EUROPEAN GRADUATE SCHOOL
Arts, Health & Society Division

Repatriation and Testimony

Expressive Arts Therapy

A phenomenological study of Bosnian war refugees with focus on returning home, testimony and film.

Melinda Ashley Meyer DeMott

PhD thesis 2007

Norwegian Centre for Violence and Traumatic Stress Studies
www.nkvts.no

Repatriation and Testimony

Expressive Arts Therapy

A Dissertation submitted to the Division of Arts, Health and Society of The European Graduate School EGS in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

Melinda Ashley Meyer DeMott

2007

ISBN 978-82-8122-016-4 (h)

Cover: Melinda Ashley Meyer DeMott og Ann Myhrer.
Printed in Norway: AiT e-dit AS, Oslo, 2007.

Produced in co-operation with Unipub AS.
The thesis is produced by Unipub AS merely in connection with the
thesis defence. Kindly direct all inquiries regarding the thesis to the copyright
holder or the unit which grants the doctorate.

Unipub AS is owned by
The University Foundation for Student Life (SiO)

Table of contents

List of Tables 5

Preface 6

Abstract 7

Acknowledgements 8

Overview 11

PART I: INTRODUCTION 13
1.1 The war in Bosnia 13
1.2 Arrival of the first Bosnian refugees in Norway 14
1.3 A screening project for PTSD 15
1.4 A "pilot project" in Expressive Arts 16
1.5 The Fossnes Movement Program 17
1.6 Repatriation of the Bosnian refugees 20
1.7 Where is home? 21

PART II: RELEVANT RESEARCH AND LITERATURE 22
2.1 A global response to repatriation; background and studies 22
2.2 Voluntary and involuntary repatriation 23
2.3 Temporary protection 24
2.4 Is repatriation an answer to exile? 25
2.5 Repatriation an ongoing process 26
2.6 Exile psychology 27
2.7 Testimony 30
2.8 Aesthetic response 32
2.9 Expressive Arts 32

PART III: RESEARCH QUESTION AND METHOD 35
3.1 Introduction and background 35
3.2 Research question 35
3.3 Phenomenological approach 36
3.4 Procedures 37
3.5 Method of reduction 39
3.6 Participants 41
3.7 The roles of the translators 43
3.8 The role of the researcher 44
3.9 Validation 45
3.10 Ethical considerations 46

PART IV: RESULTS AND FINDINGS 1994-1998 49
4.1 Introduction 49
4.1.1 Reduction of the interviews 49
4.1.2 Context and focus of the interviews 49

4.1.3 How the Time-Posts are organized 50
4.1.4 Aesthetic Response Story 50
4.1.5 Findings 51
4.1.6 How the text is organized 51

4.2 Results Time-Post 1994 Norway 52
4.2.1 Context and focus of the interviews 52
4.2.2 Significant Statements from the interviews 53
4.2.3 Essential Meanings and Clusters 57
4.2.4 Aesthetic Response Story 59
4.2.5 Findings Time-Post 1994 Norway 61
4.2.6 Summary 66

4.3 Results Time-Post 1996 Norway 68
4.3.1 Context and focus of the interviews 68
4.3.2 Significant Statements from the interviews 70
4.3.3 Essential Meanings and Clusters 75
4.3.4 Aesthetic Response Story 77
4.3.5 Findings Time-Post 1996 Norway 79
4.3.6 Summary 84

4.4 Results Time-Post 1996 Bosnia 87
4.4.1 Context and focus of the interviews 88
4.4.2 Significant Statements from the interviews 89
4.4.3 Essential Meanings and Clusters 94
4.4.4 Aesthetic Response Story 96
4.4.5 Findings Time-Post 1996 Bosnia 98
4.4.6 Summary 101

4.5 Results Time-Post 1998 Bosnia 103
4.5.1 Context and focus of the interviews 103
4.5.2 Significant Statements from the interviews 105
4.5.3 Essential Meanings and Clusters 116
4.5.4 Aesthetic Response Story 119
4.5.5 Findings Time-Post 1998 Bosnia 121
4.5.6 Summary 124

PART V: DOCUMENTARY FILMMAKING AS TESTIMONY 1994-1998 125
5.1 Introduction 125
5.2 "In Exile from the Body" 126
5.3 "Returning to Life" 129
5.4 Summary 133

PART VI: RESULTS AND FINDINGS 2000 134
6.1 Introduction 134
6.2 Results Time-post 2000 Bosnia: “Repatriation” 135
6.2.1 Context and focus of the interviews 135
6.2.2 Significant Statements from the interviews 136
6.2.3 Essential Meanings and Clusters 146
6.2.4 Aesthetic Response Story 149

6.2.5 Findings Time-Post 2000 Bosnia: “Repatriation” 150
6.2.6 Summary 154
6.3 Results Time-Post 2000 Bosnia: “Testimony” 155
6.3.1 Context and focus of the interviews 155
6.3.2 Significant Statements from the interviews 156
6.3.3 Essential Meanings and Clusters 160
6.3.4 Findings Time-Post 2000 Bosnia: “Testimony” 162
6.3.5 Summary 165

PART VII: VALIDATION OF RESULTS BOSNIA 2006 166
7.1 Introduction 166
7.2 Context and observations 2006 Bosnia 167
7.3 Summary 171

PART VIII: PARTIAL CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION 173
8.1 Time-Post 1994 Norway: “Bodily Dead - Bodily Alive” 174
8.2 Time-Post 1996 Norway: “Stranger - Belonging” 177
8.3 Time-Post 1996 Bosnia: “Destruction - Construction” 180
8.4 Time-Post 1998 Bosnia: “Them - Us” 182
8.5 Time-Post 2000 Bosnia Repatriation: “Betrayed - Received” 185
8.6 Time-Post 2000 Bosnia Testimony: “Silence - Art as Testimony” 188

PART IX: FINAL CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH 190
9.1 Introduction 190
9.2 The Three Phases of the Refugee Cycle 192
9.3 Documentary filmmaking and Dialogical Testimony 196

Overview Results and Findings 1994-2000 198

References 199

Appendices 214

List of Tables

Table 1 Bakhtim's four Dialogical Motifs……..29
Table 2 Conditions influencing the reconstruction of "the self"…….... 67
Table 3 Factors influencing the experience of "being a stranger" and of "belonging"……..86
Table 4 Conditions influencing the ability to construct a life upon returning from exile…102
Table 5 Defense mechanisms, reconciliation and methods that can be applied……...124
Table 6 Factors that further repatriation……...……154
Table 7 Overview Results and Findings 1994-2000……...……. 198

Preface

I first met the Bosnian refugees in 1993 at the reception center in Fossnes, located in the municipality of Stokke 10 miles south west of Oslo, when I was part of a research team from the Psychosocial Center for Refugees at the University of Oslo. At the time The Psychosocial Center was mapping PTSD (post traumatic stress syndrome) symptoms among the refugees. The mapping project led to an intervention - a movement program - designed to create spontaneity and imagination and provide knowledge about stress management. The movement program resulted in the documentary film "In Exile from the Body" (1996). This film led to another film, "Returning to Life" (1999), in which I followed twenty-two of the refugees back to Bosnia in 1996 and visited them again in 1998 when they were reestablished in their new homes. The films are made in close cooperation with the refugees. In fact, the very idea of making a film emerged from a focus group with the refugees. The films have not only played an active part in the study, they became an essential part of it. From the very beginning the refugees considered the films as a means for telling their story to the outside world. Through storytelling the refugees managed to lift their personal, traumatic experiences out of a private realm and into a public one. In 2000 I went to Bosnia-Herzegovina for the third time and interviewed them on video about their experience of repatriation and documentary filmmaking. In 2006 I visited them for the last time in order to present the results of this study.

Abstract

The subject of this dissertation is research work and psychosocial interventions carried out through movement programs, repatriation workshops, documentary filmmaking and testimony with twenty-two Bosnian refugees over thirteen years. This longitude study is an investigation of the process of the change of identities that the refugees experienced from the time when they were expatriated to Norway until they were resettled in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The focus of the study is their own narratives of the different transitions and interventions they took part in as war refugees, and what influenced their decision to repatriate to Bosnia-Herzegovina. The researcher has followed the participants through interviews and video documentation from 1993 to 2006. In addition to repatriation, documentary filmmaking and testimony are central themes in the inquiry.

The participants are from four Bosnian families and consist of thirteen adults and four children. Interviews and conversations with and observations of the participants will be presented and discussed. The analysis of the material has been an ongoing process and has not been limited to any specific period in the thirteen-year research span.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I want to thank the four Bosnian families Kazeferovic, Causevic, Gromilic and Cehojic who volunteered to participate in this project from the very beginning and offered their experience and reflections about forced migration, temporary protection, repatriation and testimony through documentary filmmaking over a period of thirteen years.

I want to thank the Norwegian Centre for Violence and Traumatic Stress Studies (NKVTS), where I work today as a researcher in the section for Refugee Health and Forced Migration. NKVTS made it possible for me to complete this study. Dr. Nora Sveaass, the leader of the section, has been a great support both professionally and personally since the very beginning of this research project. My colleagues at NKVTS have been a great support and the librarians Brita Martens and Kari Hjertstrøm saved me by organizing the reference list in the correct manner. A special thanks to Inger-Lise Johnsrud, who has been typing and listening and been part of the project from the very start at the Psychosocial Center for Refugees.

I want to acknowledge the following people without whom this work would not have been possible. I want to thank my colleague Dr. Mette Nygård with whom I started the project as a part of two other studies; a PTSD screening project and a stress management program. I want to thank our supervisor at the time, Prof. Kirsti Malterud, who was a great guide and support and Dorthea Johannesen, who participated in leading the stress management program; her work with the refugees at the Fossnes Reception Center was invaluable.

I want to thank Prof. Nils Johan Lavik and Dr. Nora Sveaass and my good colleagues at the Psychosocial Center for Refugees: Gorden Harris, Carl-Ivar Dahl, Solveig Dahl, Eva Fannemel, Tore Indregard, Toril Storholt, Sverre Varvin, Karin Hjelde, Sissel Neumayer, Marit Borchgrevink, Marianne Jacobsen and Jim Allen. I want to thank Robert Moses for proofreading and polishing the language.

I want to thank the Norwegian Institute for Expressive Arts Therapy and my colleagues; Tone Bjørneboe, Torill Johnsen, Gunnar Reinsborg, Annette Ødegård, Ann Myhrer and a special thanks to Psychologist Per Espen Stoknes, who has read and reread my dissertation and given enthusiastic support, intelligent response and knowledgeable feedback. I want to thank

Margareta Wärja, the leader of the Swedish Institute for Expressive Arts Therapy, for her friendship, support and being a great source for inspiration. To my students, present and past, who are my greatest challenge and resource; thank you!

I entered the PhD program at the European Graduate School for Integral Studies (EGS) in 2001 and Prof. Emeritus Paolo Knill became my head supervisor; he has been an immense inspiration and support and has stood by me throughout the process. When I have been in doubt he has encouraged me to follow my intuition and trust my experience. My second supervisor, Prof. in Cultural Psychology Nora Ahlberg, has followed the project from the very start at the Psychosocial Center for Refugees, UiO and supported me to the very end with knowledgeable thoroughness and patience.

I want to thank the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for being one of the major financiers of the documentary films and also Norsk kassettavgiftsfond (a Norwegian fund for short- and documentary film funding). Without funding there would have been no film and at the time this was not a common way to present findings from research studies. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Norwegian Institute for Expressive Arts Therapy and the Psychosocial Center for Refugees made it possible.

I want to thank my film teams. “In Exile From The Body” (1996): Aslak Århus and Hallgrim Ødegård for the cinematography and Ole Bernt Frøshaug for the sound. My editor Pål Gegenbach, one of the leading film editors in Norway, helped put the story together. Karoline Frogner was my consultant and a great support. “Returning to Life” (1999): Hallgrim Ødegård joined me for three trips to Bosnia and is a great cinematographer and wonderful company. Hilde Heyerdahl participated in the first trip to Bosnia as a sound engineer. Mette Cheng Munthe–Kaas was part of the editing team. Thanks to Trygve Kongshavn for composing and performing the original music for both films.

I want to thank my main translator in Norway, Branka Lie, and my translators Ivan and Sandra Tvrtkovic in Bosnia. Ivan participated in 1996 and his wife Sandra in 1998, 2000 and 2006. Sandra has translated all the interviews. We have become good friends and when I come to Zagreb they receive me as part of the family. We have shared special moments that I will never forget.

My colleagues and friends Jack Saul, leader of the Trauma Study Center in New York, and his wife, Expressive Arts and Family Therapist Esther Perel, and theater director John Burt have all been enormously supportive and inspiring. I could go on and on. My family in the United States, my mother in Florida, the DeMott familiy, the Meyer family and my closest and nearest family in Norway, my sister Wendy Meyer and her family; Trygve, Linn and Thomas and my brother Arne and his family; Liv and Lina. Staying alive and in shape takes good and playful friends. The sisters Guri and Trine Sørensen have been my tennis and ski companions. Trine has followed and supported me through ups and downs since I was nine. I thank all of you for caring and being such good friends!

A special thanks to my son Silvio, who has taught me that being a good mother is being present. He often had to accompany me into the field and his amazing memory for places has put me right more than once when I tried to find my way back to where the participants lived in Norway. He has a wonderful sense of humor and his compassion for football has made him a survivor. Silvio's father Vegard Bye has shared the responsibility of raising Silvio and thus given me space to carry out this work.

And last but not least I want to thank Sølve Skagen, my special supervisor on documentary filmmaking and testimony and the most faithful and loving man in my life for all his support, advice, wisdom and creativity. He edited "Returning to Life" and has been the editor of this dissertation. The last two years I have worked every holiday with his support and encouragement.

Overview

PART I: INTRODUCTION

This section presents the background for this study and addresses the concepts of Repatriation and Testimony.

PART II: RELEVANT RESEARCH AND LITERATURE

Relevant existing research and literature is presented here.

PART III: RESEARCH QUESTION AND METHOD

PART IV: RESULTS AND FINDINGS 1994-1998

These sections present research results and findings from the interviews and are presented according to the Time-Posts 1994 Norway, 1996 Norway, 1996 Bosnia and 1998 Bosnia.

PART V: DOCUMENTARY FILMMAKING AS TESTIMONY 1994-1998

The making of the two documentary films "In Exile From The Body" and "Returning to Life" are accounted for along with the researcher's observations of the participants during the production periods.

PART VI: RESULTS AND FINDINGS 2000

In this section the participants look back on the repatriation process and the making of the film "Retuning to Life". The results, findings and partial conclusions from the participants' interviews are presented.

PART VII: VALIDATION OF RESULTS BOSNIA 2006

The results of this study are presented to the participants and their responses are reported. An account of the participant's situation in 2006 is given.

PART VIII: PARTIAL CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION 1994 - 2000

The partial conclusions of each Time-Post are analyzed and discussed.

PART IX: FINAL CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

The final conclusions of this study are given. Recommendations for further research and the initiatives that refugee centers can take in order to help the repatriation processes are presented.

PART I: INTRODUCTION

1.1 The war in Bosnia

Bosnia-Herzegovina* was a country where Orthodox Christians, Muslims, Catholics and Jews lived together, intermarried and were buried in the same cemeteries. The country had been referred to as a model for showing that it was possible for people from different ethnic backgrounds to live together.

When the war broke out in 1992 the Serbs began to drive the Muslims out and the majority of the male adults were detained and held in concentration camps. The war created the largest refugee problem in Europe since World War II. More than two million people, primarily Muslims, out of Bosnias' total population of approximately four million were forced to flee from their homes. More than a million people became internally displaced and possibly another million left for other parts of Europe, and went as far as Australia, Malaysia, USA and Canada. Approximately 75% of the internally displaced people fled as a result of aggression they personally experienced and/or witnessed ("Mental Health and Coping in a War Situation: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina", Manuel Carballo et al., Cambridge University press 2004: 466). By 1999 a little more than half a million people had returned to their homes. In 2000 there were one million internal and external refugees still in need of a permanent solution (Jonassen et al., 2000: 25). In 2006 there were still 200 000 internal refugees and 29 700 were registered as external refugees. In addition approximately 700 000 have not returned, many have become citizens of the host countries where they were refugees (Skjetne, T. (Ed.), 2006: 121).

The flight to safety took place under conditions of hostility and massive disorganization. More than a third of the refugees lost contact with their relatives. Chaos was pervasive throughout the whole country and 21% of the families that were able to stay in their

* Bosnia will be used as a short form for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

communities of origin, such as Sarajevo, reported that they had lost contact with close family members and relatives. The death toll related directly to the war was one of the highest recorded in any recent humanitarian emergency. At last 250 000 people were killed, more than 200 000 injured and of the 13 000 permanently disabled the majority was young people (Carballo et al., 2004: 467). The number of people who died as an indirect result of the war was possibly far more than 250 000 (National Research Council, 2001). Reporting was poor in some areas, especially during periods of heavy fighting.

The Bosnian people felt that the war was forced upon them from the outside, by Serbia and Croatia. Most of the male ethnic Muslim population were detained and held in concentration camps while the women were forced out of their homes and had to flee by foot. The women became internal refugees or took refuge in neighboring countries in camps or with relatives or friends. When the world learned about the concentration camps, the International Red Cross became involved and began to transport busloads of prisoners to a camp administrated by the High Commission for Refugees. From here the prisoners were transported to many different countries all over the world. By the end of 1993 Norway had taken in 13 000 Bosnian war refugees. The first group arrived in November 1992. Most of them were Muslims and they came from places in the north of Bosnia called Kljuc, Sanski Most and Priedor. The majority came from rural districts and had earned their living as farmers and craftsmen. In terms of culture, religion, occupation and language they were a rather homogenous group.

1.2 Arrival of the first Bosnian refugees in Norway

When Norway accepted the request from the United Nations through the High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to accept refugees from Bosnia, the authorities had neither the apparatus nor the expertise to receive the number of refugees that had arrived. An immediate crisis emerged. The first problem was to find accommodation. Reception centers were established in abandoned schools, military camps and any other locations that were suitable. Not knowing how long the war would last, the Norwegian Government offered the refugees temporary protection for six months. The idea behind temporary protection was that the refugees could stay as long as the war lasted, but that they had to return to Bosnia as soon as the situation allowed it.

In November 1992 Dr. Mette Nygård, who at the time was the head psychiatrist at the Psychosocial Center for Refugees, UiO, Norway, was part of the official reception committee that received the first Bosnian refugees at Fornebu Airport in Oslo. The refugees were sent to a recently established reception center in Skikroken in Vestfold County. After two weeks they were divided into two groups and sent on to two other recently established reception centers located at Fossnes and Våler in Østfold County. Of the 150 refugees, 86 ended up at Våler and 64 at Fossnes.

1.3 A screening project for PTSD

Dr. Nygård's project, conceived at the Psychosocial Center for Refugees, involved a rapid screening of the Bosnian war refugees for post-traumatic stress disorder. She invited me to participate as a researcher. We started out as a team of four that included two researchers and two translators. “150 Bosnian war refugees (100 men and 50 women) were followed for 12 months by means of a brief screening procedure to determine the prevalence and course of symptoms of post–traumatic stress disorder” (Nygård/Malterud, 1995: 115: 1971-4).

The intention was to conduct short interviews in order to avoid getting more material than the team would be able to follow up. Six questions were posed, most of them requiring an answer of either yes or no. The questions were: “Have you been in a concentration camp? If yes, how long?” “Have you been exposed to physical violence?” “Have you witnessed torture or execution?” “Have you been in combat?” “Have you been forced to do things against your will?” These questions were easy to answer with a yes or no. However, after the sixth question, "Have you lost family members or close friends?” we added "If yes, please specify" (Questionnaire 1 – Appendix 2). This opened up the floodgates. Names and stories of how people were killed were given. They told us not about one or two cases; the numbers went upwards to fifty or more. A young man would not stop until he had given us more than one hundred names; it was vital for him that no one was forgotten. They told us about warehouses filled with people who were forced out with gas, then killed in the doorway, removed like cattle and thrown into mass graves. The two camps they talked about were Omarska and Manjaca, the former being a death camp and later mainly a camp for torture. Many died from electrocution and beatings at Manjaca. One was told by his torturers: “We won’t kill you, but for the rest of your life your body will tell you what kind of weather to expect.”

We were stunned, we had too many questions. Could it really be true what we were hearing? Why hadn't it been on the news? Could such events be taking place in Europe without anybody knowing? Were there no witnesses? At this point the world had little knowledge of the horror happening in Bosnia. But there was no way we could reject their accounts backed up by physical evidence of torture including wounds and scars. To us it was evident that the refugees were telling a horrible truth.

In December 1992, three weeks after the arrival of the refugees in Norway, we arranged the first screening at Fossnes and Våler. A simple self-assessment questionnaire based on stressor and symptom criteria for post-traumatic stress disorder according to DSM-III-R were used three times. The questionnaire was simple and easy to fill in; it consisted of 14 questions requiring either yes or no answers (Questionnaire 2 – Appendix 3). The screening showed that 67% of the men and 50% of the women qualified for the diagnosis PTSD according to the criteria in DSM-III-R (Nygård & Malterud, 1995).

It was obvious that something had to be done. If the team was going to hear all the stories of abuse, torture and violence it would be extremely difficult to deal with the situation; we didn't have the apparatus, experienced staff, resources, capacity and mandate to handle it. Our job was to map the situation, not to solve it. But when people are in need of help, we could not just look the other way. One year earlier Dr. Nygård and I had introduced a movement program at Brinken Reception Center in Oslo. According to the evaluation the program had helped the participants to become more active (Meyer & Nygård, 1993). Based on the experience from Brinken we developed a movement program for the Bosnian refugees.

1.4 A "pilot project" in Expressive Arts

In 1992 the personnel of the Brinken Reception Center in Oslo contacted the Psychosocial Center for Refugees and asked for help. The women at the reception center were depressed and passive and did not participate or engage themselves in any of the activities that were offered. Brinken housed fifty refugees from different countries like Kosovo-Albania, Sri Lanka and Croatia. We developed a three week intensive group program with a focus on movement, breathing, grounding and playing. All of the seventeen women at the reception center participated with their children. They met three times a week and each session lasted

90 minutes. One person led the exercise program while the other observed and took notes. A month later the personnel reported that the intervention was a success; most of the women at that point engaged themselves and took part in the different activities.

