A Community-based Approach to Trauma Healing and Advocacy in Nakivale Refugee Settlement, Uganda

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Abbreviations
GHQ: General Health Questionnaire
OPM: Office of the Prime Minister
UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
NGO: Non Governmental Organization
ARC: American Refugee Committee
FRC: Finnish Refugee Council
RLP: Refugee Law Project
DSM-v: Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 4th Edition
IDP: Internally Displaced Person
Abstract

This research highlights the resilience and agency of individuals from Nakivale Refugee Settlement in Southwestern Uganda. Its objectives are to: (1) analyze how refugees cope with trauma though occupying themselves with activities such as art, athletics, faith and business in Nakivale and (2) examine how these occupations are used as platforms for advocacy by refugees in the settlement.

The reason for flight, the flight itself and the resulting circumstance can all cause massive trauma within a refugee (De Jong et al. 2000; Hollifield et al. 2002). According to recent sample studies, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) levels among populations in Nakivale include: 67.1% of Congolese, 47% of Somalis, and 31% of Rwandans (Ssenyonga et al. 2013; Onyut et al. 2004).

Seventy One semi-structured individual and group interviews and 8 focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted between May 22nd and July 2nd 2015. 194 respondents were reached including singers, artists, athletes, religious leaders, entrepreneurs and activists from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Somalia, Rwanda, Burundi, Eritrea and Ethiopia. Non-governmental organization (such as Right to Play, the Finnish Refugee Council and Windle Trust Uganda) staff were also interviewed.

Involvement in the arts, athletics, faith and/or business can bring the following personal benefits for refugees: (1) a positive use of time, (2) the building of community and (3) empowerment. (1) Using one's time in positive ways in the settlement can: create a distraction, which may help one forget his or her problems and prevent negative past times such as alcohol abuse, bring relaxation and enjoyment and finally build a sense of stability, if refugees are able to continue occupying themselves in ways they had in their home countries. (2) Community gives refugees a sense of belonging, builds a support system, promotes inclusivity (as most arts, athletics, faith and/or business groups include all genders and nationalities) and leads to sustainability, as these organizations encourage members to teach each other skills. (3) Empowerment through these activities and groups comes through refugees being able to: contribute to society in a productive manner, earn a small income and build self-reliance, develop skills (life skills, particular coping mechanisms, good values and talent), give back and/or serve a higher cause, and finally develop and/or build upon hope for the future.

The arts, athletics, faith and/or business additionally can also act as platforms to spread awareness: (1) for advocacy surrounding social issues and (2) for expression of the refugee experience. It is important to note these awareness platforms can also assist with trauma healing, as it is common to benefit personally while bringing benefits to the larger community. Causes which groups and individuals work for include promotion of education, prioritization of health (including HIV/AIDS prevention), gender equality (such as ending gender-based violence and sexual gender-based violence), and positive values.
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Introduction

Over 59.5 million individuals are currently displaced worldwide\(^1\) (UNHCR 2014: 8). There are 600 989 people of concern to the UNHCR currently in Uganda, including refugees, asylum-seekers, IDPs, returned refugees and stateless people (UNHCR 2014b: 44). Once individuals leave the boarders of their countries, they are considered asylum-seekers, until they are granted refugee status by the UNHCR.\(^2\) Specifically, the end of 2014 saw the nation containing 433 029 refugees overall (UNICEF 2015). This total is composed of Congolese, South Sudanese, Somalis, Rwandese and others (UNHCR 2014b). Beginning with Europeans after World War Two, Uganda has seen a steady influx of refugees from neighbouring Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan, the DRC and others (Hovil et al. 2001).

Nakivale Refugee settlement is one of 13 settlements in Uganda and is located in Insingiro district in the Southwestern region. It hosts 72 900 individuals and spans a total of 71 square miles (UNHCR 2015). Opening in 1958, its first residents were mostly Tutsis fleeing the 1962 ethnic violence in Rwanda, but now the population is composed of Congolese (43%), Somalis (17%), Rwandese (15%), Burundians (15%) and select others (10%) (UNHCR 2014; Onyut et al. 2004:92; UNHCR 2015).

Although counselling and mental health services exist in the settlement (Luba 2015), there are numerous other, predominately more informal, mechanisms for trauma healing. As Al Hersch et al. (2013) state, when one is occupied one is more likely to find value in his or her life, a right which is universal. For the purpose of this research, occupation doesn't solely mean employment and instead refers to any activity, including art, athletics, business and religious practices. The impact of these occupations on a refugee's psychosocial well-being will be explored in the following paper. Additionally, their impact on advocacy in a refugee context will be discussed.

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\(^1\) December 2014, UNHCR Global Trends Report 2014
\(^2\) http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c137.html
Chapter 1: Background

1.1 Refugees in Uganda

World wide, there are 15.9 million refugees, 1.8 million asylum seekers and 38.2 million internally displaced people (IDPs)\(^3\) (UNHCR 2014b). At the end of 2014, 3 690 700 refugees were recorded in Africa, excluding those in Northern Africa (UNHCR 2014b: 10). Over 2.5 million of these individuals are stated specifically to be residing in East Africa and the Horn of Africa (UNHCR 2014b:10).

In 2014, Uganda contained the 9\(^{th}\) largest number of refugees in the world (UNHCR 2014b: 12). The top 10 refugee hosting countries contain 57\% of the world's total refugees (UNHCR 2014b: 12). Uganda contains 195 refugees per GDP (PPP) per capita, making it a particularly pressing example of a low resource country with a large influx of vulnerable people. (UNHCR 2014b: 15). As of February of 2015, there are 433 029 refugees and asylum seekers (UNICEF 2015). As of May 2015, there are 29 800 Internally Displaced People (IDPs)\(^4\), that is Ugandans seeking asylum from persecution within Uganda. IDPs were particularly common recently during the Lord's Resistance Army and government war in Northern Uganda. The Office of the Prime Minister (Government of Uganda) and the UNHCR coordinate the management of 13 settlements and 9 refugee villages with the assistance of NGO partners (UNHCR 2015). There are also 4 transit centers, 4 reception centers, 5 way stations and 2 collection points for asylum seekers to enter the country (UNHCR 2015).

Nakivale Refugee settlement is located in Insingiro district in Southwestern Uganda and is host to 72 900 persons of concern, 17\% of Uganda's total population of concern (UNHCR 2015a). It is over 71 miles squared and includes 3 zones (Base Camp, Juru and Rubondo), being further subdivided into 79 villages (UNHCR 2014a). It opened in 1958 and was officially recognized as a refugee settlement 2 years later (UNHCR 2014a). The first residents were mostly Tutsis fleeing the 1962 ethnic violence in Rwanda (Onyut et al. 2004:92).

The UNHCR and Government of Uganda, through the OPM, partner to coordinate settlement services in Nakivale (UNHCR 2014b). A variety of implementing and operating NGO partners provide this assistance on the ground: American Refugee Committee (ARC), Windle Trust Uganda (WTU), Medical Teams International (MTI), Nsamizi, African Initiative for Relief Development (AIRD), Finnish Refugee Council (FRC), the World Food Program (WFP) through Samaritan's Purse, Uganda Red Cross Society (URCS), Tutapona and Right to Play (UNHCR 2014a).

1.2 History

The 1950s and 1960s saw the beginning and subsequent steady increase of refugee influx into Uganda. After World War II, many European asylum seekers sought safety, marking the first circumstance of refugees in the country (Hovil et al. 2001: 3 ; Refugee Law Project 2006). Colonial rule in East Africa led to many reasons for residents to flee their now-occupied countries. For example, Uganda hosted Sudanese refugees during Anglo-Egyptian control and Kenyans after the Mau Mau uprising against the British. Independence also created

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3 Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre of the Norwegian Refugee Council
4 www.internallydisplacedpeople.org
instability. The Sudanese fled to neighbouring Uganda after unrest in 1956. Similarly, Rwandans followed after mass violence and a failed uprising in 1959 (Hovil et al. 2001: 3). Congolese fled to Uganda after the democratically elected Lumumba's assassination in 1961 and have continued to flee due to insecurity from mineral and resource conflicts and tribalism (Hovil et al. 2001: 3). Political problems in Ethiopia, Eritrea and violence in Somalia have also led to recent numbers of refugees and asylum-seekers in Uganda. Uganda is commonly referred to as an epicenter of refugees due to its historical and continual position in the middle of a region frequently plagued by conflict and unrest.

The Statute of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) guarantees that the UNHCR will grant individual protection to any individual falling under the definition of a refugee by assisting governments and, if approved, private organizations (UN 1950). Uganda is a signatory to this international treaty and its 1977 protocol (Refugee Law Project: 2006). Uganda's 2006 Refugee Act guarantees these rights with national legislation (Refugee Law Project: 2006). Although this law is an improvement when compared to the Control of Alien Refugees Act (CARA) of 1960, it has still been critiques for its ineffectiveness in practice by NGOs and civil society agents such as the Refugee Law Project.

**1.3 Trauma Levels in Refugee Populations**

The reason for flight, the flight itself and the resulting circumstance can all cause massive trauma within a refugee and a refugee family (Johnson 2009; Hollifield et al. 2002). There are many studies which depict high levels of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression and other psychiatric disorders amongst refugee populations after resettlement in the USA and Europe, predominately those from Asia (see Table 1., De Jong et al. 2000: 172). However, there are many circumstances which characterize the refugee experience.

Life in a settlement or camp poses unique challenges for refugees. For example, De Jong et al. (2000) use the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ), a self report questionnaire, and find that approximately half of those accessing psychosocial support services in Rwandan and Burundian refugee camps to have serious mental health problems (174). Neuner et al. (2004b) select Imvepi settlement in Northern Uganda for their comparison study of counselling after a wide scale survey determines it as having a 51% PTSD rate, with most residents having fled civil war violence in the Sudanese civil war (Neuner et al. 2004b: 581). In their study of the West Nile region, Neuner et al. find PTSD rates of 44.6% among Sudanese Nationals, 55.6% among Sudanese Refugees compared to only 23.2% for Ugandans, demonstrating the relationship between both post conflict and refugee populations and increased rates of trauma (Neuner et al. 2004A: 4).

In 2004, Onyut et al. (2004)'s epidemiological survey found a 47% rate of PTSD for Somalis and 31.1% for Rwandans living in Nakivale Refugee Settlement (103). Further research using the Post Traumatic Stress Diagnostic Survey (PDS), a self-report questionnaire, and validation interviews determined 48.1% of the Somali community and 32% of Rwandans sampled to suffer from PTSD (Onyut et al. 2009: 7). Neuner et al. (2008) compare recovery levels of PTSD diagnosed Somali and Rwandan refugees in Nakivale according to the
Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 4th Edition (DSM-iv) after various treatments, further confirming high levels of trauma in the settlement among these populations (688). Ssenyonga et al. (2013) determine a 67.1% prevalence rate of PTSD for Congolese refugees in Nakivale (Ssenyonga et al. 2013: 146).

Although the implications of trauma can impact someone of any culture or background, Johnson et al. (2008) note that examining trauma healing by looking solely at PTSD measurements may be endorsing a Western value system where mental health is viewed predominately epidemiologically (408). In many cases, psychosocial and psychological treatment needs a holistic approach that doesn't necessarily follow predetermined criteria such as the DSM-iv in the way that a Western-based treatment plan suggests. The DSM-iv was developed in the United States and includes criteria for various mental disorders, for help with diagnosing. It's not to say that this guide should be rejected, but simply incorporated with other modes of analysis and treatments, particularly in non-Western environments.

It's also important to recognize that many Western-based tools for measuring mental health disorders may be inapplicable in non-Western and low resource environments such as a refugee settlement (Onyut et al. 2009: 2; Hollifield et al. 2002) or a post-conflict area (see Betancout et al. 2009). For example, Hollifield et al. (2002) measure the validity of 183 studies measuring trauma in refugee populations and note all have gaps in terms of an effective mental health analysis (a total of 125 instruments were used during the various studies).

1.4 Community-Based Coping Mechanisms

The UNHCR reference guide of Operational Protection in Camps and Settlements describes the benefits of a community-based approach to aid that encourages refugees to take an active role in voicing issues and creating sustainably positive futures (UNHCR 2006: 16). This research supports this approach, but focuses on refugees who are already organically initiating their own practices and approaches to healing. In other words, findings demonstrate that refugees are taking agency and control of their own trauma healing practices in Nakivale. It is a bottom-up analysis which examines how refugees are helping themselves through projects, in most cases, not initiated by NGOs or agencies. However, this isn't to say that the UNHCR and other NGOs shouldn't adopt a community-based approach.

This UNHCR Reference guide also stresses the importance of creating an equal partnership between refugees and the UNHCR, NGOs and the host government by prioritizing refugee leadership (UNHCR 2006: 121). This research builds upon these positive approaches by highlighting refugee agency and leadership taking place specifically through art, athletic, faith and business based ventures. Recognizing and supporting these activities, particularly as they are operating in a culturally contextual way, is key for effective and ethical support in Nakivale. Looking at trauma healing solely with a Western framework that prioritizes counselling and psychiatric drugs through labels and according treatments can be an incomplete approach for non-Western clients in different environments (Johnson et al. 2009: 416). Hence, other mechanisms must be highlighted, such as...
as these occupations. There are a wide variety of ways to be occupied in Nakivale through the arts, athletics, faith and small business. For the duration of this research, occupation should not be equated with employment, but rather with an activity, which may or may not include the chance to earn an income.

