

**“Hidden Treasures, Hidden Voices”
An Ethnographic Study of Movement
and Dance in Psychosocial Work
with War-Affected Refugee Children
and Adults (Serbia 2001-2002)**

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Abstract

This thesis argues that there is an underlying relationship between notions of creativity, culture and human development that can be harnessed within psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children and adults and internally displaced people (IDPs) in order to facilitate processes of integration and resettlement. The methodology integrates dance ethnography and dance movement therapy (DMT) and is informed by my background as a dance movement therapist and ethnomusicologist. Fieldwork took place in Serbia between September 2001 and September 2002 with a Serbian non-profit Non Government Organisation (NGO) called Zdravo Da Ste (Hi Neighbour). Zdravo Da Ste was founded by volunteer psychologists in Belgrade at the beginning of the war in response to the influx of refugee people. In this thesis I explore the concepts and application of etno, symbols, ritual, story, movement and performance within Zdravo Da Ste's workshops with refugee children and adults, and IDPs and examine the place of these in the formation and development of individual and collective identity. Etno was a term used by my informants to describe regional dance, music, and craft forms considered as arts of the people of former Yugoslavia, or Yugoslav folk arts.

The thesis is divided into two sections. The first section considers the context of the ethnography: the history and outcomes of the war in former Yugoslavia; the aims and objectives of Zdravo Da Ste; and the methodology adopted for the research. The second section considers the use of etno, environments, ritual, story, movement and dance, visual images and performance within the workshops of Zdravo Da Ste, and their relationship to the development of individual and collective identity. The findings of this thesis suggest that the different activities within Zdravo Da Ste's workshops facilitated the development of frames of meaning which, as forms of discourse, could be harnessed as resources for the refugee people and IDPs. In this way the workshops facilitated a "narrativization of the self" (Hall 2003 [1996], p.4). This is the first piece of ethnographic research that has been concerned with the application of movement and dance in psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children and adults in Serbia. It has a contribution to make to current discussions concerning methodology in dance ethnography and DMT and the use of the arts within psychosocial work with war-affected refugee people.

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Abbreviations

DMT	- Dance Movement Therapy
ICRC	- International Council of the Red Cross
IDP	- Internally Displaced Person
UN	- United Nations
UNCRC	- United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNHCR	- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	- United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

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Introduction

The central argument of this thesis is that there is an underlying relationship between notions of creativity, culture and human development that can be harnessed within psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children and adults and internally displaced people (IDPs) in order to facilitate processes of integration and resettlement. Central to these processes are the building of new social and cultural relationships and the creation of opportunities for individuals and groups to discover, or re-discover, and develop innate potentials within that can be used as resources in the context of forced displacement. Interaction with a variety of artistic media is a fundamental part of this process. For the purposes of this thesis, I define creativity as a generative process through which an individual has the opportunity to express, communicate, exchange and develop their unique vision and resources within a specific context and create something that has not previously existed.

This thesis brings together methodology from dance ethnography and dance movement therapy (DMT). I suggest that the integration of dance ethnography and DMT brings an important cultural perspective to clinical study and facilitates the examination of the interaction between social and psychological processes in the context of an ethnographic study of war-affected refugee people. The fieldwork that forms the basis of this thesis took place in Serbia between September 2001 and September 2002, beginning a few months after the end of the war in former Yugoslavia (1991-2001). It was primarily undertaken with a Serbian non-profit Non Government Organisation (NGO), recommended to me by the Danish Red Cross, called Zdravo Da Ste, also known as Hi Neighbour.¹

Zdravo Da Ste was founded by a group of Serbian psychologists and academics at the beginning of the war in response to the influx of refugee people. Their central concern was for the welfare of the refugee children. Zdravo Da Ste state that their main aims are "protecting and promoting development during war and post-war crisis ...[and] provid[ing] ... support in building social communities" (Zdravo Da Ste, 1996). In 2006, Zdravo Da Ste had up to twenty-five thousand beneficiaries a year whose ages ranged from babies to elderly people (Zdravo Da Ste 2006). They describe the activities in which they are involved as psychosocial support, cultural and social integration,

professional training and skills development, income generating programmes, summer and winter camps for children, exhibitions, humanitarian assistance, etno programmes and intercultural exchange.

I chose to work with Zdravo Da Ste because I wanted to understand what the local people who had experienced the war considered important in their work with the arriving refugee people, rather than working with the interpretations of the international community. Although I initially wanted to understand whether and how dance and movement could be used in psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children, my research became a study of the ways in which Zdravo Da Ste used different artistic media including dance, movement, story and etno, in their work with war-affected refugee children and adults and IDPs. This change in focus is in line with ethnographic method, which seeks to reveal perspectives, values and activities of the people under study. I chose to focus on the workshops with children as the cornerstone of my research because I wanted to understand the effect of war on the development of children and the relation of work with arts media to this development. Zdravo Da Ste also used the workshops with children as a foundation for the development of their work. Professionally, my clinical work at that time was increasingly focusing on children, having worked for a long time with adults and young adults with profound and complex learning difficulties and challenging behaviour, and elderly people.

Within this thesis, I explore the concepts and application of symbols, etno, narrative and performance within Zdravo Da Ste's workshops with children and adults and their place in the formation and development of individual and collective identity. Within the workshops Zdravo Da Ste also used movement and dance, ritual, story, visual images and environment. I argue that the integration of different artistic media within one context, alongside a freedom of movement between these media has a fundamental role to play in this environment. Furthermore these media are part of a discourse of "narrativization of the self" (Hall 2003 [1996], p.4) that facilitates the development of notions of individual and collective identity.

Etno was a term used by my informants to describe regional dance, music, and craft forms, including embroidery and carpentry, considered as arts of the people of former Yugoslavia, or Yugoslav folk arts. The term was also used to designate folk arts from

other countries and regions. Etno represents specific regions of former Yugoslavia, recognised through particular visual motifs, rhythms, costumes or dance forms.²

Zdravo Da Ste had a degree of control over my field research in that I was dependent on their acceptance of me in order to gain access to the people with whom they worked and the work they undertook. If they did not want me to participate in an event, they just did not tell me about it; because they ran so many activities, many overlapping one another, it was easy not to include me. They did, however, actively also look for ways in which I could be included in their work and ways in which my work and their work could feed into one another. As I became a 'member' of Zdravo Da Ste, moving from guest to volunteer, the level of responsibility I held was increased and I was given more freedom of interaction with the children. While in the field, I also developed relationships with several other individuals and organisations who were recommended to me through members of Zdravo Da Ste or by the Danish Red Cross. In this way I was able to compare selectively Zdravo Da Ste's work with these other approaches as part of the fieldwork process. A full comparison, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis.

In terms of applying methodology from DMT, I approached the workshops as a clinical practitioner and concentrated on the process of the work rather than being concerned with products. I tried to interact with the children through the arts media, slowly developing relationships with them through these media and observing changes in their relationships to one another and to the media themselves. Much of my work in the field was about developing relationships, with members of Zdravo Da Ste, with their methods and approaches, with the children and their families, with the family with whom I lived and with Belgrade itself and the Serbian language. As my work in the field developed, I realised that this focus on relationships mirrored Zdravo Da Ste's approach.

My perspective on DMT clinical practice and research, and dance ethnography as a methodology is influenced by an initial childhood training in ballet, acting and singing, followed by professional training in theatre, ethnomusicology, Dramatherapy, DMT and Yoga. My professional training in theatre had roots in the notion of 'theatre for change,' and an approach to dance and choreography that drew its inspiration from American improvisational post-modern dance forms. My post-graduate training in

ethnomusicology focused on North Indian classical music and a comparison between Western and Indian styles of vocal improvisation in performance. My DMT training has an underpinning in Jungian and humanistic psychology, Laban Movement Analysis and the interaction between different artistic media including movement; myth and fairytale; visual images and voice. My professional experience of community arts and arts therapy has primarily been in the United Kingdom (U.K.) with adults and children with profound and complex learning difficulties and behavioural problems, elderly people and professionals. My wider professional activities move between research, therapy, education and performance and emphasise the relationship between improvisation and composition, and a notion of authentic expression.³

I initially had an interest in the link between the performing arts and community and international development work while still at school where I became involved in acting and singing in local theatres and facilitating community-based activities. This developed through my undergraduate training in theatre, which had an emphasis on community arts. I began my professional work in community arts in 1986 and then in 1992 was given my first opportunity to work in an international context. I was the only English person invited to be a member of a team of twenty artists from Eastern and Western Europe to work on a ten-day performance project in Germany, shortly after the destruction of the Berlin wall. The project worked with two hundred young people from countries from Eastern and Western Europe. The aim of this project was to facilitate interactions between these young people, using the arts media to transcend differences between language and culture. This was followed in 1994 with a scholarship from the Indian Government to study therapeutic applications of Yoga at a Yogic Hospital in India. The training I undertook was primarily intended for Indian physical education teachers to enable them to teach and apply Yogic practices and philosophy within schools in India in order to help decrease violence in the country. My ethnomusicology training was an attempt to bring together my training in Yoga and arts media and to deepen my understanding of the relation between notions of culture and the arts, primarily dance and music. My professional training and experience over the last twenty years is the springboard from which I participated in and examined the work of Zdravo Da Ste and became a source for exchange between members of Zdravo Da Ste and myself.

My original research question for this thesis was inspired by personal experience in which a close inter-ethnic relationship was subject to continuing animosity from family members. I have always felt that these oppositions are rooted in fear and misunderstanding. Looking at this experience in a wider context, I wondered whether dance could be a potential medium to create bridges of understanding between different people, specifically refugee people and host communities, where the symbols contained within the dance could be used to facilitate communication of fundamental aspects of culture and beliefs. I began to explore the possibility of undertaking this research in a country that had recently experienced war. I eventually chose to base my research in Serbia with Zdravo Da Ste, after contacting many different international and local organisations and undertaking extensive research in the area of psychosocial work with war-affected people.

This area of research is important for a number of reasons. It involves a critical examination of an approach by a local organisation towards work with refugee people and IDPs in a recent war situation. In this way the results may have a contribution to make to current practice and policies in the U.K. and internationally, concerning immediate and long-term psychosocial and mental health work with refugee people, IDPs and asylum seekers. Secondly, this thesis is a potential resource for other scholars interested in integrating clinical and ethnographic research in the area of war-affected refugee people. From a methodological perspective, this is the first piece of research that has attempted to integrate methods from both dance ethnography and DMT in the context of war-affected refugee and IDP people. In doing so it offers opportunities for further integration between these two theories and methodologies in this and other contexts. Bringing these two methodologies together allowed me to investigate the methods and approaches of an organisation working in a country that had recently experienced war from both a cultural and psychological perspective. Adopting an ethnographic approach allowed me to consider Zdravo Da Ste's work with war-affected refugee children and adults from their perspective as a Serbian NGO working in Serbia, during and after the war in former Yugoslavia. By integrating this methodology with DMT I could participate in the workshops with children and adults as a colleague in my capacity as a DMT practitioner. This allowed me, eventually, to co-facilitate workshops with the children with whom Zdravo Da Ste worked. This enabled me to engage with the arts media and processes used in the workshops which assisted my analysis of Zdravo Da Ste's work with children. In this way the integration of dance

ethnography and DMT allowed me to combine aspects of both emic and etic perspectives. In addition, this is one of the few ethnographic studies so far undertaken concerning the effects of the war in former Yugoslavia on Serbian people and the application of arts media within this context.

Studies from dance anthropology and ethnomusicology that have been concerned with migration and refugee people have examined how specific dance or music forms have changed as a result of migration or how dance or music have been used in the process of establishing or maintaining an individual and collective identity within or against a prevailing hegemony.⁴ Another area of study within anthropology has been the use of movement, dance, music or song in the context of ritual and processes of healing.⁵ Within the research conducted in arts therapies, that concerning refugee people or migration has considered different therapeutic approaches based in the arts,⁶ for example the place of DMT in work with victims of trauma and torture in the U.K. (Callaghan 1998, pp.25-41); or the impact of cultural difference on the therapeutic process in the context of art therapy.⁷ More recent studies have begun to consider the application of art therapy in the aftermath of political violence⁸ and the relationships between dance and human rights.⁹ Although this thesis does touch on areas included in the above studies such as notions of ethnicity, identity, and the use of dance, movement and other arts media as part of a process of change or healing, this thesis is the first ethnographic study of the therapeutic application of arts media within a conflict zone. Its focus on interrelationships between notions of creativity, culture, relationships and human development is drawn from the fieldwork and represents my understanding of Zdravo Da Ste's key concerns in relation to their work with refugee and IDP children and adults. In order to examine the issues raised above, the thesis is divided into two sections. The first section outlines the context in which the research occurred. The second section examines key aspects of Zdravo Da Ste's approach, particularly focussing on the use of etno, symbols, ritual, story, movement and performance within Zdravo Da Ste's workshops with refugee children and adults, and IDPs and the place of these in the formation and development of individual and collective identity.

In the first section chapter one begins with an overview of the war in former Yugoslavia; it then examines the effects of war on refugee people and IDPs in both a general context and in the specific context of former Yugoslavia. This examination explores notions of ethnicity, identity, refugee consciousness and culture as terms and concepts

that are implicit within the causes and responses to war; and the identification and resettlement of people displaced by war. Finally, the chapter outlines a selection of approaches towards work with refugee and IDP children and adults in order to contextualise the approach of Zdravo Da Ste as considered in chapter two. Chapter two introduces the reader to Zdravo Da Ste; it outlines who they are and the philosophical and theoretical bases that underpin their work. Within this discussion, there is an examination of Zdravo Da Ste's notions of culture, creativity and development as fundamental tenets within their approach. Chapter three lays the methodological foundation of the thesis. It examines the ways in which methodologies from both dance ethnography and DMT were incorporated within the fieldwork, and considers the usefulness of applying both within the context of this thesis. The chapter also explores the concept of embodiment and the use of visual images and poetry as media of field documentation and analysis.

In the second section, chapter four considers the use of symbols within Zdravo Da Ste's workshops in order to facilitate the building of new social and cultural relationships and stimulate psychological developmental processes. This is looked at from the perspective of the symbols contained within etno, ritual and environments and their interrelationships and application within Zdravo Da Ste's work. Furthermore, the chapter discusses conceptions of etno in the context of its application within the work of Zdravo Da Ste, its use as a nationalist tool in former Yugoslavia and its place within post-war Serbia. Chapter five considers the use of story, movement and performance as forms and frames of narrativization of the self within Zdravo Da Ste's work. I suggest that narrativization of the self was a central process within Zdravo Da Ste's approach. One way in which this occurred was through the creation of collective stories using movement, visual images and written text and the interrelations between these media. This final chapter assesses Zdravo Da Ste's approach to psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children and adults following the war in former Yugoslavia, and its relation to contemporary notions of identity, psychological development and the concept of narrativization of the self. I briefly compare Zdravo Da Ste's approach to my own way of working as a DMT clinician. The chapter then reflects on the methodology adopted for this research in relation to DMT, dance ethnography and applied anthropology. Finally it considers the contribution this thesis has to make to current discourses within the areas of dance ethnography, applied anthropology, DMT and psychosocial work with war-affected refugee people and IDPs.

¹ Hi Neighbour is Zdravo Da Ste's translation of 'Zdravo Da Ste' into English.

² Please see Figure 9a and 9b on page 116 for examples of etno work created by workshop participants as part of the etno programme; please see Figure 11 on page 121 for examples of etno costumes from different regions of former Yugoslavia as represented in the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade.

³ By using the terms 'authentic expression,' I am referring to an individual's ability to express and communicate emotions, feelings, thoughts and images through artistic media in a way that allows the identity of the person to be revealed. This perspective is influenced by C. G. Jung's notions of the Self and Individuation (Jung 1995 [1961]; 2002 [1959]) and an essentialist concept of identity that also integrates the idea of process. Authentic expression is also a cornerstone of DMT practice and is particularly visible within the approach to DMT developed in the United States called, 'Authentic Movement' (Chodorow 1991; Pallaro 1999; Bernstein 1979). My understanding of authentic expression is derived from my training in Contact Improvisation, Release Dance forms and experience of DMT.

⁴For studies of music see Turino 1984; Manuel 1989; Hirschberg 1989, 1996. For studies of dance see Sklar 2001; Daniel 1995; Dunin 1988; Shay 2002; Maners 2002; Nahachewsky 1999; Van Zile 1988.

⁵ See for example, Jennings 1987; Desjarlais 1992; Schieffelin 1976; Roseman 1991.

⁶ See for example Dokter 1998.

⁷ See for example Campbell et al 1999.

⁸ See for example Kalmanowitz and Lloyd 2005.

⁹ Jackson 2004.

Chapter One

Effects and Responses to the War in Former Yugoslavia

1.1 Introduction

Refugees are people just like you and me who, through no fault of their own, have been caught up in major upheavals ... Most refugees dream of returning with dignity and safety to live in their own country ... But when the situation in their home country makes it impossible to return, people can remain as refugees for a long time. Only a very small number of refugees get accepted every year to move permanently to a new country. In a world where persecution, massive human rights violations and armed conflict remain a daily reality, the need to protect refugees is greater than ever before. Asylum for those who flee must be preserved. (Wilkes 1994, p.8)

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates that there are 22.3 million refugee people, "one out of every 269 persons on Earth" (Hadjiyanni 2002, p.219). This is a staggering statistic and yet refugee people are often misrepresented and labelled as the other to be feared or pitied. Anthropologist and former refugee Tasoulla Hadjiyanni (2002, pp.219-220) points out, "... it might be disconcerting to think of 22 million people passing onto their descendents an identity tied to lack of trust in humanity." This raises questions as to the repercussions for future generations of what could be described as a global culture of war, ethnic hatred and even hatred for life itself. A young Somali refugee pointed out, "When we arrived in Mombasa we had to wait to be allowed into the country. It was terrible. I know that nobody wants refugees, but do they know that we don't want to be refugees?" (Wilkes 1994, p.45).

I begin this chapter by outlining the history and effects of the war in former Yugoslavia, before examining notions of ethnic identity and refugee consciousness as tools for refugee people in the migration, integration and resettlement processes. I then outline different approaches used in international development work with war-affected refugee children and adults and IDPs. This chapter draws on documents from the United Nations (U.N.) because it aims to contextualise the field in relation to international policies and practices with war affected refugee and IDP children and adults; in addition UNHCR were an important source of funding for Zdravo Da Ste. Where this chapter introduces the historical, political and ideological context of the field as a macro

site, chapter two will consider the field from the micro perspective of Zdravo Da Ste. I begin by outlining three key terms used within the thesis.

The term 'refugee', as used in this chapter is based on the definition given in the U.N. Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees:

... any person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, now having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (United Nations 1951, p.1-2, Article 1A(2))

The term 'child' used in this chapter is based on the definition given in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (Office for the High Commissioner for Human Rights 1989), "Every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier" (p.2, Article 1).

UNHCR define psychosocial as "the intimate relationship between psychological and social factors" (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 1998, p.13). They consider psychosocial work with children to have two main features, a preventive measure "enhancing all those factors which promote the well-being of children," and special remedial assistance "to ensure that children who have been harmed or have special needs are provided assistance to ensure a full recovery" (ibid).

1.2 The War in Former Yugoslavia 1991-2001

Zdravo Da Ste's work was concerned with refugees created as a consequence of the war in former Yugoslavia. While the leader of former Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito was alive, former Yugoslavia was composed of six federated republics: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Serbia, Macedonia, and Montenegro; and two autonomous states, Kosovo and Vojvodina. After the death of Tito in 1980, nationalist unrest suppressed during Tito's reign slowly began to surface, strengthened in the late 1980s by the political ambitions of the Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic, the Croatian leader Franjo Tudjman and the desire of the republics that made up former Yugoslavia

to become independent nations. It must be noted that the causes of the war in former Yugoslavia are complex and date back hundreds of years. A full discussion of these causes is beyond the scope of this thesis.¹ The maps presented on pages 11-13 illustrate the change in boundaries between these regions before and after the war and the distribution of ethnic groups before the war; they are taken from the United States Central Intelligence Agency, obtained from the University of Texas Libraries (Perry Castenada Library Map Collection, 2005, 2005, 2006)

Figure 1 Former Yugoslavia (Political) 1996 (Perry Castenada Library Map Collection (a))

Former Yugoslavia



Figure 2 Balkan States - Central Balkan Region (Reference Map) 2001 (Perry Castenada Library Map Collection (b))



Figure 3 Balkans, Ethnic Majorities (Perry Castenada Library Map Collection (c))



By the mid 1980s, Tito's notion of 'brotherhood and unity' in former Yugoslavia began to falter. Unemployment and strikes increased alongside an intensification of nationalist voices from the six republics, and distrust of the Yugoslav government by its constituent parts. This culminated in 1989 with the "fall of communism" (Glenny 1999, p.632) and an increase in conflict between the republics.

In August 1990, Croatian police and Serb rebels in Croatia exchanged fire for the first time in Knin in the region of Krajina. Knin is a small town of economic importance because of its strategic geographical location between Zagreb and the tourist areas of Dalmatia: "... without Knin, Croatia is an economic cripple" (Glenny 1996 [1992], p.2). In response to escalating violence in the region between Serbs and Croats, the Serbs in the area formed the SAO Krajina (the Serbian Autonomous Province of Krajina). In June 1991, Slovenia and Croatia seceded from Yugoslavia and gained independence. This however, sparked further conflict in former Yugoslavia. In January 1992, an international peacekeeping force arrived in Croatia.

In March 1992, violence erupted in Bosnia. In April of the same year a group of Bosnian Serbs rejected the Muslim Bosnian leader Alija Izetbegovic's declaration of independence from Yugoslavia and surrounded Sarajevo "[taking] control of 70 per cent of the country" (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 1999, p.7). In the spring of 1993 Cyrus Vance, the United Nations Special Envoy and Lord David Owen a representative of the European Community, attempted to reach a peace settlement through the Vance Owen Peace Plan (VOPP), which divided Bosnia into ten cantons. This plan was accepted by the Bosnian Croats, Tudjman and Milosevic but rejected by the Americans, the Bosnian government and the Bosnian Serbs, leading to its ultimate rejection. In its place, the international community created six safe areas in Sarajevo, Gorazde, Zepa, Srebrenica, Tuzla and Bihac, which were protected by U.N. troops. In February 1994, however, a mortar exploded in the main outdoor market in Sarajevo directly challenging the notion of the safe areas. In March 1994, international pressure persuaded Tudjman and Izetbegovic to form a Federation that coincided with a new plan to divide Bosnia into two parts; the Federation, composed of Croats and Muslims, would control fifty-one percent of the region and a Serbian area called Republika Srpska, would control forty-nine percent. In July 1995, the safe Muslim area of Srebrenica was attacked by Bosnian Serb troops: "Around 7, 000 men and boys ... [were] slaughtered in the worst single atrocity in Europe since World War II" (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 2001, p.7). This was followed by attacks on the safe areas of Zepa and Gorazde, although the attack on Gorazde was halted by the threat of air attacks by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). Journalist Misha Glenny suggests:

The atrocities perpetrated by Serbs against Muslim civilians had an immense impact on Western public opinion and policy. For the first time in Balkan history, the question of external intervention in the region revolved less around perceived strategic or economic issues than around humanitarianism. (1999, p.629)

External intervention took the form of U.N. sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Serbia and Montenegro between 1992 and 1996.

In August 1995, Knin and Kordun, in the Krajina region were overrun by the Croatian army creating an exodus of approximately one hundred and fifty thousand Serb refugees from the area. This event was called 'Operation Storm' and facilitated the beginning of the end of the war in Croatia and Bosnia. In August 1995, another mortar exploded in the market of Sarajevo triggering a short NATO bombing campaign on Bosnian Serb positions. The conflict was eventually tempered in November 1995, through the Dayton Agreement, signed by the presidents of Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina; this agreement, based on the earlier plan devised in 1994, divided the area encompassed by Bosnia and Herzegovina into two parts. The Federation, composed of Croats and Muslims, would control fifty-one percent and Republika Srpska, composed of Serbians, would control forty-nine percent of the area. The problems in former Yugoslavia, however, had not yet been fully resolved.

Kosovo is widely regarded by Serbian people as "the cradle of their civilization" (Glenny 1996 [1992], p.15). In the spring of 1981, local unrest in Kosovo led to a nationwide demand for Kosovo to be recognised as a republic, equal in status with the other republics that made up former Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav government at this time refused this request but did agree to maintain the autonomous status given to Kosovo by Tito in 1974; in 1989 however, Slobodan Milosevic withdrew this status. This eventually led to an outbreak of violence between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo in April 1996, allegedly initiated by the Ushtria Climitare e Kosoves, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). In the summer of 1997, the government in Albania collapsed. By the spring of 1998, large numbers of Albanians had started to leave Kosovo in response to escalating violence between Serbs and Albanians. The international community increased intervention in the neighbouring regions of Montenegro, Macedonia and Albania, partly in response to the influx of refugees and the possibility of instability within these countries. In the summer of 1998, the international community initiated the Rambouillet agreement, in order to sanction autonomy for Kosovo to be guaranteed by

the presence of a NATO peacekeeping force. This agreement was accepted by the KLA at the Paris peace talks in March 1999. Although the Serbian government agreed to Kosovan autonomy they refused a NATO presence in Kosovo. On 24th March 1999, in response to the failure of the peace talks in Rambouillet, NATO began seventy-eight days of air strikes in Serbia and Montenegro. Glenny (1999, p.658) suggests the NATO bombardment contributed to an influx of both Serbian and Albanian refugees to neighbouring countries, including Serbian refugees in Montenegro and Albanian refugees in Macedonia, exacerbating internal instability within these two countries. In June 1999, Serbia agreed to withdraw all forces from Kosovo and U.N. peacekeepers entered Kosovo; this created a further exodus of Serbian and Roma people to Serbia and Montenegro, and a return of Albanian refugees to Kosovo. The region seemed to have acquired a degree of peace and stability.

In December 1999 Tudjman died, creating possibilities for the establishment of new election processes in Croatia. On October 6th 2000, Milosevic was defeated in the Serbian presidential elections and placed under house arrest. He was handed over to the International Tribunal at The Hague to face war crimes, on June 28th 2001; economic sanctions were ended in Serbia. Milosevic died in The Hague in March 2006. In February 2001 conflict broke out in Macedonia between Albanians and Macedonians; a peace agreement was signed in Macedonia on August 13th 2001. In April 2002 Serbia and Montenegro formally proclaimed themselves jointly as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). In February 2003 FRY became a federation of two republics represented as one country called Serbia and Montenegro; in May 2006 Montenegro became an independent state.

The effects of war on the Serbian people can be considered from a general perspective in terms of the impact of war on children and adults; and specifically from the Serbian perspective, as discussed below. I suggest Zdravo Da Ste were attempting to address both effects.

1.3 Effects of War

In May 2002 at the U.N. Special Session on Children held in New York,² the UNCRC was re-acknowledged as "the most universally embraced human rights treaty in history" (United Nations 2002, p.5, Article 4). The Convention includes the rights of

children to preservation of identity, nationality, name and family relations; and freedom of expression. Graca Machel an expert appointed by the U.N. in June 1994 to make a study on the impact of armed conflict on children proposed:

War violates every right of a child – the right to life, the right to be with family and community, the right to health, the right to the development of the personality and the right to be nurtured and protected. Many of today's conflicts last the length of a 'childhood', meaning that from birth to early adulthood, children will experience multiple and accumulative assaults. Disrupting the social networks and primary relationships that support children's physical, emotional, moral, cognitive and social development in this way, and for this duration, can have profound physical and psychological implications. (1996, p.11, Article 11.30)

The effects of war on children and the way that they and their families and communities respond to these effects are not universal, but are affected by differences in culture and belief systems. Displacement caused by war destroys cultural forms and structures, where culture can provide children with a sense of individual and collective identity. Disintegration of culture can lead to a loss of identity and loss of a sense of continuity. War affects children physically, emotionally, socially, culturally and spiritually. UNHCR (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 1998, p.14), suggest that problems which refugee children can face include constant fear or anxiety; loss of appropriate care from parents or caregivers because of their own responses to their experiences of the war; malnutrition; illness; and lack of access to play facilities or education. Additional problems, faced by children and adults, can include exposure to disease caused by poor sanitation and water supplies; maiming by landmines; rape or sexual exploitation; witnessing of violence to family members; physical mutilation; abduction; family violence and abuse; exposure to toxic waste and pollution; lack of access to basic resources such as food, housing, medical facilities and education; break-down of family structures; loss of family members; and poverty. Adult family members may also be traumatised by the effects of war and so become unable to provide the support and help to children that they would be able to provide in ordinary circumstances and older children may be placed in the position of primary carer for other members of the family. Finding work is also a problem for many refugee people.

Refugee people and survivors of war conflict may, in addition, face inequalities in provision and access to services, which can further exacerbate the effects of the war and create new conflicts. In Serbia additional problems were created during and after

the war by the economic sanctions imposed from 1992 to 1996; the seventy-eight days of NATO air strikes in 1999; and an exodus of skilled professionals, creating a skills shortage, which affected all areas including education and primary health care. Children and families faced with repatriation experience many of the problems encountered in their asylum country. These may include hostility from the people who remained in the country through the war and changes in social circumstances. They may have lost or have to fight for their property or employment opportunities, and the families may face poverty and alienation. In this way, repatriation can cause additional traumatisation and needs its own support mechanisms (Kos 2000, p.11). Development work itself can lead to further conflict and migration because of unequal distribution of donated and scarce resources. These resources include food and raw materials, but also include newly acquired knowledge and skills such as literacy. A Serbian psychiatrist, for example, who had worked on a literacy project with Roma people during the war, told me that the Roma people had asked him to stop teaching reading and writing skills because it was creating conflict within their community, deepening social divisions. Another problem is the way in which aid is given to refugee people: donors may take on a caretaking role, which can lead to disempowerment and dependency.

There is a direct relationship between the effects of war on children and the effects of war on other family members. In this way, the interactions and development of children through psychosocial work can have a profound impact on work with other members of the community and the wider world by which they are surrounded. Children are both the most vulnerable in war, and yet also the most able to adapt and change. In this way they can become a hope for the future. Machel suggests:

In a world of diversity and disparity, children are a unifying force capable of bringing people to common ethical grounds. Children's needs and aspirations cut across all ideologies and cultures ... Children are both one reason to struggle to eliminate the worst aspects of warfare, and our best hopes for succeeding at it. (1996, p.6, Article I.A.6)

One way of categorising the effects of war on refugee people is to describe them in terms of trauma and treat the effects in terms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which includes the effects of psychosocial stress, where psychosocial stress is:

... now recognised as a main or indirect factor in the transition-related surge in deaths due to heart disease, ulcers, cirrhosis, alcohol psychosis, suicide, accidents, homicide. (Zouev 1999, p.22).

Trauma, however, is not derived from one isolated event or circumstance but, as Nancy Baron (2002) from the Transcultural Psychosocial Organisation, Uganda suggests, from "a chain of traumatic stressful experiences" (p.168) which psychologist Arthur Janov (1991) argues become "more than can be accepted and integrated" (p.112). Janov considers trauma to be imprinted on the body and creates a splitting within the person between what is hidden and what is felt. "The part of the recorded traumatic event which is unfelt and held in the memory bank becomes a continuous and reverberating source of energy in the brain and body" (ibid p.112). The cumulative effects of trauma for refugee people can become an integral part of a person's identity and contribute to experiences of loss of hope, poverty and dependency (Baron 2002, p.168), creating a further cycle of problems. However, simply placing refugee problems within the parameters of PTSD and a limited medical model gives "the misleading impression that the problems ... [are] curable" (Van Willigen 2000, pp.12-13). The problems of refugee children and families do not lie solely in mental health but, as mentioned above, also include social, economic, political and cultural problems.

One of the results of war can be the creation of refugee camps or 'collective centres' as they are called in Serbia. Zdravo Da Ste's work focussed on refugee children and adults and IDPs living in the collective centres in Serbia, as well as those in private accommodation. The collective centres in Serbia were created from converted factories, schools, hospitals, hotels, sports centres, office blocks and barracks, varying in size, condition and access to facilities. At the time of my fieldwork, some people had lived in the collective centres since the beginning of the war, experiencing the death of friends and relatives and the birth of children within the collective centres. A document produced by UNHCR noted, "Three members of my family have died here, including my husband,' one elderly woman said, adding with a touch of awe 'but my grandchildren were also born here'" (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 2001, p.19). UNHCR suggest that the effects of extended stays in refugee camps can include the destruction of family units; extremes of behaviour in children; depression or apathy in adolescents; delinquent behaviour or aggressive acts in adolescents and children; and drug abuse and suicide in adolescents. This latter effect is seen by

UNHCR as "a reflection of the high level of anxiety and despair within the refugee community as a whole" (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 1998, p.17).

Even though the collective centres can provide a supportive community for its members, there is a danger of dependency and apathy developing, particularly for people who remain living in the collective centres for long periods of time. There can also be a fear of leaving the community and facing isolation and anonymity in private accommodation. Refugee children living in collective centres can become isolated from children living in neighbouring communities, because of problems with transport and access to educational, social and cultural activities. They can also become victims of their parents' frustrations, leading to physical or emotional abuse. If the concept of home is considered as something more than just a physical place and includes community, security, the past, and a place of identity and understanding (Hadjiyanni 2002, p.223), then the collective centres cannot be considered home, primarily because of the lack of security and stability associated with them. As one of the founding members of Zdravo Da Ste said, "It's not a normal life, they are forced to live together" (extract from interview with Vesna, Belgrade November 2001). This raises fundamental questions about the nature of home and whether it is possible for refugee people to find a home after forced migration; in this context, home could simply be what is experienced in the inner life of a person.

In the collective centres in Serbia there was sometimes a feeling of animosity or distrust towards foreigners or officials who visited the centres:

Hundreds of officials and journalists have come here. They have taken our stories, photographed our faces, but nothing happens,' one woman at the Pension Belgrade said before turning on her heel and leaving. (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 2001, p.20).

Insensitive questioning of children and adults can trigger carefully buried emotions, while no provision is given to support these emotions. Thoughtless identification can lead to harassment or endanger safety. Misunderstandings and misrepresentation create further problems for the refugee people. The researcher is always able to leave, to go home, while the people living in a refugee camp or collective centre might not even be able to travel to work or school because of a lack of resources. This creates an inherent inequality or imbalance of power, exacerbating feelings of loss and displacement for the people living in the collective centres. In their work, Zdravo Da Ste

attempted to overcome this experience of imbalance of power by using an approach called 'flexible asymmetry.'³ This approach emphasised process rather than product and created a context within which everyone could contribute to the process. Vesna, (pronounced Vez-na) a psychologist, academic and founding member of Zdravo Da Ste, described this in the following way:

... there is no-one in the group who is privileged to have an asymmetric position; every member in the group is capable of contributing in a symmetric way. (Belgrade November 2001).

In this way, Zdravo Da Ste attempted to create interactions that could be a source for development as will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Collective centres and refugee camps are by no means an ideal solution, even if only intended as temporary solutions, but closing these centres creates its own problems. For example, informants were wary of the government's announced plans to close all collective centres in Serbia in 2002. Many informants expressed fears that the refugee people would become ghettoised and isolated, if they were moved out of the collective centres before other possibilities had been established. Elderly people would be placed into communities for the elderly; single parent families isolated in high rise flats; and communities that provided a support system for their members - already existing or created in the collective centres - would be divided. UNHCR also pointed out that children might have problems with adaptation, particularly those born in the refugee camps. It thus becomes evident that all stages of the refugee process, including permanent resettlement, needs care and consideration in order to acknowledge difference and needs associated with difference; social and cultural relations; and freedom and choice. Through their work with refugee people and IDPs, Zdravo Da Ste attempted to create opportunities to develop relationships between these people and the local and wider communities in order to provide potential stepping-stones between the collective centre and its way of life and living in the wider community.

I don't see anything promising. We have to do our best and to move them out as much as possible, especially children and youth, but not only them elderly people too, to build and to create possibilities for them not to meet only among themselves but to meet with local people, local children. (Extract from interview with Vesna Belgrade November 2001)

Accompanying the process of integration may be "feelings of insecurity and disappointments" (Mioner and Keilson 2000, p.2). An important aspect of integration, therefore, is the notion of empowerment. June Kane, a member of the European-based Daphne Programme, suggests this allows refugee children and adults to "take control of their own lives and to live their lives to the full" (Kane 2000, p.4). Empowerment includes giving refugee people access to education, health services, security, food and water, and a supportive community and social structure; which Kane points out is partly dependent on the extent of integration between refugee and IDP people and the host community. Integration and empowerment of refugee people are thus interlinked. Building relationships was a fundamental aim of Zdravo Da Ste's work, as will be discussed in depth in chapter two.

President of the 'Dignity and Human Rights' Committee of Experts of the Council of Europe, Anika Mikus Kos (2000) suggests that one approach to the work of integration is to "improve the empowering influence of existing social structures," (p.10) such as schools, for example, to train teachers in how to work with mixed classes of refugee and local children. I suggest it also requires an examination of the concept of both ethnic identity and refugee identity.

1.4 Ethnicity, Ethnic Identity, Refugee Consciousness and Culture

Many informants told me there had been a war in the region encompassing former Yugoslavia approximately every fifty years and that each generation experienced war. The main reason that the informants gave for this conflict was the geographical location of the region between the Eastern and Western worlds. The regularity of the wars created its own identity in relation to war, giving the people of former Yugoslavia resilience towards and an expectation of war. My informants considered the cause of the wars to be concerned with land boundaries and power, not ethnicity. This could, however, be seen as an example of the way in which unresolved issues between different ethnic groups, such as territory, economic competition, oppression, and disputes over fundamental rights remain as a latent source of potential future conflict (Gonzales 1989, p.7). Recent studies into the causes and approaches to war in a global context suggest that ethnic causes of war may be comprised of myth and manipulation, created to secure economic and political power bases (Durham 1989; Gonzales 1989; Nafziger et al 2002 [2000]).

Ethnicity can be an issue in all phases of war - the creation of war, during the war and in the rebuilding of people's lives after the war. Ethnicity is not necessarily something inherent, but instead something created to serve other individual or collective purposes. Anthropologist Frederik Barth (1998b [1969]) suggests that ethnic groups are created by their members as "... categories of ascription and identification ... and thus have the characteristic of organising interaction between people" (p.10). Ethnic groups are self-perpetuating by boundaries maintained through a "limited set of cultural features" (ibid p.38), which can be learned. In order to understand ethnic groups and their changes, it is therefore necessary to examine the boundaries and cultural features by which they are made. The creation and identification of ethnic identity creates the notion of the Other, often represented as a threat. Anthropologist William Durham (1989) suggests, when the other is identified as a threat, ethnic identity becomes "a logical and strategic response" (p.139) which serves to highlight issues of conflict, and legitimise and organise a response, through appeal to common heritage, identification of ethnic and cultural difference and reference to cultural symbols and history. Through these processes, refugee people can become "the unwitting seed-bearers of new conflict abroad" (ibid). Ethnic identity can thus be seen as a cause of war, as well as a strategy of survival and product of conflict.

Anthropologist Nancie Gonzales (1989) points out the migration process itself is a "trigger for ethnogenesis or ethnoregenesis" (p.6). During the migration process solidarity among refugee people is strengthened through relationships such as family, community, country of origin, class; and "symbols of ethnicity" (ibid p.4) including language, dialect, dress, food and religious behaviour. These symbols and relationships serve to link people together and "shield them from an often hostile receiving society" (ibid) represented as the other; some of these relationships to people and symbols are newly acquired in order to serve the needs of migration. In this way integration becomes a process that is necessary not just between the refugee people and the host community, but also within the refugee community itself.

In the context of war, another aspect of ethnic identity is "refugee consciousness" (Hadjiyanni 2002, p.144). Not all refugee people necessarily identify with being a refugee and this is particularly poignant for children. Hadjiyanni suggests, "With the past being a 'foreign country,' memory, objects and language are the means by which we transfer knowledge and teach children about the past" (2002, p.63). The way in

which children are taught and learn about the past and the present colours their perception of themselves in relation to that past. Parents may teach children that they are refugees and so instil a refugee consciousness, but the children, to some extent, choose what to accept (ibid p.144). A refugee identity can provide children with a "support network and the self-esteem with which to face the present while planning for the future, making refugee consciousness a purposeful identity for the child as well as the parent" (ibid p.153). In this context memory becomes a skill, which allows separation to be made between them and us. This can be both good and bad. Positively it can help to define the situation by which the children are surrounded; create a social network and support system in that situation; and present a strategy for future action. Negatively, it can create separation, isolation, friction, and possibly further exacerbate negative and misrepresenting perceptions in popular and media culture. The concept of refugeeness also creates a dichotomy between the past and the present, a constant measuring and comparing of the experience of the past with the present. Hadjiyanni points out that "it might not be the myth of return that sustains refugees during exile, but rather the desire and the struggle to be given back their universal right to return" (2002, p.61), the right to have choice. Choice and lack of choice become the primary differences between the past and the present and the aim for the future.

Ethnic identity in terms of refugee consciousness is a tool of survival, and a way to make a bridge between the past, present and future. The identity of individuals, buried beneath their strategies for survival, also holds both the strength and pain of these people. This core itself has to be strong to weather the instability of the concept of refugeeness which is constantly redefined by the refugee people themselves and their needs; the people who work with and represent them; and by the societies that have willingly, or unwillingly received them (Hadjiyanni 2002, p.176).

Zdravo Da Ste's work could be said to be concerned with developing and creating individual and collective identity through the use of symbols associated with ethnic identity,⁴ for example the use of etno in income-generating projects. There are regional and geographical variations in etno activities, which allow the activities themselves to become identifiers of location, and meeting places. I discuss etno further in chapter four.

UNHCR consider "traditional music, dance and other arts" (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 1998, p.12) to be representations of culture which, combined with cultural activities such as acknowledgement of births, weddings and deaths, are important as a means of creating a sense of unity and identity within a community and passing on this identity to future generations. UNHCR identify culture in the following way:

Culture provides children with identity and continuity. By learning the values and traditions of their culture, children learn how to fit into their family, community and the larger society. Each society has a unique body of accumulated knowledge, which is reflected in its social and religious beliefs, and ways of interpreting and explaining the world around them ... A refugee movement can disrupt nearly every aspect of a culture ... Normal social rules, values and controls begin to break down when the social group which provides the framework for their application disintegrates (1998, pp.9-10)

UNHCR considered the conservation and participation in culture as a human right to be identified and nurtured. These ideas are echoed in the work of Zdravo Da Ste. Dara, (pronounced Dar-ra) a psychologist, academic and founding member of Zdravo Da Ste, described culture as, "... inevitable, it is an inherent part of life. It is the way I live, it is my tools for living, it is my context for living" (Extract from interview Belgrade December 2001). Vesna explained that a fundamental premise and aim of the work of Zdravo Da Ste was that people are able "to build culture" and to create opportunities for this to occur.⁵

From an anthropological perspective, however, culture is not such a straightforward notion. UNHCR's conception is reminiscent of anthropologist Edward Tylor's (1929 [1871], p.1) definition of culture as a nineteenth-century ethnographic concept. Tylor considered culture to be a "... complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (ibid). From this perspective, the notion of culture encompasses the things learned by people as members of particular societies. Anthropologist Carla Pasquinelli (1996), however, suggests, "The concept of culture is the artifice that has enabled imagination to perceive coherent wholes" (p.67). The notion of culture thus becomes a construction, a "...system of signs constructed at the moment of their interpretation" (ibid p.64) created by people in order to make sense of and give meaning to the world around them and their relationship to it. In this context, the notion of culture attempts to reduce the complexities by which a person or group of people are

surrounded (ibid p.70). It masks or shields the participants from the complexities of their society and their relationships to others. Anthropologist Clifford Geertz, suggests it is through the differences between cultures that an individual culture can be identified:

... it is the faults and fissures that seem to mark out the landscape of collective selfhood. Whatever it is that defines identity in borderless capitalism and the global village it is not deep-going agreements on deep-going matters, but something more like the recurrence of familiar divisions, persisting arguments, standing threats, the notion that whatever else may happen, the order of difference must be somehow maintained. (2000, p.250)

The notion of culture thus becomes a vehicle for the creation and identification of ethnic identity in relation to an 'other.' At the same time, culture is a way to identify the self, and the relations between an individual and a group. Geertz further describes culture as "the symbolic contrivances by means of which individuals imagined themselves as persons ... participants in a form of life" (Geertz 2000, p.15). From this perspective an individual's concept of culture allows them to place themselves in relation to the world by which they are surrounded, contributing to the process of identity formation.

As a tool in the construction, recognition and identification of identity, war both creates and destroys notions of culture, but the fragments of culture that remain may gain in significance because they become important containers to hold the fragmented and fragile identities of the people affected by the war. Within this notion of culture, culture also becomes a place where the present can be seen in relation to the past, and one group of people in relation to another.

1.5 Approaches to work with war-affected refugee children and adults and IDPs

In October 1993, UNHCR adopted and endorsed a 'Policy on Refugee Children.' This updated the previously published UNHCR Guidelines on Refugee children (1988), which acknowledged that children have a need for special assistance because they are "vulnerable ... dependent ...[and] developing" (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 1998, p.1). The guidelines further suggest that refugee children are far more susceptible to dangers than other children because of the effects of the emergencies on their physical and psychological well-being. Carol Bellamy (2001), the former executive Director of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

(UNICEF), stresses the particular importance of work with the youngest children, 0-3 years, because of the profound psychological impact of these years on the development of the child. She suggests that these children are often overlooked in emergency work with war-affected children and families because of the more visible needs of the older children and family members.

In order to improve work with children, UNICEF created a new Global Movement for Children in 1999: "The Global Movement is about encouraging and inspiring every individual and every organisation to invest in children by doing all they can for and with them" (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund 1999). This movement advocates partnership and collaboration as a foundation for work with children. Organisations such as UNHCR and UNICEF advocate the importance of working not only with the children, but also with the families and communities of which they are a part in order to establish a network of support systems. UNHCR, like Zdravo Da Ste, also acknowledge that refugee people arrive in the host country with their own individual resources, both those within themselves and those within the community structures of which they are a part. If a family unit is disintegrating, these resources may be placed under strain in an already stressful situation, hence the emphasis of working with children, family and community to help maintain and strengthen these resources. "These families may need assistance in using their own coping techniques and rebuilding their support links" (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 1998, p.15). Therefore, one aspect of psychosocial work with war-affected refugee people and IDPs is to support and develop the resources within the people themselves.

The primary roles of UNHCR are to ensure that refugee people are not returned to danger; to work alongside other organisations to ensure that refugee people receive aid; and to work towards long-term solutions for refugee people and IDPs which may include repatriation or resettlement (A Methodist Resource 1996, pp.2-3). UNHCR base their policies on work with war-affected refugee children on the UNCRC, which they describe as "... not just a legal treaty, it is a moral statement and a practical guide to the welfare of children" (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 1998, p.8). The UNCRC states:

Each child who is capable of forming his or her own views [has the] right to express those views freely in matters affecting the child. (Office for the High Commissioner for Human Rights 1989, Article 12.1)

It is necessary to give children information so that they can formulate and express their own opinions within a particular situation and in this way become able to contribute to the development of the community and fulfil their own potentials for development. The UNCRC defines freedom of expression as:

... the freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of the child's choice (Office for the High Commissioner for Human Rights 1989, p.5, Article 13).

This is an important definition with regards to the place of artistic media in work with war-affected refugee children. Psychosocial work, such as that of Zdravo Da Ste's, contributes to this process by giving children opportunities to communicate and express their ideas and responses through activities. Within the work of Zdravo Da Ste, these activities include the use of movement, story, visual images and other art media. Furthermore, UNHCR suggests that there is a link between the right to participate in social life and psychosocial well-being:

When a child becomes depressed, anxious or upset, the right to participate may effectively be lost: a child may not be able to process the information, and may not be able to make realistic decisions. (1998, p.15)

UNHCR also acknowledge that some children have specialised mental health needs that require culturally specific treatments: "In some situations, traditional healers have proven effective in treating mental disorders among refugee children" (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 1998, p.18). These treatments need to be identified and made available to the children even if usually unavailable to members of the host community. In addition, UNHCR stress that children need to remain with family or community during treatment, unless there is a risk of abuse or neglect, because of the healing potentials within the individual and their community.

