

# The Fruit of the Tree of Life.

An evaluative study of the 'Tree of Life', a psychosocial support tool with Narrative Practice ideas, offered to unaccompanied child refugees.

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This Master's Thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as a part of this education. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

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#### Forword:

# The Lonely Spider

The lonely spider reaches out
For what, you might ask?
If not to spin his web then for what?
For his identity
The identity of him
His identity...

The lonely spider calls out
For what, you might ask?
If not for his mate then for what?
For his identity
The identity of him
His identity...

The lonely spider waits
For what, you might ask?
If not for his food then for what?
For his identity
The identity of him
His identity...

'A spider doesn't have feelings! '
How would you know?
'A spider isn't that smart! '
That could be true.

'A spider can never have a real identity!'

And neither could you, or any of us
But we try to find one even if we're not looking
and that's our life...

Andreanna Atkins

'My role – and that is too emphatic a word – is to show people that they are much freer than they feel, that people accept as truth, as evidence some themes which have been built up at a certain moment in history, and that this so-called evidence can be criticized and destroyed.' (Foucault, 1988, p. 10)

# Thank you!

The realisation of this thesis has depended on many players. Firstly, I would like to express my gratitude to the participants in this study; those of you who were interviewed, those of you who were present during the workshops and the facilitators of the workshop that took part in a focus group. Thank you for the trust that you showed me by sharing your experiences with me. This information has been an important contribution for both the evaluation of The Tree of Life workshop and to the field of mental health care.

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## **Abstract**

**Background:** Norway accepts many unaccompanied child refugees each year. This group makes up one of the most vulnerable groups in terms of mental health. The Tree of Life is a psychosocial tool based on narrative practices that uses the different parts of the tree to represent the different aspects of our lives. According to a literature review, there are no published studies evaluating treatment given to this group.

**Aim and research question:** This study uses both a hermeneutic-phenomenological approach and a deconstructive approach. The intention is to focus on the experiences of the unaccompanied child refugees during The Tree of Life. Dominant discourse are also identified which is important when working cross-culturally. Finally a number of important findings about translation are discussed, further sensitising us to cross-cultural treatment.

**Method:** Multiple methods have been employed: Qualitative interview of seven informants, two Tree of Life workshops have been attended and observed and a focus group has been held with some of the facilitators of the Tree of Life.

**Result:** The Tree of Life is a tool that helps unaccompanied child refugees to create alternative life-stories. It gives them a future perspective which helps to give their lives meaning. Working in groups with these individuals helps them to build much needed networks, helping them feel connected and a sense of belonging. Working with translators is a complicated process; it is important for mental health care workers to be aware of the pitfalls, and understand how they can better prepare themselves and the translators before they embark on an intervention together.

**Conclusion:** The results confirm that the use of The Tree of Life has a positive effect on the mental health of unaccompanied child refugees. It further helps us understand what aspects are important to these individuals as they re-establish their existence in their host country. The study highlights some important aspects with cross-cultural treatment, while at the same time removing some of the "unattainable-ness" that is sometimes encountered in cases involving different cultures.

**Keywords:** Tree of Life psychosocial tool, narrative therapy, hermeneutical-phenomenological, Antonovsky, Foucault, discourse analysis, translation

# Sammendrag

**Bakgrunn:** Norge tar imot mange enslige mindreårige flyktninger hvert år. Denne gruppen er en av de mest sårbare mht psykisk helse. Livets tre er et psykososialt verktøy med grunnlag I narrativ praksis som bruker de forskjellige delene av treet for å forestille de forskjellige aspektene av våre liv. I følge en litteraturstudie, fins der ingen publiserte studier som evaluerer tiltak som brukes i behandling av enslige mindreårige flyktninger.

**Problemstilling og hensikt:** Denne studien bruker både en hermeneutisk-fenomenologisk tilnærming og en dekonstruktiv tilnærming. Hensikten er å få fram de erfaringene som de enslige mindreårige flyktningene opplever gjennom Livets tre. Dominant diskurs er identifisert som er viktig når vi jobber flerkulturelt. Til sist, drøftes noen viktige funn mht tolkingen, slik at vi blir enda mer sensitive i det flerkulturelle rom.

**Metode:** Flere metoder er brukt: Kvalitative forskningsintervju, observerende deltagelse av to Livets tre behandlinger og fokusgruppe med noen av lederne av Livets tre.

**Resultat:** Livets tre er et verktøy som hjelper enslige mindreårige flyktninger skaper alternative livshistorier. Dette gjør at de får et framtidsperspektiv som gir mening i den enkeltes liv. Arbeid i grupper hjelper de til å bygge nettverk, som gir de en følelse av tilknytning og tilhørighet. Å bruke tolk er komplisert; det er viktig at vi som psykiske helsearbeidere er klar over noen av de vanlige fellene som vi kan gå i. Slik er det lettere å forberede både vår selv og våre tolker før vi begynner med et behandlingstiltak i sammen.

**Konklusjon:** Resultatene viser at Livets tre har en positiv effekt på psykisk helse til enslige mindreårige flyktninger. Videre viser det hvilke aspekter er viktig for å re-etablere seg i vertslandet. Studien får fram noen viktige aspekter i tverrkulturell behandling, samtidig som tanken av umuligheten forsvinner in flerkulturelle saker.

**Nøkkelord:** psykososialt verktøy Livets tre, narrativ praksis, hermeneutisk-fenomenologisk, Antonovsky, Foucault, diskursanalyse, tolk

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## 1. Introduction

The survival of mankind will depend to a large extent on the ability of people who think differently to act together. (Hofstede, 2001, p. xv)

## 1.1 Background -Earth Nurturing the Tree's Growth

It is estimated that around 200 million people live in a country other than the country that they were born in. Ten million of these individuals are refugees. Almost half of all the migrants are women and about 56 million migrants live in Europe<sup>1</sup>.

An *Unaccompanied Child Refugee (UCR)* is a refugee under the age of 18 living in Norway (or other host country) without parents or others with parental responsibility. UCR's under the age of 15 are placed in special care centres which fall under the authority of the Child Protection Services. Children between the ages of 15 and 18 are offered residency in units that are connected to the ordinary asylum centres<sup>2</sup>.

The Tree of Life (hereafter TTL) is an intervention that is offered to all UCR's who take up residency in the municipality of Kristiansand, in the Vest-Agder province of Norway. This thesis focusses what effect TTL workshops have had on UCR's. My interest stems from, amongst other things, the Norwegian journal for Mental Health Work 'Tidsskrift for Psykisk Helsearbeid', volume 8 published in 2011, that devoted an entire journal edition is dedicated to looking at exactly what 'Good Mental Health Work' is. This reveals a desire within the mental health sector to discover what good mental health work entails, thereby making it possible to increase its quality in the health sector.

 $\underline{http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/jd/tema/innvandringspolitikk/midtspalte/migrasjon.html?id=574526}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> <u>Migrasjonsbildet</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> http://www.udi.no/Sentrale-tema/beskyttelse/

At the same time however, Norway is becoming more and more multi-cultural. This multi-cultural picture is also evident in the mental health sector. Both politically, in the Patient Rights Act (2001)<sup>3</sup>, and professionally in the lunch room, there is a desire for increased knowledge about how to help patients coming from different cultures. These cultural differences however, accentuate the limitations of the "expert's" knowledge, and we see more keenly how little we can take our own understanding of "the other" for granted (Wifstad, 1994). Mental health services have, in some countries, been accused of subjecting ethnic minorities to 'institutional racism', the contours of which include a reduced likelihood that a person from an ethnic minority will be offered a talking therapy as a means of alleviating her mental problems (Pakes & Roy-Chowdhury, 2007), however, it stands to reason that when family therapists feel poorly equipped to help these families with minority backgrounds, they may lack the necessary 'hope' which is an important element of our job. (Kristoffersen, 2006).

Personally, I am South African, married to a Norwegian, and have personally lived in Afghanistan for six years. I am an educated Occupational Therapist, and spent many years working with women who suffer from different types of mental health problems: depression, anxiety disorders, PTSD, panic attacks and more and training local mental health care workers. During this time I became very aware that the Western method of counselling, which I had been trained in and previously used in South Africa, was often not sufficient in this "other" culture.

My hope is that by studying an intervention that the mental health workers are positive about in the multi-cultural room, we can discover what the participants liked or did not like. We can increase our knowledge about how to help them and in this way better equip the mental health care workers who are called on to help the many individuals that Norway has committed to giving asylum.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Pasientrettighetsloven (2001)

#### 1.2 Previous Research - Other Trees in the Forest

Previous research has been an important influence on my choice of the theme and creation of the problem statement for this thesis. The following is some of the research that has been relevant for this study. I begin with research that focusses on the phenomenon of being a refugee, I then narrow it down to research with UCR's.

Many reports where the mental health of both child and adolescent refugees who are here with their families, and UCR's are exist (Oppdal, Seglem & Jensen, 2009:11; Oppedal 2007; Sveaass & Jakobsen, 2009). These reports document both the stresses of life in the host countries and some of the ways that these individuals can be helped. A common theme in all of the reports suggests an increased focus on these individuals' resources instead of their limitations.

Huemer et al. (2009) points out that many methodological challenges exist in the documentation of child and adolescent refugee children who are here with their families and UCR's mental health, since the research instruments that are used are often not well enough adapted to the cultural and ethnic differences that this group represents (Dittmann & Jensen, 2010). Blackwell (1997 in Guregård 2009), points out the extreme difficulties that a therapist has in establishing an alliance with the refugee client, due to past traumatic experiences.

Treatment of refugees entails both working within a multi-cultural context as well as meeting intense trauma experiences (Sveaass & Jakobsen, 2009). They point out, that refugees are often referred from one office to the next. This may be interpreted as abdication of responsibility, but it may also be interpreted as the fear of limited abilities in cases where refugees are involved.

There are a number of projects focussing on coping<sup>4</sup> and mastering of refugee children: Styrk Sterke Sider' (Strengthen Strong Sides) (Christie & Waktaar, 2000), "Flexid – a project

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Coping translated to Norwegian, is 'mestring'. Translating a concept however, is no simple matter. Coping brings with it the idea of wrestling, striving or persevering. *Winning* an athletic race would hardly be referred

about my possibilities within my multi-cultures", in Larvik (Eide & Mekonen, 2007) and Youth Immigrant TV in Oslo (Nwosu, 2007).

David Denborough<sup>5</sup> expressed the need for a practice that encompasses different frameworks of understanding – of both collective cultures and individualistic, as well as a practice form which would not only result in personal change, but also social action and change in social groups. His central question was: Is it possible to strengthen the group and the individual at the same time? (Løge, 2010) In Africa he met REPSSI<sup>6</sup> who were using narrative approaches. One of the approaches that they use is called The 'Tree of Life' which REPSSI use to help children deal with death, disaster, war and HIV and AIDS. In their book 'Sammen så det hjelper' Gunnar Eide and Rolf Rohde have written a short chapter explaining how 'The Tree of Life' can be used with UCR's (2009).

In a literature review conducted by Dittmann and Jensen (2010) they point out that there are no published studies about treatment that is beneficial for UCR's. They could further not find any evaluation of any type of treatment, used in the process of trying to help this vulnerable group.

to as 'coping' with the race. It would instead be referred to as 'mastering' the race, where to 'master' something has a more superior connotation than merely 'coping'. 'Mastering' is clumsy and unnatural in the English language. Thus, when I use the word 'cope' or 'coping', I to include both the idea or striving or persevering, and mastering; superior achievement.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Narrative therapist and founder of: Dulwich Centre – A Gateway to Narrative Therapy and Community Work.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> REPSSI – 'Regional Psychosocial Support Group for Children' – was started in Zimbabwe in 2001. It is an organisation that works in 13 countries in southern and eastern Africa. It was started as a support group for children and adolescents who were struggling because of HIV and AIDS; in time also poverty, conflict and war. The organisation works by consulting with help-programmes, clinics, schools, churches and local society.

#### 1.3 Problem Statement

This study is focussed on what type of effects of The Tree of Life (TTL) had, and more specifically how this intervention helped its participants obtain a better mental health. Since TTL is used in Africa with very vulnerable clients and has now been used in Norway with UCR's for a number of years, I wanted to find out how the UCR's who had participated in TTL had experienced it. To open up the study's possibilities for also having a negative effect, I chose a more open problem statement.

- 1. Which experiences did the participants of TTL view as significant and in what way TTL contribute to them obtaining a better or poorer mental health?
- 2. In which ways does translation effect (a) the outcome of TTL? (b) qualitative research done to assess TTL?

## 1.4 Purpose of Study - What Kind of Fruit does this Tree Bear and Why?

- This project has a hermeneutic-phenomenological approach, where the purpose is to investigate The Tree of Life participant's thoughts and experiences during the workshop. Both what they experienced and how this helped them achieve a better mental health. The aim was to get the UCR's perspective.
- 2. This project also has a deconstructive approach; discursive research. Discursive research can help us to become more 'informed' about cultural diversity (Pakes & Roy-Chowdhury, 2007). By identifying some of the predominant discourses we are able to get a better idea of which important elements mentioned by the informants are likely to have a lasting effect.
- 3. The effect of translation was initially not part of this study. On the completion of the study, however the findings translation deemed too important and too substantial to ignore. An extra problem statement was thus added.

## 1.5 Tree of Life

The 'Tree of Life' is a way of telling one's life history combining both adult and childlike expressions. By using concrete actions, drawings and symbols, the workshop becomes a combination of elements of play and talk therapy<sup>7</sup> (Eide & Rohde, 2009).

#### 1.5.1 Presentation of the 'Tree of Life' (TTL)

TTL I a psychosocial support tool based on Narrative Practices. It is a tool that uses different parts of a tree as metaphors to represent the different aspects of our lives. The use of metaphors and carefully formulated questions invites children and others to tell stories about their lives in ways that make them stronger and more hopeful about the future. While it was not designed as a "bereavement tool", it opens up a space and has been extensively used with children in different countries to facilitate conversations about loss and bereavement. (REPSSI - Psychosocial Wellbeing for all Children, 2010, p. 6)

TTL is conducted in groups of children or teenagers. The REPSSI manual suggests that between eight and twelve individuals participate in TTL with a number of facilitators.

This tool is used to help children and adolescents with their day-to-day lives. It was developed so that it can easily be used by facilitators who have little experience with psychosocial work with children and adolescents. Consequently TTL is an appropriate tool to be used by volunteers in the aftermath of natural disasters, epidemics (AIDS and HIV in southern and South Africa) and loss due to armed conflicts (Pakistan). In these types of scenarios, it is common that the number of children and adolescents who need help exceeds the workload that the local mental health institutions have either capacity or resources for.

The tool allows children to tell, hear and explore stories of loss without remaining trapped in expressions of grief and bereavement. It simultaneously opens up space and opportunities to tell, hear and explore stories of hope, shared values, connections those

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> My translation

around them as well as to those who have died (REPSSI - Psychosocial Wellbeing for all Children, 2010).

TTL takes a full day (8 hours) to go through, but in some settings counsellors have reported the process of taking up to two days. In all, it is a four part exercise consisting of: 1) The Tree of Life (Drawing it), 2) The Forest of Life (Presenting the tree and receiving encouragement from the group), 3) The Storms of Life (Exploring the hazards that even beautiful trees face), and 4) Celebration of the Trees (Presentation of certificates).