The World Occupation of Occupational Therapists (WFOT) states that every individual has the right to engage in the community and be viewed as a valued member through having an occupation (Al Hersch et al. 2013: 1849). However, it's important to note that complete occupational justice, where this is a reality, is an utopian goal, one created in the Western world and one that is exceedingly difficult to reach in a low resource environment, such as Nakivale (see Townsend and Wilcock in Al Hersch et al. 2013: 1849). It may be damagingly unrealistic to assume such a standard for populations who are not even able to have their basic needs met.

Regardless, occupational justice is still a key component to analyze in the context of a refugee settlement because of the relationship between being occupied, through employment or or other means, and trauma-healing, in other words occupational therapy. It just can't be approached through a top-down approach. Refugees who originated forms of occupation must be highlighted. The concept of occupational therapy is applied by Maroney et al. (2014) in a discussion of Afghani refugees who have settled in Australia, and makes a particular note of programs being implemented in a socio-cultural context, which is also important (14). Additionally, Al Hersch et al. (2013) continue to describe how occupational justice is closely related to social justice: social equality can not be reached if equal opportunity for ways to be occupied doesn't, a concept which is particularly relevant in refugee camps such as their study of Palestinian refugees in Jordan proves (1849).

One must recognize that there are socioeconomic and cultural barriers to occupying oneself in Nakivale. It could be argued that there is even a state of occupational deprivation in the settlement (Al Hersch et al. 2013: 1851). For example, refugees without a steady source of income (for example, newly settled arrivals) may be less likely to spend time involved with the arts, athletics or religion and additionally lack the resources and time to start a small business. Also, and although this attitude is changing, male refugees tend to be more involved in athletics than female refugees (personal observation, May and June 2015). However this is not to belittle refugees' agency and capability to be involved in these occupations despite these external challenges.

### 1.4.1 Arts.

Within and outside of a refugee settlement environment, art can be a positive way for one to occupy him or herself. In essence, creative outlets can be a large part of trauma healing. For example, Andemicael (2013) examines how refugees who participate in art can gain the following benefits: prevention of idleness through positive and productive time use, development of ways to cope with the stress of living in a camp, empowerment, greater spiritual connectivity, preservation of culture, community building (both within refugees and between refugees and nationals) and preparation for life after resettlement (69-72). Rousseau et al. (2005) evaluate a program in Australia which assists school age refugee and immigrant children with adjusting through
artwork and story-writing. Yohani (2008) describe a program for refugee children in a Canadian urban environment which includes art-based activities such as quilting and photograph. And art isn't just applicable to refugees. Ahmed and Siddiqi (2006) examine how art provided psychological healing to children traumatized by the devastating 7.6 magnitude earthquake in Kashmir and areas of Northern Pakistan. After the 2004 tsunami in Thailand, child care centers were set up for children to have space to play, eventually expanding into centers for “sports, games, art, music and massage and dance therapy” (Jerome: 1). While art can be a part of occupational therapy, as in using painting and drawing to keep a patient occupied, art therapy is also important and differentiated by the interpretation of the art pieces as a way to monitor and influence treatment (Ahmed & Siddiqi 2006: 29). Overall, the process of making the art remains important, as does looking towards deeper analysis of artwork itself.

1.4.2 Athletics.

Movement is another key way that refugees and others can keep occupied. For example, Grodin et al. (2008) discuss how quigong and t'ai chi can aid torture survivors and refugees. Both these traditional Chinese forms of movement emphasize the mind-body connection, bringing in an important cognitive element to exercise, when looking at it as a form of trauma healing. Outside of the benefits of fitness and endorphins, specifically thinking of how one's body is moving and feeling can bring a sense of control and self-awareness, which is helpful to traumatized populations coming from and remaining in frequently uncontrollable circumstances, such as a refugee settlement (Grodin et al. 2008: 802). It may be helpful for refugees who are in their plight for no reason of their own fault to seek catharsis through exercise and movement.

Overall, involvement in athletics has particular positive outcomes for traumatized populations (De'Andrea et al. 2013). For example, D'Andrea et al. (2013) study the impact of a sports-based intervention program for female survivors of sexual abuse, physical abuse and/or neglect who have been diagnosed with PTSD in a residential treatment facility (742). Team sports may also have specific benefits. Daher (2007) describes the success of a football tournament in a Northern Ugandan IDP camp, both in terms of providing an enjoyable occupation and being used a tool for communities to promote their self selected messages encouraging healthy living. Also, Nathan et al. (2010) describe a football program for refugees settled in Australia which works to build community and enhance social bonds. Spaaji (2013) evaluates sports programs also in Australia which are working to facilitate better integration and advocacy.

1.4.3 Other.

Johnson et al. (2009) explain that there is further need for study on how cultural factors, such as religion, can prevent and aid symptoms of trauma (408). For example, Barneche (2014) describes the companionship and support refugees gain from belonging to faith-based communities. Rigoni (2014) elaborates on the way faith can build warmth in an analysis of faith-based organizations which work with refugees and asylum-seekers.

Advocacy for social issues often coincides with these activities and occupations within traumatized
populations (Evans 2010). For example, as a case study of the Bhutanese Children Refugee Forum demonstrates, Bhutanese youth living long term in Nepal have built a political rhetoric-based platform for social change using cultural expression through song, poetry, dance, drama and song (Evans 2010: 308).
Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1 Objectives
(1) To analyze how refugees cope with trauma though occupying themselves with activities such as art, athletics, faith and business in Nakivale
(2) To examine how these occupations are used as platforms for advocacy by refugees in the settlement.

2.2 Justification
Most research on informal coping mechanisms for trauma healing among refugees is based on occupational programs and other forms of therapy existing for refugees after resettlement (Al Hersch et al. 2013; Daher 2007; Nathan et al. 2010; Maroney et al.; Rousseau et al. 2005; Yahoni 2008). However, the impact of life in a settlement High levels of trauma exist within Nakivale (Ssenyonga et al. 2013; Onyut et al. 2009; Neuner et al. 2008). The impact of art, athletics, faith and other activities has been explored in traumatized and/or displaced populations (Ahmed and Siddiqi 2006; Maroney et al. 2014), but a gap exists on specifically analyzing how these occupations can assist in a settlement, particularly in an East African context.

A combination of qualitative interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were used to complete the study because they allowed for opinions to be expressed and understanding to be gained from free flowing conversation. The nature of this research wasn't to measure levels of community-based coping mechanisms in Nakivale, but to see how people occupy themselves and observe what benefits they may or may not be getting from these activities.

2.3 Methods
This research is a result of two consecutive periods of fieldwork in Nakivale Refugee Settlement. The first was conducted between April 9th and May 5th 2015 and is contained fully in a report outlining psychosocial support in Nakivale Refugee settlement. It is composed of 56 semi-structured individual and group interviews and 2 FGDs reaching 98 respondents: Congolese, Somali, Burundian, Rwandan and Ethiopian male and female refugees and representatives from the UNHCR, OPM, ARC, MTI, Tutapona, Refugee Law Project, and Mental Health Uganda (Luba 2015).

The second phase of research was conducted between May 21st and June 30th 2015 and includes 71 semi-structured individual and group interviews and 8 FGDs, reaching 194 respondents. All interviews and FGDs were conducted in Nakivale Refugee Settlement in the chosen language of the respondent(s), using an interpreter if needed.

Semi-structured data collection was used with “responsive, flexible and interactive questioning techniques” (Arthur and Nazroo 2003: 137) that did follow a pre-determined topic guideline. Data was selectively collected this way to focus conversations on occupations that respondents had, but let the respondents themselves interpret what benefits they may or may not get from participating and define their motivations for becoming involved. Kvale describes the in-depth interview with the metaphor of a traveler and knowledge not
being given, but created and negotiated (in Legard, Keegan and Ward 2003: 139). For example, the questions for this research didn't begin by specifying a definition for trauma healing, but constructed one by observing how respondents described benefitting from their particular occupations. A combination of structure and flexibility was embraced by deciding what would be broadly spoken about, but not in what ways it would be spoken about (Legard, Keegan and Ward 2003: 141).

The role of the researcher is to “enable to interviewee to talk about their thoughts, feelings, views and experiences” (Legard, Keegan and Ward 2003: 147) and not enforce a non-existent authority or dominance. Hence, each conversation would begin with a brief discussions of the respondent's past and present feelings before relating the topic to the particular conversation of their occupation to build up rapport and foster an open environment. The researcher wasn't leading the researched, but being led by the researched to avoid a top-down technique where the researcher extracts knowledge from a pre-determined opinion of what they will find. The respondent was the authority on their occupation and life in Nakivale, and interviews were specifically conducted with this in mind. This interview technique was applied during individual and group interviews, in addition to Focus Group Discussions.

As Hennink explains in International Focus Group Research, explanatory research is “used when seeking to understand and provide explanations for certain beliefs, attitudes or behaviour amongst a target population”, as compared to evaluative research which assesses “the effectiveness of a service, programme or initiative” (16). However, this research did not strive to provide explanations for or evaluate how refugees in Nakivale occupy themselves. Instead, its goal was to provide an outlet where refugees could describe their own views on the topic of a particular area they were involved in, such as art, athletics, faith and/or business. This choice was strategic and partially due to the researcher being in Nakivale for a temporary period and not having the lived experience of a refugee or even resident of East Africa. Hence, limited knowledge and experience prevented either an explanatory or evaluative model to be adopted and arguably one wouldn't have been ethical. Complete understanding of the settlement is impossible due to its size, time constraints and cultural differences and complexities.

2.3.1 Individual interviews.

In the category of the arts, specifically seven visual artists were interviewed (respondent 1, May 22nd 2015; respondent 31, June 5th 2015, respondent 32, June 5th 2015; respondent 33: June 5th 2015; respondent 66, June 15th 2015; respondent 85: June 22nd 2015). Additionally, a multitude of independent musicians, choir members, athletes, business owners and religious leaders were met with.

Most visual artists and business people were interviewed independently because of the nature of their occupation. On the contrary, most football players and other athletes, dancers, choir members and band members tended to be interviewed in a group or through a FGD because interviews often occurred around practice times. Trends through the data demonstrate that in general, athletics and musical occupations tend to lend themselves to
a more community-based format. However, some visual arts programs and businesses also can and do operate in groups (see respondent 73, June 17th 2015; respondent 31, June 5th 2015: personal communication).

Individual interviews allowed for trust and rapport to be built with each respondent and a better chance of his or her unbiased and uninfluenced opinion to be revealed. For example, some respondents may feel more comfortable speaking about their experiences in private. They also allowed artists, athletes, religious leaders and business people unaffiliated with a group to be included in the research. Individual interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner that used interactive probes and follow-up questions and didn't follow an immediate and repeated “question-response” format (Legard, Keegan and Ward 2003: 141). In a more colloquial sense, the data was obtained from individual conversations instead of interviews.

2.3.2 Group interviews.

Data was obtained from eight group interviews. Members of a dance crew (respondents 9, 10, 11 and 12, May 28th 2015), members of a participatory theater group (respondents 20 and 21, May 31st 2015), the president and vice-president of a football club (respondents 22 and 23, June 1st 2015), the president, vice-president and secretary of a dance and music performance group (respondent 40, 41 and 42, June 8th 2015), the leadership of a Rwandan football club (respondents 43, 44, 45, 46 and 47), and leadership of a Somali football club (respondent 80, 81, 82, 83 and 84) are featured.

Group interviews varied from Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) because they mostly targeted the leadership structure of an organization in a smaller setting. Hence, contrasting views were more likely to occur because participants tended to have a more active role in the occupation as either a founder or leader. FGDs gave a more general overview, as they were larger and involved more members. In both circumstances, the dynamics between the participants were important to note (Finch and Lewis 2003: 180). Non-verbal group dynamics were also vital to observe (182).

2.3.3 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Eight focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted. Seven of these were composed of members and/or the leadership structure of particular groups and associations in Nakivale relating to the arts and athletics. For example, a drama group (FGD 1, May 25th 2015), a movie making association (FGD 2, May 29th 2015), a basketball team (FGD 3, June 2nd 2015), a choir (FGD 4, June 4th 2015), a Congolese football club (FGD 5, June 8th 2015), a Rwandan football club (FGD 7, June 15th 2015) and a Burundian cultural drumming group (FGD 8, June 17th 2015) The remaining discussion featured pastors and evangelists from 4 different churches in the settlement (FGD 6, June 11th and June 15th 2015).