Any psychotherapeutic intervention thus needs to be negotiated between outside organisations and the individuals and communities themselves (Van Willigen 2000, pp.12-13). In work with refugee children, families and communities, UNHCR suggest that experienced workers with children should work alongside refugee parents and community members in planning activities: "If one involves elders of the community it can help promote continuity of identity and culture" (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 1998, p.17). The activities planned should be "appropriate to the

refugees' culture and use locally available materials and resources" (ibid). The activities for children that UNHCR recommend include play, dance and music, drawing and painting, storytelling and singing, as well as support groups where children can discuss the problems they face and possible solutions (ibid pp.15-18).

With reference to collective centres, or refugee camps, UNHCR suggest that measures are taken to re-establish "normal community life" (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 1998, p.10) as quickly as possible; they term this "community development" (ibid p.11). In order to facilitate community development they research models of previous community life and attempt to replicate these within the context of the refugee camps. UNHCR identify three important features to be addressed to improve conditions for refugee people and to create seeds for the future: firstly, "traditional leadership" or helping the community to find new leaders; secondly, living in communities "which approximate those in the country of origin;" thirdly, understanding the "background of the refugees" (ibid). The emphasis within these features is on understanding and trying to rebuild the ways of life of the refugee people, in order to stimulate their own coping mechanisms. The main concern here is with relationships, social structures and networks. In order to support these features, UNHCR create opportunities for primary education; work; income-generating projects; and facilities for "freedom of movement outside of camps" (ibid p.17). UNHCR also consider language, or the 'Mother tongue,' to be an important tool "in retaining identity" (ibid p.12).

UNHCR advocate the importance of giving refugee people opportunities to participate in decision-making processes, particularly those that could have a direct impact on their lives: "...permitting refugees to take back control of their own lives – is fundamental to developing, or re-building, a healthy community" (ibid p.11). For many refugee people the process of disempowerment begins immediately, when traditional familial or social support systems are lost through the process of migration (Baron 2002, p.169). Psychiatrist Joop De Jong suggests:

Public mental health tries to identify universal characteristics while simultaneously accommodating and managing context-specific expressions of distress with available resources. Interventions used to help local populations have to be adapted to that particular culture if they are to be effective. (2002b, p.x)

This approach calls for the use of multi-disciplinary teams that mirror the multi-faceted nature of the work and thus acknowledge the social, economic, cultural, political and spiritual aspects of mental health.

Work with refugee people thus intrinsically involves multiple actors and resources, because the refugee situation is created through a web of inter-relationships. In addition the problems encountered by refugee people, as already described earlier, are complex. For this reason it is important that refugee people, organisations, individuals and governments increasingly work in partnership in order to allow development work to become more effective and begin to address and find solutions to some of the causes of war. Partnerships are formed to:

... enhance outcomes ... [but also] to produce synergistic rewards, where the outcomes of the partnership as a whole are greater than the sum of what individual partners contribute. (Brinkerhoff 2002, p.1)

For partnerships to be effective there has to be a symbiotic relationship between the members, although power is also a feature of partnership relationships to the extent that it may hinder the resulting work. Consequently, it is also important that international collaboration implements conventions such as the UNCRC (1989) and the United Nations Convention Against Torture (United Nations 1975), so that they do not become "paper tigers" (Van Willigen 2000, p.12) in other words, strong in words but not in action.

The general trend in development work with children has been an emphasis on the improvement of socioeconomic conditions and physical survival. Although these are centrally important, psycho-social and educational work are also important, in order to allow the child to participate in the "shared system of skills, knowledge, needs and values which constitute a culture" (Hundeide 1991, pp.10-11) and facilitate the long-term mental health of both the individual and the community of which they are a part. Many researchers and professionals (Raff 1994, p.68; Hadjiyanni 2002) advocate the importance of a development programme that can nourish and support the potential resources within individuals and communities: "these resources are nourished in childhood and educated during the school years. For that reason, early and basic education is highly relevant to a policy of aid and development" (Hundeide 1991, p.8). In addition, in the context of repatriation, children may have lost their native language

and the programmes of education in the schools in the asylum countries may not be compatible with the home country. Education and school therefore become an important part of the integration and resettlement process for children. They also give children and adolescents the opportunity to "establish themselves within their new society" (Seiner 2000b, p.16) and develop relationships with local children. In this way, education becomes a potential building block for the future of the individual, the community and wider society, and a creative act that can change the relationship of people to each other and to the world in which they live. In Zdravo Da Ste's work with pre-school children, the aims of the regular pre-school workshops were both to prepare the children for school and to create opportunities for them to interact with other children outside their collective centre or private accommodation.⁶ In an informal telephone conversation with Vesna in February 2004, she told me that Zdravo Da Ste had continued to grow and develop in the eighteen months since I had left, and one of these developments had been the incorporation of their work into the school curriculum in Serbia.

In the area of international development the last forty years have seen an emphasis on the economic aspects of development and providing of emergency resources such as shelter, sanitation, food and protection to refugee people. Although these are vital, the long-term effects of war and forced migration also need to be addressed. Rudd Lubbers, the former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees stated:

... until recently, we have concentrated disproportionately on remedying external conditions. Much less has been done at the international policy-making level to address the effects of trauma. (2002, pp.vii-viii)

Refugee people carry the effects of trauma with them and these effects need to be addressed in order to give them an opportunity to understand their experiences and rediscover or develop tools and resources with which to move into the future. Trauma, however, is not the only effect that needs to be addressed. Some scholars (Raff 1994; Arizpe 1994) suggest a complete change in perspective is needed within international development, to look at and work with root causes of war in addition to more immediate and long-term solutions to the effects of war. This notion of sustainable development, as applied to refugee people, demands that they are given opportunities for empowerment and choice; and implies the importance of a local collective identity as a medium for healing, advocacy and action. Bridges need to be discovered and

built rather than destroyed; knowledge and skills need to be shared and exchanged rather than judged; and the relationship to the world we live in, including the natural world, needs to be radically changed. Feminist scholar Carmen Raff (1994) suggests that a fundamental change is occurring in development with reference to refugee people, where these people have begun to "...simply refuse to consider themselves as victims, 'we are responsible for our life and circumstances'" (p.71). This is an important shift for both the refugee people and the people who try to help them. Refugee people also have opinions about their situation and their future and ultimately there is a degree of choice in how they respond to and work with the situations in which they are placed. With so many people now finding themselves refugees the concept of integration may need to be reframed. It may not be simply the integration of refugee people within a host community, but the beginning of a redefinition of home and the relationships between people. Within this redefinition, these relationships may need to be perceived as part of a global community that is complex and multi-dimensional in the way that it can both incorporate and acknowledge difference. I will be returning to these issues in my concluding chapter.

Labels such as refugees, war, torture, and trauma can help to secure elusive funding; and for this reason are sometimes cynically termed "sexy projects" because they can secure funding over and above other equally worthy projects (Van Willigen 2000, p.13). This does not, however, create long-term security. When the projects become long-term initiatives and a sense of normality is assumed, funding is often withdrawn, reduced or redirected to apparently more immediate emergencies. Unfortunately, it is the label rather than the problem that secures funding.

Below, I present a selection of examples of international programmes with refugee people and IDPs in former Yugoslavia, during and immediately after the war, in order to contextualise the work of Zdravo Da Ste. These examples are not intended to be representative of all the programmes in former Yugoslavia set up during and immediately after the war, but have been selected on the basis of observations, experience and insights gained from the field. I have focused on programmes operating before or during my fieldwork, which ended in September 2002. All the projects outlined below adopt a psychosocial approach to work with war-affected refugee children and their families. Much of this work is with groups of people rather than individuals, with a focus on integration, interaction and development. Some of the

activities with the children and adults incorporate arts media including movement, music, drama, video and photography and the visual arts, within a psychosocial approach. Alongside these activities are training programmes for professionals and the provision of basic necessities such as medicines, food, clean water, sanitation, housing and education.

UNICEF has been involved in several different projects in countries from former Yugoslavia. In 1999, for example, UNICEF and the Albanian League of Women set up an emergency project to train volunteers in community work and child development issues in Macedonia (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 2001, p.33). This project was created in response to the influx of refugees from Kosovo and the resultant overcrowded living conditions. The project was considered successful because it increased "the care and attention the children received" and identified those in need of psychosocial help. Due to this success and resulting interest, the programme was adapted to work with rural communities in Macedonia and then expanded nationally. In the national project, UNICEF collaborated with the Albanian League of Women and the Union of Women's Organisations (an umbrella organisation composed of Serbian women, Roma women and women from other minority groups). This programme established further training and coordination centres, initiated toy and picture libraries and made contact with seventy thousand children. It also brought together local and international knowledge and experience and integrated work with women and children. In this way, the work with the children was in direct relationship to work with other family members. In Albanian refugee camps in Kosovo in 1999, UNICEF supported activities derived from art therapy in work with war-affected children, in order to "assist the children to recover emotionally from their traumatic experiences and to encourage self-expression and interaction with other people" (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund 1999). In this project, art therapy was employed as part of a psychosocial programme specifically to acknowledge the emotional aspects of the work. In a wider international context, UNICEF and their partners have established "zones of peace" (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund 2001, p.1) in areas of conflict. In these zones, war is paused for a short period of time or in a specific area, in order to enable UNICEF and their partners to make contact with children and their families and provide them with food, safe water, immunisation, health care and education. The development of education is an important aspect of work with

war-affected children, not only because of the benefits education gives, but also as a step to reinstating social infrastructures and a sense of normality.

In 1999 Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF), an international NGO that provides emergency medical care in situations of war or natural disaster began to incorporate psychological care and training as a central part of their work in Kosovo, "because of the mental trauma of the war and the high incidence of post-traumatic stress disorders (PTSDs)" (Medecins Sans Frontieres 2000, p.46). Their work crossed ethnic boundaries, working with Kosovar Serbs, Kosovar Albanians, and Roma people. The training of Kosovar mental health professionals was an important feature of these programmes, allowing the work to become self-sustaining and beginning the process of rebuilding an infrastructure that could support physical and mental health. In recognition of the importance of psychological work with children from war or disaster areas, MSF also developed the More Than Bandages Program (Medecins Sans Frontieres 2001, p.1). In this programme:

Projects are implemented by visiting mental health workers and by local caregivers, through various diagnostic concepts including Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Reactive Attachment Disorder or the idea of 'social suffering.'

They incorporate both indigenous mental health systems and systems drawn from Western psychiatry and mental health work including "individual psychotherapy, play therapy, expressive arts therapies, music, drama or meditation" (Medecins Sans Frontieres 2001, p.1). The work of MSF is in accordance with recommendations from organisations such as UNHCR, UNICEF, OXFAM, the International Red Cross (IRC) and Save the Children. In this programme, MSF have acknowledged and actively created a programme to work with the psychological effects of war, alongside the physical effects. Within this programme, creative arts therapies are applied as part of the healing process and as part of integration between indigenous and Western systems of mental health care.

In 1996, another international organisation consisting of health professionals, Medact, began to support international summer camps for young people in former Yugoslavia (Medact 2001, p.9). The intention behind the camps was "breaking down isolation and encouraging positive aspects of civil society [and promoting] a culture of peace." In this way cultural exchange and the sharing of experiences, skills, and knowledge between

young people were used as a tool for cultural understanding and healing. In 1994, during the war, Medact observed that the people from former Yugoslavia who were working with refugee children and families were isolated, tired and lacking fundamental resources: "The staff see no end in sight for the conflicts, and this clearly has an enormous impact on them, making it difficult to maintain a hopeful attitude" (Medact 1995, pp.1-2). This is a little discussed, but important area: caring for the carers. Health professionals are a secondary level after the family; if both family and health and community professionals are unable to provide the necessary care, there is no support for the children.

Zdravo Da Ste collaborated with the Danish Red Cross in the Children Affected by Armed Conflict (CABAC) programme. The first CABAC programme in former Yugoslavia was supported by the Danish Red Cross and implemented in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1996; in 2000 two further projects were set up in Kosovo and FRY. The programmes were aimed at primary school children who had been affected by war; they were based within the school system. The aims of the programme were,

- To improve the living conditions and the learning ability of children who are psychologically traumatised by their experiences during the war and its aftermath.
- To help the children to build a new life and regain trust and hope in the future.
- To help the children interact with friends and teachers in a more positive way through conflict-solving skills and peaceful coexistence.
- To help to develop reconciliation and thus to prevent new conflicts.
- To enable the children to develop and learn as "normal" children.
- To assist the region's Red Cross societies to develop and implement, through their local branches, psychosocial support projects in the future.

(International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies 2006)

The main aspects of the programme are psychosocial support workshops, which include group-based work and "creative activities which allow the children to express their emotions and concerns in their own language" (ibid). The aim of the group-based work is to allow individuals to draw support from the group. The programme also gives support in the areas of nutrition and hygiene. The Danish Red Cross work in partnership with local professionals. In a discussion concerning the CABAC programme in FRY, Peter, a delegate of the Danish Red Cross in FRY, said:

I would like to see something we have done rooted within the society and I think that we have rooted something. I think maybe that's the most important thing that we have done. I think that we have changed the teachers' approach to the children; they have learned to address the children in another way, in a more democratic way. They are now among the children, before they were over the children ... it's some kind of side effect, because it was not our objective to change the school system. I would like to see this continue, to spread more all over the country, to make it become a part of the curriculum in the school system. (Extract from interview Kraljevo, Serbia July 2002)

The CABAC programme also helped to create changes in the relationships between the refugee, IDP and local children. Peter felt that the refugee and IDP children who participated in the CABAC programme were more accepted in the classes within which it occurred. He suggests this was because within the workshop context, all participants were treated as equals: "... they forget that 'you are from Kosovo, and I am from Kraljevo,' they learn about another child." Peter suggested that integration was the most important aspect to facilitate following displacement. He considered integration to allow refugee people to become "invisible" so that they would not be discriminated against because of being different. Important for Peter was the notion of acceptance by which he meant that the refugee and IDP people needed to "adapt to the norms and the culture in the society ... in order to do that, they also need some acceptance from the other people." The activities in the CABAC workshops, through which the children had opportunities to meet one another, were not based on ethnic identity but centred on the activities themselves. The relations between the children served the activity and the children had a chance to meet on equal footing. The integration of Zdravo Da Ste's approach to pre-school education into the school curriculum within Serbia suggests that the partnership between Zdravo Da Ste and the Danish Red Cross within the CABAC programme had fulfilled some of its objectives.

The programmes outlined above emphasise the importance of working with all members of the community through negotiations and collaboration; illustrate the value given to work with children and show the importance of integration rather than segregation of children within this work. Furthermore, they suggest that psychosocial work with war-affected children also has relevance for the wider community of which they are a part and can be used to facilitate social integration and understanding.

During the ten years of war in former Yugoslavia, there were many waves of refugee people to Serbia. Informants suggested the effects of the war in Serbia could be seen

to have two phases: before and after the NATO bombardment. Many of the programmes working with war-affected children and their families in former Yugoslavia, and in Serbia specifically, during and after the war took the form of collaborations between local and international organisations.

1.6 Zdravo Da Ste

My fieldwork began with an initial five-day visit to Belgrade in August 2001 in order to meet with members of two Serbian non-governmental organisations (NGOs) recommended to me by the Danish Red Cross, Zdravo Da Ste and Susret, also known as Encounter. While in Serbia, Zdravo Da Ste suggested I make contact with a third organisation, The Centre for Drama in Education and Art (CEDEUM). All three organisations invited me to participate in their work. I chose to focus my research with Zdravo Da Ste, however, because I felt I had something to learn from their approach and to contribute to their process.

I was attracted to the integration of different elements within Zdravo Da Ste's work including psychology, education, nature, arts media and exchange between people from different cultures. I was at home in their office, the environment was a familiar working environment for me: busy, creative and a little chaotic. Zdravo Da Ste describe themselves as being unusual because they refuse to compromise their aims and objectives in exchange for funding.

Any time we are offered some financial support, any time we have an organisation coming to us, or when we try to make a plan to some organisation to ask them for financial support; every time we really care very much about our programme. That it is rooted very much in the work we have done so far, in our culture and in our mentality. We believe that our people just know the best where they're living and what they're living. (Extract from interview with Dara Belgrade December 2001)

An important aspect of the development of Zdravo Da Ste is their independence, which extends to how they choose to receive funding and from whom. Zdravo Da Ste have been able to sustain themselves over a period of fifteen years, allowing them to develop long-term relationships with the people with whom they work and to follow the impact of their workshops on the participants. The international programmes outlined above tend to be relatively short-term projects.

Zdravo Da Ste were very interested in both my research and my work as a clinical practitioner and immediately identified ways in which we could exchange. I believed their work complemented my own approach to DMT and would allow me to be able to examine the application of arts media, in the context of psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children and adults and IDPs, in a wider context than would be afforded to me if I worked with an arts organisation, such as CEDEUM. They were also an experienced and established organisation, where Susret was a new organisation, composed of my contemporaries, struggling to become established. I judged that basing my research with Zdravo Da Ste would allow me to concentrate on the work itself, rather than the struggle to set up an organisation in war and post-war Serbia. The following chapter examines the aims and objectives of Zdravo Da Ste in further detail.

¹For further information regarding the causes of the war and break-up of former Yugoslavia in the 1990's, please refer to Glenny (1999, 1996 [1992]); Taylor (1980 [1954]); Silber and Little (1996 [1995]); Gjelten (1995); United Nations High Commission for Refugees (1999, 2001) and The Ministry of Defence (1999).

²There were two primary aims of the Special Session on Children, held in New York in May 2002 (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund 2001). The first was to review the implementation of proposals from the World Summit for Children held in 1990 and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) by looking at the progress of children over this 12 to 13 year period. The second was to "renew commitments and consider future action for children" (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund 2001, p.1).

³ For more detailed discussion of flexible asymmetry please see chapter two page 56.

⁴ These ideas are further discussed in the following chapters.

⁵ Zdravo Da Ste's notion of culture will be further examined in chapter two.

⁶Please refer to chapter two for a more detailed discussion concerning Zdravo Da Ste's aims and objectives.

Chapter Two

The Aims and Objectives of Zdravo Da Ste

Zdravo Da Ste is a non-profit, NGO founded by a group of volunteer developmental psychologists in Belgrade in 1992 and officially registered in 1994. By 2006, Zdravo Da Ste had one hundred and ten members who worked across sixteen teams in twenty-four municipalities within Serbia, and a sister organisation in Republika Srpska with seventy members. The teams are composed of local Serbian professionals, many of whom are volunteers, of all ages and both sexes, who come from a variety of professions including psychology, education, social work, medicine, engineering, science, television and art. Some members of the teams are themselves Serbian refugees or IDPs from different regions of former Yugoslavia. There are also two members of Zdravo Da Ste from countries outside former Yugoslavia, including one member from Japan.

Zdravo Da Ste's main aims are "protecting and promoting development during war and post-war crisis ...[and to] provide ... support in building social communities" (Zdravo Da Ste, 1996). Dara suggested that, in reaction to the ongoing history of war in former Yugoslavia, in which "every generation has some war," the people had become proficient at developing survival skills and discovered a means of finding "their own autonomy, emotional and ethical" (interview Belgrade December 2001). Zdravo Da Ste's work can be perceived as contributing to this process.

Zdravo Da Ste initially focussed on refugee people from former Yugoslavia who lived in collective centres. By 1997 however, their work had expanded to include refugee people who lived in private accommodation and internally displaced people from Kosovo and Metohia.¹ In 2006, Zdravo Da Ste stated that they had up to twenty-five thousand beneficiaries a year whose ages ranged from those of babies to elderly people (Zdravo Da Ste 2006). They describe the activities in which they are involved as psychosocial support, cultural and social integration, professional training and skills development, income-generating programmes, summer and winter camps for children, exhibitions, humanitarian assistance, etno programmes and intercultural exchanges. Zdravo Da Ste acknowledge and incorporate selected holidays and festivals from the dominant religion in Serbia, the Serbian Orthodox Church, within their work; and

individual members share their family celebrations with colleagues, including Slava an orthodox celebration of family saint days. Branka (pronounced Bran-ka) a psychologist and the co-ordinator of Zdravo Da Ste's children's programme, described the work of Zdravo Da Ste as "a philosophy of living and building or rebuilding again the social frame for living." This emphasis on building and rebuilding underpins their work and facilitates the development of the organisation. They emphasise that their programmes are process rather than goal oriented.

This chapter begins with an overview of Zdravo Da Ste's aims and objectives with reference to specific workshop contexts. This is followed by a more detailed discussion of their aims and objectives in relation to notions of change and development, culture and creativity.

2.1 The Aims and Objectives of the Workshops

The basic approach to the work in most of the workshops was for the facilitators to initiate an idea through activity and then to wait for the children's response to this, before creating the next step by building on the reactions of the children. Jasmina (pronounced Yas-meena), a pre-school teacher and a member of Zdravo Da Ste's children's team, suggested that the work of Zdravo Da Ste was not always obvious because it progressed through small steps guided by the responses of the children. The most important aspect of the work was the "process of doing it" (extract from interview with Jasmina Belgrade November 2001). Through this process, relationships could be developed and possibilities for the future created.

The annual aims and objectives for the workshops with children were drawn from a series of review meetings with members from the sixteen Zdravo Da Ste teams in Serbia. There were a number of annual events for children, including a book workshop for pre-school children, large workshops to acknowledge important cultural celebrations; summer camps in July or August; an ongoing collaboration with children in Japan; and regular visits and workshops for children at local collective centres. One of the aims of the work was to make children visible to the world and to make "the human, social and cultural environment visible for children, visible through activities" (extract from interview with Vesna Belgrade November 2001). Through the workshops the children had opportunities to interact with one another, with adults, and with ideas

and images. They created stories, collages, paintings, books, games and movement-based presentations in response to these interactions. In this way the children could experience the social, cultural and environmental context within which they were surrounded, express their responses to this environment, and be seen and heard. Vesna described this as being one way in which Zdravo Da Ste worked with children's rights. The first Zdravo Da Ste workshops in Belgrade were with children from a collective centre for refugees from Croatia, formerly a recreation centre for children,.

The aims, objectives and overall plans of individual workshops were prepared in different ways. Before each workshop, there was usually a period of preparation. These were lively affairs where women from the Belgrade team gathered at the main office to discuss the outline of the workshops and make objects for them if needed. Much time and care was put into this preparation, and the activities were accompanied by discussions and evaluations of the work, strong black Turkish coffee and gossip. They were creative meetings where skills and ideas were shared and exchanged. I also wondered at their importance for the members of Zdravo Da Ste themselves to give vent to their own creativity and to help in their individual preparation and assimilation of the work. The development of Zdravo Da Ste and the workshops over the ten-year period created a collectively shared history and experience, known by members of the organisation and used as a resource both in the preparation for workshops and in the workshops themselves.

In the weekly Belgrade team meetings, the volunteer psychologists and teachers gave feedback from their previous week's experiences and plans were made for future workshops. In these meetings every team member described what had happened in their workshops or encounters with people, highlighting the most important points which were written down and discussed, allowing the whole team to begin to identify possible action for the future. These points were then referred to other teams as necessary. The pre-school workshop had a weekly preparation meeting where the outlines, aims and objectives were discussed. The workshops at the collective centres were planned at the main office of Zdravo Da Ste, before the specific team selected to take part travelled to the collective centre. The larger workshops at the galleries and the ethnographic museum were discussed and prepared for over several weeks and involved both the workshop facilitators and other key members of Zdravo Da Ste.

The preparations for the summer camp began months in advance and were coordinated by one central person. The structure of the summer camp had evolved over the seven years since its beginning. Activities were modified and developed within the individual workshops to accommodate the interactions between the participants, the activities, and the particular teachers involved. The summer camp also hosted annual activities such as the 'Olympic games' and a visit to the medieval town of Kotor. Practical preparations, such as the making and gathering of the materials and sharing information regarding the new workshops, occurred in the weeks and months before the summer camp. During the summer camp, daily evaluation meetings were held with the teachers where responses and suggested modifications to activities were discussed and implemented. The general preparation of all of the workshops required a "stripping away [of] layers" (extract from interview with Branka Belgrade March 2002) in order to keep them as simple as possible, but this apparent simplicity belied the complexity of the actual work taking-place.

The workshops followed a similar pattern, beginning with the journey to the workshop location. Space and time were given for the participants to arrive and explore the environment before the main workshop activity began. At the beginning of the main workshop activity, the whole group was brought together for introductions and preparatory work such as warming up the body, name games, greeting gestures, and introducing the theme of the main activity. After completion of these initial activities, the large group was usually divided into smaller groups, using a game or activity. The small groups then began preparing for and participating in the main activity. When this activity was completed, each group shared their experience or products of the main activity with the other groups. The whole group was then brought together again for a closing activity and clearing up. After the workshop, particularly in the pre-school workshops and the larger integrated workshops, food was often shared between the participants, either provided by Zdravo Da Ste or by the adult participants.

I observed two kinds of workshops over the year. The first were self-contained workshops that could be made in one week; the second were workshops that extended over several weeks. Sometimes the extended workshops were pre-planned and sometimes they emerged as a response to the development of the activities in the workshop. Members of the teams informally discussed the drawings, stories and objects made after the workshops and this formed part of the evaluation process.

Olja (pronounced Ol-ya) a pre-school teacher and a member of Zdravo Da Ste's children's team, participated in Zdravo Da Ste's workshops as an adolescent. She described the way in which the young people "could hardly wait to come" (extract from interview Belgrade November 2001) to the workshops, even though about fifty young people participated in a small room with two workshop facilitators. Olja suggested these workshops were difficult to facilitate simply because of the large numbers and small space. The experience of having been a participant in the workshops informs Olja's work with Zdravo Da Ste as a workshop facilitator: "I know how much it means to people, and I can recognise this ... I know how the workshops helped many people to bridge-over these very hard times." The impact of her experience with Zdravo Da Ste also influenced a professional decision, while at university, to change her studies from medicine to teaching. For many of those involved in Zdravo Da Ste's work, participants and facilitators alike, the experience was life-changing. The transformations in the children with whom Zdravo Da Ste worked also affected the communities of which they were a part and Zdravo Da Ste itself, to the extent that Vesna suggested it was the programme and the activities for children that were "always enhancing" the other programmes.

In terms of evaluation, Zdravo Da Ste's viewed evaluation as "a process that develops and changes together (not parallel) with Programme activities" (Ognjenovic and Skorc 2003, p.111-116). Evaluation was conceived as interactive and processual, not static. Furthermore they suggested that the processes within these activities could be "so vigorous, varied and unpredictable that it becomes difficult to register them" (ibid, p.114). In this context evaluation is not simply concerned with measuring and results, but becomes an intrinsic aspect of the developmental process of the programmes themselves. Through ongoing evaluation by the workshop participants in the form of comments and feedback on the workshops, and by teachers and members of Zdravo Da Ste new workshops and programmes were developed. Evaluation was thus an inherent part of the ongoing processes of the workshops and their development.

Zdravo Da Ste developed a specific method of evaluation to consider the children's interactions with expressive media within a workshop context. The evaluation compared initial and final drawings and written names made by children over a series of workshops. The comparison noted the size of the names, where they were placed on the page, the amount of objects in the drawings, the extent to which an image or

idea was developed within a drawing and the colours used. This form of evaluation was developed and applied in order to consider the impact of the workshops on the children who participated. It was developed, alongside the Danish Red Cross, as part of the process of evaluation of the CABAC programme. The results of these studies suggested that the children who participated in the work of Zdravo Da Ste became more expressive taking up more space on the paper in the final images, making their names large and bold, using more colour and following through one idea and theme rather than jumping from one idea to another.

The ideas that underpin these different forms of evaluation are the same as the ideas that underpin the work of Zdravo Da Ste, namely that human development is "a lifelong process" that is facilitated through social interactions. Their approach is process-oriented and the workshops are conceived as "an interactive source of development." The workshops are intended to be incorporated into daily life and therefore do not have "strictly drawn" boundaries separating them from everyday life. The participants in the workshops express themselves through different arts media including:

words, sounds, movements, singing, performing, drawing and painting ...
We believe that individually and jointly created products – stories, drawings, songs, poems, plays – reflect subtle social processes and therefore may be a valuable source of evaluation. (Ognjenovic and Skorc, 2003, pp.111-113)

In terms of evaluation, Zdravo Da Ste are concerned with group processes and individual engagement with the activities. They suggest that this reflects their adoption and understanding of a Vygotskian perspective within which "psychological processes are being built through interaction with the physical and social environments" (Ognjenovic and Skorc 2003, p.115). Zdravo Da Ste's approach facilitates opportunities for interactions with the participants' physical and social environments. This partly occurs through the different locations in which the workshops are located.

There are seven workshop contexts that form the basis of this thesis. These include: weekly pre-school workshops at Zdravo Da Ste's Jovanova street office and Kalamegdan park in Belgrade; children's workshops at collective centres close to Belgrade; large integrated workshops at galleries and the ethnographic museum in Belgrade; workshops that formed part of etno exhibitions in local cultural centres in towns close to Belgrade; and workshops that formed part of the annual summer camp in Bijela, Montenegro. These contexts are described below.

2.1.1 Belgrade and Kalamegdan

Belgrade is a busy city, its centre spreading out from the confluence of the Dunav (Danube) and Sava rivers, veins that run between Serbia and Hungary, and Serbia and Croatia respectively. Archaeological remains suggest that the land occupied by Belgrade has been settled since prehistoric times (Janicijevic 2001: 233). At the confluence of the rivers stands Kalamegdan, a proud old fortress which has become part of a park where children play, older people sell home-made embroidery and lace, and young lovers sit on the old walls of the fortress to watch the sunsets over the river. One of the original names for Belgrade was Singidunum; during Roman occupation Singidunum was located in the area now known as Kalamegdan. The Slavs renamed Singidunum 'Belgrade' (White Town) in the seventh century A.D. Belgrade witnessed many battles as an area of strategic importance and the old town and fortress at Kalamegdan were repeatedly rebuilt as Romans, Turks, Hungarians, Austrians and Slavic people fought to gain control. More recently the remains of the fortress rise from the lush grass and trees of Kalamegdan. Within these remains the Military Museum has been built and some of its exhibits including tanks, large guns and old mines have been placed in the surrounding grounds, and are used by children as climbing frames and play objects. Kalamegdan also has cafes, restaurants, a cinema, a concert stage and a gallery built within the old walls of the fortress. Beneath the grass and ancient walls there are old underground tunnels, used by young people as a popular nightclub.

A short distance from Kalamegdan is Trg Republik (Republic Square), which is identified by a statue of Prince Mihailo² on horseback pointing towards Kosovo. Close to Trg Republik are the parliament buildings and between Trg Republik and the parliament buildings is an area known as Terazije. For one week in March 1991, Terazije became the centre of a student revolt against the Serbian government and Slobodan Milosevic that attracted, at its height, over half a million people to hear speeches from students, peace activists, artists, lawyers and academics.

The students formulated eight demands, some of which were partially met before Milosevic defused the student movement. Milosevic called for Serbian unity in the face of an external danger in the form of the Croatian "vampiroid, fascistoid forces" (Glenny 1996 [1992], p.57). On the opposite side of Trg Republik is Skadalija, an old street just beneath Trg Republik, cobbled and restauranted from top to tail. Skadalija was once

famous for attracting poets, painters and journalists who met to drink and discuss life and politics in its restaurants. More recently small bands of musicians playing accordions, double basses and guitars serenade families and tourists with old Serbian songs and lively dance tunes, in which the customers drunkenly join.

Many of the buildings in the centre of the city are large, old and ornately decorated but have become grey and run down, stained by leaking air conditioning systems that drip on passers-by, the buildings neglected as a result of the war. Among young people, Belgrade has a reputation for its fashion, cafes and lively nightlife, and as spring and summer emerge, the cafes expand into the city streets creating an urban kaleidoscope of coffee, conversation and music. On the city streets, alongside the fashion-conscious young people, families of Roma people beg and stray dogs fight. From the centre of Belgrade, wide boulevards reach into residential areas dotted with green markets where local farmers come daily to sell their fresh, organic produce to the city residents. On one busy main road out of the city centre the remains of a military building, bombed during the NATO air strikes, holds its ground like a decayed tooth. Closer to the river Sava, the burnt remains of the Central Committee Building, the former headquarters of the old Communist Party, stand a few hundred yards from Belgrade's Museum of Contemporary Art, an unwitting contemporary sculptural addition. The city of Belgrade at the time of my fieldwork was full of contradictions and the effects of war were ever present both visually and in social and individual memory.

2.1.2 Jovanova Street Office

Zdravo Da Ste had two offices in adjacent streets in central Belgrade. Jovanova Street was a long wide street that ran from one side of Skadalija to Kalamegdan. The end of the street close to Skadalija was lined with old apartment buildings. As the street moved closer to Kalamegdan, small shops, cafes, and a children's school appeared. Opposite the children's school was the Institute for Foreign Languages, reputedly the best language school in Belgrade, where foreign ambassadors and their wives, international aid workers and young Serbian people who had been brought up in countries outside former Yugoslavia, together wrestled with the Serbian language.

The office in Jovanova Street was on the second floor of a grand old apartment building. The office was an adapted flat originally built as living accommodation; it had

four rooms and a kitchen and bathroom. Each room now had a specific purpose, one for the community programme, one for the elderly programme, a children's room and a central room from which these rooms branched. The latter acted as a meeting and socialising area and as an additional room for the pre-school workshops when needed. The children's room was spacious with two large windows overlooking Jovanova Street. The furniture in the room included a stack of small colourful wooden chairs in one corner and a pile of small coloured cushions alongside one wall; a low wooden table used for lunch and drawing; a wicker box of books; and two high shelves between the windows holding scissors, coloured felt-tips, the children's journals and other materials used in the workshops. Over the year of my fieldwork, the walls of the room slowly became animated with drawings and collages made by the children. In the community team's room was a baby grand piano played by some members of Zdravo Da Ste as a way to relax. The other office in an adjacent street was the central office for Zdravo Da Ste where the Belgrade team and other key staff were based, and etno products, created by people living in the collective centres, were sold. There was always a constant stream of visitors to both offices during the working day, and members of staff from both offices continually moved between the two to give and receive information and to attend formal and informal meetings.

The workshops held at Jovanova Street were weekly pre-school workshops for children aged between three and seven years. Occasionally younger children with their parents or older siblings would also join the workshops. Approximately twenty-five children attended regularly with between two and four teachers facilitating the workshops. The workshops began at the start of the school year, in September or October, and were completed at the end of the school year, in June or July. The children came from collective centres and private accommodation in and around Belgrade. Many travelled to and from the workshops by minibus accompanied by a member of Zdravo Da Ste. In the summer term of 2002, a second pre-school workshop began for children living in two isolated collective centres, each about an hour's drive from the outskirts of Belgrade. Initially the children attended the workshops separately, but as the children became more familiar with the workshops, the two groups were brought together for joint workshops. Although the workshops were very successful and received considerable positive feedback at the end of the school year, the facilitators did not know if the group would be able to continue after the summer break because funding for it had not been confirmed.

The overall aims and objectives of the pre-school workshops were to help prepare the children for school and to create possibilities for building relations "to make a social frame in which it is possible to exchange. It is important how to make relations" (extract from interview with Branka Belgrade March 2001). The question behind all the workshops with children was 'how to help the child in war?' (Extract from interview with Smiljka Belgrade November 2001). There were always at least two teachers facilitating the pre-school workshops and frequently up to four. In addition other members of Zdravo Da Ste sometimes joined the group. For the children who lived in the collective centres, some of whom had been born there, there were limited opportunities to develop relations with other people, children and adults outside the collective centres. The pre-school workshops gave the children opportunities to develop many different relations (informal conversation with Goca Belgrade November 2001). Within Zdravo Da Ste's approach to the pre-school children, "you first look at the children, and you follow the children and then you make a plan according to their needs" (extract from interview with Branislava August 2002). Branislava (pronounced Bran-is-larva), a pre-school teacher and a member of Zdravo Da Ste's children's team, felt that the pre-school children in the children's club where she worked were "not so powerful ... not as capable of expressing themselves as the kids in Zdravo Da Ste." She felt this was because in the work in the children's club the plans were made "in advance, without looking at the children." Members of Zdravo Da Ste did not consider education to be solely concerned with acquiring knowledge, but also to be concerned with knowing how to apply this knowledge, "how to make [knowledge] a part of life, not only my life, but the life of the group of people with whom I am living. Not to be a consumer of different things, but to be part of it ... how to make connections between different things in life" (extract from interview with Branka Belgrade March 2002). Branka, stressed that in the work with pre-school children, Zdravo Da Ste were not only trying to build relations between people, but also to build relations "with the culture, with the social society, not only with a group of people but with different things which are culturally important" (extract from interview Belgrade March 2002). Branka said that these relationships were important for all children, but especially pre-school children because they have "a lot of needs, social needs ... [they are] especially sensitive." Parents of the children with whom Zdravo Da Ste worked considered these pre-school workshops to be important. One mother even asked the international organisation Save the Children, who held an annual toy month, not to come on a Tuesday to bring toys for the children because that was the day of the pre-school workshop with Zdravo Da Ste.

Pre-school workshops were also held at Kalamegdan. These were concerned with developing a relationship with the natural environment and were called 'eco workshops' or ecological workshops. In these workshops, children from local pre-school groups from Belgrade sometimes joined the children from Zdravo Da Ste. In this way the workshops were also an opportunity for the children working with Zdravo Da Ste to begin to build relationships with children outside of the collective centres and their immediate communities.

2.1.3 Collective Centres

Zdravo Da Ste facilitated regular workshops for children in the collective centres where they lived. These workshops were for between eight and forty-five children, depending on how many children wanted to attend on a particular day, and the number of children living in the particular collective centre. The teams who went to the collective centres usually consisted of one or two psychologists and two or more teachers. The team was selected from those who volunteered at the Wednesday Belgrade team meeting and usually a different team went each time. The psychologists visited the families while the teachers facilitated the workshops with the children. I primarily participated in workshops at one large collective centre, which I will call collective centre (1), that I visited on a regular basis; I also participated in workshops at a smaller collective centre which I will call collective centre (2), in the second half of the fieldwork.

Collective centre (1) was approximately an hour and a half's drive from Zdravo Da Ste's main office in central Belgrade. Once out of Belgrade the road to collective centre (1) was a straight road that travelled alongside fields that changed from green to gold to white and back to green as the seasons of the year progressed, and stretched over hills to kiss the horizon. The fields were dotted with scattered houses, many shaped like the letter A. The road also passed through a forest and small villages and towns before the journey took a turning to the right as it approached the road leading into the collective centre.

Collective centre (1) was six kilometres from the nearest town and the people living there had limited access to basic resources such as transport and medical and educational facilities. A team from Zdravo Da Ste's Belgrade team visited collective centre (1) once or twice a month, sometimes bringing medicines or other needed

resources, such as wool for income-generating activities. Occasionally the team collected children or adults in coaches to take them to workshops in Belgrade or to places of historical or cultural interest. The people living at collective centre (1) were mainly Serbian refugee families from Kosovo. The collective centre was built on a rectangular piece of land within a bauxite mine; it consisted of several small terraces of white bungalows, a canteen and a concrete playing area for the children. The houses were flanked by a road that ran through the collective centre, bordered on one side by a high metal fence; and to the other side, behind the houses, by the working mine. The houses were structurally similar but the families living in them had given each one its own identity. Some of the residents had built wooden porches or sheds onto the front or sides of the houses, had cultivated front gardens where they grew flowers or vegetables in the hard earth, or surrounded their gardens with fences.

During the late spring, summer and autumn months, the workshops were held in the canteen, a large L-shaped room with windows on three sides. The tables and chairs were pushed aside to create an empty space for the workshop activities. In the winter and early spring the canteen was locked and the workshops could only take place if the weather was warm enough for them to occur outside. The workshops were open, in the sense that participants of all ages were able to come and go freely. Goca, (pronounced Gor-tsa) a pre-school teacher and member of Zdravo Da Ste's children's team, told me that the Zdravo Da Ste workshops were the only time the children living at collective centre (1) came together in a large group to participate in an activity together.

The workshops at the collective centres appeared to have three main aims: developing skills such as playing, group work, and creative and imaginative skills; remembering and developing previous workshops, events and experiences using movement, voice, drawing, story and games; and building relations between the children who lived at the centre. They were ongoing and not bound by the school year. As in the pre-school workshops, they were either extended over several sessions or self-contained within one workshop.

2.1.4 Galleries

During my year in the field, Zdravo Da Ste visited and ran workshops about three exhibitions in galleries in Central Belgrade, in which I participated. These were all large

workshops bringing together up to a hundred children, aged from four to sixteen, from different collective centres and private accommodation in and around Belgrade. Occasionally these also included other local children. Each workshop gave the children an opportunity to see and respond to a current visiting exhibition, to meet children and young people from other collective centres, and to spend some time away from the collective centres. They were also an opportunity to travel. The three exhibitions included the Oktober Salon, an annual exhibition of contemporary Serbian art, which in 2001 was held simultaneously in several galleries and other public spaces within Belgrade. Another exhibition, held in November 2001 at the Progress Gallery, showed children's art from all over the world. It was called *Mi Smo Svi Prijatelji Na Ovoj Planeti* (We are all friends on this planet), and was sponsored by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). The third exhibition, at Belgrade's Museum of Contemporary Art and entitled *Yugoslav Artistic Space 1900-1991* showed work from the Museum's collection. Common to all of these workshops was the possibility for the children to interact with contemporary visual art made by adults from former Yugoslavia or, in the case of the exhibition at the Progress Gallery, by children from around the world. This included responses to war as explicitly represented in the 2001 Oktober Salon exhibition. In this way the children were exposed to people's responses to their lives in the present time using visual art. The workshops at the heart of the visits to these exhibitions encouraged the children to respond to the exhibitions through interactions, drawings, collages and short group presentations using movement and sound. The children thus created moving and still images representing their experiences and responses.

2.1.5 Ethnographic Museum

Kalamegdan was a few hundred yards from the Ethnographic Museum, which was composed of two adjacent buildings. A permanent exhibition, spread over three floors in the first building, showed and described the history and development of architecture, clothes, textiles, work, and customs of former Yugoslavia. Offices and archives for resident ethnographers filled the second building. In the first building there were three rooms on the ground floor, two of which displayed regional examples of clothes and textiles in glass cases that ran alongside the walls of the rooms. When visitors to the exhibition entered this building they walked through a reception area, through another door into the first room. This was a large room, encircled by a gallery. Stairs on one

side of the room led to the gallery and the upper floors. Towards the back of the second room, a traditional village fountain was displayed. Although not in working order, it often had water water in its bowl, when Zdravo Da Ste held workshops at the Ethnographic Museum, the water would become full with various materials from the workshops including sticks, plants, coloured wool, feathers, and coins. Zdravo Da Ste held their workshops in these ground floor exhibition rooms. Up to one hundred people participated in these workshops including children, young people and other family members from collective centres and private accommodation in and around Belgrade and surrounding areas, and sometimes other children and family members such as Roma children, children from gypsy families, would also attend. Branka told me that through these workshops important cultural festivals were "acknowledged," rather than celebrated.

2.1.6 Etno Exhibitions and Book Workshops

In addition to the workshops at the Ethnographic Museum and in local galleries, Zdravo Da Ste also held two other kinds of workshops in cultural centres. The first was an annual book workshop for pre-school children, which took place in the bookshop and cinema foyer of the Belgrade Cultural Centre. The second occurred at the openings of exhibitions of etno work, created by the people who lived in the collective centres and attended by members of Zdravo Da Ste, the people who had created the products, friends, family, and workers from the cultural centres.

The etno work was part of Zdravo Da Ste's income-generating programme. Etno exhibitions were held in cultural centres close to the collective centres where the products had been made. The etno work exhibited included colourfully embroidered clothes and household objects; traditional flat leather shoes, carved wooden musical instruments, spoons and combs; and occasionally pieces of pottery. These creations were designed and made by all generations. Some of the embroidered designs created by the women were based on drawings the children had made in Zdravo Da Ste's children's workshops, others on designs used in the Orthodox Church. Branka told me that an experienced eye could recognise the age of the designer by the motifs used in the embroidery.³

The openings of the etno exhibitions were an opportunity for people from different collective centres to meet one another and to share skills which not only included those required to create etno products but also, on occasion, etno song and dance. They were occasions for people from different generations to meet and exchange skills and knowledge. Staff from the Belgrade office sometimes also used these visits to meet members of teams in other towns, to observe their work and discuss possible future developments. This created an apprentice-like system where the more experienced members of Zdravo Da Ste acted as guides and advisors for the younger members (personal communication by Branka Sremska Mitrovica March 2002). In addition to the etno exhibitions organised by Zdravo Da Ste, there were also occasionally larger etno exhibitions where work created by different groups of refugee people and IDPs were exhibited by the NGO's with whom they worked. These events were an opportunity for networking between the organisations, for publicising work to potential donors, and an income-generating opportunity in the context of the wider international community. Few people from the collective centres attended these exhibitions.

2.1.7 The Summer Camp

During the summer months, funding permitting, Zdravo Da Ste hosted summer camps for children from Serbia and Republika Srpska. Each year a different group of children participated to give all the children with whom they worked an opportunity to attend. In 2002, Zdravo Da Ste hosted two summer camps, one in southern Serbia for Serbian children from Kosovo; and one in Bijela in Montenegro for four hundred and fifty children and young people from Serbia and Republika Srpska. By August 2002, the summer camp in Montenegro had become an annual event and was in its seventh year.

The journey by coach from Belgrade to the small town of Bijela, on the coast of Montenegro, took approximately eighteen hours. The coaches zigzagged their way across Serbia collecting the refugee children and IDPs from the different towns and collective centres where they lived. The coaches travelled over mountains, in and out of old and new villages and towns, and alongside rivers, to arrive eventually at the large grey stony mountains that marked the beginning of Montenegro and from which Montenegro was named - Crna Gora, Black Mountain. The mountains spread their

heavy, solid bulk all the way to the edge of the warm clear calm turquoise blue of the Adriatic Sea and Boka Kotorska (Kotor Bay).

For six years the same hotel in Bijela had been booked for the summer camp, on the shore of Boka Kotorska. From the terrace of the hotel, Bijela appeared to be nestled within a circle of soft, rounded mountains. The children and Zdravo Da Ste teams took over the first two floors of the hotel for the duration of their stay; as they settled, the hotel became colourful and busy. Multi-coloured towels and clothes hung from the bedroom balconies; every day pictures, collages and sculptures sprouted on the wall spaces outside the bedrooms and the floor of the lobby space at the entrance to each accommodation level. The children were divided into twenty groups of approximately twenty children. Many of the groups were composed of ten children and one teacher from Serbia with ten children and one teacher from Republika Srpska.

The summer camp had a basic form: the days were structured into workshops; swimming lessons; meal times; free time, followed by a daily evening workshop in which the groups presented their activities from the day, followed by a party led by a local disc jockey. The disc jockey also acted as the tour guide on one of the three trips away from the hotel and Bijela to places in Montenegro of cultural or ecological interest, within which further workshops occurred. Every workshop was repeated several times over the ten-day period, to give each child the opportunity to participate in all of the events. In the summer camp in 2002, there was also a special visitor, a young volunteer student from Japan who arrived halfway through to learn about how Zdravo Da Ste led workshops in their summer camp. Jelena (pronounced Ye-le-na), a psychologist, founding member of Zdravo Da Ste and coordinator of the summer camp, explained to me that these workshops were concerned with "living and life."

The different workshop contexts outlined above created contrasting physical environments within which the children could interact with other participants and with the activities.⁴ The basic structure of the various workshops was, however, similar, beginning with the preparation of the workshop space and the journey to the workshop, followed by the arrival of the participants and the start of the workshop activities. The first activity within the workshops was usually a preparation for the main activity, followed by the main activity and then a completing activity. Variations of specific activities were often repeated in different workshop contexts if the facilitators thought

they had been useful. From a therapeutic perspective, both these aspects can be considered important because they provided a frame within which the workshop activities and the processes they sought to stimulate could occur.⁵ The following section discusses notions of change and development within Zdravo Da Ste's approach.