#### 1.5.2 Theoretical Foundations of the TTL

A story can also be called a narrative. A narrative is a metaphor which implies that people experience their lives through the stories they tell about themselves. The stories of our lives give the framework for our experiences, and thereby patterns to our experiences (Lundby, 1998). The "lived narrative" of your or my present experience is much like a spoken narrative (Bruner, 1990). We make a story out of lived events as we are experiencing them, creating "logical" connections: E.g. relating two events such as cause-effect, reason-result, etc.

Just as later events in a spoken narrative cause us to reinterpret earlier events, so events in the lived narrative of experience cause us to reinterpret earlier experiences. Events in both spoken and lived narratives are generally compatible with our broad expectations. When they are not, we tend to come up with stories about the unexpected events in an attempt to convert them into something that would be more expectable, given the new information we have to account for them (ibid.). This is true for both spoken and lived narratives.

Ncazelo Ncube, psychologist and narrative therapist for REPSSI became interested in narrative therapy when she met children in vulnerable situations who did not react as victims in these situations. Narrative practice then became an important inspiration for her to discover these stories that were seldom told (Løge, 2010).

When these subordinate stories are told and developed, the child is invited into a new "position" –important for avoiding re-traumatisation. These "safe territories" are important for the development of new stories of identity, and these new "positions" are important for later when traumatic experiences might be talked about (White, 2004).

Many participants of TTL have never viewed their lives by looking at all the positive things or at what they have achieved. Often the narrative stops with where the individual is now, no tentative narrative has been created for the future. The opportunity that the participant gets to show his/her tree to the group helps to "thicken" these narratives. This is considered an important mechanism of narrative development. Telling stories about the self to others helps to develop, confirm, sustain and potentially alter the *personal meaning* of one's stories (Thorne, 2000 in McLean & Pasupathi, 2011).

By drawing the tree which represents the individual participant, the participant is externalising himself. It is then possible for the participant to engage with himself in a new and different way. This objectification is considered crucial in narrative therapy (White, 2004). Ong (2000) goes on to show this to be necessary with individuals who have an oral tradition.

People often experience a rather tenuous hold on what Michael White (2000) 'sparkling events' (unique outcomes or exceptions). These sparkling events are those that contradict the problem-saturated stories of people's lives, and the deficit-centre accounts of their identities. When taken into the story-lines of people's lives, these events contribute to the thickening of the alternative stories in their lives, and provide the foundations of new possibilities for action in relation to addressing their concerns or problems. Writing them down, further helps to 'rescue' these 'sparkling events' from simply disappearing as a part discourse without coming into focus.

## 1.5.3 The 'Tree' as a Metaphor

Michael White uses many metaphors within narrative therapy: Travelling metaphors, club metaphors, building and scaffolding metaphors and map metaphors (White, 2007) Health is often spurred on by positive expectations, and these often need to be closely connected to concrete goals for change (Eide & Rohde, 2009).

A tree in many cultures is seen as a sign of life and of health. Common characteristics connected to a tree are that they grow slowly, grow upwards and are needed. In this way the tree presents the individual's values, skills, social and cultural support in the past, present and future. The forest of trees represents the extended support system that the individual has (Ncube, 2006).

#### 1.5.4 The Target Audience

TTL has been used to support children in their day-to-day experiences with their families and communities. The tool is thus very relevant in school settings and other social settings where children spend their time. The tool can both support children in their day-to-day lives and can also be adapted to be used for more specialised forms of psychosocial care and support. It is designed as a safe way of dealing with difficult issues such as loss, grief and bereavement when working with children.

#### 1.5.5 The Tree of Life Exercise

- 1. Drawing it. The first part of the exercise involves plotting the important events of the participant's life on the tree. The roots are represents where the participant comes from (past). The trunk of the tree represents where the individual is now (present). The branches represent the participant's dreams for the future (future). The leaves represent important people in the participant's life; they may be both deceased and alive (honouring important relationships). The fruit represent the gifts that the participant received from these important people. This may include both physical gifts and important lessons learnt in life (gratitude for the relationships).
- 2. Presenting the Tree to the group and receiving compliments from the group. Each participant gets the opportunity to present his tree to the group. After the presentation the members of the group get the opportunity to give compliments to the participant who has just presented. Compliments are written on 'tag-it' bits of

- paper and attached to the tree. One of the facilitators takes notes as the participant presents these notes are written on to the certificate to be handed out.
- 3. When the storms come. A facilitator leads the group in a discussion about what can be done when problems arise.
- 4. Awarding certificates. A certificate is presented to each participant. The notes that the facilitator took during the participant's presentation are read out for all to hear.

## 1.5.6 The 'Tree of Life' used With Unaccompanied Child Refugees

The TTL workshop aims to keep referrals of URC's to a minimum. In so doing it is fulfilling a key aspect of the New Health Sector Reform (The Coordination Reform)<sup>8</sup> which came into effect on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 2012. During the workshop the 'condition' of being a UCR is not pathologised, whilst at the same time the conditions that led to the individual becoming a refugee are condemned (Papadopoulos & Hildebrand, 1997).

In most of the articles where the Tree of Life is explained and used, the individuals who are going through the project are in the environment where they have experienced their traumas. Here in Norway, the participants are no longer in their original environments. Research however suggests that what a refugee experiences in the re-settlement process may be even more traumatic than what they experienced in their homelands (Lie, Sveaass, & Eilertsen, 2004). Dashed hopes, waiting and uncertainty of the future all colour the newly arrived refugee's daily life. TTL is used both to highlight alternative and positive stories and merge the new life with the old.

#### 1.5.7 History of Use

This workshop has been presented in the Kristiansand municipality since the beginning of 2010<sup>9</sup>. The main agents of this workshop, Gunnar Eide and Ina Søviknes had previously used this workshop as a tool in a refugee asylum in Lyngdal, in south of Norway. There are no

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Samhandlingsreform

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Email received from Else Marit Roland, School Nurse at Kongsgård skolesenter, facilitator for TTL since startup in the Kristiansand Municipality, and link between BUP and school.

accurate figures regarding the amount of UCR's who have attended the workshop, neither are there any records of the gender or nationality of the participants.

It is estimated that between 75 and 80 UCR have been offered the opportunity to take part in the workshop in the period 2010 - 2011. Of these, a possible five have declined to take part in TTL. Some of the UCR's who initially declined participated in TTL at a later date.

## 1.6 The Progression of this Study

The main theoretical frameworks used in the discussion in Chapter five are theories put forward by Aaron Antonovsky and Michel Foucault. Their theories of Discourse Analysis *and Salutogenesis* - "Sense Of Coherence" (SOC) respectively, are discussed in Chapter two.

In chapter three, the choice and use of the qualitative interview, participative observation and focus group are presented, as well as the time frame of the research process. I also discuss the process of analysis, interpretation of the created data; ethical considerations and my own role in the research process are discussed.

My findings are presented in chapter four. Five main themes are presented here (with a number of sub-themes) which can be seen clearly in the analysis and interpretation of the empirical findings. These were found during the 'phenomenon-near' interpretations and reflections, at a 'common-sense level' (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2010). The main themes are:

- 1) Becoming aware of my own strengths
- 2) Learning from each other
- 3) The use of the tree as a metaphor
- 4) Universal-ness vs. Different-ness
- 5) Translation

In chapter five, I move away from a 'phenomenon-near' level to a more theoretical level. Here I discuss a number of questions that have crystallised from my findings, with emphasis on the theoretical frameworks presented in chapter to. I focus on these three questions:

1)

2)

Kvale & Brinkmann (2010) point out that validity is a crucial part of all parts of qualitative research, and not merely the actual method. For this reason, I have chosen to present this section in chapter five. Finally in this chapter, I discuss this study's meaning for TTL and the field of mental health.

Chapter six rounds off the thesis with a summary of the study and some suggestions for further research.

#### 2 Theoretical Frameworks

## 2.1 Choice of Theoretical Perspectives

By focussing on one perspective, we direct your attention away from other perspectives (Schibbye, 2009). TTL has its foundations in Narrative Practices and Theory, which exist within the social constructionist's realm. This perspective assumes that there is no objective, given reality. Each individual creates his/her reality through their subjective experience of his/her world.

This chapter will briefly describe social constructionism as the basis that I have used to describe the phenomena found in this evaluative study. It then takes a more detailed look at Discourse Analysis, according to Foucault, and Salutogenesis, according to Antonovsky.

#### 2.2 Social Constructionism - A Relational Perspective

Social constructionism is a term that since the 1980's has been used broadly and a specific definition is thus difficult. Burr (2003) refers to social constructionism as having more familial traits, pointing out that there is

'no one characteristic borne by all members of a family, but there are enough recurrent features shared amongst different family members to identify the people as basically belonging to the same family group.' (p. 2)

Social constructionism thus invites us to be critical of the idea that our observation of the world unproblematically reveals its nature to us, and thereby stands in direct opposition of positivism and empiricism (Burr, 2003). This means that according to the social constructionist, meaning in the world is constructed by those who are participating in it and not merely observed and described. Social constructionists maintain that no reality exists outside of speech; speech is the boundary of one's reality (Jensen, 2009).

## 2.2.1 Culturally and Historically Specific

The ways in which we commonly understand the world and the categories and concepts that we use, are historically and culturally specific. We need look no further than the area of childhood to see social constructionism in full force. The authors James, Jenks and Prout (1998), in their book 'Theorizing Childhood' clearly show how the needs and expectations of children have changed through history, and how too, the expectations placed on the parents of the child have changed.

#### 2.2.2 Social Interactions

'Society is a human product. Society is an objective reality. Man is a social product.' (Berger & Luckmann, 1991, p. 79) This quotation probably sums up social constructionism best. The knowledge that we have about our surrounding world is created through our interactions with the people around us. Thus, social interactions and especially language is of interest to social constructionists. This means that our understanding, which becomes 'knowledge' to us, of the phenomenon of being a refugee, is created by our interactions with both refugees and others who have opinions about them: Mass media.

This point of view allows for new perspectives about knowledge and scientific activity. Knowledge does not reflect the truth about natural phenomena, but represents and serves to further develop human constructions and traditions (Andersen A. J., 2001).

## 2.2.3 Criticisms of Traditional Psychology

Traditional psychology adopts either implicit or explicit imperialism and colonialism, where 'western ways' of seeing the world are automatically assumed to be the right ways, which it then attempts to impose on others. It further reduces everything to 'the social' and 'the human' (Burr, 2003).

## 2.3 Discourse Analysis - Setting the Limits

It is not easy to find a good definition for the term 'discourse'. In the words of Neumann (2001) 'By closing the concept of discourse, allowing it to only mean one thing, you commit an injustice to a list of other ways of using it'10. Thus, by defining the term discourse, we ourselves enter into a discourse ourselves. It is however necessary to limit the concept somewhat to ensure some common ground for this paper. Potter (1997) defines a discourse as the central organising and regulating principal within the social construction of reality. Since discourse is used, in most cases, to define reality itself, it is closely associated with different theories of state and power (Free Online Articles Directory, 2011). This manmade taken-for-granted knowledge then becomes objectified to the point where man begins to view it as a 'law of nature', finally giving it power to form the lives of the individuals in a given society (Andersen A. J., 2001). The focus is thus on how people construct descriptions and label them as factual, and others undermine those descriptions calling them false (Potter, 1997).

The French philosopher, Foucault (1926-1984), is an important figure in the post-positivist philosophies of science. He emphasised the social context of science (Alcoff, S.A.). Most importantly however, Foucault accounts for the knowledges in human sciences and their specific implications of power.

In two of Foucault's books, *The Order of Things (1970)* and *The Archaeology of Knowledge (1972)* he offers a very broad account of major discursive shifts in the human sciences over

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> My translation: 'Dersom man lukker diskursbegrepet ved å la det bety en eneste ting, øver man vold mot en rekke andre bruksmåter.'

the last four decades, including a philosophically descriptive account of the relationship between discourse and knowledge. It is in these books that he attempts to show us that there exists a set of practices that enable the conception and maintenance of a set of statements (Neuman, 2001). Later Foucault developed other methods of doing discourse analysis and there are a number of other philosophers who have contributed with interesting points, but the 'archaeology' is still the book which one has most to gain through reading.

In these two books, Foucault attempts to engage in a pure description of discursive events, treating the material in its original neutrality (Diaz-Bone, et al., 2007). He problematises the category of meaning, and has been labelled by some as "beyond hermeneutics and structuralism" (Dreyfuss & Rabinow, 1983). He does not dwell on the content that may be concealed therein, but rather on the transformations that the discourses have affected (Diaz-Bone, et al., 2007). This is termed a deconstructive approach: The breaking down of history into smaller parts, to find premises that the history is built on, thereby discovering new histories or versions of history (Jensen, 2009).

#### 2.3.1 Foucault's Description of the Process of Discursive Analysis

A discourse is merely a system of statements ("enunciations"). It is the character of an 'ordered system' which is constitutive of statements, rather than the intentionality of individuals in the situations. The statements are produced in an on-going stream. The previous statements then *build* the (virtual) context of previously-enacted statements. If they fail to do this, they will have no impact; they will not be accepted or even recognised in the social area as "serious speech acts" (Diaz-Bone, et al., 2007). Discourses thus do not *determine* the truth-value that any given belief has but whether it *can* have a truth-value (Alcoff, S.A.). Gregory Bateson (1972) underlines the issue of our frame of reference determining which meanings we give phenomena, experiences and actions. He writes: *Without context, words and actions have no meaning at all.* (See also Thomson, 2012). Without context communication thus becomes meaningless. Human beings are always looking for meaning and are not able to understand something that has been taken out of its context. He continues that it is not the sender of the message that creates the context, but the receiver. It is therefore the receiver that attaches meaning to the message, rather

than the sender. This understanding of context is usually tacit, intuitive and wordless (Ulleberg, 2004).

It is particularly important to note the way in which Foucault believes forms of subjectivity are connected to discourse. He argues that a discursive practice determines who may speak, about what, and to whom. (Foucault, 1972). Rather than analyse these discursive practices in terms of their truth, he analyses them in terms of their history or genesis. He claimed that he was attempting to do an 'archaeology' of knowledge to show the history of truth claims (Jones, S.A.).

One of Foucault's main themes throughout discourse analysis is that of power. He uses deconstructive techniques to show how although it looks like things have changed, in many senses things are still the same. He reveals the connection between traditional power and modern power, thereby helping us to see some of the dilemmas that man can be bound by (Jensen, 2009).

By traditional power, Foucault talks about the type of power that we are most accustomed to (police, teachers, parents, rulers) and institutions (schools, churches, child protection services). Modern power has to do with how we become ourselves and understand ourselves. In this way, he claims, man is influenced through the forces within the culture and within language. This is can be observed in professional explanations, research and knowledge of people taken from psychology, education medicine and other professional arenas (Jensen, 2009).

Foucault further shows can be as much positive as it can be negative. Foucault (1997) gives a detailed description of the *Panopticon*, a prison where every prisoner could be seen every moment of the day. He then shows how society has internalised this 'all-seeing power' within the individual, and thereby pressures us to become more efficient and effective.