Pre-existing groups are “valuable for exploring meanings and contexts such as how an organization understands” topics (Finch and Lewis 2003: 192), in this case the topic of occupational trauma healing. Although FGDs are typically composed of strangers, the nature of this research lent itself to exploring occupational groups in the settlement, something logistically easier and potentially more effective by conducting FGDs with
members (Lewis and Finch 2003: 192). Multiple perspectives on the benefits of the group were striven to be obtained from those involved (Hennink 2007:10). However, in most cases discussions involved the leaders (such as the football and basketball coaches, the drama group director and the movie association president) and members of the the group. This dynamic limited the research method, as in some cases the leaders would talk over the members (FGD 2, May 29th 2015 ; FGD 3, June 3rd 2015 ; FGD 4, June 4th 2015). Consequentially, it is debatable if all perspectives of the group were able to be obtained, as the various leaders' opinions may have overshadowed the members' unique insights. Overall, non-directive interviewing was striven for, where “the interviewer plays a minimal role in the focus group, so that the dynamics of a group a discussion are used to gather information” (Hennink 2007: 16), but this may have been hindered by the researcher's obvious incongruity with what naturally happens during a practice. The question remains if group members were impacted by her presence, and it is assumed that this is, to a large degree, unavoidable.

But the FGDs were still effective in many ways. How these individuals interacted with one another within the group could be observed, particularly as the interviews took place mostly after a practice or rehearsal in the venue where the group gathers often. For example, the drama group was met at the church where they practice, football players at the pitches they play on, basketball players on the court, and a movie association and Burundian cultural group at the Youth Center. The common setting and presence of familiar members aimed to create an environment conducive to honesty and openness. Additionally, rapport was built by attendance at practices, games and rehearsals before and after the interview (FGD 2, May 29th 2015 ; FGD 3, June 2nd 2015 ; FGD 5, June 8th 2015 ; FGD 7, June 15th 2015). Overall, speaking with particular groups allowed the relationship between community building and trauma healing to be detected, observed and then greater analyzed within the context of that group. The goal of the FGD to “gain an understanding of the issues from the participants themselves” (Hennink 2007: 4), something better achieved through observing how practices and rehearsals operate in Nakivale.

The discussion with the pastors and evangelists was particularly effective (FGD 6, June 11th 2015 and June 15th 2015). This was a FGD not composed of a pre-existing group, and instead one pastor acted as a gatekeeper to access various colleagues in the settlement. Despite the variety of churches, these individuals had common occupations and goals, allowing themes to be drawn. Additionally, it didn't have the problematic leader-member dynamic of the other FGDs. The pastors' unique perspectives on how faith can help traumatized individuals were able to be gained in an efficient and effective manner, as opinions were able to be built upon by different members and points explained in different ways. Furthermore, the variety of church leaders focused the conversation on faith overall, as opposed to the specifics of a particular religion or church membership. The research was hence able to focus on the theme of believing in God and belonging to a faith-based community as a form of trauma healing, as opposed to healing through a specific institution. This varies from the other FGDs when the group specifics itself were what was being analyzed, although all FGDs involved the key element of
member dynamic analysis (Finch and Lewis 2003: 180/181). A logistically difficult improvement would have been involving leaders of non-Western religion to increase variety, as all of the pastors were Christian-based.

### 2.3.4 Observation

#### 2.3.4.1 Formal.

Data was collected specifically from the observation of six different events: the launch of a refugee-initiated anti-drug organization (May 30th 2015), a livelihood support group meeting co-led by FRC and the Refugee Law Project (June 4th 2015), a rehearsal of a participatory theatre group (June 4th 2015), a practice of a choir affiliated with a pentecostal church (June 5th 2015), a rehearsal of a multi nationality music and dance group (June 9th 2015), a band rehearsal (June 10th 2015) and multiple rehearsals of a movie-making association (FGD 2).

These observations allowed for group dynamics, practice structure and overall attendance to be analyzed. Data obtained through interviews was also able to be verified. Other benefits included creating a positive dynamic with respondents, as group members became more familiar with the research and were enthusiastic about the prospect of showing their talents, in addition to the interviews. As Hennick notes, “a key ingredient to successful focus group discussion is the development of a permissive, non-threatening environment” (2007:6), something this research established through continual engagement with the participants within and outside of interviews and FGDs.

#### 2.3.4.2 Informal.

Observing daily life in Nakivale is key to even beginning to contextualize the relationship between occupying oneself and trauma healing in the settlement. For example, the idle-ism which many respondents described leading to them spending time depressed and thinking of past problems was noted by the many people loitering and/or sitting around. Respondent D described how on days when he wasn't interpreting, he was bored and unhappy with a lack of anything really to do to fill the time (ongoing communication, May-June 2015).

This research strives for a horizontal approach and interacting with respondents during and outside of interviews was important for this to be achieved. The dynamic between the researcher and respondents is a complex one, and one which must avoid “Othering” within ethical boundaries. To understand how refugees cope with trauma, understanding the daily life of refugees is needed to all extents possible. It isn't to say that spending time in a settlement means one gets the perspective of a refugee. Western privilege is particularly important to recognize and acknowledge. Additionally, each individual living in Nakivale is unique and it would be impossible to make any over-arching statements about life in the settlement. Additionally, each settlement in Uganda is unique and the idea of noting any national trends is also impossible. However, sharing meals with, socializing with, visiting the friends and family of and speaking frequently with respondents helped garner an understanding of what makes a successful coping mechanism overall (respondent D, May 22nd - June 17th 2015; respondent E, June 16th 2015; respondent F, June 18th 2015 – June 23rd 2015; respondent 2, respondent 31).
2.4 Sampling

Overall, non-probability sampling was used, where “the intention is not to produce a sample which is statistically relevant” (Ritchie, Lewis and Elam 2003: 108), and in the case of Nakivale, that would hold any significance to defining a general trend. This allowed for particular respondents to be sought out and the sample size to grow organically (Ritchie, Lewis and Elam 2003: 80). An exploratory structure framed this sampling technique and size because the topic had not been explored comprehensively beforehand and most of the interviews were structured around how the respondent(s) chose to define the topic.

A relatively small yet diverse (in terms of nationality, gender, age and occupational activity) sample size was striven for because the research didn't aim to note any wide patterns in the settlement, yet wanted a level of detail on the subject that accounted for the uniqueness of refugees' experiences (Ritchie, Lewis and Elam 2003: 83). However, as noted by Respondent D, Congolese tend to be the most involved in athletics, dance, and music, making the overall sample predominately Congolese. Additionally, Nakivale's population is mostly Congolese (UNHCR 2014b). Additionally, youth frequently are without the responsibility of heading a family, and hence they tend to have more time for outside occupation. As a result, the sample size is overall rather young. Although a gender balance was striven for, most athletic teams in the settlement were composed of men, making most athlete respondents male (personal observation, May – June 2015).

2.4.1 Purposive.

The majority of respondents were selected particularly for their involvement in the arts, athletics, faith or business, in other words, the “sample criteria prescribed” (Ritchie, Lewis and Elam 2003: 106). Some of these individuals were located in the communities through the interpreter (see 3.5.1), who in all cases either lived in the village where the interviews were being conducted or was adequately familiar with it.

2.4.2 Opportunistic.

As most respondents were familiar with the arts, athletics, faith and/or business communities in the settlement as they were involved in them, suggestions for other potential respondents were welcomed. For example, the Youth Coordinator of the Finnish Refugee Council provided access to a young visual artist and member of dance groups (respondent B, May 28th 2015; respondent 8, May 28th 2015: personal communication). This individual is very active in the arts community and proceeded to introduce various other members of groups he belonged to and subsequent interviews occurred (respondents 9,10,11 & 12, May 28th 2015; respondent 13, May 28th 2015; respondents 40, 41 & 42, June 8th 2015: personal communication). Ritchie, Lewis and Elam (2003) define this form of sampling as “taking advantage of unforeseen opportunities as they arise” (81).

2.5 Limitations

2.5.1 Size and duration.

Although the research was able to capitalize on previous fieldwork in the settlement (Luba 2015), still
only a small percentage of the artists, athletes, religious leaders and business people were able to be accessed due to the large land mass (71 square miles) and population (72,900) of Nakivale (UNHCR 2014b). Additionally, as the data was collected qualitatively, no conclusions can be drawn outside of the sample population (Johnson et al. 2009: 416), particularly as each settlement in Uganda is very unique (ongoing communication, May – June 2015).

2.5.2 Variation in interpreters.

Data were obtained using three main interpreters in Base Camp (respondents D, E, F: May 22nd – June 23rd 2015: personal communication) and Juru Zone (respondent 77). Although this variation was necessary, due to the variety of languages spoken in the settlement, it posed some challenges. Different individuals can interpret the meaning of phrases in different ways and it is difficult to avoid some of the message from the respondent being lost in the process. A strong relationship was established with each interpreter to make sure that he/she clearly understood the purpose of the study and was comfortable translating it. Additionally, this team dynamic was useful in terms of creating most effective questions.

2.6 Ethical Considerations

2.6.1 Access and a sensitive population

All respondents were accessed through an interpreter who was either a member of the village or very familiar with the village where they were staying. Exceptions were when the Finnish Refugee Council youth coordinator (respondent B, May 28th 2015) introduced respondent 8 (May 28th 2015) and when an American Refugee Committee (ARC) representative introduced respondent 60 (June 12th 2015). As “ethical principles should inform all stages of focus group research and in international settings the research should be conducted in a manner that is sensitive to cultural issues and respectful of the community being researched” (Hennink 2007: 33), this research took careful precautions to be as unobtrusive as possible.

3.5.2 Clarification of role and research fatigue.

Foreign visitors in Nakivale are frequently and understandably associated with the countries where they are from, in this case the Western world. As a result, the researcher had to be very clear with an explanation of her role: as a student, and someone unaffiliated with the resettlement process.

Each interpreter was clearly informed of the purpose of the study and the lack of direct benefits so they could comprehensively outline this in a way that made sense to the respondent according to culture and context. As Johnson et al. (2008) describe, the role of the interpreter is particularly unique as it involves understanding and contextualizing client's statements, in the case of this study frequently about trauma. It was particularly important that the role of the researcher was made very clear, as to not confuse what would result from the interview (no direct benefit but for awareness).

3.5.3 Confidentiality and consent.

Verbal consent was obtained from all respondents for data to be obtained from their responses. The
names of respondents are not included in the report. Additionally, for interviews with staff, consent was obtained to use the individual's job title. The names of associations and groups discussed in the research are left out to ensure complete confidentiality. All respondents were given an opportunity to receive a copy of the report through email communication.

As Hennink (2007) explains, there are circumstances in some research environments when written consent is not possible, and the low resource environment, low literacy rate, and multiple languages and dialects of Nakivale made it one of them (37). However, each respondent was given a copy of the researcher's contact information for continued communication.

Hennink also notes the importance of “respect [for] cultural hierarchies in seeking consent” (2007:37), which may include going to family or community heads. This occurred in Nakivale, as the research would only be conducted in a village after speaking to the leader.

Additionally, approval for the research through the Institutional Review Board of Colgate University and the Government of Uganda (Office of the Prime Minister) was obtained and indicated to each respondent.

**Chapter 3: Themes and Analysis**

A key component of analyzing qualitative data is “deciding upon the themes or concepts under which the data will be labelled, sorted and compared” (Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor 2003: 221). Careful examination of field notes and transcriptions led to two broad themes: how occupations help individuals feel better, and how occupations can be used as ways to combat and advocate for wider societal ills. Within these themes, sub-themes emerged, such as the multiple ways in which occupations can benefit someone. Not every refugee participated in the same activity or enjoyed it for the same reasons. Justification for this analysis process essentially mirrors the forming of the initial research design: the idea of art, athletics, faith and business assisting individuals in Nakivale was formed organically with the “how” being suggested largely by the respondents, as opposed to decided upon by the researcher herself. Hence, all the ideas were grouped and organized according to how they connected after the interviews were completed. However, while interviewing, notes were made on emerging similarities.

Much of the literature discussed so far focuses on programs which have been implemented by organizations for refugees and other traumatized populations that involve occupying recipients through art, sports, faith and/or business (Ahmed & Siddiqi 2006; Al Hersch et al. 2013; Andemicael 2013; D'Andrea 2013; Maroney 2014; Jerome 2005; Nathan et al. 2010). But this wasn't the case in Nakivale, as most independent performers, athletes and groups had begun without organization support in the environment.

It is important to note that in some cases refugees have had the idea for an occupation but were then assisted by an organization to implement it or improve upon it. For example, Daher (2007) describes a health promotion football tournament which began after a community leader and refugee suggested a field be cleared for a pitch. In the case of Evans (2010)'s research in Nepal, arts and cultural expression are employed by
revolutionary groups and aid organizations to encourage Bhutanese refugees to advocate and take socio-political action. In Nakivale, implementing partner Nsamazi oversees the provision of refugees with livelihood assistance, while operating partners Finnish Refugee Council (FRC) and the Refugee Law Project (RLP) also work in this area (UNHCR 2014a; personal observation: April to June 2015). The Finnish Refugee Council (FRC) assists youth to build capacity for leadership (UNHCR 2014a; respondent 8, May 28th 2015: personal communication). Youth leaders are identified and taken through various modules such as goal-setting which they are then able to use to improve organization and coordination for their groups (respondent 8, May 28th 2015: personal communication). These groups include a youth-operated hair salon, an arts organization, and a movie making association (see respondent 63, June 14th 2015, respondent 10, May 28th 2015 and respondent 4, May 25th 2015: personal communication).