1.5 The Fossnes Movement Program

The movement program based on the experiences from Brinken was offered to the Fossnes Reception Center. Fossnes was chosen for a simple but very concrete reason. Since it formerly had been a school, Fossnes could offer a gym room the movement program required for group exercises. In addition, the staff at Fossnes was more positive to the idea than the staff at the Våler Reception Center. The program was offered to the 64 refugees living at Fossnes and all of them volunteered to participate. We decided to include the movement program in the PTSD screening project. The refugees were encouraged to complete Questionnaire 2 every three months. A specific questionnaire was developed for the movement program, Questionnaire 3 (Appendix 4). The questions were about the experience of participating in the movement group and were to be answered with a yes or no. A situation had been created in which we could test the effects of the movement program by comparing the development of the refugees at Fossnes with the development of the refugees at Våler.

Even if the Bosnian refugees had escaped the war, they did not experience themselves in a post traumatic situation; to them the trauma was not over. Many had left their children, relatives or friends behind in the camps or still fighting in the war. Every day brought news from Bosnia, sometimes it was good, but usually it was bad. The refugees still felt physical pain and many were malnourished. The men were all rather thin and most of the women somewhat overweight. They suffered from traumatic stress symptoms like headaches, insomnia, irritability and depression. The 64 refugees at Fossnes consisted of 48 men and 16 women. Forty-seven men had spent an average of six months in the concentration camps at Manjaca or Omarska. 41 of them had been exposed to physical violence, 35 had witnessed torture and/or executions, three of the men had fought in the war and 33 had lost close relatives (wives, children, brothers, sisters). The women had witnessed terrible situations and had been fleeing on foot for weeks without knowing where their husbands and sons had been taken. Of the women 12 had lost close relatives (fathers, husbands, sons), two had been in concentration camps (one for a month and the other for a week), two had been tortured, four

had witnessed torture or rape or executions and one woman had been used as a live shield. The Serbs held her and rested a gun on her shoulder, killing her husband and sons as they tried to escape. The emotional and physical pain was a concern for everybody in the group. They were still petrified from what they had experienced.

The Movement Program was designed to last one hour twice a week over a year. Men and women were separated. The children were invited; usually the boys would participate with their fathers/grandfathers and the girls would join their mothers/grandmothers. The sessions took place in the large gym room; first the female group and then the male group. Everybody in the room had to participate, including the two translators, staff and even visitors. Every training session started by making physical contact with the participants by shaking hands and greeting them. When I touched their hands they were often cold with sweat, their movements were slow and when I looked into their eyes it was as though no one was there. One of them said, speaking on behalf of all: "Before the war I used to get up every morning and go to work. I had a good appetite and loved to dance. Now I cannot get out of bed and nothing brings me joy" (from focus group interview, men, Fossnes 1994 – Appendix 5). A professional nurse, one of the staff at Fossnes, led the exercises twice a week following the same design after a three week period without Dr. Nygård or me being present. We came to lead the exercises once a month.

The movement program was based on the following principles: a) grounding, b) focusing, c) breathing and d) education. The exercises were designed to give the refugees knowledge of their bodies, breathing and movement so they could use the exercises themselves when they felt they needed to cope with symptoms like sleeplessness and lack of energy. Examples of exercises used were:

a) Grounding exercises designed to help the participants to be present in the moment:

> *Work with your feet, feel your feet, feel the floor, feel the ground, feel the joints in your body - the ankle, the knee, the hip, the wrist etc (stress is often concentrated in the joints and will block the flow of energy through the body).*

b) Focusing exercises designed to make the participants concentrate on one specific thing and let other thoughts go:

Sit for a couple of minutes while focusing on your breathing. Stand on one foot, breath while focusing on a specific point in the center of the room. Focus your thoughts on an element in nature that gives you strength.

c) Breathing and voice exercises designed to facilitate breathing and discover the consequences of shallow breathing and the lack of movement that occurs during strenuous situations:

Use your voice while moving. Sing AH, I, OH for as long as you can, don't breathe until you absolutely have to.

In addition to the physical exercises each session had an educational part about the consequences of living in chronic stress, both physically and psychologically. The purpose was to provide knowledge of normal reactions to abnormal situations, to increase self confidence and coping ability, to create the awareness that their response to the trauma was a normal response to an abnormal situation and that they could do something every day to help themselves both individually and as a group. At this stage, when they were still living under constant stress, the aim was to strengthen their ability to contain themselves and endure the situation without collapsing. In a crisis situation a person has to be able to grieve without losing control.

A second screening (Questionnaire 2 - Appendix 3) was carried out at the reception centers at Fossnes and Våler in April 1993. The results showed an improvement and/or stagnation in the development of symptoms at Fossnes, while the symptoms had gotten worse at Våler (Nygård & Malterud, 1995).

After six months, in July/August 1993, the participants in the movement program at Fossnes completed Questionnaire 3 (Appendix 4). All the participants responded unanimously with a yes that the movement program had helped them. They all recommended the program to other refugees in the same situation. In order to get more specific information a focus group evaluation was arranged half a year later, in January/February 1994, based on the same questions (Appendices 5 and 6). There was one male focus group and one female. The men reported that the program had made them feel stronger and had helped them to regain the use of their bodies. The women reported that they had learned to breathe more deeply, felt more alive and thus were able to cope better with every day life in the reception center. Generally,

the men focused on aggression, strength and movement, while the women focused more on breathing and being able to live in the present moment (Meyer, 1995b: 2).

Another thing resulted from the focus groups. Several of the participants in both focus groups wanted to pass on to other refugees how the movement program had helped. As in the response to Questionnaire 3 half a year earlier, they stressed that the program should be given to all the refugees living in reception centers throughout Norway. We spent a considerable amount of time discussing how the program could be disseminated. We decided to document the movement program on video. Thus the idea of making "In Exile from the Body" ("I eksil fra kroppen" - Appendix 10) was born.

The Movement Program was originally offered as a form of first aid in a crisis situation, but as the war went on it developed into a four-year repatriation project that so far has resulted in two documentary films, several articles and key-note speeches at international conferences on refugees in exile and repatriation.

1.6 Repatriation of the Bosnian refugees

Of a total of 13 439 Bosnian refugees in Norway only 12, 2% returned voluntary despite all the help that was offered (Jonassen et al. 2000, 25). Today many of the Bosnian refugees live in countries where they have a higher living standard compared with what they would have had in Bosnia. Twenty-two of the sixty-four Bosnian refugees from the Fossnes Reception Center (34%) repatriated voluntary and re-established themselves in Bosnia in 1996.

For the Norwegian government the question of temporary protection became complicated when applied to the reality of the Bosnian situation. Some of the refugees could not return because their homes were in areas that now belonged to other ethnic groups. The Dayton Peace Accords (1995) divided Bosnia in two territories; one Serbian part: Republika Srpska (RS) and one Muslim-Croatian: The Bosnian Federation. The Muslim refugees from RS could not return, for example Muslims who came from Priedor, which was a Serbian controlled area. Many had nothing to return to, their houses had been destroyed and they had no money for rebuilding.

1.7 Where is home?

Today there are roughly 12 million external refugees because of wars, conflicts and political persecution. At the same time there are 23.7 million internal refugees who have been forced to flee from their homes and seek shelter elsewhere within the borders of their countries (Norwegian Refugee Council, Skjetne, 2006: 5).

Repatriation has been understood as returning to the country to which one has citizenship. We can assume that many, maybe most of the refugees live with the dream that one day they will be able to return “home” and that this will be the ultimate happy ending. “One of the points of reference in the discourse of repatriation is that return is the favored options for refugees, for whom the refugee cycle can at last end when they 'go home'. For many refugees, however, repatriation does not represent a homecoming; nor is there an agreement in the literature on what 'going home' actually means" (Koser & Black, 1999: 6, 7). Many studies have been made about living in exile, but few on what the pulls and pushes for returning home are, and how repatriation affects individuals and their communities. One reason for this lack of research is the assumption that for refugees returning to their home country is a happy ending and preferred in relation to living in exile (Long & Oxford, 2006, Allen, 1994).

A deeper look into the concept of repatriation leads to a series of questions: Where is home? Is home where a person has a bed, where his or her parents live, where the person has a job, where his or her children are, where friends are, where the political values are congruent with a person’s own values? Is it a psychological state or is it a feeling of being at home within oneself? Does one need to repatriate if one can achieve a state of being authentic, being oneself and being present wherever one is in the world? And at what point in the process has returning begun? These are some of the issues that will be explored in this study.

PART II: RELEVANT RESEARCH AND LITERATURE

2.1 A global response to repatriation; background and studies

Within the last ten years the amount of refugees in the world has been reduced by approximately 3 million people (Norwegian Refugee Council, Skjetne, 2006: 151). Reasons for this can be due to less serious conflicts, but it can also be because there is less willingness to receive refugees. Immigration and refugee policies are becoming stricter in the developed countries. Even countries that traditionally have shown openness and received thousands, even millions, of refugees have become much stricter and have sharpened their policies. Borders have become tightened and many of the refugees trying to get out of their countries to seek shelter in a third country are forced to flee within their country and are called internal refugees. Today it is hard to pinpoint exactly how many internal and external refugees there are, but in 2006 it was estimated to be around 35,7 million people (Skjetne, 2006: 5). While external refugees have a right to receive shelter under the terms of the Refugee Convention of the United Nations, internal refugees do not have the same rights. The welfare and safety of internal refugees is the responsibility of the national authorities that often are the very same authorities that caused the people to flee in the first place.

The latter part of the 20th century has seen an increased concern for the implications of war for civilian populations, loss of place, home and identity, acute and chronic trauma and family disruption. More attention has been given to the psychosocial impact of uprooting and displacement. In the context of returnees and their concept of “home”, it would be a mistake to focus only on the returnee’s psyche, or solely on the social context, as these two elements are in a constant and dynamic dialectic. When a refugee settles in an asylum country, he or she does not enter a vacuum. The same applies when one goes back to one’s country of origin. It is the interplay between the returnee’s personality and the different social settings in which he or she lives that is important, as it will impact one’s notion of “home”, the latter in turn influencing the returnee’s reintegration. The returnee’s perception of “home” and belonging

does not only change over time, but also according to the different social environments in which he/she finds himself (Ghanem, 2003).

2.2 Voluntary and involuntary repatriation

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the return of millions of refugees to their homes in Europe brought, for the first time, the question of voluntary repatriation to the attention of Western governments and international organizations. From that point onwards, three historical phases can be distinguished in the international community's attitude towards voluntary repatriation (Amore, 2002). The first phase spans from 1947 to the 1970s and was dominated by the Cold War. During this period return movements were taking place in Third World countries following the end of independence movements and de-colonization. In the West, however, despite the fact that voluntary repatriation was considered the preferred solution, refugees were strongly encouraged to settle and integrate into the countries in which they had sought asylum. As a result of Cold War politics, people fleeing communist countries and taking refuge in the Western bloc were seen as "voting with their feet", thereby de-legitimizing the Eastern bloc (ibid: 161; Chimni, 1998: 355-356; Chimni, 1999: 2-3; Allen and Morsink, 1994: 3). At the same time Western powers felt protected from potential mass influxes of refugees since Eastern European governments obstructed nationals from leaving the country (Gallagher in Amore, 2002: 162). Chimni also refers to the economic value of the refugees fleeing communism, as they provided a valuable source of labor force for the reconstruction of Europe following the Second World War (1999: 2).

The second phase begins towards the end of the Cold War in the 1970s when refugees stopped holding any ideological or geopolitical value, and the previous need for large numbers of immigrant workers for the reconstruction of post-war Europe had disappeared. When the Western states entered a period of economic recession in the 1970s and 1980s, and as the refugees changed from white, male anti-communists to Third World refugees fleeing civil wars, Western states enforced their restrictive measures and revived voluntary repatriation as the preferred solution to refugees' displacement (Chimni, 1998: 357). During the years 1985-1993 voluntary repatriation came to be promoted as the durable solution, with an emphasis on the voluntary character of repatriation.

The third phase begins in 1993, when the notion of safe return was introduced into the discourse on solutions in the context of temporary protection regimes established in Western Europe; in the continuum between voluntary and involuntary repatriation the idea of safe return aspired to occupy the middle ground. In 1996 the doctrine of imposed return was aired by UNCHR to draw attention to constraints which could compel it to accept the reality of involuntary repatriation (Chimni, 1999:2).

"The requirement of 'voluntariness' has played a central role in the agency's approach to repatriation as a long-term solution to refugee crisis" (UNHCR, 1996: 10). In spite of this requirement there is a lack of literature on the psychosocial difficulties returnees encounter during the reintegration process, and more specifically on how the returnees' perception of 'home' and sense of identity impact their reintegration process. Article 33 of the 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees states that "no contracting state shall expel or return ('refouler') a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion". Thus, over the past five decades, "voluntariness" has been viewed as the direct corollary to non-refoulement: "The involuntary return of refugees would in practice amount to refoulement" (UNHCR, 1996: 10; Riess, 2000: 1). Today many countries offer temporary protection.

2.3 Temporary protection

Temporary protection was implemented for the first time in several European countries, among them Norway, during the war in the Balkans. The concern was that there would not be enough countries who would offer protection if that protection wasn't going to be temporary. There has been a discussion about the consequences of using "temporary protection" and not following through. Governments will not grant temporary protection out of fear that that status will end up as permanent asylum. Therefore, during the Kosovo War 1998 - 1999, when Norway again offered temporary asylum to Kosovo Albanians, they were very clear that it was going to be temporary and not permanent (UNHCR, 2000: 233 – 242). Most of the 8000 Kosovo refugees were forced to return within a two-year period after the war had ended. The refugees who did not want to return had to apply for asylum.

2.4 Is repatriation an answer to exile?

The reasons why some refugees decide to repatriate, aside from the fact that the conditions which led to their flight may no longer exist, are complex, and often involve a combination of pull and push factors. To name the most common ones, forced migrants return to their homeland to trace or join relatives, re-bury relatives, check the state of their property, make use of the skills they have acquired during exile in the reconstruction of their country, regain control of their land (Kjertum, 1998), participate in the elections of their country (Makanya, 1994), take care of elderly parents, educate their children in their home country's culture and values, or, alternatively, because the conditions in exile are too harsh or dangerous (Kjertum, 1998: 32, Dona & Berry, 1999: 183, Ghanem, 2003: 35).

In 1994 Merete Munch made a study on the repatriation of Chilean refugees. This study concludes that repatriation is not always the answer to living in exile. Munch points out some situations the returnees were not prepared for despite the fact that they returned voluntarily with economic support from the Norwegian Government (Munch, 1994: 46). Some of the reasons she gives are:

- The culture (the way people communicate with each other) had changed. They did not have the same sense of humor, for example.
- They were not received as heroes; on the contrary, people were worried that the returnees would start political trouble. Tension emerged between the ones who had stayed and the ones who had left.
- It was not easy to find work; employers didn't trust people who had lived in exile for many years.
- They had lived too long in exile and had become integrated into their new culture. They felt homeless at home.
- It is a return to the past even though the community demands something else.

As stated by Maletta et al.: "…one returns to the familiar, the things that are known, but at the same time everything is different in a special environment that is not the same, just like the migrant who returns is not the same anymore" (Maletta et al., 1989: 200). Many refugees try to avoid changing while in exile; they passively wait for the moment when they can return. They avoid engaging themselves, which leaves them in a vacuum. As Zarzosa testifies, the

"…nostalgic notion of home is only maintained as a strategy to survive in exile, particularly during the period of rejecting the host society" (Zarzosa 1998: 193).

2.5 Repatriation an ongoing process

Studies show that the longer refugees live in exile the more difficult it is for them to return home. Successful repatriation is dependent on the relationship between the needs of the returnees and the factors governing the response to those needs once they are back in their home country. Pitterman attempts to summarize this relationship between needs and response related to the repatriation process (quoted in Rogge, 1994: 45):

The refugees' needs depend upon:

- The length of time in exile
- Size of returnee population
- Level of resources/skills transferred from exile
- Extent of disruption of home areas
- Degree of voluntaries in returning

From the home country/recipient:

- National governments sympathy/support for returnees
- Local government's resources and interests
- Local community's receptiveness
- Returnees demand articulation

Despite the growing interest among actors of the refugee regime in the later stages of repatriation, and in the implications of returnees' reintegration, research on the psychosocial dimension of repatriation is very scarce. As several authors have pointed out, there has been a virtual neglect of studies addressing the issue of how refugees adapt to returning home and how they perceive their reintegration (Maletta et al., 1989: 178; Rogge, 1994: 15; Warner, 1994: 1-2; Majodina, 1995: 210, Kjertum, 1998: 27, Cornish et al., 1999: 265; Hammond, 1999: 227-228; Kibreab, 2002: 55). Instead, past and current writings have either focused on the legal, political and logistical parameters of repatriation (Rogge, 1994: 15) or on the socio-economic aspects of reintegration (Stamou, 2000: 15).

2.6 Exile psychology

Living in exile means that a person is living involuntarily in a country. He or she cannot leave if they don't like the food, the weather, the music or the politics. It is a very different experience from a person being voluntary abroad knowing that he or she can leave whenever they want. The longer a person lives in exile the smaller the probability is that he or she will ever be able to go back home, so even refugees who are able to return feel that they can't for many different reasons. Children are the ones who often suffer the most; they have too little life experience to understand why they are in exile and what has forced them to move, and often their imagination can take them to destructive thoughts such as wondering what they have done wrong.

Exile can be defined in four different categories (Meyer, 2004):

- Political exile: the refugees' perception is incongruent with the government in their mother country. The extent of their punishment is that they are not welcome in their own country.
- Emotional exile: the refugees can go home according to the government, but because of having gone through radical cultural changes while living in exile, they feel it emotionally impossible to return. Children from the mountains in Kurdistan can risk being teased and ostracized because they have become so different while living in exile. Another example is a man who felt he could not return to Chile because when he was in exile the police tried to find him, but when they did not succeed they tortured his brother instead.
- Exile from the body: clients report that they live outside of their bodies and observe the body as though it were someone else's. This coping mechanism of dissociating from the body is one of the most common among torture victims. Their bodies are numb and they have no affect, no feelings.
- Exile from the culture: refugees who come from cultures that are radically different from the exile country in terms of language, religion, climate and social interaction. They are living outside of their culture.

Refugees exist in a gap between the past and the future. This “vacuum”, where the refugee is neither part of the old culture or the new culture, is called “the liminal phase”. Van Gennep's

original use of the concept "liminality" was "seeing territorial passage as transition and understanding foreigners (as opposed to ‘natives’) as strangers who must stop, wait, go through a transition period, enter, be incorporated" (Hjelde, 2004). “Liminality” is regarded as an abnormal state of being, an unpleasant experience.

The refugees are in a state of “transit”. The word transit consists of the Latin words "trans" (through) and "ire" (go), and signifies something one passes through, a process. It is an active, participative process where one goes through something to get out of something (Berg et al., 2005: 135).

Most cultures have “transitional rituals” for different phases in life; from youth to adult, from single to being married, from life to death. The rituals change from culture to culture and the purpose is to help the individual/group to say farewell to the “old” and be prepared to enter the “new” and unfamiliar. This is a process where a person is prepared to use old resources in a new way in a different context. The activities are not coincidental, but have a content and quality that are designed especially to prepare a person for the new. Van Gennep claims in “Rites of Passage” that the purpose of the ritual is to reduce the damage that can occur during the liminal phase (1960).

Living in exile puts a person in a state where he or she does not know whether they are coming or going. They are neither here nor there (Munch, 1994). Exiles cannot return to their homeland as long as the causes that drove them away persist, and this can go on indefinitely. After a while, nostalgia for “home” often develops, and the images of home inevitably come to be distorted in their memory. The following quote, in which Salman Rushdie shares his own experience of exile, eloquently transcribes this process: “It was precisely the partial nature of these memories, their fragmentation that made them so evocative for me. The shards of memory acquired greater status, greater resonance, because they were remains; fragmentations made trivial things seem like symbols, the mundane acquired numinous qualities. There is obvious parallel here with archaeology. The broken pots of antiquity, from which the past can sometimes, but always provisionally, be reconstructed, are exciting to discover, even if they are pieces of the most quotidian objects" (Rushdie, 1991: 12). Therefore, the “home” which is cherished is not the home forced migrants have fled from, but rather a transformed and idealized image of the past.

"Very few organizations devote any time or energy to the psychological state of exiles" (DeSantis, 2001: 14-15). The refugee can find himself in an identity crises caught between two worlds. Alan D. DeSantis proposes that M. M. Bachtims' dialogical theory is applied when trying to aid those who struggle psychologically with living in exile. Bakhtim's philosophy of language positions dialogic thinking; thinking dialogically is to focus on the centripetal - centrifugal dynamic, not on the static, monologic unities of one form or another (Baxter, 1994: 36). The state of being neither here nor there provides contradicting ideas and feelings simultaneously; a person misses being there when they are here and when a person is there they miss being here. They hate everything here and they hate everything there. Struggling with his or her identity is a normal phase a refugee passes through. One way to address this state of being is through developing an internal dialogue with these different "internal voices".

Table 1

The four Dialogical Motifs and Their Accompanying Tensions (DeSantis, 2001,14 (1): 7).

Recurring Motifs		
Centripetal Forces	↓	**Centrifugal Forces**
Exile feels sad, trapped, pessimistic ←	Emotional State	→ Exile feels happy, safe, optimistic
Exile identifies with old community ←	Social Identification	→ Exile identifies with new community
Exile loves old community (hates new) ←	Sentiment Towards Countries	→ Exile loves new community
Exile wants to return ←	Future	→ Exile wants to stay

2.7 Testimony

Psychologist Inger Agger writes about her experiences from testimony work in Chile. She says that testimony is a way to express truth in a personal and concrete way and that testimonies are essentially individual accounts but they embody collective experiences; testimony has a double connotation of something private and individual, as well as something public and political (1996).

In law and in religion testimony is an attestation as to the truth of a matter. In the law, testimony is a form of evidence that is obtained from a witness who makes a solemn statement or declaration of fact. Testimony may be oral or written, and it is usually made by oath or affirmation under penalty of perjury. Unless a witness is testifying as an expert witness, testimony in the form of opinions or inferences is generally limited to those opinions or inferences that are rationally based on the perceptions of the witness and are helpful to a clear understanding of the witness' testimony. The term is Spanish, “testimonio”, originated from human rights tribunals, truth commissions, and other international human rights instruments in Latin American countries like Chile and Argentina in the 1970s. Some published oral or written autobiographical narratives are considered "testimonial literature", particularly when they present evidence or first person accounts of human rights abuses, violence and war, and living under conditions of social oppression.

An alternative method for trauma support is *testimonial therapy*. One testimonial method was developed in Chile for the torture victims of the Pinochet regime (Agger & Jensen, 1996, with reference to Cullberg Weston, 2001) and the psychoanalyst and survivor Dori Laub (with reference to Cullberg Weston, 2001) developed another version of testimonial therapy for Holocaust victims. Testimonial therapy comes close to the statements that are recorded by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa (Cullberg Weston, 2001).