Discipline raises our level of skills, makes our movements faster, increases forcefulness, expands our front-line of attack without weakening our strength, increases our resistance, etc.<sup>11</sup> (Foucault, 1997, p. 187)

Some societies have elaborate formal systems of dominance; others go to great lengths to de-emphasise power (Hofstede, 2001). Inside organisations, inequality is inevitable and functional. This inequality is usually formalised in boss-subordinate relationships. Literature supports the fact that different cultures maintain consistently different power distances in hierarchies. Each culture, further justifies authority using its major values. This results in a continuum between "monolithism" where very few have power and "pluralism" where competition between groups and leaders is encouraged.

## 2.3.2 The Short-comings of Foucault's Discourse Analysis

The analysis of discourse is severely limited if it simply remains *within* the text. If this is the case discourse analysis may result in 'mere markings of textuality', with limited political relevance, restricted generalizability and stunted critical penetration. It is thus *necessary* to corroborate the findings of textual analysis with reference to extra-textual factors; history, materiality, conditions of possibility (Hook, 2001).

#### 2.4 Salutogenesis - Health Promotional Processes

Aaron Antonovsky (1923-1994) was an internationally renowned professor of medical sociology. His research concerned the reason it went well for so many, in spite of much stress or hardship that they experienced in their lives. He started his research by focussing his attention on women who had been held in concentration camps during the Second World War. The following is a short summary of some of his most important books *Health, Stress and Coping* (1979) and *Hälsans mysterium* (2005).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> My translation

## 2.4.1 Continuum vs. Dichotomy

Antonovsky (2005) is known for his theories about *Salutogenesis*. Directly translated this means, the understanding of the origins of health. This perspective sees health and illness in a more positive light than *Pathogenesis*, which is the understanding of illnesses and their origins. Within the theory of Salutogenesis, health and illness are viewed as a continuum rather than a dichotomy. This results in a holistic view of health, where human beings, at different times in their lives find themselves at different positions on the sliding scale, where the opposite poles are "good health" and "poor health". According to Antonovsky, the opposite to this would be dividing "good health" and "poor health" up into two separate categories, where one is either viewed as healthy or as sick. He posited that everybody is going to die, but as long as there is the smallest unit of life in us, we are to some degree healthy.

The Salutogenic manner of thinking causes us to think in terms of the factors that promote movement toward the healthy pole on the continuum. Antonovsky (2005) pointed out however, that Salutogenesis was not intended to replace pathogenesis, but be an important addition to it. He further maintained that it was not sufficient to promote health by avoiding stress factors in life. One needs to learn to cope with life, in both good times and bad, making the best out of the life one has. One's ability to do this depends on one's ability to experience a *Sense of Coherence*.

#### 2.4.2 Sense of Coherence (SOC)

Antonovsky's (2005) SOC boils down to an attitude that all human beings have in common. This attitude consists of three components: comprehensibility, manageability and meaningfulness. His studies showed that those who kept to the healthy pole of the continuum had a high SOC which is constituted of high levels of these three components. Comprehensibility is concerned about the degree with which one experiences both the 'inner' and 'outer' as sensibly comprehensible, ordered and structured, rather than chaotic, coincidental, unexplainable and unexpected. Characteristic of individuals with a low level of "comprehensibility" is a view of them being "accident prone" or "sacrificial lambs". Manageability refers to the experience of having the resources to meet the demands of the

stimuli one is being "bombarded" with. This includes both the resources that are under one's direct control and resources that others have in one's vicinity that benefit can be drawn from. Someone who has a high degree of manageability does not view themselves as victims of life's unfairness, and sees possibilities in crises and has the impression that these crises can be tackled. The component of *meaningfulness* has an emotional undertone, as opposed to cognitive undertone that the previous two components have. Individuals with a high level of meaningfulness are not happy when tragedy strikes, but look for meaning when painful things happen. They are not scared of confronting challenges and their goal is to get through things in a worthy manner.

#### 2.4.3 Relationship between the Components

All three of these components are important to achieve a high SOC, but according to Antonovsky (2005), a high level of "meaningfulness" is most pervasive in those who have good mental health. "Meaningfulness" is the motivating component that is directly related to being active in one's own life and the processes that shape one's fate. Individuals who are involved and have inner drive also have the prerequisites to develop an understanding and find resources. Without this component, it is unlikely that either "comprehensibility" or "manageability" will endure. "Comprehensibility" is considered to be the next most important, since a high level of "manageability" depends on understanding. This, however, does not imply that "manageability" is not important, because if one does not believe that one has any resources at one's disposal, then the situation's "meaningfulness" decreases and any attempts to "manage" the situation are undermined. In some situations an individual may experience one component being higher than the other, but research has shown that the three components are generally inextricably intertwined with a high degree of correlation (ibid.). Other sources also indicate different levels of these three components for different types of challenges; faced with relational challenges an individual may experience a lower SOC than other types of challenges (Griffiths, Ryan, & Foster, 2011).

#### 2.4.4 En Route to SOC

According to Antonovsky (2005) an individual's level of SOC is developed through experiences that he/she meets in life. This is influenced by the individual's personality,

biological, sociological, structural, cultural, class and gender related characteristics. General resistance resources build up a SOC, and is characterised by participation in the process of achieving results and a balance between too much and too little stress. (i.e.: the 'Just-Right Challenge', a term first coined by A. Jean Ayres (1920-1989) (Costa, 2008)). Cracks in an individual's general resistance resources contribute to a weaker SOC. This is characterised by experiences of lack of clarity and possibility for self-determination, combined with either too little or too much stress. Stressors can be divided into three categories with a sliding scale: chronic stressors, important life events and the acute difficulties of day-to-day life. It is not possible to say with any degree of certainty by looking at an individual's surroundings, if they will develop a high or low SOC.

If we use the building of a house as a metaphor to describe how Antonovsky describes the building process of an individual's level of SOC (Antonovsky, 2005), the "foundation" of one's SOC is laid down during early childhood; the "house" is built on top to these foundations during the rest of childhood. Experiences of predictability are foundational for the component of comprehensibility, a 'just-right' level of challenge is necessary for a high sense of manageability, and participation in the results is necessary for the component of meaningfulness. During the adolescent years, the house is fitted with bedrooms, bathrooms, a kitchen, etc. The individual is being equipped for adult life. Long-term involvement in individuals, social roles and occupations, is strengthened or weakened by childhood and adolescent experiences.

As an adult, the "house" of SOC is already built and will influence how an individual perceives himself, others and events in life. An adult's ability to affect a change in his/her SOC may therefore be limited. It can be compared to the possibilities one has to decorate, or rearrange one's already built home. Decorating and rearranging is reasonably easy to do since it does not bring about any constant changes. Re-building on the other hand symbolises constant changes, but demands, according to Antonovsky extensive and time-consuming SOC elevating experiences on the social, relational, structural and practical levels of an individual's life situation (ibid.).

## 2.5 Shortly About the Relationship between the Two Theoretical Perspectives

Antonovsky belongs to the group of 'Individualising Epistemologies'. The term "individualising" refers to the conceptualisation that a person's problems and change are individual concerns (Dickerson, 2010). From this perspective the "person" is an essential self with a fixed structure and innate capabilities; actualisation is the goal, perhaps unattainable, but certainly something one should strive to attain. Problems are considered inabilities or deficits, existing within the person and often caused by early childhood trauma. They may be biochemically determined, or a reflection of inadequate parenting. According to Antonovsky each individual has a SOC, of which the foundation of this is laid down in early childhood. To increase one's SOC; the individual has to learn to view happenings in life differently, something Antonovsky (2005) was pessimistic about once the individual had reached adulthood.

Foucault, on the other hand, belongs to the epistemology of poststructuralism. This term is often used interchangeably with post-modernism and social constructionism. Theories within this epistemology think of the "person" as "constituted", rather than essential, dependant on context and having access to multiple identities (Dickerson, 2010). Each person has an *actual self*, a *possible self* and a *dreaded* self, among other "selves" (Dörnyei, 2005). They consider the "problem" as constructed in response to, or as supported by dominant discourse.

Many theories (Narrative Therapy, Just Therapy, Solution-Focussed Therapy) point at how a discourse can be changed by finding alternative meanings or narratives. In this way it is possible to begin to see yourself in a different light with the possibility of increasing your SOC. At the same time, it is necessary to become aware of some of the dominant discourses, so that we are not naïve about the effect of therapy on an individual. The cross-cultural field contains many unfamiliar discourses.

Foucault attempts to show that we are freer than we think we are, and that evidence that we have come to accept as true, may be criticised and even destroyed (Foucault, 1988). In light of this, one may wonder if Antonovsky was overly pessimistic when he said that increasing one's SOC after adulthood is almost impossible.

## 3 Method

## 3.1 Choice of Method

The method chosen is always dependent on the problem statement and since the problem statement was looking for the types of experiences that the UCR's had during TTL and the way that these helped them to re-establish themselves, a qualitative study was done. I conducted qualitative interviews with some of the participants of the TTL workshop, was an observant participant during two TTL workshops and held a focus group with some of the leaders of TTL. My central data creating platforms were the participative observation and the qualitative interviews, with the focus group helping to form the backdrop for the interpretation of the findings.

Preceding the qualitative interviews with the participants I observed two separate TTL workshops. This allowed me and my informants to develop a "shared story" (Thomson, 2012). Both the informants and I had experienced the workshop and had constructed a common reality. Based on my observations and the expected, theoretical benefits of TTL, a qualitative interview guide was set up. This gave the informants the opportunity to explain their personal experiences.

These qualitative methods have their foundations in hermeneutics and phenomenology. In a hermeneutic-phenomenological study, we are attempting to gain insight into the informants experienced reality regarding the phenomenon that we are studying. Understanding the individual as unique is critical. The hermeneutic method is necessary to *understand* what is unique. The acquisition of an accurate *description* of what is unique requires the phenomenological method (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2010). In this way I attempted to start from an outsider-perspective (participative observation) and move toward an insider-perspective (qualitative interview), while at the same time allowing myself to become sensitised to some of the dominant discourses that exist in the different arenas.

## 3.2 Sample Choice

My initial contact was with a family therapist working for BUP (child and adolescent mental health) at the local hospital. He was one of the instrumental persons in presenting TTL for UCR. TTL is presented by a multi-disciplinary team with key-players working both at a municipal level of mental health care and a clinical level of mental health care. The process of obtaining the proverbial "green light" therefore took much e-mailing and explaining, before all parties involved were convinced that the UCR's ethical rights were being considered at all levels. I received authorisation from both the Faculty Ethics Committee (FEC) and the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD)<sup>12</sup> (Appendix 1).

The school nurse called a meeting for all the prospective participants (PP's) of TTL the day before each workshop. Here I presented myself and what my role would be during the workshops. Translators were present for all the language groups represented at the meeting except Dari (Afghan Persian), since I am proficient in this language. The PP's were further given a letter, written in Norwegian, explaining everything discussed during the meeting (Appendix 2).

I informed the participants that I would be present during TTL and that I would be observing and taking notes. I explained that no names would be used and that they have the opportunity to attend TTL at a later date if they did not wish to be part of the project, without any adverse effects. The participants were also informed that they could withdraw from the project by leaving the workshop at any time, all information about them would then be destroyed and they would have the opportunity to attend the workshop at a later date. To ensure that the participants could withdraw from this project with as little discomfort to the prospective participants as possible, those that did not want to attend because of the study were advised to simply attend school as normal. They would then be called in to a TTL workshop later in the year. No written consent was necessary, since I

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Norwegian Social Science Data Services

would not be recording any part of the group and none of their personal information would be used in the study.

This resulted in 19 participants attending TTL workshops. A month after the workshops, a further meeting was held, with the participants of both workshops, once again with relevant translation, explaining the aim of the qualitative interview. I served the participants with some snacks and drinks, since this meeting was held after the regular school day. All the participants also received a letter, written in Norwegian (Appendix 3) explaining what was said during the meeting. In this way I would try to get a better understanding of how the UCR experienced TTL. From this meeting four boys and three girls stated that they wanted to be interviewed. Since the girls come from the same country, and a more collective culture, they expressed their desire to be interviewed together.

Five mental health care workers attended each workshop. These metal health care workers were then sent an email with a formal letter regarding the focus group as an attachment (Appendix 4). Four mental health care workers attended the focus group.

Not all the participants from TTL were interviewed, and I can by no means know what other informants might have said had they been interviewed. In my assessment however, I had obtained many hours of interviews which gave at the same time, both a unified and varied picture description of TTL. It should however give some idea of what TTL could mean for UCR's (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2010).

#### 3.3 Ethical Considerations

#### 3.3.1 Voluntary Informed Agreement

In this study, all the participants are over 16 years of age, and are thus, according to the Health Research Act (2008)<sup>13</sup>, able to give their consent without the assistance or consent of their legal guardian. They are still however under 18 and viewed as more vulnerable than adults.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Helseforskningsloven (2008)

Backe-Hansen (1999) points out that including children in research serves to create some methodological challenges. They are also required to give their informed consent but it is challenge to help them understand that they can decline. Children are more prone to obeying what the 'adults' say, and are less likely to resist or disagree; the research ethics guidelines must be followed in the same way for a child as for an adult , only with greater sensitivity. Children are more vulnerable than adults because they lack experience (Hauge, 1999).

Sufficient information is what will make the difference between a valid consent and invalid consent; assuming that the individuals consenting are of sound mind and over 16 years of age (Halvorsen, 1999). The scope and purpose of this Master Thesis was thus discussed with the PP's. The general consensus here from the PP's was: "We trust you. You can use the information for whatever you want." I took this responsibility very seriously, and saw once again how in collective cultures individuals are loyal toward people and the relationships they have with them<sup>14</sup>. The main ethical issue within this research project became to do good and no harm, something that Watts (2006) echoes.

In all situations where non-ethnic Norwegians were prospective participants (PP), and it was ethically deemed necessary to give written letters informing these PP's about the study's purpose, I chose to have a meeting where the content of the letters was discussed orally, with interpretation. I was attempting to even out the power-relationship which David Swartz (1997) illuminates so emphatically: 'Culture provides the very grounds for human communication and interaction; it is also a source of domination.' Bourdieu refers to the same aspects in his *cultural capital*, where he points out that written documents are often used by institutions of high prestige. The document without explanation may have increased the power-relationship between me and the PP's.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Conference notes from conference about cross-cultural health. Conference presented by Helen Kolb (Hansen) – 08.05.2012, Lillehammer, Norway.

It is significance that many of the PP's come from countries where literacy is low. This led me to assume that a number of the PP's may display some characteristics of what Ong (2002) terms 'oral residue'. Cultures with oral residue have not fully transitioned to a literate/written culture, and exhibit many characteristics of an oral culture (Ong, 2002). These characteristics may include repetition and that individuals take a practical, not abstract approach to what is written. For this reason I repeated the contents of the letter in several different ways. I also described in detail how the interview would take place, and there was time for the PP's to ask questions. The intention was also to help them understand why taking part in the interviews is opportunity for them to give their input so that the letter would not just end up on a pile with all the other letters that they receive from the municipality.