However, this research predominately looks at how activities have been created and implemented organically by refugees in Nakivale Refugee Settlement. The paper analyzes these results within a framework of scholarship committed to discussing how participating in an occupation can assist traumatized populations.

3.1 Trauma Healing

As Al Hersch et al. (2013) explain, for one to benefit the most from an occupation, it must be more than simply a way to keep oneself busy, in terms of having a meaningful element. Many times “people survive but do not necessarily thrive” (Al Hersch et al. 2013: 1851) and occupations can uniquely help with the thriving. This analysis looks at three elements which develop in refugees due to positive and meaningful occupations: positive time use (3.1.1), the forming of a community (3.1.2) and empowerment (3.1.3), all of which create an atmosphere conducive of feeling a daily sense of meaning.

However, as Al Hersch. (2013) continue, it is important to analyze how likely refugees may be to seek occupations with meaning when they fall outside of meeting their basic needs when in the low resource environment of a refugee settlement (1851). But the benefits to these occupations are many, as were the numbers of refugees participating in Nakivale. Each activity is meaningful in different ways. The purpose of the study wasn't to do a quantitative analysis of how many refugees are getting meaning from occupation, but what this looks like in the ones who are. And to this, there are many different answers.

3.1.1 Positive time use.

3.1.1.1 The creation of a distraction.

Idleness is often the most distressing social ill in refugee and IDP camps (Daher 2007: 2174). It is very common in the settlement (participant, FGD 1, May 25th 2015; respondent 49, June 9th 2015: personal communication). Also, unemployment is rampant in Nakivale (respondent 1, May 22nd 2015; respondent 61, June 14th 2015; respondent 73, June 17th 2015: personal communication). Hence, as one can see, there is an abundance of free time in the settlement which one may or may not use in positive ways, especially when he or she wants a distraction.
3.1.1.2 Forgetting stress and problems.

In Johnson et al. (2009)'s study of refugees acting as interpreters after resettlement in London, respondents noted that avoiding painful emotions through not thinking of them was challenging and didn't last in the long term (413). They do discuss engaging in an activity, such as interpreting, as a possible strategy however and there are many activities visible in Nakivale which also take participants' minds off of their stress (Johnson et al. 2009: 412). It is simply debatable how long term this “forgetting” may be, as it doesn't address the root of trauma. This isn't to say it isn't helpful though.

The majority of visual artists and painters featured described forgetting stress when concentrating on their drawings and/or paintings (respondent 1, May 22nd 2015; respondent 8, May 28th 2015; respondent 32, June 6th 2015; respondent 33, June 6th 2015; respondent 66, June 15th 2015; respondent 70, June 16th 2015: personal communication) or photography (respondent 34, June 5th 2015: personal communication). Actors also spoke to theatre as relieving stress because they are occupied and not thinking of their problems (respondent 3, May 23rd 2015; respondent 4, May 25th 2015: personal communication). Additionally, part of the mission of one theater troupe is to occupy refugees so they can move past their difficulties (actress, FGD 1, May 25th 2015: personal communication). In the words of the treasurer, comedies make refugees forget their past traumas because of the humour (participant, FGD 1, May 25th 2015: personal communication). Occupation through music can also help refugees relieve stress (respondent 14, May 29th 2015; respondent 16, May 31st 2015; respondents 17 and 18, May 31st 2015; respondent 28, June 2nd 2015; respondent 61, June 14th 2015; respondent 62, June 14th 2015: personal communication). As one female Congolese refugee described, “when singing, it feels like you are out of Nakivale” (respondent 16, May 31st 2015: personal communication). Another choir member described that singing is part of leisure for him and actively refreshes his mind (respondent 28, June 2nd 2015: personal communication), a sentiment echoed by many additional singers and musicians (FGD 4, June 4th 2015; respondent 39, June 7th 2015; respondents 40, 41 and 42, June 8th 2015; respondent 49, June 9th 2015; respondent 58, June 11th 2015: personal communication). In addition to performing, listening to music can also be an outlet to relieve stress (respondent 54, June 9th 2015: personal communication).

Refugees involved in athletics also described how being occupied helps them forget about their problems and combat idle-ism, such as a martial artist (respondent 5, May 25th 2015: personal communication), a dance group chairman (respondent 6, May 25th 2015), dance crew members (respondents 8, 9, 10, 11, May 28th 2015; and founders (respondent 19, May 31st 2015: personal communication), a basketball player (respondent 67, June 16th 2015 FGD 3, June 2nd 2015: personal communication), various football players and team leadership (respondent 15, May 30th 2015; respondents 22 and 23, June 1st 2015; respondent 24, June 2nd 2015, FGD 5, June 8th 2015; respondents 44 and 45, June 8th 2015, FGD 7, June 15th 2015: personal communication) and dancers (respondents 19 and 20, May 31st 2015; FGD 8, June 17th 2015: personal communication). As one athlete described, being occupied through playing “removes stress in mind” (FGD 3, June 2nd 2015: personal
communication). A referee also described forgetting trauma while assisting with the matches (respondent 37, June 7th 2015: personal communication) Even when she goes home, she is thinking about the next practice and/or game (respondent 37, June 7th 2015: personal communication).

Business can also occupy refugees. For example, a restaurant owner described that when one doesn't keep oneself busy, one is much more likely to become traumatized (respondent 88, June 23rd 2015: personal communication). A Somali female refugee noted beginning her shop to forget her problems and described finding happiness while operating and being occupied with customers (respondent 53, June 9th 2015: personal communication). A Congolese tailor explained how when she is making clothes, she isn't thinking of her trauma and past and instead is focusing on the task at hand (respondent 68, June 16th 2015: personal communication). Additionally, an operator of a youth-ran salon and support group described how when members come, they “leave [their] problems at home” and are able to forget their stresses by working from the morning to the night (respondent 63, June 14th 2015: personal communication). This group was started by youth as a way to keep occupied and to earn and improve on skills for the future (respondent 63, June 14th 2015: personal communication). A member of a jewellery making livelihood support group described enjoying her membership because it has helped her occupy herself and forget past experiences, as when she is making hand crafts she is able to forget her past (respondent 73, June 16th 2015: personal communication). A female Somali refugee described occupying herself through decorating for weddings (respondent 74, June 18th 2015: personal communication). A youth Congolese male described keeping busy with the activities of his salon (respondent 75, June 18th 2015: personal communication). A pastor described how church can occupy refugees as listening to the word of God causes one's mind to not be fixated on his or her present state and problems (respondent, FGD 6, June 15th 2015: personal communication).

It's clear that remaining alone in one's thoughts can frequently lead to isolation and increased trauma (Barneche 2014: 9), which distracting oneself can provide, albeit possibly temporary, relief for. Overall, many refugees described how keeping busy helps them forget their problems (respondent 1, May 22nd 2015; respondent 5, May 25th 2015; respondent 64, June 15th 2015; respondent 70, June 16th 2015; respondent 89, July 3rd 2015: personal communication). Some refugees are involved in a variety of occupations, such as one youth Congolese male who is part of an arts organization, the basketball team, a youth group and also does interpreting (respondent 70, June 16th 2015: personal communication).

### 3.1.1.3 Prevention from being involved in harmful activities.

Idleness can lead to drug and alcohol abuse, unsafe sex and violence, as noted by Daher (2007) in his study of a Northern Ugandan IDP camp (2174) and this research through refugees in Nakivale (respondents 22 and 23, June 1st 2015: personal communication). But being occupied across the arts, athletics, faith and/or business can prevent individuals from using time for these unhealthy activities (Nathan et al. 2010).

Idleness is a particularly common problem among refugee youth in Nakivale because they are less likely
to be the heads of households (respondent 31, June 5th 2015: personal communication). Hence, they are specifically vulnerable to dangerous outlets, such as drug and alcohol abuse. As a youth leader described, the youth centre is a space which allows youth to distract themselves, “be young” and forget problems after going through many difficult circumstances (respondent 1, May 22nd 2015: personal communication). Informally, youth gather to play pool and netball (May 22nd to June 30th : personal observation). Additionally, it is used as a practice space by performance groups (respondent 1, May 22nd 2015). The need for prioritization of youth to be involved in positive occupational outlets is noted by Nathan et al. (2010), who discuss the need of high risk youth communities to have strong community bonds, something which can be gained through football (2).

As such, sports can help distract youth from negative activities. For example, a Congolese football coach described how his players are safe guarded against alcohol and drug abuse because they are occupied and able to release their tension positively (respondent 15, May 30th 2015: personal communication). Also, playing on the team involves focus and commitment. As un protected sex can also develop out of boredom, STIs and HIV/AIDS can also be prevented through a positive occupation such as football, a fact which was noted by the coach (respondent 15, May 30th 2015: personal communication). A head coach of a football team in the settlement spoke about how when a youth is occupied with football he is less likely to fall prey to alcoholism because he has less time and needs to be focused on his sports (respondent 43, June 9th 2015: personal communication). A member of a cultural dance performance group also discussed how membership can help combat negative ills of idleness, such as alcoholism, fighting and rape (FGD 8, June 17th 2015). When one is practicing and with a group, one is concentrating on a task and leaving tired and hence has less spare time to think of his problems and/or participate in detrimental past times (FGD 8, June 17th 2015: personal communication). A group can also help keep each other on track (FGD 8, June 17th 2015: personal communication). A member of a Somali football club described how the team was founded to help young male refugees “avoid indulging in social ailments”, such as drugs. The goal was to create another outlet for releasing stress which promotes being free from idleness and temptations and instead encourage them to put their vigor into exercise (respondents, 80, 81, 82, 83 and 84, June 22nd 2015: personal communication).A choir member described how one man heard his group singing, came and listened to the message and song he had recognized and then began coming to church (respondent 38, June 7th 2015: personal communication). Daher (2007) notes how feedback on the IDP camp football tournament led to men not spending time drinking and being violent, as they were preoccupied with watching and playing football (2175). A reduction in crime was also noted by Nathan et al. (2010: 2). Additionally, a martial arts instructor described how his classes teach discipline and occupy students, preventing them from becoming involved with these unhealthy past times (respondent 5, May 25th 2015: personal communication).

3.1.1.4 Relaxation and Enjoyment

When children in traumatizing situations are occupied, they are able to experience joy and relaxation. For example, Ahmed & Siddiqi (2006) describe the joy of post– earthquake Pakistani children gained from
drawing and painting, demonstrating how creative outlets can help traumatized populations experience joy (28). The Right to Play project supervisor also noted how play creates a sense of relaxation in children (May 24th 2015: personal communication).

Adults too can experience relaxation and joy from occupying themselves. Participation in a variety of activities can be enjoyable and/or relaxing to refugees of all ages and backgrounds (respondent 12, May 28th 2015; respondent 19, May 31st 2015: personal communication). For example, t'ai chi and quigong have been noted to decrease stress, anxiety, tension and anger among traumatized populations (Grodin et al. 2008: 803). In their case study of refugee survivors or torture from Central Africa, the Middle East, Southeast Asia and Eastern Europe at a Boston rehabilitation center, Grodin et al. (2008) find that clients described sessions as pleasing, calming and relaxing and noted overall improvement in their psychological, emotional, physical and spirituality well-beings (Grodin et al. 2008: 804).

Distraction is closely related to relaxation, and occupation can bring both effects. One refugee described how in Somalia he would play guitar with his Uncle to feel free from the war and political turmoil (respondent 72, June 16th 2015: personal communication). A youth leader noted how activities help youth forget their trauma through fun (respondent B, May 28th 2015: personal communication). A football player also described joining the team for fun (respondent 24, June 1st 2015: personal communication). A Congolese male refugee explained being happy while doing art (respondent 33, June 1st 2015: personal communication), and another painter noted being relaxed through his art (respondent 66, June 15th 2015: personal communication). A refugee who photographs events described how he doesn't just do it for the money, but because it is easy and allows him to follow events in Nakivale (respondent 34, June 5th 2015: personal communication). The secretary of a football club described feeling good from watching the players on the team, as he gains some hope that they are alright for the future (respondent 44, June 8th 2015: personal communication). Performing in dance groups can specifically be a relaxing experience (respondent 65, June 15th 2015: personal communication). One member of a dance and music group described joining the band because she had lots of stress (respondent 78, June 19th 2015: personal communication). A DJ described how he believes listening to music is better than listening to news, because the news can bring back memories from the past (respondent 72, July 16th 2015: personal communication).

Sometimes an occupation can be began to create a sense of relaxation. For example, one male refugee described not having done art in DRC but beginning in Nakivale as a way to relieve stress (respondent 7, May 28th 2015: personal communication).

One male Congolese refugee noted how fellow refugees benefit from observing his dance group's performances as they entertain their audiences and help individuals watching forget their stress (respondent 6, May 25th 2015: personal communication). An actor in a theatre group noted the same benefits for their spectators, a sentiment which was echoed by a theatre director from a different troupe (participant, FGD 1, May 25th 2015; respondent B, May 28th 2015: personal communication). The president and vice-president of a football
club described how when people watch a match, they are entertained and can forget their past (respondent 22 and 23, June 1\textsuperscript{st} 2015: personal communication). An additional football team echoed these sentiments (FGD 5, June 8\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication), as did music and dance performance groups (respondents 40, 21 and 42, June 8\textsuperscript{th} 2015; respondent 56, June11\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). A Rwandan football player described how matches can act as meeting places where people from different villages can come together and enjoy (FGD 5, June 8\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). Somali football players also described how watching matches can relieve stress (respondent 80, 81, 82, 83 and 84, June 22\textsuperscript{nd} 2015: personal communication).