2.2 Notions of Change and Development

Zdravo Da Ste's approach is influenced by the ideas of the Russian developmental and social psychologist Lev Vygotsky. Vygotsky was born in Belarus in 1896 and died in 1934. His ideas have been influential in the fields of developmental psychology, education and child development.⁶ Vygotsky's approach, known as the socio-cultural approach, suggests that social interactions are the foundation from which a person develops. His concept of development concerns mental and cognitive development, facilitated through a process called internalisation, which describes the way in which a child assimilates and transforms social interactions as a source of mental development.

Of particular importance to Zdravo Da Ste's work is Vygotsky's notion of the zone of proximal development. Psychologist, academic and founding member of Zdravo Da Ste Bojana (pronounced Boy-ar-na) described the zone of proximal development as, "a space, a mental not physical space, in every human being where you may go to the next developmental step" (Interview Belgrade December 2001). Bojana's interpretation of the zone of proximal development mirrors Vygotsky's explanation:

... by ascertaining the child's potentials when he works in cooperation, we ascertain ... the area of maturing intellectual functions that in the near stage of development must bear fruit and, consequently, be transferred to the level of actual mental development of the child ... Studying what the child is capable of doing cooperatively, we ascertain tomorrow's development. (Vygotsky 1998 [1932-34], p.202)

The zone of proximal development posits a direct relationship between the child and his or her social environment, which mutually affect one another. Changes created in response to this interaction become the basis for the next level of development in the child. Zdravo Da Ste perceived children as the "initiators of change" (extract from interview with Vesna Belgrade November 2001). The notion of the zone of proximal development implies that there is always a potential for development within a person facilitated through their interactions with others. As Vesna suggests, "Human beings

have an endless capacity for change and development." The key to this development lays in the interactions themselves and the ability to be receptive to new people and new ideas. Members of Zdravo Da Ste called this work "building relations," which extended beyond relations between people to include the development of relationships with culture and its creation.

Zdravo Da Ste use relationships to create possibilities for change. What these changes will be or how they will occur is unknown. The possibilities lie within the processes of interaction. Bojana said that they do not look for changes in their work, as they do not wish to treat the participants as passive people; rather, they see them as active people who can make changes and choices within their own lives. Zdravo Da Ste acknowledge rather than hide from the reality of the war and its effects, and refuse to label or treat as 'other' the children and families displaced by the war. They are intimately involved in the daily lives of the people with whom they work. This does not occur through workshops alone but also through regular visits by the psychologists to individual families and through the distribution of medicines and resources. This evolving process of relationship building directly informs the development of the organisation. The interactions between members of Zdravo Da Ste and the people with whom they work are based on trust and mutual respect. Zdravo Da Ste consider it to be an equal relationship that comes from a desire to make contact with others, meeting and exchanging. It is not a relationship based on a hierarchy between experts and clients. As mentioned in chapter one page 38. Zdravo Da Ste apply the notion of flexible asymmetry within their workshops in order to give each participant the opportunity to express themselves within the activities. Vesna suggested this allows "hidden voices" to speak and to be heard. One way in which this was facilitated was through the use of the circle form, Vesna told me:

In a circle people will not fight to say when their turn will be, and when their turn comes they will say what they want. There will always be a chance for them, for people from the shadow (extract from interview Belgrade November 2001)

Open and closed circles were also a widely used form with Serbian ethno dance as discussed further in chapter four page 118.

Anthropologist and sociologist Erving Goffman (1990 [1959], p.21) proposed that social interactions have a fundamental "working consensus" which changes according to the

different settings within which the interaction occurs. This has a basic form that is used in all interactions based on the acceptance of the presentation of self, given by different individuals within the interactions. From this perspective, social interactions are bound by social and cultural expectations and values, which are projected into the situations within which the interactions occur. Zdravo Da Ste challenge these expectations, as exemplified in the CABAC Programme, which, according to Peter changed the hierarchical relationship between the teachers and students (interview July 2002). Through the interactions facilitated within the different programmes, individuals can discover their own potential, and recognise and facilitate the potential in others. Members of Zdravo Da Ste are also involved in their own psychological journeys, in response to the work in which they participate:

I came among people in the collective centres. I came among people who lived very hard. I am a refugee too and they are refugees, but I saw how happy I was in all these times. Maybe I am not a fighter, maybe these people are fighters, but I was only lucky. Olja spoke about this too, this taking and giving, this is also important for all of us who work in Zdravo Da Ste. (Extract from interview with Goca Belgrade November 2001)

Informants were aware of and discussed their own development in relation to their participation in the work with Zdravo Da Ste. They were participants in the processes they facilitated. Branka told me that through the interactions she could learn "... how to recognise in every situation how to grow, [and] how to protect the process of growing." In this way, the interactions themselves were sources of development.

Zdravo Da Ste emphasise process, rather than products within their work. A process-oriented approach to therapeutic interactions is attributed to the work of physicist and Jungian psychotherapist Arnold Mindell (Mindell and Mindell 2004), whom Bojana mentioned in relation to Zdravo Da Ste with reference to the importance of process. Mindell's notion of process-oriented psychotherapy is drawn from Swiss psychologist and psychiatrist Carl Gustav Jung's concepts of individuation; amplification; active imagination and dream interpretation; physics, in particular physicist David Bohm's (1990) concept of flux; and the exchange of communication between the therapist and client. Bohm's notion of flux suggests that all physical reality is in a constant state of movement and change.

Jung's concept of individuation is a process of development by which a person becomes whole; within this process there is an integration of the conscious and

unconscious (Jung 2002 [1959]). Individuation is an important process for the attainment of adulthood. Amplification is a technique whereby an image is developed and clarified using "directed association" (Jung 1995 [1961], p.411) and can be used in visualisations, dream-work and play. Active imagination is the manifestation of unconscious fantasies through focused concentration on a fragment of the fantasy, such as an idea or dream image, allowing an image for example to develop until "its context becomes visible" (Jung 2002 [1959], p.49).

Mindell believes that the notion of experience has two aspects: that with which the client identifies, which he calls the 'primary process;' and that which is experienced as 'other,' something alien to the client, defined as the 'secondary process.' Between these two processes is a boundary, which Mindell calls 'the edge,' or the edge of a person's identity. Edges can be personal, concerned with family, societal, or based on concepts of human nature. Process work tries to identify the primary and secondary processes, and the edges that separate them in order to reveal the secondary processes to the client so that they can begin to be understood on both cognitive and somatic levels and can become part of the client's experiential world. In addition, the process reveals a pre-verbal, pre-cognitive level that Mindell believes can unify conflict that is manifested in dream images and symptoms experienced in the body; and by extension images created in movement, visual art and story expression. In addition, like Vygotsky, Mindell believes in the potential of the present for revealing possibilities for the future. This idea also underpins Zdravo Da Ste's work, as reflected in the following comment from Bojana: "Life is not somewhere else, life is here, life is what we are. That is how we recognise children and other human beings" (interview Belgrade November 2001).

In Zdravo Da Ste's work all activities begin in the present. In this way, each workshop was an opportunity to make new interactions; they were "an interactive source of development" (Zdravo Da Ste 2006) within which each participant was inseparable from and contributed to the activities of the group and was able to learn through this experience. Zdravo Da Ste emphasise groups over and above work with individuals because they feel that the group can reflect the zone of proximal development, in terms of the potential within the individual that is, as yet, unseen. In a group "it is possible to build a common activity within which I, Self and We are integrated" (extract from interview with Vesna Belgrade November 2001). Vesna suggested that this emphasis

on work with groups went against traditional views in psychology, which emphasise the development of the individual and work within clearly defined methods. Zdravo Da Ste learned to adapt the theories and methods from psychology to the situation in which they found themselves. Zdravo Da Ste's emphasis on work with groups rather than individuals also went against predominant working methods used in international development, which assume group activities are difficult to implement because of political or national differences (Van Willigen 2000, p.12-13).

Vesna identified Zdravo Da Ste's work as a form of post-modern psychology, although she stated this was something she learned in retrospect (Interview Belgrade November 2001). A post-modern approach to psychology questions the concept of ultimate truths and applies multiple and diverse methods in response to specific situations (Hoffman 2005). These ideas are illustrated in the following comment from Vesna:

What does it mean objectivity, what does it mean truth? And when we are talking about the truth, I learned from children, they said that truth is in our lives, the truth is not in the science of psychology, the truth is in our lives, and if the science of psychology is open to life, then that's the way of developing psychology as a science. (Extract from interview Belgrade November 2001)

Zdravo Da Ste felt that the theories and methods that underpinned accepted notions of psychology were limited because they were fixed and therefore, did not necessarily respond to the demands of a real-life situation. Their approach challenges these notions.

Zdravo Da Ste therefore appear to have developed their own approach to work with refugee children and adults and IDPs. Bojana and Dara, stressed that they constantly have to take care in order not to compromise their fundamental aims and objectives, which they felt are

... rooted very much in our culture, in our mentality, and the situation ... We believe that our people just know the best where they're living and what they're living. (Extract from interview Belgrade December 2001)

Donors did not necessarily understand what the refugee people needed and Zdravo Da Ste did not want to be categorised by another organisation and for this categorisation to determine future developments. In terms of future development informants wanted

Zdravo Da Ste to continue but not to have to work with war anymore: they wanted to see Serbia without war. In addition, many informants specifically wanted the work in schools and cultural institutions to be developed. This has manifested itself through the incorporation of Zdravo Da Ste's work into the pre-school educational system in Serbia.

2.3 Notions of Culture

The notion of culture is a complex and shifting term; its origin lies within the Latin word *cultura* whose meanings include "inhabit, cultivate, protect, honour with worship" (Williams 1988 [1976], p.87). Within anthropology, definitions of culture have been continuously challenged. The over-riding emphasis within these shifting definitions however, is that culture is concerned with knowledge that is learned and shared within the context of an identified community. Anthropologist and architect Amos Rapoport suggests that the different definitions of culture can be grouped together in three broad categories:

culture as a way of life typical of a group; culture as a system of symbols, meanings and schemata transmitted through enculturation; and culture as a set of adaptive strategies for survival in relation to resources and ecology. (1998 [1994], pp.474-475)

The different definitions and perspectives on culture contained within anthropological discourse are used as the basis upon which to discuss Zdravo Da Ste's notion of culture. Zdravo Da Ste perceived culture as an inherent part of life that provides the context and tools for living. Furthermore, Vesna suggested culture was "something that ordinary people have within themselves" which, when expressed, could further develop. She understood culture to be in a continual process of change.

Zdravo Da Ste's notion of culture is seen as a potential tool to create meaning in response to the destruction and devastation caused by the war. They describe culture as part of an "ancient national heritage" (Ognjenovic and Skorc 2003, p.103) which through interactions, could be related to in a new way and transformed to bring:

[a] new sense of possibilities – joy, creation of new patterns, reinitiation of life activities ... and much more – the sense of sharing that with other people. (Ognjenovic and Skorc 2003, p.103)

The notion of culture represented a common heritage, a historically situated knowledge, and activities that imply an emphasis on authenticity. This aspect is further discussed in chapter four page 121 in the context of etno. Furthermore culture is a way of being in and understanding the surrounding world, the media through which this knowledge is transferred, relationships can be built, and new possibilities developed. Arts media are both part of this culture and media through which it can be communicated.

Zdravo Da Ste's concept of culture is close to that of culturalism (Hall 1980), which perceives culture as "lived and historically formed" (Van Loon 2001, p.274). Sociologist Joost Van Loon suggests this perception of culture was an attempt by English scholars in the 1950s to develop Marxist ideas and a limited view adopted by the Communist Party that saw culture as an "epiphenomenon of the capitalist mode of production" (ibid). The new ideas considered culture to be "lived, and historically formed, and hence to be analysed and studied on its own terms" (ibid). Zdravo Da Ste's perception of culture begins to identify the ideological perspective from which their approach was derived and suggests that their approach had developed out of Marxist ideas and moved beyond these ideas towards a notion of culturalism.

Zdravo Da Ste did not perceive culture as static but instead as something that could be built and changed through interactions. There is an implied political aspect within Zdravo Da Ste's concepts of culture and the possibility of cultural change. Anthropologist Susan Wright (1998) suggests that culture is "a political process of contestation over the power to define key concepts, including that of 'culture' itself." (p.14). Zdravo Da Ste's work could be seen as a direct challenge to the previous holders of power in Serbia through the individual and cultural identities that they were attempting to create based on ideas of openness and collaboration. In this respect Zdravo Da Ste's work can be conceived as political because it was attempting social change. American psychologist Lois Holzman (2005), an international colleague of Vesna, said that one of Vesna's concerns in response to the outbreak of war in former Yugoslavia was the destruction of socialism. I suggest that through the work of Zdravo Da Ste socialist ideals were being passed on to the participants with the possibility for these ideas to be developed. They were not only aiming to build new relations and culture for the individual, but also to develop a new society. The people who are able to define and create cultural identities are also implicitly involved in the developmental

process of people directly affected by these definitions. In this way, political power also becomes psychological power. In the work of Zdravo Da Ste, culture is not only politically situated but also directly related to development to the extent that Vesna suggested "culture and development are inseparable" (extract from interview Belgrade November 2001). As I discuss in chapter three page 81 I adopted an a-political stance with regards to my research; I chose not to ask members of Zdravo Da Ste about their political beliefs because I wanted to focus on their practical work with the children. I will, however, come back to this point in the conclusion as I think their approach was of a specific nature and, as a response to war, any action can be seen as a political response.

I further suggest that the idea of a common heritage links to Jung's (1995 [1961]; 2002[1959]) concept of archetypes. Vesna identified Jung as being an important influence on her thinking with regards to psychology and, by implication, important in the work of Zdravo Da Ste. Jung traces the idea of archetypes to Plato and suggests that they are related to the notion of the "Imago Dei (God-image) in man" (Jung 2002 [1959], p.4). Jung conceived archetypes to be "universal images that have existed since the remotest times" (ibid p.5) and are connected to the collective unconscious. The collective unconscious is distinguished from the personal unconscious in that it does not derive from personal experience. The collective unconscious is inherited, common to all people, and primarily composed of archetypes (Jung 2002 [1959]).

Archetypes are perceived through media such as myth, fairytale, dreams, visual images and dance, although the individual's consciousness determines the precise way in which an archetype is manifested. Jung suggests myths and fairytales contain:

... symbolic expressions of the inner, unconscious drama of the psyche, which becomes accessible to man's consciousness by way of projection. (2002 [1959], p.6)

Jung defined symbols as unconscious content whose nature is still unknown (2002 [1959], p.6, fn.10). Jung felt that through symbols union can be found between the conscious and unconscious. From this union new perspectives and possibilities emerge; in becoming conscious, however, the archetype is immediately changed. From a psychological perspective, it would appear that Vesna also perceived culture as a symbol or metaphor which individuals could use in order to gain a sense of

belonging, insight into their lives, and tools for living in the present. Within the workshops participants were given opportunities to interact with and to experience culture, to "live culture" (extract from interview with Vesna Belgrade November 2001) through participation in activities, many of which were arts-based. Furthermore, Vesna suggested there was a "fundamental culture," which she illustrated through the English Renaissance writer William Shakespeare's play Hamlet. She considered the story of Hamlet as:

The world's treasure ... when the war began, when you are confronted with the dilemma 'to be or not to be' your answer is to find ways how to be. (Interview Belgrade November 2001).

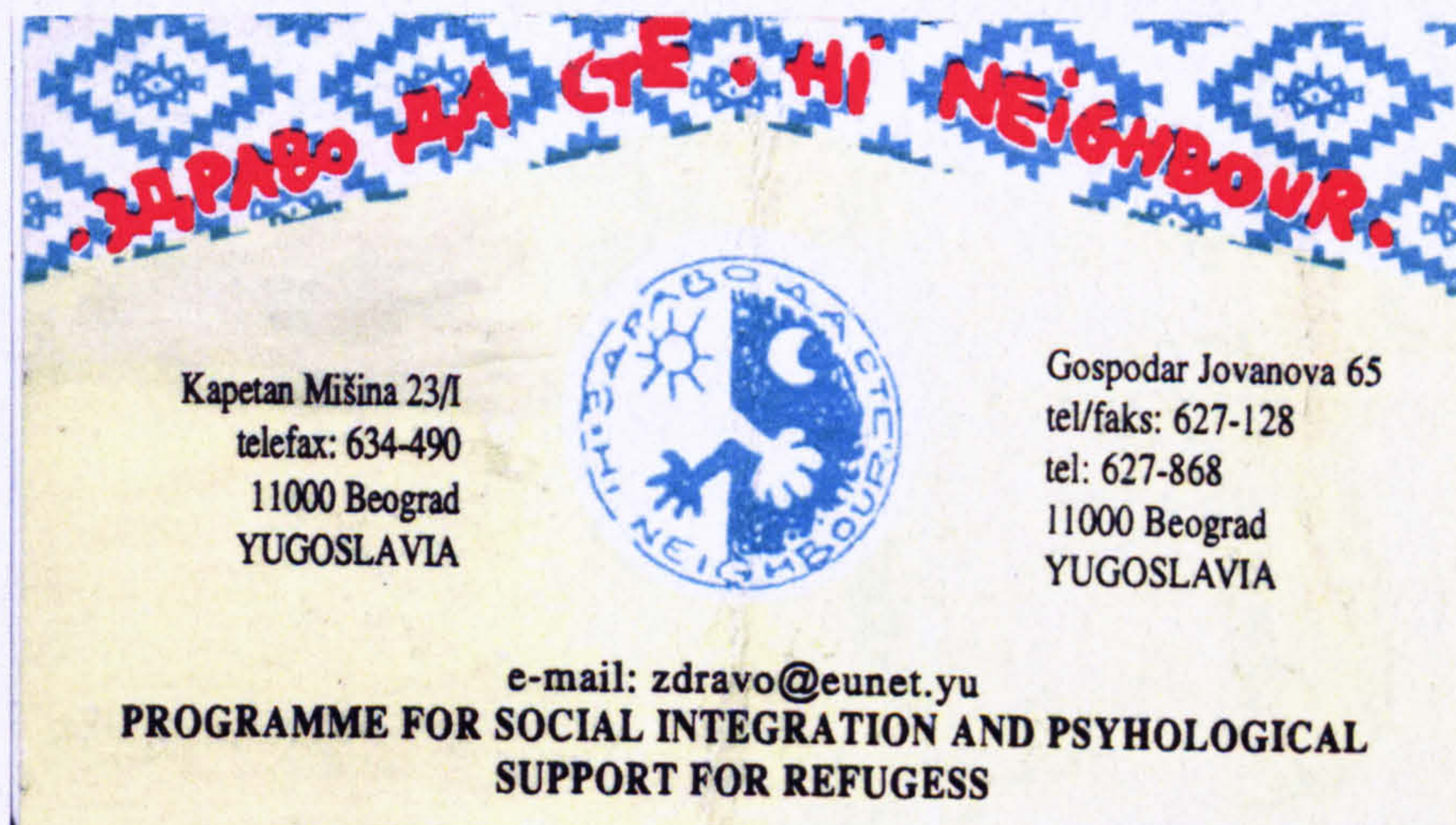
The story and character of Hamlet are perceived as a symbol or metaphor that can be used as a resource for the people with whom Zdravo Da Ste work. Vesna's notion of fundamental culture consists of stories and images that transcend boundaries delineated by country or ethnicity and thus become metaphorical and symbolic resources for people regardless of country of origin or ethnicity. Hamlet, however, is not judged by all to be the world's treasure. It is rather, here, a potential metaphorical and symbolic resource for people raised and educated within Eastern or Western Europe. It is a geographically and socially located resource. This comment implies an ethnocentric aspect within Zdravo Da Ste's work of which members were not necessarily aware. The notion of fundamental culture is also close to Jung's concept of archetypes as discussed above and to the concept of authenticity introduced earlier in this chapter page 61.

In Zdravo Da Ste's work, symbols are explored in the context of the workshops within which participants interact with different arts media in order to create individual and group stories, collage, painting or movement-based presentations. Zdravo Da Ste suggested these individual and group products reflect "subtle social processes" (Zdravo Da Ste 2006), while the aim of the interactions themselves are to "revitalize the human capacity for self-expression ... [and] evoke and integrate individual and group creativity" (Ognjenovic and Skorc 2003, p.102). One workshop may combine words, colour, movement, story and sometimes etno; the different arts media feed into one another as the development of the workshop and the response of the participants suggest. The teachers initiate activities and the group develops and creates from them. In this way, the work of Zdravo Da Ste gives the people with whom they work

opportunities to create both as individuals and as part of a group and these creations are acknowledged.

Below is a copy of Zdravo Da Ste's business card to show how they chose to represent themselves through arts media. The logo was designed by Bojana through a workshop process facilitated by and for the staff of Zdravo Da Ste. The Serbian version of their name, Zdravo Da Ste, is written in Cyrillic script. The Cyrillic script is a form of writing historically used by the Slavic people. Variations of the script can be found in use in Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Russia, Bulgaria and the Ukraine. It is important to note that during the war in former Yugoslavia the regional variations in language found within different geographical areas became a tool of the nationalist movements and a way of distinguishing ethnic background.⁷ Serbian people use both the Cyrillic and Roman scripts as part of their everyday language.

Figure 4 Zdravo Da Ste Business Card 2001/2 (English Version)



There are parallels between Zdravo Da Ste's use of symbols, metaphor and arts media, as discussed above, and those adopted within DMT, although Zdravo Da Ste repeatedly stated that the work they undertook was not therapy.⁸

Jung also influenced the development of DMT in the U.K. and U.S.A. (Payne 1992a; Pallaro 1999; Bernstein 1979a) within which the symbolic and metaphoric aspects contained within arts media are considered as mediators of change. In DMT the movement metaphor is a symbol communicated through movement that creates a bridge between the conscious and unconscious; both therapist and client and the

interactions between them bring meaning to these symbols and through the exchange of these meanings, the client can gain insight into their feelings, emotions or situations. Interaction with the symbol creates the potential for the client to re-experience and explore an event. The therapist accepts the meaning given to the symbol by the client, which allows the client to feel, understood and accepted and creates possibilities for new interactions to be explored. American dance therapist Penny Lewis Bernstein suggests that working with movement, objects, visual images and story, with an awareness of their potential symbolic content, allows the individual to:

... become immersed in the expression of the unconscious ... fully experiencing the symbols – afford[ing] him direct contact with parts of his being which he may have previously disowned or of which he has been unaware (1979b, p.114).

In the therapeutic relationship, the therapist is a witness to the symbolic expression; the symbol becomes a potential medium for the building of relationship. Working with symbols in interaction with arts media allows integration between the conscious and unconscious and the positive and negative aspects within the individual. As Jung reminds us, the original meaning of symbol from the Greek, symbolon, is the notion of two separate forms which, when brought together, form a whole (Jung 1995 [1961], p.367, fn.7). Jungian and drama therapist Molly Tuby (1996, p.34) identifies the psychological function of symbols as enabling the client to become whole. This concept links with Jung's notion of individuation. It is not just the client's engagement with the symbol that is important, but also the therapist's ability to engage with their own psychological journey and engagement with their own symbols and unconscious, which helps to facilitate the therapeutic relationship. As discussed earlier, members of Zdravo Da Ste acknowledged their own development in response to their work with Zdravo Da Ste.

The engagement with aspects of culture and the use of arts media are central to Zdravo Da Ste's approach, although Zdravo Da Ste are not an arts organisation. Within this approach, concepts of creativity and development are intertwined and notions of creativity are not restricted to one art form.

2.4 Notions of Creativity

Jungian analyst Rosemary Gordon (1983 [1975]) suggests creativity is "an attempt to embody the ever-changing experience of facts and meanings" (p.13). Within this thesis I consider Zdravo Da Ste's concept and application of creativity primarily from a Jungian perspective because Jungian ideas, alongside Vygotsky's, underpinned the work of Zdravo Da Ste; they also form the basis of my approach to DMT.

Vesna defined creativity in the following way:

I see creativity as life, it's not a means, it's not a tool, it's life and the people have ... [an] endless capacity to create ... To create means to be alive.
(Extract from interview Belgrade November 2001)

Members of Zdravo Da Ste talked to me more about creativity than they did about individual artistic media; etno was included in these conceptions of creativity. When informants did talk to me about an individual medium it was usually in the context of its being one of many creative elements that were applied in the workshops as part of a "social frame ... [or] social happening" (extract from interview with Branka Belgrade March 2002). Branislava suggested, for example, that this allowed participants to connect in "mutual action." Branka felt that participants were given opportunities to be creative through the activities and interactions in the workshops. This is illustrated through the following comment of Jasmina's:

Creative potential somehow is not divisible from the person. While the kids are developing a story they can use all aspects of creativity, they can draw the story, they can use movement in creating it, sometimes it is followed with music. (Extract from interview Belgrade November 2001)

Members of Zdravo Da Ste considered creativity to be both a process and an inherent potential within the individual that could be developed. Dara suggested recognising the ability to create and creation itself was the "most important thing for development." The link between creativity and development is an important idea within psychotherapy (Winnicott 1982 [1971], Jung 1966; 1995 [1961]) and underpins the arts therapies.

Jung emphasised the importance of meaning within the therapeutic context as manifested in "mythic statements" (Jung 1995 [1961], p.373). Meaning is generated through communication between the conscious and unconscious creating a "psychic

wholeness" (ibid). Jung suggested it is through meaning that life becomes endurable. Jung (1966) identified the basis of psychotherapeutic intervention as the development of latent creative potential within the individual. Jung's concept of the importance of the latent creative potential and the realisation of this potential echoes Vygotsky's notion of the zone of proximal development. Common to these notions is the idea of the potential for development, which creativity and play can activate. Within creative processes arts media can be employed.

Arts media can serve as media of communication that allow participants to communicate and express feelings about their experiences (Wertheim-Cahen 2005, p.216) and have these expressions witnessed or heard. In the context of forced displacement following war communicating the experience of war and having this heard or witnessed can contribute to processes of understanding (Kalmanowitz and Lloyd 2005a, p.24). Engagement with arts activities and creative processes can also give people the opportunity to make choices (Nabarro, 2005, p.87). This becomes important in the context of forced displacement where choices are often limited, as discussed in chapter one page 24. Art therapist Imelda McGeehan describes her own experience of the use of arts media and participation in creative processes in the aftermath of the Omagh bombing in Ireland (1998):

Perhaps the drive to restore goodness and wholeness counteracted the horror and the pieces that were left in the aftermath of the bomb. Eventually as more people move on, this drive becomes stronger. Creativity is chosen as a better way to live than to create more misery for an already devastated community. It is my belief that creativity can flourish in the aftermath of a disaster or tragedy because it is the complete opposite to the traumatic experience. It helps the person to realise that they are indeed alive and this can counteract the horrific events, which they may have experienced. (2005, p.139)

Creativity can thus be conceived as both a process and a product, an action and a mental process that potentially engages the individual simultaneously on the physical, cognitive, emotional, spiritual, and kinaesthetic levels; it is associated with making something new. Creativity can be considered as fundamentally linked to processes of psychological development. It allows an individual to find meaning in their lives, and facilitates integration between the conscious and unconscious, which in turn creates the possibility for the individual to understand and realise their potential and build relations with their social, cultural and physical environments. Stimulating creativity in children can stimulate engagement in play, particularly in the context where the child is

unable to play (Wertheim-Cahen 2005, p.217). Smiljka, (pronounced Smil-ya-ka) a psychologist, pre-school inspector and the co-ordinator of Zdravo Da Ste's Belgrade team, and Goca considered that one of the main aims of their work with Zdravo Da Ste was to encourage play.

Zdravo Da Ste used play with children and adults, and incorporated it into their trainings for teachers. Participants and facilitators initiated play and games⁹ within the workshop context. Vesna suggested that to give children opportunities to play allowed the children to engage in activities. Keeping the children's books in a box on the floor in the children's room at the Jovanova street office for example, encouraged the children to have "a play-like relation" (extract from interview with Vesna Belgrade November 2001) with the books. They entered a "transition phase" which allowed them to become interested in the books themselves. This enabled the children to build "relations with culture, [through] the relations with books" (ibid) and thus fulfil one of Zdravo Da Ste's aims and objectives, to build cultural relations. A child's relationship to play is not static, but constantly changing as they develop. Within the trainings for teachers Vesna observed that engagement with play and creative activities gave the adults a sense of freedom, curbed by the structures contained within the educational system in Serbia.

Jasmina proposed that engagement with play in Zdravo Da Ste's work with children helps to preserve the potential for play in their lives outside the structured and dedicated environments of the workshops. She stressed that work with play is complex and involves engagement with play by both the facilitators and the children. Jasmina further suggested that work with children and adults is similar, the differences being "like a shade of colour" (extract from interview Belgrade November 2001); common to both groups is play. In their trainings for teachers, Jasmina proposed that adults sometimes forget how to play and Zdravo Da Ste's approach allowed the adult to "realise some of the forgotten potentials," in this way she felt Zdravo Da Ste's work has "a soul" because it is concerned with realising the potential within individual human beings.

Branislava said play and games were central to all aspects of her work, whether at Zdravo Da Ste or in her professional work as a pre-school teacher at a the children's club. Through play and games she felt able to make contact with people by working simultaneously with the many levels within play and games: "the first one is this outer

level, but behind this outer level, is another level of playing with people" (extract from interview Belgrade August 2002). Furthermore Branislava identified a link between play and creativity, which she described as a "melting together, they are one, whole, the one who doesn't play cannot say that he is creative." These comments highlight the notion of duality between inner and outer that appears to be an undercurrent within Zdravo Da Ste's approach within which play, like creativity, is a potential medium to reveal and link the conscious and unconscious.

Psychoanalyst D. W. Winnicott¹⁰ (1982 [1971]) suggests play and creativity are directly related to the extent that it is only through play that a child or adult can "be creative and ... use the whole personality ... it is only in being creative that the individual discovers the self" (p.63). Winnicott's identification of the relation between play, creativity and psychological development grew from his notion of "the transitional phenomena and ... the transitional object" (ibid p.62). Like Vygotsky and Jung, Winnicott identified a potential space, but for Winnicott the potential space, filled by the transitional object, lies between the inner reality of the child and their external world. Within this potential space, the child uses play and creativity in order to survive separateness from his or her parent and create relations between him or herself and the external world by which he or she is surrounded. Winnicott's notion of the relation between play, creativity and self-realisation thus also adopts dualist notions, between inner and external reality and between "subjectivity and objective observation" (ibid p.75). From this perspective, play, as part of a creative process, facilitates meaning between the external and internal worlds of the child and serves as a bridge between these worlds.

Play would thus appear to facilitate engagement with activities and create the potential for social and cultural interactions. Anthropologist Gregory Bateson identifies a relationship between the phenomenon of play and the process of therapy in terms of space and time. He suggests both use:

spatial and temporal bounding of a set of interactive messages. In both play and therapy, the messages have a special and peculiar relationship to a more concrete or basic reality. (2000, p.191)

Like the therapeutic space and Zdravo Da Ste's workshop space, the play space is set apart from everyday reality in space and time. Objects, relationships and activities take on a symbolic meaning not necessarily present in the everyday context. Within Zdravo Da Ste's workshops and within the play in an individual workshop, a separate time and

space is created which is bounded spatially, emotionally and through the structure of the activities and the facilitators of the workshops. In this way a "psychological frame" (Bateson 2000, p.191) and a safe space is created in which the children and adults can explore relationships, emotions and questions. Play can thus be considered as part of the process of creativity and central to the psychological development of the individual.

This chapter has outlined Zdravo Da Ste's aims and objectives and introduced the seven workshop contexts that form the basis for this research. Common to many of the workshops, was the use of etno, environments, symbols, ritual, movement and dance, story, and performance; these are discussed in more detail in chapters four and five. The following chapter outlines the methodology I adopted in order to undertake this research.

¹ Metohia is a region in the west of the province of Kosovo.

² Prince Mihailo was the ruler of Serbia when Serbia gained independence in 1878.

³ Informal conversation with Branka at etno exhibition in Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia March 2002.

⁴ The notion and use of physical environments within Zdravo Da Ste's workshops is discussed further in chapter four page 132.

⁵ The similarities and differences between Zdravo Da Ste's approach and that adopted within DMT is discussed in more detail in chapter three page 110 and in the concluding chapter, chapter six page 191.

⁶ Vygotsky 1986 [1934]; Rieber 1998; Luria and Vygotsky 1992 [1930].

⁷ Informal conversation with Serbian language teacher Vedo (pronounced Vey-do) London July 2001.

⁸ Please see chapter three page 101 for further discussion

⁹ Folklorists Iona and Peter Opie consider there to be a difference between play and games where "Play is unrestricted, games have rules" (1969, p.2).

¹⁰ Winnicott's ideas have been very influential within the field of child development, particularly in the U.K. Vesna did not refer directly to Winnicott as being of prime importance in the development of the work of Zdravo Da Ste, although his ideas seem to be contained within Vesna's comments.

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.1 Background

This chapter examines the ways in which methodologies from Dance Ethnography and DMT were integrated within this research. It outlines the main principles of Dance Ethnography and DMT as methodological approaches, and their particular application within the context of this thesis. I also discuss the methodological tensions that persisted throughout the research and the conflict between my roles and responsibilities as a volunteer and team member with Zdravo Da Ste; a DMT clinician and ethnographer.

In the U.K. we receive refugee people but we are not necessarily directly affected by the conflicts or disasters themselves. When I began this research, I felt that U.K. practice could adopt a paternalistic attitude towards refugee people while a different approach and values would be visible within a country which had recently experienced war and was finding ways to cope with the effects of war. This reflects an ethnographic approach towards research because it is an attempt to understand the effects and meaning of war for the people who experienced it and their ways of managing these effects in terms of long-term development.

I have adopted an ethnographic approach to this research and more specifically one drawn from dance ethnography. I initially wanted to look at the use of symbols contained within dance as a potential bridge between refugee people and people from a host community, particularly focusing on the meaning of these symbols for the people concerned. Dance ethnography would allow me to undertake participant observation with these people and explore their interactions with dance and the meaning that dance had for them. When the focus of my research changed to examine the use of movement and dance in psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children, dance ethnography still appeared to be the most appropriate methodology to adopt because my main concern was the use of movement and dance. An ethnographic approach would allow me to undertake participant observation with an international or local NGO

and observe first-hand how movement and dance were used and to understand their meaning for the people involved. Through my experience in the field, however, a more general ethnographic study has developed, although dance ethnography remains my starting point. My initial interest in undertaking this research was derived from my experience and training as a DMT and Dramatherapy clinician, and as an Ethnomusicologist. I felt that by also incorporating DMT within the methodology I could facilitate DMT sessions myself, or use this understanding in an analysis of my observations. My methodology can be considered alongside applied anthropology (Chambers, 1989; Ervin, 2004; Kedia and Van Willigan 2005; Van Willigen, 2002) and the application of ethnographic methods within the context of development studies (Arce and Long 2000a, 2000b). Applied anthropology can be understood as the use of anthropological skills and knowledge as a form of practical intervention (Van Willigen, 2002).

Anthropologist John Van Willigen (2002, pp.5-6) notes that one of a number of potential "practitioner roles in anthropology" is the therapist, although he suggests this role is unusual (ibid). An applied anthropologist whose practitioner role is as a therapist uses his or her anthropological skills and knowledge alongside their therapeutic skills and knowledge in order to treat clients. In this research although I do integrate my anthropological and therapeutic skills my aim is not to treat clients but to examine the use of movement and dance within Zdravo Da Ste's approach to psychosocial work with war-affected refugee people and IDPs.

Sociologists Alberto Arce and Norman Long suggest that within development studies one aspect of the application of anthropology has been the adoption of an "actor-oriented approach" which acknowledges the field as being composed of:

... contested realities in which struggles over values, resources, knowledge and images constitute the battlefield between different actors and their life-worlds. (2000b, pp.23-4)

This is a fundamental premise of a contemporary ethnographic approach as discussed further in this chapter. Another aspect within development studies has been the questioning of the way in which the countries and communities being studied are represented. Arce and Long suggest these two approaches challenge prevailing Western hegemonic interpretations and representations. Through my application and

integration of dance ethnography and DMT methodologies within this research I also challenge the dominant and ethnocentric representations from which my understanding and training are also derived. My aim, as is appropriate for an ethnographic study, is to understand the field and the application of movement and dance within the field from the perspective of the actors themselves.

Preparation for my fieldwork began with an examination of data from large and small, local and international programmes working in different parts of the world who used arts media as intrinsic aspects of their work with refugee children and adults.¹ I eventually chose to focus my research on a local organisation in a country that had recently experienced war because I wanted to understand what the local people considered important in their work with the arriving refugee people, rather than working with the interpretations of the international community.

As part of ethnographic research it is usual to gain language skills of the country visited. I undertook private Serbian language classes in London with a Bosnian journalist called Vedo (pronounced Vey-do), before entering the field and continued language training when I arrived in the field by taking daily classes at the well-known and widely recommended Institute for Foreign Languages in Belgrade. This language training eventually allowed me to begin to communicate directly with the children, their family members, and professionals working in the field and became an important key that gave me social and conceptual access to the field. Through the language school, I also met foreign diplomats and members of their families and young Serbian people who, although brought up abroad, had chosen to return to Serbia to learn about their language and culture. These interactions at the language school allowed me to begin to learn about the international community in Serbia and their role within the rebuilding of the country; and the wishes and struggles of younger generations of Serbians who had returned.

As a DMT clinical practitioner, I also had a professional obligation and responsibility to undertake clinical supervision to support the practical aspect of my research. Clinical supervision is a necessary aspect of DMT that allows the therapist to understand the relationships and processes within specific clinical contexts in order to further develop the therapeutic work. I began clinical supervision in the U.K. with Dr. Helen Payne, Senior Registered Dance Movement Therapist and founding member of the

Association of Dance Movement Therapy (ADMT), before commencing my fieldwork. I continued regular clinical supervision with her for the duration of my time in the field and on my immediate return from the field, alongside regular academic supervision with Professor Theresa Buckland via telephone and e-mail. Through the clinical supervision I was able to begin to understand the process of being a practitioner-researcher. The interaction between clinical and academic, or theory and practice, has been central to my whole research process.

Once I entered the field I also began to learn about the cultural field of Serbian etno. Etno appeared to be an important form of implicit knowledge within Zdravo Da Ste's approach and interactions with the refugee and IDP people with whom they worked. I had arrived in the field with no previous knowledge of etno dance or music forms from former Yugoslavia apart from a little understanding of Bulgarian folk singing. In order to develop my understanding of etno I observed a number of rehearsals and performances of well-known amateur etno dance and music groups, recommended to me by informants; made formal and informal interviews with a selection of members of these groups, and photographic and video documentation of dance and music concerts. While in the field, however, I chose to limit this aspect of my research because I realised that to understand etno to a depth that would allow me to apply this understanding in my research would take time and resources away from the main focus of my thesis, which was Zdravo Da Ste's activities with children and their families. I felt it was more important for me to use my limited time and resources to participate in Zdravo Da Ste's workshops and learn the spoken and written forms of the Serbian language. I am aware that, if I had come to the field with a practical understanding of etno, it would have undoubtedly contributed to my research and analysis. This is because I would have been able to recognise the regional sources of the songs, dance steps and embroidery I witnessed within the workshop contexts. This knowledge would have made it easier for me to understand the symbolic and cultural meaning of these media, in the context of Zdravo Da Ste's work.²

I developed many different relationships within the field. With members of Zdravo Da Ste, my relationship was as a researcher and DMT clinician. My relationship with members of Susret was both professional and friendly because I was of a similar age to many of its members with parallel professional experience in terms of the integration of the arts and therapy. Within the family with whom I lived, I became very close to

Nadja (pronounced Nar-ja), the granddaughter of Zorka (pronounced Zor-ka) in whose flat I lived. The first photograph below shows the author sitting next to Nadja. Nadja is sitting opposite her mother, Lela (pronounced Lay-la), seated next to her husband Nana (pronounced Nar-na). On his right is their son who sits next to their son Misa (pronounced Mee-sha).

Figure 5 Misa, Nana, Lela, Nadja, the author (clockwise from bottom left)



Figure 6 Zorka



Nadja was a young Serbian woman who enjoyed fashion and was trying to find her professional and social place in post-war Serbian society. She helped me as I struggled with the Serbian language and introduced me to the cafes and cinemas of Belgrade, Kalamegdan and places to swim in the river Sava. I celebrated with her family at Slava and helped to prepare the food for Easter. Slava is an annual Orthodox festival held at specific times in the year to celebrate family Saint days. The celebration lasts several days and guests are invited to the family's home to partake in food and drink. Zorka and I found a way to communicate, initially without words, through cooking and our own made-up sign language and then through song and my budding Serbian language skills. She taught me how to shop in the Green markets and how to cook popular Serbian dishes. She helped me with daily chores and I saw glimpses of the trial of Milosevic as she remained glued to the television for many hours of the day and night. Zorka was recently widowed, so as two single women of different cultures and generations our relationship was one of curiosity and care: we looked after each other. When, coincidentally, my American cousin Elizabeth arrived in Belgrade to work with an American NGO, I started to attend international popular music concerts held at various venues around Belgrade and to learn more about the politics and problems within international development work. My relationship with the Serbian-American choreographer Valerie was both a working relationship and a friendship. She joined my cousin and I on our musical outings and confided her struggles as a Serbian and American choreographer. These different relationships and experiences allowed me to build a multi-layered picture of the field from which to consider Zdravo Da Ste's work. Similarly Zdravo Da Ste adopt a multiple-layered approach to their work with war-affected refugee and IDP people, which my one-year in the field allowed me to begin to understand.

As in contemporary approaches towards dance anthropology and dance ethnography, this thesis is concerned with movement and other arts media including story, visual art and etno, as symbolic action; and the processes that generate and the meanings behind this action (Sklar 2001; Ness 1992). My analysis of the data attempts to understand how the application of these arts media facilitates psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children and adults, and IDPs. I also identified similarities between the approaches of Zdravo Da Ste, DMT, and myself, this is introduced in this chapter and discussed further in the concluding chapter, chapter six, page 191.

3.2 Methodological Approaches

3.2.1 Dance Ethnography

The study of dance is influenced by trends in philosophical thinking and politics. Dance anthropologist Drid Williams (2000) suggests that positivism has limited the frame within which the performing arts are studied, to a consideration of "1. concepts of objectivity and subjectivity and 2. the supremacy of spoken language over any other medium of human expression" (pp.141-2). This has permeated dance scholarship and discussion instilling a set of polarities, illustrated in the division made between the subjective and the objective, the body and the mind, embodiment and verbal text. My research however, is not concerned with polarities but with integration and process. The integration of body and mind, for example, and the conscious and unconscious are a fundamental premise of this thesis.

Different historical and philosophical approaches to the study of the dances of 'others' have emerged that can be roughly categorised as anthropological, folkloric and ethnochoreological or ethnological. In the twentieth century approach, folklorists were concerned with documenting specific dance forms in order to preserve them and understand their form and structure. Ethnochoreologists are concerned with the "symbolic function" (Giurchescu 1999, p.41) of dance systems and the implication of this in terms of notions of individual, social and cultural identity. Like folklorists, the ethnochoreologist collects and examines dances and dance repertoire in different social contexts and through processes of change. The ethnochoreologist may already be part of the society in which the research occurs, entering and leaving the specific field at various points, possibly over several years or even decades, in order to monitor change (Giurchescu 1999; Felfoldi 1999). Dance anthropologists are concerned with understanding a particular group of people through comprehension of the dance systems they use. From the perspective of dance anthropology, dance can be perceived as "structured movement systems ... [socially constructed] systems of knowledge" (Kaepler 1999, p.16), which give insight into the values and structures within a particular society. A contemporary approach towards dance anthropology, views dance as a form of human action (Hughes-Freeland 1999; Williams 1991). Dance anthropology utilises ethnography as the primary method, where ethnography is both the process of gathering data, using participant observation, and the final written

document that constitutes the analysis of this data. Using ethnographic methods the dance researcher aims to understand the perspectives of the people in the field with respect to the meanings they give to movement and the context within which it is surrounded (Cowan 1990; Ness 1992; Sklar 2001). This is a classical approach to ethnography based on the ideas of anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski, who described the aim of ethnography:

... to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realise his vision of his world. We have to study man, and we must study what concerns him most intimately, that is, the hold which life has on him. (1992 [1922], p.25).

My aim was to conduct an ethnographic study into the use of movement, dance and other arts media within psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children. The 'native' in relation to this piece of research is Zdravo Da Ste as an organisation, its members, and the participants in the workshops that Zdravo Da Ste facilitate. This study aims to understand Zdravo Da Ste's aims and objectives within their work with war-affected refugee children and adults and IDPs and the application of arts media within this.

A central aspect of classical ethnography is participant observation which can be considered more of a "research strategy than a unitary research method" (Aull Davies 1999, p.67), because it intrinsically employs many methods including formal and informal interviews, fieldnotes and journals, visual documentation, and life histories. Anthropologist Charlotte Aull Davies (1999, p.71) suggests that participation is important because it facilitates access to the field and possibilities for observation, which in turn highlight questions to be asked and areas to be understood. In participant observation, the researcher participates in the lives of the people being studied over an extended period of time, traditionally at least one year, in order to attempt to understand their perspectives of their lives and activities. The researcher attempts to gain both an insider's and an outsider's perspective within the context of the field.

Sociologist Amanda Coffey (1999, p.59) suggests fieldwork is an embodied activity in which the ethnographer is "an embodied social actor" while the body itself serves "as an agent of cultural reproduction and as a site of cultural representation" (ibid p.64). Embodied experience can thus be considered as a vehicle through which social norms and values can be learnt, and culture represented. In the context of dance

ethnography, embodiment is a means for the researcher to learn and understand the dances or movements used within the field and their possible meanings. The embodied experience represented through dance and movement becomes a medium of communication and understanding. Dance anthropologist Anya Peterson Royce (2002 [1977]) suggests embodiment can be conceived as "another kind of field language" (p.xxiii). By learning the danced-movements, the ethnographer becomes a student of the dance, as other members in the field may also be students. I became a student of Zdravo Da Ste's 'dances' for example, through my participation in the activities and processes of the workshops. Through this learning process some of the power differentials can be equalised. Anthropologist Brenda Farnell (2001 [1995], p.5), however, stresses that embodied experience is not a universal language and does not necessarily allow the researcher "to inhabit the world of the other." This is important to bear in mind, but I suggest that embodiment does create the possibility of taking a step towards understanding and can create a common ground from which dialogue may ensue. In DMT the notion of embodiment is concerned with the relationship between the individual's conception of themselves and the presentation of this self to others. Within this concept there is also an intention towards integration of the whole that is drawn from ideas from both Gestalt psychotherapy and Jung's concept of individuation. DMT enables the client to explore these relationships and their use of the body as a form of representation and communication. The supervision process in DMT considers the embodied responses of the client and the therapist and the interactions between the two, thus creating a possibility for reflexive and reflective practice. The notion of embodiment in DMT is further discussed in the following section.

The embodied aspect of ethnographic research facilitates reflexivity as the researcher has the opportunity to become aware of their physical and emotional relationship to the field. It allows the researcher to distinguish between the meaning they may be imposing on a situation and the meaning given to the situation by the informants. Contemporary ethnography, in its application of "ethnographic reflexivity" (MacDonald 2001, p.68), allows a negotiation of meanings and understandings between the researcher and members of the field and considers both the people studied and the researcher as creators of meaning. This negotiation is acknowledged at all stages of the research. Dance anthropologist Theresa Buckland (1999b, p.7) suggests that reflexivity allows the power relations within the field and accompanying values and ethics to be exposed, particularly the often unequal relationship between the

researcher and his or her informants. A criticism of a reflexive approach to ethnography, however, is that the primary focus can become the researcher and the finished ethnography can "lose sight altogether of the culturally different Other" (Rosaldo 1993, p.7). A reflexive approach is not just concerned with the ethnographer and their perspective of and influence on the research. It is primarily concerned with making visible the interactions and the effects of the interactions between the informants, the activity being studied and the researcher. In this way, there is an attempt to represent the multiple realities present in the field at the time of the research. I adopted a reflexive approach within this research.