One meeting was held for the participative observation of TTL. During the meeting and in the letter the PP's were told that I would be observing the workshop. If they did not want to be a part of TTL when I was there, they would have the opportunity to take part at a later date. No names would be recorded, no recordings would be made, but I would be taking notes. The PP's could change their mind and be excused from TTL at any time, and would get the opportunity to do the workshop at a later date. There would be no negative repercussions from such a decision, and all the notes pertaining to them would be destroyed (Appendix xxxxxxxx). All notes taken would be destroyed by 31.12.2012.

A separate meeting was held for to inform about the interview. The PP's were informed that the interview was voluntary, that it would be recorded and then transcribed by me and nobody else would have access to this information. They were informed that their names would not be used. The informant could change their mind about taking part in the interview even after the interview had been conducted, up until the completion of the master thesis. In such a case all information about the informant would be destroyed, and such a decision would have no negative effect on the informant. The recordings and transcriptions would be destroyed by 31.12.2012. Both meetings were conducted at their school with relevant translation to all the language groups present.

UCR's are very vulnerable there was a strong feeling of wanting to protect them within of the municipality; Oppedal, Seglem & Jensen (2009:11) point out that is exactly because of their vulnerability, that information about interventions used and the effects thereof is crucial. In so doing help UCR's to cope with the challenges of daily life and facilitate good adaptation and social integration. The culture of the participants and the context in which they live is however a noteworthy factor. Not only do they come from a culture where the health sector is viewed with a great deal of respect for their knowledge, but they have received protection/asylum from the Norwegian government. This may further exacerbate the power imbalance between me and the PP's (Gustavsson, 2003). With this in mind and in consultation with NSD (Appendix xxxxxxxxx) it was not deemed necessary at any time to obtain signatures for either participative observation or the interviews; a meeting where my role in TTL and their rights to decline was sufficient. Turning up for the interview and participating in it is viewed informed agreement. The need for a signature may have caused added, unwarranted suspicion, and further upset the power balance.

Backe-Hansen (1999) posits that repetition of ethical considerations on the various occasions is one way for children to gain a better understanding of what the consequences of their involvement in the study implies and what it does not imply (see also Ong, 2002). The sum of these measures was an attempt to put the informants at ease, allowing them to talk freely about their experiences.

Notably, at no time did I get the impression that any of the informants felt pressured to take part in an interview. On the contrary, I found my biggest challenge to be explaining why something that they would never really see the benefit of would in the long run be of benefit to them.

## 3.3.2 Ensuring protection for privacy of research subjects:

During the actual two-day interventions no filming or voice-recording was done. The names of the participants were not used. Notes were made during TTL workshops which only I have access to. The notes were not made on a computer and they were stored at my home in a locked drawer.

The interviews that were done after the workshops were voice-recorded and transcribed. I did the transcription myself. The names of the informants were not used. The contents of the interviews were informants might have stated which country they come from or which commune they live in was replace with alternative, neutral nouns, so that the information could not be traced back to an individual informant. The transcribed interviews were not made available to the informants after the interviews, since it was deemed that this once again could lead to undue suspicion.

All notes and recordings will be destroyed by 31<sup>st</sup> December, 2012, in accordance with NSD standards.

#### 3.4 Data Creation and Collection

# 3.4.1 The Qualitative Research Interview

I have thus chosen a semi-structured interview to help me obtain information about the informant's subjectively experienced world (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2010). For purposes of clarity the individuals who took part in the workshops are referred to as "participants", and the individuals whom I interviewed "informants".

The group interview with the three girls, and one other individual interview, was done with the help of a translator. One of the informants had mastered enough Norwegian for the interview to be conducted in Norwegian, while the last two informants did there interviews in Dari which I am proficient in.

All the interviews were conducted in a group room at the school that the informants attend. I went to call each individual informant out of the class that they were attending. Authorisation had been obtained prior to the interviews. Both the fact that the informant and I had a "shared world" (Thomson, 2012) and the short walk to the group room, resulted in an informal conversation taking place. This helped to dispel some of the tension that inadvertently accompanies interview situations.

Recording the interviews freed me up to listen more carefully and take note of non-verbal communication.

I followed the interview guide, which consisted of theme based, open-ended questions (Appendix 4). My intention was not lead the informants to answer in the way that they thought I wanted them to answer (to "please" me) while at the same time keeping in mind the power-relationship that exists between me, the interviewer, and informant (Gustavsson, 2003).

Kvale & Brinkmann (2010) point out that special measures need to be taken when interviewing informants of cultures other than the interviewer's. They also list a number of criteria regarding the quality of an interview. The first point regards the degree of spontaneity, richness of content and specific of relevant answers from the informant. The translated interviews were instead characterised by feeling of rigidity. The answers that I received were often translated back to me in limited Norwegian. This decreased the spontaneity and in some cases caused the answers to be flat and poorer in content than I had hoped they would be. Next, they mention the length of the questions. I weighed up the notion of keeping the questions brief with that of ensuring that the informants understood what was being asked of them. I asked the questions briefly and then elaborated, using examples, and sketching specific situations (Broady, 1990; Ong, 2002). The answers received were often shorter than I had hoped them to be.

Informants spoke more freely during the interviews where translation was not necessary. During these interviews the informants spoke for longer periods at a time, and gave more information than the question alone asked for. The interview guide served as a guide. I relied more heavily on it during the interviews were translation was necessary. These interviews were more stilted.

Quality control of the translation was difficult. There was no way for me to check if the translator understood me, or if the informant understood what the translator meant (Fiva, 2006). The only way in which I could do some kind of quality control was to ask the same question in a number of different ways, elaborating with examples of the type of

information that I was looking for. This is however proved challenging for the translators since it was difficult for them to understand why I kept asking the same question (Holdhus & Langaard, 1994). Some of the informants were asked slightly different questions, where I was following up on extra information given by the informants.

In the group interview, two of the three girls understood more Norwegian and were freer when they answered. I made a special effort to ensure that the third informant had equal opportunity to answer by giving her extra time to give her opinion after the other two girls had answered. After this interview, some of the informants complained to the school nurse about the poor quality of translation. I had noticed that the translator as difficult to understand and saw that negotiating a meaning between him and the informants took some effort on the informant's part.

One of the informants seemed depressed. I referred him to the school nurse. I also contacted both the school nurse and his home contact teacher herself to inform them about my observations.

In spite of the precautions that I took, four of the seven informants hoped that their participation in this study would result in them being chosen to participate in further workshops. I noticed some considerable disappointment when she informed them that this would not be the case, as well as a distinct feeling of 'unfinished business'. I referred them to the school nurse, since she is the link between their school and BUP. It is therefore important for me to ask myself, if I had focussed too much on the fact that there would be no adverse effects if the participants did not want to be interviewed. I should have mentioned more clearly that an interview would not give them any extra benefits.

The role of the qualitative interview is not usually intended to be therapy. These interviews however, were not without therapeutic value (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2010). Asking questions specifically about what they did with their tree, and if they have looked at it, leaves the possibility that some went home and looked at their tree even if they hadn't before, and noted what effect this had on them, even if they had not been aware of the effect before.

We can speculate on whether the informants that needed translators experienced this in the same way as those who did not need translation.

Thorød (2003) asks, as a reflection, whether Kvale & Brinkmann's criteria for good interview questions only apply for individuals for common cultural and language backgrounds. On a basis of what Ong (2002) says that cultures with an oral-residue are more long-winded in their explanations of things than others. My reflection is thus: Do we need different criteria for oral cultures, and what are they?

#### 3.4.2 Participative Observation

While it was important for me to create a platform where some of the thoughts of the participants could be heard, I also wanted to attend TTL to experience what it first-hand. The goal of this was two-fold. On the one hand, I wanted to both create a "shared story" (Thomson, 2012) with the participators and describe the workshop from an insider's perspective (Malterud, 2011).

I wanted to be able to describe what the participants are doing without the structuring the situation 'artificially' (Fangen, 2004). According to Fangen (2004), the researcher's own impressions and feelings noted during the participative observation may be used as part of the created data. She further points out that of the impressions made during fieldwork are often difficult to express fully in words, but that these experiences nonetheless influence the researcher's understanding of the phenomenon.

This resulted in field notes, consisting of descriptions of what I experienced and thoughts that I had during the workshop.

Malterud (2011) points out that the actual happenings are influenced by the researcher's point of view. I was in the unique position of being able to speak both Norwegian (the language that the workshop was presented in) and Dari (one of the languages that the workshop was translated to, and that 75 % of the participants spoke), and familiar with the theoretical foundations of TTL (setting point of view apart from a translator's).

I attended two separate TTL workshops. The workshops were translated to three and four separate languages respectively. I was given no direct responsibility, but soon took on the role of an assistant to the participants while they were drawing their trees. On a number of occasions that translator consulted me about the correct translation of a word. The mental health workers took turns in presenting the different parts of the workshop. Translation occurred after each few sentences presented. The participants sat around a long table on which they could work and in close proximity to their translator.

While my presence may be assessed as a strengthening factor in this study, it is also possible that I had an effect on the workshop (Larsen, 2011) especially with regard to spontaneity of the participants. Initially, I kept in the background and simply made notes. It was clear however, that I could use her skills in assisting some of the participants drawing their tree. Aase & Fossåskaret (2007) point out that just sitting and watching may have more of an effect than having a small role during participant observation. I experienced a decrease in tension when I began to fill a similar role to all the other assistants.

Writing about one's self on a tree is emotional and each participant is assisted by a mental health worker, a translator or milieu-therapist from the commune where the participants live. The head mental health worker commented to me during the break:

'I always make them start on their tree before we take a break; otherwise we risk them not coming back after the break.'

Tom - Mental health worker - TTL workshop.

Informal conversations during the workshops were a valuable source of information. A disadvantage was that I could not go into detail about an issues or questions that arose. These points were woven into the themes of the interview guide. The combination of these two methods is thus viewed as invaluable to this study.

# 3.4.3 Focus Group

Focus groups are especially suitable to learn more about experiences, attitudes or points-of-view in a given milieu where the informants are involved (Malterud, 2011; Bloor, Frankland, Thomas & Robson, 2002). Four mental health care workers attended the focus group.

The focus group was used as an ancillary method, to complement the findings of the qualitative semi-structured interviews and participant observation (Bloor, Frankland, Thomas, & Robson, 2002). The approached helped me get a fuller picture of TTL workshops.

#### 3.3.4 Triangulation

Triangulation is a term that originates from positivism. It is typically a strategy for improving the validity and reliability of research (Golafshani, 2003). Norman Dezin made the word 'triangulation' popular in his book *The Research Act* (1989) (ibid.) Bloor, Franklin, Thomas & Robson (2002) point out that this term has become the qualitative researcher's equivalent of the quantitative term: 'replication'. This assumes that one method is readily substitutable with another. Researchers choose the method that best suits to a specific situation. In this study the methods of participative observation, individual semi-structured interview and focus group were used.

An important paradigm in qualitative research is constructivism which views knowledge as socially constructed and may change depending on the circumstances. Different methods differ in their degree of contextualisation. This is of importance because an exception to the results may lead to a disconfirmation of the hypothesis in a quantitative research project, where exceptions in qualitative research modify our theories and are fruitful (Golafshani, 2003). This then dispels the idea that triangulation has a validating function, but *multiple methods* serve to deepen and enrich the researcher's understanding of the topic.

# 3.5 Process of Analysis and Interpretation

Analysis is a part of the whole process and does not only begin when the created data has been collected. This entailed that I divide the collected information up into elements or pieces (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2010). Cato Wadel (1991) refers to this analytical process as the theorising process; the researcher develops theories around the collected material to systematise it.

Theorising is a process which involves testing out assumptions that organise larger amounts of data. A theory, in all simplicity, can be defined as a statement that orders large amounts of data.

#### 3.5.1 Systematic Text Condensation

I have chosen the analytical method of Systematic Text Condensation as presented by Malterud (2011) to analyse the raw data. This method is inspired by Giorgis phenomenological analysis and adapted by Malterud. She states that analysis should build a bridge between raw data and results in such a way that the organized data is interpreted and condensed. This study's seeks to get a better understanding about UCR's perceptions of TTL. It is therefore the participant's voices that are highlighted in the analysis.

I read the transcribed interviews to: 1) Obtain an over-all impression, 2) Identify meaningful units, 3) Make the content of the individual meaningful units more abstract to obtain themes, and 4) Condense the meaning. These four steps make up basis of Systematic Text Condensation. The following sections will clarify the process of data analysis.

#### 3.5.2 Discourse Analysis

There are no methodical recipes for discourse analysis. Instead, the method needs to be developed closely with the empirical material. The methodological discourse in itself is has its roots in power (Neuman, 2001).

This deconstructive approach to the created data stands side-by-side with the hermeneutic-phenomenological approach. The main aim of this study was to find out how the informants had experienced TTL. Their individual experiences, however are perceived within a very specific context. Contradictions are important when identifying discourses. The pronouns that are used: 'yours' and 'ours', 'you people' and 'we' often indicate implicit understandings of something that works for some 'privileged' but not for the other 'less privileged'. Discourse analysts seek to identify the discourses and interpretive repertoires that individuals draw on to make sense of their world, and to examine their consequences and their limitations (Burck, 2005).

I have approached this part of the study by: 1) Building up cultural competence by reading literature connected directly to TTL and the participative observation of two separate workshops, 2) Sharpening my focus (and expanding it) by using the semi-structured

interview and focus group, 3) Finding the origin, 4) Clarifying and analysing the discourse, and 5) Reporting (Andersen A. J., 2001).

#### 3.5.3 Participative Observation

As mentioned previously, the participative observation was done to form a "shared world", a context understood and shared by both informant and researcher. I wrote down descriptions of what happened during TTL in one column and interpretations or comments about what I saw in another column. This manner of organising my thoughts and observations made it easier for me to systemise the created data.

The data created here was especially important for discourse analysis. It is between this data and the interview that contradictions may be found, which is important for discourse analysis (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2010). Recurring themes were noted. Questions were asked specifically about this during the semi-structured interviews to cross-check the findings. Some of what seemed to be important during the workshops was merely shrugged off during these interviews. This was noted as a contradiction. Other seemingly important aspects were confirmed.

It is worth asking if the time lapse between the actual workshops and the interviews had an effect on the answers given during the interviews. We can speculate that if the interview had been conducted the day after the workshop, the emotional experience the workshops would have been fresher, especially regarding negative aspects of the workshops. The interviews were however, done after at least a month's time lapse to: decreased the pressure on the informants, resulting from repeated emphasis of their life story, and allowed time to pass resulting in the informants giving more thought-through and less emotional answers to the interview questions.

I felt it necessary to add a smaller problem statement as a result of the information I gained about translation during TTL. This is then listed as my fifth theme in my findings.

#### 3.5.4 The Transcribed Interview

Analysis is a continual process within the qualitative method of investigation, starting with the first interview and ending with the transcribed data (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2010). I attempted to be as "open" to what the informants were telling me, putting my own preconceptions in parentheses during the interview. Nonetheless interpretation was continual process in my head. During the interview I was able to test my interpretations by asking the informant if they are correct. This was an important part of the validating process.

The interviews were recorded, but I wrote down any thoughts or impressions that I had gotten, as soon as the interview was finished. All the interviews were transcribed from their oral origins, to a text. The transcribing was done after each individual interview, which helped to improve the following interview.

The interviews that were done in Dari were translated to English. I was required to listen to these interviews some extra times to ensure that I had not misunderstood what the informants were trying to tell me. The other interviews that were either conducted in Norwegian or done with the help of a translator were also translated to English. I chose to maintain a colloquial genre, but corrected grammar mistakes, out of respect for the informants.

The next step in the analytical process was to read through the transcribed texts to gain an overall impression. During this phase I was looking for themes that were repeated in the different interviews that highlighted the informants' experiences and thoughts. The interview process and the process of transcription had already given me an idea of which themes may be relevant to focus on. At the same time, I tried to be as open as possible to what the created data was attempting to communicate and listen as far as possible to what the informants' voices were trying to tell me. I arrived at four main themes that are presented in section 1.6, 1) Becoming aware of my own strengths, 2) Learning from each other, 3) The use of the tree as a metaphor, 4) Universal-ness vs. Different-ness.

These themes were the most obvious, and presented important information about what the informants' experiences of TTL had been.

Further analysis of the transcribed texts was then done to identify elements of meaning. During this phase I was looking for text that gave information about the themes that I had chosen in the previous step.

During the third phase, I constructed sub-themes for the three first main themes, and sorted the elements of meaning under these. I documented which of the sub-themes the informants were most taken by, while relating to the main themes. These sub-themes contributed to an in-depth understanding of the main themes. A summary of all the individual interviews, relating to these themes is presented Chapter 4.

During the interpretational process, I have tried to be as aware as possible of the hermeneutic circle/spiral, which highlights the importance of moving from the whole to the parts and vice-versa. Text elements (parts) that I have placed under each theme have been taken out of their contexts. I have, therefore, gone back to the transcribed texts (the whole) to evaluate if the findings that I present are still a valid description of the context that they have been taken out of. I have tried to view the text critically, giving special attention to statements that contradict the main findings.

# 3.6 My Role as Researcher

To get a near accurate description of what is unique for each informant, it is important to maintain a reserved approach as a researcher. This attitude implies that I distinguish between my pre-existing opinions and prejudices, and what the informants are telling me (Hummelvoll & Barbosa da Silva, 1996). Preconceptions include experiences, knowledge and perceptions that are acquired throughout life. For me this includes growing up in the multicultural society of South Africa, being educated in South Africa as an Occupational Therapist with the understanding that there are many ways of doing one thing. Working in South African hospitals I experienced first-hand that although I am aware that there are many ways of rehabilitating, I am only educated in one of these ways. My years in Afghanistan, working in both physical rehabilitation and mental health work, served to underline the fact that one is often blind to one's own cultural preconceptions. It is common to think that one's culture affects your way of thinking, but less common to be aware of how. Without

my previous experiences, I would not have questioned Kvale & Brinkmann's (2010) way of interviewing.

Tranøy (1986) posits that it is not possible to be completely neutral as a researcher, and that it is not necessary either. Working in different cultures helped to sensitise me to a number of cultural codes: The ways that individuals with oral traditions ask and answer question, what puts them at ease when I talk to them, ways to get a more truthful answer. My modus operandi was therefore strongly influenced by my previous experiences.

Since this tool has been broadly used in Africa and South Africa my initial outlook was very positive. Putting this pre-conception in parentheses practically meant that I had to rethink my problem statement to include the possibility of this tool not being liked by the informants. This was also important in the interview. I was careful to be slightly more reserved in my questioning allowing for a negative answer, and making it less obvious to the informant which answer I wanted, so that he/she did not feel that had to please me by saying they liked it.

The researcher's pre-conceptions are of cardinal importance when analysing both the observations made during the fieldwork and the interviews. This meant that I had to read through the transcribed interviews many times and on different occasions to see if I was overlooking something.

## 3.6.1 A Varying Role

During the fieldwork, the researcher has to keep in mind that she is an active part of the situations that she is observing and writing about (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007). The question is not whether I influenced the various situations but to what extent.

I maintained a varied role during this study. During the participative observation I developed a multiple role. Initially I observed, but soon became an assistant in the group. At times I was called upon to translate, or to corroborate a translation. My goal was to influence the situations as little as possible to get an idea what a similar situation without my presence would have been like. At one point, however, after excessive and repeated bullying of one

of the participants, that was overseen by the translator (these comments were not being translated) and obvious attempts of the facilitators to understand what undertones were being expressed, I assessed it as ethically correct to intervene, putting an end to the bullying. Much literature exists focussing both on the power that an interpreter has (Fiva, 2006), and the difficult task they have in distancing themselves enough from the culture to see what is happening (Plassholder5). In this instance I maintain that TTL was influenced by my presence more than a research field ideally should be influenced by a researcher, but I maintain that the alternative would have been detrimental to a number of the participants.

During the interview I maintained the roles of interviewer, referrer, translator and respected 'adult'. Tranøy (1986) points out that although we as researchers may be able to separate our different roles, that it is likely that our informants do not share this ability. As a mental health worker who had lived in Afghanistan, it is possible that my informants shared more with me than they would have with others. A number of the informants referred to my knowing what an existence in Afghanistan is like.

# 3.7 Dependability of the Research Method

Dependability refers to the assessment of whether the tool measured what it should have measured. Quantitative research calls this 'reliability'. Many believe this term to be so enmeshed within the paradigm of positivism, that a separate term is preferred - dependability (Golafshani, 2003).

Although I attempted for get an insider-perspective by doing participative observation I remained an observer. What is experienced while looking on, is radically different from what is being experienced at the same moment, by those being observed. It thus helped me to form a "shared story" with my informants, but I had to be careful not to assume that I knew how it was for them to participate in TTL: Despite my best efforts I was still an outsider. According to the constructionist way of thinking, however, we are all participants, in the sense that it is impossible to be an 'outsider' when you are studying a social phenomenon. One is always a part of what one is studying (Sørbø, 2002).

Of these seven informants, there were none that were negative toward the workshop. By implication the created data may appear more positive than it really is. To sign-up for an interview voluntarily, with the intention of giving their opinion, assumes that the informants are able to express negative opinions freely. Collectivistic cultures generally shy away from confrontation and the 'bearing of bad news' (Gustavsson, 2003), and it thus stands to reason that those who did not view TTL positively would probably not have signed up to be interviewed.

Within qualitative research where phenomenological approaches are used, it is critical to document the method used to collect and analyse the created data. In this way it is possible for other readers to understand what was done and see what was seen, whether they agree with the researches point of view or not (Hummelvoll & Barbosa da Silva, 1996). This can be found in chapter 3. I have tried to be very clear about what I was thinking and why I chose to do what I did, including my interpretations and references to the sources that I have used.

The implementation of the different methodical techniques need to be seen within the context of the researcher's educational process. It was the first time that I had conducted interviews of this sort, and in retrospect, I realise that I should have gone deeper into some themes that arose in the interviews. Some of my questions to the informants were more "leading" than I wanted them to be. This became clear from other clarifying statements that they made during the interview. In the cases where I observed this in the transcribed interviews, I have chosen not to use the answer out of its context. A more experienced researcher might have been able to conduct the interviews with fewer errors. All the same, using the tool taught me a lot and I did create a lot of data.

Although I had a focus group guide, I did not use it. I tried to let the group "own" the contents and discuss issues that they felt were relevant (Bloor, Frankland, Thomas, & Robson, 2002). In hindsight, I should have given more direction, narrowing the topic down more. The information obtain helped to deepen my understanding of TTL but did not answer the problem statement. I was therefore not able to use any direct information is in this study.

# 3.8 Summary

In this chapter I have explained the methodology that I have used in this study. A recurring theme has been that of different cultures coupled with a desire to protect and not offend. This has made the process slow. I have evaluated many things that I previously took for granted, and in retrospect I can see that I have been more careful than was necessary in some cases. I believe, however that I was able to obtain an impression of what TTL could mean to UCR's mental health. The next chapter will prove whether I am correct.

# 4 Presentation of Findings - Picking the Fruit

#### 4.1 Introduction

This study's problem statement is focussed on the participants' experiences of TTL and strongly influenced by phenomenology (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2010). In this chapter I present some of my findings from a combination of the semi-structured interviews and the participative observation. The focus group is used as a backdrop to these findings and provides a deeper understanding for the discussion that follows in Chapter 5. Quotations and summaries are used to illustrate the most prevalent themes identified within the created data.

I have attempted to be open to what the informants describe and derived themes from theses interviews. An inductive (bottom-up) approach (Burney, 2008) has been used. In Chapter 5 the findings are discussed using the theories presented in Chapter 2 as a frame of reference.

The identified themes are broader terms that have been chosen to act as an 'umbrella' for the sub-themes. Direct quotes from the informants have been used as sub-theme titles. Several quotes have been used under each sub-theme to further deepen our understanding of them. Each sub-theme is rounded-off with my own reflections helping to create some

distance to the 'phenomenon-near' analysis. Kvale & Brinkmann (2010) refers to this as "common-sense" analysis; critical understanding based on common-sense.

Four themes were crystallised out during the analytical process, of which the first three are further elaborated on with sub-themes. 1) Becoming Aware of my Own Strengths, 2) Learning from Each Other, 3) Use of the Metaphor, 4) Non-literal Poverty vs. Resources.

# 4.2 Becoming Aware of my Own Strengths

#### 4.2.1 'and then I understood... this is me'

The informants indicated during the interviews that they got to know themselves. Most of the informants expressed the importance of "becoming aware of their own strengths". The words "encouraging", "motivating" and "happy" were used by the informants to describe the effect of the feedback that they received during TTL. A number referred to this opportunity as one where they got to know themselves in a *new* way.

...The paper that I had, that had all the comments on from the other participants and, and I then understood... this is me. (Informant 5)

It is very important to know who you are...we were together with others, and then they, they told me who I was and I really appreciated this. (Informant 1)

A number of informants expressed a distinct feeling of surprise at the positive feedback that they received.

I don't know if I am good or bad, but they see me all the time, and so, so they know who I am... And then I realise that I am a good person and not a bad person, and that I am not just a nuisance to others. (Informant 3)

The informants talk about the compliments as encouraging and further elaborate that they get to know themselves. When asked what they thought of TTL, they say it was good, further alluding to the fact that they were left with a distinct 'good feeling'. One of the informants confesses that he does not know himself, but that others know him, and by hearing what they had to say, he has gotten to know himself. A number of the informants express surprise that all the feedback they received was positive. The task given during TTL was to give compliments to each other (Jf. 1.5.5). The question posed during the interview was how it

*felt* to receive these compliments. The surprise expressed may mean that when they think of themselves, they think of themselves in negative terms. Receiving positive feedback may be 'a flicker of hope' in what they otherwise perceive to be a 'dark existence'. It is possible to assume that these informants socially constructed identity has been one of 'not being good enough' and 'surviving today'.

#### 4.2.2 'I can create a future for myself'

Having a future was a theme that repeated itself. Some of the informants referred to this aspect as "learning about the future".

What will you do in the future? What are your hopes and dreams,...what I should become like, like..., I see that I want to be somebody good and useful, to do meaningful things so that I can create a future for myself... (Informant 6)

One participant referred to the future as "important" and as "motivating", and something that seemed achievable or attainable in light of what had already 'mastered' in life.

When I left the workshop, I felt that I had been strengthened. I felt that I was a person that had achieved something. It became like... like a motivation to continue in this way. And then I got this thought...a thought that if I continued in this way, in the way I had done previously, then it is possible for me to have a lot of possibilities in the future.... For example, I wanted to study computer programming, but I was unsure, because of my problems. Could I study this? Then I realised after I had drawn the leaves...keep it up! (Informant 5)

One of the most important effects of TTL is considered to be the creation of an alternative life story where mastery is emphasised (Jf. 1.5.2). It is noteworthy that one of the informants explains how he now sees his possibilities in spite of all the bad things that have happened to him. The other informants were less specific about *why* the future was important. It can be viewed as a weakness in the interview process that I did not pose this question directly. One might speculate that looking at the future instils a feeling of hope and continuity or movement, as opposed to stagnation. It is further possible to speculate that the future was generally bleak in their home countries due to war. In Norway they have many more possibilities; however the strain of surviving from day-to-day may have resulting in a habit (discourse) of not looking toward the future.

# 4.3 Learning from Each Other

Many of the informants indicated that getting to know the other participants in the group was significant for them. Some spoke of learning about the "importance" of friends. In most of the instances where the informants spoke of friends they were referring to the part of TTL where they gave honour to the important people in their lives.

# 4.3.1 'During TTL you meet other people and get to know them'

It became obvious that the participants got to know each other in a different way from before. All the participants attend the same school and live in one of two communes for UCR's. From the interviews it became clear that they viewed learning new things about their fellow students as important. It was not clear if the participants had very much to do with each other outside of TTL, but it was clear that they appreciated getting to know each other in a new way.

One gets to know more about those whom I know..., I got more information about them and learned something new...During TTL you meet other people and get to know them. (Informant 7)

I learned a lot of things that I did not know before, but now I know...I, I learnt things about many different cultures, because there were many cultures together during TTL...and we live together, so this is quite important. (Informant 1)

Like I said, it is good to do this type of thing in a group, and also with people coming from different cultures. This is good, really...One gets to know and learns about what others think and do. (Informant 7)

Because I think being a group of different people together is really good. Then we can see what kind of lives we have had,...together... (Informant 6)

One of the participants explained that he learned that he could not do things alone, and that when he needed help he should ask for it.

I learnt, in a way, that one can't do everything alone without help, but that one needs to, like, ask... help (Informant 7)

It becomes obvious from this data that the informants do not view what they learnt about themselves as the only benefit of TTL, but also what they learnt from others. One of the informants refers to the sharing of experiences with each other. Others talk of learning about other cultures. It is of note that the word "culture" kept being repeated. No question was posed asking the informants what they believed to be culture and what they believed to be personal characteristics, but the created data may cause us to wonder if the informants experience a feeling of "differentness" because of the different cultures and languages that they are surrounded by, and possibly if TTL helped them to feel more the same.

# 4.3.2 'My friends...they helped me'

One of the informants spoke about how friends made him feel better. He went on to point out that it was not necessarily the friends that he had made in the group, who made the difference. When asked about what they learned from TTL, many of the informants mentioned "the importance of friends and family".

One informant spoke about friends outside of TTL workshop.

I became a bit sad when I started to think about where I had come from... but it got better... My friends, they helped me, ... not those in the group, but when I went home. Ja, when we play (basketball) together and talk together, then I began to feel a little better... (Informant 7)

The honouring and acknowledging precious relationships is considered to be a way that TTL counselling process is linked to the daily lives and support structures of the participants (Jf. 1.5.1). It is clear that there was more to the workshop that learning about one's self. The ability to viewing one's self as connected increased in intensity during this workshop.

# 4.4 Use of a Tree as a Metaphor

During TTL the participants embraced the metaphor immediately. The nature of the metaphor seemed to make the task a hand obvious, and reasonably little explanation was needed for the participants to understand what was required of them. (Notes made during participative observation)

#### 4.4.1 'It is obvious what the tree is about. I understand it all...'

One informant pointed out that trees produce, and clearly draws the parallel between that of being a tree and that of being a person.