Spending time with other group members can also be an enjoyable experience, as noted by a church choir member (respondent 27, June 2\textsuperscript{nd} 2015: personal communication). An independent hip hop artist and rapper described how music relieves the stress of people and relaxes an audience. For example, songs about peace and joy help people forget the bad experiences they have passed through (respondent 65, June 15\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication).

### 3.1.1.5 Stability

Whether it is a sport, craft, or position with the church, continuing to participate in an activity which one was involved with in his or her home country can bring about a sense of security, comfort and stability. Many visual artists discussed beginning drawing and/or painting as children. For example, one female artist summarized that she was “born with the passion” (respondent 1, May 22\textsuperscript{nd} 2015: personal communication). Another painter began because as a sick child, his father had given him a paint set as entertainment when in isolation (respondent 31, June 5\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). A dancer echoed these sentiments and described his passion for dance as prevalent since childhood (respondent 19, May 31\textsuperscript{st} 2015: personal communication). Some refugee actors also expressed starting when they were young in their home countries (respondent 3, May 23\textsuperscript{rd} 2015: personal communication) as did the majority of choir members (respondents 17 and 18, May 31\textsuperscript{st} 2015; respondent 25, June 2\textsuperscript{nd} 2015; FGD 4, June 4\textsuperscript{th} 2015; respondent 39, June 7\textsuperscript{th} 2015; respondent 61, June 14\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal observation) and a choirmaster (respondent 34, June 5\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). Football players (respondent 24, June 2\textsuperscript{nd} 2015, FGD 5, June 8\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication and various theatre group members (respondents 19 and 20, May 31\textsuperscript{st} 2015: personal communication) also described playing and performing since they were young. A female refugee was recognized in the settlement for her past as a referee in the DRC and able to continue with the tournaments in Nakivale (respondent 37, June 7\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). Pastors in the settlement had commonly been preaching in their home countries (respondent 51, June 9\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). An independent rap artist previously out political and social dissent through music in DRC leading to his need to leave the country, yet continues to perform his messages in the settlement (respondent 14, May 29\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication).

Teachers and leaders of groups in Nakivale commonly are continuing to pursue passions and benefitting from this sense of gained stability. The founder of a movie-making association had been studying at a music,
dance and drama school in the DRC, part of why he formed the group in Nakivale: he wanted to continue (respondent 4, May 25th 2015: personal communication). Similarly, the founder of a martial arts school in the settlement had been instructing back in DRC and felt “right back at home” when he was able to continue training and teaching others (respondent 5, May 25th 2015: personal communication). A president and vice-president of a football club described playing football when they were younger in the DRC and joy they have gained from continuing involvement with a team in Nakivale through leadership positions (respondents 22 and 23, June 1st 2015: personal communication). Perhaps a Rwandan assistant coach summarized the sense of stability best by stating that for his players, football is “something you're used to, [something] you can't stop” (FGD 5, June 8th 2015: personal communication).

Culture and religion are important factors to consider for stability. Johnson et al. (2009) note how protecting one's culture is important particularly after a refugee has been targeted and oppressed for his or her culture. It can also create trauma for one to be thrust into a new culture in Uganda. But there are ways to preserve culture happening in Nakivale from various refugees. For example, a pastor discussed various cultural evenings he has organized where tribes come together and pray together while learning about each other's traditions (respondent 51, June 9th 2015: personal communication). Additionally, a youth group organized a Ms. And Ms. Nakivale show which included various traditional dances from all the nationalities and much celebration (respondent 70, June 16th 2015: personal communication). Another refugee described that during this night, it was easy to forget that one is a refugee (respondent E, June 16th 2015: personal communication). A Burundian cultural performance group's mission is to retain cultural values and traditions through dance and music (respondent, FGD 8, June 17th 2015: personal communication). One member described how there is a connection between preserving culture and relieving trauma. Having a stable relationship with God can also contribute to trauma healing (respondent 69, June 16th 2015: personal communication).

Having regular practice times and meetings can help build a sense of stability which can be beneficial for refugees frequently in a relatively uncontrollable circumstance. For example, the Imam of a mosque leads prayer 5 times a day every day and has between 20 or 30 individuals attending (respondent 30, June 4th 2015: personal communication). Recognizing the religious significance of these prayers, these meetings can also help refugees feel comfort through doing an activity which they performed in their home countries and that can be regulated. Leadership skills can also instill one with confidence which can be helpful for trauma healing (respondent 63, June 14th 2015: personal communication).

Some individuals expressed discontent over not being able to continue to pursue an occupation they previously had been able to, due to outside barriers. For example, one Ethiopian painter can no longer teach painting because her leg was injuring during violence at home (respondent 85, June 23rd 2015: personal communication). One musician on the kirar misses playing because he had to leave his instrument behind in the Eritrea camp he was staying in (respondent 86, June 23rd 2015: personal communication).
3.1.2 Community building

Some refugees benefit from forming a community through their involvement in the arts, athletics, business or with religion.

3.1.2.1 Sense of Belonging

In the words of a dance crew member, dancing brings people together (respondent 8, May 28th 2015: personal communication), but this sense of belonging can be seen across many different occupations. Barneche (2014) describes how a local faith community can help refugees and asylum seekers find friends, connect with others, experience a sense of being loved and appreciate life again (9). Sport is also able to facilitate social cohesion and the building of strong bonds (Nathan et al. 2010: 2). A basketball player expressed these feelings of community and inclusivity (FGD 3, June 2nd 2015: personal communication). A male Congolese youth described that being a member of theatre and film groups gives him a much needed sense of belonging, something he rarely feels as a homosexual in a society which lacks acceptance (respondent 2, May 23rd 2015: personal communication).

Another dancer described an idea of a dance competition between the three zones in Nakivale, demonstrating that community can go beyond a single group (respondents 40,41 and 42, June 8th 2015: personal communication). This connected community element is also modelled in frequent football tournaments happening in Nakivale (personal communication, ongoing).

Additionally, simply spending time with friends and family can be very therapeutic, and this often occurs through spending time practicing, playing or performing with these individuals. For example, Jerome (2005) describes a young girl orphaned from the 2004 Tsunami in Thailand whose favorite thing to do is dance and spend time with friends. Family is also important. One male Congolese refugee described wanting to start his dance group as a way to reunite members (respondent 6, May 25th 2015: personal communication). Additionally, two sisters are both members of a dance performance group in Nakivale (respondents 20 and 21, May 31st 2015: personal communication).

The creation of a collective identity and/or collective memory contributes to a sense of belonging (D'Andrea 2006 ; Johnson et al. 2009). Creating and fostering a team identity also helps refugees gain this sense (D'Andrea 2006: 747). Knowing that there are others have gone through and/or are currently going through the same thing as one is is comforting, for example being part of a wider community of traumatized individuals (Johnson et al. 2009: 412). This can take the form of depersonalization through viewing one's trauma as a collective experience to help cope with the question of “why me” and blaming oneself (Johnson et al. 2009: 413). The captain of member of a Congolese football team described how he joined the team to feel comfortable with his fellow nationals (FGD 5, June 8th 2015: personal communication). As one choir member stated, it is easier to face problems with a group when one is not alone (respondent 28, June 2nd 2015: personal communication).
A sense of belonging can be enhanced by making friends and family-like bonds and sharing love and memories. For example, visual art can be done in a group and has facilitated bonding and friendship in the settlement, as is demonstrated by the group of friends who share time together and are members of an arts organization (respondent 31, June 5th 2015: personal communication). A singer in a music and dance performance group described occupying herself with friends gained through the group and not feeling alone (respondent 78, June 19th 2015: personal communication). This has helped her mind feel more free. Football and athletics can also foster a sense of belonging, for example one Congolese football team shares meals before matches (striker, FGD 5, June 8th 2015: personal communication). Additionally, the team operates within a network of support which assists members to not feel alone (defence man, FGD 5, June 8th 2015: personal communication). An Eritrean female singer in a performance group described the group as her brothers (respondent 54, June 9th 2015: personal communication). The president and vice-president of a football club described the team as a family and all the players as their sons (respondents 22 and 23, June 1st 2015). A choir member also stated that he felt like a member of a family when with his group (respondent 28, June 2nd 2015: personal communication). An independent choir member also described his group as a family (respondent 50, June 9th 2015: personal communication). The church community can also be a helpful family like structure to have, as love is shared and members are able to celebrate together (FGD 6, June 11th 1nd 15th 2015: personal communication).

Overall, building a relationship with others is very important for the context of trauma healing (respondent 63, June 14th 2015: personal communication).

3.1.2.2 Support systems.

Relationships with others can form a support system (respondent 12, May 28th 2015: personal communication). For example, the leader of a dance crew perhaps put it best, when he stated that he liked being involved because he likes the other members (respondent 35, June 5th 2015: personal communication). Social support and having a group of people to socialize with who have gone through what one has gone through can lead to the normalization of one's experience by seeing others who have gone through worse or by witnessing how others are coping (Johnson et al. 2009: 413). Additionally, it can be beneficial to relax with like minded individuals. For example, both a youth operated salon operator and a female jewelry and craft making group member described membership benefits as being able to have fun, talk and relax among other members (respondent 63, June 14th 2015: personal communication). Communication skills can also be improved through socializing with a group (respondent B, May 28th 2015; respondent 8, May 28th 2015; respondents 22 and 23, June 1st 2015; respondents, FGD 6, June 11th 2015: personal communication). Learning about and getting to know one another through these conversations can also create a support system, as was described by a member of a movie association (respondent, FGD 2, May 29th 2015: personal communication), the coordinator of a film making group (respondent 4, June 18th 2015: personal communication) and a football player (respondent 24, June
Meeting new people can also be a consequence of occupation, such as stated by a photographer in Nakivale (respondent 34, June 5th 2015: personal communication), the founder of a youth group (respondent 69, June 16th 2015: personal communication) and a musician in the settlement (respondent 36, June 5th 2015: personal communication). Overall, a support system commonly takes the form of meeting friends to partake in the activity while conversing about life and has many benefits (respondent 1, May 22nd 2015: personal communication).

D'Andrea (2013)'s description of trauma healing through sports includes how the idea of a support system and helping one another can be developed teaching teamwork and cooperation (742). The coach of a football club described how when one player has a problem, the whole team has a problem, and actions can range from visiting members when they are sick of assisting with house-building (respondent 15, May 30th 2015; FGD 5, June 8th: personal communication). A similar support system was noted in some choirs, where members visit other members when they are sick, in addition to praying for each other (respondents 17 and 18, May 31st 2015: personal communication). Other members of various groups discussed how members would visit one another when they were ill or in need, for example a movie-making association (respondent 4, May 25th 2015: personal communication), a youth group and youth-operated salon (respondent 63, June 14th 2015 and a football team (respondent 15, May 30th 2015: personal communication).

A member of a LGBTQ support group in the settlement described how beneficial it was to have a space to share problems and advise one another without fear of outside attack (respondent 2, May 23rd 2015: personal communication). Being able to advise one another is a positive aspect of any group membership, including a movie-making association (respondent 4, May 25th 2015: personal communication) and various other youth groups (respondent B, May 28th 2015: personal communication) and choirs (respondents 17 and 18, May 31st 2015; respondent 27, June 2nd 2015: personal communication). The Youth Coordinator of FRC elaborates to explain how she encourages the youth leaders she works with to use their groups to bring up conversations outside of the main focus, so the group activity can act as a platform for members to discuss their problems (respondent B, May 28th 2015: personal communication). Overall, sharing feelings with a group can be helpful for trauma healing (respondent 36, June 5th 2015: personal communication).

Being part of a community can also help instill hope for the future, as one can stay connected to friends and other members after resettlement while still staying in Nakivale (respondent 26, June 2nd 2015: personal communication). But it was noted that sometimes after resettlement, refugees lost contact with those back in the settlement (respondent D, ongoing communication).

Barneche (2014) notes the benefits of a faith based community, as support and even material assistance from members doesn't share the degrading client-provider and child-parent dynamics of many organizations. Aid from members of the community is on a horizontal basis and encourages sustainability. For example, a refugee group member may be visited when he or she is sick but other times be the one initiating the visiting. A faith
based community directly supports the UNHCR’s recommendation of a community-based approach to assisting refugees (UNHCR 2006: 16). Attending church and praising God can bring refugees of many different backgrounds together (respondent, FGD 6, June 15th 2015: personal communication).

3.1.2.3 Inclusivity

Many arts, athletics, faith-based and business groups are composed of mixed nationalities and the benefits from these interactions are not to be ignored. For example, the movie-making association based in Juru is composed of Congolese, Rwandans and Burundians (respondent 4, May 25th 2015: personal communication). Generally, brotherhood and sisterhood are key components of groups in Nakivale (respondent 4, May 25th 2015: personal communication) and many members of different groups described policies of no discrimination.