As the fieldwork progresses the ethnographer begins to move from being an outsider towards being an insider as they become more familiar with the different languages and texts of the field including embodied experience. Dance anthropologist Georgiana Gore suggests:

Social acceptance as marked through dance indicates that one has found one's place in the other's world, a socio-spatial reorientation constructed in danced dialogue over time between dance ethnographer and other. (1999, p.217)

As I began to understand Zdravo Da Ste's approach within the workshops and was increasingly given more practical responsibility within the activities, I was told I was no longer a guest but a member of the team who was asked and given permission to facilitate workshops with the children. This was an important turning point as it allowed me to apply my DMT skills more directly with the children. It also indicated that I was beginning to understand Zdravo Da Ste's approach and therefore could be trusted to co-facilitate and lead workshops on their behalf. My practical work in the field was thus an integration of my understanding of Zdravo Da Ste's approach and DMT.

The process of moving from outsider to insider and the extent to which informants allowed me to become an insider was a negotiated process, and multi-levelled. The family with whom I lived, for example, treated me as an extended member and always included me in family celebrations; my relationship with members of Zdravo Da Ste, however, hardly extended beyond the work itself. I participated in Serbian life and culture outside of Zdravo Da Ste through my own efforts and through the family with whom I lived and other people I met in the field. This created a network of overlapping interactions. As a researcher from England, I was always an outsider, but as a DMT

clinician and researcher I became a member of Zdravo Da Ste's team, a facilitator for CEDEUM and Susret, and a student of Serbian etno.

I was always worried about raising questions regarding the war and ethnicity with informants, particularly arriving in the field so close to the end of the war. I preferred to allow informants to raise these issues with me as they wished and to allow this to lead into discussions. I did not want to provoke carefully guarded emotions. I did not feel that this was appropriate to my role and was aware that both the refugee people and local people in Serbia were constantly being barraged and judged with questions with regards to the war. I felt that my role was more to contribute whatever skills I had that might be useful to Zdravo Da Ste and the people with whom they worked and to observe and learn of their approach in the context of psychosocial work in a post-conflict context.

Below I outline the main ideas of DMT and begin to draw links, which are further developed in the following chapters, between DMT and the work of Zdravo Da Ste.

3.2.2 Dance Movement Therapy

DMT can be loosely defined as "the use of creative movement and dance in a therapeutic relationship" (Payne 1992b, p.4). The client uses dance and movement within this relationship as media to facilitate change. Drawing on ideas from Gestalt therapy and humanistic psychology, DMT adopts the premise that "it is the client, for whom the meaning has relevance in the personal situation, who, together with the therapist gives meaning to the work" (Payne 1992b, pp.6-7). The therapist may make connections, however, when reflecting on the session or through his or her movement observations and adopt tools such as Laban Movement Analysis (LMA) (Laban 1971 [1950]) or Authentic Movement³ (Chodorow 1999 [1991]; Pallaro 1999) in order to analyse and respond to movement created or presented by the client. DMT may incorporate other media including visual images, music, voice, song and storytelling within the therapeutic process.

Within DMT there are a number of assumptions that form the foundations for theoretical principles. DMT presupposes for example, that the mind and body mutually affect one another and are interlinked so that a change in movement results in a

change in the whole person (Payne 1992a, 1993a; Bernstein 1979a; Schoop 1974, p.44; Meekums 2002). Choreographer and dance theorist Rudolph Laban's ideas are one of the foundations that underpin DMT approaches in the UK and USA and are sometimes used alongside Jungian approaches and ideas, for example in the Sesame approach to Drama and Movement Therapy in the U.K. Laban stated:

... the world too deep for speech, the silent world of symbolic action, most clearly revealed in ballet, is the answer to the inner need of man (1971 [1950], p.91)

Laban suggests that symbolic action, as expressed and revealed through the medium of movement, has the power to communicate aspects of the inner world of a person, or the unconscious or subconscious world, that may be hidden or remain silent in other forms of expression, representation and communication. Symbolic actions are considered as more than representations of daily life. They are also able to convey "inner responses" (Laban 1971 [1950], p.92) to the external world and the internal world of a person, where the internal world is the world of dreams, images, ideas, emotions, memories and associations. Laban believed that movement could communicate these aspects more clearly than words, and communication and expression through symbolic action is an important part of the process of becoming, of the individual fulfilling and expressing the potential that is within him or her.

Through movement improvisation an individual can explore "new ways of being" (Meekums 2002, p.8). Dance and movement are considered to be media of communication and expression and are assumed to have a symbolic function, which allows them to be representative of unconscious processes (Meekums 2002; Chaiklin and Schmais 1979; Chaiklin 1975; Payne 1992b; Stanton-Jones 1992). The individual is considered as having "an innate capacity for continuous growth" (Bernstein 1979b, pp.171-4) facilitated through the therapeutic relationship and process and mediated through both movement and words. Payne suggests:

By considering unconscious bodily reactions we may grasp a further 'knowing' in the therapeutic encounter. The therapist's body can act as a barometer enabling recognition and understanding of the patient's experience. (1992b, pp.6-7)

The therapist also acknowledges his or her own embodied experience in relation to the therapeutic relationship, and this can provide insight, although, as mentioned earlier, this is problematic.

A DMT clinician who undertakes research within the context of their clinical practice becomes a practitioner-researcher (Rowan 1993). As in reflexive ethnographic work, the research process is engaged with "multiple realities informed by a belief that research and knowledge is personal, social and cultural in construction" (Payne 1993b, p.4). Traditionally research in DMT has adopted movement observation and empirical analysis. In current clinical practice within the NHS in the U.K. arts therapists are asked to adopt a more empirical approach in order to evaluate the effect of the therapeutic intervention on the people with whom they work. Payne, however, suggests that quantitative approaches towards arts therapies research are limiting. She proposes instead to adopt "the 'new paradigm,' which is a more responsive, interactive and 'objectively subjective' view of research" (Payne 1993c, p.16). This approach allows the knowledge gained through the participation in the therapeutic process to be recognised and utilised. New Paradigm Research (Reason and Rowan, 1981) incorporates ideas of co-operative inquiry (Heron 1996) and participative knowing (Reason 1994). Ethnographic methodologies are also slowly being incorporated into DMT research.⁴

Research is important to DMT practice because it facilitates the development and recognition of the profession and the development of individual practitioners as they integrate reflection, reflexivity and questions arising from the clinical process within their clinical practice. In her book *Many Rivers, Many Currents* (1993), Payne presents an overview of research in the arts therapies and discusses the place of research within the arts therapies. Inherent within this research is the relation between the researcher and the clinical practitioner. The methodologies used in this research are still developing, because the arts therapies are still emerging as a professional field in the U.K., only recently gaining state registration (1997), and to date a limited amount of research has been undertaken. Research is conceived as being inherently reflexive and reflective, within which we "co-produce the worlds of our research knowledge rather than discover something already there, outside of us" (Payne 1993b, p.3). The DMT researcher, like the dance ethnographer, engages in "complex multiple realities informed by a belief that research and knowledge is personal, social and cultural in

construction" (ibid). Within DMT research there is a constant and inherent interaction between theory and practice, observation and evaluation, and creative and therapeutic processes.

The forms of a DMT session and a Zdravo Da Ste workshop are similar, although the way the sessions are approached is different. DMT sessions generally follow a specific structure of introductory warm-up, preparation, main activity, completion of the main activity, and closing. The session can be directed or more open-ended and non-directive depending on the process of the specific therapeutic encounter and the approach of the individual therapist. A DMT session centres on the client and their needs in the moment of the session. A session therefore grows from the interaction itself rather than any pre-planned ideas and may include work with different movement qualities, gesture, touch, rhythm, developmentally related movement, spontaneous movement, thematic movement improvisation, unconscious symbolic body movement, individual and group work. In DMT the therapist may move with the client, observe the client's movement, or combine the two; their role is to support rather than interfere with the movement material presented by the client (Payne 1992b, p.14). The client does not need technical skills in dance, because it is the therapeutic relationship and the interaction with the dance medium that facilitates change, recognition and understanding. The therapist tries to organise and shape the multiple levels of communication evident within the therapeutic relationship in order to facilitate the client's understanding, self-knowledge and ability to respond to her or his social and physical environments in new ways. DMT sessions occur with individuals and groups.

Within Zdravo Da Ste's workshops, the aims and objectives are defined, although allowing for flexibility and adaptation in response to the group. Zdravo Da Ste used movement in a general way to prepare the participants for the workshops or to create a consolidation of the workshop at the end. The participants did not need technical skills in dance or movement, storytelling, etno or visual image making in order to participate. The workshop leaders tried to facilitate the development of social and cultural interactions and the identification and development of innate potential within the participants through these interactions. They did not undertake workshops for individuals.

The role of the DMT clinician is to facilitate individual processes of transformation and to "create[s] a holding environment in which feelings that arise through the processes ... can be safely expressed, acknowledged and communicated" (Payne 1992b, p.4). The notion of a holding environment or container is central to the therapeutic process. This is facilitated through the therapeutic contract drawn up between the client and therapist at the commencement of the therapy. The therapeutic contract includes the negotiation of a fee and regular time and place in which the therapy can be conducted. It also recognises and stresses the importance of confidentiality within the therapeutic process; the relationship between the therapist and client is the basic building block. Zdravo Da Ste's approach also emphasises the relationships between members of Zdravo Da Ste and the participants and between the participants, but there is no contract between Zdravo Da Ste and the participants in the workshops.

The foundation of the therapeutic relationship is trust and a safe, contained and confidential space within which the sessions occur. This creates an environment within which the client can explore and communicate emotions and experiences without being judged and can work within boundaries that can safely hold their actions and emotions. This frame was also used by Zdravo Da Ste but in a less formalised way. The notion of transference and counter-transference is a central feature of the therapeutic relationship within which the client may project images, fantasies, wishes and longings onto the therapist; the therapist needs to be aware of these projections at all times. Zdravo Da Ste did not like to apply this concept within their work possibly because there is an implied power relationship between client and therapist - the person needing help and the helper – with which Zdravo Da Ste did not want to engage. Supervision allows the therapist to begin to understand and unravel these interactions and place them in relation to the overall therapeutic process. Within Zdravo Da Ste's work, there was an ongoing system of feedback between the different members of the teams, for example the psychologists and teachers. This occurred within formal contexts such as the Belgrade team meeting, but also informally on the journeys to and from the workshops, and at the offices of Zdravo Da Ste.

There were enough similarities between my approach as a DMT practitioner and that of Zdravo Da Ste to allow me to participate within Zdravo Da Ste's workshops as a clinician and to eventually become a co-facilitator. My involvement in the workshop process was central to me being able to understand Zdravo Da Ste's approach. For

example I could experience and observe differences between workshops with pre-school children and those with children at the collective centres; and workshops with children as compared to the large integrated workshops with children and adults. My analysis of this participation allowed me to become aware of changing relationships between the children themselves, and between the children and members of Zdravo Da Ste. I began to identify specific aspects of the workshops that appeared to be common to various workshops such as the integration of a variety of arts media within a workshop, for example, and the various ways in which movement, story, visual images and etno were used in the different workshop contexts. My adoption of DMT practice within the workshop contexts was as much a key to the field as my learning of the Serbian language. It gave me the tools to learn the workshop language of Zdravo Da Ste, to discuss my observations with members of Zdravo Da Ste and to analyse my observations. It also created difficulties however which are discussed further in chapter six page 199.

The clinical methodology applied in DMT practice can be conceived as a form of embodied knowledge combined with a theoretical base drawn from psychology and psychotherapy. On returning from the field, for example, I found a need to engage in my own creative processes through work with movement, dance and singing both on my own and with other people in order to unravel and begin to understand the embodied experience with which I had participated and observed during the field. My analysis thus incorporated written fieldnotes, a creative response to the field in the form of my poetry journal, and my ongoing engagement with the workshops as a clinical practitioner. On returning from the field, I used a Jungian framework as a basis for analysing my fieldwork experience and documentation.

My concern on returning from the field was not to compromise Zdravo Da Ste through the writing and presentation of my research. I wanted my research to support the development of theirs and others' work within the context of psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children and adults. As I began to explore the huge amount of data I had collected and to select the data with which I would work, the application of Jungian ideas, ideas from DMT such as the non-interpretation of images created by clients, and anthropology provided philosophical frames within which I could consider this data. They also created a bridge between myself as a DMT practitioner and dance ethnographer with my experience of participating in and observing the work of Zdravo

Da Ste. Within this research, I have therefore interwoven ethnographic and DMT methodologies using participant observation which was documented with fieldnotes, personal and creative journals, photography, video and drawings. In this way, a particular view of truth based in Jungian meta-psychology and contemporary approaches towards ethnography forms the basis of the thesis.

3.3 Applications of Methodology

3.3.1 Participant Observation

My research used both overt and covert participant observation. The research was overt in the sense that members of Zdravo Da Ste knew that I was a researcher and what the research concerned. It was covert in the sense that, although the refugee people knew that I was a student and that I was working as a volunteer with Zdravo Da Ste, they did not know exactly what my studies were about. I adopted this way of working in response to my early conversations with Zdravo Da Ste so that my research would not interfere with their work and their relationships with the people with whom they worked.

When I initially entered the field, I had planned to facilitate my own DMT sessions with groups and individual war-affected refugee children living in the collective centres and private accommodation. This was because I wanted to conduct an ethnographic study that examined the use of symbols for refugee people within the process of resettlement following forced displacement as a result of war. In one of my first meetings with Bojana and Vesna, however, it became apparent that this would not be possible since Zdravo Da Ste had developed ways of working and relationships with the people over a ten-year period. Zdravo Da Ste were also concerned about how my completed work would be used by others. In addition, the refugee people living in the collective centres were wary of foreigners and outsiders coming to their homes. Bojana explained to me that Zdravo Da Ste often found it very difficult to make initial contact with the refugee people because they had been approached by so many people from both former Yugoslavia and foreigners, "many officials, many experts," all wanting to help these target groups to fulfil their own agendas. Bojana felt that the refugee people had become "bored and tired of this and they just build up walls." Zdravo Da Ste said they treated the refugee people with whom they worked as equals and for this reason they

were accepted. They offered contact and help where possible and continued the contact, even if it was not possible to help in the first instance. In order for me to participate in Zdravo Da Ste's work with the refugee and IDP people, I therefore also had to develop relationships both with Zdravo Da Ste and the people with whom they worked.

I thus began my fieldwork by participating in different kinds of workshops facilitated by members of Zdravo Da Ste in order to gain a sense of their work and activities. These included workshops with pre-school children, school-age children, young people, and elderly people. I also participated in income-generating activities and, on one occasion, in the distribution of household goods to refugee and IDP people living in Vojvodina⁵. This period lasted from my initial arrival in the field in mid-September until mid-December, extending over three months. In mid-December, I was due to leave the field in order to return to the U.K. to spend Christmas with my family and meet with my academic and clinical supervisors.

When I returned from the U.K. in January, Zdravo Da Ste invited me to select the groups with whom I wanted to continue participating. I primarily chose to continue work with the weekly pre-school group held at Jovanova street offices in Belgrade, and regular workshops at collective centre (1). I had worked with these two groups continuously since arriving in the field and felt that choosing these groups would give a sense of continuity to my research; these two groups also contrasted with one another in terms of age group and location. In addition to these two workshop contexts I decided to continue to attend the large integrated workshops held in cultural centres in Belgrade; income generating etno exhibitions; and the ten-day summer camp in Montenegro. I was also occasionally invited to participate in workshops held at other collective centres. As part of my work with Zdravo Da Ste, I attended a weekly meeting of the Belgrade Team. Members of the Belgrade Team are shown in the Figure 7 on page 89, at a dinner held in a restaurant on the river Sava to celebrate the birthdays of all the members whose birthdays fell in June and July. Small groups of musicians often played and sang popular songs in restaurants in Belgrade; the line-up of musicians shown in this photograph of double-bass, guitar and accordion was common. Customers could pay the musicians extra for them to play particular songs.

Figure 7 The Belgrade Team July 2002



Zdravo Da Ste introduced me to people in the field as both a guest and a member of the Belgrade team. This gave me status, a role, and responsibility, although this latter aspect was of a lesser degree than other members of Zdravo Da Ste. Through this participation I became an informal apprentice of Zdravo Da Ste. After several months of participation, I was given opportunities to co-facilitate workshops on their behalf. I also facilitated six practical presentations on different aspects of DMT for professionals working in the field.

I approached the workshops as a DMT practitioner engaging with the workshop participants through the different artistic media and activities in the workshops. The primary medium of communication between the children and myself were the activities themselves and the arts media used within the activities. As a member of the children's team and Belgrade team, I contributed to the preparation and evaluation of the workshops in which I participated. In my fieldnotes I considered how the children had responded to the different media and how the workshops could be developed in response to the children's engagement with the artistic media and activities.

As noted in chapter two page 43 evaluation of images and objects made in the workshops was an intrinsic part of the workshop process. The Zdravo Da Ste team

observed how the participants engaged with the activities and arts media and how this engagement changed over time. The participants in the workshops were encouraged to find their own meaning for the images and objects they created which they communicated to members of Zdravo Da Ste as part of the workshop process, or by naming a workshop or an object at the end of a workshop. The consolidation process at the end of workshops was also an opportunity for participants to identify the meaning the workshops had for them. As noted in chapter two, page 43 evaluation of images and objects made in the workshops was an intrinsic part of the workshop process. The Zdravo Da Ste team observed how the participants engaged with the activities and arts media and how this engagement changed over time. This non-interpretive approach is also used in DMT, in order to allow the client to find meaning within the physical, visual or narrative images they create. This is an important part of the therapeutic process, because it is through this process of finding meaning that the client can develop understanding of themselves and their relationships to the world by which they are surrounded. As a DMT clinician, I did not feel it was my place to attempt to interpret the images created in the workshops but rather to try to understand the meaning the collages had for the children and members of Zdravo Da Ste; and, like Zdravo Da Ste to observe how these images and interaction with the activities and arts media changed over time. This is in line with an ethnographic approach.

Participating in and co-facilitating these workshops allowed me to become involved in the experiential process of the workshop and to engage in the interactions and processes of change. This echoes Royce's ideas:

It is those embodied and wordless forms that offer points of entry into ... critical issues ... we cannot get to the heart of that place without committing ourselves to embodied ways of knowing. (2002 [1977], p.xxiv)

Although embodied experience does not imply a universal language, it can be a means of developing the process of understanding. My participant observation also extended to family and cultural celebrations. During the fieldwork, I was invited to three Slavias by my Serbian Yoga teacher, the co-ordinator of the Belgrade team, and the family with whom I lived. I was also occasionally invited into the homes of families living in the collective centres as part of the Zdravo Da Ste team, to share food or drink and sometimes to join a family celebration including Slava. Being invited to these personal

and social occasions by members of the field allowed me to begin to understand different aspects of Serbian life, including the place of the Orthodox Christian religion and etno. I was also able to hear stories of experiences of the war first-hand, to see photographs of the homes the refugee and IDP people had lost through the war and the homes in which they now lived, and to experience something of the life in the collective centres. This gave me further insights into the effects of the war on the refugee children and adults and IDPs, how they coped with their lives after the war and the impact of Zdravo Da Ste's work in this context.

Alongside my research activities, I was invited to present DMT training workshops for members of Zdravo Da Ste; Susret; professional artists and students at the University of Belgrade; and participants in CEDEUM's work as part of the Belgrade International Festival of Theatre 2001 (BITEF). I agreed to undertake these trainings over the course of the fieldwork as a way to give something back, as a form of exchange or reciprocity. The notion of exchange, I later discovered, was central to the work of Zdravo Da Ste and essential to my continued participation with them in the field.

In ethnographic research, reciprocity is classified as part of a feminist approach towards ethnographic research (Murphy and Dingwall 2001; Skeggs 2001) and is closely linked to dealing with power relations in the field. Sociologist Beverley Skeggs (2001) points out that reciprocating knowledge may be a form of "achieving certain ethics" (p.434), but it can be criticised for creating "more subtle opportunities for manipulation" (Murphy and Dingwall 2001, p.343) through the guise of friendship and the inherent notion of trust within this context. Another way in which the ethnographer can have a reciprocal relationship with members of the field is through advocacy. At different points during the fieldwork I attempted to act as a bridge between the different organisations and other individuals and groups in the U.K. who were interested in Zdravo Da Ste's work, in order to help facilitate funding, professional insights, and collaboration. An example of this is the story workshop discussed in chapter five page 164. Advocacy is an issue within ethnography. Coffey (1999) suggests it "highlights the politics of fieldwork" (p.71) and questions the efficacy of ethnography itself. As a tool of reciprocity, however, the ethnographic research has a depth of understanding that can give voice to informants in a context where, for whatever reasons, they are in a position of unequal power relationships in relation to resources.

Reciprocity was fundamental to my methodology and my relationships with Zdravo Da Ste and other informants with whom I interacted in the field. There was also an ethical aspect to this, in that I had access to resources and knowledge that my informants had difficulty in gaining access to because of the recent conflict and limitations on travel and resources. It was very difficult, for example, for Serbian people to obtain visas to leave Serbia. It was also prohibitively expensive to invite professionals from other countries as trainers. I was therefore a potential resource, providing an opportunity to undertake training in DMT. The professional trainings were always framed in terms of time and content and discussed fully with the contact person before commencing, in order to confirm appropriateness for the participants. I also evaluated all of these sessions, as I would if I facilitated sessions in the U.K. The trainings and advocacy did allowed me to deepen my relationships with the people concerned because I was sharing another aspect of myself, and providing resources that were not easily accessible. I felt, however, that the organisations and individuals had given me permission to participate in their work, learn about their approaches and gave freely of their time; the trainings and advocacy work were a way to give something in return.

I believe that there was an inherent trust within my relationship with members of the field because they let me into their world, which involved work with vulnerable individuals at an emotive historical time. This possibly created looser boundaries between professional and friendship relationships than may have occurred in a different research context. In terms of undertaking research with vulnerable people this is another way in which my research drew on methodologies from both DMT and dance ethnography. Within DMT work, however, the role of therapist and client is very clearly defined in order to facilitate the therapeutic process and it is unethical to develop friendships within the therapeutic relationship. DMT research by nature is often concerned with developmental processes of vulnerable people and the research aims to further develop understanding in work with them. Similarly, one result of my research is that it can further understanding of approaches towards psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children and adults.

3.3.2 Fieldnotes and Journals

Throughout the fieldwork I kept daily fieldnotes and two journals. The journals were a daily personal diary-type journal and a poetry journal. I approached the journals in a

more creative way than the fieldnotes in order to document my feelings and emotional responses to the field and the research. The poetry journal was a collection of daily image-based responses to the field.

A creative self-reflective approach towards documentation and analysis is an important aspect of arts therapy practice that can be used within the supervision process. I used my poetry journal to express images, to write without censorship, without logical intention and to allow my unconscious responses to the field to emerge. This method is drawn from Jung's notion of active imagination as a method used to investigate the contents of the unconscious:

active imagination ... is a method (devised by myself) of introspection for observing the stream of interior images. One concentrates one's attention on some impressive but unintelligible dream-image, or on a spontaneous visual impression, and observe the changes taking place in it. Meanwhile, of course, all criticism must be suspended and the happenings observed and noted with absolute objectivity ... Under these conditions, long and often very dramatic series of fantasies ensue. The advantage of this method is that it brings a mass of unconscious material to light. (Jung 2002 [1959], p.190)

This approach towards documenting the field kept possibilities for meaning open to me in a similar fashion to the approach adopted by Zdravo Da Ste and represented within the maxims they used to summarise their work. I learned this approach to documentation as part of my therapeutic training, where the personal journal included any media, drawings, pictures, poems, songs, and even danced responses to the experience. This is also an approach adopted to facilitate reflection on clinical practice. The student or practitioner is encouraged to document their learning through factual notes that outline structures and forms with regard to specific methods or theories, and creative responses using different arts media in order to document the feeling response to the activities and processes and develop the ability to be self-reflective. This encourages engagement of the whole person within the clinical process. This journal allowed me to engage in and represent my own developmental process in the field. In the fieldnotes, in contrast, I tried to document my daily experiences as objectively as possible, stating whom I had seen, where, what had occurred, what had been discussed, and things I had learned. The use of this journal as part of my field documentation is an example of the integration of DMT and ethnographic methodologies. The extracts given below mark two different points within the fieldwork: the first was written after I had been in the field for two months, the second was written

two months before my departure. The content reflects the personal impact of the field and my perception of activities within the field.

Snow fall and lost dogs

I met a lost dog today,
At a place where three roads met
She was standing in the middle of the road
Looking one way and then another
I did not know if she
Was waiting for someone
Or did not know which way to go
She had a collar on but looked like
She had not been looked after for a while
Her coat was wet
And a little matted
She stood up on her hind legs for me
As if performing
She was trembling
Her collar was not on properly
I tried to fix it but did not succeed
As I walked on to the market, she still
Looked up and down the street not sure
Which way to go,
But she did not follow me
I was surprised
And I think a little relieved
Because I did not know what to do with her
As I walked back from the market it started to snow
I tried to find the place I had seen her
Sure she would be there
I approached it from a different direction
When I got to the place I thought it was
She was not there
And I was not surprised
Although I had expected her to be there
I was glad
And hoped she was with her owner
And was somewhere warm
My room is cold
A cold wind creeps in through
The edges of the windows
And later at night the heating is turned down
Last night I covered my head under my blankets
Because my face was cold
I will buy some blankets and maybe a heater
And offer Zorka more money for electricity
M is coming to meet me at the airport
I am happy.
(Extract from Poetry Journal November 2001)

There were many stray dogs in Belgrade, particularly visible in the city centre. This was another effect of the war as many families had to leave their pets behind as they fled the encroaching war, as Goca recounted to me. For me these dogs became a daily

reminder of the effects of war. They also became a metaphor when I felt lost and lonely within the context of the field, as reflected in the above example. In the winter, Belgrade becomes very cold and snow is common, and heating in the houses is controlled centrally through local government and turned on by area. As the weather grew colder, families had to wait for the local government officials to turn on the heating. The money I gave Zorka in rent, the equivalent of fifty pounds a week, was I believe as much as she received every month to live on and was one of the reasons I chose to live with her. As far as I was aware, however, she did not buy extra clothes or household goods with this money and still got up at 5am to do her laundry and cooking because electricity was cheaper at this time.

The second poem given below simply describes the weekly journeys to collect the pre-school children and take them to the Jovanova street offices for the pre-school workshop. It also represents the place of metaphorical and physical journeys within Zdravo Da Ste's work and within my experience of the field.

Journeys

Beginning a journey
Collecting the people for that journey
Greeting them, them arriving and meeting each other
Stories and songs on journeys
And views
Changing seasons
Changing landscapes
Rural to city
City to rural
Fountains, gates, traffic, roads, fields, flats, houses, gardens, food growing,
shops, mountains, dogs, birds, flowers, butterflies
Laughter, crying, fights, being sick, sleeping, talking, news, music,
The richness of journeys
Journeys away from home
Journeys returning to home
Lunch
Sharing an experience
Consolidating that experience
Letting it go and moving on
Life skills to be sure
Sharing and exchange and learning and understanding
New skills, old skills, sharing of skills, learning
And those who are far away
Sharing in the experience
(Extract from Poetry Journal June 2002)

After the New Year, I joined Goca every week on her journey to collect her group of about fifteen pre-school children for the pre-school workshop. Olja and Branislava

undertook similar journeys to other parts of the city. The journey route was the same each week, all the children lived in the outskirts of Belgrade either in private accommodation comprising of flats, or within a collective centre. The children were always collected in the same order. The route was circular, beginning and ending at the Jovanova street offices in central Belgrade. The children travelled from the relatively rural outskirts of the city towards the urban centre of Belgrade where the Jovanova street offices were housed. They passed the government buildings, ornamental fountains and historical statues as they neared the Jovanova street offices. The children commented on these changes of environment and became excited as we passed the famous landmarks.

I became increasingly interested in these journeys as part of the workshop process. Both the children and Goca seemed to use these journeys to prepare themselves for the workshop and re-establish relationships. They were opportunities for Goca to find out what had been happening in the children's lives between the workshops and how other family members were fairing. I also really enjoyed these journeys; the children appeared relaxed and would initiate stories, jokes and songs, which Goca would help develop.

Journeys were a feature of many of the workshops and incorporated as part of the workshop time. In this way a two-hour workshop could become a day's work. I had never seen this kind of approach in the U.K. In my experience taxi companies would ferry clients to a session, never the therapist, and yet I could see that this was a very valuable part of the experience and process. The journeys also became a philosophical metaphor for me at that stage which in some ways reflected Zdravo Da Ste's approach as they encapsulated their work in maxims such as "Now is always tomorrow, tomorrow, the future is now" (extract from interview with Vesna November 2001). They adopted what they described as an "open approach" in order to keep possibilities open. The journeys situated the workshops in the present and created new possibilities for interactions through the spontaneous activities and discussions on the journeys. They were also an opportunity for the children to be together within an unstructured context, in contrast to the workshop context. During the journeys back to their homes, also accompanied by Goca, there was an opportunity for reflection on the workshop.

As the research progressed, the fieldnotes began to include my research questions, as specific questions to be examined on a daily basis in order to begin to identify themes and patterns. When I entered the field I had two main research questions:

1. How effective is creative movement as a source and medium of healing and development for war-affected refugee children?
2. How effective is creative movement as a source and medium for integration and understanding between different communities, specifically refugee and host communities?
(Extract from fieldnotes September 2001 to September 2002)

Through my experiences in the field, my research questions took on a more ethnographic focus. The questions became, 'How do Zdravo Da Ste use movement, etno, and story within their work and how does this further their aims and objectives with respect to psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children and adults and IDPs?' In order to answer these questions I divided my fieldnotes into questions that had arisen in the first three months of the fieldwork as can be seen below:

- Outline of date, time, place, location, participants.
 - Outline of aims and objectives as given to me by members of Zdravo Da Ste or as observed.
 - Outline of the event or workshop.
 - Observations.
 - Themes I observed or were articulated to me.
 - Creative elements used within the workshop or event.
 - My feelings in response to the event or workshop.
 - Questions that had arisen in response to my participation and observation of the event or workshop.
 - Learning points for me.
 - Thoughts for further development.
 - General Notes.
 - Things I need to do.
- (Extract from fieldnotes September 2001 to September 2002)

Using this frame as the basis for daily fieldnotes, I began to see patterns with regards to the aims and objectives of the workshops, who participated, how the participants responded to the different workshops, which art media were used and in what context. I began to ask for example, not only what artistic media were used within Zdravo Da Ste's approach but, how a bridge could be made between visual and physical imagination; why circles were used so much within Zdravo Da Ste's work; how I could effectively document the movement I observed; and how stories fitted into the work of Zdravo Da Ste (extract from fieldnotes January 2002). Gore (1999) suggests that

representation is part of the whole process of fieldwork from conception to completion "if, indeed, fieldwork can ever be construed as a process with a definite ending, or even beginning" (p.209). Furthermore, the way in which the field is represented defines the way it is understood (ibid, p.210). My understanding of the field in terms of Zdravo Da Ste's work was as a creative and developmental process that was an embodied experience represented through my fieldnotes, journals and visual documentation but also represented through my own changing approach and understanding towards work with movement, story, visual images and etno. I carried these questions into my practical work with Zdravo Da Ste and sought answers within the activities and responses and in formal and informal interviews with members of Zdravo Da Ste and participants.

3.3.3 Formal and Informal Interviews

I found it important to use both formal and informal interviews. The formal interviews created frames of meaning within which I developed my research questions; the informal interviews were a source of continual feedback to my questions, and a medium through which I could gain immediate information on a particular situation.

The formal interviews were conducted as either individual or small group interviews, depending on the preferences of the interviewees. They were videoed as a means of documentation with the proviso that only I would see the videos and would use them solely for purposes of analysis. Most of the formal interviews were carried out in English, because I began the interviews two months after arriving in the field and my Serbian language skills were very limited. When members of the field did not speak or wish to speak in English, one of their colleagues translated the questions and answers for both of us. In two interviews with members of CEDEUM I used a translator, although by this stage in the fieldwork, I found that my Serbian language skills were good enough to be able to understand her translation and any bias she was introducing. I initially planned to interview members of Zdravo Da Ste twice, once at the beginning of the fieldwork and once half way through in order to apply my developing understanding of the field. Changes in my relationships, however, led to me only feeling able to interview a small selected group of informants once, because I did not want to ask more of my informants than they were willing to give.

The questions I used in the first stage of the fieldwork were developed in collaboration with Vesna and Bojana during my first few weeks in the field. They thus represented both my initial research questions and aspects of Zdravo Da Ste's aims (please see appendix 2 page 208). Collaborating with Vesna and Bojana in the development of the interview questions was both useful and problematic. It was useful in that the questions made visible Zdravo Da Ste's concerns within the context of my research. It showed me the questions with which Zdravo Da Ste were concerned in relation to my research and their understanding of it at that point. It allowed Zdravo Da Ste to further their own evaluation processes and the questions were framed in a form that was familiar to members of Zdravo Da Ste, for example choosing three words to summarise their relationship to their work. This was an approach used by Zdravo Da Ste in their workshops. Devising the interview questions with members of Zdravo Da Ste was problematic in that it put Vesna and Bojana in the role of gatekeepers to the interviews. They suggested what might be useful to include, what style of questions to use and who to interview. I decided to use these questions and to follow Vesna and Bojana's guidelines because I felt it had ethnographic merit in that the questions would represent Zdravo Da Ste's values with regard to my research and their own process of development, but it did create the potential for manipulation. They thus allowed me to further understand how Zdravo Da Ste saw and framed their work. They also facilitated the development of my relationship within the organisation as members began to understand more fully my research and reason for being there. I gained distance from this perspective through the process of writing the daily fieldnotes and the analysis that was an intrinsic part of this process. I also used informal interviews throughout the research process as a medium through which to find answers to questions that emerged in the field or through the process of writing the fieldnotes. My interview questions would therefore be a reflection of their approach, which would make the interviewees feel more comfortable and allow me to further understand their approach and later analyse the interviews, bearing this perspective in mind.

I conducted most of my formal interviews with members of Zdravo Da Ste in the first three months of the fieldwork, using the set of interview questions devised with Vesna and Bojana. Three interviews occurred after this point, by which time I had begun to develop the research questions in response to my experiences in the field. I made a total of forty-six formal interviews over the course of the fieldwork. Fourteen of these were with members of Zdravo Da Ste. The other interviews were with members of

CEDEUM; Susret; a child psychiatrist; a member of the Danish Red Cross; a member of the Open Society; Valerie Green and her four dancers; and the choreographer and members of Abrasevic, amateur etno dance company. I undertook the additional interviews in order to attempt to contextualise the work of Zdravo Da Ste. For purposes of analysis however, I eventually decided to focus only on the interviews by members of Zdravo Da Ste because my fieldwork was primarily concerned with their work.

As mentioned above, the choice of whom I should interview within Zdravo Da Ste was negotiated between Vesna, Bojana and myself. From my experience in the field, I already knew that I wanted to interview a selection of both teachers and psychologists in order to see if there were differences in their perception of their work and their aims and objectives. The teachers generally facilitated the smaller regular workshops, such as the pre-school workshops and the workshops at the collective centres. The large integrated workshops were usually co-ordinated by Smiljka and Branka, both psychologists and co-ordinators within Zdravo Da Ste, who also oversaw new activities that occurred in the pre-school workshops and the regular workshops, such as a visit from Japanese students. The larger workshops, have up to two hundred children and family members, were facilitated by both psychologists and teachers. Because Zdravo Da Ste was a large organisation, I was initially only exposed to the people with whom I had direct contact, namely the teachers with whom I worked and Vesna and Bojana. Vesna and Bojana's suggestions gave me the opportunity to meet other people, notably people they thought would benefit their interpretation of my research.

The informal interviews were ongoing throughout the fieldwork. They took the form of questions to members of Zdravo Da Ste and participants in their workshops. Members of Zdravo Da Ste were generally very tolerant of my questions and if they did not want to be asked questions they would say they were too busy. Sometimes, however, I was impatiently criticised for the types of questions I asked. For example, Jelena told me I always asked "Why?" when the question that they asked, and by implication the one one was "How?" Members of Zdravo Da Ste knew why they were facilitating the workshops. They were acting in response to the war. This was a work they perceived needed to be done and they were continually reassessing the best way to do it, how their approach could be improved and developed. I was a potential resource that could help them further their work. They were interested, for example, to understand DMT in order to see how it could be applied within their work; and how my approach towards

research could assist their own evaluation processes. They may not have wanted to consider 'why' because it was not defined but implicit. By answering this question it would define their approach and in some ways make it a closed approach, which they explicitly stated they did not want. Keeping their approach open was one of the aspects that distinguished their work from therapy.

The texts produced through formal and informal interviews are not completed truths, but perspectives given at a particular time in a particular context. They can be considered as part of the changing narratives and the multi-layering of meaning within the field, particularly in the context of Zdravo Da Ste because their work was inherently concerned with change. The negotiation of understanding through the interview process is limited by the knowledge and experience of the researcher and the relationship between the researcher and informants at that point in time. Therefore, as discussed earlier, a completed ethnography is merely a snapshot in time. I also created visual texts of the field through the use of video and photographic documentation

3.3.4 Visual Documentation

In my initial meetings with members of Zdravo Da Ste, it became apparent that using video and photography would be problematic because of issues of confidentiality and ownership. Zdravo Da Ste already had two professional filmmakers who documented selected workshops using film, video and photography. This visual data formed part of an archive that was used to demonstrate their work in the context of presentations. For the first few months in the field, I therefore did not use my video camera and instead worked with photography and drawings to try to capture aspects of the field that I thought were important to my research.

In the drawings I began to make visual representations of how the children and facilitators made use of space in the different activities and how their relationship to space changed within a workshop, or over a series of workshops. The six examples of fieldwork drawings presented below are representations of a Pre-school workshop held at Jovanova street office in May 2002. The aspect of the workshop I wanted to consider was the changing use of space by the children in relation to the activities and the workshop facilitators and the relationship of this to changing relationships within the group over the one-year period of the workshops.

Figure 8a

Drawing 1 – Looking at the use of space – The arrival of the two Groups

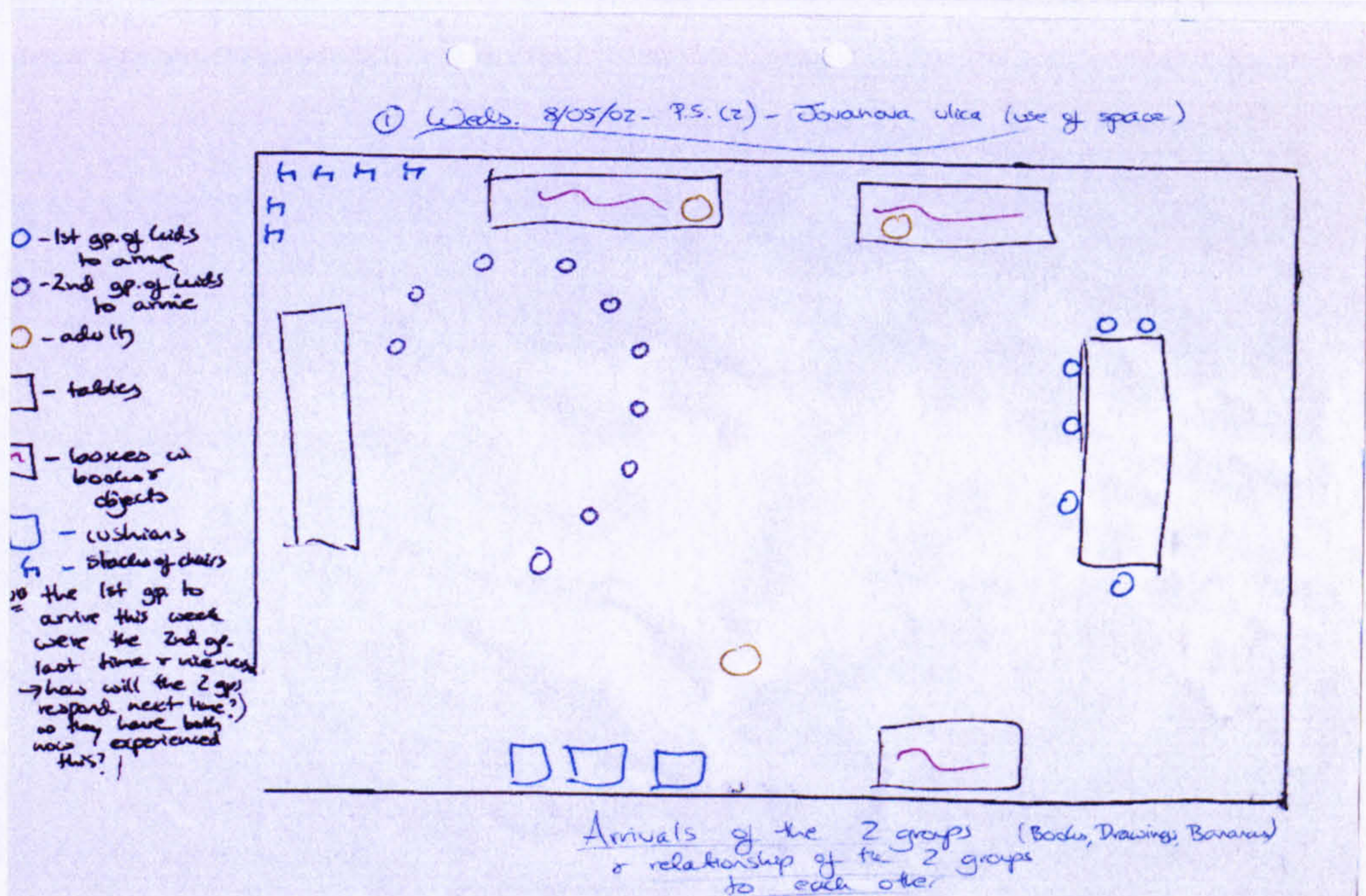


Figure 8b

Drawing 2 – Looking at the use of space – The beginning of the workshop

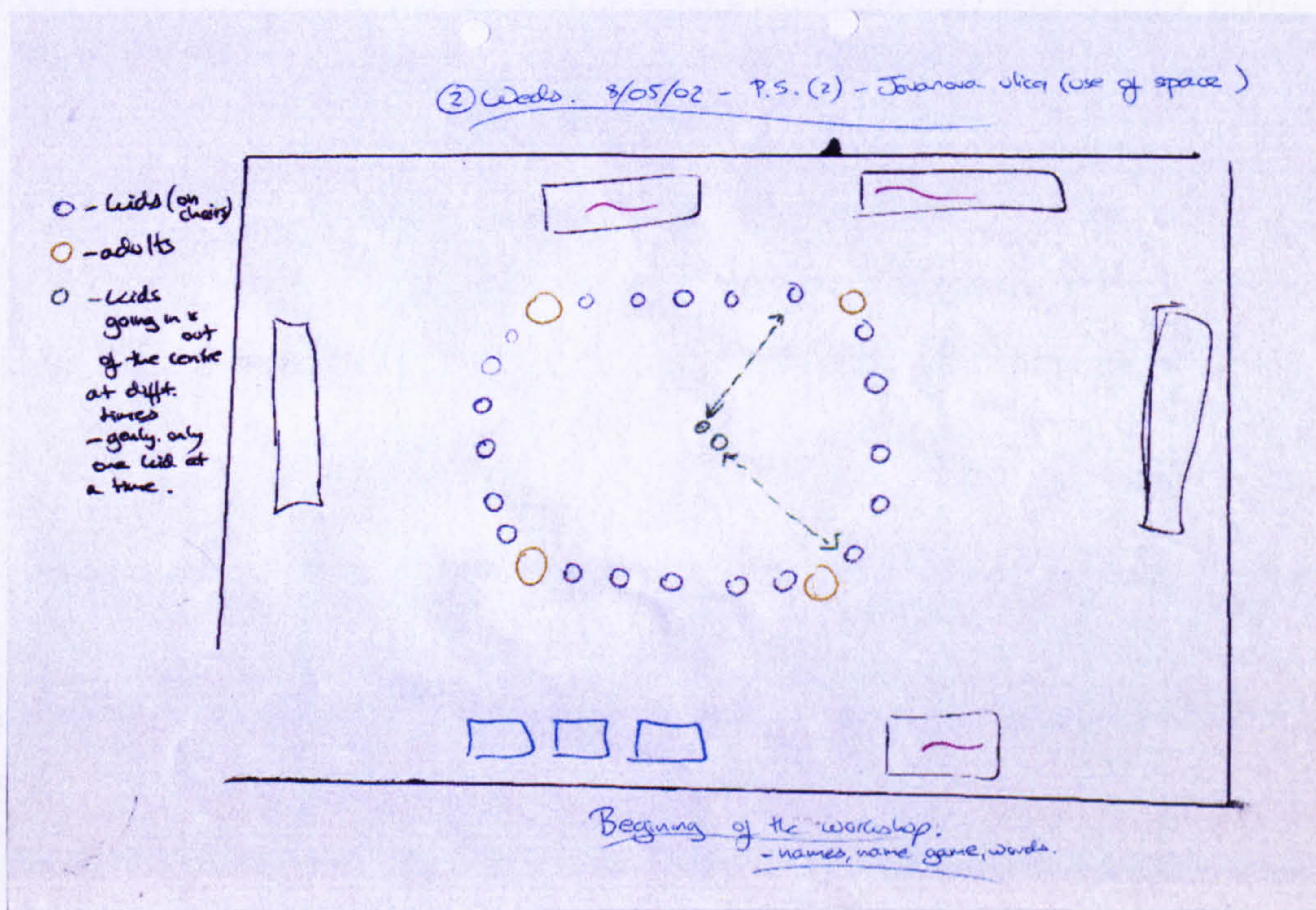


Figure 8c
Drawing 3 – Looking at the use of space –The two story groups

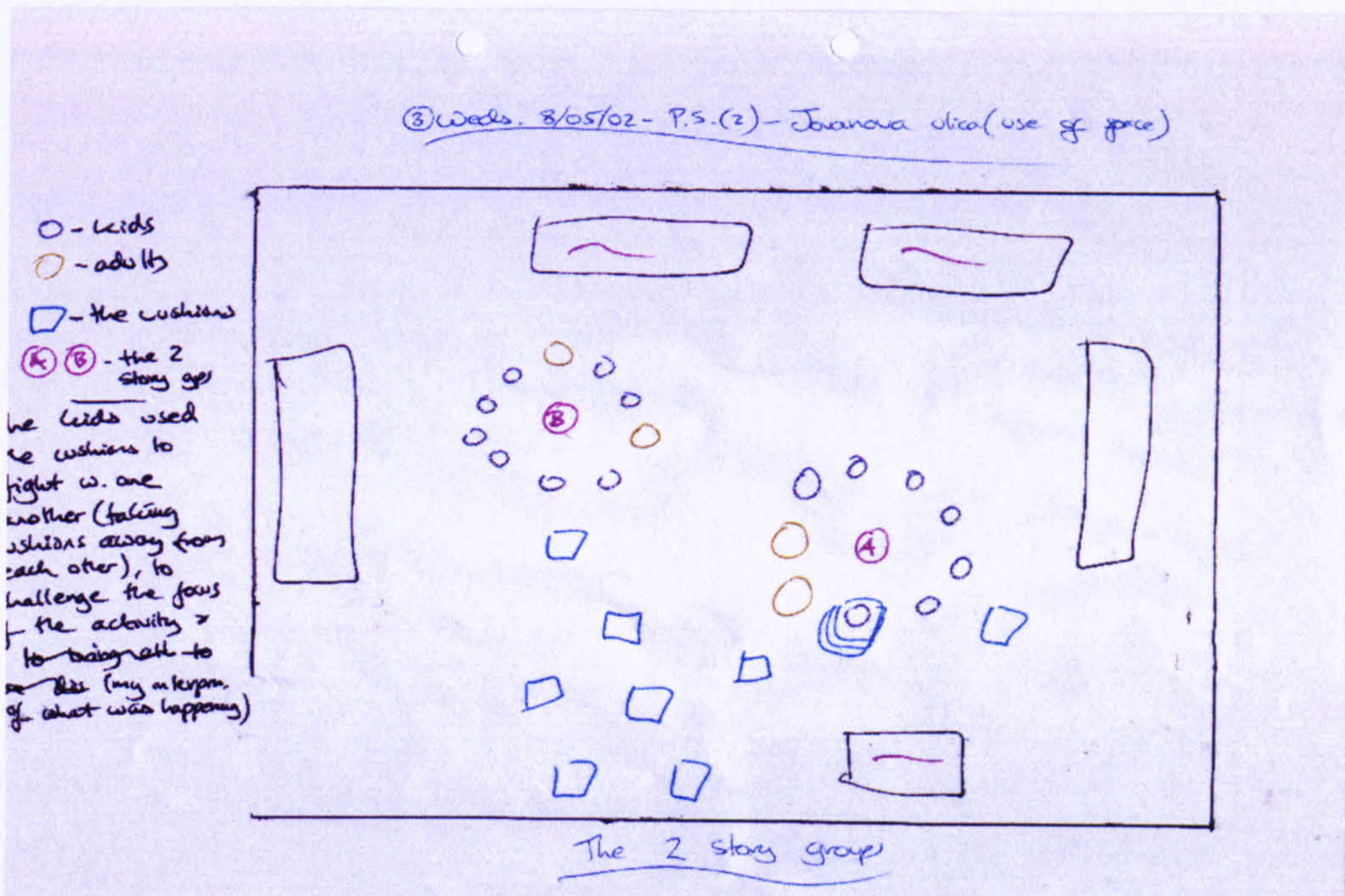


Figure 8d
Drawing 4 – Looking at the use of space – Giving out notebooks, butterflies and photo-albums