Weine et al. introduced testimony psychotherapy in “Testimony psychotherapy in Bosnian Refugees: A pilot study” (1998). They describe the use of the method in a group of traumatized adult refugees from genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The conclusions of this pilot study provides preliminary evidence that testimony psychotherapy may diminish PTSD and depressive symptoms, as well as improve functioning in regard to survivors of state-sponsored violence. It is not only the relief of telling one’s story and having witnesses, it is

also oneself witnessing the action of doing it and having the relief of expressing and sharing it with others.

Testimony is not limited to verbal expression. Medical anthropologist Nancy Scheper-Hughes suggests that humans everywhere, men as well as women, employ their bodies in expressing complicated, contradictory, or hostile sentiments, especially when other avenues of expression are blocked or extremely dangerous (1991). Prisoners of war are in situations in which fight or flight or any means of verbal expression is impossible. John C. Pierrakos says: “There is no organic pathology without emotional disturbance; and there is no emotional illness without physiological consequences" (1973:198). Within the field of trauma history is often silenced. What a person knows should never be expressed to others. History that has not become part of a narrative will die with the body. According to Felman & Laub (1992), the fear is on one hand that the history has the power to kill the other, oneself or destruct the world, while on the other hand it is the same drive to tell the history to someone else that has helped the victim to become a survivor. From this point of view it is vital for the survivor to find a narrative genre which gives the listeners a bodily experience that lets them know that he/she is telling the truth. The narrative gets under the skin of the other and touches him.

In this study testimony is understood as an individual or a group telling his, her or their experience to another group, to the public and to the community, and not only through verbal expression. A testimony can be presented through the arts in movement, drama, dance, pictures, poetry, music and film. Testimonies are about what a person has experienced and witnessed. The one who gives testimony needs someone to receive the story, the poem or the image. The receiver becomes a witness to the story. The process of giving testimony is a way of shaping and reshaping the testimony/story until it is ready to be witnessed and received. “The testimony to the trauma thus includes its hearer, who is, so to speak, the blank screen on which the event comes to be inscribed for the first time. By extension, the listener to trauma comes to be a participant and a co-owner of the traumatic event: through his very listening, he comes to partially experience trauma in himself. The relation of the victim to the event of the trauma, therefore, impacts on the relation of the listener to it, and the latter comes to feel the bewilderment, injury, confusion, dread and conflicts that the trauma victims feels. He has to address all these, if he is to carry out his function as a listener, and if trauma is to emerge, so that its henceforth impossible witnessing can indeed take place. The listener therefore by definition partakes of the struggle of the victim with the memories and residues of his or her

traumatic past. The listener has to feel the victim's victories, defeats and silences, know them from within, so that they can assume the form of testimony" (Felman and Laub, 1992: 57). The story can be in a literate genre the first time it is told; the next time it can be communicated in another genre. A person's testimony, or story, or play, or poem, or film is shown to everybody so they can bear witness to his or her fate.

2.8 Aesthetic response

In expressive arts therapy the response the listener gives to the traumatic stories is called an aesthetic response. When the story is communicated through art, the witness is able to identify with the story through the body. "The response has a bodily origin. When the response is profound and soul-stirring, we describe it as moving, touching or breathtaking" (Knill, 2005: 137). Paolo Knill refers to Genlin (1981) who describes the response towards an image in a therapeutic context: "He calls the phenomenon in his focusing method a felt sense, it occurs when a quite right image emerges, an image that matches and resonates with the psychic condition of the client and evokes an observable response" (Knill, 2005: 137). An aesthetic response signals the significance of what emerges. Here the whole range of artistic work can be found. An aesthetic response can be given as a story, a painting, a dance, a poem. The aesthetic response expresses the stories that are awoken in the listener. Here lies the seed, the possibility, of the "third narrative", which is the narrative that emerges between the person telling the story and the one receiving it. It is no longer only one person's story, but *everyone's* story. A real inter-subjectivity is then strengthened.

2.9 Expressive Arts

I will use the terms "habitual worlding" and "alternative worlding" taken from expressive arts therapy (Knill, 2005: 85-90) and explain the terms within the context of trauma survivors and testimony.

"Habitual worlding" is the way we exist in the world out of habit. What we do habitually are often routines or rituals we do every day consciously or unconsciously, like going to the bathroom, eating, sleeping, going to school etc. This includes daily events that we are not

necessarily present in. Habitual worlding is a person's narrative out of habit; the way he or she normally communicates themselves to the world. If life only consisted of habitual worlding, it would be a passive way of living where imagination and the act of creating were missing. Many trauma survivors exist in the world in a habitual way.

"Alternative worlding" is doing something different from a person's common routine, communicating him or herself to the world in a new way. Alternative worlding is using a new narrative genre to tell a person's story; playing with the story, shaping it and reshaping it (Knill, 2005). I will define alternative worlding as a spontaneous and creative act.

Expressive arts therapy is distinguished from other modes of therapeutic practice by its emphasis on bodily expression. It is the body that dances, sings, makes music, paints, sculpts, enacts scenes and speaks poetically (S.Levine, 1992). Moving the body in dance, deepening the breath through singing and moving, and "giving life" to the imagination with the help of painting, storytelling and poetic language, the client may find his or her way home to the body. The arts give people a possibility to re-open the senses in every modality; be it dance, drama, art, poetry; all a person's senses are used. Paolo Knill, one of the founders of expressive arts therapy, states: "Among all art disciplines we find a variety of sensory and communication modalities. Within the visual arts, for instance, we know that sensorimotor and tactile senses are engaged when we paint. We know that a painting communicates not only through the visual image, but also through the rhythm of color. And a painting may evoke a story that depicts an act" (Knill, 1995). Winnicot, in his book "Playing and Reality", differentiates between imagination and fantasy. Fantasy is an internal activity that does not relate to reality in the outer world. Imagination is the bridge from the internal to the external world. Psychotherapy takes place in the overlap of two areas of playing, that of the patient and that of the therapist. Psychotherapy has to do with two people playing together. The corollary of this is that when playing is not possible then the work done by the therapist is directed towards bringing the patient from not being able to play into a state of being able to play (Winnicott, 1971).

The Bosnian war refugees who came to Norway had been forced into exile. Their habitual worlding - the way they normally communicated themselves to the world - had become dangerous. For this very reason refugees often become silent and withdrawn. Many dare not tell their story or show it out of fear that they will not be believed or received. Living in exile

breaks the continuity in life and can give a person a feeling of living in a void, in a “black hole”, between the disconnected “railroad tracks of life”. The process of finding a way to express one’s story and experiencing it being received, can be part of reconnecting the railroad tracks so life can continue (Meyer, 1995). Expressing oneself in exile can break the feeling of still being in captivity.

Art is the language of the soul and the body. Testimony gives the individual and the group the possibility to tell his, her or their story. Not only telling the story verbally, but showing it in several types of expression, can make the impact even stronger. So through movement, film, pictures, painting etc. the individual is given many vehicles for the “soul” to find its way “home” and for the “body” to tell its story and integrate it with the life narrative preceding the trauma to help it become one story.

Anthropologist Edward T. Hall published “The Silent Language” (New York: Anchor Book) in 1959. He depicts all technology and other media as an extension of the human body: “Today man has developed extensions for practically everything he used to do with his body. The evolution of weapons begins with the teeth and the fist and ends with the atom bomb. Clothes and houses are extensions of man's biological temperature-control mechanisms. Furniture takes the place of squatting and sitting on the ground. Power, tools, glasses, TV, telephones, and books which carry the voice across both time and space are examples of material extensions. Money is a way of extending and storing labor. Our transportation networks now do what we used to do with our feet and backs. In fact, all man-made material things can be treated as extensions of what man once did with his body or some specialized part of his body” (56-57).

PART III: RESEARCH QUESTION AND METHOD

3.1 Introduction and background

As part of preparing the refugees at the Fossnes Reception Center for their return to Bosnia, they were offered a movement program and participated voluntarily in making two films: “In Exile from the Body” and “Returning to Life”. They participated in the making of the films on and off from 1994 to 1998. This gave me the unique possibility of following thirteen adults and four children from four families over a period of thirteen years from the time they arrived as war refugees in Norway until they were resettled in Bosnia. I was able to stay in contact with them both in Norway and after their return to Bosnia; we managed to build a bridge of trust and understanding over the cultural differences. Without a close relationship that included mutual trust and respect it would have been impossible to keep a working relationship with them going for thirteen years and it was instrumental in helping the refugees to come forward with their personal stories

3.2 Research question

From the very outset I was interested in the question: Where is home? What are the effects of moving from a familiar cultural context to an unknown? Being forced into exile because of war and persecution turns one’s life upside down. Living in exile is considered a punishment in itself. How does the mind cope with this situation? How do their identities change through this shattering experience? And who is going to bear witness to their stories?

My research question is:

> **What are the principle influences on repatriation with emphasis on documentary filmmaking and testimony?**

3.3 Phenomenological approach

I have chosen a phenomenological research approach for analyzing the data, because the entire research is based on the participant's immediate and lived experiences. The premise for phenomenological research is that our personal experiences are in their essence something that can be shared with others. According to D. F. Polit and C. T. Beck a research is phenomenological when its main interest is the lived experience of humans. Phenomenology is an approach to thinking about what the life experience of people is like and what they mean (2006). The purpose of phenomenological research is to describe the structure of an experience, not to describe the characteristics of a group who have had the experience. Rather than seeking to describe the mean and standard deviations of a group as it relates to the experience, the phenomenological concern is with the nature of the experience itself, a general structural description (Valle & Halling, 1989: 48).

Edmund Husserl developed a map for phenomenological research methods in the first half of the 20th Century with subsequent members of the phenomenological movement, Martin Heidegger, Roman Ingarden, Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Hans Georg Gadamer (Spiegelberg, 1976). The map locates "geological" features of human awareness and reminds us that the research journey needs to attend to the configurations of experience before moving into assumptions about independent natural objects. The phenomenological map refocuses inquiry, concentrating on descriptions of experiences. Husserl called the location of everyday experience the "lifeworld" ("Lebenswelt") and saw it as the basis of all other worlds, such as the world given to us through scientific enquiry (1970). Phenomenological research is descriptive (Ihde & Silvermann, 1985) and qualitative (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975, Schwartz & Jacobs, 1979), but it has in addition a special realm of inquiry - the structures that produce meaning in consciousness, focusing on the subjects' experiences. The research accepts human experience as immediately given in our everyday lives, prior to any interpretive reflection, and aims to explicate the meaning of particular experiences within that lived world both for individuals and groups of individuals, searching for essential meanings that are common to human experiences. "The purpose of phenomenological research is to produce clear, precise and systematic descriptions of the meaning that constitutes the activity of consciousness" (Polkinghorne, 1989: 45).

Testimony through documentary filmmaking is an instrumental part of this study. The arts call for a research model that includes the impressions and expressions from the senses in addition to the verbally expressed narratives. Husserl's phenomenological method is thus, according to Steven Levine in Knill, Levine,S. & Levine, E. (2005), meant to be a presupposition-less investigation into the nature of experience as it appears, rather than formulated beforehand through some theoretical presupposition, no matter how seemingly obvious the latter may seem to be.

It is through dialogue the researcher arrives at a deeper understanding. Dialogical research demands that the researcher is conversant with his subjects at some phase of the research, but dialogue takes place only among persons on equal levels, without the divisiveness of prominent social or professional stratifications. Dialogical research dispenses with researchers and subjects, and takes place among co-researchers (Freire 1986). In this study the participants, the Bosnian refugees, are the ones who have the experiences the researcher wants to gain a deeper understanding of. By participating in the making of two documentary films the participants assumed the role of co-researchers.

My phenomenological research study's goal is to present a new understanding of what the principle influences on repatriation are with special emphasis on the intervention of testimony and documentary film making. The research challenge has been to reduce the complexity of the experiences and make the essence of them understandable and accessible.

3.4 Procedures

In this study the findings first will be presented context-related and relevant for this specific situation and group. The following methods were used in the collection of data: interviews, video, diary notes and observations.

Interviews

The interviews have been organized chronologically in five "Time-Posts". They are 1994 Norway, 1996 Norway, 1996 Bosnia, 1998 Bosnia and 2000 Bosnia.

The interviews in 1994 were made for the film "In Exile From the Body" and were about the refugees' experience of participating in the movement program. The interviews in 1996 and 1998 were made for the film "Returning to Life". The filmmaker/researcher asked the participants open-ended questions about their experiences of war, exile and repatriation. The interviews in 2000 were made for this study only, and the researcher asked the participants specifically to look back and reflect on their experiences of repatriation and on their participation in the documentary filmmaking. At that point they looked at their experiences differently than they did in 1994, 1996 and 1998. All of the interviews were conducted by the researcher/filmmaker in the presence of a translator and a film crew, which consisted of a cinematographer, a sound engineer and a chauffeur in 1996. In 1998 and 2000 the cinematographer made the sound recordings and the translator drove the car. The questions that were asked were directly related to the situation of the Time-Posts, for instance: "How did you experience the movement program?" "Are you prepared to return?" "How do you experience being back?"

Issues that were raised in the interviews:

- 1994 Norway: The experience of participating in the movement program at the Fossnes Reception Centre (Dzafar, Hasiba and Ibrahim)
- 1996 Norway: Thinking about the scenario of returning home (Dzafar's and Ibrahim's families). Documentation of a weekend workshop: "Preparation for returning home"
- 1996 Bosnia: The experience of returning (all four families)
- 1998 Bosnia: The experience of returning (all four families), screening of a 145 minute rough cut of "Returning to Life" and documentation of the workshop (all four families)
- 2000 Bosnia: Reflecting on why they did not return to Norway and their experience of participating in making the films (all four families). All of the twenty-two refugees who had repatriated received a copy of the film "Returning to Life"

Videos

The main data for this study consists of approximately fifteen hours of unstructured and semi structured interviews on videotape giving the personal experience of the participants. They

were talking as much to the camera as to me. They grew familiar with the camera and the film team and would make suggestions about what to film and if there was a story linked to the place they would tell it when we arrived at the location. All of the interviews are translated into Norwegian and English and "logged". This means that every recording is systematically filed according to picture, sound, movement and context. This gave me the possibility to gather and study information about body language in addition to the words spoken. Also, when I went back over the video-recorded interviews, I became aware of information that I had not discovered during the interviews. This information has been important for my analyses of the data and is also one of Colaizzi's four phenomenological research methods: protocol (the transcribed interviews) analysis, imaginative listening, perceptual and phenomenological descriptions (see 3.5 below).

Diary notes

During the study I always carried a diary. I wrote stories from my own life that corresponded to the stories I heard. Some of these stories are included in the study as aesthetic response stories. This was a method I used to help separate my own stories from the stories I was a witness to and is referred to as "bracketing" (see page 45).

Observations

In PART V I will give a presentation of the films "In Exile From the Body" and "Returning to Life" and of my observations according to each Time-Post. Going back to the videotapes allowed me to have a distance to the material and gave me the ability to view it from a new perspective. I saw and heard different things that gave me new insights and a broader picture.

3.5 Method of reduction

A phenomenological approach implies the following series of steps (Polkinghorne, quoted in Valle & Halling, 1989: 55):

a) The original protocols (the interviews) are divided into units.

b) The units are transformed by the researcher into meanings that are expressed in psychological and phenomenological concepts.

c) These transformations are tied together to make a general description of the experience.

The extensive interview material had to be reduced in a systematic way. P. F. Colaizzi's model for reduction and analyses was applied. Through a reduction of the qualitative material an effort has been made to search for the essence and bring forward the essential meanings from each Time-Post and find the data's essential meanings of the participants' experiences. Every logged interview was viewed several times.

Colaizzi's phenomenological reduction model

According to Colaizzi, phenomenological research consists of: protocol (the transcribed interviews) analysis, imaginative listening, perceptual description and phenomenological reflection. It is not so much the use of one of these methods, as it is the integration of all of them (1978: 64). I will give a presentation of the four methods according to Colaizzi:

1. Protocol Analysis

a) The Interview *Protocols*: The subjects' words transcribed exactly.

b) *Significant Statements* extracted from the Interview Protocol: These statements are extracted phrases or passages taken from the Protocol that pertain directly to the investigated phenomena and are organized in themes.

c) *Themes of Essential Meanings*: The Essential Meanings arrived at and formulated do not deviate from the material in the original protocol. The researcher must go beyond the literal words and to a deeper understanding of what is given in the original data and at the same time not deviate from it.

d) *Clusters*: The Themes of Essential Meanings are organized into Clusters, that should not be alien to the original Protocol. The Clusters are themselves meta-themes that can be referred all the way back to the original Protocols in order to validate them.

e) Final *Essences*: Describing the final Essences implies making an exhaustive description of the investigated topic. An effort is made to formulate the exhaustive description of the investigated phenomena in as precise a statement of identification of *its fundamental structure* as possible. Phenomenology defines Essence as that without which the phenomenon would not remain itself.

2. Imaginative Listening

"Imaginative listening is descriptive data from the observation of lived events, which involves the method of perceptual description" (Sheridan, T in Colaizzi, 1978: 62). This comprises dialogical interviews, nuances of speech gestures, interviews taped and

transcribed. The researcher is totally present to the participant. He or she must be present in every imaginable way.

3. Perceptual Description

Perceptual description refers to corporal phenomena such as dancing; the knowledge the body has put forward through action (typing, driving, bicycling, etc.). It implies the description of movements in different contexts.

4. Phenomenological Reflection

Phenomenological reflection means the descriptive understanding of psychological phenomena by reflectively disclosing their meaning.

NVivo data program

All the interviews are transcribed in the Protocol as originally stated and analyzed with QSR-NVivo (2002) in order to code and categorize statements from the Interview Protocols according to Collaizzi's method of reduction. The statements express something about the phenomenon being researched. These coded statements were categorized into themes. The NVivo program gave the possibility to get a clear picture of the different themes that emerged. The themes were categorized in Clusters of Themes that embodied the meanings of the phenomenon. The statements were coded and evaluated within the context in which they were given and not from face value alone. The interviews were coded under the Time-Post where they had been taken. The NVivo coding system was applied to every Time-Post and was instrumental in the reduction analyses to find the Essence of each Time-Post.

3.6 Participants

Of the total group of sixty-four Bosnian war refugees at the Fossnes Reception Centre in 1993, twenty-two repatriated in 1996. From this group of twenty-two participants I have focused mainly on four families on the basis that they volunteered to participate from 1994 to 2000. The four families consisted of thirteen adults and four children. They all participated in The Movement Program and in the making of the films "In Exile From the Body" and "Returning to Life". Out of the fifteen adults in the four families, two decided to stay in Norway rather than to repatriate. "Experience with the investigated topic and articulateness suffice as a criteria for selecting,"

Colaizzi states (1978: 58). The participants who volunteered to participate in this study were all articulate and experienced with the topic being investigated. They represent different perspectives according to age, gender and profession, which give a broader picture of the phenomena being studied. I will present the four families:

1. Dzafar's family: Dzafar and Hajrija had ten children, four boys and six girls. Three of the sons were killed during the war. The forth son lived in exile in Switzerland and decided to stay there after the war. Two of their daughters, Elvira and Merima, were in exile at Fossnes. Elvira (16) decided to stay with her boyfriend Zuad in Norway after the war. Merima and her husband Ahmo had a daughter and a son, Meliha (7) and Suvad, who was born during their stay in Norway. They came from the northern part of Bosnia where they had a farm.

2. Ibrahim's family: Ibrahim and Zekija lost several close relatives but no children in the war. Ado (18) and Vedo (20), their two sons, along with Vedo's wife Sabina (20) and their child, were all at Fossnes. They came from Sanski Most, a town in the northern part of Bosnia. Ibrahim and Vedo were welders, Zekija was a cook at a restaurant in Sanski Most and Ado was a student. Ado stayed in Norway after the war.

3. Senija's family: Iksan and Senija came with their daughter Elvisa to Fossnes. One of their sons was killed in the war, the other son lives in Slovenia. They came from a small town called Kljuc. Iksan worked in the cement industry. Elvisa, aged sixteen at the time, wanted to stay in Norway after the war, but her parents thought she was too young so she returned with them.

4. Hasiba's family: Hasiba and her daughter reunited with her husband at Fossnes. They all returned to Sanski Most.

3.7 The roles of the translators

Translators in Norway

During the Movement Program at Fossnes we used translators that were connected to the reception center. This was an advantage because the participants were familiar with them and trusted them. The translators took part in the same way as the other participants in order to avoid putting the translators in the role of observers. In group work, if possible, having observers should be avoided; they often make the participants insecure and less spontaneous. For all of the interviews made in Norway we were able to have a group of four translators who followed the different projects: the movement group, focus groups, the interviews and the workshops. The continuity, enthusiasm and commitment of the translators gave the participants a sense of trust and encouragement. Hearing the stories of torture and killing was often difficult for the translators, especially for those who had family members still in Bosnia. It was important to prepare the translators before the interviews and debrief them afterwards (Røkenes, 1995; Jareg og Pettersen, 2006).

Translators in Bosnia

Planning my trip to Bosnia in 1996, I contacted IOM (International Organization for Migration) in Zagreb for the purpose of finding a translator. They gave me the name of a professional translator who had translated for two different parties during the entire war (Bosnian-Herzegovina and former Yugoslavia). The translator became an important resource because he had knowledge of the culture and the political situation.

In 1998, 2000 and 2006 the translators' wife was used as a translator. In addition to being a translator she was also an English teacher. During an interview I would often have her translate a summary of what was said in order to avoid breaking the flow of the interview. Afterwards she would translate the whole interview word-by-word. Because of her professionalism and background her translations were trustworthy. All video-taped material from the trips was translated into English. In the Protocols the language is adjusted in some places to make the sentences understandable without changing the meaning. Sometimes when the participants talk about very painful experiences the content can contradict itself; for example how many people were present and who they were. Sentences are fragmented, as if the teller is running through the story, skipping things, in order to avoid the pain of the story.

The participants were never used for translating the interviews, even if using the refugees themselves to translate often is recommended for the reason that they know each other, they need the extra money, it is cheaper using them and there is less administrative work. These were exactly my reasons for not using the refugees to translate. Had I used somebody within the project I would have lost the necessary distance a translator should have and it might have created a confusion of roles among the participants. It was also important to have someone to talk to and share experiences with who had at the time a different perspective and more distance than myself. The continuity of using the same translators gave everyone confidence and built trust, but initially it was a challenge having the refugees accept and trust the translator's wife. She was from Croatia and he was a Croatian Bosnian from Sarajevo. The Croatians had been one of the most aggressive parties in the beginning of the war. The participants had no problems with his background, and it was in her favor that he was her husband. However, she gained the trust of the participants within a short time. My observations suggest that people were not judged on account of the politics in their countries, but on whom they were.