The majority of dance groups are composed of multiple nationalities, for example Rwandans, Congolese and Burundians (respondent 6, May 25th 2015; respondent 35, June 5th 2015; respondent 40, 41 and 42, June 8th 2015: personal communication). An actor in a theatre troupe in the settlement stressed how the group isn't tribalistic and includes all nationalities (participant, FGD 1: May 25th 2015: personal communication. The actors and actresses use being refugees as a unifying point (participant, FGD 1: May 25th 2015: personal communication). The idea of people being brought together through singing was expressed by members of a participatory theatre group (respondents 8,9,10 and 11, May 28th 2015: personal communication). Actors of different nationalities were also noted to make up a participatory theatre group, with the director of these youth describing how these individuals benefit from uniting without discrimination (respondent B, May 28th 2015: personal communication). A member of this group explained how he is now able to talk to refugees from other nationalities and share cultures (respondent 8, May 28th 2015: personal communication).

A coach of a mixed-nationality football team also describes how his players benefit from the unification of tribes (respondent 15, May 30th 2015: personal communication). It was noted by a spectator that one of the reasons this team is a favourite in the settlement is because they involve multiple nationalities (respondent D, informal communication). Nationals also play on football teams in the settlement (respondent 43, June 8th 2015: personal communication).

Choirs commonly are composed of multiple nationalities (respondent 25, June 2nd 2015; respondent 34, June 5th 2015; respondent 48, June 9th 2015; respondent 61, June 14th 2015: personal communication). Additionally, church congregations are frequently composed of all nationalities (see respondent 51, June 9th 2015: personal communication). Meeting friends from various backgrounds in a positive experience for some refugees (FGD 6, June 15th 2015: personal communication). A Somali DJ described mixing music from different nationalities and styles, both traditional and non-traditional (respondent 72, June 16th 2015: personal communication).

Inclusivity is also seen how most choirs and dance groups don't have an audition process, and all members are welcome regardless of skill level (respondent 6, May 25th 2015: personal communication).
3.1.2.4 Teaching each other

When members of a group are able to teach one another skills it builds confidence and fosters a sense of stability. An arts organization in Nakivale operates in a fashion where refugee youth can teach each other and the younger generation painting and drawing (respondent 8, May 28th 2015; respondent 32, June 5th 2015: personal communication). An actor in a movie association in Nakivale also described how members of the group can learn from one another (respondent, FGD 2, May 29th 2015: personal communication), as did a choir member who noted the ability to help each other learn in his association (respondent 28, June 2nd 2015: personal communication). The leader of a youth group described how members teach each other salon skills for the future (respondent 63, June 14th 2015: personal communication). Participatory theatre group members describe how members teach each other music, dance and acting (respondents 19 and 20, May 31st 2015: personal communication). Sharing ideas and skills is a key benefit from being part of an arts organization in Nakivale (respondent 33, June 5th 2015: personal communication). An usher from a church in Nakivale described a benefit from being involved with the church as being able to learn coping skills from various members (respondent, FGD 6, June 11th 2015: personal communication). Choirs are also positive spaces where refugees can help other refugees improve their talents (respondent 61, June 14th 2015; respondent 50, June 9th 2015: personal communication). Rwandan football team members described learning from one another and developing consequentially as individuals (FGD 7, June 15th 2015: personal communication).

Groups can also be more effective accomplishing their goals as a collective. Some refugees expressed the sentiment of “not being able to do it alone”, such as a martial arts instructor (respondent 5, May 25th 2015: personal communication). A member of a salon group echoed this message and described how difficult their business would be to operate without a team (respondent 76, June 18th 2015: personal communication). The president of a movie association described how by forming a group where actors are able to put their talents together, they could promote themselves better and spread messages more effectively (respondent, FGD 2, May 29th 2015: personal communication).

3.1.3 Empowerment.

Empowerment through these activities and groups comes through refugees being able to: contribute to society in a productive manner, earn a small income and build self-reliance, develop skills (life skills, particular coping mechanisms, good values and one's talent), give back and/or serve a higher cause, and finally build upon hope for the future.

3.1.3.1 Productivity and contributing to society.

Leadership is an example of how one can contribute to the community and has an important role to play in trauma healing, such as D’Andrea (2013:742) notes. Youth leadership is particularly relevant, as young adults are specifically prone to idleness (respondent B, May 28th 2015: personal communication).

Knowing one is working towards a higher cause, such as serving God, can also contribute to a sense of
productivity through gaining value to society and God (Johnson et al. 2009: 414). A female Congolese choir member described a benefit from singing in church as being able to communicate to God and remind Him that she is singing for Him and serving Him (respondent 26, June 2nd 2015: personal communication). Members of a choir affiliated with the pentecostal church also described the desire to praise and worship God, particularly to recognize how lucky they are to have survived (FGD 4, June 4th 2015: personal communication), as did other choir members (respondent 61, June 14th 2015: personal communication). A member of an independent music group also spoke about healing from serving God (respondent 50, June 9th 2015: personal communication).

This productivity can also be thought of as working towards eventual compensation, such as heaven (respondent 28, June 2nd 2015: personal communication). One may also want to prove oneself and dispel the harmful narrative of the passive victim refugee, as Hovil (2007) does in her description of self-settled refugees in Uganda. For example, one movie association created the motto “Refugees Never Give Up”, showing their determination, resilience and capability to do something beyond the label (respondent 4, May 25th 2015: personal communication). It can be very empowering to maintain this optimistic attitude. An additional movie association described wanting to show that even with the experience of being refugees, they can move ahead and accomplish things (respondents, FGD 2, May 29th 2015: personal communication). This message is also spread through a Burundian cultural group. As the secretary explained, part of their message is that the experience of a refugee doesn't have to kill you (respondent 60, June 12th 2015: personal communication). A musician and videographer in Nakivale described wanting to prove to the world that even with challenges refugees can pursue talents and do something (respondent 36, June 5th 2015: personal communication). His documentary began focusing on artists, but expanded to include artists, farmers and others who occupy themselves within Nakivale.

Refugee interpreters working in the UK describe the benefits they felt from being able to use their talents for language, as his group performs frequently in the settlement (Johnson et al. 2009). An artist in Nakivale also described feeling useful in the community through his art (respondent 33, June 5th 2015: personal communication). A photographer in the settlement also described benefitting this feeling (respondent 34, June 5th 2015: personal communication). A female referee described enjoying working at games because she feels like she is contributing (respondent 37, June 7th 2015: personal communication).

Contributing to society can also be helpful because it builds self-confidence and feeling valuable. A visual artist described feeling important due to his involvement (respondent 31, June 5th 2015: personal communication). A photographer also described enjoying being known through his work in the settlement (respondent 34, June 5th 2015: personal communication). Interpreters also expressed happiness with being recognized through their occupation (respondent D, ongoing). A female referee described benefitting from her profession by being famous and recognized, as female referees are not common (respondent 37, June 7th 2015: personal communication). Members of a music and dance group also expressed gaining travel and performance opportunities, such as travelling to Mbarara, Kampala and out of the country to Kenya (respondents 40, 41 and
A Burundian cultural group also frequently travels (respondent 60, June 12th 2015: personal communication), as can choirs (respondent 61, June 14th 2015: personal communication). A choir member discussed one day wanting to be famous (respondent 49, June 9th 2015: personal communication). A mechanic cited the American dream and a desire to be well-known and “famous” (respondent 64, June 15th 2015: personal communication). Another singer discussed feeling more valued than other members of her church (respondent 61, June 14th 2015: personal communication). A Somali DJ spoke about feeling useful from his occupation and enjoying making people know he exists (respondent 72, July 16th 2015: personal communication). A film maker also described how he enjoys being known by society (respondent 4, June 18th 2015: personal communication). A female singer noted benefitting from exposure (respondent 78, June 19th 2015: personal communication).

Despite their young age, it is also very empowering for children to be able to contribute to society and feel of value to their communities, for example with human rights advocacy. Child empowerment is an important area to address. The UNHCR bases its operations on the Convention on the Rights of the Child, a guide that adopts a more Western based concept of childhood: that children are vulnerable and dependent hence making protection the ultimate priority (Evans 2010: 308). The convention focuses on children as active participants in child rights advocacy (articles 12 to 15) as opposed to initiators of the human rights struggle. But this doesn't have to be the case. Yohani (2008) also notes the importance of child-based interventions.

Children can also contribute directly to child protection services. The Right to Play project supervisor described Nakivale's Child Protection committees which operate in the schools (May 24th 2015: personal communication). These committees consist of leadership structures and are a mechanism where children report abuse and other issues to teachers, host debates and share experiences with one another (Right to Play project supervisor, May 24th 2015: personal communication).

Jerome (2005) describes a center for children traumatized from the 2004 Tsunami which provides space and time for play, music, sports, arts and dance. Right to Play in Nakivale use sport and play to pass life and developmental skills on to refugee children (respondent A, May 24th 2015: personal communication). For example, the Positive Child Youth Development (PCYD) is a framework which promotes the healthy growth of children and youth through teaching skills such as community engagement.

Youth community engagement is another area which demonstrates trauma healing through productivity, such as is seen in the variety of youth groups in Nakivale and the leaders working through training with FRC (respondent B, May 28th 2015: personal communication). Youth are particularly vulnerable to problems associated with idleness (respondent B, May 28th 2015; respondent 31, June 5th 2015: personal communication). The president and vice-president of a Congolese football club described how their team's mission is to mobilize youth so they can move away from idleness and there are many other youth working for the community (respondents 22 and 23, June 1st 2015: personal communication). For example, the arts organization provides an outlet for youth to teach children drawing (respondent 8, May 28th 2015: personal communication).
4.1.3.2 Self-Reliance.

Knowing that one can support oneself can be very empowering, both financially and emotionally. Visual artists described being able to earn some small income from their products (respondent 1, May 22\textsuperscript{nd} 2015; respondent 66, June 15\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). This was echoed by the coordinator of a movie-making association in Juru Zone who described creating the group in part as a way to earn a small income (respondent 4, May 25\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). The martial arts instructor described how income from his classes helps him economically (respondent 5, May 25\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). Dance groups and dancers can also earn a small income from performances (respondent 8, 9, 10, 11 May 28\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). An independent rapper also commented about being able to earn some money from fans (respondent 65, June 15\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). A basketball player explained how practicing and developing one's skills can lead to some income, particularly after resettlement (FGD 3, June 2\textsuperscript{nd} 2015: personal communication). Additionally, an artist and musician described being able to earn income through his photographs (respondent 34, June 5\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). A female referee also described monetary benefit (respondent 37, June 7\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). Members of a dance and music group described earning income from performances (respondents 40, 41 and 42, June 8\textsuperscript{th} 2015; respondent 54, June 9\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). Some music and dance groups have collective accounts where they all give funds and use money in accounts (respondent 40, 41 and 42, June 8\textsuperscript{th} 2015; respondent 60, June 12\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). For one group, money from a shop which partners with this group also is added to this fund (respondent 41, June 9\textsuperscript{th} 2015).

Money can also be generated through small business, such as henna (respondent 52, June 9\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). One female Somali refugee spoke of her involvement with a collective bakery, a business where her and other members contribute some earnings from selling to a sustainable fund where the money is used for further operations (respondent 74, June 18\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). Another female Congolese refugee is able to earn income from making and selling hand crafts and jewelry (respondent 73, June 17\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). One refugee who works as a mechanic (even starting a garage in Nakivale) and spends time teaching English to children described a “strong connection between being financially stable and getting over trauma” (respondent 64, June 15\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). A member of a performance group described how that having and maintaining some embroidery skills and other talents with working with her hands gives her hope knowing she won't be hungry and unemployed when she leaves the settlement (respondent 78, June 19\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). One female tailor relied benefitting from being able to depend on herself. She began the business once she had reached Nakivale and has expanded to approximately 50 customers a month (respondent 68, June 16\textsuperscript{th} 2015: personal communication). A female Ethiopian business women expressed discontent over difficult economic conditions, but did mention that some income was helpful so she was able to build self-reliance (respondent 87, June 23\textsuperscript{rd} 2015: personal communication). A restaurant
owner described similar complaints (respondent 88, June 23rd 2015: personal communication).

Self-reliance can also be developed through self-defence, a skill which martial arts helps one develop (respondent 5, May 25th 2015: personal communication). A refugee who teaches trauma healing to children described educating students about “bad touches”, so they know that abuse is wrong and how to speak out about it (respondent 29, June 2nd 2015: personal communication). One Somali female described carrying a torch and a whistle at night for protection and planting thorns around her house in case people try to break in (respondent 79, June 19th 2015: personal communication).