The 'Tree of Life' is like a person, and a person of value and it can have meaning... it produces... (the) point is where did I come from, what am I doing and where am I going? This is exactly what I thought and this is what it turned out to be. From the name I understood. I have thought this all myself before. I knew all these things, myself. (Informant 6)

It has been said: 'A picture paints a thousand words'<sup>15</sup> and this is what seems to have been the experience of the informants with the mental picture of a tree being used as a metaphor for life. The participants showed no difficulties engaging with this metaphor. During some critical a discussion that I had with some of my fellow students, concern was voiced about whether asking the participants to compare themselves to a tree may be experienced as degrading. This proved however, to be of no concern to the participants, who within a short while began to refer to themselves as trees. This was especially seen during the part of TTL regarding coping with resistance (*Notes made during participative observation*). This confirms in these instances that culturally appropriate metaphors may be viewed as a strength of TTL (Jf. 2.5.2).

#### 4.4.2 'I looked at the tree and I saw who I am.'

All the informants spoke about how the different parts in their life-stories were connected "your past, where you are now and where you are on your way to..." was mentioned by many.

Because when we started with the tree, we started with the roots, which shows where we come from, and then we drew all the way up to the leaves and there we wrote down what we want to become, and this is motivating...Even when people have big problems. (*Informant 5*)

For example, the 'Tree of Life' is what a person is, for example where you started as a kid and where you are now as a grown-up, what you have done, from where you

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> This saying, although popular, is of unknown origin. The most trustworthy sources indicate that it has been widely used in American newspapers since 1920 (The Phrase Finder, S.A.).

started from and where you have arrived. Then I look at this tree and I see who I am. I look at it from the roots and then upwards. (Informant 3)

A feeling of having a story where the ending has not yet been written was prominent in the created data. It is not clear if this idea was new or was something that they had always known. In the instances where this was asked, the answer that this was "obvious" was received. This information in itself is significant, because it means that TTL has not really provided so much new information, but rather provided a way of managing the information that each participant has. In so doing we meet the contradiction of all things being new, and nothing being new at the same time. The participants knew about all the different parts of their lives before they participated in TTL, and yet this way of looking at themselves was new. The question posed in the interview itself is then difficult: What did you learn that was new? This especially since Ong (2000) points out that, individuals with oral traditions are more practical in their ways of answering and less abstract.

## 4.4.3 'In the future you will reach the top...'

Another dominant theme was that of growth and transition. I sensed the importance of having been somewhere, being on one's way somewhere, and more specifically on one's way to the 'top'. It was obvious that they were talking about the top of the tree, but many spoke of reaching the top as the 'epitome' or the ultimate achievement.

You (will) get to know where you were. You were on the floor...and where you are now. You started on the floor and you have come half way up and in the future you will reach the top. (Informant 5)

During the workshop I thought a lot about where I had been and where I had come to... and this gave me a good feeling. I felt that I had achieved these things. (Informant 3)

One informant spoke of the benefits of TTL in this way:

Both your past and your future will benefit from this workshop. (Informant 6)

This idea stands in stark contrast to that of stagnation and ushers in with it the element of hope. Starting somewhere, being somewhere now and going somewhere in the future is closely linked to the growth of a tree, and growth is expected not merely an optional extra.

# 4.5 Universal-ness vs. Different-ness of Mankind

Yes, this is what I think. I mean, Norwegian youths also have a past, they also have a history, things have happened to them before where they are now. And they are somewhere in their lives now, and have a future. And they should also hear what kind of thoughts immigrants have... they are also people. (Informant 5)

No! They are afraid of me. They think we are all like the extremist groups and they are afraid. They do not know that I have come here to have a peaceful life, and they haven't seen the things that I have. (Informant 3)

Both these informants express the need to be seen as adolescents, first and foremost and then as UCR's. Informant 5 refers to the way the system is set up, grouping certain "diagnoses" together. Informant 3 talks about his perception of society not wanting him to be here in Norway, and thereby overlooking him.

In these two quotes we see two parts of the same discourse. Informant appeals to the universality of mankind (Hofstede, 2001). He maintains that all mankind is *the same* all mankind is born, grows up and has the opportunity to become a productive adult. Informant 3 says he is *not the same*; he is not the same as the extremist groups in his home country. This informant is focussing on mankind's ability to be different, on a collective level, while at the same time being the same. We can speculate about whether being given the opportunity to give one's opinion is a counter-discourse for that of receiving the pathological diagnosis of being a refugee. Informant 5 impressed on me strongly that he wanted to have the opportunity to prove himself just as human as the ethnic Norwegians of Norway.

#### 4.6 Translation

The notes that were used for this finding came mostly from the participative observation. Some observations were also made while conducting interviews that required translation. Because of this, and because these findings stimulated the formation of an extra problem statement, the findings and discussions are combined.

#### 4.6.1 'discourse' with a Small 'd'

Conducting interviews or workshops with individuals who have a different mother-tongue than your own has its challenges. One word in a language brings with it a myriad of further connotations. Thomson (2012) refers to this as a 'discourse' with a small 'd'. He illustrates this by the example of:

The coffee spilled. Bring a mop.

The coffee spilled. Bring a broom.

The coffee being spilled it the sentence to be translated. Bringing either a mop or a broom are the thoughts that the individual immediately forms around the coffee being spilt. In some cultures, it might be most 'normal' to think of the coffee as a liquid, making a mop the logical item of choice. In other cultures however, the idea of coffee beans being spilt would immediately come to mind, making a broom the most logical method of solving the problem.

### 4.6.2 The Interpreter's Power

Both the mental health care worker and the client are dependent on the translator's ability to use words that are familiar to the client. Bourdieu calls this phenomenon cultural capital (Broady, 1990). Put another way; just because a word or phenomenon is explained in the client's language, does not necessarily mean that the concept is understood.

Interpretation (of meaning) is continually taking place during communication. This interpretation is dependent on more than mere words, but also on non-verbal communication. In the direct communication between two individuals, this process functions well. In a situation where a translator is needed, all translation goes through an extra link. We know that the communicated message is not always the same as the message that is received and the extra person in this process increases the possibility for misunderstandings (Dahl, 2001).

Finally, one of the translators who had translated for previous workshops, when asked questions by the participants, did not always feel it necessary to translate what was being said to Norwegian. In this situation the interpreter used more than his 'power' of language; he also used his 'power' of judgement. Toward the end of one of the workshops, a type of

youthful banter developed. The banter was directed at one individual, and the remarks were sharp and continuous, and quickly developed into bullying. Most of this was not translated, even though the leaders tried to ask what was going on. The translator did not feel the need to translate these parts; presumably he did not deem these remarks as necessary for the leaders to hear. It has also been shown in research that a translator may be so close to his own culture that he does not see some of its negative sides (Aambø & Hjelde, 2011). Finally when the targeted individual was presenting his tree, the researcher felt compelled to put a stop to the bullying in the language in question. This was an example of how it is possible to be so close to the culture in question that you are blinded for elements that according to Norwegian law (Law of Education 16) are not allowed.

#### 4.6.3 Loss of Flow

Guregård (2009) suggests that translation allows for internal dialogue. The researcher did not however observe this. It seemed instead that it was difficult for the participants to follow the proverbial 'red thread' of what was being said, and it was not uncommon to see the participants gazing out of the window, while the Norwegian parts were being presented.

Interpretation for a workshop that is held for a group over a number of days leaves room for even more misunderstandings. The first workshop was translated to three languages, simultaneously as the workshop was presented. The second workshop was translated to four separate languages. This causes a lot of noise in a small room. One of the language groups changed translator four times over the course of the workshop. Only one of these translators actually spoke the mother-tongue of the participants. The other translators spoke the language spoken in the neighbouring country. Translational Services insist that the languages are the same. The researcher who speaks both the language that translation was needed for and Norwegian felt that this could be compared with using Swedish translators for Norwegians. Some Norwegians would have no problem at all; others would find it more difficult. This would depend on the amount of exposure they had had to

 $<sup>^{16}\</sup> http://www.barneombudet.no/temasider/skole\_og\_b/mobbing/fakta\_mobbing/informasjo/$ 

Swedish previously and the level of education of each individual. Even so, in what should be an exact science, the room for misunderstanding is further increased.

I noted that it was difficult for the leader presenting to keep the flow of thought with all the interruptions that translation caused. This was especially the case when one of the larger language groups began to have small conversations parallel to what she was trying to say. It was difficult for her to ascertain whether what was happening was clarifying discussion, or something beside the topic. Control of the group process in this situation was very difficult to maintain.

#### 4.6.4 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is very interested in language, which in the outset makes working in languages that are not mother-tongue difficult. Small nuances are more difficult to detect than would be if both the informant and the researcher were native-tongue speakers.

# 5 Discussion - Tasting the Fruit

# 5.1 In which ways can TTL help its participants to experience a greater SOC?

TTL as mentioned previously is a psychosocial support tool based on Narrative Practices, where the different parts of the tree are used as a metaphor to represent the different stages or aspects of our lives. It attempts to find an alternative life-story characterised by stories of success and coping (Jf. 1.5.2) thereby strengthening the participants to tackle the daily challenges of life. Although painful memories may surface, facilitators are trained to help the participants to look for the strengths within that have made it possible for them to survive and get this far in life. The workshop attempts to highlight the participant's general resistance resources and the individual participant's ability to overcome in spite of severe stressors. It is thus appropriate to highlight Antonovsky's Salutogenic model through these results (Jf. 2.4).

Within all these events that show an increased SOC, it is important to note that these levels are not easy to measure. Antonovsky is tentative when describing an adult's ability to

increasing his/her SOC, maintaining that the "foundations" of SOC is laid down in early childhood (Jf. 2.4.4). He continues that an increased SOC can only be termed as such when the increase is maintained over an extended period of an individual's life. This requires a longitudinal study to be done of these same informants, where they can be re-interviewed in some years' time to assess whether the informant's SOC really did increase. No quantitative measurement was done to check whether the informant's SOC really had increased. Antonovsky further stresses the point of Salutogenesis being a continuum and that an individual's SOC varies along this scale through life. In cases where I assess a component of SOC not to have increased, it is important to keep in mind that some change may occur; I have no way of assessing how much change needs to occur before it will become evident in a qualitative interview.

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#### 5.1.1 The Relationship between SOC and the Participants' Experiences

In the result presentation it is clear that all the informants viewed TTL as a 'good' workshop that they would gladly recommend to other UCR's. All except one of the informants expressed that they were left with a good feeling after TTL. Antonovsky divides SOC into three sub-categories: *Comprehensibility, manageability* and *meaningfulness*.

Meaningfulness is the category with an emotional undertone, and it thus appears that TTL has helped to increase the degree of meaningfulness that the informants experience, where the informants describe a 'good feeling' without being able to explain its source more accurately than pointing to TTL. Although Antonovsky maintains that individuals with a high degree of SOC all show a high degree of all three of its sub-categories, he also posits that a high level of meaningfulness is most pervasive in good mental health. The feeling of having a meaningful life is the motivating component that is directly related to being active in shaping one's own life and fate.

Only one of the informants were able to pinpoint exactly what it was that resulted in him thinking the workshop was worthwhile. He explains that he was able to see that if he continues in this manner, that he will be able to cope with things that come his way in future. This informant shows an increased degree of manageability, where he expresses clearly what his own strengths are and how he is able to get support from society around him by influencing it. This informant having lived in Norway for eight months was able to conduct his interview in fluent Norwegian, a skill that in such a short time must be indicative of a high level of cognitive functioning. Antonovsky admits that the component to manageability has a cognitive undertone and it is therefore possible to pose the question: Does increasing one's level of manageability require a base-line of cognitive abilities?

It is worth asking if the informant's SOC increased because they now were able tell their life-story in a coherent manner, and point to their successes. The informant's life-story might be considered as more ordered and structured, which are characteristics of the component of comprehensibility. Antonovsky points out that they should feel less like a victim with this increased comprehensibility, but from the interviews it became clear that this was not the case. Can one's sense of comprehension increase while still feeling like a victim? Further research is necessary to investigate whether future resistance really is easier to tackle, or if the informant will simply give in to his fate.

The informant that did not express this same 'good feeling' that the other informants did, did maintain that he 'liked' TTL, but it was clear from his body language that there were other things weighing on his mind. This informant's low level of all three SOC components

can be interpreted according to Antonovsky, as being closer to the "poor health" pole on salutogenic continuum. It may then be said that TTL did not increase this informant's SOC. He was referred to the school nurse for further help.

Judy Landau (2007) uses different categories for assessing whether an individual is 'strengthened' for life. She focusses on whether the individual has a coherent life-story. In her research she shows that having a coherent life-story, characterised by successes and coping, definitely has a strengthening effect when facing future resistance. She goes on to show that someone who has a coherent life-story characterised by failure (a low degree of comprehensibility, manageability and meaningfulness), however, still has a stronger standing when facing resistance than someone who does not have a coherent life-story, but simply remembers staccato events in a chaotic manner. Her theory may make an individual's SOC easier to measure without quantitative instruments.

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#### 5.1.2 The Significance of Knowing who you are – New me vs. Old me

Knowing who you are is a cognitive ability. It demands the ability of being able to see yourself objectively; both your strengths and your weaknesses. Individuals, who though literate, come from cultures that still maintain many aural traditions, have difficulty in talking about themselves objectively (Ong, 2002). By drawing themselves as a tree, they see themselves on paper. A number of the informants referred to drawing the tree and then realising that *they* were that tree that they had just drawn. From a Salutogenic point of view, this might be referred to as an increased degree of manageability, where the individual knows with both the personal abilities and the resources that they have around them which they have access to in times of crisis. One informant described exactly this when he described the effect that drawing the tree had on him. The remaining informants,

however, described 'seeing' what their positive aspects were as important, but were not able to explain *why*.

Within the social discourse, and even within therapeutic discourse (Papadopoulos, 2001) UCR's are relegated to the ranks of helpless, needy, powerless, traumatised and generally difficult, and these themes tend to dominate our meetings with them. Foucault steers away from "A" acting in a way so that "B" will act in a way that "B" otherwise would not have acted suggested by Lukes (1974 in Neumann, 2002) and points rather to how the effect of "A" on "B" simply seems *normal* and therefore somewhat unproblematic for both "A" and "B". This normalcy then has an effect on the way that both "A" and "B" act. Within the therapeutic room this means that refugees are both viewed as traumatised causing their resilience to be less recognised, and *view themselves* as traumatised and needy, making it more difficult for them to recognise their resilience.

The participative observation gave me the opportunity both to see and experience first-hand, how this discourse is accepted as normal. A number of the facilitators expressed their surprise at how resilient and capable UCR's are.

One of the faces that power takes on is that of identity (Rasmussen & Rasmussen, 2010). Of significance here, is that both the facilitators and the informants are made aware of the UCR's identities at the same time. Within discourse analysis it is not the sender of the message that creates the context, but the receiver (Ulleberg, 2004). In other words, the facilitators could have told the UCR's that they had more resources than they themselves are aware of, but as receivers with another type of understanding of themselves they would not have 'coded' the information as true, and visa-versa. To have impact, statements made need to build the context for previously-enacted statements. As mentioned before, identity is a discourse which holds considerable power over an individual (Rasmussen & Rasmussen, 2010).