3.8 The role of the researcher

In a phenomenological study the researcher's approach is not to be a neutral observer, but to enter into the relational field where the lived experiences of the informants reside. Phenomenology requires a participatory approach to the phenomenon. Phenomenologist David Abram puts it this way: "In the act of perception I enter into sympathetic relation with the perceived. There is an attunement or synchronization between my own rhythms and the rhythms of the things themselves" (1996: 54). As a researcher I have had many additional roles in this study; filmmaker, workshop leader, facilitator, interviewer and witness.
To keep track of this attunement of the researcher towards the researched I kept a personal diary from the start of the collection of data and all the way up to the interpretation of it. It was helpful to make notes on my method of working in order to maintain an awareness of possible biases, and to give the reader an opportunity to understand the perspective taken. If the researcher's approach is relational rather then observing, then in general it is considered to be an obstacle towards achieving believability and accountability. In the case of this research, however, several relational and subjective elements constitute an integral part of the study. In fact, they are necessary premises for the realization of it. The data from self-reflection have

been used to become aware of the presuppositions and assumptions I had when I started the study. According to a phenomenological approach this is called “bracketing”, a systematic attempt to bracket one’s own presuppositions so that they do not interfere with the phenomenon of the informants’ lived experience.

In addition to the findings of phenomenological research, participation in the process itself can be useful for the subjects. In Wertz’s study with Fisher on victimization (1979), the process of engaging in the interview was in itself helpful for the subjects in restoring their broken sense of community (Polkinghorne, 1989: 58). The participants became active subjects in the process. The project became a joint venture for me, my film team and the participants.

As the work progressed it evoked feelings, both in the participants and in me. I discovered that by telling their story, my own story emerged. Being an immigrant myself, I began to question where *I* belonged and where *my* home was. I began remembering stories from my own childhood. I chose not to hide these stories, but to use them. By using the stories in the work, mutual understanding was created between me and the participants, which generated trust and confidence that helped the project to progress. Sharing them enhanced the dialogue and the experience of being equal. To show the reader how I have differentiated between my life stories and the refugees' stories I have written some of my stories as aesthetic responses to each Time-Post at the end of each Results section. The stories I share with the reader are stories I shared with the refugees. This is carried out as a form of bracketing; being aware of my own biases and preconceived ideas in order to hear their experiences. The research process became a therapeutic intervention in itself. This will be discussed further in PART VIII and my perceptions will be accounted for in PART V.

3.9 Validation

The terms “believability” and “accountability” apply better to qualitative research than reliability and validity (Marshall & Rossmans, 1999). Believability means that the research is carried out in a reliable way while accountability is linked to the quality of the analyses/interpretations and whether or not the presented findings can be supported by other research.

According to Colaizzi's model the Theme Clusters are referred back to the original Protocols in order to "validate" them. The believability of phenomenological research concerns the question: "Does the general structural description provide an accurate portrait of the common features and structural connections that are manifest in the examples collected?" (Polkinghorne, 1989: 57). In this study I have checked the believability of all results by completing the following procedure:

- Assuring at a later point that the interviews reflect the informants' experience of the subject and have not been inappropriately biased by the interviewer's approach.
- Assuring that the transcriptions are accurate and convey the meaning of the oral presentation in the interview.
- Assuring that it is possible to go from the general structural description to the transcription and account for the specific contents and connections in the original interviews.
- Questioning whether the findings' description is situation-specific or if the experience holds true in other situations.

A final step of checking the believability was achieved through presenting the results to the participants in 2006. Questions were posed to find out whether the results corresponded with their experiences and if they had experiences that were not included. Any new data from these interviews are presented in PART VII and are worked into the final presentation of the research.

Continuing this process through a longitudinal research of thirteen years gives the study believability in itself. Related research will be presented in PART VIII to support and challenge the findings and conclusions in order to give the study accountability.

3.10 Ethical considerations

One weakness in qualitative studies and in this study is that the participants are not randomly chosen. They all come from a similar geographical and economical context. This makes it impossible to generalize the findings to all groups (Ahearn: Psychosocial Wellness of Refugees. Issues in Qualitative and Quantitative Research, 2000: 16).

When people are being studied the researcher has an ethical obligation to keep the informants anonymous. The information they give should be kept confidential. People who are subject to research should not be exposed to increased psychological or physical danger through the publication of the study.

In this study the Bosnian refugees are not anonymous. On the contrary, they wanted to come forward, in fact they insisted. In all the video interviews the participants agreed to the interviews being used in a film for public screening and for this study (Appendix 7). The process of going from private to public appears to have strengthened the integrative and rehabilitating process for the Bosnian refugees. Making them anonymous would have been counter-productive to the process. However, from the beginning the principle of anonymity was respected. In the focus group interviews in the Movement Program everybody was anonymous, but this changed when we decided to make a documentary about their experiences. From this moment on they wanted to come forward and not be anonymous. The men and women who appear in the film volunteered. The children participated with either a parent or a relative alongside them.

From an ethical point of view this is a paradoxical situation. On one hand the informants in a research project should be kept anonymous in order to protect them. On the other hand this can give them a feeling of being used; the researcher enters their lives like an intruder and takes their stories and uses them for his or her own benefit. With war refugees who are forced into exile and as a rule are treated like objects, it is crucial that the research does not enhance objectification. What is possibly ethically sound research in one situation can become equally unethical in another. The choice of research method must therefore not be seen out of context.

Following a group of refugees over a long period of time without losing a substantial number of participants is a challenge in itself (Long & Oxford, 2004:13). Research participants are hard to locate once they have left the country; they may have moved, they may not have a telephone; there may be difficulties with transportation and communication. Another challenge of a longitude study is not getting too involved with the participants. The film team came on a regular basis to see how they were doing and listen to their stories. What were the stories they didn't tell? If all the interviews were made anonymous and not for a film, what stories would they have told then? Would they have been so eager to show and tell if the interviews would only be heard by a narrow and specialized audience? The participants told

their stories on film because they felt it was important to tell the truth to the world and because they felt safe to do so.

The purpose of my trip to Bosnia in 2006 in addition to validating the results according to Colaizzi's method (Sanders, 2003), was to reassure that every participant still wanted to be part of the research project. Over time a person can regret or gain second thoughts about performing and giving testimony in public; the context and situation in his or her life might have changed. Since six years had passed I trusted that they would withdraw if they wanted to. Nobody did.

They also knew that this was my last visit connected to this study; meaning that we don't know if we will ever see each other again.

PART IV: RESULTS AND FINDINGS 1994-1998

4.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the research period 1994-1998 which also is the production period for the documentary films “In Exile From the Body” and “Returning to Life”. The interviews used in the two films are extracts from the interviews made between 1994 and 1998. The interviews from 2000, on the other hand, were made exclusively for this study and are not included in the films. In the 2000 interviews the participants are looking back on the whole process reflecting on their experience of repatriation and their experience of filmmaking.

4.1.1 Reduction of the interviews

The study focuses on Dzafar's, Ibrahim's, Iksan’s and Hasiba's families. In order to make the data manageable Dzafar and his family have been chosen as an axis of reduction. The Significant Statements from the other families are included if they present another perspective or introduce a new theme. In the introduction to each Time-Post the participants who are included are introduced and the reasons why they are included are given.

4.1.2 Context and focus of the interviews

The general socio-political context of the interviews with the Bosnian participants will be given at the beginning of every Time-Post and the focus will be on where the participants are in the repatriation process. The Time-Posts originate from an historical stage in the process and the selection of the themes is influenced by the Time-Posts. The complete Interview Protocol for all Time-Posts is found in Appendix 1. There are five Time-Posts:

1994 Norway - The Fossnes Reception Center
1996 Norway - Vestfold County
1996 Bosnia - northern part of Bosnia, Sanski Most and Kljuc
1998 Bosnia - northern part of Bosnia, Sanski Most and Kljuc
2000 Bosnia - northern part of Bosnia, Sanski Most and Kljuc

4.1.3 How the Time-Posts are organized

Each Time-Post is divided in three main parts: Results, Findings and Summary.

Results

The Results chapter of each Time-Post starts by presenting a story from one of the interviews. These stories will give an impression of the interviewees' state of mind and of what preoccupied them at this stage in the process. I will then present the specific context (place, time, number of people present) of the interviews followed by Significant Statements taken from the interviews. Then Theme Clusters and Essential Meanings developed from the Significant Statements and Themes will be presented. The Result chapter ends with an Aesthetic Response Story

I will account for the filmmaking process and give my own observations and comments in PART V, where the films “In Exile from the Body” and “Returning to Life” will be presented along with my observations of the participants during the production process.

How the Themes and Clusters are decided

I have used the NVivo coding system to select the themes that are related to the research question. The Significant Statements that give the most adequate description of the themes are selected from the protocols. The Themes represent opposite poles, for example dependent - independent, not in the sense either-or, but as an illustration of the constant movement and tension between these poles in life.

Essential meanings are developed from the Significant Statements. The themes of essential meanings are organized into Clusters. The Clusters are finally reduced into one essence, which is the essence of the Time-Post and embodies everything before it. This process of reduction is carried out for each Time-Post.

4.1.4 Aesthetic Response Story

The Result part of every Time-Post ends with one of my own stories as an aesthetic response to what the participants have told me. One way of connecting and creating a relationship with the participants was through finding images and stories from my own life that related to their

experiences. This helped me to connect emotionally to the participants and was instrumental in building a bridge between them and myself. When they understood that I had experienced loss and grief myself, it became easier for them to be straightforward in disclosing what they had gone through. Each Aesthetic Response Story will be introduced with the time and place where the story is written, and how I have used the story in my conversations with the participants.

4.1.5 Findings

The Findings chapter of each Time-Post starts by giving the Essence for that Time-Post. The Essence embodies all Clusters belonging to the Time-Post. An Exhaustive Description, that is a wondering and deepening of the Essence of each Time-Post, will be given. Issues having to do with gender and generational differences will be addressed here, as well as questions arisen from the statements. The Essence is related to the population studied. All Time-Posts will end with a summary and a table.

4.1.6 How the text is organized

The text presented in italics is the Significant Statements extracted from the Protocols. The first name of the participant the statements are extracted from will be given. Background information written by myself is written in regular type face. The line numbers given in parentheses at the end of each Significant Statement refers to the place where it can be found in the Interview Protocol. The Essential Meanings developed from the Significant Statements are marked with bullets and also appear in regular type face. The number in brackets after each Essential Meaning refers to the Significant Statement it is developed from. This system will be employed for all Time-Posts - 1994 Norway, 1996 Norway, 1996 Bosnia, 1998 Bosnia and 2000 Bosnia.

4.2 Results Time-Post 1994 Norway

Dzafar's Story

1. *When we came to the concentration camp at Manjaca, we were battered. And we were persecuted and we were humiliated, we starved. One loaf of bread was divided between 40 men. The police came and they hit us, they even killed some of us. Just looking out from my window where I was sleeping, I could see them beat four men to death. Yes, I have been a witness to murder. Twelve buses came from the concentration camp Omarska with prisoners. Over thirty of them were butchered the moment they came out of the bus. We shivered from fear.* (99-104)

Dzafar had, like all of the men in this study, been in the concentration camp at Manjaca, he had been held there for more than four months. It was a torture camp. Dzafar had been called to the town hall to register; the police said they wanted to count the men who were still in the village, but their intention was to gather the men and deport them to the camps.

4.2.1 Context and focus of the interviews

All of the Bosnian refugees at the Fossnes Reception Center were offered a Movement Program in the spring of 1993. The purpose of the Movement Program was to help the refugees to cope with stress. All of the participants in this study took part. The focus of the individual interviews with Dzafar, Ibrahim and Hasiba was on how they experienced participating in the Movement Program. The Significant Statements from Ibrahim and Hasiba are included to introduce additional perspectives. Ibrahim is chosen because he participated with his whole family in the Movement Program, Hasiba in order to include a woman's perspective. All interviews were made in May 1994 at the Fossnes Reception Center.

The war was still going on and no one could foresee an end to it. At this point the refugees were still living at the reception center, but were about to move out because they had been offered housing in the surrounding communities. Activities organized by the reception centre would not be available to them once they had moved away.

4.2.2 Significant Statements from the interviews

From the analysis of the Interview Protocol Norway 1994 the following four themes emerged:

Inactivity - Movement

Disconnection - Connection

Strangulation - Breathing

Depression - Playing

Significant Statements: Dzafar

From the Significant Statements taken from Dzafar's interview the themes Inactivity - Movement and Isolation - Connection are illustrated.

Theme: Inactivity - Movement

2. Dzafar: *The physical training program has helped me a lot. In the concentration camp, our bodies became stiff. We were passive and we were forced to stand, sit or lie on our backs on the concrete floor. Now we have gotten back the ability to move. And the blood circulation is better.* (95-98)

Dzafar was used to being physically active. The movement program helped him to reconnect to his normal way of interacting in the world. He became aware that being physically inactive connected him to the inactivity he experienced in the concentration camp.

3. Dzafar: *What happens inside of me when I sit and think is that I get a stomachache immediately and I feel depressed and I get a headache. All the exercises have helped me. Everybody that has been in the concentration camp at Manjaca was in a situation that was similar to being dead, a dead way of being. For five or six months we just lied down or sat still… Now we can move again, and our blood is circulating.* (113-116, 120)

He connected what he calls "a dead way of being" with mental and somatic illnesses: depression, heaviness, headaches, stomach aches and poor blood circulation. The movements helped Dzafar to get out of "a dead way of being".

Theme: Disconnection - Connection

4. Dzafar: *I was isolated for twelve days. I was together with some other people who were taken out every day and hit and beaten. The rest of the time there was neither food nor water, and we were not allowed to go out.* (107-109)

Omarska was a death camp, Manjaca a torture camp. Dzafar was a witness to killings and never knew who was going to die next. He carried this experience and the visual images of it in his body. Being isolated and feeling all alone contributed to putting Dzafar into a state of chronic fear and always being on guard. The movement program reconnected Dzafar to other people. Through being with others and doing something together, Dzafar's feeling of isolation broke down.

Significant Statements: Ibrahim

The themes Passivity - Movement and Disconnection - Connection are exemplified in the Significant Statements taken from Ibrahim.

Theme: Inactivity - Movement

5. Ibrahim: *This is a long story. People that have not experienced this don't know what fear is. They do not know what suffering is. To lie on the ground without any light and starve, to be humiliated and harassed. They said we were not people, that we were animals and that we stunk. That Ali Haizebegovic had abandoned us. It is not our fault that we are Muslims in Bosnia. We are Bosnians. What I have experienced in the camp, oh God take care, you forget your own language without washing yourself, without sleep, without food, we drink the water of the animals.* (51 - 57)

6. Ibrahim: *For four to five months in the concentration camp moving around was forbidden. Our hands were tied behind our backs. We could not move our heads; we were only allowed to look down. Of course, the movement program was such a relief after all of this. Everybody who has been in a concentration camp, not only in Manjaca where I have been, should be advised to participate in the movement program, because everybody there lied on a concrete floor without being allowed to move and was not able to use their voice or their body. Gymnastics in the Norwegian way helps improve your health very much. It doesn't only give bodily relief but also in the soul – both in the lungs and in the thoughts. Yes, the exercises with breathing deep in and out. We had gymnastics earlier in school, but never in this way.*

This gave me pure relief and helped my health. We didn't know about this type of exercise or have this kind of knowledge before. (11-22)

After surviving the concentration camp Ibrahim felt disembodied. Because of this he experienced that it was necessary to build up a "new body". He had to learn from scratch and he was becoming aware that he could learn how to help himself.

7. Ibrahim: *I didn't know ahead of time that people could help themselves in this way. If it hurts somewhere, you can give yourself a massage and that helps it to disappear.* (30-31)

Theme: Disconnection - Connection

8. Ibrahim: *Yes, my whole family is here, two sons, one daughter-in-law, one grandchild and my wife of course. We have all participated. Also my grandchild has participated in all of the movements just like the older people. Everybody has benefited from this. I know it from experience, I know my family has.* (37-40)

Ibrahim's family had been separated for several months. He stressed the importance of the whole family, including different generations, participating in something together. Doing something together reunited them and gave them a positive reference point and a common experience.

Significant Statements: Hasiba

The themes Strangulation - Breathing and Depression - Playing are illustrated in Hasiba's Significant Statements.

Theme: Strangulation - Breathing

9 Hasiba: *When we do the exercises and breathe in and out deeply, it sort of gets out all the suffering and the heaviness that weighed us down. This is especially so with breathing out and the exercises with the stomach and with the back. Moving our backs, you know, many of us were middle-aged women, and it's sort of limited what we can do, but we were able to manage to do all of the exercises.* (66-70)

Hasiba learned about the connection between psychosomatic problems and breathing and how exhaling in deep breathing gave her the experience of relief.

Theme: Depression - Playing

10. Hasiba: *The physical training program has also been good for us. If you live in a ten by ten foot room, you are happy to jump and play and be in a large room to get everything out.* (64-65)

Through movement, song and play Hasiba was able to exhale, let her breath out and release tension. She was able to connect to positive experiences.

11. Hasiba: *We used to dance and sing, but because of the suffering it has been hard to sing. But the Bosnian people are known for entertaining, and by being together and being given permission to sing and move it all comes back to us.* (89-91)

Through movement the participants were able to connect to "stored" knowledge and resources in their bodies and activities connected to a more peaceful life. Their bodies told their old stories in a new way through movement.

12. Hasiba: *Everybody here at the reception center has a lot of problems, and we are exposed to many negative impulses by being around each other. It is very, very good for our social relationships that we do something different together, and that we forget and have a positive experience. From this perspective this is not only the way we get out the negative experiences, but also that we share a new experience together that is positive.* (83-87)

4.2.3 Essential Meanings and Clusters

I have categorized the Significant Statements in four Themes:

Inactivity - Movement

Disconnection - Connection

Strangulation - Breathing

Depression - Playing

Analyzing the Significant Statements further in order to find the Essential Meanings resulted in two Clusters:

Numbness - Sensibility

Captivity - Freedom

Cluster: Numbness – Sensibility

- The experience of feeling fear, hearing and seeing people being murdered randomly, and being tortured themselves scarred them both physically and mentally. [1, 4]
- Not being able to move deadens the body. Inactivity and superficial breathing reduces/restricts the body from functioning and causes physical and mental illness. [2, 3, 9]
- Moving and breathing helps release tension and stress in the body and connects a person to his or her emotions. [10]
- Getting knowledge of and putting into practice ways in which people in exile can help themselves, gives them a degree of independence and resilience. [6, 7]

Cluster: Captivity- Freedom

- After being treated like an animal in the concentration camp words like fear, suffering, and humiliation don't have the same meaning as before. Language cannot do justice to the experience. It can cause a man to forget who he is and what he stands for. [5]
- Doing the opposite of what is allowed in a concentration camp such as looking at each other, moving, singing and laughing, reconnects ex-prisoners to life again and to themselves. [11]

- Doing something together with people of different generations and being together with one's family creates a common reference point that generates strength and a feeling of being home in the present moment. [8]
- Doing something unusual together offers new perspectives and experiences of the others. Instead of inflicting pain on each other people can express and release pain in movement without causing conflict. [12]

4.2.4 Aesthetic Response Story

When I looked into the eyes of several of the refugees it was like looking into emptiness. I got the feeling that nobody was home. The expression they themselves often used was that they belonged to the "living dead". This expression made me remember a story from my childhood. I have called it "The Doll". I shared the story with the group, and I told them that I lost my father when I was five. I knew something about loss and being in a state of not wanting to accept the reality of death. The story brought up questions such as whom can you trust, who is real, who is alive?

I have tried to write the story down as close as possible to the way I told it to the participants.

"The Doll"

My older sister Wendy loved dolls. I hated them. I would much rather have played outside in the garden than play inside with dead plastic dolls. Since my sister was older and made most of the decisions, I settled for playing with my stuffed animals. The animals were soft and friendly, in contrast to the cold, hard plastic dolls.

Wendy had thousands of dolls; Barbie, Ken, talking, sleeping and peeing dolls. But one doll she did not have was a walking doll. And I wanted that doll. The walking doll was taller than me when I was six and it excited me. I wondered if she was real or alive. My grandmother had told me that all of "the dead" were alive at night, when "the living" were asleep. I wondered if maybe my dead father was living with the dolls at night and whether the walking doll could lead me into the night to the living dead.

I asked my mother if I could have the walking doll. She was very suspicious of why I wanted it. She had witnessed my treatment of dolls, and it was not nice. Most of my dolls had a missing arm or leg or were broken at the waist. She never asked me why I was doing it, she just told me: "Whatever you are doing stop it or else..." Despite this she bought me the walking doll for my birthday. My sister got very jealous.

The first day I was very excited about the walking doll. I got a lot of attention - nobody else had a walking doll. But I was disappointed, she was no fun, she was dead. That same evening I decided to take a bath with her. I said to myself: "There must be something inside this large doll". I took off her head and looked inside. The doll was empty. My grandmother had taught me that human beings were made like cucumbers and were made up of almost

all water. I filled the doll with water. If she was not dead before, she was now; I had managed to drown her. She looked really dead with water running out of her eyes and ears. I had also given her a haircut before the bath. My hair was always cut pixy-short, making me look like a boy. By the time I had got her head back on, an old feeling began to emerge, that I had done something wrong. Now I had to get rid of the evidence.

I took the ugly looking doll out of the bath tub. I had no time to dress her. Luckily the trash can in the driveway was empty, so there was enough space in it for her. I struggled with trying to lift up her legs first, pushing her over the edge and getting the lid back on. Now I had to create a story about how she disappeared. She walked out and left me. She died and went to heaven...

The next day when my mom went out to empty the trash, a horrifying scream came as though she was being attacked. We all rushed out to the driveway and there she was standing frozen with the trash can lid in her hand. My mother thought that the doll was a real child who was dead.

4.2.5 Findings Time-Post 1994 Norway

Exhaustive Description of the Essential Meaning of "Bodily Dead - Bodily Alive"

Analyzing the Themes and Clusters of Essential Meanings resulted in one Essential Meaning that embodies all the Themes and Clusters and is the essence of this Time-Post: "Bodily Dead - Bodily Alive".

"Bodily Dead" embodies the Themes Inactivity, Disconnection, Strangulation and Depression and the Clusters Numbness and Captivity.

"Bodily Alive" embodies the Themes Movement, Connection, Breathing, Playing and the Clusters Sensibility and Freedom.