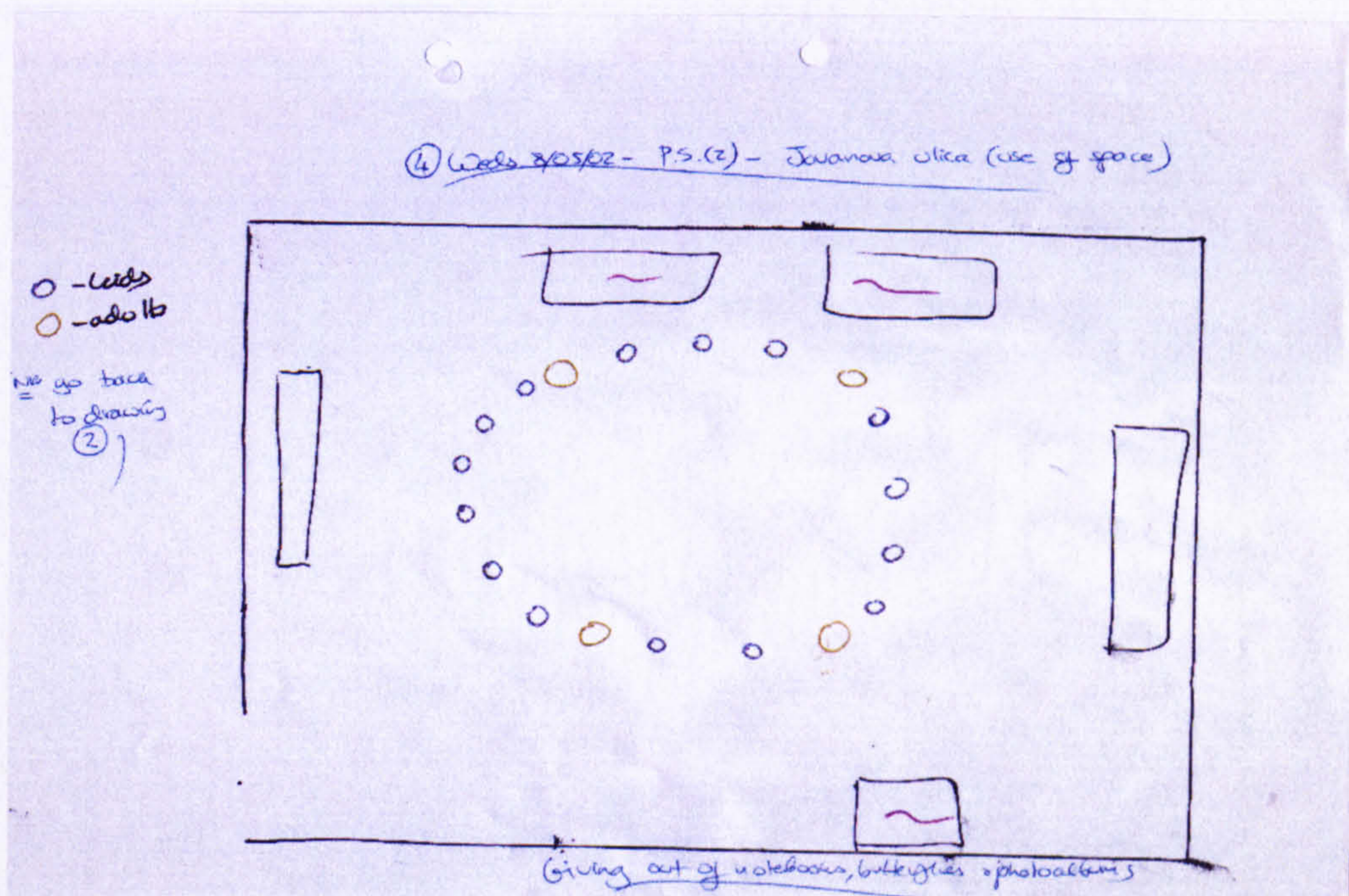


Figure 8e

Drawing 5 – Looking at the use of space – Sticking butterfly pictures into notebooks and putting into photo-albums

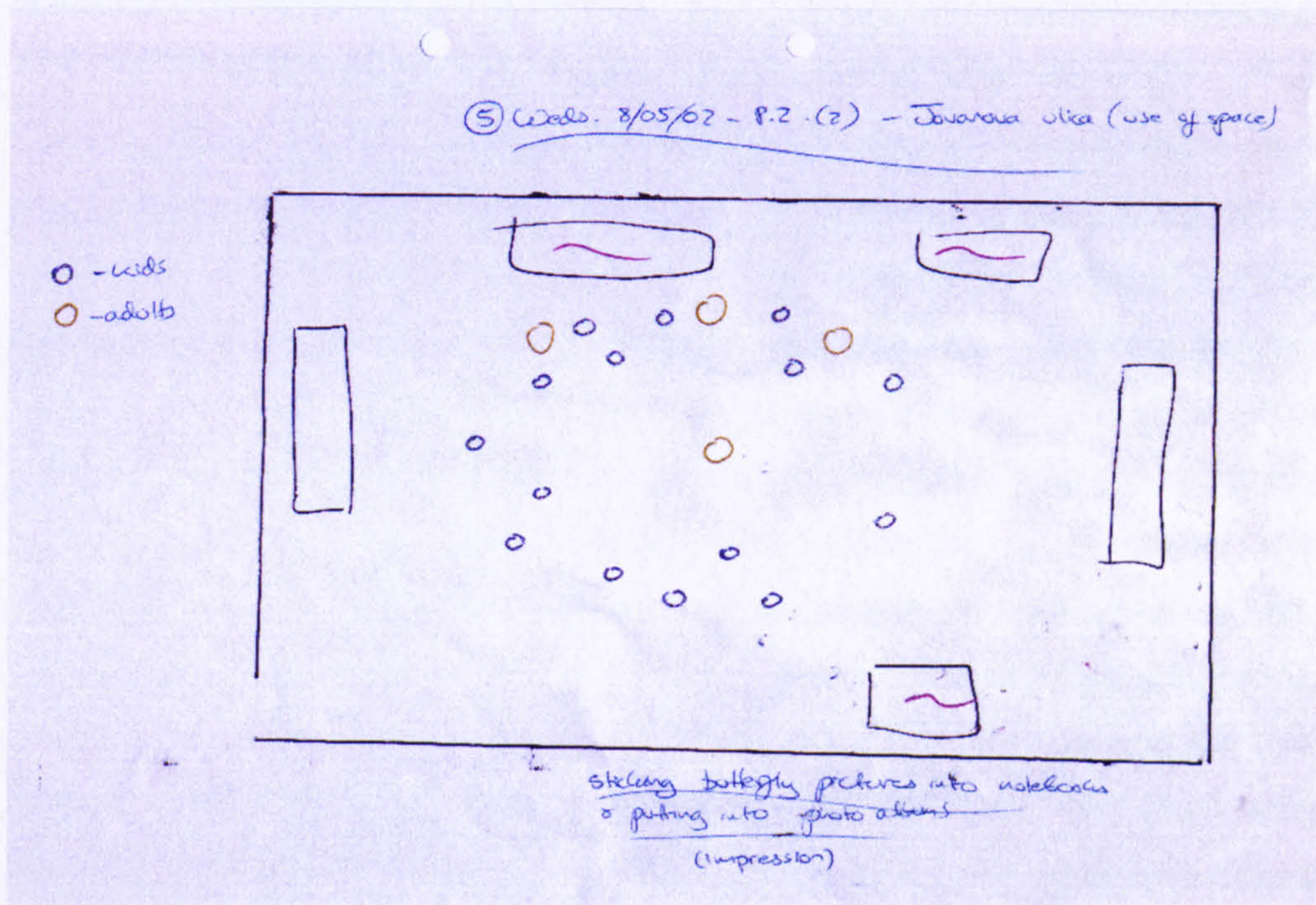
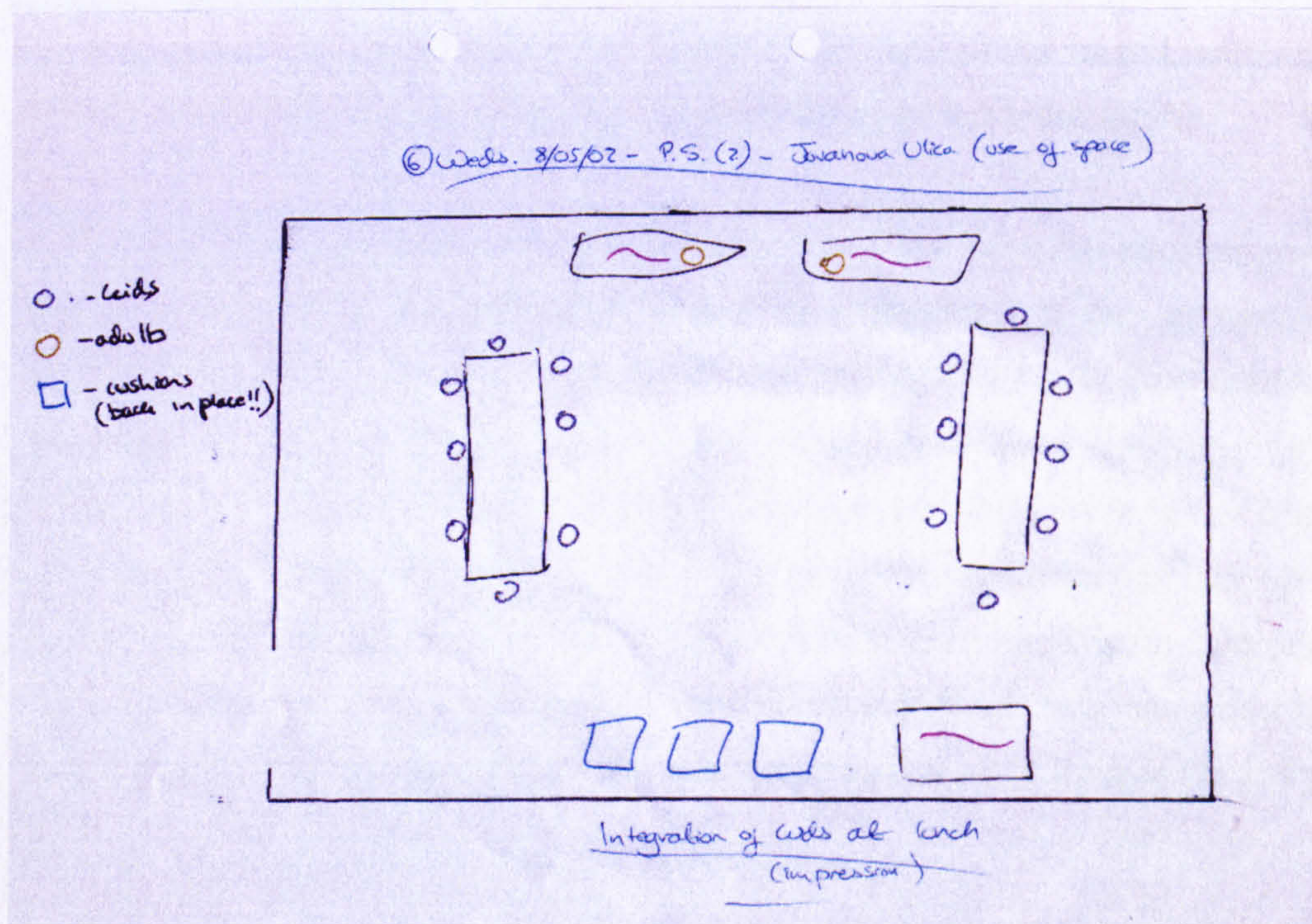


Figure 8f

Drawing 6 – Looking at the use of space - Integration of children at lunch



This workshop was the second of four that brought together two groups of pre-school aged children from two different collective centres outside the Belgrade area. Some of the children had travelled over an hour to attend the workshop. This was a different group of children from the weekly pre-school group who met on a Tuesday morning at Jovanova Street Office. The children had worked with members of the Belgrade children's team as part of children's workshops held at the collective centres, but the two groups had not met each other before. The aim of this workshop was to work with words in order to create a story; and to complete butterfly drawings they had begun in the previous workshop. The second group were very late in arriving and had also been late for the previous workshop. While they waited, the first group sat around a table, looked at books and drew pictures. When the second group arrived they made their own semi-circle using chairs, facing away from the other group, creating what appeared to be a separation between the two groups. When everyone had arrived the first thing the workshop facilitators did was to offer the children some fruit; the paper and books were put away, the group was asked to form a circle and the children began to mix, as they had begun to do in the previous workshop. The main activities of the workshop then commenced. At different points during the workshop different children tried to place themselves in the centre of the circle, each one was asked to re-join the circle. Later in the workshop when a circle was formed one by one all the children except one followed each other to another room in the office. Some of the adults and the one child just waited and one by one the other children came back again and rejoined the circle. At lunch the two groups were much more mixed, with children from both groups sitting at each table and siblings sitting at separate tables.

The above drawings show how the activities and the physical shapes the workshop leaders used within the workshop helped to integrate the two groups and create opportunities for the children to develop new relationships with one another. Most of the activities in this workshop occurred within a circle form with the workshop facilitators scattered among the children. This form was held even when challenged by individuals or groups of children, creating a physical container for the workshop and promoting a sense of equality within the workshop context. These different aspects - the workshops being a safe space in which each individual had value and the building of social and cultural relationship - were key features of all of Zdravo Da Ste's work.

The drawings allowed me to document how the children used the space, how this changed over the period of time of the workshop, and how the relationships between the two groups, referenced from a spatial perspective, altered over time. I also documented the first workshop and was thus able to compare the two workshops and to use this as a basis from which to consider why any changes I observed may have occurred.

In retrospect I discovered that the approach I had begun to adopt with the drawings mirrored one of the approaches used by Zdravo Da Ste's to evaluate workshops (Ognjenovic and Skorc, 2003), as discussed in chapter two, page 43. Both approaches used drawings to consider social processes. These drawings were taken from either different points within one workshop, as in my case, or over a number of workshops. Both Zdravo Da Ste and I were concerned with process and the integration of evaluation within the processes occurring within the workshop, or in my case, within the research and my developing relationships and understanding in the field. I used the drawings alongside my fieldnotes in order to remember individual workshops. They were also a means to consider the use of space by members of Zdravo Da Ste and the children within the workshops and its significance within Zdravo Da Ste's overall approach and in terms of developing relationships within the workshops.

When I used video or photography, my role in the field changed: I became an observer and in some situations was also considered a judge of the event. Behaviour often changed in response to the presence of the camera, particularly when I first introduced it into a situation. Participants in the workshops were used to seeing me in the role of fellow participant or co-facilitator in the workshops. When using a camera I could not actively engage in the activities of the workshop. Instead I had to observe and therefore the relationships I had carefully established, based on shared interaction, changed. I tried to use the cameras, however, in such a way that they became active participants in the workshops. I always encouraged the children, for example, to look through the lens and showed them what I was looking at so that the camera would not be mysterious and they could see what I was seeing. I also gave copies of photographs or videos I made to Zdravo Da Ste.

Anthropologist Marcus Banks (1998) suggests that the camera itself is a "social actor ... Its very presence confers importance and significance on the scene it reveals"

(p.18). I found the still camera to be more obtrusive than the video camera because it did not have the same quality of continuity of action that the video camera enabled. Sometimes the children performed in front of the video camera, dancing, making faces or showing me or leading me to things they found interesting or important. At one integrated workshop a mother and her child asked me to take a portrait photograph of them. I experimented with how to approach these moments with the cameras, particularly the video camera. I recorded some of this material or left the camera on pause, so that the children could still see their own images and activities through the viewfinder. In retrospect, it would have been better to record everything because the children were presenting their perspective to me in the context of the video documentation and its relationship to the event in which they were involved; whereas I felt the need to guide the video footage towards the specific research questions I had in mind. In this way, my approach towards visual documentation was restricted by my own perspective of what was important rather than being negotiated with members of the field, which included the children. When I documented the large public events, I found it easier to use the cameras because the events were also being photographed and videoed by members of Zdravo Da Ste for their own documentation. In these contexts, I became one of several documenters, one of a number of eyes on the event. This suited my aims better in that participants in the workshops did not interact with the video to the same extent as when I documented on my own. This distance was limiting in terms of ethnographic research. It was because participants had experienced me as a fellow participant as well as a documenter that they interacted with me. I had developed an interactive methodology that I shied away from when I used the camera and thus missed data that may have led me in new directions. I persisted with my use of video and photography within the field because I thought it would be a valuable form of documentation to support my fieldnotes when I returned from the field and began the process of analysis, which it proved to be.

Zdravo Da Ste also used my visual documentation. Towards the end of a pre-school workshop at Kalamegdan, for example, a television camera crew happened to see the Zdravo Da Ste group and asked to film the children. They arranged the children in a particular way, setting up a particular perspective and relationship between the children and the park. I had been videoing the whole workshop and decided to video this activity. Some of the children chose to stand with me in order to look through my camera at the camera crew filming their friends. In the workshop the following week I

was asked to play back parts of my video footage from the workshop in the park to each child and they were asked to comment and tell the other children what they saw as they viewed it. In this way, video documentation became part of the process of the development of the children in the context of this workshop. Zdravo Da Ste considered everything that occurred within a workshop to be of potential significance and were open to try differing approaches.

As the year progressed and members of Zdravo Da Ste saw the results of my video and photography, they occasionally asked me to video or photograph an event for them in which I was already participating, such as the ten-day summer camp in Montenegro. Often the reasons for this were because their professional visual documenters were unavailable. At the summer camp, for example, I was asked to document particular events and images and directed to participate in the camp in specific ways; I was also asked to share myself with several groups rather than following one, as had been my initial intention. Within these parameters Zdravo Da Ste gave me freedom to choose what and whom to document. In this way, both my participation in the summer camp and my visual documentation became a collaboration between Zdravo Da Ste and myself.

Zdravo Da Ste's response to the nine cassettes of video I recorded during the summer camp was that it was the best video recording to date that they had seen of the summer camp. They said it captured important moments that encapsulated the work and they used extracts from the video in an upcoming public presentation of their work. I sensed this was the result of my being both an insider and outsider in the summer camp in my roles as participant and video person. This response made me very happy and I felt it confirmed that I finally understood their work. Other ethnographers have adopted a collaborative approach to filming and handed over some of the responsibility for the films, in terms of content and form, to the informants, with the result that the film or video has become an ethnographic text in its own right.⁶

Anthropologist Michael Ball (1998, pp.141-2) suggests that sharing visual images taken by the researcher while in the field is analogous to sharing raw fieldnotes with them. In the field, my raw visual representations were more readily accepted than my raw written representations. On the only occasion I showed an extract of my fieldnotes to Vesna I was criticised for the therapeutic way in which I had evaluated the work.

Vesna's response put into question my further participation with Zdravo Da Ste. The response by members of Zdravo Da Ste suggested to me that my visual representations reflected more accurately their perceptions of the field than my written representation. This raises questions concerning representation and its relation to authenticity within the context of ethnographic research (Crawford 1992, p.67), particularly in terms of whose truth is being represented and to what extent this is the truth within the shifting realities noted earlier; it also shows how different media offer different potential. Authenticity was an important aspect of Zdravo Da Ste's work as is discussed further in chapter four page 121 with regards to their use of etno

In retrospect, I used visual media in the field in order to create both a "visual diary" and a "visual record" (Prosser and Schwartz 1998, p.122), where the visual record attempts to document a specific event and the visual diary attempts to reflect the developing and changing relationships and interactions between the researcher and the field. Educationalist Jon Prosser and photojournalist Dona Schwartz (Prosser and Schwartz 1998, p.125), suggest that the process of analysing visual data, like the process of analysis within the overall research project, occurs throughout the research informing choices of what, whom and where to record; which media to use; and the reading and analysis of the visual data. Inherent within the use of visual data are questions of representation. It appeared that my visual representation reflected the representation that Zdravo Da Ste created through the structures and content of the workshops and through the access they gave me to the workshops and workshop participants. My representation was a representation of their representation influenced by my research questions and theoretical, methodological and practical approaches; and limited by my experience with the visual media namely video, photography, and drawing and my experience of ethnographic work.

Visual documentation, like ethnographic research itself, creates the possibility to re-frame the ordinary in order to illuminate new understanding. It is collaborative and contains both "internal and external narratives" (Banks 2005 [2001], p.12). In this way the aim of visual documentation can be perceived as a strategy to embody the situation (MacDougall 1994:35) rather than an attempt to simply report a situation. Hastrup (1994, p.128) suggests that ethnography is a "metaphor for a world-out-of-time." The selection and recording of visual data requires the same reflexivity and engagement as all other aspects of the research process. When I returned from the field, I used my

visual documentation as a reminder and a supplement to my fieldnotes, journals and memory. In September 2006, four years after my return from the field, Zdravo Da Ste gave me permission to incorporate my visual documentation into my written thesis.

3.4 Interrelationships between Dance Ethnography and Dance Movement Therapy

The dance ethnographer, like the DMT clinician, tries to organise and shape multiple levels of communication in order to understand their significance; they are not trying to effect change. In this way the ethnographer and therapist appear similar, except the therapist uses this information in order to facilitate change in the client, whereas the dance ethnographer uses this information to document and explain the field and danced movement action within the context of the field. These two different intentions identify a potential conflict when one researcher adopts both methodologies within a research project. In order to complete my fieldwork, I realised that I had to choose one or other of these two varying intentions. As my ultimate aim was to undertake ethnographic research, I chose to focus on this rather than on my interventions as a DMT clinician in the field. This was not a very satisfactory solution however, as Zdravo Da Ste and other organisations continually asked me to contribute my skills and knowledge as a DMT practitioner. As I have already noted, in a country of limited resources, I was a potential resource and yet the boundaries of my research restricted what I felt able to give. I also questioned the importance of my research work when I appeared to have so much to contribute, in an immediate sense, as a clinician. One solution, suggested to me by a Serbian psychiatrist who had been involved in a similar situation, was to have two people undertaking the research, one as a clinical practitioner and one as a researcher (informal conversation Belgrade September 2002). In this way each could maintain the integrity of their role.

By making the decision to focus on my ethnographic research, I was placing boundaries around the field and in this way re-defining and re-constructing the field within both my research parameters and Zdravo Da Ste's approach. Gore (1999) identifies the field as "a conceptual and not an empirical space" (p.210), which the ethnographer defines and creates. She suggests that the definition and representation of the field determines how the dance culture is perceived because notions of the field and culture become contained within the same social and geographical frames. This

representation, however, may not necessarily represent the "shifting realities of those who supposedly belong" (ibid). The ethnographic process, therefore, becomes an ongoing process of negotiation, representation and interpretation (Geertz 1973; 1983; 2000). These ideas are parallel to underlying concepts contained within DMT, such as the way in which a client perceives and uses the therapeutic relationship, the space and time in which the therapy occurs, and how the use of these by the client contributes to the therapeutic process. Considering the field from this perspective, the field becomes a space that contains multiple truths and the researcher one of numerous "storytellers ... [and] truth keepers" (Buckland 1999c, p.205) whose authority is derived from their academic status. This also reflects the role of the therapist and relationships between therapist and client, in which the former becomes a receptacle for the meaning discovered by the client within the therapeutic encounter. The responsibility of the researcher is not stable because the field is in a process of continual change and the researcher's interpretation is open to challenge from both members of the field and other academics. As Gore (1999) points out, the completed ethnography is not the end of the ethnographic process, but "one privileged moment in the ethnographic enterprise" (p.208). The ethnography is thus a negotiated construction created and situated in a specific time and place with a particular group of people. Its truth lies within this negotiation.

Although the field constructed for this research centred around Zdravo Da Ste and their work with refugee children and their families and IDPs, it also extended to the family with whom I lived, post-war Belgrade and Serbia, and the other two organisations with whom I occasionally participated, Susret and CEDEUM, and members of these organisations. In terms of understanding and considering Zdravo Da Ste's approach to work with war-affected refugee children and their families and IDPs, meanings were negotiated between members of Zdravo Da Ste and myself. The negotiations extended to the planning and evaluation of the workshops; the use of fieldnotes, video and photographic documentation; and access to the field. Meaning was also negotiated between my methodological perspective as a dance ethnographer and DMT clinician and Zdravo Da Ste's approach; and through the differing experiences of the war, particularly that of Zdravo Da Ste and the participants in their workshops as Serbians and people from former Yugoslavia, and myself as a British citizen.

This chapter has discussed the methodology adopted for this research including the integration of methodology drawn from dance ethnography and DMT and problems and solutions found as a result of this integration. The following chapters in Part Two, examine the application of etno, symbols, environments, ritual, story and movement and dance within Zdravo Da Ste's workshops and considers them as frames of meaning that facilitated the development of individual and collective identity and the "narrativization of the self" (Hall 2003 [1996], p.4).

¹ Organisations examined included the United Nations Children's Fund; the United Nations High Commission for Refugees; War Child; Save the Children; Projects organised by the University of Manitoba, Canada; and Medecins Sans Frontieres.

² Etno is examined in more depth in chapter four page 113.

³ Authentic movement is an approach to DMT developed in the U.S.A. and based on Jung's notion of active imagination and a concept of authentic expression.

⁴ Personal communications with Helen Payne 2001-2005, and Dance Movement Therapist Jill Bunce Derby 2005.

⁵ Vojvodina was also a contested region during the war. Like Kosovo, Vojvodina wanted to be granted autonomy from Serbia and former Yugoslavia.

⁶ Examples include work by Timothy Asch, Linda Connor and Patsy Asch (1980) in their study of a Balinese shaman; Sarah Elder and Leonard Kamerling's use of film with the Yup'ik Eskimo communities in Alaska (Elder 1995); and Terence Turner's (1990) discussion on the use of film and video by the indigenous Kayapo people of Brazil.

PART TWO

THE WORKSHOPS

Chapter Four

Etno, Identity and the Use of Symbols within Zdravo Da Ste's Workshops

This chapter considers the use of symbols within Zdravo Da Ste's workshops. This is looked at from the perspective of the symbols contained within etno, ritual and environments and their interrelationships and application within Zdravo Da Ste's work. Furthermore, the chapter discusses conceptions of etno in the context of its application within the work of Zdravo Da Ste, its use as a nationalist tool in former Yugoslavia and its place within post-war Serbia. Etno was used within Zdravo Da Ste workshops alongside movement and dance, play, visual images, objects, story, personal narrative and song; these elements are further discussed in chapter five. The examples presented in this and the following chapter illustrate and consider these interactions.

4.1 Etno and Ethnic Identity

Etno is Serbian for the word Ethno- a prefix derived from the Greek language that means people. Members of Zdravo Da Ste used the term etno to describe regional dance, music, and craft forms, including embroidery and carpentry, considered as arts of the people of former Yugoslavia, or Yugoslav folk arts.¹ The term was also used to designate folk arts from other countries and regions. Etno represents specific regions of former Yugoslavia, recognised through particular visual motifs, rhythms, costumes or dance forms. Members of Zdravo Da Ste explained, for example, how the complex rhythms in Macedonian music gave it its beauty, and praised the dancing skills of the Roma women, purportedly the best dancers in former Yugoslavia.

Informants and scholars have differing notions of etno or folk arts and their relationship to the community and individuals from which they are derived. Ethnochoreologist Anca Giurchescu stresses for example, that many scholars perceive folklore as "an

ideological concept that was created simultaneously with the rise of national consciousness" (2001, p.115) towards the end of the nineteenth century. Its role is to demonstrate the homogeneity of individual nations, represented through language, history, world-view and ways of living. She argues that folklore was used as a political tool in Central and South-Eastern Europe in order to "symbolise the nation-state and to strengthen national awareness" (ibid pp.115-116). Vesna identified etno as "a tradition, a history, as cultural heritage ... these are ancient rituals." Bojana suggested:

Etno is a dimension, like any other we have in our life it is an active incorporation of traditional into modern ... sometimes our existence has been based on tradition, the message we got from our grand, grand, grand mothers and fathers this is etno. Etno is history, but history is nothing if you don't live it and etno is life, but life is nothing if you don't live it. (Extract from interview Belgrade December 2001)

Olja felt that etno was important in terms of the war in former Yugoslavia because it allowed the refugee people "not to forget their roots, not to forget their former life." Dara said that etno implied something superficial "like an ornament" (extract from interview Belgrade December 2001). She preferred the word 'culture' which she considered to be "inevitable; it is an inherent part of life. It is the way I live, it is my tools for living, it is my context for living." Branislava pointed out that the younger generations were not necessarily interested in etno, because they "do not like to be connected with traditional things;" yet "these traditional things jump out." Peter understood etno to be a means by which people from different countries and regions could be identified, in this way etno represented peoples' "different cultural backgrounds." Peter suggested that working with etno with children was inappropriate because etno divided people into "them and us" (extract from interview Kraljevo July 2002), although etno dance and song could be useful in work with elderly people, because of the memories it provoked. Milica (pronounced Mee-lit-sa) a Serbian child psychiatrist based in Belgrade and a colleague of members of Susret found that many of the children and mothers with whom she worked did not know very much about the traditions of their country (from interview Belgrade June 2002). She said they celebrated Slava but did not necessarily know who was the saint for whom the Slava was celebrated. She identified etno with culture and suggested there was a relationship between culture and mental health. This link, however, was based on how a particular group of people responded to experiences in life such as grief or happiness.

The relationship between these different views of etno forms the cornerstone of this chapter and revolves around the use and transformative power of symbols. It is contextualised through the consideration of the application of etno within Zdravo Da Ste's workshops.

4.1.1 Kovin

Members of Zdravo Da Ste realised that the life in the collective centres made people become passive. It was not enough to work only with psychological workshops because "people also need to do something" (extract from interview with Branka Belgrade March 2002). Informants felt that etno was a tool that could be used in this context as Branka explains:

I think that those [etno] products protect people's lives ... It was very good, because it was a possibility to do something and at the same time to speak their stories but in another social frame, not how it was, but how it is now. (Extract from interview Belgrade March 2002)

By studying what was happening within the social groups at the collective centres, members of Zdravo Da Ste began to recognise how they could create new activities for the workshops. They noticed that many people told stories about their customs and lives before the war and that working with etno was a way in which these stories could be brought to life in the present through tangible objects and processes.² This is illustrated in the following example, which describes the opening of an etno exhibition in Kovin, a small town approximately an hour's drive from Belgrade.

It was a cold dark night when the car set off from Belgrade to Kovin. The team consisted of the driver, one of two cameramen who worked with Zdravo Da Ste and two women from the programme for elderly people. When the team arrived at the cultural centre, they were warmly met by local Zdravo Da Ste staff and led into the exhibition space which was a large rectangular room divided into two halves by a microphone and its leads. In one half of the room the etno objects were carefully presented on tables and hung decoratively from the walls, prepared in this way earlier in the day by two members of the Belgrade team. On a table to one side was placed a large piece of paper on which participants could make responses to the exhibition. The exhibition was composed of work created by all generations.

Examples of this work can be seen in the photographs below. Branka told me that the images represented in the etno embroidery were drawn from the Orthodox Church, the imagination of the women making the embroidery and children's drawings (informal conversation Sremska Mitrovica March 2002). The first example shows embroidered tablecloths, wedding cloths, bags, herb-filled cushions and an embroidered shirt. The designs on the cushions are copied from children's drawings. The second example shows the embroidery applied on greetings cards and the use of story and song-text combined within the images.

Figure 9a Example of Etno Work (Example 1)



Figure 9b Example of Etno Work (Example 2)



In the other half of the room, tables heavy with handmade breads, cakes and soft drinks were set up alongside a windowed wall. The makers of the etno work began to arrive. Elderly couples and groups of older women wearing black scarves over their heads and long dark skirts, adults with and without young children and teenagers slowly filled the empty space in front of the food. When the food room was full a member of the Zdravo Da Ste team went to the microphone to welcome everyone and gave a short introduction to the event. Then the wires and microphone were moved aside and the guests were invited to pass across the threshold into the exhibition itself.

Some of the older people walked around the exhibition in small groups looking at the different pieces and discussing styles and techniques. The young children used the exhibition space as a playground, while some of the older children wrote on the paper provided. A group of teenagers huddled together watching the other activities and taking their own time to look at the work. People stayed in clusters while eating and looking at the exhibition but also moved in and out of the different groups mixing between the generations. When they had seen enough of the exhibition, the participants slowly began to move towards the food, sampling and recommending from the many choices on offer. As they finished their food a group of adults and older people gathered in the exhibition room. Amid the conversation, one woman began to sing a song and other people joined in the singing or came to listen. A member of Zdravo Da Ste told me that the songs were etno songs from Kosovo and Croatia. The participants accompanied the songs with small side-to-side steps, echoing dance steps used within etno dance. Many of the participants recognised the songs and were familiar with the dance steps that belonged to them, regardless of whether the songs were from Kosovo or Croatia. One song followed on from another creating a warmth and commonality that held and gently rocked the people. Tears and smiles accompanied the songs. For a short while the participants shared the memory of former Yugoslavia on a winter evening, then the songs began to fade and the guests said their goodbyes and trickled into the night leaving the echo of their coming together within the fabrics, colours and air of the exhibition.

The use of etno songs and dances was not restricted to the workshops with refugee people and IDPs but also extended to the Annual General Meeting (AGM) of Zdravo Da Ste in the spa town of Arandjelovac. The AGM was one of the few times a year that members of Zdravo Da Ste gathered together. Approximately one hundred and forty

people gathered for the AGM from the seventeen Zdravo Da Ste teams in Serbia and the teams from Republika Srpska.

During the AGM Roma musicians provided after-dinner entertainment. This was later followed by etno music from different regions of former Yugoslavia played on guitar and sung by two members of the Belgrade team. The participants formed a large seated circle around the musicians and slowly individuals and small groups began to initiate and lead dances associated with the music, or request dances. As I watched, informants explained to me the differences between the regional forms, identifying songs and dances from Bosnia, Kosovo or Croatia. They encouraged me to join the dancing and took turns to show me the steps.

In the etno exhibitions and other meetings where people from the collective centres gathered, dance and song sometimes emerged out of the activities and developed through the processes of interaction. The meetings were social happenings, social events within which dance, movement and song were a part but not the central focus. The songs and dances were a common repertoire that many participants knew and could join.

When you have such meetings people have their own memories. It's not always emotionally easy, and you can't say now we will dance. It's not only dancing, it's everything, it's a social happening, and you can never plan it. I remember in Cacak we organised the very first exhibition in a cultural institution and we involved the people in the collective centres in organising the activity. We talked with them a lot about what they wanted to happen in the exhibition and in which way and they said to us that they wanted to sing their songs, and to make some steps [dance steps]. They said to us that it would be good to start with something, singing, and we left it open. When we plan we always leave open what will really happen. It was one possibility to sing some songs, but [at the exhibition] it was so full of emotion and the feelings were so strong and deep that it was not possible to sing. The social happening was going on and some steps were opening and opening, and people went around. When we thought that it was finished, people from some groups started to sing and then some other people came to join. It was not only people from collective centres; it was people from Cacak also. It was a very big group of people who were singing and making some steps, I can't say that it was real dancing but it was dancing, or following what's happening. So it's always open, if it's happening it's happening, we don't push people, we can't push them, because it's hard and they, in the moment, they knew that that they couldn't do (Extract from interview Branka Belgrade March 2002)

Etno dances from former Yugoslavia have specific structures. The open or closed circle, for example, is a popular form within Serbian dances. Examples of these dance forms include Cacak or Cacak Kolo (Oakes 2003a), named after a type of dancing

shoe and associated with the region of Cacak; Dorcolka Kolo named after the Dorcol region of central Belgrade (Oakes 2003b) and Malo Kolo from the Vojvodina region of Serbia (Oakes 2003c); Kolo means circle. In etno dance performances, costumes are also used to represent the region from where the dance originates, as shown in the photograph below which shows children from Abrasevic Children's Company performing as part of a festival of dance outside the Economics Building of the University of Belgrade in 2002. They performed a number of dances, each of which had its own specific costume representative of the region from which the dance originated.

Figure 10 Abrasevic Children's Company



The etno dance that was used or appeared in the workshops, however, was described by Branka as not "real dancing but following what's happening." Branka made a distinction between what she regarded as etno dance and the movements she observed in the etno meetings. Within the etno exhibition, participants responded to the songs and music through rhythm, clapping and small steps; they did not undertake the choreographies associated with the music and performed by the amateur and professional etno dance groups. At the AGM, simple variations on choreographies such as the Kolo were used, led by members of Zdravo Da Ste, many of whom had been members of amateur or professional etno dancing groups in their youth.

Branka suggested that dance could not be separated from other aspects of etno because it was part of the "whole social frame," part of the way in which people organised and responded to their lives. During the etno exhibition in Kovin members of Zdravo Da Ste explained to me that the participants were singing songs from the regions that had been their homes before the war. The songs and dances were a way to acknowledge and share a common past and through this process create the possibility for social and cultural interactions, which in turn could facilitate new possibilities for the future.

Dance anthropologist Anthony Shay considers etno to symbolically represent ethnic identity and ethnicity. Etno identifies a nation "in its essentialist entirety, in this 'nonpolitical,' 'innocent,' and 'naturalized' cultural fashion" (Shay 2002, p.7). This is because local people consider etno to have emerged "from some primordial source of the nation's purest and most authentic values" (ibid p.6). This conception is also the reason etno has the potential to represent a dominant ideology and perpetuate social tensions "expressing a reality often avoided in the verbal discourse of strident nationalism" (ibid p.7). Shay (2002 pp.5-6) proposes that ethnicity and nationalism are interlinked through symbols of ethnicity including folk dance and music, which are used by people to identify and separate themselves from the Other. Etno dance and music can thus be seen as symbols of ethnicity both in their recognizable forms and through the accompaniments including costume and narrative. "The music, dance, and costumes represent each ethnic group's common and authentic origins" (ibid pp.6-7). The costumes presented in Figure 11 on page 121 from the Ethnographic Museum's Permanent Exhibition, show examples of costumes worn during the nineteenth century in different regions of Serbia.

Figure 11

Woman's costume from Resava, Serbia; Woman's costume from Nis area Serbia; Man's Costume Pomoravljić region, Southern Morava, Serbia; Woman's Costume Pomoravljić Region, Southern Morava, Serbia



Buckland (2002, pp.73-7) reminds us that the identification of authenticity has social, political, cultural and economic implications. She further suggests that searching through the past for authenticity is a product of modernity, the function of this searching being to create an alternative to the present.

One of the aspects of etno important to Zdravo Da Ste is authenticity. They consider etno to contain an authentic relation to history, culture and tradition, which they and the participants can use to create new social and cultural relations. In Zdravo Da Ste's work, etno was used in order to activate individual and collective resources for the present and future life. In the context of their work this had a function, in that identifying alternatives to the present through a reconsideration of the past, created possibilities of hope and choice for the future, a different future in which new communities and individual and collective identities could be created. By using etno for this aim, Zdravo Da Ste's work in some ways mirrored the historical use of etno by nationalist movements in former Yugoslavia, although Zdravo Da Ste's aims were very different.

Cultural anthropologist Lynn Maners suggests that one of the functions of folklore in former Yugoslavia was to "[meet] the need to create a single national identity out of counterposing ethnic ones" (2002, p.81). Maners observed that organised folklore performance in former Yugoslavia ranged from village folklore ensembles who did not receive state funding, to professional folklore ensembles, funded by the state. The village folklore ensembles performed the dances they had learnt as part of their life experience. *Etno* was therefore drawn from their "quotidian experience" (Maners 2002, p.81); these performances were not usually witnessed by people from outside former Yugoslavia. Until the outbreak of the war, the professional ensembles, including Lado in Croatia and Kolo in Serbia, usually performed a programme of dances, songs and folklore from all the republics that comprised former Yugoslavia. These programmes were performed both within former Yugoslavia and toured internationally. Maners describes the dances within the professional dance programmes as "decontextualised folk dances from all regions of the country" (ibis p.82). They were decontextualised in the sense that they had been taken from the village context and adapted for the aesthetic, political and economic demands of state-funded performances on the international concert stage. The aim of these dances was to represent the ideology of former Yugoslavia. In addition to these groups, there also existed *Kulturno Umjetnicko Drustvo* (KUD) or "Cultural Art Society" (ibid p.83), originally formed within workers' organisations. These were funded by the Yugoslav State. The aim of the KUDs was to unite the different regions and ethnic groups of former Yugoslavia within the concept of a united Yugoslavia. Specific dances carried particular political and ideological associations:

Dancing the so-called "Partizansko Kolo" or Partizan's circle dance became symbolic of participation in the struggle itself, with the kolo's central theme of equality within the circle. (Maners 2002, p.83)

Maners argues that he foresaw the break-up of former Yugoslavia through the responses of audiences to KUD performances in the late 1980s. During one performance in Zagreb, for example, a number of members of the audience walked out in protest at the Serbian treatment of Albanians in Kosovo when the ensemble performed a suite of dances from Kosovo; in another performance audience members only applauded for dances representing their own nationality (Maners 2002, pp.87-88). In response to these observations, Maners proposes the performance of folklore or "cultural performances" can be understood as "types of commodities, both symbolic

and actual, circulating within and affected by particular forms of political economy" (2002, p.88). They are forms that are continually reinterpreted by the dancers in the villages, the choreographers, the dancers in the KUDs and professional ensembles, and by the audience. The repertoires of the amateur and professional folk dance groups thus reflected the changing faces of former Yugoslavia, represented as one country and then different nations. From this perspective Zdravo Da Ste's use of etno within their workshops could be seen as symbolic of the striving for the creation of a new society following the break-up of former Yugoslavia.

Etno is both the dance and music of the villages and the representations of these by professional and amateur etno dancers and musicians. The staged dance of the professional and amateur groups was a synthesis of dances learnt and collected by choreographers from villages in former Yugoslavia, the vision and artistry of the choreographers, and the political ideology of the dominant power group. Shay (2002) points out that this process was taken a stage further in Croatia, where dancers from LADO were invited to teach dances from their repertoire to local people, because the style in which LADO danced them was considered by the local people to represent the older and by implication more authentic style of the dances. The professional dancers were considered "the keeper of the flame" (p.17), the bearers of the authentic culture.

Members of different amateur folk dance groups in Serbia told me that among these groups there was an ongoing debate concerning what constituted authentic etno dance. For some groups it was to reproduce the dances as given in the villages, for others it was to create something new from the bare bones of these steps and movement sequences; each group considered their approach to enable the creation of authentic dance. When I asked adult and child members of Abrasevic what they understood etno to be, they described it in the following way, "national," "tradition," "what is mine" "culture" "nationality" "something old" (extract from interviews June 2002). One young adult explained that for his Serbian relatives living outside former Yugoslavia, Serbian etno dance and music was a way to:

... see Serbia, for them the national dance is Serbia, and when they listen to national dance they think that they are in Serbia that they are with their families. (Extract from interview Belgrade June 2002)

Similarly, Branka explained that for the children living in the collective centres, etno was part of their life:

... the children are living with their parents, with their grandparents, and the other people, in their lives etno is living in a way ... So I can't say that we want especially etno in our children's workshops, but if we are following what's happening in the whole group of people - not only in the children's group, but in the whole group of the people - you can recognise that you can involve children in some kind of activities ... etno can be a way to connect different things. We use etno, we don't use it to teach children this and this but in some activities it is possible for children and adults to exchange some things. It's also possible to make some steps in which it is possible for both children and adults to grow, to protect what we are trying to do, to protect development for the whole group, not only for one group of people ... every collective centre is quite different. (Extract from interview Belgrade March 2002)

Giurchescu proposes that tradition and traditional symbols serve to create stability, a sense of belonging and differentiation (2001, p.115). Drawing on her experience of fieldwork in Romania she identifies traditional symbols as a means to "bring the past into the present" which supports a "concept of permanence" (ibid p.116). This understanding of tradition and traditional symbols would seem to echo that put forward and facilitated by Zdravo Da Ste within their definition and application of etno. It implies that tradition, of which etno was a part, can be seen as a tool to facilitate continuity of social values and beliefs for a specific group of people:

... when they [the refugee people] came and met with local people here they were not only the people who were expecting to get something they also had a treasure to give in return, but this was not visible in the beginning. Then when we started with these activities we discovered many new things about old history and old tradition and that was very important, it revitalised all of us. (Extract from interview with Vesna Belgrade November 2001)

Etno, as part of tradition, can be considered as a set of categorisations that "designate aspects of culture which may suit the group's aims and principles" (Giurchescu 2001, p.116). In this context tradition is selected by a decision-making group in order to represent identified values, ethics and codes of practice of a particular group of people. I think Zdravo Da Ste would consider the participants in the workshops to be the decision-making group and I believe that this is their aim. I would suggest however that it is Zdravo Da Ste itself that is the decision-making group since they ultimately decide the content of the workshops. Zdravo Da Ste can be considered therefore to have picked up the historical mantle of folk arts used by the nationalist movements of Eastern Europe in order to promote or develop an ideology based on their notion of authenticity (Herzfeld 1982; Abrahams 1993; Bendix 1997). This can be seen as a socialist, humanist, post-modern approach that challenged that adopted by the nationalist groups who had initiated the war. This suggests Zdravo Da Ste's work is

inadvertently political, although they never expressed this to me during my time in the field. This also illustrates the polysemic nature of dance (and by association etno) highlighted by dance scholars (Royce 2002 [1977]; Shay 2002; Giurchescu 2001).

Dance contains multiple meanings and is therefore open to different levels of interpretation. Giurchescu (2001) suggests that the polysemic nature of dance facilitates its potential as a medium for symbolic transformation. The inherent polysemy and potential for symbolic transformation within dance creates the possibility for both manipulations of the symbols contained within the dance, and for these symbols to become resources. I suggest Zdravo Da Ste's approach attempted the latter.

Folk culture was thus used in Zdravo Da Ste's workshops as a potentially positive, living resource and a stimulus for change. This perspective was highlighted at a conference I attended in Montreal, Canada – the first international conference on Dance and Human Rights (Singer 2005). In my presentation, I discussed how Zdravo Da Ste used etno within their work. In the audience was a professional dancer and dance scholar from Serbia who applauded my comments and stated that many international scholars criticise etno, perceiving it as a tool for political manipulation. She felt it was something that belonged to the people, a resource and a medium of resistance during the war (personal communication November 2005). These comments highlight the conflicting perceptions and applications of etno. The following section further examines the use of symbols within Zdravo Da Ste's work by considering a workshop to acknowledge Vrbica Dan, also known as Saint Lazarus Day, a national holiday for children.