3.1.3.3 Developing coping skills, good values and one's talent.

Coping skills

A male Congolese refugee described having gone through trainings on trauma in Nakivale which have helped him cope with stress and learn the value of self-care (respondent 48, June 9th 2015: personal communication). A pastor had gained coping strategies through the word of God and taking Jesus Christ as his best friend and guide (respondent 51, June 9th 2015: personal communication). An evangelist added that the word of God brings joy to the soul (respondent, FGD 6, June 11th 2015: personal communication). A pastor described how trauma can't be treated like a wound to the body, as it is internal and in need of spiritual aid (respondent, FGD 6, June 15th 2015: personal communication). A male Congolese choir founder described understanding himself better and hence being able to cope with trauma because of his leadership position with the group (respondent 48, June 9th 2015: personal communication).

Exercising control

Mindfulness is a concept which incorporates clearing the mind and relaxing with being very attuned to one's surroundings, and can be a helpful skill for refugees to develop (Grodin et al. 2008: 803). By focusing on the present moment, individuals may not remain fixated on traumatic pasts or current outside problems.

Art may even “facilitate the healing of emotional scars” within traumatized populations (Ahmed and Siddiqi 2006: 29). Groups can be a place to generate coping strategies and skills through sharing ideas (respondent 2, May 23rd 2015: personal communication). Coping skills can also be developed through play for traumatized children (Right to Play project supervisor, May 24th 2015: personal communication). One male Congolese refugee has initiated a school where he teaches children how to cope with trauma, emphasizing skills such as self control, living well with others and keeping hope for the future regardless of a current difficult situation (respondent 29, June 2nd 2015). Alternatively, some traumatized individuals may find it more helpful to view God as ultimately being in control of their path (Johnson et al. 2009: 414).

Finding comfort.

Traumatized individuals can also find comfort in knowing God has a plan for them (Johnson et al. 2009: 414). One dance crew described advising other people on how to reduce their stress (respondents 9,10,11, and 12 May 28th 2015: personal communication). One choir member described songs about Jesus Christ being
helpful (respondent 17 and 18, May 31st 2015: personal communication). Some choir member spoke about how when coming to practice and singing they feel comfort, as it is their home and what they are familiar with (respondent 25, June 2nd 2015; respondent 26, June 2nd 2015: personal communication). A member affiliated with a church choir, as most in Nakivale are (personal observation, ongoing), spoke about comfort gained from the word of God (respondent 27, June 2nd 2015: personal communication). A pastor described that life in Nakivale without God would have no meaning (respondent 51, June 9th 2015: personal communication). One pastor described feeling protected by God, a comforting idea (FGD 6, June 11th 2015: personal communication).

One musician and founder of a group of artists spoke about how Nakivale could be made home using talents such as art (respondent 36, June 5th 2015: personal communication). A choir member described how the gospel that they sing brings a positive message which touches you and provides comfort (respondent 39, June 7th 2015: personal communication).

Talent.

As the director of a theatre troupe explain, his group aims to encourage refugees to become involved and gain experience with drama, music and acting (FGD 1, May 25th 2015: personal communication). This was also observed in various groups aiming to promote refugee youth talents in music, dance, drama and art (respondent B, May 28th 2015; respondent 40, 41 and 42, June 8th 2015: personal communication). The founder of a hip hop dance crew described beginning his group with his brother to develop their talents (respondent 19, May 31st 2015: personal communication), as did choir members (respondent 27, June 2nd 2015; respondent 50, June 9th 2015; respondent 61, June 14th 2015; respondent 69, June 15th 2015: personal communication). Members of a participatory theatre group also expressed desire to continue developing their talents across music, drama and dance (respondents 19 and 20, May 31st 2015: personal communication). The president and vice-president of a football club described how involved promoting the talents of players (respondents 22 and 23, June 1st 2015: personal communication). A basketball player described wanting to develop his talents to “play like [Michael] Jordan” (respondent, FGD 3, June 2nd 2015: personal communication). A choirmaster described benefitting from his group because it allows him to develop his talents, as when he came to the settlement he didn't know much about guitar but now he has improved his skills (respondent 34, June 5th 2015: personal communication). Other members of choirs shared this view and expressed participating to improve their talents and voices (respondent 50, June 9th 2015; respondent 61, June 14th 2015; respondent 69, June 15th 2015: personal communication). An independent hip hop artist and rapper also described continuing music because he wanted to develop his talent (respondent 65, June 15th 2015: personal communication). A visual artist noted the abundance of artistic talent in the settlement but lack of support or outlets (respondent 31, June 5th 2015: personal communication). This was confirmed by another artist who described fearing losing what talent he had when he came to Nakivale (respondent 66, June 16th 2015: personal communication).

Good values
There are a wide variety of positive values and skills which are developed and/or expanded upon through involvement in the arts, athletics, faith and business, all contributing to empowerment in a unique way. Johnson et al. (2009) note the importance of building self-worth and self-esteem (414). As the project supervisor described, Right to Play focuses on increasing cooperation, a sense of fair play and a holistic sense of well being (respondent A, May 24th 2015: personal communication). The instructor in Nakivale described how practicing martial arts teaches good discipline (respondent 5, May 25th 2015: personal communication), as does playing football (respondents 22 and 23, June 1st 2015: personal communication). A football coach echoed these sentiments and described instilling good values among his players so they can behave well in society, for example good manners and politeness (respondent 15, May 30th 2015: personal communication). The head coach of a multiple nationality football club described how he encourages players to have good characters so they will fit in with the team (respondent 45, June 8th 2015: personal communication).

3.1.3.4 Giving back and helping others.

Refugees in Johnson et al. (2009)'s study describe their interest in interpreting as developing as a way to help their people (415). One respondent particularly describes the therapeutic sense of understanding the problems of those he was helping, as he had gone through them (Johnson et al. 2009: 415). This connection was noted by an actress who described wanting to help others as she had been helped, since her troupe works to sensitize communities about social issues (participant, FGD 1, May 25th 2015: personal communication). A visual artist shared this sentiment, as art helped him recover from illness as a child and he wants it to help others (respondent 31, June 5th 2015: personal communication). The choreographer and founder of a dance crew in Nakivale simply described wanting to share his skills and not being able to keep his talent to himself (respondent 12, May 28th 2015: personal communication). A choir member also described how teaching positive messages through song can help you impact people and leave a positive impact on their lives (respondent 37, June 7th 2015: personal communication). A tailor teaches skills because she wants to help others as the occupation has helped her (respondent 68, June 16th 2015: personal communication). A choir member wants to share his passion because it is fulfilling, enjoyable and if students gain fame they may be able to support him (respondent 38, June 7th 2015: personal communication). Another dancer described that when he was taught his instructor told him not to be selfish and instilled his passion of sharing his talent with others (respondent 35, June 5th 2015: personal communication). A teacher summarized this feeling, as she became involved in leadership with Right to Play because she wanted to help youth as she had been helped after being orphaned at a young age (respondent 7, May 25th 2015: personal communication). One male refugee who works to support vulnerable youth described wanting to help people because “they are his community” (respondent 77, June 18th 2015: personal communication). The president and vice-president of a Congolese football club described how it makes them feel good to make an impact in the community (respondent 22 and 23, June 1st 2015: personal communication). One independent rap artist specifically stated how he doesn't sing to receive money, but to pass on a message to
his audience and relieve their stress (respondent 14, May 25th 2015: personal communication). An independent choir member spoke of his music inspiring people and telling them not to give up (respondent 50, June 9th 2015: personal communication). A visual artist explained how he feels good to volunteer to teach children (respondent 66, June 15th 2015: personal communication). Sometimes giving back goes beyond person to person assistance and can be targeting wider issues. For example, the coordinator of a movie-making association noted that their mission is to use some of the funds they make from their films to assist orphans, widowers, the poor and the sick (for example, HIV/AIDS patients) (respondent 4, May 25th 2015). He did continue to state that the group hadn't been able to earn any income yet.

Teaching

A female visual artist described wanting to draw to make children happy (respondent 1, May 22nd 2015: personal communication). A martial arts instructor described wanting to make people healthier (respondent 5, May 25th 2015: personal communication). One of the goals of an arts organization in Nakivale is to teach youth how to draw (respondent 8, May 28th 2015: personal communication). A member spoke about how his choir is a place to learn and helps one develop his or her talents (respondent 25, June 2nd 215: personal communication). An artist described the goal of the organization he is part of as teaching others (respondent 32, June 5th 2015: personal communication). This group of artists is currently organizing some lessons for children in Nakivale (personal observations, ongoing). Mothers also appreciate the chance for their children to be involved in a supervised activity, particularly due to their heavy workload and danger in the camp (Daher 2007: 2175). A choir master described how he teaches music and guitar to all members of the church within and without of his choir (respondent 34, June 5th 2015: personal communication).

3.1.3.5 Through increasing hope for the future

Hope has a very positive impact on trauma healing. For example, a theatre troupe's name and mission in Nakivale is to be seen in the future, for life after the settlement (FGD 1: July 30th 2015, personal communication). A football player described a benefit to team membership as possibly getting something in the future, in terms of a career (respondent 24, June 2nd 2015: personal communication). The founder of a choir in Nakivale described how participating has helped him understand that the past isn't important and has given him a chance to move on (respondent 48, June 9th 2015: personal communication). Believing in God can also help some individuals maintain hope through the Holy Spirit and through gaining motivation to overcome trials and suffering (FGD 6, June 11th 2015: personal communication). Maintaining and focusing on the belief that circumstances will improve can be a powerful tool for individuals to use to deal with trauma. But although it is important to have hope for the future, it is also vital to not fixate on the goal. D'Andrea et al. (2013) have implemented a module in their sports-based intervention program called “play to the whistle” which encourages the traumatized girls to persevere, not become frustrated with pursuing the goal of winning the match and instead focus their energy and time on the moment (742). Much the same attitude could be helpful for refugees to
develop. Resettlement is a lengthy, complicated and sometimes seemingly arbitrary process, so not becoming fixated on life abroad can be helpful for coping better in a settlement. But, as a UNHCR representative stated, it would be impossible and misguided to stop refugees from dreaming of life abroad (Luba 2015). In fact, having some hope for a better lifestyle can even have a positive impact on trauma healing.

**Role models.**

Johnson et al. (2009) describe how traumatized people can gain encouragement that their circumstances will improve by witnessing others pass through difficult circumstances (414). Such is observed in Right to Play's Junior Coach program which teaches youth leadership skills so they can act as role models in the community (respondent A, May 24th 2015: personal communication). Additionally, the football social cohesion program which Nathan et al. (2010) discuss mentions the benefits which can come from a mentorship relationship between the player and the coach (3). As the program director of Right to Play in Nakivale described, teachers who undergo play-based training can also act as role models for other children and teach the values and skills they have to the younger generation (respondent A, May 24th 2015; respondent 7, May 24th 2015: personal communication). The FRC Youth Coordinator described that many youth come from countries with poor leadership, and youth leaders in the community can encourage peace (respondent B, May 28th 2015: personal communication).

Religious figures, such as prophets, can also act as role models and inspire hope for the future (FGD 6, June 11th 2015: personal communication). Especially notable are circumstances where an individual has overcome difficult circumstances. For example the Imam of a mosque in Nakivale described the book of Job where he lost his wife, kids and wealth but situation eventually got better (respondent 30, June 4th 2015: personal communication).

**Prepping for life after Nakivale.**

One young male actor described wanting to be a movie actor and his involvement with acting is preparation for this future (respondent 3, May 23rd 2015: personal communication). A female artist described wanting to be a cartoonist or journalist after leaving Nakivale (respondent 1, May 22nd 2015: personal communication). The leader of a dance group in Nakivale described wanting to build up a strong, well-equipped group so they can be invited to do shows outside of Nakivale and abroad (respondent 4, May 25th 2015: personal communication). Football coaches described similar benefits for their players, particularly mentioning how helping players develop their talents gives them the means to potentially transition to professional leagues in the future (respondent 15, May 30th 2015; respondents 21 and 23, June 1st 2015; respondents 43, 44, 45, 46 and 47, June 8th 2015; respondents 80, 81, 82, 83 and 84, June 22nd 2015: personal communication). This attitude was echoed by basketball players who described wanting to prepare for their futures, to play in the USA [and other countries of resettlement] (FGD 3, June 2nd 2015: personal communication). A visual artist also explained continuing his artwork in Nakivale because he doesn't want to lose skills (respondent 31, June 5th 2015: personal communication).
communication). Another artist described wanting to become a big artist and wanting to take advantage of the time and learning which could happen in Nakivale (respondent 32, June 5th 2015: personal communication). The founder of a choir in Nakivale described wanting to help people develop their talents because “you never now what the future may bring” (respondent 48, June 9th 2015: personal communication). A male Congolese refugee started his group because there aren't any jobs in Nakivale and he wanted “to make the future brighter” (respondent 48, June 9th 2015: personal communication). A member of a band in the settlement described wanting to develop his talent so one day he could be a professional (respondent 59, June 11th 2015: personal communication). One youth group operates a salon where they practice their skills, not only earning a small income but increasing practical skills for a better chance of employment after Nakivale (respondent 63, June 14th 2015: personal communication). A Somali founder of a band in Nakivale described wanting to be famous in the future (respondent 71, June 16th 2015: personal communication).

A pastor in Nakivale believes that having trust in God brings hope for future and prayer helps people not become fixated on current struggles, as heaven is the end goal (respondent 51, June 9th 2015, FGD 6, June 15th 2015: personal communication). Another pastor echoed this attitude and described as heaven as something that you're aiming for (respondent, FGD 6, June 11th 2015: personal communication).