#### 5.1.3 The Significance of a 'Future Perspective'

A vision for the future helps to motivate one 'when the going gets tough'. Having a vision does not necessarily mean that you can find meaning in all your sufferings; in the case of

UCR's there are many incidents that have experienced that cannot be explained and do not have any satisfying meaning. I understand Antonovsky's comprehensibility to be a very cognitive function where you can objectify your life and choose to see it in a different light. I find it difficult to imagine how one finds meaning in war atrocities, although I am aware that they Antonovsky's initial subjects, were victims of war.

Vision for the future, does however, give life a new meaning and the discomforts suffered to reach the goal become more comprehensible; keeping our eyes on the goal, we are able to endure more. Antonovsky points out that, individuals with a high level of meaningfulness are not happy when tragedy strikes, but look for meaning within the painful incidents.

The discourse in a war-torn country is one of pessimism and limitations. This can maintain its power over an individual, if they are not helped to see their new possibilities. Just because the UCR's have come to a new country with many possibilities does not necessarily mean they see them. TTL in this cased has focussed on the future, helping to free them from their possible pessimistic discourse. It is important to keep in mind, however, that dreams are not enough; all dreams come at a price. The history of South Africa bears witness to many who were given opportunities, but who had not internalised the 'Panopticon'. Accustomed to the traditional power, they had not developed an understanding of modern power. They had not become efficient and effective, and thus many were not been able to attain them. C. S. Lewis echoes this:

"But one of the worst results of being a slave and being forced to do things is that when there is no one to force you any more, you find you have almost lost the power of forcing yourself." (Lewis, 1954)

We may then ask, how one instils the discourse of modern power at a relatively late age? Maybe Antonovsky is right. Without being able to *comprehend* what the dream will take, knowing how to *manage* both your personal resources and the resources around you, maybe the motivation of *meaningfulness* is not sufficient?

High expectations are mentioned as an environmental protective factor in resilience research (Bernard, 2006). Resilience research has, in similarity to Antonovsky, tried to determine what it is that causes some people who have experienced trauma cope better

with it than others. While it is maintained that a high degree of meaningfulness is pervasive in good mental health, this created data shows that meaningfulness can be obtained by more than simply finding meaning in the suffering. Viktor Frankl (Frankl, 1969), whom Antonovsky based much of his work on, maintained that positive life purpose and meaning was associated with strong religious beliefs, membership in groups, dedication to a cause, life values, and clear goals. Maturity emphasizes a clear comprehension of life's purpose, directedness, and intentionality which, contributes to the feeling that life is meaningful. Marianne Cederblads (Sommerschild, 1998) in her longitudinal study regarding Antonovsky's SOC found optimism to be a protective factor in difficult times.

# 5.2 How did TTL Help with Network Building?

By building a network, the component of manageability is increased in the individual's SOC, where a network is considered a resource, but not one that you have direct control over. (Antonovsky, 1979). One's network might be seen as resources that an individual can benefit from when tragedy strikes. Lie, Sveaass & Eilertsen (2004) show in their study the importance of the family in re-establishing an existence in a host country. In the absence of a family, one may wonder who fulfils this role.

#### **5.2.1** The Significance of Getting to Know Others

All the informants indicated that getting to know the other participants in the workshop was important. Only one of them however, mentioned that he had learnt that he could not accomplish things all alone in this world and that he had to ask for help. He further indicated that he might be able to ask some of the participants from TTL since they had done the workshop together. This might be considered an increased degree of manageability as he talks about the resources that he has become aware of are around him.

The rest of the informants simply said that it is necessary to know those you go to school with and live with. Bourdieu's theory of social capital is based on the links that knit individuals into a group. Each individual in a group takes on a role or position, accumulating capital and making contacts, which forms a type of resource that all the group members can benefit from (Broady, 1990). An individual's network makes up that individual's "protection"

in the transitions of life, and will to some degree determine her quality of life and ability to fulfil her given roles (Engebrigtsen & Fuglerud, 2009).

This explanation leads us to another discourse; when do we know someone? This can be explained by looking at the different ways of greeting. When someone from an individualistic culture greets someone, his sole aim is to get to know the individual in front of him, enquiring into ways that you distinguish yourself by current activities or future plans. Someone from a collectivistic culture on the other hand about the new acquaintance's place of birth, age, family status and other possible points of commonality between the two people (Aasland, 2009).

Some of the informants expressed that it was good to learn from others, especially the different cultures. The spoke of both learning from the questions the other participants asked and the trees that the other participants presented. Of the three cultures that were represented in the interviews, two informants expressed that they knew that their country had suffered much more from the war and other tragedies than any of the other countries. They expressed this as a natural part of the interview, after they had said that getting to know the other participants was important.

The easiest way to identify a discourse is to identify a contradiction (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2010). In this case it is: Increased manageability vs. Victimisation. Antonovsky maintains that an increased degree of manageability will cause a decreased feeling of victimisation. Antonovsky and Engebrigtsen & Fuglerud (2009) *point* to the truth-value of having a network while Foucault focusses on whether it *can have* a truth-value (Alcoff, S.A.). It is here that a conflict exists, although it is true that it is useful to have a network, the dominant discourse is still one of victimisation where it is possible that a network has no effect. Antonovsky shows understanding for this conflict maintaining that the foundation of an individual's SOC is laid down at a young age, and Antonovsky himself is somewhat pessimist in some of his works as to whether an individual's SOC can be increased later in life. This tension between intervention and discourse thus helps us to keep in mind that a workshop like TTL is a small intervention, and although it may help UCR's in many ways, it is not a miracle cure for increasing SOC.

## 5.2.2 The Significance of a Network Outside of the Workshop

One of the informants specifically mentions the support he received outside of the workshop. An important aim of TTL is for the participants to honour important people who have played a part in their lives (Jf. 1.5.1). Although getting to know each other within the group proved to be an important aspect, TTL intends to link the participants back to their families and communities and not necessarily to create a new community. Once again this may be viewed as increasing the individual's awareness of the resources he has around him and thereby his manageability. This is in accordance with research by Michael Lambert (1992) that proves that 40% of an intervention's success depends on factors outside of the therapeutic room (Haugsgjerd, Jensen, Karlsson, & Løkke, 2009). One of the most important tasks that a UCR has to undertake after being granted residency in Norway, in the process of establishing her existence in Norway, is to reconstruct her social network abroad and establish a new network here in Norway (Oppedal, Seglem, & Jensen, 2009:11).

Finally, t has been speculated that individuals in collective cultures do not have friends in the same way that individuals in an individualistic culture have friends. In essence collective cultures have their extended families; family members are their friends on whom they depend. TTL may open new discourse for them in terms of making friends here in Norway

# 5.3 In which ways did the use of a 'Tree' as a Metaphor help the Participants Engage Actively with Themselves?

By using a culturally appropriate metaphor, we tap into a discourse. With this metaphor come emotions, thoughts and understandings that do not need to be explained. Of course some explanation was given. The participants were not merely told to drawn themselves as trees and then left to their own resources. Gibbs (1995) shows how by explaining something and then using a metaphor to summarise what has been explained greatly increased the individual's capacity to remember the details of the task. It is noteworthy that metaphors have not always been a popular field of inquiry and for a long time analogical thinking and metaphor had been held in disfavour among Western scholars (Aasland, 2009). Since the 1970s there was a marked shift in thinking throughout scholarship, but it is of note that my fellow students were concerned that this type of metaphor might be perceived as childish.

This may reveal another discourse that exists among many 'intellectuals', where theoretical is thought of to be positive and metaphorical is relegated to children's stories and games.

Narrative practice uses many metaphors; it is especially used in what is called 'externalising conversations' (White, 2007). By using a metaphor, like in this case as oneself being a tree, one is objectifying oneself. In this case, it made it easier for the participants to talk about themselves and their personal histories, something that is not often encouraged in a collectivist culture.

# 5.3.1 The Significance of a Feeling of Accomplishment

Metaphorically we see that the tree has grown, and within our hearts we understand that we have accomplished something. Within narrative therapy, this is viewed as 're-engaging with history' (White, 2000). There seemed to have been a change in the attitudes of the participants, from viewing the glass as 'half empty' to viewing it as 'half full'. White (2000) posits that it is not sufficient to simply to revision one's life in terms of successes, substituting one story for another but re-engaging should aim to bring forth multi-storied experiences in life and identity. Eide & Rohde (2009) however highlight the aspect of coping and mastery, pointing out that many of the UCR's have never thought of themselves in positive terms before. Marianne Cederblads inspired by Antonovsky's Salutogenesis did a longitudinal study of a group who were at risk of developing a poor mental health. She found optimism to be one of the three most used strategies to maintain a good mental health. Thus although narrative therapy does not merely aim to create a feeling of optimism as discussed above, this feeling was not devoid of meaning for the informants. It is also important to note that discourses are 'absent but implicit' (White, 2000), meaning that what the informants say about their lives is dependent on what is not stated. This means that it is possible that the informants have built up a new discourse (alternative history), and they express this through an attitude of optimism.

Interestingly the initial events that the participants want to put on their tree are *not* elements of success. It is here that the assistants need to able to help the participants find more positive experiences. Facilitators were very aware of the negative stories that the

The very first discourse that surfaces in the group is one of hopelessness and failure. This discourse has so much power that it in some cases has caused participants to leave the workshop, and it is therefore necessary with enough assistants who can help the participants to find some positive events. Both Bateson (1972) and Foucault (1972) sought to challenge the unmediated knowledge of the world, where certain things were just taken for granted. A significant discourse that the UCR's find themselves being immersed in is that of 'starting from scratch', not knowing anything about the host culture and not knowing the language. An emotion that is often associated with this discourse is shame (Thomson, 2012).

By looking at one's tree and seeing positive things, this negative discourse is challenged by the positive idea of accomplishment. The new discourse ushers in a feeling of pride. This in its turn becomes a motivating force which has the potential to drive the individual forward. Of the three components that Antonovsky uses, meaningfulness has the emotional undertone. The informants spoke of a feeling of motivation and hope when they looked at their tree.

#### 5.3.2 The Significance of Having a 'Connected Life-Story'

Developing a coherent narrative identity is viewed as a developmental accomplishment (McLean & Pratt, 2006). Landau (2007) as mentioned previously has shown how having a coherent life identity has proven to be beneficial to the individual. She shows 'storying' to be the main manner of coping with trauma, disaster and crisis in aural traditions where psychological help is non-existent. This reveals that the act of telling one's life story may be less foreign to individuals with aural traditions than individuals with literate traditions.

One might then ask: Why are the UCR's not using a method that they are familiar with from their home country here in their host country? Social, political and institutional discourses view 'otherness' especially that of refugees negatively; incidents that the individual UCR has experienced may be directly linked to shame and guilt. The power of these negative discourses cause one to want to hide or forget, thereby discouraging the act of developing coherent narrative identities.

It is possible that this coherent narrative identity that is being formed increases the participant's manageability, since he becomes aware of the resources that are within him and acknowledges those that he has and had around him. Antonovsky points out that this is a cognitive skill, which is made easier by drawing the tree on paper and discussing it. It is also possible to assume that the participant's degree of comprehensibility in relation to SOC increased. I am careful to think that they begin to understand the question of why things happened, but I do believe that some of them were better able to see how one incident led to another, and how 'skills' learnt in one situation could be used in the next. Once again we can refer to Landau (2007) who has researched the protective effect of a coherent life story.

#### **5.3.3** The Significance of the Realisation of Growth

Growth in itself is a positive discourse. One of the informants stated that humans are like trees; they are useful and they produce. Another informant stated that he had realised what type of people society likes; people who persevere and produce. The power of the discourse in this case helps to increase the individual's ability to produce, something that Foucault (1997) highlights as one of the ways that the discourse of discipline has changed. It no longer purely negative, with the sole task of punishing and preventing society from breaking out into unrest, but also has a positive side, increasing an individual's ability to produce.

Discipline raises our level of skills, makes our movements faster, increases ildstyrken, expands our front-line of attack without weakening our strength, increases our resistance, etc.<sup>17</sup> (Foucault, Overvåkning og straff. Det morderne fengsels historie., 1997, p. 187)

When the participants view their trees and see that they are no longer at the bottom (like a number of informants pointed out), these discourses have a 'strengthening' effect on them. This in turn may serve to give previous experiences meaning – it has helped them to 'move toward the top'.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> My translation.

By being able to gather strength from an experience in life, thereby changing one's opinion of another, might be the surprise that is needed for the individual to change himself. This type of experience may influence also the individual's future capacity for change (Eide & Rohde, 2009). The goal is to highlight a life story, through the drawing of the tree, giving the opportunity of exploring the unknown by using the known.

# 5.4 Dependability of Results

Assessing the dependability of the results entails critically questioning them. Malterud (2011) points out that the validating of the newly acquired knowledge is of crucial importance for critical reflection. Since I have already discussed the dependability of the methods used, this part of the discussion will only focus on the dependability of the results. Another way of putting it is: To what degree do my findings reflect the phenomena that I wanted to know more about.

The general definition of dependability looks at whether, and to which degree, the method investigates what it was intended to investigate. Do my results highlight the participant's experiences of TTL and has the effect of the workshop on their mental health become clearer? Have the effects of translation on both the use of and the qualitative assessment of TTL been documented? I believe that these questions are answered in Chapter 4 and 5.

In the analysis and interpretation of my findings I have consciously tried to allow the voices of the participants to be heard and I have presented my findings in such a way, that I believe them to be true with regard their statements. The interviews have however been assessed subjectively by me. I did however check with the informants if I had understood correctly and they had the opportunity to confirm or disaffirm what I thought they were saying (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2010). It is possible though, that another researcher may have understood the data in a slightly different way, since pre-conceptions, even when in parentheses, do play a role.

Are these findings generalizable? The question that is often asked is how generalizable can a study be when the sample group is so small (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2010)? With regards this

study it is possible to ask: Is it reasonable to assume that my findings can be transferred to similar situations? Due to my phenomenon-near approach, I would argue that my findings are transferable to a certain degree, to similar situations. The focus with a phenomenon-near approach is to capture the essence of a phenomenon. This is what remains common characteristics and what can be emphasised as central characteristics of a phenomenon. The informants in this study emphasise a number of common points when as they discuss what TTL meant to them. These commonalities are what we can assume will be generalizable to individuals in a similar situation.

### 5.5 The Importance of This Study for TTL and Mental Health

This study has contributed with important information for both the intervention TTL and for the field of mental health in general. The results show that the aim of TTL (Jf. 1.5.1): To create alternative life-stories and to feel more connected to one's community, are effects that a number of the informants experienced. We see that listening to the experiences of some of the participants provides us with a more detailed and varied understanding of which elements of the workshop assist in the improvement of UCR's mental health. This study further fulfils a "need" for increased knowledge about the treatment of UCR's and more specifically the evaluation of a treatment that is used specifically for UCR's (Jf. 1.2). Finally, this knowledge is useful so that TTL can be documented as valuable in the treatment of UCR's; this workshop offer should be continued in this specific municipality, and there are grounds for suggesting that it be used in other municipalities too.

This intervention has an important role within the field of preventative mental health care. TTL is offered to all UCR's residing in this municipality, the participants are therefore not in any mental health care system yet. This workshop helps with the creation of alternative life stories which has a protective mental health care function. Participants who need extra help can be identified at an early stage, and during further treatment, the individual will have found some "safe territories" in his/her life story; something that can be built on and used in further therapy.

The Co-ordination Reform that has just been implemented this year (2012) puts the emphasis of the health of the municipality on the municipality itself. TTL is a workshop that has been used in many parts of the world by volunteers (Løge, 2010). By implication, this means that working cross-culturally is not only for the specially qualified, but with a little training can be used on a municipal level. All the informants thought that TTL was an important workshop for them; one that they would recommend to other newer UCR's. Implementing this workshop in other municipalities for UCR's is therefore a possibility that seems feasible.

The results of this study also indicate a possible way in which TTL can be improved. A number of participants would have liked to have ethnic Norwegians participants attend the workshop with them. Within a social discourse where ways of helping UCR's get to know and be included in ethnic Norwegian networks, this may be an option.

An important finding in this study has to do with putting "suffering" in perspective. By keeping their dreams in mind, the struggles that some of the UCR's were "suffering" through became more comprehensible and their motivation increased. We often talk about the future, but by drawing it on paper (objectifying it) might have a greater effect on both individuals who have retained some oral traditions.

### 6 Summary of Study and Recommendations for Further Research

### 6.1 Summary

This qualitative study confirms that an intervention used widely in Africa in the aftermath of disaster has a protective effect on the mental health of UCR's re-establishing their existence in their host country. The interviews with the informants has given me a deeper understanding of what the most important and thereby useful aspects of TTL are: Getting to know yourself in a new way where the future is an option, getting to know those around you and realising that this new network can be your support in times of resistance, and learning to talk about yourself objectively so that you have the big picture in times of trouble and are able to endure more for the sake of your dream.

The effect of translation through the whole process became very obvious, and that it cannot be taken for granted that our translators share our views as mental health workers. A need for training of mental health workers who work with translators became evident.

This study has shown the importance of an insider-perspective when a mental health care tool is evaluated. Participative observation of TTL and qualitative interviews of seven of the participants have given rise to four main themes which I have discussed by using Antonovsky's Sense of Coherence and Foucault's power of the discourse. During the study it became obvious that translation was played a big role throughout TTL and I thus deemed it fit to add a smaller problem statement so that these important findings would not be lost.

### 6.2 New Research Questions

I have shown repeatedly through this study that this was just a once of interview. A longitudinal study of UCR's who have been given the opportunity to attend a TTL workshop will give a better indication of if the individual's SOC has really increased.

I spoke to an UCR who had been in Norway for ten years. He was an assistant to a new UCR who was participating in TTL. When I asked him if he thought TTL was meaningful for him, he said that he no longer was 16. At the age of 26 things had become clearer and he therefore didn't need a workshop like this. Research into the mental health of UCR's ten years after they arrived in Norway could show how they learned to cope. This might show coping mechanisms that we are not aware of.

A pilot project at college level (age 16 - 18) could be studied where both ethnic Norwegians and UCR's participated in TTL. Participative observation and interviews of these participants might show totally different discourse, and possibly some interesting ways of merging different discourses.

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# **Appendices**

Appendix: 1

### Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS

NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES

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Vår dato: 06.01.2012

Vår ref: 28747 / 3 / PB

Deres dato:

Deres ref:

# TILRÅDING AV BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 15.11.2011. All nødvendig informasjon om prosjektet forelå i sin helhet 05.01.2012. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

28747

The Good Multicultural Meeting – hva er det som kjennetegner et godt møte på tvers av kulturene, der hjelpetrengende føler seg sett og hørt? Bruken av 'Livets tre' som psykososial tiltak med forankring i Narrativ praksis for å identifisere disse egenskaper.

Behandlingsansvarlig

Universitetet i Agder, ved institusjonens øverste leder

Daglig ansvarlig

Anne Brita Thorød

Student

Helen Kolb

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet, og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger vil være regulert av  $\S$  7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. Personvernombudet tilrår at prosjektet gjennomføres.

Personvernombudets tilråding forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, eventuelle kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven/helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, <a href="http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/forsk-stud/skjema.html">http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/forsk-stud/skjema.html</a>. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, <a href="http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/prosjektoversikt.jsp">http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/prosjektoversikt.jsp</a>.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 31.12.2012, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim

Pernilla Bollman

Kontaktperson: Pernilla Bollman tlf: 55 58 24 10

Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Kopi: Helen Kolb, Kvernstien 62a, 4640 SØGNE

Avdelingskontorer / District Offices:

OSLO: NSD. Universitetet i Oslo, Postboks 1055 Blindern, 0316 Oslo. Tel: +47-22 85 52 11. nsd@uio.no

TROMDHEIM: NSD. Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet, 7491 Trondheim. Tel: +47-73 59 19 07. kyrre.svarva@svt.ntnu.no

TROMSØ: NSD. HSL, Universitetet i Tromsø. 9037 Tromsø. Tel: +47-77 65 43 26. mystig have avdure. Svarva@svt.ntnu.no

#### Appendix 2

Informasjonsskriv om deltakende observasjon av Livets tre i forbindelse med en masteroppgave

Jeg er masterstudent i psykisk helsearbeid ved Universitet i Agder og holder på med den avsluttende masteroppgaven. Temaet for oppgave er kartlegging av elementene som gjør et terapeutiskmøte godt på tvers av kulturene. En del av oppgaven krever at observerer og deltar i 'Livets tre', der jeg skal forsøke å dokumentere disse elementene. Jeg er interessert i å finne ut hva som funker med tiltaket slik at vi forbedre tiltakene som finnes for personer med flerkulturell bakgrunn.

På et senere tidspunkt hadde vært fint å høre fra noen av ungdommene som deltok i Livets tre gjennom intervju. Her vil spørsmål dreier seg om hva dere likte med Livets tre og hva dere ikke likte. Jeg er også interessert om dere lærte noe nytt. Intervjuene vil bruke lydbånd og etterpå bli transkribert av masterstudenten. Her er det fullt mulig å delta i Livets tre og da ikke delta i intervjuene. Det kan du gjør uten å måtte presisere deg nærmere. (Samtykkeerklæring for intervjuet vil du få senere.)

Det er frivillig å være med og du har mulighet å trekke deg når som helst underveis, uten å måtte begrunne dette nærmere. Dersom du trekker deg vil alle innsamlede data og båndopptak om deg bli anonymisert. Opplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt, og ingen enkeltpersoner vil kunne gjenkjennes når oppgaven er ferdig. Opplysninger og båndopptakene anonymiseres og slettes når oppgaven er ferdig, innen utgangen av 2012.

Hvis det er noe du lurer på kan du ringe meg på 901 22 22 4, eller sende en e-post til 2shornsheepwissmail.org. Du kan også kontakte veilederen min, Anne Brita Thorød, ved institutt for psykososialhelse på telefonnummer 37 23 37 53.

Studien er meldt til Personvernombudt for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskaplig datatjeneste A/S.

Med vennlig hilsen,

Helen Kolb

### **Appendix 3**

# Intervju guide

### Spørsmål til deltakerne

Hvordan var det for deg å delta i Livets tre?

- 1. Hvilke tanker hadde du før du begynte med Livets tre?
- 2. Hvilke tanker eller følelser hadde du når du begynte med Livets tre?
- 3. Hvilke tanker eller følelser hadde du når du var ferdig med de to dagene?
- 4. Har du noen tanker nå om Livets tre?
- 5. Hvordan var det for deg å gjøre det i en gruppe?
- 6. Hva har du gjort med treet dit?
- 7. Ville du anbefale Livets tre til andre? Ja eller nei, evt. hvorfor?
- 8. Kan du nevne en ting som du lærte i at du deltok i Livets tre?

«Det gode flerkulturelle møte» Helen Kolb Sist oppdatert: 25/01/2012 Universitet i Agder

# Forespørsel om deltakelse på en fokusgruppe for masteroppgave.

# «Det gode flerkulturelle møte»

### Bakgrunn og hensikt

Jeg heter Helen Kolb og er en masterstudent I Psykisk helsearbeid ved Universitet i Agder som holder på med den avsluttende masteroppgaven. Temaet for oppgaven er kartlegging av elementer av et godt møte på tvers av kulturer gjennom å evaluere tiltaket «Livets tre». Prosjektet har tre trinn. Det første er å observere tiltaket som du har vært med på som leder. Deretter, intervjue noen av deltakerne for å få den enkeltes mening om «Livets tre». Og tredje, er en fokusgruppe med noen av lederne for å få deres meninger.

**Målet er å sammenligne noen av aspektene fra disse tre sammenhengene.** Slik kan vi få bedre kjennskap til det som deltakerne dra nytte av, og hva kan bli gjort annerledes for at deltakerne kan dra enda mer nytte av det.

#### Hvordan gjør jeg dette?

Hvis du kan tenke deg som en del av fokusgruppen og har vært en av lederne på «Livets tre», enten på den 12. og 14. oktober, eller på den 22. og 23. november 2011, tar gjerne kontakt med meg. Jeg vil forsøke å finne et tidspunkt som passer for alle.

### Mobil: 901 22 22 4, eller 2shornsheep@swissmail.org

### Lydbånd

Innspillingene vil bare bli brukt for dette prosjektet, og bare forskeren vil ha tilgang til lydfilene. Ingen navn av informantene vil bli brukt i masteroppgaven, og forskeren vil sikre at opplysningene er de-identifisert, slik at informantene ikke kan gjenkjennes av dem som leser oppgaven. Alle opplysninger, inkludert det som er innspilt, vil bli makulert innen 12.2012.

### Før-fokusgruppespørreskjema

Du vil få et spørreskjema til sendt deg før fokusgruppen, slik at forskeren kan samle noen bakgrunnsopplysninger om informantene, som er med på gruppen.

### Mulighet til å trekke seg

Deltakelse i fokusgruppen er frivillig. Du har mulighet til å trekke deg fra prosjektet når som helst uten videre forklaring, også etter fokusgruppen. I så fall vil all opplysninger om deg, inkludert lydfilene, blir makulert og ikke tatt i betraktningen i prosjektet.

#### Innsyn

Du, som informant, har rett til innsyn i transkriberingen av fokusgruppen. Du vil også få informasjon om resultatet av prosjektet.

### Har du flere spørsmål

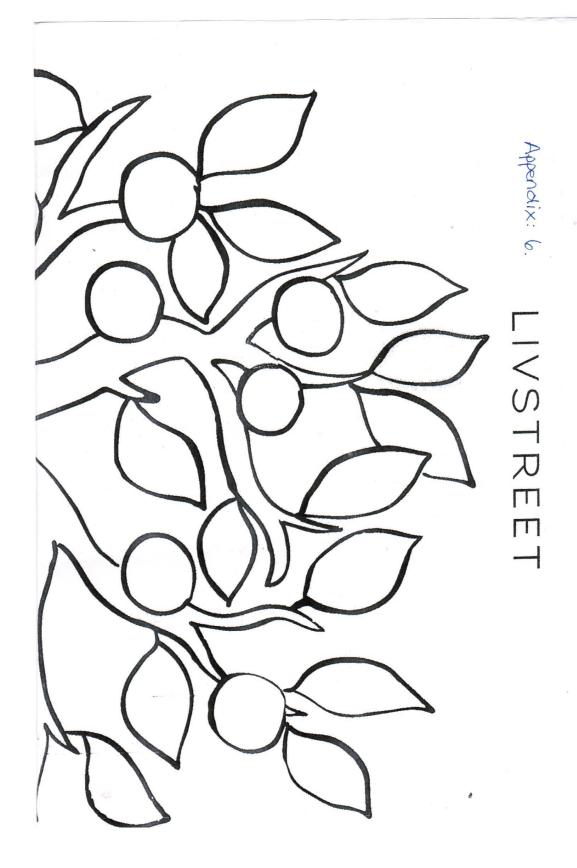
Hvis det er noe du lurer på, tar gjerne kontakt med meg. Du kan også kontakte veilederen min på Universitet i Agder, Anne Brita Thorød, ved Institutt for psykososialhelse på telefonnummer 37 23 37 53.

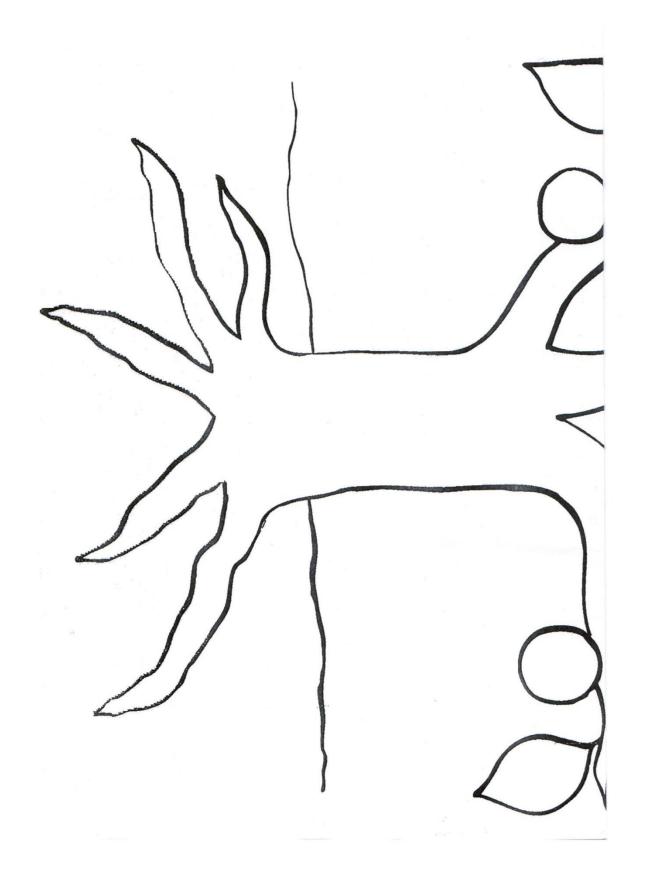
### Personvern

Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste A/S (NSD).

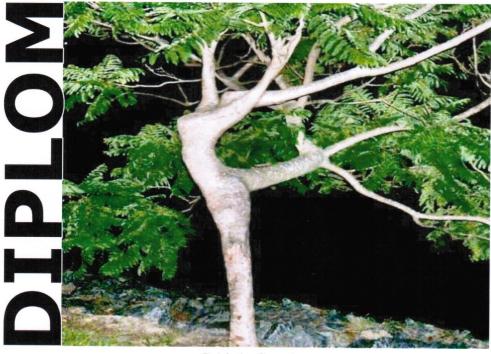
Med vennlig hilsen,

Helen Kolb





Appendix: 7



Det bekreftes at

har gjennomført kurset

# **«Livets Tre»**

Der kom det frem at

Kursholdere:





signatur	sianatur	sianatur	sianatur