"Bodily Dead"

Ibrahim: *I have participated in the movement program twice a week, Tuesdays and Fridays, and it was good. The effect it had on me was like a revelation, a relief, both physically and psychologically. While I was moving I forgot everything else. It was also very good to make my body able to move again, and the lungs, that did a lot of good, especially in the beginning when we did not have school or other activities to do. The movement program was not meant for anything else other than for what is best for us, to fill our everyday lives with new activities and replace the old ones, to give us something to do and to forget.* (4-10)

After surviving the humiliation of a concentration camp a person often feel shame. The gruesome experiences the prisoners had survived had contaminated the body. This feeling of being contaminated made the survivors feel different and shameful, as if they didn't belong amongst normal people. The very fact that a person had survived could make him or her feel guilty, especially when close relatives had been killed or were still fighting in the war. Fathers were tortured in front of sons, and vice versa. This could result in a state of chronic worrying that separated them from the present moment. This state of being could be observed in the way they walked in the room; heavy steps, stiff and slow movements, an empty look in their eyes and a lack of concentration was characteristic.

Living in a prison camp is a living in constant fear. The prisoners had heard and seen other inmates being tortured and killed, while they wondered which one was going to be next. Everything was turned upside down overnight, normal standards of behavior did not exist in the camps. After being in the concentration camp words like fear, suffering and humiliation didn't have the same meaning as before. Language could not do justice to the experience. It was as though no words could convey the depth of the experience because the same words were connected to different experiences before the war. The inability to communicate and connect is one aspect of being "bodily dead".

The prisoners in the Bosnian camps were treated like animals, they had no choice but to do as they were told or else they would be killed. They experienced themselves as being victims of evil. Humiliation can be used as a method to break down a person's sense of self. People who were trusted before and stood for protection, such as the police, became the enemy. Objectification was a part of the humiliation and made them question their identity. The body contains memories, feelings and pains that can force an individual to turn away from himself. Seeing other inmates tortured without being able to do anything made them feel powerless. They felt estranged from their bodies. How can someone rebuild the feeling of dignity and feel at home in a body that now embodies memories of torture, humiliation and pain? Because the present was overshadowed with fear of the past, the present became a kind of "black hole". Pain can affirm the fact that a person is alive, but when pain becomes overwhelming and the whole body is in pain, you want to move away from it. This turning away from oneself is another aspect of being "bodily dead" and was revealed when a person talked about gruesome experiences without showing any affect, with an attitude of utterly indifference.

People living under severely stressful conditions often suffer from deep-seated tension in their bodies. Being always on guard puts the body in a state of alertness. This alertness was experienced as a frozen and immobile position. The breathing became shallow and it was difficult for them to exhale. Living in a state of constant fear, emotions are locked up and this produced a sensation of being strangled. The body soon adjusts to the feeling of being boxed in. Breathing becomes shallower, the metabolism and blood circulation slow down and the muscles become tense. It brings on a total numbness to the body as though the body is "bodily dead". Feeling disconnected from others and isolated within themselves made the participants feel alone. In this state there was the danger of losing contact with the identity they had before being in captivity. This objectification put them in the role of being a victim who does not

have control over their movements and actions, and it increases the passivity that results from the fear that a movement, even the slightest one, will lead to disaster. In this sense movement can be understood in terms of moving one's thoughts, body or attention, and what one perceives. Any sort of movement that created a sense of life could put the prisoners to silence, the total silence of not being; silent in terms of movement, expression and of being in contact with life. This silence was understood as another aspect of being "bodily dead".

A person moving out of captivity and into a reception center in exile can experience the situation as though he or she is still in captivity. The words the participants used to describe their state of being were fear, pain, isolation, being among the living dead, put to silence, dead body, passivity and having no energy. They were living in a camp situation in a foreign country. They had little if any choice; and decisions were made by others, such as when to eat, what to eat and what chores they had to do. The experience of being an object was supported and lengthened in this way. The danger with the surroundings and atmosphere of the reception center was that it could reinforce a "bodily dead" state of being.

It is worth noting, however, that in a prison camp being "bodily dead" can function as a defense mechanism. In order to endure an intolerable situation the functioning of the senses is reduced, thus limiting the ability of sensing feelings, sensing anger, and sensing fear. Going into exile from the body can be a way of protecting the "self" from being totally destroyed. Pain, humiliation and powerlessness are minimized by not being present. When a mouse is being tortured by a cat the mouse "plays dead", hoping that the cat will lose interest and leave. Similarly, being "bodily dead" might make a person less likely to be tortured. The closer a person is to death the more he or she will be left alone mentally and physically, so in this context the "bodily dead" state of being can be a positive factor.

"Bodily Alive"

Ibrahim: *The* (movement) *program helps both physically and psychologically, it helps your health, the muscles and the body, and, how shall I say this? It's as though you get a new attitude, a new body after all that has happened.* (46-48)

After having had their bodies invaded and brutalized, it was necessary for the participants to build up a "new" body that could carry and hold all of the painful experiences of the past -

living in captivity- and of the present - living in exile. These experiences contained a lot of pain and took a lot of energy to digest. Beginning to move created a feeling of being “bodily alive” and brought the body out of the state of being “bodily dead”.

The Movement Program provided a space where it was possible to do the opposite of what occurred in captivity. It offered a space where something new could happen that broke the every day routine at the reception center, and gave the participants a feeling of normality. It created an activity in a context where passivity was dominant, because a reception center is often associated with a waiting room; waiting for news from home about family members, wondering who is dead and who is still alive. Doing something different gave a new perspective. Movement and breathing brought a sense of security to the body, enhanced circulation and gave the feeling of being alive. The participants took part in a non-verbal activity that included both young and old. After having been in shock the participants would often stiffen, and the look in their eyes was a mixture of alertness and fear. They needed to be reminded again and again that the danger was over, that it was safe to move and breathe deeply and to exhale. The challenge was to exhale. Under stress a person tends to hold his breath as long as possible. Movement deepens the breath and therefore improves the circulation. The body was brought out of a state of passivity, and, therefore, better health was promoted. Breathing and moving reconnected their bodies to their soul. The participants found a way of expressing themselves; from being nobody they became somebody. The sense of being somebody gave back a sense of identity. Through movement these trauma survivors were brought back into contact with themselves and with the world. They did movements from their everyday lives from before the war: baking bread, sowing, washing clothes, watering plants and cutting grass. The resources that were stored in their bodies were activated so that they could reconnect to the identities they had before the traumatic situation. This gave them the experience of being “bodily alive”. When a person is reconnected to his or her identity then he or she is able to confront the present and the new challenges with resources from the past. Reconnecting with other people in a positive re-engagement, not just talking about something, but doing something with somebody, gave the participants a feeling of being part of a larger unity. Knowing that everybody had been through the same or similar traumas gave the participants a feeling of being together in a community that helped each other. Including all generations - children, parents and grandparents - in the movement group, broke the isolation, gave an experience of having something in common and the ability to connect with one another.

At the same time the need existed for being an individual in the group. By doing something together people were not forced to disclose information, or to think about what was right or wrong. It was more about focusing on oneself in the group and how one felt. When language is not sufficient to express oneself, a person needs time to reorient him or herself in how to integrate and express the new experiences. Movement is a way of communicating experiences, getting back in touch with one's feelings and letting one's body express the emotions. This is the opposite of individualizing the pain. Being in the present, focusing on the activity, offered the participants a pause from the pain, the fear of the future, and of what was happening at the same time elsewhere, i.e. the war that was still going on. Being in a circle provided a holding metaphor, a container or, in other words, the body of the group. When the group began to move and sing, the group became "bodily alive".

4.2.6 Summary

The experience of being “bodily dead” or “body alive” can be defined as follows:

“Bodily dead” is an emotional state of being; the body is experienced as heavy, non-expressive and passive. There is a feeling of loneliness and of being disconnected to the world. Breathing is shallow and both inhaling and exhaling give a feeling of being strangled. It is an experience of being imprisoned in one’s own body, where it is totally dark.

“Bodily alive” is experienced as expressive and active. There is a relief of the experience of being in darkness and captivity, which is replaced with the experience of opening up the senses so a person can see, hear and feel and be connected to others.

War refugees encounter a variety of problems on a personal and psychological level in their first phase of exile. They need to digest their experiences and build up a new sense of self.

Table 2 (see next page) presents conditions that influence the reconstruction of “the self”.

Table 2

The left column lists the conditions the refugees experienced as dominant in the first phase of exile living in the reception center, and the right column gives the conditions that were important to reconstruct their identity.

Conditions experienced by the Bosnian war refugees arriving in exile		**Conditions important to reestablish and strengthen**
Bodily Dead	↔	**Bodily Alive / New Body**
1. Humiliation	↔	Dignity
2. Dependence	↔	Independence / Making choices
3. Victimized	↔	Responsible
4. Being elsewhere	↔	Being Present
5. Being Nobody	↔	Being Somebody / Identity
6. Object	↔	Subject
7. Non-expressive / Inactive	↔	Movement and Expression
8. Strangulation	↔	Breathing
9. Frozen	↔	Mobile
10. Isolated	↔	In contact / Being connected
11. Individual suffering	↔	Collective suffering

The goal was to create movement, a dynamic process, between these conditions to avoid having the state of being "Bodily dead" become chronic. The list below shows activities that facilitated this process for the Bosnian refugees in reconstructing their sense of self and becoming "Bodily alive".

1. Being received in a positive way: this enhances the feeling of self-worth and dignity
2. Information: understanding what the options and choices are supports independence
3. Participation: being active and participating makes a person feel more responsible
4. Sensing: seeing, hearing, feeling and smelling helps a person to be present in the moment
5. Names and resources: not having to hide one's name and skills enhances the feeling of being somebody
6. Resources in the body: showing specific movements from the participant's everyday life before the trauma
7. Voice: hearing your own voice and feeling that it is safe to be heard gives permission to move
8. Breathing deeply: gives more oxygen and more energy
9. Movement: moves a participant out of a frozen position
10. Group-socializing: being together with others, doing something meaningful creates contact
11. Group knowledge: a participant knowing that he or she is not alone and that others have similar experiences

4.3 Results Time-Post 1996 Norway

Dzafar's story

1. *My youngest one is buried in Travnik, and the two others are buried in Biharz. Soldiers from the Bosnian military buried them in Biharz. The youngest one has his grave in Travnik, and it was his brother in Switzerland who came and made the grave for him. …The worst thing about the war is that it takes away the younger generation. Yes, it's going to be difficult to return. It's not only my sons that are gone, but also I have two sons-in-law. I'm going build my house back up again, but where are the children? I can't be angry. What can I be angry for? Every war takes its victims. I know that Norway was in a war in 1945; the same war was in Yugoslavia. Back then, I lost my father and my uncle, and I became a victim, a child of war only a couple of months old. It's like a tradition that follows my family. Many are killed in every war.* (217-219, 221-227)

(Statement taken from the interview made at Dzafar's home in Stokke, spring 1996.)

4.3.1 Context and focus of the interviews

By the end of 1994 almost all of the Bosnian refugees had been moved out of the reception center and to nearby communities. They moved into their own houses and got their own space and privacy. The children went to Norwegian schools. At first they were all a little apprehensive about parting from each other. The women created a movement group and continued to meet once a week. When the war ended in December 1995 the Bosnian refugees were given the option of staying in Norway until the end of 1996.

Mette Nygaard and I offered a two-day Preparation Workshop in February, 1996, in order to help prepare the participants for their return home. While the refugees were living at the reception center they were considered to be a more or less homogeneous group, but during the Preparation Workshop a variety of differences appeared. Some of them could not return because they came from territories that were still occupied. Others were dependent on medical

help and some, perhaps keeping it silent, wanted to stay in Norway, but did not have the courage to express this desire for fear that the group would feel betrayed.

Twenty-two adults and six children participated in the workshop. Dzafar and Hajrija, their daughters Merima and Elvira, Iksan and Senija and Hasiba and her family attended.

Significant Statements are taken from the workshop for Hasiba, Senija, Dzafar, Hajrija and Merima (for a presentation of the Preparation Workshop see PART V: Documentary Filmmaking as Testimony and Appendix 7).

The focus of the Significant Statements chosen from the interviews is “returning”. During the time of exile between 1992 and 1996 the participants never considered staying in Norway to be an option. The question was when and how to return, not staying or leaving.

4.3.2 Significant Statements from the interviews

From the analysis of the Interview Protocol Norway 1996 the following four Themes emerged:

Staying - Returning

Unprepared - Prepared

Rejected - Received

Away - Home

Significant Statements: Hasiba, Senija, Dzafar, Hajrija and Merima

The group interview was made during the Preparation Workshop at the Fossnes Reception Center in February, 1996. The Themes Staying - Returning, Unprepared - Prepared and Rejected - Received are illustrated.

Theme: Staying - Returning

2. Hasiba: *I have prepared myself to go back, and the children are going to come with me. It's very good to be able to go back to a free town. I am proud about going back. I was received very well here in Norway, but now we have to go home. My daughter is going to study to be a doctor in Sarajevo. I am not worried about the medical part.* (244-247)

Hasiba felt lucky to have a doctor in her family because she knew that there was still very poor medical help in Bosnia. Priority was given to soldiers who had survived the war. The participants in the workshop who had health problems decided to postpone their return. Hajrija wanted to return so she could be close to the graves of her three sons.

3. Hajrija: *We have lost everything. We have lost our house because of fire and everything has been bombed, and we could have lost everything and tolerated that if only our children were waiting for us at home. It is the most difficult for those of us who have lost children.* (256-258)

Theme: Unprepared - Prepared

4. Senija: *There was one person who came back to Bosnia and because she was so shocked and so unprepared for what she saw, she got a heart attack and she was not prepared, so she went into shock.* (296-298)

Senija emphasized the importance of being mentally prepared to return. Many of the Bosnian refugees who came to Norway in the beginning of the war, or stayed in another country initially, had not seen the destruction. Everything was left in ruins. All the animals had been taken or killed. Unexploded mines were left everywhere.

5. Dzafar: *Yes, there are a lot of mines, but we only need three sheep to get the mines out of the way.* (276-277)

Dzafar was concerned about safety and was the only one that brought this theme up.

6. Merima: *When the territory is freed it's very important to build up the schools and organize children in their activities. We have the buildings, but we have a lack of teachers.* (289-291)

Merima planned on taking her two year-old son Zuad and her seven year-old daughter Meliha back to Bosnia. She was concerned about her children's future and the quality of education they would receive. Her father Dzafar was concerned about what they were going to eat and how they were going to get rid of the mines so that they could cultivate the land.

Theme: Rejected - Received

7. Dzafar: *We are going to encounter very many difficulties in our home country. The most important thing, though, is that we will come home. Refugees are not welcome anywhere. It's like when a mother gets a visit from another kid in the neighborhood. She will always like her own kid the best.* (280-283)

Dzafar felt like a stranger in Norway not only because he was a foreigner, but because he was a refugee.

8. Dzafar: *It is good that Norwegians have accepted us in a nice way, but it is also important that you throw us out in a way that we can also thank you for. We hope that you will come and visit us and see how we live.* (266-268)

Dzafar hoped that Norway would help them to re-establish themselves in Bosnia and would not forget them.

Significant Statements: Ibrahim and Zekija

Ibrahim was interviewed together with his wife Zekija in their home in Stokke in February, 1996. They could not participate in the Preparation Workshop because they were out of town. The Themes Unprepared - Prepared and Rejected - Received are illustrated.

Theme: Unprepared - Prepared

9. Ibrahim: *I have been preparing myself now for four years. I prepared myself at home here and also when I was in the concentration camp in Kalavac. ...I have gotten photographs from friends of mine, and I know I am starting from ground zero, just as I started 30 years ago. There are only walls without a roof. I have to clean everything up first and then build up the house. There is no electricity and no water. In Sanski Most not all of the houses are burnt down. Only the ones where the Muslims lived in are.* (124-125, 128-131)

Ibrahim began to prepare himself for going home from the day he was taken prisoner at Manjaca. His wife Zekija, however, had a different opinion.

10. Zekija: *My husband is not prepared and neither are my sons. They were in the concentration camp. I have gotten all the pictures sent. We were chased from one village to another. We saw the destruction, not the men. The women have seen a lot more.* (182-184)

11. Ibrahim: *I'm a little nervous, but I know that it will go over. What makes me most nervous is whether or not we will be able to have the transport and the help we need to start off with. A lorry is coming on Friday, and we are leaving Saturday. We are taking with us as much as possible. We are flying Saturday to Zagreb, and then taking a bus from there. I'm very excited about how it's all going to work out.* (138-142)

Ibrahim was concerned with the practical aspects of moving and rebuilding a house, and found it difficult to talk about the distant future. He wondered what they were going to live of. Zekija was concerned about the preparedness of her husband and sons. She knew the reality of the situation because she had seen the destruction with her own eyes. She thought that it could not be believed until it was seen. She was prepared for the possibility that the grief and sorrow would be stronger when she returned.

12. Zekija: *It has been very heavy the whole time because my husband lost his brother, my sister lost her son, and my brother lost his son. Very many cousins and relatives died in the beginning of the war. I am living in this process now, but it will be probably be even stronger when I return.* (165-168)

13. Ibrahim: *Our city was suddenly set free, and therefore they didn't have time to burn down our garage. We are planning on building a new floor.* (194-195)

In many cities everything was burnt and destroyed, so Ibrahim and Zekija felt privileged that they had a garage to sleep in.

14. Zekija: *We can't even get into the garden, now it's only weeds and we have to clear it away and get into the house, and then we have to begin to plant and make a parcel where we can plant something to live off of, some vegetables and fruit.* (161-163)

<u>Theme: Rejected - Received</u>

15. Zekija: *I want to thank Norway for receiving us in such a good way and I would like to think that we would have done the same, but not in the same way because we are not as wealthy as Norway.* (191-193)

16. Ibrahim: *What I shall bring with me in my thoughts is this beautiful country that is one of the best in the world for us refugees. You have given us a house, food, school for the children, all in this short time. Norway is one of the best countries in the world. We got everything we needed. My country wouldn't have done the same if it had been in the same situation.* (145-148)

Ibrahim wanted to bring with him good memories from Norway. He hoped that these memories would help him when he encountered the destruction of his own country.

17. Zekija: *There are many women here in Ramnes, we go out together. Every Monday we have gymnastics together. It's great, but I want to go home.* (186-187)

Zekija had been able to build up a network within the community and had created a movement group in Norway, but she had no doubts about where she belonged.

Significant Statements: Dzafar

Dzafar was interviewed at his home in Skikroken in February, 1996. Dzafar's statement introduces a new theme: Away - Home.

Theme: Away - Home

18. Dzafar: *I always had to go where there is bread, where I can earn money. I have two sons-in-law who are going to return with me, they are all in Sanski Most. Four years in exile and six months in the concentration camp from June to November; it's a long time I've been gone without being home.* (212-215)

A lot of Bosnians worked in neighboring countries before the war to make ends meet. Dzafar had worked in several countries: Slovenia, Croatia, Germany and Switzerland. He mostly worked as a brick mason in addition to running his farm in Bosnia.

4.3.3 Essential Meanings and Clusters

The Significant Statements were categorized into four Themes:

Staying - Returning

Unprepared - Prepared

Rejected - Received

Away - Home

Analyzing the Significant Statements further in order to find the Essential Meanings resulted in two Clusters:

Unprepared - Prepared

Lack of Identity - Identity

Cluster: Unprepared - Prepared

- If people are not prepared for the destruction they are going to be confronted with, they may go into a state of shock and it could damage their health. [4]
- Seeing pictures from the present situation modifies the images of the past. [10]
- Without teachers there is no future. [6]
- Returning will be a confrontation with reality; many relatives and children are dead. War has become an embodied culture and the children are the victims. [1, 3, 12]
- Preparation to return starts the day people lose their freedom. A person must prepare step by step; mentally, physically and materially. [14]
- Being together with other women and doing gymnastics has been part of the preparation to return, it has built up the body and soul. [17]

Cluster: Lack of Identity - Identity

- Being received well gave the refugees a feeling of being worthy and having the right to exist. [15, 16]
- It is important for people to feel that they are not forgotten in the host country once the exile is over. [8]
- Staying together as a family and helping each other enhances a person's identity and the feeling of belonging. [2]

- A refugee has run away from something, and that gives him a negative status; at one point he must stop running and stay. [7]
- The refugees that were older felt that they had to go back to reclaim their territory after the ethnic cleansing. Ethnic and religious groups felt that they had to rebuild their identity and their territories. [9]
- Building bigger gave a feeling of being stronger. [13]

4.3.4 Aesthetic Response Story

While I was reading through the Protocols and reflecting on the Repatriation Workshop in 1996, I became aware of how unprepared I was as a child for leaving California to go to Norway, and I wondered how prepared it is possible to be? How can someone be prepared for the unknown? I shared my story of moving to Norway with some of the participants who were young and had difficulties with making the decision of whether or not to stay in Norway. They could relate to the strangeness of new places and taking things personally, and my story also permitted them to view repatriation as a long journey.

"Leaving California"

When I was 8 years old I was separated from my embodied culture. I had lived all my life in California, and then I had to leave it all; the beach, the Pacific Ocean, the garden, the smells, my cousins and friends, the people, my language and all the things I loved. I left everything that had shaped me up to that very moment. I was not prepared when my father left the house and never came back and even less prepared when he died. But leaving my house and never coming back was totally out of my grasp. Was it a punishment? Had I done something wrong? Was it all my fault?

I am sitting in the garden with my mother and my sister Wendy, who is one and a half years older than me. It is a beautiful day, the sky is blue and open, and the hummingbirds are sucking the nectar out of the geraniums. My mother has a "green thumb"; whatever she plants grows into beauty. Our garden is a bed for the soul. Peggy, my chicken, is looking for some worms in the rose garden. Mom is wondering what we are going to do with Peggy when we leave. Why can't she come with us? "Animals are not allowed on planes," mom says. I was wondering how far it is from California to Norway. Maybe it's too cold for her to survive, I think.

Suddenly, a big dog charges into the garden and takes Peggy between its teeth. I try to grab the dog, but I am out of reach and the last I see of Peggy is her winking at me with one scared eye. We rush to the car, my mom and my sister are crying. We turn into the driveway of the dog's owner and find Peggy ripped apart. It is an awful sight. To console us the owner offers us the dog as a replacement! I am totally numb. I begin to feel that this event is a bad omen. This is not going to be a good journey.

We arrived in Oslo, Norway, on May 13th, 1963. The year Kennedy died. It was raining. A small man was waiting for us with his pipe and hat, a costume I had never seen a man wear before. Was this little man my new father? Why have we moved half way around the world? Everything is different. We have no friends or family. The sun seldom shines and the gardens are hidden under snow most of the year.

Today, 35 years later, I still don't have the answer to the question I arrived with: "When are we going home?"

4.3.5 Findings Time-Post 1996 Norway
Exhaustive Description of the Essential Meaning of "Stranger - Belonging"

Analyzing the Themes and Clusters of Essential Meanings resulted in one Essential Meaning that is the essence of this Time-Post: "Stranger - Belonging".

"Stranger" embodies the Themes: Staying, Unprepared, Rejected, Away and the Clusters Unprepared and Lack of Identity.

"Belonging" embodies the Themes: Returning, Prepared, Received, Home and the Clusters Prepared and Identity.

"Stranger"

Zekija: *My family escaped first to Kladuza, another town in Bosnia. While we were there, we didn't have anything, no food, only our jogging clothes for ten months. We had to wear the same clothes and wash them over and over again. The grandchildren came to their grandmother and wanted something to eat. What should I give this child? It was almost totally unbelievable to come to this country here and get everything. ...I will find a different picture than when I lived in Bosnia. This picture I carry. When we were chased from our houses, we were chased through fire to another farm and to a hall where we were all gathered, the ones they didn't want there. This picture I carry.* (169-173, 178-180)

When people have lived for generations in a country and then suddenly everything is turned upside down to the extent that they are chased away, and others try to wipe out all traces that they have ever lived there, when they experience that they are no longer a part of the culture or belonging to the culture, then as individuals they have gone through a process of becoming strangers. Thus, the Bosnian refugees were strangers even before they arrived in Norway. The image of the alienating events they had gone through had become stuck in their minds and dominated all other memories. In this instance**,** the feeling of being a stranger starts before going into exile.

In general, countries that give temporary protection also set a time limit, which means that the stay will come to an end. The Bosnian refugees in Norway thought the word “refugee” was connected to someone who had run away from his country and associated it to something negative, while in reality the participants had been thrown out of their homes and lost all their belongings. A person on the run is not a person to trust because he or she never stays put for the purpose of sharing responsibility and taking in the embodied morals and values of a place. Staying in Norway meant that the refugees would never end being refugees and therefore always would be in the role of strangers. The feeling of estrangement was increased by not knowing the language and not understanding the attitude and culture of the Norwegian people. Cultural differences can take years to understand. The refugees felt like outsiders and this had an impact on their decision of whether or not to return to Bosnia.

One way of coping with the feeling of being a stranger for the participants was by wanting to recreate the past. This included rebuilding houses and the environment in order to recreate the feeling of home and of being at home. The idea of returning home to rebuild their lives helped them to endure the situation of being in exile. However, living with an image of what was can also be a way of avoiding the present, longing for what was and not accepting what is. The experiences of humiliation, ethnic cleansing and the loss of children can be so horrendous that one can wish that it is only a bad dream that one can wake up from one day - and then go on with one’s life as it used to be. Some of the participants thought this way and were deluding themselves because the reality of the situation would offer a different picture.

Being prepared for returning home proved to be vital. If people were not prepared for the destruction they would be confronted with, they could end up in a state of shock. The possibility was that either the houses, the landscape nor the people would be recognizable. Participants who had taken a trip home to check out the reality of the situation told stories they had heard and shared their own experiences of being back. The new images they would see upon returning could make them feel alienated, if they were not prepared.

Temporary protection is like being in a waiting room. The danger of staying in exile with the intention of returning, but not knowing when, prolonged the feeling of waiting around. In this case six months became four years, it seemed never to end. Being in a state of limbo like this can result in total passivity. In this situation people are not living. Instead they are waiting for things to get better so that they can return. This will prevent integration. The refugees avoided

making contact, learning the language and utilizing the resources of Norway. They put themselves into a situation where they became stuck in a state of being strangers and not belonging. They knew they were going to leave and they protected themselves from risking new losses. Their fear was realistic. The children learned the new languages faster than the adults, and had begun speaking Norwegian with their siblings. The parents felt they had lost control and became estranged from their children. Men felt that they had lost some of their authority in Norway, and the Norwegian way of life felt strange to them. In addition, since ethnic cleansing had occurred, one way of standing up to the humiliation suffered was to return and reclaim their land. This was a strong pull for the older generation who also practiced their religious rituals in their daily life.

Belonging to an ethnic group that was chased away also made the refugees wonder how they would be treated when they returned. Returning can put an end to being a refugee, but it does not guarantee that people will not feel like strangers. One of the questions the participants were concerned with was what would the devastated Bosnian post-war community have to offer to its citizens returning from exile?

Being a stranger is asking oneself the same questions every day: Where is home? Where do I belong? Who am I?

"Belonging"

Ibrahim: *I have been preparing myself now for four years. I prepared myself at home here and also when I was in the concentration camp in Karlavac. ...I have gotten photographs from friends of mine, and I know I am starting from ground zero, just as I started 30 years ago.* (124-125, 128-129)

Being received well can give a refugee a feeling of self-respect and, even more importantly, it can restore his dignity and help him to return to the place he has been chased away from. Belonging is not only connected to a geographical place, but also to the experience of being at home with oneself. The movement program helped the participants to come home to their bodies. They reconnected to their feelings, to each other and to their identity before the war. The feeling of belonging provided safety, a sense of self, and therefore it gave them the hope that it was possible to return and rebuild a home. But the images, memories and feelings can, on the other hand, be so foreign and terrifying that the "I" will not accept them. Then a person

will tend to turn away from the self or go into a type of exile from their own body. But together they confronted and shared stories and images they had. Sharing transfered the suffering from the individual to the group. After coming home to the body they began to prepare themselves to find a new home in the external world through storytelling. This involved sharing pictures, showing videos and receiving information. Building up the body helped them feel strong enough to return and storytelling helped them to reconnect and face up to the reality of the situation. Sharing their thoughts and experiences with each other helped them to feel connected. Having a history together gave them a sense of belonging.

Women and men had been separated during the war and had different perspectives on and experiences of what had happened, so it was important that they exchanged stories. Most of the men had been imprisoned in the beginning of the war and had not seen the destruction; they remembered a place that no longer existed. The women knew that the houses and the landscape were totally destroyed, and that upon returning this would become evident. The process of storytelling, people from home giving testimony about what they had seen, prepared the refugees and gave them an image of the "new" old country they were going to return to. The parents were concerned with whether or not their children would receive an education, and if there would be any teachers or money for schoolbooks. The ability to provide a safe place for the children to grow up and to find good schools for them, in addition to satisfying material needs, strongly influenced the families' sense of belonging.

Belonging is related to being where the possibilities for a good future are. When life in exile gave the refugees a higher standard of living, the motivation to return home was reduced. Returning home and running the risk that there was neither medical care nor work available could result in feeling more like a stranger by returning than by staying. Participants who were dependent on medical assistance felt that they belonged where they could get help. Women were torn because they received more social benefits and there were better schools for their children in Norway. Children were torn because they felt they belonged with their parents, but they felt more at home in the Norwegian culture and its standard of living. Returning became associated with difficulties and uncertainty and with being given the responsibility of taking care of the elderly. Traditionally in the Bosnian culture it is hard for the children to go against the will of their parents. Being young and underaged made it difficult for the children to choose differently from their parents in regards to returning or staying. This was especially so in families who had children that had been killed and felt that

the family would be torn apart once again. If the children stayed in Norway, the parents would experience it as another loss of children. They felt that the children's responsibility was to return and help rebuild the country.

The preparation to return to Bosnia was like a ritual the participants went through to introduce them to their future. It was a scenario thinking process. The ritual involved them in taking decisions about and responsibility for their future life. An important factor was the degree to which a collective decision was made. If the majority of a family had chosen to stay in exile, the minority might feel "exiled" from their family, because belonging for them was understood as staying with the family.

4.3.6 Summary

The experience of being a “stranger” or “belonging” can be defined as follows:

Being a “stranger” is experienced as being different, not being part of, being an outsider and gives a person the feeling of being rejected and foreign. There is a lack of feeling at home and in being in a state of confusion and not knowing.

“Belonging” gives a person the experience of connectedness, being received, a feeling of being at home and safe, a feeling of knowing and a sense of being prepared and optimistic.

Conditions to be examined before returning include information, loss of children, family and friends, economic status, age, gender, medical and social help, life experiences, the employment situation, language skills and education, family network, religious and cultural activities, nature and environment, physical shape, mental health and support from the host country and the home government. Before and during exile it is important to see how these factors have changed and how they will change upon repatriation. They will all be in a dialogical relationship with each other. An example of this is the relationship between the questions: What was my standard of living before? What is it now in exile, and what will it be after returning? And who is going to stay behind and who is going to return?

If visiting the returnee’s home country can be done as a part of the preparation to return before making the final decision, then the returnee has the possibility to check out the reality of the situation and get a sense of where he or she belongs.

Table 3 summarizes factors influencing the participants’ experience of being a “stranger” and/or “belonging”, all of which had a push and pull effect on the refugees’ decision to stay or return. Table 3 is a map drawn from this experience. There are three phases that need to be investigated and addressed:

- Life before exile
- Life during exile
- Life upon returning home

Factors that have a significant influence on being a “stranger” or “belonging” and apply to phase two during exile and phase three upon repatriation are: being prepared for returning, being received well while in exile and upon returning, time spent in exile, peace, safety and stability at home, coming from occupied or free territory, neighbors being friends or enemies and if one will be regarded as traitor or hero.

Table 3

Table 3 lists factors influencing the experience of "being a stranger"and of "belonging".

Before Exile	**During Exile**	**Upon Repatriation**
Information	Information	Information
Loss of children, family, friends	Loss of children, family, friends	Loss of children, family, friends
Economic status	Economic status	Economic status
Age	Age	Age
Gender status	Gender status	Gender status
Medical and social help	Medical and social help	Medical and social help
Life experiences	Life experiences	Life experiences
Employment/work	Employment/work	Employment/work
Language skills/education	Language skills/education	Language skills/education
Family/network	Family/network	Family/network
Religious and cultural activities	Religious and cultural activities	Religious and cultural activities
Nature and environment	Nature and environment	Nature and environment
Physical shape	Physical shape	Physical shape
Mental health	Mental health	Mental health
Government support	Government support	Government support
	Prepared for repatriation	Prepared
	Being received well	Being received well
	Time in exile	Time in exile
	Peace stability/safety	Peace stability/safety
	Coming from occupied or free territory	Coming from occupied or free territory
	Neighbors being friends or enemies	Neighbors being friends or enemies
	Viewed as traitor or hero	Viewed as traitor or hero
Being a Stranger - Belonging	Being a Stranger - Belonging	Being a Stranger - Belonging

4.4 Results Time-Post 1996 Bosnia

Ahmo's story

1. *This was a shelter in the beginning of the war where civilians could come and hide. We had electricity put into this cave, but somebody had taken it away, either ours or the others. In the beginning we fought a little bit here. We couldn't put up a lot of resistance, we only had ten guns. There were far too many Tsjetnik Serbs. There were between two to three thousand of them. At the end we had to give up fighting and most of us had to surrender. After that we were sent to the camps. The entrance of the cave was bombed by the Serbs. They were afraid that somebody could hide in it. The cave is pretty long; nobody knows how long it is. There was an expedition group from Slovenia that explored the cave for three days and three nights to find out how big it was, but they didn't manage to find the end of the cave. This was also the reason why they bombed the cave opening the whole time. They wanted to prevent people from hiding here. That's why nobody dares to come close. At any minute between five and six shells could fall and then nobody could get into the cave.*
Here in the cave we had to work because the floor was uneven so we had to even it. We had to ruin the drip stones that grew from the earth. In addition, we had to make benches. The benches were here and they were very broad. In this cave there were very many beautiful stone figures that we had to take away because we had to make the floor even. As I told you we had to make an electrical installation. This side was totally dry. Here the water didn't drip. Over there we had an electrical generator. Nobody knows where that disappeared to. We couldn't be here for a long time because we didn't have that much food. It wasn't so easy to enter. Two men had to guard the entrance so nobody could capture the cave, but we had to get out, we didn't have food. As you see all the benches are burnt up, the cables are gone, but there are still some of the connections left. I think of those who worked with the electrical installations here, only three of us survived. Two are now in America and I am here.
(302-325)

(Statement recorded on video tape from Ahmo, Dzafar's son-in-law, in the cave near Kljuc where he tried to hide in the beginning of the war.)

4.4.1 Context and focus of the interviews

Twenty-two of the participants left Norway in May, 1996. Elvira, daughter of Dzafar and Hajrija, who was sixteen at the time, had chosen to stay in Norway. Consequently, the family had been separated again.

Dzafar and his wife Hajrija were staying in the small town of Kljuc, near their burnt-down farm. They had received a temporary apartment owned by Serbian Bosnians who had not returned.

Dzafar was a farmer and Ibrahim an industrial worker. The results from the interview with Ibrahim are included because he had a different perspective on the question of work. Ibrahim lost close relatives, but no children. One of Ibrahim's two sons, Ado, chose to stay in Norway, but Ibrahim had not given up the hope that he would return one day. At this time he was building a room for Ado in the new house, and he knew that one of the reasons for his son's return would depend on finding a job for him.

The focus of the Significant Statements chosen from the interviews is the participants' experience of the period of exile in Norway, what influenced them to return to Bosnia and the rebuilding of their homes.

4.4.2 Significant Statements from the interviews

From the analysis of the Interview Protocol Bosnia 1996 the following four themes were extracted:

Burden - Resource
Unfamiliar - Familiar
Inactivity - Work
Recreating the Past - Creating Something New

Significant Statements: Dzafar and Hajrija

This interview took place at Dzafar and Hajrija's apartment in Kljuc in August, 1996. From their Significant Statements the four Themes Burden - Resource, Unfamiliar - Familiar, Inactivity - Work and Recreating the Past - Creating Something New are illustrated.

Theme: Burden - Resource

3. Dzafar: *We are a burden to the whole world. We were spread out everywhere and other people had to dress us and give us food. But now when we return home again and rebuild our houses and begin working and become independent from humanitarian aid, then we will also become independent of the world. I hope it will be like this one day. This is the way it should be. The goal is to help us rebuild our country.* (374-379)

Dzafar's experience of being a refugee is one of being a burden and being unwanted. In exile he felt dependent on the Norwegian government. His goal was to become independent again.

Theme: Unfamiliar - Familiar

4. Dzafar: *I have good memories from Norway. They are sweet and very helpful people. They helped us as much as they could. They are a quiet group of people who don't like to quarrel. They liked to help everybody, and the strongest impression was that they were a people that were very quiet. You cannot hear any noise, music or other loud noises. Of all the places I have been in the world I think Norway is the quietest country, and everybody was very helpful*. (368-372)

It takes time to understand cultural differences. For Dzafar the quietness in Norway was unfamiliar.

5. Dzafar: *While I was in Norway I thought mostly about the day this war would end and when I would be able to return. It was always my wish to return. I always wanted to come back as quickly as possible. I thought I was not going to be there for more than six months, but the war became dramatically longer and therefore I had to be in Norway for a longer time. As soon as the war ended, I went back home.* (433-438)

The war lasted for four years. Dzafar was always preparing himself to leave Norway; he kept thinking he would be able to return home soon.

6. Dzafar: *We have been to Bihac and visited the grave of the two others. We have to drive to Serbian territory. I don't know. I'm happy that I am back.* (346-348)

The country was divided into three territories: Muslim, Serbian and Croatian. Before the war everyone could move freely about in the country; afterwards people felt unfamiliar in places that were familiar before.

Theme: Inactivity - Work

7. Dzafar: *As you can see there is a lot of forest around the village, I like it here. The air is good. I had my children here. Over there is Pistanj, a Serb village. To leave home again? You don't get peace at other places like you do at home. My message to all people who live abroad as refugees is that you cannot find another place that is as good as home.* (447-450)

The main criterion for receiving health care was based on whether or not a person had lost children. Priority was given to those who had fought in the war or stayed in Bosnia during the time. The ones coming from exile without having lost children were last in line. For Dzafar it was vital that people returned from exile, because he thought that peace would only be sustained if people returned.

8. Dzafar: *Nobody needs to be afraid. Everybody who can work and is healthy, even though everything is ruined, can return here and build things back up again.* (405-406)

Dzafar was concerned that people would not come home since they were given the choice of staying in Norway. Knowing how difficult it was to return to a country in ruins, he feared that they would not return voluntarily.

9. Dzafar: *We are not home yet. This is not ours. But we are near our home. We were sad in our hearts, but we managed to endure. We think about how it was to leave our home and what we found when we came back. Everything is ruined. I want to live here because it's not so far from home, and then I could try to rebuild the houses.* (350-353)

Being close to home gave Dzafar the hope that he could return to his farm and rebuild it.

10. Dzafar: *I am very sad because the animals are gone, too. My wife and I don't have it that easy. It all seems so difficult and so heartbreaking. But I am forced to work on. I have put thoughts like that aside and begun to work*. (423-425)

Working helped Dzafar to stay in the present and not get lost in thinking about all the destruction that had happened.

11. Hajrija: *Without children, without a house, nothing is left. We had everything but now we have nothing. My other daughter is in Sanski Most. They are building a house now and they have finished with the roof. Many have come back, most of them from Germany. Twelve thousand people have come to the community here in Kljuc. We had ten children. We are alone. Three sons were killed; one son is alive and lives in Switzerland. The daughters are married; none of them can help me now.* (381-386)

Hajrija's outlook was different from her husband Dzafar's. She could not grasp how she would be able to work or live on the farm without her sons. Her daughters were, according to the rural traditions in Bosnia, married to their husband's family and lived with them or in the surrounding areas.

Significant Statements: Dzafar and Hajrija

The interview with Dzafar and Hajrija was made at Dzafar's farm in August, 1996. From their Significant Statements the theme Recreating the Past - Building Something New is illustrated.

Theme: Recreating the Past - Creating Something New

12. Dzafar: *I have a son left and he is still alive and I have a little piece of land. We must repair things here, and of course we are going to rebuild the barn. This is my life. Something is left and therefore we can come back. This was the barn, the cows and the horses were here.* (426-429)

There must be something to return to if a person is going to consider repatriation.

13. Dzafar: *There in the background was a house and on the other side there was another house. Around here we had a lot of land. Down there they set my wagon on fire. I hope I am strong enough to work, that I can repair it so that it can be the way it once was. One day I will manage to build it all back up again, but the children are gone, they will not be back again.* (430-433)

He believed that they would be able to return to the farm in the near future.

Significant Statements: Ibrahim

Ibrahim was interviewed in front of his house in Sanski Most in August, 1996. From his Significant Statements the Theme Inactivity - Work is illustrated.

Theme: Inactivity - Work

14. Ibrahim: *The people that can work, but don't want to, don't need welfare. It is not fair that a perfectly healthy person should lie around and not do anything and another person that is handicapped has to work. I think you have a lot of work to do to get them to go back home or to make them return themselves, at least some of them. The ones that don't want to work will probably not bother with coming back to Bosnia.* (399-403)

Ibrahim shared Dzafar's concerns about people not wanting to return if given the possibility to choose where to stay.

15. Ibrahim: *Can you please send the message to the refugees that are still in Norway that they have to return and come back? It is possible to live here, and, of course, you have to fix up your house.* (390-392)

Ibrahim was concerned that there was little work and expected the government to organize work within the different sectors of the community that needed to be rebuilt. Then the community would have something to offer the returnees.

16. Ibrahim: *The best thing for the community and the state would be that the people who want to work are able to get a job.* (398-399)

4.4.3 Essential Meanings and Clusters

The Significant Statements were categorized into four Themes:
Burden - Resource
Unfamiliar - Familiar
Inactivity - Work
Recreating the Past - Creating Something New.

Analyzing the Significant Statements further in order to find the Essential Meanings resulted in three Clusters:
Homeless - Home
Staying - Returning
Dependent - Independent

Cluster: Homeless - Home

- Rebuilding homes can help people rebuild themselves physically and mentally. [7]
- When the war is over, the expectation is that everybody who survived will work and be free. The longing was to recreate life the way it was before the war. [8]
- Work is being active and helps a person to be present in the moment. Being active and thinking constructively can prevent the heart from breaking. [10]
- The house can be reconstructed, but not the children. Without the children, home is not what it was. [11, 13]
- Home is living where one was born and will be buried. [9]
- There is no place like home – come home. [15]

Cluster: Staying - Returning

- If people do not return, the country will not be rebuilt. [15]
- The Norwegian people were helpful, but hard to communicate with because they were so quiet. [4]
- Thinking it was possible to return helped to endure the period of exile and gave people strength. [5]
- Having something to return to and develop encourages a person to return. [12]

Cluster: Dependent - Independent

- Being a refugee makes a person feel like he or she is dependent and a burden on others. Coming home gives a person the possibility to be independent and belong. [3]
- It is hard to feel free when a person has to travel through a Serbian controlled territory in order to visit the grave of your child. [6]
- The Norwegian welfare system makes people passive and dependent and does not motivate people to return home. [14]
- The authorities should organize work that rebuilds the community. [16]

4.4.4 Aesthetic Response Story

In the evenings Dzafar would offer us a glass of his homebrewed plum brandy in his apartment in Kljuc. He told us about his trips to Germany and Switzerland where he worked prior to the war. I told a story about my returning to California and not finding my grandmother's house. It was the place where I spent the summers of my childhood and deeply cherished and a place I always wanted to visit. If it had been an apartment in a large city I do not think I would have been attached in the same way. As a young adult I thought I would always have the possibility to return to grandma's house.

"Grandma's house"

My grandmother lived in a small pink house overlooking the Pacific Ocean. She said she lived near the top of the world. We didn't call her "grandma". She had three names. The first one was "Mimi", a name I believe she gave herself because she loved the French. She spoke only French with her children. Her second name was "HB", which were her initials and stood for Helen Balfe, an Irish name she couldn't stand. Here third name was "Peeks", a name the grandchildren gave her because she invented the Peek-a-boo shoe-bag. Most of us called her "Mi-Mi".

In Mi-Mi's house everything had a name. Every night I received a pillow according to how I had behaved during the day. Portia was soft and for the nice girl, Mary Abby was a little hard and Dickey boy was the worst. He was for the bad girl.

Mi-Mi's garden was a paradise. It was a great big orchard with lemon and orange trees. I will never forget the smell of the trees and the sound of the grasshoppers. There were gardens inside of gardens. There was a horseshoe rose garden with a sundial in the middle of it. There was also a flower garden around the big old oak tree that had a path that we used to race on with our horses made of sticks. There was a vegetable garden where we had the choice of artichokes, lima beans, tomatoes, zucchini, squash for lunch and dinner. The peapods were great fun to pop. For breakfast we picked fruit from the orange, avocado and grapefruit trees. Our two chickens, Peggy and Gertrud, who normally slept in the orchard or in the big oak tree, served us cocktail-sized small eggs on Mi-Mi's reading chair in the living room.

All of the years I lived in Norway I carried an image of this place with me. When Mi-Mi died the place was sold. The new owners tore down everything and made a parking lot and a stall for horses belonging to a weapon dealer named Kochigi.

When I was twenty-nine I went back to visit. I experienced that my picture of the past was broken. Home was no longer outside of me, but inside me.

4.4.5 Findings Time-Post 1996 Bosnia

Exhaustive Description of the Essential Meaning of "Destruction - Construction"

Analyzing the Themes and Clusters resulted in one Essential Meaning for this Time-Post: "Destruction - Construction".

"Destruction" embodies the Themes Burden, Unfamiliar, Inactivity, Recreating the Past and the Clusters Homeless, Staying and Dependent.

"Construction" embodies the Themes Resource, Familiar, Work, Creating Something New and the Clusters Home, Returning and Independent.

"Destruction"

Dzafar: *We are not home yet. This is not ours. But we are near our home. We were sad in our hearts, but we managed to endure. We think about how it was to leave our home and what we found when we came back. Everything is ruined. I want to live here because it's not so far from home, and then I could try to rebuild the houses.* (350-353)

It is reasonable for a refugee to feel like a stranger while living in exile in a foreign country and to expect that this feeling will disappear when he or she returns home and that everything will go back to normal. However, much to their surprise, the participants also felt like strangers after they had returned. The destruction made the surroundings unfamiliar.

The participants saw themselves as being brave and loyal, because they were among the first to return to Bosnia, but the ones who were considered the heroes were the ones who had stayed in Bosnia during the war and they were the ones who had the right to public aid. They felt the participants were lucky to have gotten away from the war and live in a rich country, where they had even been able to earn and save money. The refugees were not prepared for this attitude and experienced it as being harmful and negative because it implied that people returning from exile could not expect support from the government.

The women would have preferred to stay longer in Norway. They felt that life was easier there and they had more freedom because of the well-developed welfare system. The men felt that their status was on a higher level within the family in Bosnia compared with how it was for Norwegian men. In general the younger participants were not that concerned with home being where they were born; they were more concerned with where they could build a future, and at that time there was more of a future for them in Norway than in Bosnia. All of the families had a son or a daughter who chose to stay in Norway, and this meant a new separation. The returnees felt abandoned by those who chose to stay in exile.

Even if the repatriates were to overcome their problems and find the strength and motivation for rebuilding their homes and their country, postwar countries usually do not have the necessary resources to support them. In order for a country to be rebuilt after a war, people have to return because there is a lack of manpower. This was a main concern for the Bosnian refugees who had returned. They seemed to believe that if all of the refugees returned, everything would work out. They expected that there would be more than enough work in the rebuilding of the country. They thought that there would actually be more jobs than there were before the war. The reality was different. All factories were closed or destroyed. Any work had to be created by themselves. When the participants learned that the Norwegian authorities had changed the repatriation from mandatory to being voluntary they became anxious that the refugees still in Norway would never return. Therefore, they did not support this decision.

Returning to the scene of the war was a shock that brought back the horror of what had happened and it reawakened gruesome memories and emotions. When people do not want to accept that life will ever be the same again they try to convince themselves that they can recreate life as it was before. The destructive effect of this is that they are pulled out of the present moment and begin living in the past. One way of observing this process was to see how the participants procrastinated being confronted with their losses and the destruction around them. It was too overwhelming. Even though the participants had lost their actual homes, they had retained an internal image of the place during their time of exile. Then, upon returning home, the image fell apart because the place had been fundamentally altered. The people they found back home, such as neighbors, had changed as well and the surroundings they had left were no longer recognizable. Their reaction was a wish for the good old days.

Coming home was a confrontation with a total destruction, including the devastation of the family, prior identities, networks and communication and values. All of it would have to be reconstructed.

"Construction"

Dzafar: *As you can see here there is no real road, there is no electricity anymore. When we get water and electricity it will be much easier. Then we can live here and run the farm as before.* (439-440)

Returnees who were used to having a high standard of living before the war returned with the idea that they could achieve the same level again. Craftsmen and farmers had the confidence that they would be able to rebuild their houses themselves and cultivate the earth so that they would have enough vegetables and fruits to live off of. Younger men felt they were obligated to return and help family members. Having their families nearby also gave those who returned an expanded sense of belonging. They recreated their old cultural and religious rituals. These rituals were carried out as a type of social medicine for a fragmented and destroyed society. They gathered people and provided continuity in a chaotic situation. Being buried in the same cemetery and practicing the old rituals of life and death gave the returnees a strong feeling of belonging to a history that went back for generations.

In the first phase of returning, the main work was in the rebuilding of the houses, cultivating the earth and rebuilding the community. From living in exile and being dependent on others, they now experienced that they were regaining their independence. It was an intensively constructive time with a lot of activity. The rebuilding created hope and optimism. Questions about employment and future wages were not prevalent. The participants had prepared themselves for returning and saved money in exile. They had sufficient funds for the first year or two. Work was equivalent to rebuilding their houses. Mentally it was not too difficult to put aside destructive thoughts when there was enough work and visible progress in the rebuilding was made. The physical labor kept the participants in good shape, they were physically active every day and they saw progress. This activity gave them satisfaction and the confidence that it was possible to create a new life in Bosnia if they worked hard. Building bigger houses than they had before the war made them feel stronger.

4.4.6 Summary

The experience of “destruction” and “construction” can be defined as follows:

“Destruction” is a state of being, the body feels like it is falling apart and gives a person the feeling of not being able to stand up, that there is no place to go, that there is a feeling of being fragmented and torn to pieces, of being a burden, of being something to get rid of and unable to imagine construction.

“Construction” is a bodily experience of being pulled together, remaking, being home, creating a new body, being a resource for oneself, being able to help oneself, being familiar and confident in the making of the unmade.

Table 4 (see next page) addresses conditions concerning the first phase of returning home from exile.

Table 4

Table 4 lists conditions upon repatriation that influenced the returnees' ability to construct a life during the first phase of being back in Bosnia.

Questions addressing conditions concerning the first phase of returning

Information:	Is information about the reality of the situation adequate?
Economic status:	Were enough funds saved for the establishing phase?
Age:	Are there peers in the area one returns to?
Gender status:	How did the status of one's gender change?
Medical and social help:	Is medical aid available and affordable?
Life experience:	Resilience to continue despite the destruction?
Employment/work:	Is paid employment/work available?
Language skills/education:	Are there schools operating?
Family/network:	Aware of the possibility for new separations?
Activities: Cultural rituals	For instance folk dancing, rebuilding houses, religious rituals, community rituals
Nature and environment:	Aware of the destruction of the land?
Physical shape:	Physically prepared?
Mental shape:	Mentally prepared and is psychosocial help available?
Government support:	Materials to rebuild, temporary housing, employment?
Being well received:	Being welcomed back?
Time in exile:	How attached is he or she to the host country?
Peace stability / safety:	Is the conflict over?
Neighbors being friends or enemies:	How homogeneous is the community and is reconciliation work implemented?
Viewed as a traitor or hero:	Upon returning is the returnee treated with respect or as someone who ran away?
Having a witness:	Does the returnee have a witness from the host country?
Good memories:	Does the returnee have good memories from the host country?
Prepared:	How well prepared is he or she for the new situation?

4.5 Results Time-Post 1998 Bosnia

Hajrija's story

1. *We have suffered, but let them be. They burnt them there in our village, they burnt the house. It was an old wooden house. They put them in the house and burnt them all together. It was burning and, dear God, what they did to them. They were burning; the house was set on fire. It crumbled down and they were all burnt. There were thirteen or fourteen of them, I don't know. All of them burnt in the house. Ah, what they were doing. God, give them the same.* (486-491)

2. *He takes my horse to the carriage, his wife sits in the middle with a machine gun, and he is leading my horse and his. I recognize my horse and turn my head so that he doesn't see me, but he knows me. He was in our house a thousand times. We went to their house too, cut and collected grass, stopped for a cup of coffee; we never had a bad word between us, but, ah, in vain. The four of them locked up the house and then set it on fire, and all were riddled with, how you call it, machine guns, so the blood just poured out from the stomach and the eyeballs jumped out and the pupils were hanging out from the fire, four of them, just like you could say… four grilled sheep.* (500-507)

(Statements from the interview made with Hajrija in her and Dzafar's apartment in Kljuc.)

4.5.1 Context and focus of the interviews

In 1997 I visited Dzafars' daughter Elvira in Norway. She had just returned from a visit to Bosnia where she had married Zuad, a Bosnian man from her home village named whom she had met at the Fossnes Reception Center. She was 17 and in Norway a person must be 18 in order to marry without the parents' consent. She gave birth to her first child in the fall of 1997. They decided to stay in Norway.

When I returned to Bosnia in the fall of 1998, two years had passed since I had seen the participants. The deadline for returning to Norway had passed. None of the twenty-two

participants had taken advantage of the offer. Now that they had rebuilt their houses, it was difficult to leave, and they were still optimistic about a positive development taking place over time.

The Bosnian society was up and running again. Electricity, roads and stores had been reconstructed. The sewage and transportation systems were working, and people were participating in organized activities such as soccer and tennis. Merima and her husband had finished rebuilding their house. They were neighbors with Ahmo's brother and mother. Everybody had moved into their new houses, only Dzafar and Hajrija had not been able to rebuild yet.

I have chosen to present the results from the analysis of the Interview Protocols of Dzafar, Hajrija and Merima. Hajrija told the story of her escape during the time Dzafar was a prisoner in Manjaca. Their daughter Merima added additional perspectives due to belonging to a younger generation. She had two children, Meliha (9) and Zuad (4). In addition I have included Iksan and Senija because they offer perspectives about living in exile in Norway.

The Significant Statements chosen reflect the participants' present view on returning and on the making of the documentary film "Returning to Life".

4.5.2 Significant Statements from the interviews

From the analysis of the Interview Protocol Bosnia 1998 the following nine themes emerged:

Humiliation - Dignity
Betrayal - Trust
Enemies - Neighbors
Unemployment - Work
Speechless - Expression
Disembodiment - Embodiment
Forgotten - Remembered
Refugee - Native
Silence - Stories

Significant Satements: Dzafar

Dzafar was interviewed in the Human Rights office in Kljuc in August 1998. After Dzafar had told his story, the leader of the office told his own. It turned out that he had also been a prisoner at Manjaca.

From the Significant Statements taken from Dzafar's interview the themes Humiliation - Dignity and Betrayal - Truth are illustrated.

Theme: Humiliation - Dignity

3. Dzafar: *We were in an awful state when we got out of the camp. We were in pain, there were bruises from being beaten and my left kidney was smashed. We felt bad and today I feel bad when the weather changes. My spine, I can't carry anything or sleep or walk, because they said to me, "We won't beat you to death, but we will put a calendar into you, so that you know what the weather is going to be like". So I still feel bad today, and especially when we got out of the camp, nobody felt well since few, maybe one out of a thousand, had not been beaten. They did not discriminate but beat everyone, some more, some less.* (1085-1091)

It was obvious in Manjaca that this war was about ethnic cleansing. All of the prisoners were Muslims. Dzafar still felt pain and realized that he may never be fully rehabilitated.

4. Dzafar: *Bendad Ezad's son-in-law, yes, when they had killed him we brought him to the stable here in the morning. He died at half past five and Omar Filopvie at six, they were together. When they brought me from solitary confinement where I was for 12 days they had, and I said this personally to them to their faces on the 9th here in Kljuc when they were beating me, tricked me because they said "come here and get a certificate that you are alive and go home and work," and that is how they were trying to arrest me. I didn't eat or drink for 15 days, I was here in Kljuc for two days, and 13 days in solitary confinement, there where Omar and Filip died. They didn't give me anything to eat or drink, they just beat me, and one day I got 300 batons here, but it is worse with one high voltage cable in Manjaca than 300 batons. For 13 days in solitary confinement I was getting only high voltage cables with lead wire on the top. Nothing, when they came to take you out, you were supposed to lean against the door and when they hit you here like a frog and then they struck for an hour. "Where are your sons, where are your sons?" I knew my sons had arrived in Biharz, but I didn't want to tell them.* (994-1007)

They tortured Dzafar to get him to tell them where they could find his sons. He never saw his three sons and two sons-in-law again after he was taken prisoner. All of the young Muslim men who were over 18 could possibly participate in the resistance army, consequently they were taken as prisoners or killed if caught by the Serbian army or police.

Theme: Betrayal - Trust

5. Dzafar: *I got the message that I needed to report that I was alive, so I went to Sanica to report this when they put me in jail, and from Sanica to Kljuc, from Kljuc to Manjaca, and I spent six months and a few days there.* (815-817)

Dzafar thought that the police would help him; instead he was taken prisoner and tortured.

6. Dzafar: *In this respect I understand them. The Red Cross can't confirm anything. We asked them not to bring us food so that we could die right away and not let them train their hatred and torture on us and then we could die a few months later. Because they never wanted to tell us that we could get out one day, but they said they were working on it.* (1056-1060)

The Red Cross has signed an international contract stating that they can have access to locations and all situations. However, they cannot take sides in a conflict and they have to

keep what they learn confidential. This made the situation at Manjaca extremely difficult because few of the prisoners were aware of this contract and felt betrayed.

Significant Satements: Hajrija

At this time Hajrija and Dzafar still lived in the apartment building that belonged to Serbs in Kljuc. The interview with Hajrija was made in their apartment while Dzafar was present and listening.

From the Significant Statements taken from Hajrija's interview the theme Enemies - Neighbors is illustrated.

Theme: Enemies - Neighbors

7. Hajrija: *And they come, point their guns at you, want to kill you, neighbors, neighbors from the houses up there. They killed our people up here by the asphalt road. All of the victims were civilians. They killed everybody they could catch. If it was not their religion they were killed. Someone comes to your house, and if he finds you there, poor you. You had to run! Run to the forest, run anywhere, only not to be caught.* (481-485)

When Dzafar was taken prisoner, Hajrija had no idea of what had happened to him. He could have been killed. Hajrija witnessed terrible killings in her neighborhood.

8. Hajrija: *He* (the youngest son) *was there (*at the front line*) and they chased him away and there he got a uniform, two months' training and then off to the frontline, and there he got killed. He was young; he didn't know how to take care of himself. We lost all we had. If my children stayed, I would raise my hands to the sky. Wherever I build the house, I'll live. But now? There are no children. This one son remained, may he be alive and healthy, at least him. Only he who stays without his children, he can't do anything. You can't forget it, you always cry and you are always in sorrow and… aah!* (465-471)

Hajrija had four sons, the three oldest joined the resistance army. The fourth son was only 17 at the time, but he looked older. He hid from the Serbs until he was old enough to join the army. He became withdrawn and depressed when he learned that two of his brothers were killed and the third was sent out of the country to spare the parents another loss.

9. Hajrija: *My three sons, four altogether, these three here and this boy, I didn't hear about him for three months when he had left for Travnik. Dzafar arrived from Manjaca and got sick. Both myself and his daughter-in-law were in Slovenia. The daughters were, too. I have no sons. When I heard that those two died and the third one was wounded…and I always cry. I had one heart attack and then another one.* (558-562)

Hajrija talked almost without a pause and for the first time in detail about what she had experienced. Dzafar listened to her as though he was hearing the story for the first time (see appendix 1: 453-564).

Significant Statements: Merima

Merima's Significant Statements are taken from interviews made at her home outside of Sanski Most and at Dzafar's farm in August 1998. Dzafar was present at both interviews.

The Significant Statements taken from Merima's interview illustrates the themes Enemies - Neighbors, Unemployment - Self Esteem and Silence - Testimony.

Theme: Enemies - Neighbors

10. Merima: *When I got back, there weren't any houses around, not a single roof. The worst thing is that I don't have any neighbors, all of them were killed, the younger ones were killed mainly, the older people remained, but one must live.* (893-895)

Merima had lost her neighbors, who were also her friends. Some of the neighbors were going to return, but at this point they had become enemies. A law had just been passed that gave the right to return to all Serbians who owned property in the area. Merima was struggling with the thought of having to create a future together with them.

11. Merima: *Tomorrow they will sign an agreement about the return, everybody back to his home, regardless of the fact that we were fighting for so many years and they killed us, and, for instance, they were also killed in the war, and to live together tomorrow, I can't really figure this out, that you live again with these people, to have them as neighbors after all these years…* (911-914)

12. Merima: *As soon as a child starts going to school he will know about the war and what they were doing and what they have done to us. When I was a child, I didn't know what the war was and what a Serb was, or whatever, I don't know, I have to say what neighbors were doing. We were mostly killed by the neighbors. This village here is purely a Muslim one, up there were, however, some Croat houses and Serbs are there across the water. They first killed the Serbs, the Croats and then started with the Muslims. Because when I was little when I went to school, I didn't know who was who. I was not interested in nationality, only to know whether he was a good pal or not, a friend, and when the war began I was already married and had a child…* (925-933)

Before the war it didn't matter to Merima and her friends who was Muslim, Serbian or Croatian. They lived together until they discovered that the enemy was among them. The village had become divided.

13. Merima: … *I still didn't know who was who. When the occupation began you couldn't get out, then, well, they didn't tell us who were the Serbs, but they said that Tsjetniks had attacked. Then you realized that those Tsjetniks were living here with us, going to school with us, learning the same language and everything, and now this, this is difficult to take now.* (933-936)

<u>Theme: Unemployment - Work</u>

14. Merima (Hairdresser as profession): *It* (hair salon) *is in my father's name and he had to close it because I wanted to open it in my own name, and I had to do all of the papers again. I have to close it to get those papers, and here it is not like in Norway where you make an appointment, but sometimes they wait and sometimes there is no one. Well, the brother provides everything, all the materials, everything. He planned on me starting to work immediately, that it was not in my father's name, but I worked and cared for it. Since I had a car accident I couldn't work right from the start. Then another woman was working and after I had recovered I was working for two months. Everything is a problem there, because I have to go through the whole procedure, and the landlord wants double the rent so that it doesn't pay off really for the tax, electricity, rent, so it doesn't really pay off. Then you have to wait a lot for those stake commissions to come out.* (939-949)

When the participants started rebuilding, there was a lot of activity and people helped each other. The houses had been finished, but there was unemployment. The difference at this time was that people had become passive.

15. Merima: *My husband does not want to live anywhere else but here, and day after day it is easier, and there you go, because there are no young people and because there is unemployment, that is really the only serious problem in Bosnia, and factories are all burnt down and not working and so on, but I think that in a year or two it will all come, better and better, generations of children will grow up here.* (895-899)

For Merima work was not limited to earning a living; she considered work and employment as being vital for one's identity and well being.

16. Merima: *At work you have contact with people and you forget about problems and worries and so on, like this. When you are at home you always think about problems, about losses. Our part of Bosnia only signed for the return, but the conditions that it gives in Bosnia are bad.* (902-905)

Merima tried to start her own business as a hairdresser, but it ended up costing more than she earned.

17. Merima: *To come back without money at the beginning is difficult. If you don't have any savings to start with, I was there* (Norway) *for three and a half years and I was always putting something aside, so I have been here for two years and don't have a job, all this is difficult. But if you don't have any savings, you cannot do it.* (884-887)

Theme: Speechless - Expression

18. Merima: *Today it is rare in Bosnia that anybody should have even a little bit more of anything than anyone else, because we have all, in fact, equally suffered from the destruction and killing. It is difficult because no matter to which of the neighbors I go to tell my story, they have the same problems as I do.* (861-864)

Merima at this point had begun to share her story with other people who had returned from exile and learned that everyone had experienced something gruesome, and that they were all struggling with similar problems.

Theme: Refugee - Native

19. Merima: *I don't know, all of us have different thoughts about returning, but I am sure Elvira will come back one day. I would like her to come back earlier in order to have at least one sister close here in Bosnia. I think it would be good if she came back, because there is life here, too. Because wherever you go, no matter which country, you are a foreigner. You arrive and you are a foreigner to everyone, you are a foreigner to an American, to a Norwegian, and when you come back to your own country every man feels different. Well, it is true, it is difficult, my God, in the beginning, but it will be. I would advise her to come.* (875-881)

Significant Statements: Iksan, Senija and Dzafar

The Significant Statements are taken from interviews that were made at Senija and Iksan's home in Kljuc in August 1998. Dzafar was present and participated.

The Significant Statements from Iksan, Senija and Dzafar illustrate the themes Unemployment - Self Esteem, Silence - Stories, Speechless - Expression, Disconnected - Attached, Disembodiment - Embodiment, Forgotten - Remembered and Refugee - Native.

Theme: Unemployment - Work

20. Dzafar: *It was all destroyed. Machines have to be repaired now, it is necessary to invest money, and I think in a year it's going to be good.* (623-624)

Dzafar believed it was just a matter of time before the factories would be rebuilt and he was optimistic about the future.

21. Senija: *People that are better off in Norway don't want to come back.* (650)

The refugees in Norway, who had a higher standard of living than they had in Bosnia before the war, hesitated to make a decision about returning.

22. Dzafar: *You don't need better proof than that people don't want to go back, because they were so well received in Norway, and they are doing fine. If they weren't they would go back themselves, you don't need better proof. Well, there are lots of people who don't like to work, to be honest, and I don't believe those people can succeed anywhere. So, those who like to work will come.* (677-681)

People who don't like to work will stay in Norway, because in Norway a person can survive on money from welfare.

Silence - Stories

23. Dzafar: *And what happened and what they have done is not a lie, it is true.* (980)

Dzafar's statement is a comment on the documentary film "Returning to Life".

24. Iksan: *They may show the film wherever they want to, it is all the truth. We didn't even tell one tenth of the truth from the beginning to the end. We do not regret coming back and we succeeded. It is all the truth, we did not regret it.* (988-991)

Iksan was concerned about the perception the international community would have and what story people would chose to listen to and believe. When I screened a compilation of the material that had been taped, Iksan said I could show it all because it was the truth and that the reality was ten times worse.

Theme: Speechless - Expression

25. Senija: *My biggest fear was that I wouldn't be able to speak when I came to Norway and that I wouldn't have any contact with anybody, and it was a joy for me when we got acquainted with Norwegian people and made friends, and everything else went more and more smoothly, and we had a lot of friends. I still love them today and remember them and would like everybody to come, there is space for all of them. And as far as Norway is concerned it's a nice country. The nature is beautiful, especially the sea.* (637-642)

They began to speak in Norwegian, but it was clear that they had lost the ability to speak the language in two years that had passed. I think Senija would have liked to continue in Norwegian, but she became insecure.

26. Senija: *It's been two years.*
Iksan: *My wife and I haven't spoken a word since then.* (633-634)

Senija spoke very good Norwegian before and I was surprised how little she remembered.