4.2 Symbols

4.2.1 Vrbica Dan

Approximately one hundred children, parents and other family members attended the Vrbica Dan workshop, held at the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade (please refer to video extract 1). Many members of Zdravo Da Ste were also at the workshop, each with distinctive roles including co-ordinating the food, videoing, facilitating or co-facilitating the workshop, greeting people and overseeing the whole event.

The atmosphere was bustling as the children arrived. A member of Zdravo Da Ste greeted each child and gave them a bell to hang around their neck and a wreath made of willow to put on their heads. The children found their friends and siblings and stood in small clusters talking excitedly. The parents gave homemade food to the Zdravo Da Ste team who greeted the parents and organised the food and drink. Other members of Zdravo Da Ste guided small groups around the downstairs exhibition at the Ethnographic Museum. When most of the groups had arrived, everyone squeezed together in the first room to listen to Jasmina's introduction. The participants were then divided into five groups. Each group, led by two facilitators, chose their space within the three downstairs exhibition rooms of the Museum and came into a standing circle to begin the main activities. The same basic workshop structure was used in all five groups but each facilitator worked in a different way with the materials. The workshop began with exercises using movement and voice. When this work was completed, each group created large collages using materials introduced by the Zdravo Da Ste team.

Jasmina's group began by creating sounds with the voice. Jasmina and another facilitator used gestures to conduct the volume of the sound, raising their arms for loud sounds and lowering their arms and crouching down on the floor for quieter sounds. Coming back to a standing circle, the group formed pairs, turning towards the person behind or in front. Each member of the pair lifted their hands so that their palms and their partner's palms were opposite each other in front of their chests, close but not touching. Keeping this contact, each pair moved from standing to crouching and back to standing. When everybody had repeated this twice they were asked to turn around to face the person behind them and to repeat the movements and contact with their new partner.

When the introductory sound and movement work was completed, a big piece of folded white cloth was put onto the floor in the centre of each group and pieces of willow and plants were laid on top, as well as glue, tape and string. In Jasmina's group, everybody opened the white cloth together, laid it on the ground, and then stood back and clapped before the willows, plants and materials were placed on top of the cloth and the participants began to create the collage. As the groups created their collages, the room became animated with sound and activity. Participants made more willow wreaths and bouquets, which they attached to the collages. Some people moved between different groups to look at the developing collages and gather more materials.

Eventually the collages were completed and a few members from each group carried their collage to the gallery that overlooked the first exhibition room. They tied the collages to a rail so that they could be unrolled to the exhibition room below, while everyone else gathered in this room to listen to Jasmina. The collages were approximately twenty foot long and reached from the gallery to the floor of the room. When all the collages were lowered, they became the walls of the space that contained all the participants in a newly created environment for the closing of the workshop and the sharing of the food. As the workshop was coming to an end, a new group of children arrived as they had experienced problems on their journey. They were immediately included in the activities, invited to add willow branches to the collages and shown the Ethnographic Museum's downstairs exhibition.

Informants told me that Vrbica Dan was derived from a pre-Christian festival. The symbols represented by the willows, bells and etno products used to decorate the workshop space were part of a shared history and heritage of the participants as Serbs and former Yugoslavs. In this way they may have represented 'fundamental culture' as discussed in chapter two page 63, but rather than representing modes of being, as in the example of Hamlet, they represented commonality and community. In formal and informal interviews, and in published work members of Zdravo Da Ste (Ognjenovic 2000, p.212) used Hamlet as a metaphor, particularly the notion of "to be or not to be" to consider how an individual could approach life:

Forced to live under "to be or not to be" pressure, our response is spelled out through the discovery of the ways how to be. Life is not somewhere else; life is where we are. There is no end. (Ognjenovic 2000, p.212, emphasis given by the author)

The symbols used by Zdravo Da Ste can be considered as part of a collective culture from a perceived shared history. This notion of symbols is close to Jung's concept of archetypes. Jung further suggests that symbols can be considered in two ways semiotically, "as signs or symptoms of a fixed character" or as "true symbols ... expression of a content not yet consciously recognised or conceptually formulated" (Jung 1953a, p.294). Jung (1995 [1961]) uses the metaphor of "the 'tessera hospitalitas' between host and guest, the broken coin which is shared between two parting friends" (p.367, fn.7) in order to describe the notion of symbol. The coin represents and is a reminder of the friendship between two people. This idea of 'not yet consciously recognised or conceptually formed' and yet to be revealed is similar to

Vygotsky's notion of the 'zone of proximal development'.³ Vesna identified a link between the work of Jung and Vygotsky although she said very few professionals she had met agreed with this relationship. Both Jung and Vygotsky believed in an inherent potential within human beings that could be activated, though Jung's ideas arose from his belief in the unconscious.

Jung identified two levels of the unconscious, the personal and the collective. The personal unconscious lies beneath consciousness, its contents not far from consciousness, but for individual reasons unable to surface to consciousness because of being repressed or unripe (Jung 1953b, p.65). Jung defined the collective unconscious as:

a deeper layer of the unconscious where the primordial images common to humanity lie sleeping. I have called these images or motifs, 'archetypes' ... We have to distinguish between a personal unconscious and an impersonal or transpersonal unconscious. We speak of the latter also as the collective unconscious, because it is detached from anything personal and is entirely universal, and because its contents can be found everywhere, which is naturally not the case with the personal contents. (1953b, pp.64-5)

The unconscious interacts between the feelings, emotions, thoughts, perceptions and experience of the individual and the objects, places, time and situations in the external world. The unconscious is both an activity and a process (Jung (1995 [1961], p.235); it is also a bridge between the known, the unknown and the potential for the new. The personal unconscious, the collective unconscious and consciousness are in constant interaction. Encounters between people stimulate interactions with the personal and collective unconscious through the focus on specific activities beyond the individuals themselves. From this perspective, symbols can be considered as part of an ongoing process of bringing the unrealised into realisation, where the individual uses collective symbols or archetypes, and personal symbols in their attempt to understand their relationship to the world around them. Because a symbol is a representation of something else, it has the potential to create relationships between images or concepts that would not be in relationship in the context of the everyday.

A symbol is thus a representation of something else, and has the power to recall not only the image of the thing represented but also the emotions and experiences with which it is associated (Langer 1951 [1942], p.46). Symbols can thus also be thought of

as a form of embodied knowledge that can be activated, as dance ethnographer Deidre Sklar suggests:

As imaginative abstractions from embodied schemata, symbols are like pressure points that can be touched to evoke larger and deeper territories of knowing. It is the toucher and the touching that produce lasting affects and motivations ... Symbols reverberate back to doings, reviving somatic engagement. In the cyclical process, the connection between doings and presence, symbol and soma, is real-ised as a way of knowing (2001, p.193-4)

As a form of embodied knowledge, symbols and the meaning ascribed to them can form the basis of identification of a community where there is shared ownership of the symbols. Ways of behaviour in relation to the symbols may be common, but the meaning ascribed is not necessarily shared. Social anthropologist Anthony Cohen (1985, p.16) suggests, "People's experience and understanding of their community ... resides in their orientation to its symbolism."

In the war in former Yugoslavia, symbols were used in order to promote nationalism in Croatia and Serbia, to mobilise people in preparation for war, "... according to the principle 'Kill before you are killed,'" (Glenny 1999, p.629) and through the images portrayed on television in Serbia and Croatia, to prepare people for the atrocities of war.

Together these and other disputes suffocated rational political debate, opening the way for the propaganda of extremist organisations. They swamped the public arena with instrumentalised historical memories. In Serbia, most of these symbols, myths and martyrdoms recalled the Second World War, quite the most violent period of Yugoslav history ... in Yugoslavia in 1991 [televised propaganda] reached such a pitch that one friend from Belgrade described RTV Serbia and HTV as 'the two greatest war criminals of them all'. (Glenny 1999, pp.629-630)

Within the Vrbica Dan workshop, the materials available for the creation of the collages can be seen as symbols of this festival. The etno embroidery can be viewed as representative of etno and the symbolic associations connected to etno, including the Serbian Orthodox Church. In this way the workshop can be seen as an attempt to give participants an opportunity to find meaning and to build new relationships with other people, history and culture. In the Vrbica Dan workshop, symbols became part of a process represented by the final collages and the new environment created by the collages. The participants, in this way shared not only the symbols, but also some of

the meanings they ascribed to the symbols through the process of creating the collages. The final environment created by the collages allowed the experience of the workshop to be acknowledged. This included sharing of the symbols and the symbolic meaning ascribed to them. It was a common practice within the workshops to complete a workshop with an activity that consolidated the experience; this often took a performance form. The experience of making the collage also allowed the participants to create a new environment through the process of their activities.⁴ Zdravo Da Ste's use of symbols contrasted with their application during the war in former Yugoslavia, where they were used to serve national and political goals. These differing applications are linked to notions of individual and collective identity.

According to sociologist Avtar Brah (2003 [1996], p.123), "Questions of identity are intimately connected with those of experience, subjectivity and social relations." Zdravo Da Ste attempted to use symbols to facilitate new social and cultural relations, to create different possibilities that individuals and communities might not have conceived or experienced previously. Zdravo Da Ste's work facilitated the potential to both deconstruct and reconstruct individual and collective identities and to create new symbols with which to engage in social interaction and thus facilitate new forms of transformation. Within Zdravo Da Ste's workshops there were opportunities to create new processes of signification and generate new meanings. This reflects Brah's concept of identity as "a constantly changing relational multiplicity" (ibid), created through processes of signification drawn from shared experiences. Brah's ideas echo Vyotsky's ideas concerning the social nature of psychological development. One of the underlying premises of Zdravo Da Ste, following a Vygotskian perspective, was that human developmental processes are social, hence the emphasis on groups and group processes (Ognjenovic and Skorc 2003, p.102).

The use of symbols to incite national identity also has a direct impact on notions of individual identity. Brah stresses:

political mobilisation is centrally about attempts to re-inscribe subjectivity through appeals to collective experience. Paradoxically, the commonality that is evoked can be rendered meaningful only in articulation with a discourse of difference (2003 [1996], p.124)

A nationalist movement thrives by emphasising difference, represented by notions of the other; this idea was central to the use of symbols and the promotion of nationalist

sentiment within former Yugoslavia. The dominant political parties during the war used symbols and images from the past to identify and promote difference, to stake claims on land, and to incite war against others. Within their workshop activities Zdravo Da Ste created opportunities for participants to explore, question and interact with symbols representative of their past and former Yugoslavia; and through these processes create new relationships to these symbols and new social relationships thus creating possibilities for the future. Zdravo Da Ste's work emphasised the building of relations, finding commonalities, places where people could meet one another through common or shared experience, and participation in expression through different arts media. The activities in the workshops facilitated expression and social interaction and thus created possibilities for development. Self and group expression was a way to facilitate social interactions and therefore to stimulate developmental processes.

Political scientist Walker Connor (1994) suggests that symbols endure and have power because they "create a bridge to the side of our minds not amenable to rational explanation" (p.204). From a Jungian perspective, this may be because symbols are linked to archetypes and the collective unconscious. By adopting a Jungian frame, Zdravo Da Ste's use of symbols can be considered as allowing the participants in the workshops to engage in and explore the collective unconscious and to see it as a resource through which they could develop their individual and community lives and question their experience of war.

Hadjiyaani (2002, p.61) suggests that places and objects also take on symbolic significance for refugee people; they contribute to "another dimension of refugee consciousness – that it is grounded in the past versus the present." Places, such as home become unavailable, changing beyond recognition as a result of the conflict. The memory and longing imbues the places with symbolic significance that gives the refugee people a connection to the past and something to pass on to the younger generations. This relationship with the past can also affect the refugee person's relationship to the present, holding them in the past:

[A] mother vowed that: 'As long as I am a refugee I will only live in a refugee estate – not anywhere else. Since I cannot live in my own house, I do not want to build a house elsewhere. Instead, I prefer to live in this house, which states that I am a refugee.' (Hadjiyaani, 2002, p.194)

Zdravo Da Ste attempted to help the people with whom they worked to integrate their experiences of the past, their situations in the present and their hopes for the future through interaction with symbols and etno. This was also achieved through opportunities to interact with familiar and unfamiliar social, cultural and physical environments in a new way.

4.3 Environments

Zdravo Da Ste believed that the "internal psychological process is transformed external interaction" (Ognjenovic and Skorc, 2003, p.115). Furthermore, they described the aim of their work in the context of the CABAC programme to be "focused on developing and supporting cultural and social exchange between children and their environment" (Ognjenovic and Skorc, 2003, p.110). Zdravo Da Ste's conception of environment was thus social, cultural and physical.

Environments were a feature in many of Zdravo Da Ste's workshops. Etno was also associated with specific regional environments and contexts, suggesting links could be made between Zdravo Da Ste's work with etno and their work with environments that are concerned with meaning and identity. By working with physical environments Zdravo Da Ste were giving people back a choice of how to create and respond to an environment and how to work together to create in a new environment in order to generate a sense of belonging and ownership. These ideas are discussed further below.

In contemporary writings from archaeology and anthropology (Ucko and Layton 1999b; Cooney 1999; Darvill 1999; Mulik and Bayliss-Smith 1999; McGlade 1999) landscape refers

... both to an environment, generally shaped by human interaction and to a representation (particularly a painting) which signifies the meanings attributed to such a setting. (Ucko and Layton 1999b, p.1)

I use this definition within this thesis to consider the notion of environment. Zdravo Da Ste workshops occurred in a variety of spaces and the workshop activities themselves marked out or created environments within which the activities could occur. At collective centre (1), for example, the workshop environment was either the canteen or

outside, weather permitting. When the workshops occurred outside, the space was transformed according to the aims of the workshop. If the workshop was concerned with games then it occurred in the area designated for basketball; if the workshop was using chalk for drawing, it occurred around the other side of the canteen where there was concrete and paving stones on which chalk drawings could be made. These drawings remained after the workshop was completed. In the Oktober Salon workshops, the environment was Belgrade city centre, the major galleries in the centre hosting the exhibition and Kalamegdan, the location of the final gallery visited. In the summer camp, the children made environments in the hotel that developed day-by-day, using the objects they had made in the workshops. In addition Zdravo Da Ste facilitated eco or ecological workshops for the children in Kalamegdan and at the summer camp. An eco workshop was also held at Zjanica an island close to the point where Kotorška bay opened to the Adriatic Sea.

4.3.1 Zjanica

Zjanica is a popular beach area on the Lustica peninsula of Boka Kotorška, located where the bay opens to the sea. The workshop at Zjanica occurred four times to allow all the children at the summer camp to have an opportunity to attend (please refer to video extract 2). The workshop began and ended with a journey by boat from Bijela to Zjanica. The postcard presented on page 134 shows a view of Bijela from above; the summer camp was based at a large hotel that bordered the sea to the left of the picture. The boats to Zjanica left from the pier opposite the hotel.

Figure 12 Bijela



Two small tour boats arrived at Bijela after breakfast. Each boat quickly filled with a group of waiting children. As the boats travelled down Boka Kotorska towards Zjanica, the children waved to each other, looked out at the sea, moved to pre-recorded popular music and listened to the fragmented commentary of places of historical and cultural interest given by one of the drivers of the boat. The boats passed medieval villages and towns, modern glass fronted hotels and entrances to caves used by the navy for submarines. The teachers on the boat on which I travelled were unhappy with the commentary, finding it superficial and insensitive to the fact that the children on the boat were refugee children. To the best of my knowledge, the children did not respond to the commentary. When the boats arrived at Zjanica the children were led past a small cluster of restaurants and cafes to an open space surrounded by trees and close to the sea. Each of the summer camp groups of about twenty children with two teachers, one from Serbia and one from Republika Srpska, chose a space for themselves under the trees and took some time to swim, explore the new environment and have their lunch.

After lunch, all the groups came together in a large standing circle to begin the workshop. Everybody was asked to say their names simultaneously, repeating them as

loudly as possible and then as quietly as possible. They then raised their arms above their heads to wave to one another. The smaller summer camp groups were re-formed and many returned to their chosen place for the teachers to explain what they would be doing.

Branka handed out small envelopes and showed the children how to operate the Dictaphones. She and the teacher from Republika Srpska led the group into the woodland area behind the clearing. The group weaved its way under and over branches and past large spiders' webs. The sun was hot and the brittle undergrowth scratched everyone's legs as they passed. The children and young people collected plants, pieces of bark, flowers and seeds and recorded selected sounds from the environment. They also shared their findings and observations with one another as they journeyed and learnt about the plants from Branka's colleague. They travelled in a large circle eventually returning to their chosen place where they put everything they had collected in a pile. The whole group then crossed the clearing to collect more objects and sounds from the rolling sea.

Led by Branka and her colleague, the children used their bodies to create different sounds with the water, lying on their stomachs and kicking the water with their legs, splashing water with their hands, hitting the water in rhythmical patterns, and blowing into the water to make bubble sounds. They struck large and small pebbles together creating short random rhythmic phrases and threw pebbles and rocks into the water. Branka and her colleague followed and supported the activities the children initiated, recording the sounds they created. When the group finished collecting, they played in the sea before returning to their base to add the objects they had collected to the pile. At their base Branka laid a large white cloth on to the ground for everyone to put the objects they had collected. The children selected materials with which to work and gathered around the cloth to arrange the objects to create a collage. The children in Branka's group worked without intervention from the two teachers, although the teachers made their own contributions to the collage.

While the collages were being made, I travelled around the different groups in order to capture on video the emerging creations. Each group's collage had its own identity. Some appeared to be three-dimensional representations of Zjanica; others were more narrative and included painted images of dolphins, faces, hearts, the sun, waves and

palm trees. A few images were abstract, displaying collections of different painted colours and designs made from plaited wool. Participants had also made objects from the collected materials, which they attached to the collages, such as a bouquet of flowers, a spider's web made of wool, and painted pebbles. The photographs below show examples of the collages made at Zjanica. The photographs were taken after the collages had been brought to the hotel in Bijela. In the first example the children have added their own names to the objects, pictures and colours of the collage. The second example appears to be a narrative representation of the children's experience within which the group have painted the group's name Prijatelji Mora (Sea Friends) in the centre of the collage. The third example takes on a three-dimensional form. The final image is more abstract.

Figure 13a Example of Collage from Zjanica (Example 1)



Figure 13b Example of Collage from Zjanica (Example 2)



Figure 13c Example of Collage from Zjanica (Example 3)



Figure 13d Example of Collage from Zjanica (Example 4)



As each collage was completed, the children and teachers carried them to the central area in the clearing where the workshop had begun and laid the collages on the ground alongside one another. All the participants gave a rousing round of applause as each collage was placed on the ground. The participants made a large circle around the collages when all the groups had arrived; simultaneously each group played back the sounds they had collected. This created a cacophony of sound, movement and images as the participants took it in turn to walk within and around the circle, listening to the individual and blended sounds while looking at the pictures. The large group then reformed into a circle and the teachers asked the children to find a name for the workshop. The facilitators acknowledged all of the suggestions given. Every group then collected their collage and belongings and created a long informal procession to the waiting boats for the return trip to Bijela, carrying their collages canopy-like above their heads.

After the children's return to Bijela, the collages were placed in the foyer areas of the hotel, outside the children's bedrooms, alongside the other collages, objects and creations made by the children during the summer camp. In this way, the children were surrounded by their own and others' experiences of the summer camp through the objects they had made and could interact with these whenever they chose. This can be seen as a form of representation, documentation and consolidation in its own right. At the daily evening workshop each group used movement and sound to present their experiences of the day. The day was closed with improvised dancing to popular music.

With reference to archaeologist Peter Ucko and anthropologist Robert Layton's definition of landscape (1999a, p.1), this workshop both created environments through the activities of the workshop and the contribution to the hotel foyer exhibitions, and created a representation of Zjanica. Folklorist Mihaly Hoppal (2002, p.9) suggests that space, like spoken language "mediates a value system," the use of space follows "culturally defined patterns" which contribute to "marking out value norms for the individual." This workshop and the workshop at the Ethnographic Museum could thus be perceived as giving the children an opportunity to define their individual and collective value systems through the interaction with the materials, the creation of the collages and the relationship and re-creation of the environments. The children at Zjanica had an opportunity to find their own symbols and images to represent an environment that was part of their new home country. The images made in the Zjanica

workshop are reminiscent of the images created during the Vrbica Dan workshop and suggest continuity with the etno embroidery created as part of the income generating projects. The imagery within these three types of work is based on and is a response to natural imagery and objects from the natural environment, assembled on a white background. They can be perceived as repeating, re-circulating and thus reinforcing collective values.

Displacement is a central feature of the refugee experience within which familiar social, physical, cultural and geographical environments are replaced by unfamiliar and often hostile and confusing new environments. Realising the potential to build new relationships with unfamiliar or known environments and cultural structures facilitates the potential to change the relationship with the past (McGlade 1999, p.459) creating new possibilities in the present and for the future. This is particularly important in former Yugoslavia. One informant told me that in the region encompassed by former Yugoslavia every generation had experienced a war. A reason given for these conflicts are shifting land boundaries between countries and regions. By May 2006, Montenegro had become an independent state, so it would no longer be part of the home country for the participants in the 2002 Zjanica workshop. This highlights the impermanence of identity based on geographical location as frequently shifting regional boundaries changed in response to economic and political pressures. One of the fundamental philosophical perspectives of Zdravo Da Ste is, "Now is always tomorrow, tomorrow, the future is now" (extract from interview with Vesna Belgrade November 2001). This emphasis on the present was embodied within the activities of the workshops through interaction with a variety of social, cultural and physical environments and different arts media. There was also a ritual aspect within Zdravo Da Ste's workshops, Vesna defined etno itself as "ancient rituals."

4.4 Ritual

Vesna told me that rituals were particularly important in the context of war:

[They] preserve good social interaction, it's always positive ... In every ritual you have certainty, it is known what is going to be done. During the general entropy, when the war began, these rituals are cells of security. (Extract from interview Belgrade November 2001)

But rituals are not always positive because they have the potential of being manipulated by, for example, "sophisticated war-lords" (Langer (1951 [1942]), p.51). Vesna's concept of ritual as a living history and a potential resource for the refugee people and IDPs is similar to sociologist Erving Goffman's (1967) notion of ritual. Goffman suggests rituals are a medium through which individuals are taught the norms of acceptable behaviour within a society so that they can effectively participate in that society and become "self-regulating participants in social encounters" (p.44). If I adopt Goffman's conception of ritual, it would seem that by using etno and rituals within their work, Zdravo Da Ste were able to create opportunities for the historical and perceived authentic values of former Yugoslavia to be reassessed, and for new rituals and ways of being to be created. The following example outlines the opening event of the summer camp, described by Jelena as a ritual. The primary media used during the ritual were movement and dance, pre-recorded music and visual images.

4.4.1 Opening ritual of the Summer Camp

Most of the four hundred children from Serbia and Republika Srpska and the accompanying teachers joined the opening ritual of the summer camp (please refer to video extract 3). The central action was the raising of a flag depicting the Zdravo Da Ste logo.⁵ The ritual began with a dance led by one teacher and a small group of children, on the terrace of the hotel that overlooked the sea. Slowly other children and teachers joined in, creating lines, chains and concentric circles moving in opposing directions. Accompanying the dance was a pre-recorded song about Zdravo Da Ste that was repeated for the duration of the ritual. As the dance developed, a chain formed and the participants were led by the teacher at the front of the chain from the terrace of the hotel to the end of the pier in front of the hotel and back to the terrace, creating two opposing lines of movement. Within this procession, the teachers initiated movements such as touching palms with the people travelling in the opposite direction as they passed. When all the participants had returned to the terrace and the flag had been raised the DJ played popular Serbian songs and the participants began to dance with improvised movements and the atmosphere became party-like. Children and adults alike joined the dancing.

Several different informants told me that there were two Zdravo Da Ste songs. The song played during the summer camp and at the opening ritual of the summer camp

was written by an ex-member of Zdravo Da Ste. I was not given a translation for this song. The other song was created during a Zdravo Da Ste training day for teachers.⁶ One of the teachers at the summer camp gave me the music and lyrics (in Serbian and English) of the second song as a gift:

Figure 14a Zdravo Da Ste Song (Page 1)

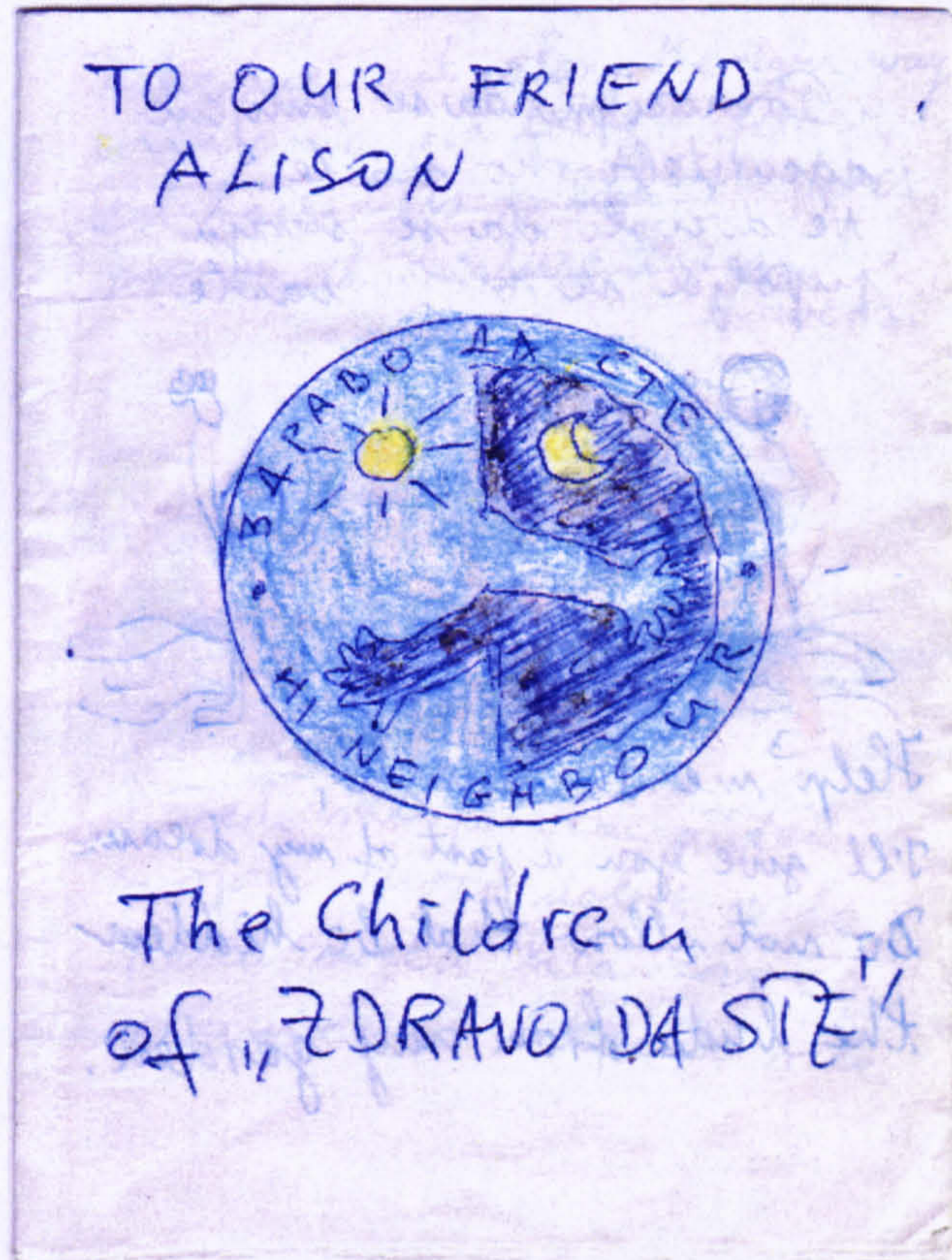


Figure 14b Zdravo Da Ste Song (Page 2 and 3)



Figure 14c Zdravo Da Ste Song (Page 4 and 5)

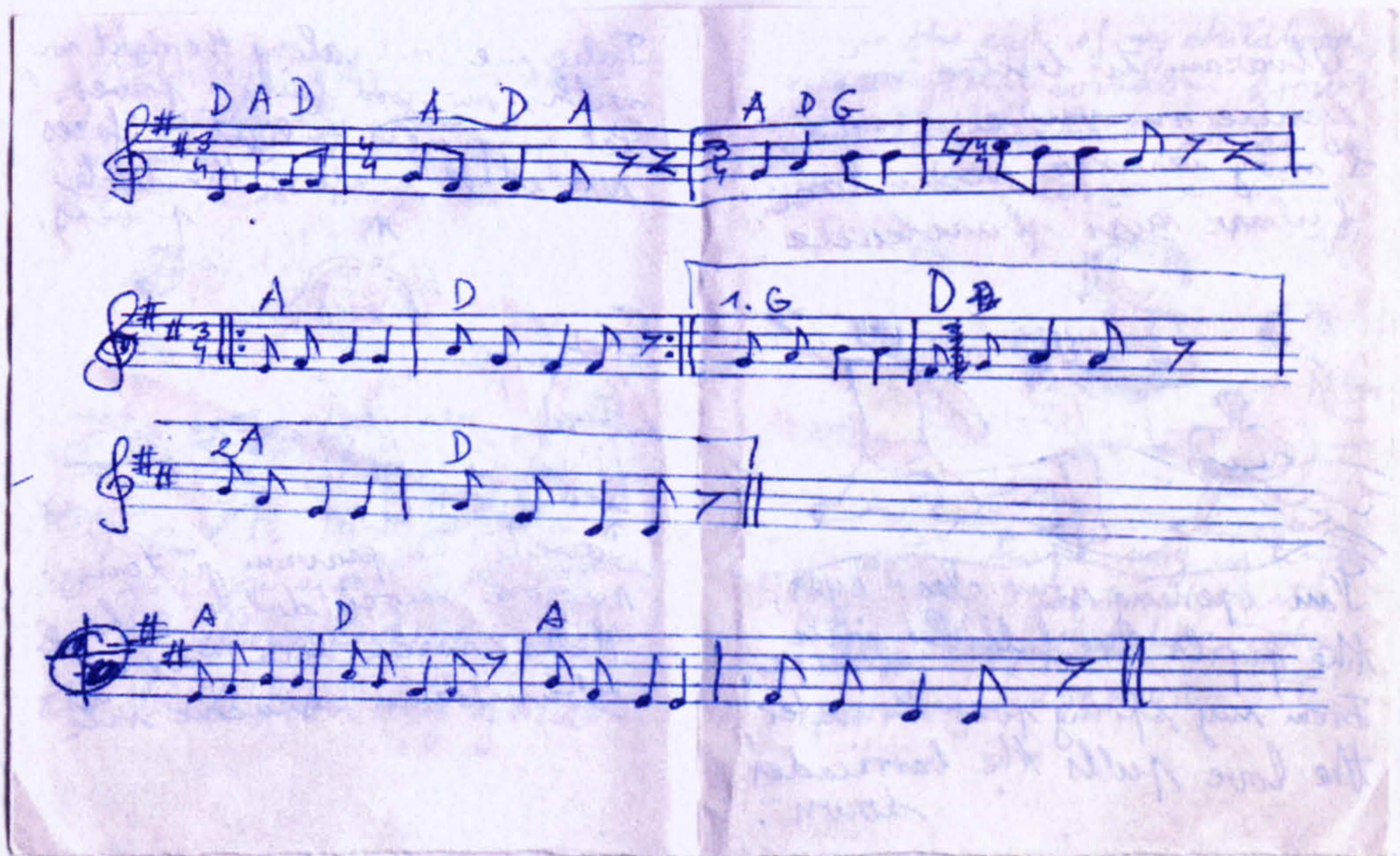
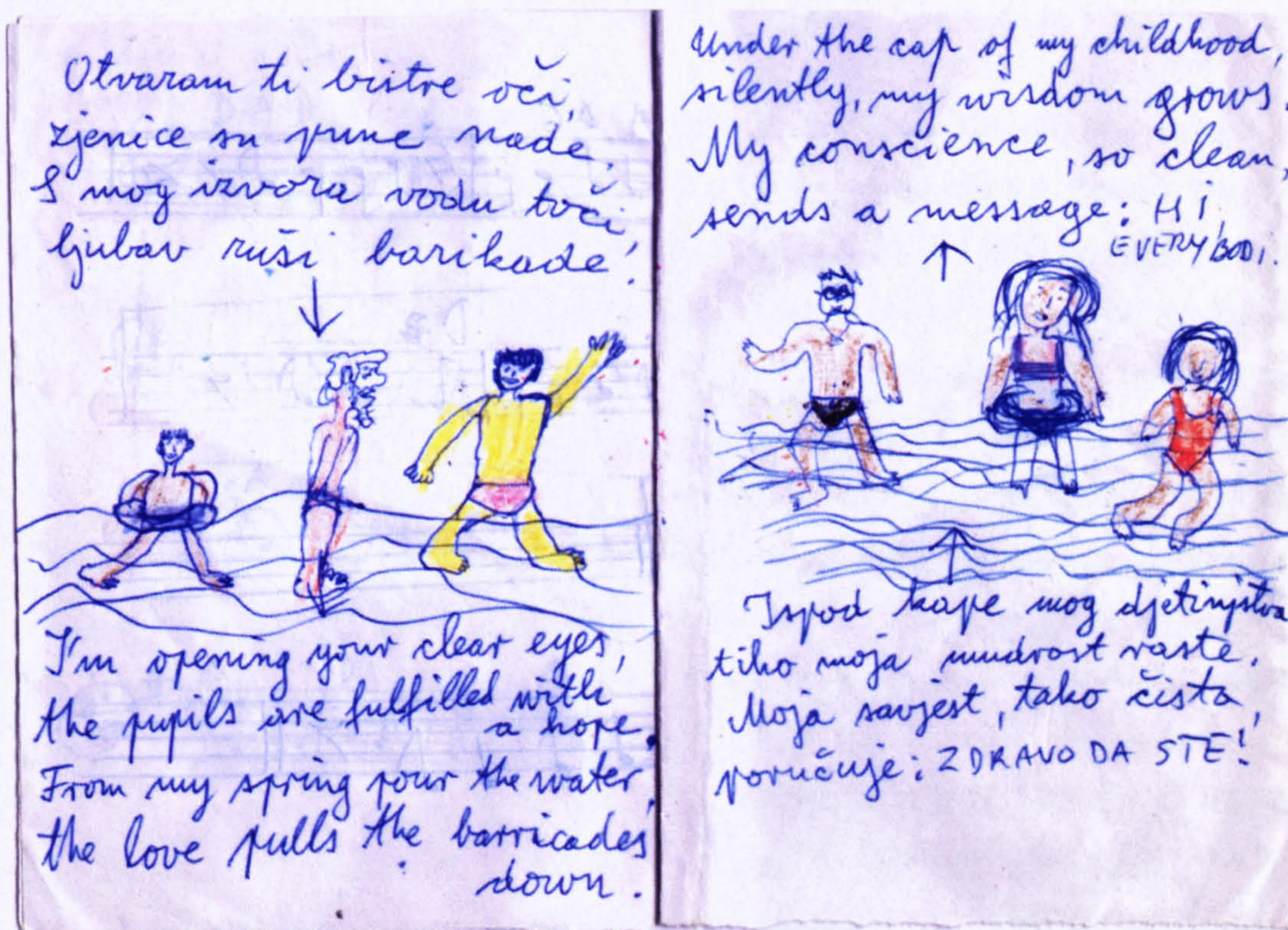


Figure 14d Zdravo Da Ste Song (Page 6 and 7)



The representation of the song shown above was made at the summer camp and the drawings, apart from the Zdravo Da Ste, logo appear to be children's drawings. The colours in the drawings capture the colours of the summer camp. The summer camp brought colour to the hotel, through the objects and paintings in the foyer areas, the towels draped over the balconies of two floors of rooms, and the rainbows of different coloured swimming costumes the children and teachers wore during the long hot days. The sea was ever present as a feature of the workshop: the children were either playing or swimming in the sea, travelling on or beside the sea, or looking for objects and sounds from the sea; and swimming lessons were a central part of each day's activities. In addition, many of the groups were named in relation to the sea, for example "Morski Talas" (Sea Waves) and "Prijatelji Mora" (Friends of the Sea). The words in the song, created in the training for teachers, are reminiscent of the aphorisms used by Zdravo Da Ste. Each line or phrase appears to capture an idea or image that epitomises Zdravo Da Ste's approach to work with children. The words could be seen as expressions of hope for the present and the future. When I contacted Zdravo Da Ste in January 2007 to ask for more information regarding the song

presented above, I was simply told that it was created during one of Zdravo Da Ste's trainings for teachers.

Elements from the opening ritual were used every day of the summer camp to signify the beginning of the evening workshop. When the DJ played the Zdravo Da Ste song, for example, the informal dancing formalised into chains and concentric circles in preparation for the activities of the evening workshops. The music used for the informal dancing at the evening parties was contemporary Serbian popular music; the music was familiar to most of the children and teachers who sang along to the songs. Much of this music was repeated each night. The party was for the children although the teachers supported them by mirroring their movements, suggesting movements, or joining in with group dances. Some of the dances of the young girls appeared to be imitations of dances from Western and Serbian pop videos. When the Zdravo Da Ste music was played the dancers formed themselves into a chain, one person facing the person in front, and danced in concentric circles or spirals, waving at me as they passed the video camera. When the Zdravo Da Ste music ended, the evening workshop commenced. One of the teachers stood up on the platform to one side at the back of the terrace of the hotel and used a microphone to welcome the participants and facilitate the evening workshop. When the workshop ended the party continued. This sequence of events occurred every night, creating a known sequence of events within which the evening workshops were framed.

The way in which the Zdravo Da Ste song was used in the evening workshops is reminiscent of the use of etno dance and song in the workshops. The participants understood the implications of the music, that it indicated the beginning of the evening workshop. The dance patterns they made echoed etno dance in the use of long chains of people, circles and spirals. The contrast between this music and dance, and the dancing to the popular music, was striking, although the transition between the two was very fluid, the movement forms metamorphosing immediately when the Zdravo Da Ste song was played. This may suggest that the engagement with both contemporary culture and notions of etno helped to facilitate and bridge the relationship between past and present, which Hadjiyaani suggested was a feature of refugee consciousness (Hadjiyaani 2002, p.61). It is important to note, however, that etno was also part of contemporary culture as represented in Turbo Folk⁷ and the popular music of Goran Bregovic⁸.

The use of ritual within Zdravo Da Ste's workshops created the possibility for the building of a new community through processes that allowed the participants to redefine their relationship to the world around them as individuals and as members of a group. The interactions between people in the workshops created a self-regulating process as the workshops developed over the ten-years from 1991-2001. In this way, a philosophy and ethos began to emerge within which the participants were both witnesses and adjudicators of this process. Anthropologist Jean La Fontaine suggests:

The whole corpus of ideas evoked in ritual is the traditional knowledge of a society, not organised in the manner we are accustomed to associate with science but expressed and put to use. (1985, pp.13-14)

The beliefs underpinning ritual events are based on the legitimacy (La Fontaine 1985, p.36) given to the people performing or organising the ritual acts, and the legitimacy of the things that they perform or do. In Zdravo Da Ste's work, the beliefs were legitimated by the professional and academic training and qualifications held by the workshop facilitators, psychologists and other members of Zdravo Da Ste, combined with personal and professional experience. Goca and Olja pointed out, for example, that although they were trained as pre-school teachers with a wealth of experience behind them, the refugee people particularly trusted them because they knew that they had also been through the refugee experience, they were also refugees. By facilitating opportunities to create new rituals Zdravo Da Ste created the opportunity for participants in the workshops to use known structures and forms in different ways and thus create opportunities for new relationships to be formed with history, tradition, people, environments and the society itself. For example the opening ritual of the summer camp can be perceived as having specific intent and meaning where the meaning was both explicit and contained in "sets of overlapping metaphors" (La Fontaine 1985, p.13).

Jung (1995 [1961]) describes ritual acts as "an action and reaction to the action of God upon man" (p.282). This perspective suggests that people create or use rituals in order to understand and respond to events within their environment over which they may have little control. War can create these feelings of disbelief, confusion and loss of faith. Rituals, such as *etno*, become 'cells of security' that are known and familiar and have social and cultural associations. The use of ritual within the workshops can thus be considered as an action and reaction in response to the war, the aim of which was

to bring people together, to create new interactions and new possibilities. In this way, ritual can be conceived as something that is alive, open to change, to be used as a resource in the present for the future.⁹

Ethnomusicologist Marina Roseman (1991) points out that intrinsic to ritual is a "reframing of reality" (p.181) in which roles, relations, images, symbols, and experiences from everyday life are transformed and placed in new relationships; this reframing facilitates individual, social and cosmological changes (ibid). Anthropologist and dramatherapist Sue Jennings observed that the reframing of reality that occurred in a Temiar ceremony allowed "undifferentiated experience" (1987, p.30) to become understandable. In the Zdravo Da Ste workshops, the concept of ritual was a frame within which undifferentiated experience could be explored through participation in the various activities, arts media and interactions. This created the possibilities for new responses and relationships. Through ritual the workshops could facilitate a "symbolic transformation of experiences" (Langer 1951 [1942], p.52).

Through the discussion in this chapter, it appears that Zdravo Da Ste considered etno to be a resource that participants in the workshops could use to make bridges between the past, present and future; part of a social frame through which people could organise and respond to their lives. But etno can also be considered as a symbol of national identity that can be manipulated to incite nationalist sentiments and war. Contained within these concepts of etno is the notion of authenticity, which itself has social, political, cultural and economic implications (Buckland 2002). Zdravo Da Ste created opportunities for participants in the workshops to explore and find new relationships and meanings with culture and etno and in this way to 'build culture' and re-assess the war and the symbols used to incite the war. In this way Zdravo Da Ste's use of etno, symbols, environments and ritual can be seen as a form of "narrativization of the [collective and individual] self" (Hall 2003 [1996], p.4). The notion of symbols as part of a perceived collective history echoes Jung's concept of archetypes and the therapeutic value in exploring an individual's relationship to symbols and archetypes. Linked to Jung's concept of archetypes are myths and dreams. The following chapter examines the use of stories, movement and performance as frames of narrativization of the self within Zdravo Da Ste's approach.

¹ In the ethnographic museum in Belgrade, etno objects were identified regionally in terms of the different types of climate and soil of the regions. Clothes, and architecture reflected the

regions from which they came. Please see Figure 9a and 9b, page 116 for examples of etno work created by workshop participants as part of the etno programme; please see Figure 11, page 121 for examples of etno costumes from different regions of former Yugoslavia as represented in the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade.

² Zdravo Da Ste's specific use of stories and narrative within the workshops is discussed in the following chapter.

³ See chapter two, page 55.

⁴ The concept and place of environments within Zdravo Da Ste's work is discussed further on page 132.

⁵ Please refer to Zdravo Da Ste's business card Figure 4, page 64.

⁶ Zdravo Da Ste developed a training programme for teachers as part of the CABAC programme. This enabled the teachers to facilitate workshops within schools based on Zdravo Da Ste's approach. I was not invited to participate in these trainings, nor did I ask. Although I was aware of the trainings, at the time I felt they were beyond the scope of my research. In hindsight, participation in these workshops would have furthered my understanding of Zdravo Da Ste's work.

⁷ Turbo Folk brought together etno music from former Yugoslavia with European techno music. Many of my informants disliked this music: they did not consider it be authentic etno and associated it with people involved in war crimes during the war in former Yugoslavia.

⁸ Goran Bregovic brings together Roma music, etno music from former Yugoslavia and Bulgaria and electric guitar. He is the son of a Croatian father and Serbian mother. His work is known beyond former Yugoslavia through his collaborations with the film director Emir Kusturica.

⁹ In a similar fashion to Vesna and Bojana's descriptions of etno.

Chapter Five

Story, Movement and Performance as Forms and Frames of Narrativization

In the previous chapter I suggested that Zdravo Da Ste's use of etno, symbols, environments and ritual allowed participants to explore their relationship to the past; to historical, cultural and personal memories; and to create their own symbols in relation to these in the time set-apart in the workshops. In this way, Zdravo Da Ste and the participants were involved in a process of "narrativization of the self" (Hall 2003 [1996], p.4), stimulating the development of individual and collective identity. I also discussed the use of etno and symbols as tools for incitement to nationalism during the war in former Yugoslavia. The activities of the workshops can thus be seen as an attempt, negotiated between Zdravo Da Ste and the participants, to undo the bloody tapestry created by Milosevic and Tudjman and create new relationships to history, culture and memory and a new community, in this way facilitating a "symbolic transformation of experiences" (Langer 1951 [1942], p.52). Inherent within these new relationships was a questioning of meaning and a discovery and acknowledgement of resources already contained within the individuals and communities. There was a sense of building a new future from the ashes of the past.

Within Hall's concept of "narrativization of the self" identities are developed by using "the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming" (Hall 2003 [1996], p.4). Furthermore, identities are created "within discourse ... [and] through ... difference" (ibid). These ideas reflect both Jung's concept of individuation and Zdravo Da Ste's approach with regards to the use of etno, creativity and culture within their work. They also challenge Peter's view concerning the importance of invisibility within the process of integration.¹ Sociologist Nicholas Rose suggests:

Human beings have come to imagine themselves as the subjects of a biography, to utilize certain 'arts of memory' in order to render this biography stable, to employ certain vocabularies and explanations to make this intelligible to themselves ... Human being is emplaced, enacted through a regime of devices, gazes, techniques which extend beyond the limits of the flesh into spaces and assemblies. Memory of one's biography is not a simple psychological capacity, but is organised through rituals of storytelling, supported by artefacts such as photograph albums and so forth. (2003 [1996], p.143)

The use of etno within the workshops can be considered as one form of the 'art of memory' or 'ritual of storytelling.' This chapter examines the use of story, movement and performance as forms and frames of narrativization of the self within Zdravo Da Ste's work. I have particularly focused on story, movement and performance as these were frequently used elements within the workshops in which I participated and incorporated other arts media including visual images, play, objects and sound. I consider how integrating these various forms and media facilitated the overall development of Zdravo Da Ste's aims and objectives. I suggest that narrativization of the self was a central process within Zdravo Da Ste's approach.

5.1 Story

Both the children and the workshop leaders initiated stories in the workshops. In the pre-school workshops, the children sometimes created characters and the beginning of stories while waiting for the workshops to begin, or chose stories from their collection of books which they asked older children, members of Zdravo Da Ste or guests to read. In both pre-school workshops and workshops for children of mixed ages, the workshop leaders used the creation of stories as a tool to help develop literacy skills, to play and build social and cultural interactions.

The following examples illustrate the interconnectedness of story, movement and visual images in the creation of a fictional story within the workshop context; the development of a workshop theme over an extended period of time; the use of story to build social and cultural relations; and the impact of my participation on the development of workshops. The first example outlines the development of story and performance over a four-week period, in response to a pre-school visit to a temporary exhibition of Czech puppets at a gallery in central Belgrade. The second example represents a series of workshops at collective centre (2) that occurred between January and July 2002. In this second context, story was initially used as a medium to look at the "wishes and desires" of the children (informal conversation with Goca Belgrade January 2002) but developed into a way to build relations between the children at collective centre (2) and a group of children in the U.K.

5.1.1 Exhibition of Czech Puppets

There were approximately twenty-five children and a team of three teachers who participated in the visit to the exhibition of Czech puppets. The visit was intended as a one-off activity, but because of the interest the children showed in the puppets, Goca suggested the team develop the work the following week at Jovanova Street office and organise a visit to a puppet theatre in Belgrade. It was not possible to go to the theatre but the team did facilitate three follow-up workshops. Because of the heat and the children's response to the heat, these workshops became the final pre-school workshops of the academic year. For some of the children, these workshops were their final experience of Zdravo Da Ste as pre-school children, as they were due to begin school the following September.²

The children met in a park outside the museum and played on sculptures while they waited for the rest of the group to arrive. When everyone had arrived, the group came together in a circle and the teachers facilitated a short preparatory workshop using movement and sound before the group went inside the gallery to see the exhibition. As they entered, each teacher was given a programme that contained drawn outlines of a selection of puppet characters and a theatre, all of which could be cut-out and coloured; these were later used by the team as the basis for the follow-up workshops. The children were very interested in the puppets. They were attracted to specific characters including princes, princesses, devils, and kings and they asked the guide questions throughout his tour. Many of the puppets in the exhibition represented characters from stories the children knew, including Cinderella, Snow White and Baba Roga.³ When the guide finished his tour the children asked members of Zdravo Da Ste to take photographs of them standing next to their chosen puppets, four examples are presented in Figures 15a, 15b, 15c and 15d below:

Figure 15a Children's Portraits at Exhibition of Czech Puppets (Example 1)



Figure 15b Children's Portraits at Exhibition of Czech Puppets (Example 2)



Figure 15c Children's Portraits at Exhibition of Czech Puppets (Example 3)



Figure 15d Children's Portraits at Exhibition of Czech Puppets (Example 4)



While waiting in the park for their transport to Jovanova street office after the exhibition, the children became restless. I began to develop a story with the cut-out puppets from the programme to try to diffuse an emerging conflict situation between the children. Many children gathered around me eager to engage with the characters and emerging story. Goca was excited that the puppets had made such an impression on the children and thought it may be useful to hold a follow-up workshop.

The aim of the second workshop was to remember the exhibition and develop this experience. The workshop incorporated movement, characterisation and story. Goca asked each person what they had done and seen the previous week. The team then asked the children to move freely and then freeze. While the children were frozen, the teachers took on the role of sculptors and moved around the group making sculptures out of the children. Olja and Jasmina created a puppet shop and took on the roles of customer and shopkeeper respectively. In character, Olja left the room while everyone took up a position and froze. When she returned, she walked through the puppet sculptures, moving and speaking to them. Olja and Jasmina, staying in role, discussed what Olja was looking for; Olja then made her selection. The children laughed and giggled at the things they said and Olja and Jasmina developed their story accordingly.

Olja left the room several times, each time everyone moved and then froze in a different position. The movements used by the children included, copying each other's movements, using their hands and arms in wave-like motions and creating a sculpture where several children were touching or intertwined. When Olja came in for the last time, the group bunched together using different levels, lying on the floor, sitting, and standing. Olja, Jasmina, Goca and Bransilava each chose a group of puppets and formed small group circles. The teachers asked each child to name their puppet, say where it was from and what it did. Not all the children were immediately able to respond. The teachers gently encouraged them by asking other questions such as, whether it was male or female. The teachers wrote down each puppet's story. When all the groups were finished, the teachers read out their group's story, while the rest of the participants listened and applauded at the end.

The aim of the third puppet workshop was to continue to develop the work with puppets from the previous week. It was a very hot day when this workshop occurred and there were many extra people, including older siblings on holiday from school. The workshop began in a standing circle with a name game and movement exercises.⁴ Goca then asked each person what they had done in the previous week but only some of the children replied. A teacher therefore read out one of the stories from the previous week and passed this story around the circle. Each child, with help from the teachers and older visiting children, was asked to choose one word from the story and to say this word out loud while the rest of the group repeated the word back to them. The teachers then gave instructions to the children to move in the same way they had moved in the previous workshop, freezing their movements after some time to create puppets. When this activity was completed, four smaller groups were formed to hear the stories from the previous week. After reading the stories, coloured pens and the cut-out puppets from the exhibition programme were distributed to the children who began to colour-in the puppets, while the teachers assembled the cut-out theatres.

The aim of the final workshop was to complete the work with the puppets by creating a short performance using the stories, cut-out puppets and theatres. The workshop began by bringing everybody into a sitting circle to lie down. Jasmina gave a short relaxation using visualisation. Jasmina then asked the children to move one part of their body and then to freeze. This was repeated with other parts of the body and the whole body. The children were brought together again in small groups and asked to

choose a puppet character and then, as a group, to show their puppets to the rest of the participants using sound and movement. The characters included ballerinas and soldiers. Some puppets interacted with one another, but not all the children wanted to participate. In one group, the teacher pretended to wind-up the characters as if they were clockwork, to help the children to enact and present their puppets. There was applause after each group's presentation. The small groups then came together in a sitting circle with their respective teacher and were given the coloured cut-out puppets from the previous week and one of the completed theatres. A piece of wool was attached to each puppet and the children were encouraged to play with the puppets and the theatres, with help from the teachers. Each group was then given one of the four stories and using the story, puppets and theatres, created a short performance that they showed to the other groups to end the workshop.

Stories and fairytales were a theme within the pre-school workshops, partly fuelled by the children's books chosen through the book workshop outlined in chapter two, page 40. Through these books, the children were already familiar with a selection of fairytales and characters. Goca was excited that many of the stories the children used in the puppet workshops were derived from these books. She suggested that, although the children had chosen aspects from well-known fairytales, they had interspersed these with features from their life experience. The fairytales represented by the puppets and named by the children were not restricted to Serbian folktales but extended to stories popular in Western Europe and America. These stories were familiar to the children through television, cinema, video and children's storybooks.

Jung suggests that myths and fairytales are an expression of the archetypes, "universal images that have existed before time" (Jung 2002 [1959], p.5), the contents of the collective unconscious. In the context of myths and fairytales, archetypes take on a particular form, handed down and modified through time to serve specific functions for distinct groups of people. Fairytales can enrich a child's life and create a bridge between the conscious and the unconscious. From a Jungian perspective, working with a symbol from the unconscious gives the opportunity for the participants to engage with both the individual and collective unconscious and thus to begin a process of individuation. Myths and fairytales, like etno, can thus be perceived as a form of representation that is alive, within which meaning can be discovered and new

possibilities found. Myths and fairytales can thus be considered as a form of collective narrativization.

Drama and play therapist Ann Cattanach (2002a, p.191) suggests that stories have significance because they are socially and culturally situated, and their meaning is negotiated between the listener, participants in the enactment of the story and the teller. Through work with story and exploration of characters and situations within stories, participants have an opportunity to explore and recognise aspects of themselves and situations within their lives. Within dramatherapy work these aspects can be further explored through dialogues with clients, the development of roles identified within the stories, and the introduction of new tales. Story and roles within the stories are one of a number of vehicles that can facilitate the therapeutic process and interaction with metaphor (Jennings 1998; Gersie and King 1990; Jones 1996; Cattanach 2002). In Zdravo Da Ste's work, the relationships with the stories and roles were incorporated within the overall process of the workshop. In this way seeds, rooted in metaphor, were planted which individual children might have the opportunity to explore further in their lives in the future. This reflected Zdravo Da Ste's intentions to integrate the workshop experiences within the everyday life of the participants and to allow the processes to continue and develop outside the workshop context.

In the workshops outlined above, the stories were co-created as a response to the children's experience of the exhibition. They thus drew on the stories of the fairytales, the children's personal narratives, the children's imagination and the observations and responses of the teachers. The final performances of the puppets in the theatres were the integration and consolidation of this experience. It was through the interaction of these elements and the relationships between the children and the teachers that the stories could become meaningful for the children.

Goca said the exhibition had made a very strong impression on the children because they had remembered details such as "the princess with the pink dress." The characters with which the children identified can be considered as archetypal heroes and villains, which appeared to re-emerge in the later workshops. Several children re-created and identified specific characters they had mentioned in previous workshops when asked to name their puppet; and fought over these characters when given the cut-out puppets. When the puppets were randomly handed out in the third workshop,

the children were clear which puppets they wanted; many of the girls, for example, wanted the princesses. The children swapped puppets to get the ones they desired. Child psychologist Bruno Bettelheim suggests that by identifying with a character, a child can "compensate in fantasy and through identification for all the inadequacies, real or imagined" (1989 [1975], p.57).⁵ The story and characters in a story become a metaphor for lived experience and present alternative possibilities in current or past experience. In order to make a story their own, Bettelheim suggests a child needs to hear the story many times so that they can find what it has to offer them. This process is similar to the process of "new patterning" described by dance ethnographer Sally Ann Ness:

On one particularly good day, as this disintegration happened, a mental and verbal - that is to say, a symbolic and cultural - transformation simultaneously occurred within me ... as "I" performed this dance. (1992, p.5)

Linking Ness and Bettelheim's ideas highlights the embodied aspect of stories. I suggest that through familiarity with a story and by engaging and enacting characters from a story, a child has the possibility of embodying those characters and through this process find new meaning and possibilities in relation to life experiences. This process of embodiment is important within the use of stories in a therapeutic context. It also highlights the way in which individual arts media are not necessarily divorced from one another.

Jennings (1998) suggests that the development of characters is part of a process she identifies as "Embodiment, Projection, Role" (EPR). In terms of children's dramatic development, embodiment or sensory play refers to the first year of life when the child is involved in physical or sensory play. Towards the end of the first year, the child becomes increasingly aware of the outside world and begins to play with objects, moving beyond their own body. In this way, projection or projective play emerges and the child starts to create short stories within this play. As the child develops, the stories become more complex and the child begins to create characters and roles. Jennings indicates that the three stages of EPR are "crucial for human development" (1998, p.61). They enable the child to develop to develop the imagination and an understanding of everyday reality. They also help the child to become aware of the relationship between the self and others, the norms and values of their society, and the difference between reality and imagination. Jennings suggests, "it is their [the child's]

dramatic development – from which all other development emerges" (ibid). From this perspective, the use of embodiment and enactment are central to the psychological, emotional and social development of the child. The notion of embodiment can also be perceived from the perspective of movement and dance, and DMT.

Branislava said that children "express themselves mainly through movement." Through observation of the children's movements, she felt it was possible to see the "inner state of soul" of a child, how the child was and who they were; and by working with movement to create changes, through the discovery of new ways of perceiving. To emphasise this idea Branislava told me, "[I] heard one grown up man who said once 'I am a handicapped person because I am not taught to express myself through movement.'" Other members of Zdravo Da Ste considered movement to be just one of a number of "human potentials for expression," tools that could be "discovered and actualised" (extract from interview with Vesna Belgrade, November 2001). These tools could be used alongside one another to find and develop the hidden potential within each person and the "voices of the future" (ibid), the potential for the future development of the society. These ideas are very similar to Rose's "regime of techniques" discussed on page 149, that individuals use to facilitate the development of biography. Furthermore, Vesna considered these potentials to be fundamental to human nature and indestructible, echoing Jung's idea that "Each of us carries his own life-form within him – an irrational form which no other can outbid" (1995 [1961], p.211).

Zdravo Da Ste's applications of movement discussed in this and the previous chapters are very similar to the application of movement within DMT as demonstrated by the following definition of DMT given by the Association for Dance Movement Therapy (ADMT):

Dance Movement Therapy is the psychotherapeutic use of movement and dance through which a person can engage creatively in a process to further their emotional, cognitive, physical and social integration. It is founded on the principle that movement reflects an individual's patterns of thinking and feeling. Through acknowledging and supporting clients' movements the therapist encourages development and integration of new adaptive movement patterns together with the emotional experiences that accompany such changes. (2006)

As outlined in chapter three pages 81-2, in DMT in the U.K., it is assumed that there is a relationship between "motion and emotion" (Payne 1992:4), which allows individuals

to explore and express their emotions by exploring and developing their use of movement. From this perspective a mover has to delve deep into himself or herself and their associations and feelings about an image and then choose how to represent or express an aspect of this in order to embody an image. In this way, as Dance movement therapist Liljan Espenak states the mover "explore[s] the phases of their own self-discovery as they delve down into the wellspring of feeling" (Espenak 1981, p.86). Espenak further suggests that re-experiencing memories and sensations through the body, allows a person "to reexperience oneself in the present" (1981, p.87). The initial image chosen by the therapist or client acts as a catalyst for exploration.

In DMT meaning is discovered through the therapeutic process and the relationship between the therapist and client. Dance Movement Therapist Bonnie Meekums (2002, pp.22-25) suggests that the movement metaphor is the basis of DMT. It mediates between unconscious and conscious material and both the therapist and the client bring meaning to the metaphor. From a Jungian perspective, the unconscious undergoes or creates change, it is a process in which "... the psyche is transformed or developed by the relationship of the ego to the contents of the unconscious" (Jung 1995 [1961], p.235).⁶ The changes in the psyche do not occur simply at an individual level but also at a collective level.

Echoing the ideas above, Royce stresses the multivocalic nature of dance and movement. She describes dance as being "polysemous as well as multivocalic" (2002, p.xxiv), capable of stimulating all of the senses simultaneously. In this way, dance and movement would appear to be powerful as media of communication and expression because they can convey ideas and emotions through different levels and senses at the same time. Royce, however, stresses that this multi-channel expression is also open to misunderstanding, implying it is only the moving person who really knows what they are communicating and to whom. From a therapeutic perspective, however, the meaning and understanding may come after the movement is completed or at another time.

The use of movement and embodiment can thus be considered as part of a process of symbolic transformation⁷ of experience facilitated through the therapeutic process. Anthropologist Edward Bruner suggests that there is a difference between "life as lived

(reality), life as experienced (experience), and life as told (expression)" (1986, pp.6-7), where expression is defined as the means by which people articulate, formulate and represent their experiences. The process of moving from one of these aspects to another is affected by external factors including cultural values, individual ways of perceiving, and time. Moving between these aspects is thus a "processual activity" (ibid p.7) occurring in a specific context, place and historical time. Experiences result in sense perceptions that may be translated into thought. People therefore hold different types of memories including thought memories and sensorial memories both of which can trigger emotional responses and contribute to the development of the individual. Movement thus creates the potential for an embodied experience through which the individual has an opportunity to explore an image, idea or emotion. Sklar describes this as "experiencing what one is ex-pressing ... dropping down into the body" (2001, p.184). This process facilitates transformation because of the potential to develop new kinaesthetic, emotional and intellectual awareness.

In the context of the puppet workshop the children could use movement and embodiment to transform their experience of visiting the exhibition of Czech puppets into the identification and creation of characters and story, bringing together their experience and memories from fairytales with their life experience and their imagination working as individuals and as part of a group. They could discover and share their relationships to the stories. The puppets were bridges between the tangible world of objects and the intangible world of myth, fairytale and archetype. The interaction between the puppets, movement and story allowed the children to develop the interest they had already shown for the puppets, to explore their relationship to the puppets. Eventually they could create their own puppet show and their own stories and in this way begin to build culture.

Stories allow both individual children, and for childhood itself to be acknowledged. In the second workshop for example, Jasmina wrote down exactly what the children in her group said about their puppets without changing the logic or word order. Jasmina also used this approach in the presentation that her group made in the fourth workshop. In this presentation, the puppets flew out of the theatre and into the space around the theatre and the theatre itself floated in mid-air. The presentation appeared to have its own logic both within the story and the presentational context. The children

who were the audience were much more interested in this presentation than the other performances.

Branislava told me that children have their own logic, which is different from adults this is echoed by Vygotsky (1998 [1930], p.156) who suggests that young children are "eidetic" in that they recall experiences or images with incredible accuracy, through visual images. The notion of eidetic memory was not limited to Vygotsky but was an ongoing area of investigation within psychology in the twentieth century (Gray and Gummerman 1975; Haber 1979; Haber and Haber 1964; Jaensch 1930; Luria 1968). Vygotsky however, believed that for very young children, memory "appears in active perception, in recognising" (ibid) As a child reaches school age, thinking becomes increasingly "depend[ent] on past experience" (ibid p.264) and the child begins to think in concepts with the onset of puberty and the development of language. Furthermore, within eidetic thinking there is a dynamic, active motor quality with which the thinker is able to solve problems presented to them through visual actions before undertaking the action in a live situation. Jasmina's group performance may have been more interesting to the children because it more accurately reflected their experience and response to the puppets at the exhibition and the follow-up workshops.

From the above it would appear that by giving the children the prospect to learn about, create and interact through stories and images from fairytales, Zdravo Da Ste gave the children an opportunity to engage in their experiences and their own narratives. Four interlinked perspectives have been outlined concerning the relationship of story to child development. Firstly that of Zdravo Da Ste and Cattanach concerning the importance of social interaction within the development of the individual; secondly that of Jung and the relationship of myths and fairytales to symbols, archetypes and the development of the individual; thirdly Jennings who suggested dramatic, creative or imaginative development is essential for the development of the individual; fourthly Vygotsky's notion of the place of eidetic memory within child development and the importance of visual images and embodiment within this process. Linking these ideas is Zdravo Da Ste's aim to create possibilities for social, cultural and imaginative interactions in order to stimulate processes of psychological development. The various arts media used within the workshops outlined above - movement, story, performance, and photography - allowed the participants and the workshop leaders to discover and facilitate the individual's potential.

The following section examines the creation of a story by a group of children living in collective centre (2) and the development of the story into a medium for cross-cultural interactions. The collective story was created over a series of three workshops, two at collective centre (2) in Serbia and one at a girl's school in London. The workshops occurred over a six-month period.

5.1.2 Story Exchange

The workshop room at collective centre (2) was a large rectangular space dominated in the centre by a cluster of tables that made it resemble a classroom. Other rooms that looked like bedrooms branched from this central space. The first workshop was co-facilitated by Goca and Snedjana (pronounced Sney-zjar-na), a psychologist and member of Zdravo Da Ste's Belgrade team. The following workshop was co-facilitated by Goca, Snedjana and myself in response to the development of the workshops. The initial aim of the first workshop was to explore the "wishes and desires" (informal conversation with Goca Belgrade January 2002) of the children through story; the following workshops developed as a response to this first workshop.

When the team arrived at the collective centre, children and adults gathered to greet them. The two Zdravo Da Ste teachers, myself and a group of about eight children aged between six and fourteen followed each other into the workshop room and came together in a standing circle holding hands. Everyone introduced himself or herself by giving their name, in turn. This was repeated with a movement as they said their name. Goca began to walk around the room using different movements to accompany her walk, for example, big gestures with arms wide and various kinds of walking including walking with a very upright open body, with her body bent forward, and with a contracted body. The participants formed a chain behind her and copied her actions. After a short period of time Goca invited the children to lead the group. Of the many who said yes, two were chosen and took it in turns to lead. The participants then came together into a circle and each participant was asked to think of something they wanted to do or be and show this to everyone else without using words. The rest of the group had to guess what had been chosen. The children chose a scarecrow, an aeroplane, a traffic-policeman, a ballerina, a basketball player, and reading a book. The teachers asked one person to volunteer to present their image. One of the children offered their image, which was repeated by the person next to them who transformed it into their

own image and then passed the new image onto the following person in the group. This activity continued around the whole group and began to develop a movement-based narrative. One of these images – the transformation of a cat into a lion and back into a cat - became the basis for a written story.

Two children developed the story while the other children listened. It was originally written in Serbian but the children asked if it could be translated into English and if I would give the story to children in an English school in London, to which I agreed, (please refer to parts 1 and 2 on page 166). After returning to Belgrade, I contacted a teacher I knew who worked in a school for girls in London. Her students responded to the story by developing the basic theme and creating a third part (please refer to part 3 on page 167) that they sent back to Serbia. In June 2002 the same Zdravo Da Ste team facilitated a follow-up workshop at collective centre (2) in order to give the children the response from London and to ask them how they wanted to continue.⁸

While waiting for Goca and Snedjana to arrive at the Zdravo Da Ste offices to travel to collective centre (2) for the second workshop, I identified themes in the three parts of the story which included conflict and transformation, captivity and freedom, and journey and exchange.⁹ Goca, Snedjana and I decided to use these themes as the basis for the workshop. An older boy who was visiting collective centre (2) also joined the group for the second workshop. He had previously lived at the centre with his family and had since moved to Toronto, Canada.

When the children entered the workshop space, they organised the room and sat themselves around the tables in the centre. Goca and Snedjana asked them to form a standing circle at one end of the room where there were no tables. One-by-one everybody gave their names and repeated them simultaneously loudly and quietly. The children then played a game they all knew and one that was familiar to me as an English game called 'Oranges and Lemons.' After the game, the children were again asked to choose an image, as they had in the previous workshop. This time everyone chose an animal and used movement and sound to show their animal to one another. The teachers asked the group to repeat their movements all together using large movements and loud sounds, followed by small movements and quiet sounds. They then brought the stories to the children.

One older child who had been very involved in the creation of the first story realised that the Zdravo Da Ste team had brought a response from the children in London and told the rest of the group who became very excited. Goca read the original story in Serbian followed by the boy from Toronto who read the same story in English. This process was repeated for the new story from the children in London. The children were asked how they wanted to respond to the new story and they said they wanted to make parts four and five using drawings (see parts 4 and 5 on pages 167-169). The group were very excited about the stories. They described the workshop as "the beginning of something" (extract from fieldnotes Collective Centre (2) June 2002) and took it very seriously. Goca told me that it was important for the children to have made contact with children in another country. When the drawings were completed, they were gathered together and laid on the tables so that everyone could see them. The pictures were of different animals and images from nature. The group chose two names for the fourth and fifth parts of the story, "The Book of Nature" and "Stories from the Zoo." The teachers asked the children what they wanted to do with the story. They replied that they wanted to make a book for me to take back to the children in London. The workshop was finished with a game.

I have presented the four parts of the story below, in the format created by the children (extract from fieldnotes January - July 2002),

The Book of Nature or Stories from the Zoo (January 2002)
by children and young people from collective centre (2) Serbia and school (1) London

The Cat Who Makes Magic (Part One)

One day, in a town called Springfield, a rich man had a little cat and a little dog. The cat played with a ball of wool. While she was sleeping, the dog attacked her and suddenly she became a lion. The dog and lion started to fight. The dog cried the lion had won. The dog went away, the lion became a small cat again. Nobody could stop this.

(English story written by Serbian children)

Part Two

After two or three days, the cat became a lion again and her master thought that the lion had escaped from the zoo. He telephoned Vuk Borojic¹⁰ they took the lion to the zoo. In the zoo, the lion became a cat again and she could pass through the bars of the cage. She went back to the rich man. The rich man loved the cat again and they lived happily ever after.

Written by children from collective centre (2)
Saturday 19th January 2002
Collective centre (2), Serbia

The Cat Who Makes Magic
Part Three

Although the cat is free, there are other animals that are not free. Back in the zoo animals are trapped in cages. They are sad because they cannot escape. There is a zebra called Zara. Zara is in a cage and there is nothing she can do. She feels lonely because she is isolated and cannot escape from the cage. Every day she tries to escape but unlike the cat she is too big to pass through the bars. Soon she is about to give up, but then suddenly the earth that her cage is sitting in begins to shake and the bars on her cage break off and she is free. But then she notices all the other animals that are also trapped. Zara begins to jump up and down around the cages and soon the bars begin to break. Now all the animals are free.

Written by a student at school (1) in London, England.

The Book of Nature or Stories from the Zoo - Parts Four and Five (June 2002)

Figure 16a



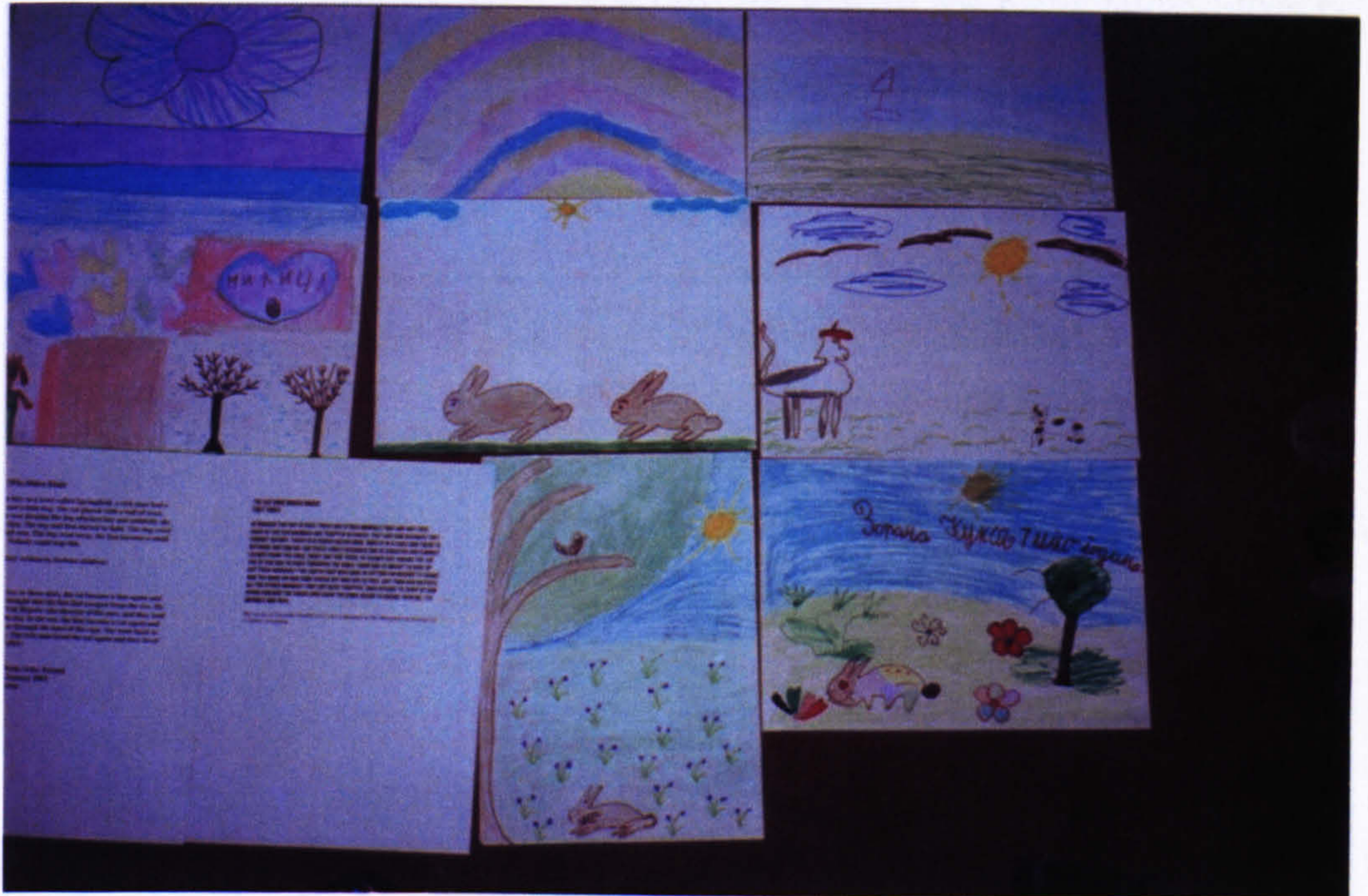
Figure 16b



Figure 16c



Figure 16d



A third workshop was planned at collective centre (2) in order to choose a method with which to bind and cover the book. Unfortunately, however, there were several misunderstandings concerning transport and it was not possible to go ahead with this workshop. When I left the field at the end of my fieldwork, the book remained unfinished although several attempts were made by Goca, Snedjana and myself to find a time to complete the activity. This situation concerning the completion of the book was not untypical of Zdravo Da Ste's work. Their workshops had their own momentum, processes and development that could not be predicted or planned. Unfinished workshops became part of a larger process and in this way had their own completion. The individual workshops were also part of a larger national programme of work, so compromises had to be made concerning time and resources in order to allow all the various activities to go ahead. In addition, working with products of the workshops in an international and intercultural context was not new to Zdravo Da Ste. They already facilitated a workshop based on sharing and communication between local, refugee pre-school children and IDPs with whom they worked and a group of children in Japan. This workshop used drawings as the medium of exchange.

As discussed earlier in this thesis in chapter two, page 43. Zdravo Da Ste did not attempt to interpret the images created by children within the workshops. They valued the meanings given to these representations by the participants. There were many

ways in which the children gave meaning to the stories and images created in the two workshops outlined above, for example, by asking me to take the first story to London. Goca told me it was important for the children to have opportunities to make contact with children in other countries. The children in the collective centres were often isolated from other children because of the physical proximity of the centres to other communities, the lack of resources to allow travel or socialising and because of prejudice against the refugee people and IDPs. The children identified this story as a means to make contact with other children from abroad. In a country where overseas travel was very restricted, this was a very exciting possibility.

Secondly, the titles the children gave to the different parts of the story indicated how they perceived the stories and how they wanted them to be perceived by others. Dramatherapist and play therapist Christine Novy states, "Naming guarantees the story-tellers place, centre stage, in their unfolding story" (2002, p.221). Naming the story directs the readers' attention towards a meaning intended by the author. The naming thus formalises the children's relationship to the story and articulates its meaning.

Thirdly the whole group, including the teachers and myself, gave meaning to the stories by using different languages both verbal and non-verbal. The children asked for the story to be translated into English so that I could take it to children in England. In this way, the story developed in two languages, English and Serbian. The use of different verbal languages became more significant in the second workshop because of the presence of the young visitor from Canada. The teenager was able to use both languages fluently, like Goca, and therefore act as a translator and interpreter for his friends. In this way, his skill illustrated some of the changes that had occurred to him as a result of moving to Canada which could be recognised and acknowledged by the group through this process. He also became a potential bridge between the children at collective centre (2) and children in Toronto.

There was a freedom of movement between verbal languages, specifically Serbian and English within the workshops. The children from Serbia and London were able to communicate and share something through the medium of a story. They did not feel impeded by the different verbal languages spoken; words and pictures allowed the story created in the workshop to become a tangible object that could be shared and

preserved. As an object, I could then take this story to other children in London who could respond to it and develop it. The story was a medium through which the Serbian children felt that they could develop communication with other children in a foreign country. Through the writing process, the Serbian children realised the potential to send their story to England via me.

The third language, initiated by both the children and the Zdravo Da Ste team, was that of physical and visual images. The children chose to complete the final parts of the story using visual images rather than words. They felt this would complete the story and I could then return it to the children in London. The Zdravo Da Ste team initiated the use of physical images to prepare for the development of the story and to remember the story.

Psychologists Beverly Roskos-Ewoldson, Margaret Inton-Peterson and Rita Anderson (1993b) suggest, "Images are often produced with intention for some purpose. As such, images tend to be inherently meaningful" (p.317). From this perspective the image can be seen as an expression and representation of one or a number of emotions and relationships. The image as product has the potential to produce an emotional response both in the creator, and the person witnessing the image; it is also a form of communication. Interpretation of the image and the motivations behind this interpretation determine what is considered good or bad, and in this way determines the individual and cultural value given to the image. Furthermore, the importance given to the image by both the person creating it and the person receiving it determines the extent to which it is maintained in the memory (ibid p.318). Images are representational both in what they show and in what they hide and are conceived and generated in different ways. Images can range from "conceptual images (e.g. intentional thought) to spatial images to mental pictures (e.g. experiential sensation)" (ibid, p.317). In this workshop, images were created through words, movement and pictures. The workshop thus appeared to create the opportunity for the children to engage conceptually, spatially, mentally and kinaesthetically and, through this process, attempt to activate the whole person.

The ways in which the images were developed in the workshop, beginning with an initial image and then working with movement to allow this image to transform, is similar to Jung's method of active imagination.¹¹ Active imagination is a technique

developed by Jung to bring to consciousness "unrealised, unconscious fantasies" (Jung 2002 [1959], p.49). Furthermore, Jung suggests that the sequence of images produced through active imagination "relieves the unconscious and produces material rich in archetypal images and associations" (ibid). In this technique, a series of images are created through association and concentration on the image and its products. Jung suggests that the images that emerge in dreams and art-making processes are not necessarily initially understood but are those that "want' to become conscious" (ibid). The individual has an unconscious need to allow these images to move from the unconscious to consciousness in order to facilitate the process of individuation. In relating to the experience of war, these unconscious aspects can be thought of as experience that has been suppressed. The process of active imagination allows these images or experiences to re-emerge in the contained context of the therapeutic space. The group interactions in Zdravo Da Ste's workshops allowed participants to both witness and experience the transformation of these images and experiences. In the workshop outlined above, it was through the transformation of the movement images that the main character and theme of the story emerged. This theme captured the imagination of both the Serbian and the English children, and they developed it through the written story.

Play therapist David Le Vay suggests that children have a "narrative identity" which they "carry within them" (2002, p.36) as a way of understanding their experiences and the world in which they live. In both of the examples of story discussed in this chapter, the stories created in the workshops by the children combined elements from fairytales and contemporary stories with their own life experience and imagination. The stories were created as part of the process of the workshop. In the first workshop the children chose how the puppets moved, what their names were and what colours should be used in their representation. In the second, the children chose to translate their story into English, to represent it through words and pictures and to ask me to take it to children in the U.K. They also decided on the names for their story. The ability to be able to make choices is important within the context of displacement. This is because one of the aspects of forced displacement is the loss of choice within basic life decisions. Stories gave the children the opportunity to make choices and to have these choices acknowledged and acted upon. This is empowering for the children, not just in the present context of the workshops, but also as a lesson to carry into their future lives. Many informants from both within and outside Zdravo Da Ste suggested to me

that children stand a better chance of building a new life after war than adults. They felt this was because children are still able to adapt relatively easily, where adults can feel powerless, as Vesna suggests:

I really think that children have a chance they will keep this experience [of war], but they can overcome this through development, through education, through meeting people. No one has the right to say 'It's ended'. We have to do our best, as we did in 1992, that's to keep this process [the workshops and the possibilities for social and cultural interactions] going on. (Extract from interview Belgrade November 2001).

Children who know that they can make choices and change their situation create the potential for new possibilities both for themselves and within their communities. The stories were opportunities to make choices and to have these choices acknowledged. They were springboards to further development of the individual child, the community of children, and by implication the wider community.

Both of the above examples of the use of story within Zdravo Da Ste's work suggest that stories, movement and visual images can be considered as forms and frames of narrativization of the self. The stories and their interactions with movement and visual images facilitated embodiment, engagement with the imagination, and the building of social and cultural relationships. They also facilitated a symbolic transformation of experience and allowed the children to participate in the telling of a story, in a narration. I suggest that this latter aspect of story also occurred within the performances used at the end of the workshops. Within these performances the participants became the narrators of their experiences of the workshops themselves represented through physical images and sound. The following section considers further the notion of performance, its application within the context of Zdravo Da Ste's overall aims and objectives, and its place as a medium to facilitate narrativization of the self.

5.2 Performance

Zdravo Da Ste used movement, often accompanied by sound, to create short movement-based group presentations at the end of workshops, which Bojana called performances. Performance in the context of Dramatherapy can be used to acknowledge that individuals perform in relation to others. Being seen by another gives validation to an individual and their experiences (Casson 2004, p.155). Through

therapeutic performance, individuals can identify the need to express an image, idea or problem. A participant may hold several roles within a performance. The example presented below outlines a visit, during the summer camp, to the old Roman and medieval walled town of Kotor. The initial visit was followed by three further workshops using material gathered during and after the visit. The primary media within the Kotor workshops were photography, movement and sound, performance and collage.

5.2.1 Kotor Workshop

Kotor is situated at the northern end of Boka Kotorska (Kotor Bay) in Montenegro and is a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Kotor is an important town in Montenegro because of its links with shipping and trading. Between the tenth and twentieth centuries there were many changes of power within Kotor including control by Croatia, Serbia, Italy, the Ottoman Empire, Hungary and the Austrian empire. Montenegrins think of themselves as a separate group of people to the Serbs, although they have been linked with former Yugoslavia, and more recently Serbia, throughout much of the twentieth century. Since May 2006, Montenegro has been recognised as an independent state. The workshop at Kotor was repeated several times to allow all children to participate (please refer to video extract 4).

Once the group arrived in Kotor they were divided into the groups of twenty children that had been formed at the beginning of the summer camp. Two teachers, one from Serbia and the other from Republika Srpska, were responsible for each group of children. The teachers gave each child a map and the group, a camera to record their experience of Kotor. Goca's group¹² selected their route through the town using the maps. As they journeyed, each child chose and photographed one image and the group as a whole chose several. Goca told the children historical facts and stories regarding particular features in the town including the story of Sveti Luka church. The church of Sveti Luka (Saint Luke) was a Romanic church built in 1195 A.D. It miraculously survived a series of earthquakes the last of which was in 1979. Goca told the children that it was the only building that remained standing after one of the earthquakes. This story became the image that Goca's group of children created in the second workshop as their performance. One young boy in Goca's group was called Luka and he identified it as his favourite place in Kotor. The story appeared to provide

a metaphor for him, possibly for his life. The children used some of these stories and anecdotes in the follow-up workshops.

In the afternoon, after their return to Bijela, the children participated in a workshop led by Jasmina on the terrace of the hotel. The group began by forming a large circle and Jasmina introduced a clapping game frequently used in workshop contexts.¹³ The small groups re-formed to prepare presentations based on their experience of Kotor. Each group showed their presentation to the other groups using movement and sound, freezing when they had finished, creating a tableau to signal the end of their presentation. Within this tableau Goca's group showed a group of children falling to the floor while one child remained standing to show the church that survived the earthquake. The individual presentations were repeated simultaneously creating a moving representation of Kotor through which individual groups walked. The whole group was then asked to freeze to create a final still collective image of Kotor. To end the workshop Jasmina asked the participants to find a way to say good-bye to Kotor. Goca told me that the aim of the second Kotor workshop and of the performance was to consolidate the experience of Kotor.

All participants in the summer camp joined the evening workshops and each group made a presentation of their day's activities, using movement and sound. These short impromptu performances gave the participants a chance to reflect and give meaning to their experiences in the workshops and to share these with others, thus facilitating communication and integration of the experience. The performances also allowed each participant to become visible both within the smaller groups and the larger group. Later in the evening of the visit to Kotor, the children again made a shortened performance representation of their earlier visit for all participants to see. Goca's group repeated some of the movement images they had created earlier in the day.

Over the next few days, the photographs were developed and each group participated in a third small workshop with their respective teachers. The aim of this workshop was for the children to use the photos to create a collage. When the collages were completed, they were placed on the floors of the foyer areas on each level of the hotel where the children stayed. As I have noted in chapter four, page 139 these foyer areas and the areas outside the children's bedrooms became informal galleries of the artwork produced during the summer camp and objects found by the children (please refer to

video extract 5). They also became a meeting place where the children could make new relationships and reflect on their experience of the summer camp in their own time. At one of the final evening workshops during the summer camp, all of the Kotor collages were arranged on the stage area of the terrace of the hotel for everyone to see. Each group then collected their respective collage and formed an informal procession to carry the collages back into the hotel (please refer to video extract 6).

Within the Kotor workshops, performance was combined with photography, movement, sound, collage and drawings. During their tour of Kotor the children chose their route and what to photograph. Goca encouraged the children to take responsibility for their journey through the town and the photographs allowed them to develop their own relationships. In Branka's group new social relationships began to be formed during the creation of the photomontage, relationships that had slowly developed through the process of the summer camp. The children and young people in Branka's group lived in private accommodation, did not necessarily know one another and had not participated in a Zdravo Da Ste workshop before. Through the process of the summer camp and the activities in the workshops the children began to develop relationships with one another and expressed a desire to participate in future Zdravo Da Ste workshops.

In discussion of the use of photography as part of her work with traumatised communities in South Africa, art psychotherapist Hayley Berman suggests:

Each individual's images reflected their lives, the way they photographed their worlds connected to the way they created their images in the group and how they lived their lives. (2005, p.183)

Applying these ideas to the context of the Kotor workshops, it is not just the photograph itself that says something about the person; it is the choice of which image to photograph, the way the photograph is taken, what surrounds the photograph, and how the children chose to use their collective photographs within the collective montage. This is illustrated in video extract 5. The children were given complete freedom in the workshop at Kotor to photograph whatever they chose and in whatever way they chose. They were also given complete freedom in how they chose to compose the photomontages. The participants photographed a variety of images from different angles. Each photomontage had its own style, some were narrative in the presentation

of the photographs, framing the pictures within a drawing of one of the buildings of Kotor. Other collages appeared to be a collection of photographs, colour, names and drawings a composition created through the group process. Through the process of taking the photographs and representing their experience through the photomontage, the children were able to share with one another part of themselves: how they responded to life, how they made decisions, what they found attractive or unattractive and how they worked as part of a group.

Many members of Zdravo Da Ste stressed that building relations between people was a central aspect of their work, as discussed in chapter two, page 48. The activities in the workshops were an important way through which these relationships could be built, as identified by Branka:

it is [the] first step to make contact with somebody. After that first step you can speak about a lot of things and you can exchange a lot of different things and the human need for talking, for having human relation with the other human being ... Now I find out how it is possible to live with the other people, how it is possible to pass through all those things, how it is possible to have a lot of life inside yourself, how to recognise life inside other people, how to be with other people, how to laugh when the bombing is outside, how to sing when it is catastrophic around you ... how to recognise in every situation how to grow, how to protect the process of growing. (Extract from interview Belgrade March 2002)

Through the Kotor workshops the children and young people had the opportunity to engage with their experience of visiting Kotor through spatial, physical and visual representations. The children were given an opportunity to experience Kotor, to begin to understand something of its historical and cultural significance within the context of former Yugoslavia, to find their own relationship to this experience and to begin the process of assimilation of this experience. The activities within the workshops, including performance, became ways to meet, share, exchange and learn about other people. In this way the meetings between people created possibilities for action. Through the interactions, people were not only able to recognise themselves and their own skills, but could also see the potential in others and through this recognition were able to facilitate and nurture the creativity and development of others. There was a continuous process of reflection and consolidation of the experience of Kotor. This was facilitated through the photographs, collage and the performances which occurred at different stages of the workshop process. Within the Kotor workshops, performance was a means for individuals to work collectively, to reflect on an experience, to share

this reflection with a larger group and to consolidate the experience to create a resource for the future.

Within the workshops, members of the audience became active witnesses rather than passive spectators, where the role of the witness is not to judge, but rather to support the expression contained within the performance (Halprin 1995, p.249). In this way, the process of performance encouraged the hidden treasures and hidden voices of the participants to be seen and heard, creating the opportunity for new understanding.

Performance is also part of Social Therapy, a form of psychological intervention that has evolved in reaction to the perceived problems of traditional psychological approaches. One of the contemporary pioneers in this field is an organisation called the East Side Institute, based in New York, which has collaborated with Zdravo Da Ste during the last fifteen years. Like Zdravo Da Ste, East Side Institute refer to Vygotsky as an important part of their lineage and consider the building of community to be essential to the development of the human being. In their view, the key ideas that underpin social therapy are that human beings are social, life is relational and always changing, and performing "being who we are and 'other' than who we are" (East Side Institute 2006) is central to the development of the social, emotional and intellectual life. East Side Institute also refer to the ideas of Karl Marx in that they consider there to be a "dialectical theory of change" within which people are both determined by the circumstances by which they are surrounded "(what is) and have the capacity to transform these circumstances into something new (what is becoming)" (ibid). These ideas are very similar to those of Zdravo Da Ste. Performance within social therapy is created through the ensemble, through the social interrelationships. From the perspective of social therapy the emphasis is not so much on forming groups as using the group to create a small community and to give participants the opportunity to participate in and create something within this community. Through the formation and development of the community new social and cultural possibilities for the short-term and long-term future emerge. Zdravo Da Ste's work can be considered as a form of social therapy.

Within Zdravo Da Ste's workshops the performances created opportunities for the building and development of a community. Community can be defined as the individual and collective expression and acknowledgement of ideas and experience (Cohen 2003

[1985]). The community was created through the collective experience of the workshops. Zdravo Da Ste itself can also be considered a community represented through its songs, logo, aphorisms and the workshop forms. The name "Zdravo Da Ste" for example, was often called out at the beginning or end of a workshop and was used at the end of the visit to Kotor in one of the town squares. The calling out seemed to identify the community of which the participants were a part; it gave a sense of belonging. Perhaps this suggests that Zdravo Da Ste perceived itself as a community in some ways separate from the rest of Serbian society, with its own constantly evolving ideology, methodology, symbology and web of interrelationships. This idea proposes that the search for meaning after the war was not just for the refugee people but also for members of Zdravo Da Ste. Through their work and interactions with the refugee and IDP people they could also begin to make sense of the war and the post-war situation in which they found themselves as illustrated in the following comment by Dara:

... very soon we realised that meeting these people helped us, I mean personally I felt that meeting these people helped me to understand what happens in my family, because we didn't understand each other. And in this work it was clear that we are not helping them, they are also helping us and actually we are all trying to find our own way. (Extract from interview Belgrade December 2001)

From an ethnographic perspective, this illustrates why it was very different to base this research with a local organisation rather than an international one. The experience of war for members of a local organisation was completely unlike the experience of an international organisation, and so their needs and responses to the war and in relation to the war would be very diverse. In the work of Zdravo Da Ste, meaning appeared to be negotiated through the interaction of individual and group responses to the activities. The group itself became a receptacle and transformer of meaning. Zdravo Da Ste acknowledged the movements, stories and images created by the children both within the workshops and in discussions with team members after the workshops. Activities or images that seemed to be particularly poignant for the children were often developed in the following workshops and the activities that had created these responses applied in other workshop contexts. In this way, members of Zdravo Da Ste acknowledged the meaning and significance the children gave to workshop activities. Meaning was often confirmed by individually or collectively asking the children questions during the workshops. These questions, however, were not always direct but sometimes approached through other means, such as asking the children to give a title

to the workshop or to a story. In addition, the facilitators often participated alongside the children within an activity, talking with them and listening to them as they all worked. In this way, meaning and intention were gathered from the process of the development of the activities.

Through the discussion in this chapter I suggest that story, movement and performance were interlocking frames through which meaning could be explored and individual and collective identity developed. In this way they can be conceived as frames of narrativization of the self, which can be considered as a central concept within Zdravo Da Ste's approach. The following final chapter considers the concept of identity and its relation to narrativization of the self within Zdravo Da Ste's work and the wider context of psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children and adults.

¹ Please refer to chapter one, page 36.

² It was usual, however, for children to continue participating in other workshops, for example workshops at the collective centres, the integrated children's workshops, etno exhibitions, the summer camp or, as they got older, the youth workshops.

³ Baba Roga is a witch character from Russian folklore.

⁴ The group remained in a circle with everyone holding hands while one of the workshop leaders asked the group to become a balloon. As they breathed in they grew bigger making the circle larger and as they breathed out they moved into the centre of the circle making the circle smaller. This was repeated three times, once to learn and then quickly and slowly. The children's team often used games at the beginning of workshops as a way to engage the children and to prepare for the main activities. Goca said it was more useful to work with games than with exercises in work with children.

⁵ These ideas are also echoed by Jung (2002 [1959]), and Dramatherapist Phil Jones (1996, p.238).

⁶ Jung's notion of the ego is of a driving force with which the unconscious strives to engage, while the psyche can be equated with the idea of the soul of a person, their essence.

⁷ Please see Laban 1950, p.91.

⁸ It was unusual for the same team to return consecutively to a collective centre, because Zdravo Da Ste wanted the children to be able to develop relationships with different people rather than just one group.

⁹ This was typical of the way I would approach a follow-up DMT session, by identifying themes that had emerged and considering how they could be developed.

¹⁰ Vuk Borojic was a well-known sculptor who had become the director of the Belgrade zoo. He was a living folk hero.

¹¹ See chapter two, page 58 and chapter three, page 93.

¹² I had initially wanted to work with Goca and the children from collective centre (2) during the summer camp. I had worked closely with Goca throughout the fieldwork and she often acted as an informal translator and interpreter for me both with the children and in Zdravo Da Ste meetings. Goca however, suggested I might like to work with a variety of groups so that I could experience the different children and the different approaches of the workshop leaders. She suggested I should "share my heart with all the children." I felt that I had in some way betrayed the children in Goca's group by beginning to develop a relationship and then leaving with no warning. I had observed this situation before.

¹³ Jasmina initiated a clap and one-by-one the participants took up the clap, Jasmina then initiated slapping the knees and one-by-one the participants took up this activity. Stamping and then clicking fingers followed this.