4.1.3.6 Gender empowerment.

Athletics are often an empowering way for females to demand and gain equality. Daher (2007) describes how a group of women came to seek sponsorship for a netball tournament with positive health slogans after their initial project (2175). Right to Play works to promote female empowerment through sport. For example, female teachers used to not want to waste time with sports and games, but now, after various trainings, they are role models for girl children to get involved (project supervisor, May 24th 2015: personal communication). The martial arts instructor noted how his program is mixed gender, hence demonstrating another opportunity for girls to be involved in athletics (respondent 5, May 25th 2015: personal communication). An actor in a theatre group described how the association is mostly composed of female refugees, noting the importance of female representation (participant, FGD 1, May 25th 2015: personal communication).

A female referee described the importance of women in her profession, as people used to think that women weren't as capable but now do not discriminate as much, demonstrating important grounds for equality (respondent 37, June 7th 2015: personal communication). Similarly, a female football player described enjoying and being accepted by the boys she played with on the Eritrea team (respondent 54, June 9th 2015: personal communication).

3.2 Advocacy
3.2.1 Advocacy surrounding Social Issues

One male Congolese refugee described wanting to “spread music and change the world”, and in Nakivale there are many groups doing just that through various mechanisms (respondent 4, May 25th 2015: personal communication). A variety of social issues are being addressed and promoted through theatre groups, film associations and football teams in Nakivale. For example, sensitive topics, such as gender based violence and unsafe sex, can be bridged and then potentially combatted through a dramatic presentation in the community (Andemicael 2013:71). An actor in a theater troupe described how the goal of the group is to sensitize refugees (participant, FGD 1, May 25th 2015: personal communication). One drama group uses forum theater, a participatory platform for community sensitizations (respondent B, May 28th 2015: personal communication). As the theater director continued to explain, each performance acts as a mirror, where instead of being told an answer, the audience is involved in finding a solution to a relevant, community-based problem (respondent B, May 28th 2015: personal communication). Music can also be a powerful way to translate a message because all types of people enjoy and can gain the impact of the statement through listening (respondent 14, May 29th 2015: personal communication). A choir member also described how it's easy to combine songs with messages (respondent 38, June 7th 2015: personal communication). Members of a participatory dance group echoed this sentiment and described how dance, song and multiple languages make people easily interested in their plays and hence the various advocacy messages, such as promoting education, and preventing underage marriage (respondents 12 and 20, May 31st 2015: personal communication). These messages can be spread to help refugees cope with difficult situations in Nakivale (respondent 38, June 7th 2015: personal communication).

Andemicael (2013) additionally explains how the arts can be used to help educate and facilitate learning for both children and adults (71). Evans (2010) analyze how young Bhutanese refugees in Nepal voice political views and ideas for change using song, poetry, dance and drama. It's important to see 'cultural expression as a means of raising people’s consciousness of the structures that oppress them, and of inspiring collective socio-political action to change their situation' (Evans 2010: 308). In addition to refugees sensitizing members of the communities they belong to, they can also bring the attention of the larger society to social issues. For example, an actress in a Nakivale theatre troupe described how her group educates the public and strives to help society at large (participant, FGD 1, May 25th 2015: personal communication). The Windle Trust Uganda theater director of another drama group echoed these sentiments by explaining how his participatory theater performances are effective because they allow the community to engage and mobilize by providing a platform where a problem in real life is depicted (respondent B, May 25th 2015: personal communication). A member of a band in Nakivale described wanting to spread their messages to the world (respondent 56, June 11th 2015: personal communication) and an independent hip hop artist and rapper described how powerful song can be to transmit messages (respondent 65, June 15th 2015: personal communication).

3.2.1.1 Promotion and Enhancement of Education
The group Nakivale Movies' current project focuses on the story of a young girl who begins compromising her education for her boyfriend, by wasting school fees and missing class. The moral is the importance of staying in school and its goal is to promote the importance of education for youth. Right to Play also works to encourage children to stay in school through incorporating play into learning, making the school have a safe, welcoming and encouraging atmosphere (project supervisor of Right to Play, May 24th 2015: personal communication). A theatre troupe performs plays encouraging parents to send their kids to school (respondent, FGD 1, May 25th 2015: personal communication). Another drama group has performed a series of plays across various villages with the theme encouraging kids to go back to school and/or their parents to send them (respondent B, respondent 8, May 28th 2015: personal communication). A football coach also describes the importance of encouraging education among players and other youth (respondent 15, May 30th 2015: personal communication). A Burundian cultural group also described promoting childhood education (respondent 60, June 12th 2015: personal communication). A youth-operated salon has the goal of using its income to send kids to school, a part of this advocacy (respondent 76, June 18th 2015: personal communication).

The importance of education was also demonstrated by an art project in the settlement where artists would create educational charts (for example, with the ABCs) and give them to children for free (respondent 36, June 5th 2015: personal communication).

3.2.1.2 Health-related Issues

Daher (2007)’s description of a health promotion football tournament in Northern Uganda demonstrates how positive messages can be spread by the community through sport. Each team came up with a message that was shared throughout the matches, for example “take your child to the health centre within 24 hours” or “wash your hands before preparing food” (Daher 2007: 2175).

The instructor described how his martial arts classes benefit participants because it encourages a healthy lifestyle, a theme seen across many athletic occupations (respondent 5, May 25th 2015: personal communication).

An actress and secretary of a theatre troupe described how her group educates refugees to prevent HIV/AIDS, STIs and unwanted pregnancies through a play related to this topic (respondent, FGD 1, May 25th 2015: personal communication). HIV/AIDS prevention messages can also be spread through music (respondent 7, May 25th 2015: respondent 55, June 11th 2015: personal communication). There is a youth group in the settlement which advocates for a variety of issues, including for HIV/AIDS prevention and against alcohol abuse (respondent 69, June 16th 2015: personal communication). Anti-alcohol and drug abuse are also messages which can be sent using theatre (respondent, FGD 1, May 25th 2015: personal communication) and music (respondent 55, June 11th 2015: personal communication). One participatory theatre group performs songs relating to preventing underage pregnancy and encouraging safe sex (personal observation, June 4th 2015). One youth male refugee has begun an organization which works to sensitize the younger generation on the harms of drugs (personal observation, May 30th 2015). A teacher at a primary school described a game she plays with her
students where one student is blind folded and must be guided by the others, to describe how the community
must be their to support those with difficulties, such as HIV/AIDS patients or people with disabilities (respondent
7, May 25th 2015: personal communication).

3.2.1.3 Gender equity and anti-gender-based violence sexual gender-based violence

Right to Play works towards gender equality by promoting the participation of girls in sports (Project
Supervisor, May 24th 2015: personal communication). For example, two members of the participatory theatre
group also play on the Congolese girl's football club (respondents 20 & 21, May 31st 2015: personal
communication). As the coach described, a mixed nationality football club not only has a female partner team,
but also works to fight GBV and SGBV in the communities through advocacy (respondent 15, May 30th 2015:
personal communication). Right to Play hosts 'Play Days' (events for children in the community to partake in
sport and play) with specific focuses on promoting gender equality, such as an event for International Women's
Day (Project Supervisor, May 24th 2015: personal communication). A theatre troupe in Nakivale performs plays
sensitizing the community on the importance of women's rights (respondent, FGD 1, May 25th 2015: personal
communication). As the theatre director explained, his participatory theatre group has performed plays also
related to domestic violence and rape (respondent B, May 28th 2015: personal communication). A participant
echoed plays which had been performed to prevent GBV and SGBV (respondents 19 and 20, May 31st 2015:
personal communication). One independent choir sings songs about the importance of girls and women in
society (respondent 50, June 9th 2015: personal communication).

3.2.1.2 Good morals

One movie-making association has filmed a project with a message that warns against greed and
corruption (respondent 4, May 25th 2015: personal communication). In the movie, a man spreads HIV/AIDS
throughout a village after paying off a doctor to not warn people. The doctor later laments his choice. A theatre
troupe promotes the importance of respect and inclusivity (anti-discrimination) (participant, FGD 1, May 25th
2015: personal communication). A music teacher at a primary school in the settlement described using songs to
educate her students about how to handle themselves (respondent 7, May 26th 2015: personal communication).
She also uses games, such as a three legged race to teach life skills such as cooperation. A choir member
described how their songs describe Jesus' kingdom and qualities which one should adopt to gain access (morals,
politics and civics) (respondent 38, June 7th 2015: personal communication). An additional choir sings prayers
for God in addition to counselling youth to combat alcoholism and hopelessness (respondent 50, June 9th 2015:
personal communication). A band in Nakivale promotes peace, joy and unit by spreading a message of anti-
discrimination (respondent 55, June 11th 2015: personal communication). An independent hip hop artist and
rapper performs songs relating to life experiences with messages combatting tribalism and promoting peace and
love (respondent 65, June 15th 2015: personal communication).

One artist described a book he has illustrated, written and created with others that depicts how a survivor
of rape learns to heal from her trauma (respondent 31, June 5th 2015: personal communication).

3.3.2 Awareness of the refugee experience

3.3.2.1 The wider community

One female youth Congolese artist described enjoying drawing things to educate society, for example about life as a refugee (respondent 1, May 22nd 2015: personal communication). One of her drawings depicts the struggle of a refugee mother (May 6th 2015: personal observation). A choir member described how his group sings about refugee life and promoting peace in Africa (respondent 25, June 2nd 2015: personal communication). The coordinator of a movie-making association in Juru Zone described a benefit to membership as being able to “be known” and communicate to those back home that one is okay (pending on the film being publicized and spread) (respondent 4, May 25th 2015: personal communication). Additionally, using art to express thoughts on life as a refugee can be a powerful way to feel connected to the outside world (respondent 4, May 25th 2015: personal communication). Also, the arts organization in Nakivale is planning on making an exhibition of art based on their daily life (respondent 1, May 22nd 2015: personal communication).

During their study of children after the 2005 Kashmir and northern Pakistan earthquake, Ahmed and Siddiqi (2006) describe how art can act as a medium for communication (29). Communication to the world outside Nakivale is important to recognize, as an independent rap artist in the settlement described conveying a message to the outside world about his life experiences, with the goal of promoting freedom and unity (respondent 14, May 22nd 2015: personal communication). One musician specifically spoke about how he wants to show the world the hidden talents in the settlement and prove the fact that even as refugees, people can still do something (respondent 36, June 5th 2015: personal communication). A choir also described singing about circumstances of being a refugee (respondent 38, June 7th 2015: personal communication). One Congolese mechanic described writing about his experiences as a refugee (respondent 64, June 15th 2015: personal communication). One artist composes songs about life in Africa and the difficulties of being separated from the DRC (respondent 66, June 15th 2015: personal communication).

3.3.2.2 Expressing oneself

A visual artist described how art helps him heal from trauma by allowing him to express himself (respondent 33, June 5th 2015: personal communication). Ahmed and Siddiqi (2006) describe how art helps in their setting of the post-earthquake Kashmir and Pakistan, is that it allows individuals to express themselves (29). The FRC Youth Coordinator discussed how music and and film can help individuals discuss their pasts, a therapeutic experience (respondent B, May 28th 2015: personal communication). One dance crew in particular sings songs about war in Africa to reduce stress (respondent 8, May 28th 2015: personal communication). A male refugee who teaches trauma healing to children described the importance of not encouraging his students not to keep their pain inside, as it can cause more pain (respondent 29, June 2nd 2015: personal communication). The founder of a choir in Nakivale described enjoying expressing himself and his thoughts on life and community
through song (respondent 48, June 9th 2015: personal communication). An independent artist also described singing songs about refugee life (respondent 50, June 9th 2015: personal communication). A member of a dance and music group described being able to express herself through music and say things she is afraid to say (respondent 54, June 9th 2015: personal communication).

Raising awareness about the refugee experience can also include psychoeducation and education communities about mental health and war trauma (Stepakoff 2006: 921).

**Conclusion and Recommendations**

This research suggests that further research be done on the manifestation of trauma in non-Western populations to study effective adaption strategies from the community operating in culturally, politically and socially relevant contexts (Johnson et al. 2009). It also notes that there could be more research done on refugee youth and the importance of healthy occupations and the role of promoting female empowerment through sport, art and other activities.

This research notes the importance of recognizing differences in the manifestations of trauma and the importance of valuing a non-Western focused framework, particularly in the context of a Ugandan refugee settlement, such as Nakivale (see Johnson et al. 2009). This paper seeks to introduce the concept of why certain areas and methods of healing are given more attention overall, what harms this could have, and the importance of global power dynamics and systems of knowledge.

Overall, it strives to take a bottom-up analysis to the topic of trauma healing from mechanisms which may not typically associated with the practice, such as art and sports. From there, it also builds consciousness for ways that these activities can be used not only to help oneself, but so one can help others. It prioritizes highlighting the agency and voices of residents of Nakivale Refugee Settlement and hopes to encourage critical thinking into how current refugee policy is formed and implemented and current solutions which may or may not be being prioritized.

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**Works Cited**


http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures


