phenomenal Justice: Violence and Morality in Argentina*
- Anton Weiss-Wendt, *A Rhetorical Crime: Genocide in the Geopolitical Discourse of the Cold War*
- Kerry Whigham, *Resonant Violence: Affect, Memory, and Activism in Post-Genocide Societies*
- Timothy Williams, *The Complexity of Evil: Perpetration and Genocide*
- Ronnie Yimsut, *Facing the Khmer Rouge: A Cambodian Journey*
- Natasha Zaretsky, *Acts of Repair: Justice, Truth, and the Politics of Memory in Argentina*