Chapter Six

Conclusions

In the introduction to this thesis I suggested that there is an underlying relationship between notions of creativity, culture and human development that can be harnessed within psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children and adults and IDPs in order to facilitate processes of integration and resettlement. I also suggested that central to these processes was the building of new social and cultural relationships and the creation of opportunities for individuals and groups to discover, or re-discover, and develop innate potentials that can be used as resources in the context of forced displacement. Furthermore I posited that interaction with a variety of artistic media had a fundamental part to play within these processes. This final chapter assesses Zdravo Da Ste's approach to psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children and adults following the war in former Yugoslavia, and its relation to contemporary notions of identity, psychological development and the concept of narrativization of the self. I briefly compare Zdravo Da Ste's approach to my own way of working as a DMT clinician. The chapter then reflects on the methodology adopted for this research in relation to DMT, dance ethnography and applied anthropology. Finally it considers the contribution this thesis has to make to current discourses within the areas of dance ethnography, applied anthropology, DMT and psychosocial work with war-affected refugee people and IDPs.

6.1 Notions of Identity

In chapter one pages 20-22 I suggested that, with so many people now finding themselves as refugees, the concept of integration may need to be reframed. It may not be simply the integration of refugee people within a host community, but the beginning of a redefinition of home and the relationships between people. Within this redefinition, these relationships may need to be perceived as part of a global community that is complex and multi-dimensional in the way that it can both incorporate and acknowledge difference. Through the discussion in this thesis, a correlation has emerged between notions of identity and the building of social, cultural and physical relations that incorporate concepts such as home, and labels such as refugees.

In chapter one page 24 I also discussed the lack of choice for refugee people and IDPs with regards to the notion of home as well as the symbolic significance that the concept of home can acquire through the process of displacement and migration. Home can be conceived as both a "mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination ... [and] the lived experience of a locality" (Brah 2003 [1996], p.192). Brah emphasises that the concept of home in the context of diaspora "signals ... processes of multi-locationality across geographical, cultural and psychic boundaries" (ibid p.194). A full discussion of diaspora is, however, beyond the scope of this thesis. The notion of identity as a process and the diasporic home as a place of multi-locations and multiple systems of meaning, allows displacement to be perceived as an opportunity and locus for new possibilities.

There is an inherent dichotomy within the conception of home that is concerned with the relationship between the past and the present. I suggest Zdravo Da Ste's statement, "Now is always tomorrow, tomorrow, the future is now," encapsulates their aims and objectives, and attempts to resolve this struggle. The aphorism posits that it is in the present that the possibilities for the future lie. Historian David Lowenthal (1985, p.263) states that changing relationships with the past creates possibilities for a different kind of future. Framed within these ideas, Zdravo Da Ste's intention is to allow people to find resources from the past and to question these in the context of the present, in order to create new possibilities for the future; and to identify individual and collective potential in the context of psychosocial work with refugee people and IDPs.¹ I suggest Zdravo Da Ste attempt to create bridges between these historical locations of past, present and future through the workshop activities.

Zdravo Da Ste conceive identity as a process, which is comparable to contemporary post-structuralist sociological notions of identity (Brah 2003 [1996], p.124; Hall 2003a [1996], 2003c [1997]). Brah however, stresses that if identity is considered as a process it is problematic to also define it in relation to the concept of an essential already existing identity. Instead he perceives identity as "discourses, matrices of meanings" (ibid), which are situated in and are a response to specific economic, cultural and political contexts. Zdravo Da Ste's approach to psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children and adults and IDPs does appear to be concerned with discourse and process; and yet they are also influenced by Jung, whose concepts of

Self and individuation imply that each person has a core that is unique to them and within which is contained the essence of an individual. Zdravo Da Ste's approach thus seems able to hold both perspectives, identity as a process, and the unique aspect of identity within each individual as a resource that can be activated. I also believe that these can co-exist within a concept of identity. Zdravo Da Ste's emphasis on building social, cultural and physical relations through the activities in the workshops is an example of the creation of opportunities for discourse through social and cultural interactions. There is, however, a tension evident here between essentialist and process-oriented approaches.

Zdravo Da Ste defined their approach as being post-modern; I wonder if their approach is not more firmly anchored within post-structuralist thinking. The notion of identity as being a process rather than an essential state of being, created through discourse and comprised of multi-layers of meaning, is very similar to the ideas encapsulated within post-structuralist thinking (Derrida 1976; Foucault 1994 [1970]; Lacan 2006 [1966]). By giving participants opportunities to represent images, experiences, ideas and emotions, Zdravo Da Ste stated that they gave refugee people and IDPs the opportunity to realise themselves and their relation to the social, cultural and physical worlds by which they were surrounded. Zdravo de ste believed that through participation in the workshops the children and adults would be able to find new relationships and ways of perceiving which would create new possibilities for the future.

It would seem that both Zdravo Da Ste and the people in power during the war used discourse to re-define notions of collective and individual identity, although for different purposes. In this way discourse became "a site of power" (Brah 2003 [1996], p.125), even though the very concept of identity as process appears to contradict the concepts of nationalism and essentialism that underpinned the war. During the war, this site of power fuelled the nationalist furnace. In Zdravo Da Ste's work, the discourse through the interactions with arts media facilitated psychological development that empowered the refugee people and IDPs, allowing some of these people to move into paid employment, to find homes and to make new relationships with both local people and other refugee people and IDPs. The success of these interactions also stimulated the growth of Zdravo Da Ste as an organisation and furthered the development of their programmes. I suggest that through discourse, enabled through the workshop activities and interactions, Zdravo Da Ste were not only aiming to build new social and cultural

relations, but were also inherently striving to develop a new society with different values.

People who are able to define collective identities are also implicitly involved in the developmental process of those directly affected by these definitions. In this way, political power also becomes psychological power. This is reiterated by Vesna's comment, "Culture and development are inseparable" (extract from interview Belgrade November 2001), which suggests an intertwining between notions of culture, individual and collective identity, and psychological development. In chapter one page 25 and chapter two page 60 I explored the concept of culture both within Zdravo Da Ste's approach and within the context of international psychosocial work with war-affected refugee people. Zdravo Da Ste's conception of culture encompasses values, ethics, personal resources and codes for relating to people and environments; as well as the objects and images that represent these values.

Members of Zdravo Da Ste stated that their aims were not only to build relations with culture but also to "build culture." Their definition of culture included the resources, individuals and communities inherently possessed, which could be expressed through arts media:

During all these days and months and years it was really more than impressive what capacity there is discovered and actualised, hidden in the people. What really happened during these workshops is that ordinary people created poetry, created paintings without being quite aware; I wanted to write the point - it just happened. This is when I say to build the culture. The culture is not only what you can see in the theatres or the books you can read or so on, but the culture is something that ordinary people have within themselves. If there is opportunity for them to express it, then within small and big circles they are building culture. (Extract from interview with Vesna Belgrade November 2001)

The relationships between notions of creativity, culture, individual and collective identity, and psychological development were mobilised both by Zdravo Da Ste and the governments in power during the war. This raises questions as to the repercussions of the war for future generations of people from former Yugoslavia, both those with whom Zdravo Da Ste worked and those who committed atrocities during the war, in terms of notions of individual and collective identity. As I discussed in chapter three page 81, I adopted an a-political stance with regards to my research; I chose not to ask members of Zdravo Da Ste about their political beliefs because I wanted to focus on their

practical work with the children. I do, however, think that their approach was of a specific nature. As a response to the war in former Yugoslavia, it could be seen as political and ideological.

6.2 Symbols of Identity

Several people within Zdravo Da Ste stated that they considered themselves to be Yugoslavs, belonging to former Yugoslavia. This is illustrated by Jasmina's comment "I used to live in this former Yugoslavia and I think that my roots are all over the place." They identified themselves both as people from former Yugoslavia and regionally in terms of the place where they were from. Theatre practitioner Branislav Jakovljevic states that before the beginning of the war in former Yugoslavia, a new ethnicity emerged, in which approximately two million people declared themselves "ethnic Yugoslavs" (1999, pp.10-11). Jakovljevic suggests that the existence of these people during the war was kept a secret and many were killed or left the country because of their declared ethnicity. These people identified themselves geographically within the region that had encompassed former Yugoslavia, itself a region created in the aftermath of World War I, composed of a majority of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; and a minority of people including Bosnian Muslims, Macedonians, Albanians, Germans, Jews, Hungarians, Turks (Banac 1992 [1984], p.58). What is evident is that the people, who lived within the region identified as former Yugoslavia were defined in terms of both geography and religion. The Serbian Orthodox Church was the religion of many Serbian people and Catholicism the religion for many people from Croatia. Bosnia was considered unusual in its integration of people who belonged to the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Catholic Church and Muslims. It was tensions between these signifiers that resurfaced during the war. Those who considered themselves as Yugoslavs directly challenged the concepts of nationalism on which the war was based because they inherently questioned the reasons for the nationalist divisions.

I suggest it is for this reason that etno had such an important place within Zdravo Da Ste's work. Etno held symbolic significance because it represented regional identities, the collective identity of former Yugoslavia and identities of people in the wider geographical region including Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary. In some ways it is possible to perceive etno as representing a fluidity of movement of people within former Yugoslavia, and between former Yugoslavia and the surrounding areas. Etno

was a locus of history and could be used as a tool in psychosocial work with war-affected refugee people and IDPs, within which individual and collective identity is embedded. Applied anthropologist Linda Camino (2004 [1994], p.30) suggests that the notion of liminality (Turner 1982, Van Gennep 1960 [1909]) can be applied to refugee people in terms of "being caught between old and new surroundings." Within this context new identities and concepts of ethnicity are created. Etno is one vehicle through which these notions can be negotiated.

Within Zdravo Da Ste's work, etno facilitated the development of links between the past, present and future. Etno was known and understood by many of the older refugee people and therefore provided frameworks that could be adapted and used in the present. Working with etno in the workshops created opportunities for the people to remember, express, communicate, and develop new social and cultural relations. Zdravo Da Ste used etno in different ways. Through the making of etno objects for income generation, participants could engage in the processes of creating these objects and share this knowledge with others. The dance steps and songs that emerged within the etno exhibitions allowed people to remember the events that surrounded these songs and dances, and their meaning. Etno symbolised the identity and values of former Yugoslavia at different stages in history, it represented the experience of a past that could be shared and transformed to serve the present. Through these interactions and sharing a, "We – them dichotomy begins to fall apart" (Ognjenovic and Skorc 2003, p.103) and resources contained within the social relations "can be reached and transformed into real social treasure" (ibid, p.102). Zdravo Da Ste's work was thus also concerned with the breaking down of boundaries, the 'we - them dichotomy'. Brah identifies boundaries and borders as being a central aspect of the diasporic experience. (2003 [1996], pp.198-204). The causes of war in former Yugoslavia can also be considered as being concerned with geographical borders and boundaries of ethnicity. Etno and work with symbols through arts media was one way in which Zdravo Da Ste created possibilities to question these boundaries.

Anthropologist Edit Petrovic (2000, p.171) considers the most important aspect of nationalist ideology to be "based on feelings of belonging to a well-defined and bounded group of people, linked together by ancestral ties and shared descent." By stimulating these feelings, history and memory can be manipulated in order to facilitate

a notion of continuity for the future. Petrovic suggests that Milosevic combined history, propaganda and cultural celebrations to mobilise nationalistic sentiments and further his political aims. Petrovic reminds us, for example, that Milosevic used the narrative relationships between historical figures such as King Lazar during the Battle of Kosovo and the Orthodox Church as symbols to incite "national imaginings" that supported the notion that Kosovo belonged to Serbia and should be fought for through sacrifice (ibid pp.173-4).² Etno was also used by Milosevic and other protagonists during the war as a representation of the nation; this is illustrated through the use of etno dance (Maners 2002) discussed in chapter four, page 122. Petrovic describes this as "Ethno-Marketing" (Petrovic 2000, p.173). It served to provide positive images of themselves and negative images of their enemies and promoted the legitimacy of their claim to difference and superiority and thus produced the 'We – them dichotomy' which Zdravo Da Ste strove to move away from. Etno was one medium through which this occurred; other media included newspapers and television, language, and the use of religious symbolism. As stated earlier in this chapter page 183 this has potential repercussions for the future as Petrovic states, "After the bloodshed, it might well be, that the whole basis for future national imagining will be profoundly changed" (ibid, p.176) for the better, for worse or to stimulate further conflict.

Within etno are contained visual images, dance, music, song and story. These aspects were all reflected within Zdravo Da Ste's workshops with children both within the context of etno and within the use of these as arts media in their own right. If etno is considered as a symbol of collective identity, then the arts media can be considered as frames within which meaning can be explored, expressed and negotiated. Furthermore, I suggest that both etno and the arts media can be thought of as media of narrativization for the collective and for the individual.

6.3 Frames of Meaning

Recognising the ability to create allows the individual to harness and apply the resources inside themselves; and "re-arm" (Luria and Vygotsky 1992, pp.110-111). Members of the children's teams, for example, noticed that some of the children had become frozen, unable to play in response to their experiences of war. Through their participation in the workshops, informants described the children as "opening." Within the process of creativity, something new is given form, recognised and put into relation

with other things; in this way meaning and value are given. Jung (1995 [1961]) suggested that people complete creation by "giving it objective existence" (p.284). I suggest that through the workshop activities and the objects, stories and performances created in the workshops, the refugee people and IDPs were able to explore meaning in relation to their experiences of the war and displacement as a result of the war.

Bojana told me that one of the aims of Zdravo Da Ste's work was to engage with an essence or a truth in relation to life. After reading some of my graduate work, she felt that I was also searching for this and therefore there was a basis for common ground. I believe that Bojana's concept of essence and Vesna's emphasis on the realisation of an innate potential within individual human beings are the same and are related to Jung's notion of the Self and the process of individuation and Vygotsky's idea concerning the zone of proximal development. This reflects Vesna's identification as to the influence of Vygotsky and Jung on the development of Zdravo Da Ste's approach. The different media and frames Zdravo Da Ste used within the workshops including symbols, etno, environments, ritual, movement and dance, story, visual images and performance gave the participants opportunities to interact with one another, with the various media and signifiers of culture, and to express themselves in relation to these. From a Jungian perspective, this facilitated a realisation of Self and recognition of the individual self in relation to the social, cultural and physical context by which the individual and community were surrounded.³

Through their active participation in etno, for example, the people with whom Zdravo Da Ste worked could learn "to use their own richness which they have inside, now, and from passive people they become active people" (extract from interview with Branka Belgrade March 2002). The personal and collective stories and objects, symbols in their own rights, were thus placed in "another social frame, not how it was, but how it is now" (ibid); the stories thus became a form of "narrative identity":

... narrative identity is a task of imagination, not a fait accompli. And here the poetical and ethical aspects of this narrative task point to a political project. In telling its story to the other the imaginative self comes to recognize more clearly its unlimited responsibility to others. This responsibility extends beyond my personal history (and also beyond the secluded intimacy of I-Thou dialogue) to include a collective history. (Kearney 1988, p.396)

The story-telling using words, the creation of etno objects, etno dance and music allowed the people in the collective centres to reaffirm their identity, open possibilities

for building new relationships, develop existing relationships and place their experience within the wider experience of their culture. This narrativization of the self also allowed the older people to teach younger people about the past (Hadjiyanni 2002, p.46). Contained within these stories were values, ideology, and history, relationships to place and people, and skills. The process of narrativization was thus also a process of remembering, teaching, learning and finding new relationships to the past and the present. From this perspective, Zdravo Da Ste's work could be seen as facilitating processes of narrativization through different media, including etno, story, movement and dance, visual images and ritual or "performative memory" (Connerton 1989). This process of narrativization can also be viewed as part of the discourse within which individual and collective identity was negotiated through the workshop activities. Similarly the war in former Yugoslavia can be conceived as incited through a process of narrativization of the past.

Anthropologists Nigel Rapport and Andrew Dawson (1998, p.28) posit that narratives and stories can be considered from two different perspectives: firstly as the telling of new interactions between people, objects and events in relation to time; and secondly as stories that have not yet been told but have always existed: "narratives that do the telling, that ... speak through the latter's lives unbeknown to them." From the discussion in this thesis it would appear that Zdravo Da Ste applied both of these perspectives within their work: participants had an opportunity to tell their own stories and to create new stories through the various media and frames applied within the workshops. Furthermore, these two perspectives can be seen to overlap, informing and forming one another. Rapport and Dawson further suggest that one of the functions of narratives is to give meaning; through the telling of the narrative, identity is revealed or emerges and "one becomes" (ibid). This concept of narrativization supports the notions of identity discussed earlier in this chapter page 181, and would appear to facilitate the discourse through which identity can be identified and used to serve particular purposes.

The stories connected with the making process were also a springboard from which new activities could be created (extract from interview with Branka Belgrade March 2002). Bettelheim proposes that a story can enrich the life of a child by stimulating their imagination, developing intellect, clarifying emotions, being attuned to the child's anxieties and aspirations, and can both recognise and give solutions to problems that

the child may face (1989, p.5). Furthermore, Bettelheim (1989 [1975]) suggests that the most important aspect of raising a child is to help them to find meaning in their lives. In the context of war-affected refugee people and IDPs, it is often necessary to find new frames of meaning.

In Zdravo Da Ste's workshops meaning was often given by the participants themselves, by naming their creations, or summarising their experience of the workshop process through the short performances at the end of the workshops and sharing this with others who had had different experiences. A premise underpinning Zdravo Da Ste's approach was the identification of an inner and outer reality that could to some extent be integrated through the workshop process. At the end of workshops, the short performances using movement and sound gave the participants a chance to reflect and give meaning to their experiences in the workshops and to share these with others, thus facilitating communication and integration of the experience. The performances also allowed each participant to become visible both within the smaller groups and the larger group. The identification of an inner and outer reality, identified by Jung as the personal and collective unconscious, and the conscious, and the bridging of these two realities through creative processes also underpins DMT theory and practice. The similarities and differences between Zdravo Da Ste's approach and that used in DMT are discussed further on page 191. In addition, the name "Zdravo Da Ste" called out at the beginning or end of a workshop, suggests that Zdravo Da Ste perceived itself as a community in some ways separate from the rest of Serbian society, with its own constantly evolving ideology, methodology, symbology and web of interrelationships. This proposes that the need for meaning was not just for the refugee people but also for members of Zdravo Da Ste. Through their work and interactions with the refugee people and IDPs they could also begin to make sense of the war and the post-war situation in which they found themselves.

Art therapists Debra Kalmanowitz and Bobby Lloyd (2005a, p.24) found in their work with survivors of political violence in the UK and in Bosnia that many of the people with whom they worked spent a great deal of time looking for meaning. This meaning was manifested within social, religious and psychological contexts through various media. By integrating different arts media within their aims and objectives, I suggest that Zdravo Da Ste facilitated the development of meaning for the children through verbal, non-verbal, embodied and tangible representations of experiences. Through these

media and forms - etno, story, movement, visual images, ritual and performance - participants had the opportunity to begin to understand and redefine themselves and their relationship to other people, and the social and physical environments by which they were surrounded. The activities in the workshops attempted to facilitate this process by creating a frame for discourse through both verbal and non-verbal means, allowing a "multi-vocalic communication" and a "narrativization of the self." The diverse elements used within Zdravo Da Ste's workshops created opportunities for participants to engage in the process of the workshops, to create tangible products, and to build new relations through spatial and temporal frames (Frith 2003 [1996], p.116).

I suggest that Zdravo Da Ste's approach fulfilled their aims to build new social and cultural relations and to build culture. This was facilitated by creating possibilities for the "hidden voices" and "hidden treasures" (extract from interview with Vesna Belgrade November 2001) within the individuals and groups with whom they worked to become audible and visible through the workshop activities and processes.

6.4 Similarities and Differences between Zdravo Da Ste's Approach and DMT

There were both similarities and differences between Zdravo Da Ste's approach to psychosocial work with war-affected refugee people and IDPs and my approach as a DMT clinician and dance ethnographer that became more evident as the research progressed. As outlined in chapter two page 64, Zdravo Da Ste did not consider their work to be therapy; they felt therapy was a closed and therefore limited form. From my perspective, however, they were engaged in therapeutic work, albeit of a very open and fluid nature. In the context of the workshops, I felt I had to put aside my preconceived notions of therapy. These included the elements used within a therapeutic session; the number of people who could participate in this session; and the type of relationships developed between members of Zdravo Da Ste and the people with whom they worked.

I realised that one of the most striking differences between the work of a DMT practitioner and the work of Zdravo Da Ste concerned working with individuals and groups. Zdravo Da Ste preferred to work with groups rather than individuals. These groups could be as many as four hundred participants. In DMT it would be unusual to

have a group larger than twenty and usually an ongoing group would be much smaller than this, for example between six and eight people. Zdravo Da Ste's approach emphasised work with groups and the relationship between the group and the development of the individual. This relationship is not necessarily denied within arts therapy practice, but the work with individuals can support group work and the social and cultural interrelationships of the client outside the therapeutic context. The emphasis of Zdravo Da Ste's work is on the development of opportunities for social and cultural interactions in order to help the participants find resources inside themselves and within the communities of which they are a part.

Zdravo Da Ste's relationships with workshop participants were much more open than the therapeutic relationship, which exists only within the therapy session and process. Zdravo Da Ste did not want to take on the role of helpers or therapists, as they suggested was the relationship between other organisations and the refugee and IDP people. Rather than being experts, they saw themselves as equal to the people with whom they worked. Members of Zdravo Da Ste would participate in family and cultural celebrations at the homes of participants, when invited. I suggest they created a community whose members came and went and yet who actively contributed to its development. This is a very different perspective from that of the therapist.

Zdravo Da Ste did not impose fixed boundaries between the workshop events and daily life, in the hope that the experience of the workshops would extend into the everyday lives of the participants and in this way continue the process of development facilitated through the workshops. I struggled with this, as I could see the potential effects of the work undertaken and instinctively wanted it to be contained. In DMT the final activities in a therapeutic session serve to let go of the imaginative material and space in order to allow the client to return to the here and now. The activities also serve to contain psychologically the material generated within the therapeutic session, so that the client is able to leave this material within the therapeutic context and return to their daily lives and activities with safety. Zdravo Da Ste's approach reminded me of the therapeutic work of the Medical Foundation for Victims of Torture in the UK who also find it necessary to apply a much more open approach to therapeutic work than is generally used within psychotherapeutic interventions, and to be less rigid with the boundaries imposed (Callaghan 1996).

6.5 Consideration of Research Methodology

The initial aim of this thesis was to undertake an ethnographic study into the use of movement and dance in psychosocial work with war-affected refugee people. There were many different layers to the field, between which I often felt torn. I felt conflict, for example, between my approach as a reflexive ethnographer and dance movement therapist with the more empirical approach of the psychologists with whom I was working. I also felt a conflict between my roles and responsibilities as a dance ethnographer and dance movement therapist. In addition, I was working in a field that was both familiar to me and different from anything I had experienced before. Adopting a reflexive approach to the ethnography created the opportunity for me to enter the field and to begin to understand ways in which Zdravo Da Ste used arts media within their work with war-affected refugee children and adults and IDPs in the specific context of Serbia. It also helped me to begin to unravel the different perspectives being presented and projected towards me. The methodology I adopted was inherently reflexive and moved towards a collaborative approach to research in order to fulfil its aims. My choice of methodology and the media I used in some ways reflect Zdravo Da Ste's methods and approaches, including the integration of embodied experience, narrative, visual images and autobiography as media of understanding.

Sociologists Alberto Arce and Norman Long suggest that an important aim of ethnographic studies within the context of international development is

... to capture how people experience the establishment of new and the transformation of old codes of communication and to understand how they re-order their myths, images and 'monsters' (i.e. their fears, as well as their hopes and expectations) in narratives and practices which are held together through partial relations ... A sound anthropology of development, then, necessitates the building of a more reflexive ethnographic approach, which will allow us to analyse the dynamics of re-assembling practices and experiences by local actors, and not just their reactions to the so-called 'induced' changes and socially-engineered experiments identified with modernisation theory or strategies. (2000, p.27)

This research is inherently concerned with the 'establishment of new and the transformation of old codes of communication' and the re-ordering of 'myths, images and monsters,' which has culminated in the examination of the relationship between identity, symbols of identity and frames of meaning, and their manipulation by the instigators of war and by Zdravo Da Ste. The ideas outlined by Arce and Long above

explain why it was useful for me to adopt an ethnographic and reflexive approach towards this study and highlight the central concerns of the research and its relation to the wider discourse of anthropological study in the area of international development.

As a third generation descendent of Eastern European Jewish migrants I was not far from the home of my ancestors, even though I had never been there before and had never had contact with my extended family. Some people in the field recognised me, from my appearance, as being from Eastern European decent or as an Eastern European Jew, which made it easier for them to accept me as a foreigner. When I first met Bojana for example, she drew parallels between the recent war in former Yugoslavia and the extermination of the Jews in the Second World War.⁴ Bojana indicated to me that I was acceptable to her and to Zdravo Da Ste and that I had some understanding of their experience of war through my inherited experience and identity. I was, however, also often reminded that as an English woman I was from a country that had business interests and investments in Eastern Europe, which had contributed to the exploitation of human, and natural resources. England was also part of NATO, which was responsible for the bombing of Belgrade. In some way I had therefore also contributed to the effects of the war in Serbia and former Yugoslavia. I was both welcomed and rejected in the field. This issue of my opposing roles and responsibilities was a constant theme throughout the research. In addition, the boundaries between what was and was not the field-site sometimes became blurred because I was researching a field within which I was professionally and personally involved.

I lived with friends of my family and worked with academics and professionals within a field that was parallel to my own professional fields as both a dance ethnographer and dance movement therapist. The field-site was not very far away from England and a desirable holiday destination with its beautiful Adriatic coast in Montenegro; my family and friends wanted the opportunity to visit me in this war-torn but attractive place. I received two visits from my family. Scheduling this time as holiday time, I took them to Montenegro, to holiday destinations, so that their visits would in some way be separate from my fieldwork, if only superficially. Their visits and the unexpected arrival of my cousin, however, ultimately contributed to my fieldwork, because my informants considered family important. The arrival of my family therefore made me more acceptable as I appeared to adhere to the cultural norms with regard to family relationships.

Giurchescu (1999) and dance ethnologist Maria Koutsouba (1999) suggest that undertaking dance research in a familiar context has both positive and negative effects. Positive in that the researcher already has a basic knowledge of aspects of the field, which may include languages, socio-political contexts, and the dance forms; negative, in that important aspects may be easily overlooked because of their familiarity. Through the process of undertaking study of the familiar, the familiar is deconstructed and revealed; the familiar becomes both strange and tangible, belonging simultaneously to the other and to the self. I was not innocent of the subject area, my previous knowledge and experience of community arts and DMT allowed me to understand what Zdravo Da Ste was trying to achieve within their workshops and to engage with their specific approach. Like Koutsouba I developed strategies in order to balance my relationship with informants as a dance movement therapist and my needs to undertake ethnographic research. I began, for example, to distance myself from the preparation and evaluation process of Zdravo Da Ste. I stopped going to the Zdravo Da Ste offices aside from attending workshops or meetings, although they had invited me to use the main office as a base and offered me desk space to undertake any writing I needed to do. These decisions were not necessarily the right decisions to make as a lot of discussion with regards to Zdravo Da Ste's work happened in an informal way through the daily interactions at the offices. By withdrawing from this situation I limited the activities in which I was invited to participate and in some ways alienated myself from the organisation. It did, however, give me freedom to write my fieldnotes in an uncensored fashion.

Another example of these choices was my experience during the summer camp. I had thought that the summer camp would be a consolidation of my fieldwork, which it proved to be in terms of my understanding of the workshop activities, but it was also a consolidation of my working relationship between Zdravo Da Ste and myself in terms of the research. Goca for example, asked me to facilitate a workshop with the children but when we discussed the content of the workshop there was a fundamental difference between how we felt it should be approached, particularly with regard to the ending of the workshop, and so with the pressure of time we decided not to go ahead with it. The summer camp was also my last activity with Zdravo Da Ste and represented for me the end of my fieldwork. My response therefore could also be seen as the beginning of my withdrawal from the field. This incident can also be seen as a reflection of how our

approaches to work with people were different, Vesna identified this in her interview in the following way:

The differences among your work and our work are good, there is a dissonance but it is a good dissonance, it's not confrontational so that we can integrate and build new activities together. (Extract from interview Belgrade November 2001).

The decisions I made in the field, however, were not completely clear-cut. I offered, for example, to co-facilitate a workshop when no one else was available because it seemed more important to me to allow the workshop to go ahead in order to maintain continuity for the children than for me to stand back and observe the processes of selection. This choice appeared to contradict my understanding and training as an ethnographer while supporting the contribution I could make to Zdravo Da Ste as a dance movement therapist. In retrospect, co-facilitating the workshop gave me insight into the structure, content and intention of the workshops; and the importance of the relationships between the workshop facilitators, the children, and their families. Furthermore, participating in this way also helped me to gain the trust of my colleagues within Zdravo Da Ste, particularly within the children's team and allowed me to further understand the processes of the workshops and their evaluation. This suggests that the conflict that I experienced between the two methodologies actually served to further the research in that it opened doors to new perspectives and understanding. Moving between my role as researcher and dance movement therapist allowed me to gain inside knowledge of the field.

In terms of documentation, I found it much easier to document, express and communicate my response to Zdravo Da Ste through non-verbal means and to participate and embody their work, than to document through writing. The writing appeared limiting, as it was not a direct response to the field in the way that the other aspects of documentation and participation and analysis were, as for example in my work with video, photography and participation in the workshops. All these media, however, can be considered as forms of analysis in respect to the moment-by moment choices I made as to what to include, what to do, and how to respond. Anthropologist Kirsten Hastrup (2004 [1992], p.116) suggests that the process of finding a means to write ethnography is not simply about style, but also involves a "rediscovery of the world." In this context, the ethnography is a narrative and a representation of the

myriad of overlapping interactions and meanings negotiated in the field. It is by nature a text that contains many forms and sub-texts. As Hastrup suggests:

Fieldwork is situated between autobiography and anthropology ... Due to the fundamental simultaneity between discovery and definition in anthropology, the reality experienced in the field is of a peculiar nature ... It is not the unmediated world of the 'others', but the world between ourselves and the others ... The ethnographer in the field is the locus of a drama which is the source of her anthropological reflection ... To eliminate the experiential nature of fieldwork is to stick to a radically inappropriate view of the anthropological practice." (2004 [1992], p.117)

Thus my use of personal journals, creative journals and dance and singing can be considered as tools to analyse and integrate the experience of the field. The use of these media highlights the inter-relationships between the researcher and the field and the place of autobiography and reflexivity within both the research process and the completed ethnographic text.

In terms of using different media as research tools in the context of ethnographic research concerning dance, anthropologist Felicia Hughes-Freeland suggests the use of film is still an emerging area:

dancing is an activity situated in the body, which cannot be understood sociologically without reference to notions of order, measure and proportion. (1999,p.113)

In her use of film as a form of ethnographic text in her fieldwork in Java, Hughes-Freeland found that the visual images of the film allowed the audience to compare the different types of dances in their unique social contexts. Film also made visible the "striking images of femininity" (1999, p.119) of some of the dance forms as opposed to others. Similar to my experience of using video, discussed in chapter three page 106, Hughes-Freeland found that the making of the film itself and the questions and choices made in relation to the making of the film were part of the research enquiry and the process of analysis. Hughes-Freeland further suggests that this enquiry extends to the showing of the film and by implication the sharing of a completed ethnographic text with informants. Furthermore, through participation in the films the informants themselves have a platform on which to speak and for their voices to be heard. As discussed in chapter three, page 108 this can be taken a stage further where the informants are given the camera or involved in the decision-making processes as to what will be filmed. The use of film and video therefore creates the possibility for both

audience and researcher to engage with a medium other than written text and thus begin to reflect on the reality of the field and the multiplicity of meanings that make up everyday reality and social interactions.

Similarly Sklar (2004) discusses the use of poetry alongside embodiment as research tools to develop somatic and metaphoric types of thinking in anthropological dance research. She describes them as media through which the researcher can practice knowledge about another person; and through which understanding can be emergent. Using media such as dance and poetry as research tools and reflective processes allows fragments of understanding to be embodied and pieced together at a later point in time, in this way contributing to the overall process of analysis and understanding. The question that emerges from this is how you use this knowledge in the final ethnographic text. Within this thesis I have incorporated my poetry, film and photographic documentation within the text as intrinsic aspects of the research and analysis. I have not, however, included my movement and voice responses although these have been incorporated into my embodied understanding of the field and thus filter through into my writing about and consideration of the field. The methodology I adopted for this research grew out of my personal and professional experiences in relation to the field. In some senses approaching methodology in this way implies that the methodology adopted for ethnographic research is, by nature, unique to the researcher and their interaction with the chosen field.

Although the methodology I adopted was effective in that it enabled me to gain access to the field and to interact with members of Zdravo Da Ste and the people with whom they worked, it was also problematic. My whole process of fieldwork was intertwined with Zdravo Da Ste's methods and approaches. This extended to access to the refugee children and families, the formal and informal interviews and video and photographic documentation. My feeling of being torn between different roles and responsibilities in the field made me question my task as a researcher and what it had to contribute to the profound and complex human situations in which I was participating and observing. In order to focus my research, I felt I had to make a conscious decision to concentrate on the ethnographic aspect rather than to respond as a DMT practitioner. This, however, created doubt in my mind as to the value of the research because I felt I had a lot to share and offer as a DMT practitioner in the immediate context of work with war-

affected refugee children and adults and IDPs immediately after the war in former Yugoslavia.

There was also an ethical aspect of the methodology that I felt had to be addressed but which limited my understanding of the field. In order to honour the ethical framework I had established in negotiation with Zdravo Da Ste, for example, I was unable to interview the children or their families. This meant that I could not ask the children themselves how they felt about the images and stories they had created, nor their experience or personal responses to the workshops. I could only explore the processes and products I observed using my experience as a dance ethnographer and DMT clinician. In addition, I was only granted permission to present the visual data I had collected whilst in the field, photographs and video, in the final stages of writing up, which was four years after my return from the field.

Two of Vesna's main concerns in relation to my research were, firstly how my completed ethnography would be used by readers after it was completed; and secondly that she did not want me to represent Zdravo Da Ste in a public arena, since they could and did represent themselves. Vesna told me that she did not doubt my intentions or integrity with regards to the research but was aware that as a completed ethnography it would become public property that could be used in some way that would have negative repercussions for either Zdravo Da Ste or the people with whom they work. I carried these concerns and responsibilities with me throughout the research process and took them into consideration in my fieldwork, documentation, analysis, the preparation of the finished ethnography and in public presentations at conferences and symposiums (Singer 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2006).

On my return from fieldwork my personal and emotional involvement with the field led me to feel unable to write about or analyse the data for fear of compromising or betraying the people I had met, the work of Zdravo Da Ste, and the children and families with whom they worked. I felt restricted by these concerns and also felt obliged to do my best to not compromise the work of Zdravo Da Ste. This was a very difficult balance to hold, since ethnography is a form of representation. Time, has been the factor that has allowed me to complete my ethnography and re-negotiate the power relations in relation to my research. I believe that it is because of the temporal distance from the fieldwork that Zdravo Da Ste allowed me to use the visual data I had collected,

within my thesis. Life in Serbia has moved on, the war is now nearly six years away; Zdravo Da Ste has developed as an organisation; and the young children who participated in the workshops have become teenagers. Coffey describes the analysis and process of writing that occurs after the fieldwork as:

remembering a shared past ... Quite properly, leaving the field never happens completely, as that would be leaving ourselves, our pasts and our memories. (1999, p.109)

The completed ethnography can be seen as a way to understand the experience in the field so that the experience becomes integrated. It is itself a form of narrativization and leads to new frames of meaning.

Some of my experiences and problems are echoed by other anthropologists who have worked with refugee people, including Patricia Omidian (2004 [1994], pp.151-178), with regards to her ethnographic research with Afghan refugee people, and Ruth Krufeld (2004 [1994], pp.147-150). Krufeld suggests there are many problems anthropologists face with regards to ethnographic study with refugee people. The refugee people, for example, may be resettled a number of times which can make it difficult for researchers to locate informants and maintain contact. Many refugee people have experienced loss and in some cases seen or been the victims of extreme forms of violence and therefore can be wary of strangers, making access to informants problematic and raising ethical issues concerning the research. The researchers themselves may also need to develop "coping mechanisms for dealing with refugees' pain" (p.19). It may take time for the researcher to assimilate the expressions of loss and violence experienced by the refugee people. Omidian found the use of personal journals very useful within her process of digesting the stories she was told. I used my poetry and personal journals as well as dance and singing to process and try to understand the field in which I was engaged, my relationship to the field, and the layers of meaning contained within the field. I also chose to focus my research on the work of Zdravo Da Ste with refugee children and adults and IDPs rather than on the children and adults themselves, as had been my original intention. Like Omidian, I adopted an interpretive, reflexive ethnographic perspective, within which meaning was negotiated.

The doubts and questions outlined above are also familiar to the field of applied anthropology, which attempts to put anthropology "to use" (Van Willigen 2002, p.7).

Van Willigen (2002) suggests that the main ethical issue that applied anthropologists face is "the potential harm which the activities of the anthropologist may have on a community or a specific person" (p.48). This is because of the complex relationships and interlinking between the researcher and the people being researched during and after the research process, and the aim of applied anthropology to have a "practical effect" (ibid, p.61). In this way the concerns of applied anthropologists with regards to ethics become similar to those of the therapist with regards to issues of informed consent and the honouring of confidentiality. Van Willigen points out, however, that the ethical considerations inherent within applied anthropology can be considered "as guides to effective practice" that enable "the long-term potential of these relationships [between researchers and those being researched] to be enhanced" (ibid, pp.61-2).

One response to the questions and concerns with regards to ethics is to develop a collaborative approach to research. In some senses this ethnography can be seen as collaboration between Zdravo Da Ste and myself particularly in terms of my relationship to the field. There has been a continual negotiation and renegotiation of power differentials between myself as an ethnographer, members of Zdravo Da Ste as my informants and the work of Zdravo Da Ste as my field site. During the writing up and reflection on the fieldwork I felt the need to withdraw from the field. I would like to return to Serbia with the completed thesis when my PhD is finished, and offer it to Zdravo Da Ste to read. I am aware that at this stage, my status in relation to my key informants will have changed and informants may reject the completed ethnography (Brettell 1993).

Brettell (1993a, p.22) points out that researchers have a "Janus-like role" in relation to the field, as they both affirm and deny the experiences and realities of their informants. Furthermore Hastrup reminds us that there is an inherent imbalance within the relationship between researcher and informant, in which it is the researcher who ultimately represents the meanings negotiated through the discourse in the field in the finished ethnography. By offering my completed research to Zdravo Da Ste, I would hope to attempt to re-balance the researcher-informer relationship and offer members of Zdravo Da Ste the opportunity to continue the discourse by responding to my understanding and representations. I am aware, as anthropologist Dona Davis (1993, pp.27-35) points out, that returning to the field with my completed ethnography will open up a new discourse in relation to the ethnography, the truths it does or does not

represent, and the meanings implied; and in relation to myself as a newly emergent professional researcher.

In attempting to re-balance the power relations within the ethnographic process and adopt a collaborative approach to ethnography, my methodology moves towards a feminist ethnographic approach (Hopkins 1993). A feminist approach towards ethnography questions ethnographic representation, the ethnographic voice and views the researcher as "a person with a distinct biography" (Hastrup 2004 [1992], p.119). Anthropologist Sally McBeth (1993, pp.146-147) suggests there are both links and distinctions between a feminist and Post-modern approach to anthropology in their concern with the role and voice of the researcher in relation to the subjects in the field. Similarly, this research and the work of Zdravo Da Ste have both integrated and negotiated the intertwining of diverse theoretical perspectives and methodologies. As Hastrup states, "Ethnographies are realities, and their very incongruity reminds us about the plurality and generosity of the world" (Hastrup p.129). Ethnographies reflect the reality of both the researcher and the fields in which they work.

Because of the questions and concerns I had while in the field I only began to see the value of my research on my return to the U.K. On my return, I was asked to contribute a chapter to a new DMT book (Singer 2006); present papers at national and international conferences and universities (Singer 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2004d, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c); and lead and teach a new MA Programme in Dramatherapy at a university in the U.K. These opportunities and the feedback I received made me become aware of the contribution this thesis could make to dance ethnography, DMT and the wider field of psychosocial work with war-affected refugee people and IDPs.

6.6 Contribution of the Thesis

This thesis has begun to explore the ways in which ethnographic methods can be applied within DMT research in the specific context of psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children and adults. It demonstrates that an ethnographic approach to DMT work with war-affected refugee children and adults can allow the DMT clinician to discover and engage in alternative approaches to their clinical work and question their own practice and theoretical and methodological perspectives. Furthermore, this integration of methods provides an opportunity to create links with practitioners in other

countries and to open up possibilities for long-term collaborations and discourse. The use of DMT within dance ethnography, in the context of refugee studies, is an intellectual and kinesthetic language and method through which the ethnographer can engage in the study of processes of psychological transformation that accompany forced displacement and resettlement. In addition, the integration of dance ethnography and DMT within the context of psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children and adults gives an academic validity to the place of the arts within this work.

The specific contribution of this thesis is that it has begun an exploration into notions of identity, symbols of identity and frames within which meaning can be found and negotiated in the context of psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children and adults. This is an important part of the discourse within international development work with war-affected refugee children and adults and helps to move dialogues beyond questions concerning which medical model to adopt to a consideration of the relationships between actors within this field. These actors include donors, fieldworkers, and members of local and international organisations. This research highlights the importance of understanding the implications and symbolic significance of the media used within this work and the value of undertaking long-term forms of intervention as opposed to short-term emergency solutions. It also creates the opportunity to build relations between organisations in this country and Serbia with regards to psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children and adults and IDPs. Furthermore this study is unique in that, to the best of my knowledge, it is the first ethnographic study to consider the use of arts media within psychosocial work with war-affected refugee children and adults in Serbia. It therefore has a valuable contribution to make to existing literature in this area.

From a personal and professional perspective I feel I have been extremely privileged to have had the opportunity to work with an organisation such as Zdravo Da Ste and at a point in history so close to the end of the war. It has changed my approach towards DMT and made me question the frames within which psychotherapeutic work occurs. Adopting an ethnographic perspective has also given me resources to undertake clinical work with refugee people which I do not feel I would have gained through solely undertaking clinical work in the U.K. As a piece of research, I feel I have just taken a

first step into ethnographic research concerning refugee people, notions of identity and the place of movement, dance, story, visual images, ritual and etno within this work.

Zdravo Da Ste's work was effective in that it created new possibilities and perspectives for the people with whom they worked. What was not overtly recognized was the political dimension to this work and the implications for the future. The questioning of the place of symbols within processes of psychological development is beyond the scope of this thesis. Within this thesis, however, it has been stressed that the same symbols can be used equally for the benefit or harm of individuals and groups, for example to incite war or to heal from the effects of war. Furthermore, this two-sided application of symbols highlights the relationship between psychological power and political power.

What has emerged from this research is that movement and dance are one of several frames of meaning that facilitate narrativization of the self within a post-structuralist notion of individual and collective identity. Like the media of movement and dance themselves, this notion of identity is more complex and multi-dimensional than would at first appear. Zdravo Da Ste appeared to incorporate both poststructuralist notions of identity and Jungian concepts that were based within a model drawing on essentialism. I therefore suggest that the identification and construction of frames of meaning, and processes of narrativization of the self, have a central role to play within integration and resettlement of war-affected refugee children and adults.

¹ Not all refugee people and IDPs, however, are able to use their potential and the resources offered by donors. Members of Zdravo Da Ste told me that they had had to learn to be selective in the way they distributed income generating resources, for example in order to maximise the use of those resources. This immediately raises questions as to the selection process, who is making the selection and what happens to the people who do not have access to such resources.

² Petrovic suggests that King Lazar's decision at the Battle of Kosovo to choose death over life and to choose the "heavenly kingdom" over the "earthly kingdom" for the greater good of the Serbian people was used by Milosevic to represent the way in which he felt they should behave during the war.

³ It is important to point out, however, that a post-modern approach to psychology, which is where Zdravo Da Ste identified themselves, questions underlying concepts of truth and the notion of self. Psychologist Ian Parker (2000) states that if these questions are asked it is necessary to also ask how and why we would dissolve these assumptions. I would further ask what are the possible implications of this in terms of psychotherapeutic work. Like Zdravo Da Ste this thesis attempts to hold together the notion of identity as being both a process and of individual's having an essential essence, reflecting my background in a Jungian approach to DMT and a philosophical basis rooted in post-modernism and post-structuralism.

⁴ During the Second World War, Serbia did not accept the anti-Semitic sentiments spread by the Germans and openly protested against the extermination of the Jews. In rural areas,

Serbian families hid and looked after Jewish children and families escaping from the Germans (Mitchell 1943,p .260-264).

List of Formal and Informal Interviews

- Biljana – a musician, a student of psychodrama and a founding member of Susret.
- Bojana (a) - a psychologist, academic and founding member of Zdravo Da Ste.
- Bojana (b) – a defectologist and member of Susret.
- Boris – co-ordinator of Zdravo Da Ste's community team previous dancer with Abrasevic and also acted as translator for two interviews.
- Branislava - a pre-school teacher and a member of Zdravo Da Ste's children's team.
- Branka – a psychologist and the co-ordinator of Zdravo Da Ste's children's programme.
- Danjela – a psychologist who worked with CEDEUM.
- Dara - a psychologist, academic and founding member of Zdravo Da Ste.
- Goca - a pre-school teacher and a member of Zdravo Da Ste's children's team. Goca was also often acted as an informal translator.
- Gordana - ballet and contemporary dancer and choreographer, workshop leader and founding member of CEDEUM.
- Ivana (a) – a defectologist, a student of psychodrama and a founding member of Susret.
- Ivana (b) –a contemporary dancer and workshop leader with CEDEUM.
- Jasmina - a pre-school teacher and a member of Zdravo Da Ste's children's team.
- Jelena - a psychologist and founding member of Zdravo Da Ste. The coordinator of the summer camp.
- Lela – Milica (a)'s sister and Nadja's mother.
- Milan – choreographer for Abrasevic etno dance company.
- Milena – a member of the Open Society in Serbia.
- Milica (a) – a Serbian journalist based in the UK and the daughter of Zorka.
- Milica (b) - a Serbian Psychiatrist and colleague of members of Susret.
- Mirijana – an etno dance and song teacher, previously member of a Serbian etno dance company.
- Nadja – Milica (a)'s niece and Zorka's granddaughter.
- Olja - a pre-school teacher and a member of Zdravo Da Ste's children's team.
- Peter - a delegate of the Danish Red Cross.
- Smiljka - a psychologist, pre-school inspector and the co-ordinator of Zdravo Da Ste's Belgrade team.
- Snezjana – a psychologist and member of Zdravo Da Ste's Belgrade team.
- Valerie – an American-Serbian dancer and choreographer from New York.

Vedo – a Bosnian journalist based in the UK.

Vesna – a psychologist, academic and founding member of Zdravo Da Ste.

Vjera - a pre-school teacher and former member of Zdravo Da Ste.

Zorka – the mother of Milica (a) in whose home I lived in Belgrade.

Four child dancers from Abrasevic

Four adult dancers from Abrasevic

Four contemporary dancers from Valerie's dance project in Serbia

Interview Questions

Interview Questions Devised in Collaboration with Vesna and Bojana

- a) How did you become involved with Zdravo Da Ste?
- b) What kind of work do you do with Zdravo Da Ste?
- c) What do you experience as the underlying philosophy of Zdravo Da Ste?
- d) How would you describe your relationship with the people you work with?
- e) Do you see changes in the people you work with?
- f) Do you see changes in yourself in response to your work?
- g) Can you give three words which summarise your work?
- h) What have you found to be the most important aspect of working with children?
- i) Do you apply the following in your work, and if so in what way?
 - 'creativity'
 - 'ethno'
 - 'therapy'
- j) What do you see as the future for people living in collective centres in Serbia?
- k) How would you like to see Zdravo Da Ste develop in the future?

(Extract from fieldnotes November 2001)

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