27. Senija: *The biggest problem* (for Bosnians) *being in Norway is that people can't speak Norwegian, maybe that's the problem. Many don't want to go to school, and perhaps if they can't speak that's why they were dissatisfied.* (647-649)

Theme: Disembodiment - Embodiment

28. Senija: *We had a program with her twice a week. Was it twice? Yes, twice. We had physical training and Dorotea helped, too. And there we were gathered, relaxed a little and that sort of thing. They were giving people strength, we really saw that because old ladies who were normally incapable of doing anything came to gymnastics and mingled, and so one would relax a bit and become more satisfied, satisfied and perhaps given courage.* (666-670)

When they reflected over the time they had spent in Norway the movement program was often what they referred to. The experience had been embodied, not only the mind remembered, but so did the body. At that point in the process (1992-1993) they were more or less speechless about what had happened to them.

29. Dzafar: *No, no, not at all, even the oldest people accepted it and did it. Only we were exhausted, especially the men. We had been in the concentration camps and had not been working for a long time, so we had been exhausted and it was a bit difficult to start with, but once we began, at first we had muscle pains until we trained them more.* (708-711)

30. Senija: *Many times, many times I remember, and here when it becomes, how do you say, stiff? I remember here and I do the exercises, many times, and this gave us strength and you feel much better. We were so happy because we knew we meant something to them because they arrived to help us, so it means they are friends, they must be friends. They came there for us to help us. We knew it was something useful. If it wasn't useful, they wouldn't have done it.* (701-706)

31. Dzafar: *Today we use our bodies because we work.* (700)

At the reception center the movement program replaced the physical activity most of the participants were accustomed to doing in their work (farming, carpentering, masonry, etc.) before the war. Inactivity made them feel worse. The movement program had given them knowledge about how to cope with stress. Some were still using the exercises.

Theme: Forgotten - Remembered

32. Dzafar: *They are kind people. You see, it's been two years since we came back, and they are always looking for us and paying us visits, yes, yes, so who could have the heart to say anything against them, no, no, no, it's like family. We love Melinda, we love Dorotea, and we love everybody because they visit us, everybody without exception. There are people who arrive from countries other than Norway, but they are not being visited like that.* (673-677)

To Dzafar being visited in Bosnia meant that he was not forgotten and it was important to him that he had meant something to somebody in Norway.

Theme: Refugee - Native

33. Dzafar: *Well, returning here to Bosnia allows you to breathe more easily. Also, nobody asks you if you are a refugee, that's the most important thing.* (617-618)

Dzafar believed that once a person has been driven into exile he or she will always carry the label of being a refugee.

34. Dzafar: *It's normal that we started from nothing, but you see something is done anyway, and we are happy about it. We are happy to be able to do something and to stop being a burden. Because we had been a burden to Norway, and now I only hope they will come to be my guests. But I am not able to treat them as they treated me, but I'll do my best, I'd love to have them.* (681-685)

35. Senija: *Ok, you know what I think, when you don't know who a person is, for instance. I appreciate and love Melinda so much because I know her and it's different when you meet someone you don't know, you can't know if he is good or bad. That's the point, that one, because when we arrived you didn't know us, you didn't know if we were thieves or good people.* (658-662)

On the 4th of May, 1998, the possibility of regretting repatriating to Bosnia and returning to Norway had expired.

36. Senija: *That's right, but it already expired on the 4th of May. We got the papers, she got the papers from the embassy, forms to be filled in, but we were having other problems, so we didn't go. We weren't happy about leaving the house to crumble. Yes, once you repaired it, but it's going to be better somehow we hope.* (589-592)

None of the twenty-two participants seized the opportunity to return to Norway because they had hopes for a better future and had more or less finished building their new houses.

37. Senija: *It's going be better. We have had such problems, and the son who was killed was there, and we were transferring him to Kljuc. He was in a village down there, and he was buried there in 1992, so we transferred him here to Kljuc to our town. It was last year on the 16th of May, so those were the problems we were having, and he binds me to here so I don't go anywhere even if ...* (593-597)

Being near the grave of a child gives a person the possibility to visit and grieve.

4.5.3 Essential Meanings and Clusters

The Significant Statements were categorized in nine Themes:

Humiliation - Dignity

Betrayal - Trust

Enemies - Neighbors

Unemployment - Work

Speechless - Expression

Disembodiment - Embodiment

Forgotten - Remembered

Refugee - Native

Silence - Stories

Analyzing the Significant Statements further in order to find the Essential Meanings resulted in the following six Clusters:

Betrayal - Trust

Regretting Repatriation - Staying

Breaking the Heart - Relieving the Heart

Silence - Testimony

Unemployment - Work

Outsider - Insider

Cluster: Betrayal - Trust

- The attack originated outside of the borders, but became a civil war. [13]
- Nobody imagined that people living in the same village would attack and torture you. Before we were "us", now it's become "us and them". [5, 7, 12, 13]
- Young people do not return; it is lonely for the few who do. [10]
- As time passes by you realize that you cannot recreate the past and that you have returned to a country that is different from the one you left. [15]
- Living together in distrust and anger without addressing what has happened seemed impossible. [11]

- Everything was ruined and it looked as if nobody had ever lived there. Their history was wiped out. [10]

Cluster: Regretting Repatriation - Staying

- A person must be economically prepared to repatriate. [17]
- The infrastructure of the Bosnian society was not prepared for the returnees. [16]
- It doesn't pay to work. It is difficult to feel welcomed home when the government makes it so difficult to survive [14]
- When siblings stay in exile and become separated because of the war it's like a new death. [19]
- The more young people that return home, the more hope there will be for development and growth in the future. [15]
- We could have returned to Norway, but when you have managed to rebuild your house and your children are buried near you, it's too late to regret your decision to repatriate. [36]

Cluster: Breaking the Heart - Relieving the Heart

- The shock of having one's children killed breaks a mother's heart. [9]
- Loosing a child is like loosing a part of oneself. Some stay in exile because it is too painful to be confronted with the truth. [8]
- Having a grave to visit helps a person to continue living after losing a child. [37]

Cluster: Silence - Testimony

- The film tells the truth to the world about people who have survived and the challenges they face in returning. The truth is worse than the stories told in the film. [23, 24]
- Everybody has terrible stories to tell. By sharing the stories one is not alone in carrying the burden of them. [18]
- They tortured us so we would never feel free from the fear and humiliation we suffered in the camps. [3]
- Having witnesses is a shield against injustice. [6]
- Many survived the torture, humiliation and betrayal because they were protecting their children and were willing to die for them. [4]

Cluster: Unemployment - Work

- The refugees have been dependent on the money they saved in Norway to survive. Now they hoped to be employed. [17]
- Work is not only a question of money, but of social contact. Work helps one to step out of the sadness of the present and look ahead to the future. [16]
- Thinking positive about the future gives hope in the present. [20]
- Working replaces being in a movement group and helps one to be engaged and physically active. [31]

Cluster: Outsider - Insider

- Being received and taken care of mentally and physically helps refugees in exile to find the courage to return to life after a war. [29, 30]
- The movement program gave the refugees the possibility to do something new together and this helped them to get out of a state of isolation. [28]
- If a person achieves a higher standard of living while in exile, it makes the choice of returning difficult. [21]
- Norway made the Bosnian refugees dependent so the majority did not want to return home. [22]
- For the refugees who repatriated it was important to stay in contact with people who helped them while in exile, so they would not feel forgotten.[25,32]
- It was stressful to be a refugee. They did not know the culture, the language or the people. At home it was easier for them to relax because they were not foreigners. The culture was familiar and this made it easier to breath. [27, 33]
- Being a refugee gave them the feeling of being a burden and not being able to contribute. [34]
- A language is easily forgotten if it is not practiced. [26]
- Refugees are outsiders and do not commit themselves to the new country, therefore the natives do not know if they can trust them. [35]

4.5.4 Aesthetic Response Story

Ever since I came to Norway I have felt different from the others. I have wondered whether there was something wrong with them or with myself. Maybe nothing was wrong, just different? For instance, I have wondered about who has the right to certain privileges in a society. My privilege was that I had an American passport, but staying American kept me out of being a part of the 'political house' of Norway and having political influence. Living in Switzerland did not make it less confusing. I tried to apply for Norwegian citizenship, but was told at the American Embassy that if I gave up my US passport I would probably never be given a visa to enter the US. If I voluntarily gave up my US Citizenship in exchange for the Norwegian one I would have been labeled as left-wing and untrustworthy. They strongly advised me to keep my American passport.

This story emerged while working on this Time-Post.

"The Landlady"

I have moved to Bern in Switzerland and I am living in a ten feet square room. I have brought with me pictures, blankets, gifts from friends in Norway and decorated my room with familiar objects. I have a big window overlooking the garden. It's an unusual garden, because there is a miniature railroad in it. But instead of a small boy conducting the train I see a huge, grown-up man doing it, the son of my eighty-five year old landlady.

Why do I always end up in strange situations in strange places?

My work with the Swiss children at the psychiatric clinic was very difficult and, being only nineteen, I was struggling hard to find a reference point in myself to understand their pain and despair. Meeting their sadness and loneliness stirred up memories from my own childhood.

One day the son of my landlady tells me that his mother has died. I decide to go to the funeral. I find my way to the cemetery. From the little chapel I can hear that the religious singing has begun. I walk in and sit down in the back row. I begin crying without knowing why. Maybe I am feeling sorry for myself. My boyfriend had just left me and I have been

working sixty hours a week. My mother lives in Norway with my eight year old brother, and my sister lives in Denmark. My mother hates the dark Norwegian winters and drink martinis while listening to Frank Sinatra to avoid committing suicide.

I am a stranger to everyone in the chapel. I can't even spot my landlady's son, who should be sitting in the front by the coffin. I discover that I am attending the wrong funeral. So, here I am crying and sobbing over someone I have never met and I don’t even know who is. I suddenly find this immensely comical and I have to fight to keep myself from laughing.

I go home to my ten foot square room and watch the miniature train in the garden, and I decide that I am only going to stay until the end of the year before I return to Norway. I decide that Norway is my home.

4.5.5 Findings Time-Post 1998 Bosnia

An Exhaustive Description of the Essential Meaning of "Them" and "Us"

Analyzing the Themes and Clusters resulted in the essence of this Time-Post: "Them - Us".

"Them" embodies the Themes Humiliation, Betrayal, Enemies, Unemployment, Speechless, Disembodiment, Forgotten, Refugee, Silence and the Clusters Betrayal, Regretting Repatriation, Breaking the Heart, Silence, Unemployment and Outsider.

"Us" embodies the Themes Dignity, Trust, Neighbors, Work, Expression, Embodiment, Remembered, Native and Stories as well as the Clusters Trust, Staying, Relieving the Heart, Testimony, Work and Insider.

"Them"

Dzafar: *Nobody knows about anybody, but let them be, shame on them, and the whole world that allowed this to be done to us, because we were recognized by over a hundred states, so if they had recognized us they should have stood up for us as well and not just recognize us and then leave, not give us the weapons and allow the aggressors to maltreat, rape, expel and kill us.* (1009-1013)

In 1998 jobs were still scarce and no capital was invested in rebuilding the industries that were ruined. The participants were once again put into a role of being dependent and hoped for help from the outside world. After the initial burst of hope and reconstruction, the refugees' view of the future now depended on whether or not jobs could be found. Their self-esteem and feeling of self-worth was threatened. Destructive thinking requires a lot of energy and increases the passivity of people. As a result the feeling of being alienated from "them" was intensified. The problem of "them" and "us" became an unavoidable reality when "they" returned; "they" being the neighbors who destroyed the factories and people's homes, killed children and tried to "silence" the Muslim population.

All of the male adult repatriates had been tortured in the prison camps. The experience of being tortured resulted in a feeling that they were objects, people whose lives didn't mean

anything. They had been tortured and humiliated, and they could do nothing to protect themselves. Being treated in this way can trigger off enormous anger in a person and produce emotions such as rage, blame and hate. These feelings can be so intrusive and frightening that a person can tend to turn away from them in order to avoid identifying with them. Distancing oneself is a way of coping with the fact that innocent men were tortured and killed, women were raped and children were murdered. It takes experience, knowledge and an ability to reflect in order not to act on the desire for revenge.

The Muslim population also remembered the lack of support from the international community when the war broke out. They wondered why they had not received weapons so that they could defend themselves against "them".

"Us"

Merima: *The war, I don't know how to explain it, we were all living like neighbors; we didn't have any, as you say, attitudes towards anyone else. That was politics, that's where it leads us. It was the politicians' fault, and I don't think it was the fault of the young people and our youth suffered here, no one will ever understand why all these people were killed, no, it's beyond me. What the goal was of these people to have this war between us is beyond me. (905-910)*

Before the war Bosnia was a country where people lived side by side and there was a sense of "us". They did not judge people on the basis of religion, ethnicity or skin color. Different ethnic groups were buried in the same cemeteries. Internationally Bosnia was considered a role model for how multi-ethnic groups could co-exist. The war transformed this society into separate ethnic territories. Friends and neighbors became enemies and this left wounds that might be impossible to heal for generations to come. The trust between people was destroyed. They had gone from feeling secure to feeling insecure and were now on their guard. The Serbian houses were empty in the Muslim territories. At this point belonging to a group provided security. The tendency was to stick to the group one belonged to and not mingle; the returnees, the Muslims, the Serbs, the prisoners, the ones who fought in the war, the ones living in exile, the unemployed, the employed and the ones who had their sons killed. Mostly the younger generation chose not to return. Therefore, the young people who did return were outnumbered by the elderly and felt lonely. There was the tendency to evaluate each other in

terms of status and to compete with one another. Participants who had been forced into exile were treated as though they had left voluntarily to avoid staying and fighting.

Employment strengthens the feeling of “we”. Work is not only a question of money but also of social contact, and is vital for a person to have a sense of well-being. People need to relate to each other when they work together.

Having somebody from the outside gather people to tell and share their experiences created contact and dialogue. How can anyone make sense out of what is senseless? Sharing stories with each other gave them the feeling of belonging and of being “us”. Telling stories and listening to each other became a way of giving testimony of what they had experienced and a way of confirming that one’s experiences had something in common with other peoples’ experiences.

4.5.6 Summary

The experience of "Them" and "Us" can be defined as follows:

"Them" is the others who betray and humiliate; because they are unable to see beyond their own existence, they invade boundaries and break hearts.

"Us" gives an experience of being part of and belonging to the group and/or the community. The body feels safe and trusting, there is a desire to express and share stories. Being "us" gives a person the feeling of dignity, of being an insider and promotes a feeling of solidarity.

Table 5 presents a map of defense mechanisms and suggests methods that can be applied to help reconciliation based on the experiences of the Bosnian refugees. The goal must be to help people move out of a defensive position, develop contact and create a safe situation where dialogue between people living and working together can begin.

Table 5

Defense mechanisms	**Trust and safety**	**Reconciliation**	**Methods**
Blame	→→→→→→→	Solution oriented	Scenario thinking, future
Passivity	→→→→→→→	Activity	Communal projects
Destructive	→→→→→→→	Constructive	Psychosocial therapy
Isolation	→→→→→→→	Social	Group activities
Withdrawal	→→→→→→→	Contact	Group activities
Silence	→→→→→→→	Testimony	Film, storytelling, art
Finding scapegoats	→→→→→→→	Responsible	Dialogue
Projections	→→→→→→→	Seeking truth	Listening
Armored	→→→→→→→	Surrender	Breathing
Numb	→→→→→→→	Sensing	Movement
Lack of empathy	→→→→→→→	Empathy	Role Reversal
Rationalizing	→→→→→→→	Reality	Knowledge
Locked in one perspective	→→→→→→→	New perspectives	Role Reversal Art work
Hate and anger	→→→→→→→	Peace	Sport, Music and Dance projects – activity groups

PART V: DOCUMENTARY FILMMAKING AS TESTIMONY 1994-1998

5.1 Introduction

The making of the two documentary films "In Exile from the Body" ("I eksil fra kroppen") and "Returning to Life" ("Tilbake til livet") changed the whole project from a stress management project to a repatriation project with an emphasis on documentary filmmaking and testimony. The participants were eager to tell their stories. To them my film crew and I were the witnesses to their testimonies and we returned every other year to see them and hear how they were getting on. We became the people who didn't forget them.

The films "In Exile from the Body" and "Returning to Life" have been distributed within educational and therapeutic institutions and organizations in Europe, Palestine, Israel, the former Soviet Union, Latin America and the US. Excerpts from "In Exile from the Body" have been screened on CNN. "Returning to Life" was selected for two Norwegian film festivals, the Tromsø International Film Festival and the Grimstad Film Festival, and has been screened three times on Norwegian national television (NRK). Excerpts of it have been screened on FOX TV (USA).

"In Exile from the Body" was funded by The Norwegian Foreign Ministry (UDI) and "Returning to Life" by Kassettavgiftsfondet (a governmental grant for funding film), UDI and NIKUT (The Norwegian Institute for Expressive Arts).

Parts of "In Exile from the Body", i.e. some of the interviews and some scenes from the Movement Program, are incorporated in the second film, "Returning to Life".

I will present the two films and account for the making of them. I will give my observations of the participants during the shooting periods and I will end this section by giving a partial conclusion of my observations.

5.2 "In Exile from the Body"

Description of the film

"In Exile from the Body" is a 21 minute long film made in the tradition of the international television documentary; the filmmaker presents a subject through interviewing persons who are central to the subject and then makes a statement about the subject.

The subject is the Movement Program for Bosnian refugees at the Fossnes Reception Center in 1993 - 94. The film tells the story of a group of refugees - men, women and children - who had gone through a training program and how they experienced it. All of them were traumatized; they had difficulties coping with the present situation in the reception center. The only thing they could think of was the horrors of their war experiences. They speak about how the movement and breathing exercises helped them to function like normal people again. The exercises - picking apples, cutting grass, pretending to be animals - reconnected them to their everyday lives as they were before the war. The film argues that after an extreme experience like a war, the most important thing is to get the body to function normally again. This can be achieved through breathing and movement exercises and by reconnecting the traumatized persons to their life before the trauma. The main statement underlying the whole narrative of the film is that a traumatized person living in exile from his country is also living in exile from his body. Before a person can "go home", he must "come home" to his body.

The making of the film

The idea of making a documentary film generated from the focus group evaluation of the movement program at Fossnes in 1994 (Appendix 5 and 6). Several of the participants had the desire to tell refugees in other reception centers how the movement group had helped them. I decided to apply for funds to make a video film about the program. The Norwegian Foreign Ministry, who had financed the movement program, responded positively to the idea of making an informational film. All of the participants volunteered to be interviewed in the film. Hasiba, Ibrahim and Dzafar were chosen. "In Exile from the Body" was shot in two days, editing and postproduction was finished in four weeks, but the film was the end product of a process that had lasted for more than one year. The shooting of the film produced the semi-structured interviews that are identical with the Interview Protocol for Time-Post 1994 Norway (Appendix 1).

The participants had signed a written statement saying that they accepted the use of their interviews and that the film could be screened publicly (Appendix 7). They were given the opportunity to offer suggestions about changing the content and withdrawing from participating. All of the participants received their own copy of the film.

Observations 1994 Norway

When I first met the Bosnian war refugees at the Fossnes Reception Center I experienced them as withdrawn and lifeless. However, through the movement program I discovered that the memories of their pre-war everyday activities were still alive in their bodies and could re-emerge in a spontaneous way that visibly changed their bodily postures.

I started asking the participants to make movements from their everyday lives from before the war. One began to pick apples while the others mirrored the movement. One made the movement of cutting grass. Although in the beginning their energy was low and there was a lack of contact, I was able to connect through subjects that were familiar and embodied. I could see a change in their facial expressions, smiling, eye contact and greater self-confidence because they were returning to something manageable and safe. While dancing and singing, through intensifying the activity by breathing more deeply, they would sing louder and dance with more vigor. Slowly they became re-energized; they became more active and took more initiative. They were communicating through movement. Instead of using words to tell their stories, they were telling their stories through movements.

The interviews with Ibrahim and Dzafar show two men who want to express their experiences, but when they talked about their gruesome experiences in the concentration camp they showed little emotion – no tears and no anger. At the same time I could see and hear that they were concerned and worried. This static state of being disappeared in the Movement Program where they showed a variety of emotions after participating regularly. I noted that Hasiba, who had not been tortured and imprisoned, showed a consistent way of expressing herself from the interview to the Movement Program.

The first screenings

When I invited all of the participants to the first screening of the film in the spring of 1996, none of them were living at the reception center. This was the first time I was challenged with bringing the group together after they had moved out. To my surprise they all showed up. My

concern was that they would by now have second thoughts about the filmmaking, that they would want to be left alone and let history rest, but they were more eager than ever to continue. They never asked for money or other gifts for their participation.

The first public screening took place at a cultural evening in the Cultural House in Nøtterøy. The tickets sold raised money for a peace statue in Sarajevo. One of several artists that performed was Odd Børresen, who is famous in Norway for his humorous essays and songs. Many of the refugees also participated by performing Bosnian folk dances.

Out of the two successful screenings the idea was born to continue to film the repatriation process.

5.3 "Returning to Life"

Description of the film

"Returning to Life" is a 52 minute long documentary about the twenty-two Bosnian refugees who chose to repatriate in 1996, and three of their children who chose to stay in Norway. The film's focus is on the repatriation process, the preparations in Norway and the resettling in Bosnia. The filmmakers has made two visits to Bosnia, in 1996 and in 1998. The film has a chronological structure and covers the repatriation process over a time span of five years from 1993 to 1998. The first part of the film deals with the refugees' exile in Fossnes, the Movement Program and the preparation for going home. The second part deals with the first phase of repatriation in Bosnia. This includes the rebuilding of houses on the ruins left after the war and the struggle to find jobs and surviving in a post-war country. The film ends with the filmmaker screening a rough cut of the film for the participants and giving all of them a VHS copy of it.

The message of the film is put forward in the form of a metaphor - the metaphor of "the house". A traumatized person must first come home to "the house of the body", then he can move into "the house of the family" and finally he might enter "the house of the society". If the traumatized person can pass successfully through this three-step healing process, he might "return to life".

The making of the film, Norway 1996

The Preparation Workshop in February of 1996 was the first event that was filmed after "In Exile from the Body". Three additional events were videotaped in the spring of 1996. The first event was of Dzafar and his family watching a video from post-war Bosnia in their living room in Stokke. A friend of Dzafar had made and mailed the videotape, and it showed, among other things, the ruins of Dzafar's farm. They watched the destruction that would meet them when they returned. They were confronted with the image of the license plates from the car of one of their dead sons. The video showed them that whatever image they had of their home and of Bosnia, it was now gone. They played the tape several times; it was hard to take it all in. The second event included a farewell party for the Bosnian refugees who were going to return. It was staged by the refugee center in Stokke. The third event was of Dzafar and his

family going to the airport. Dzafar, Hajrija and Merima cry because Elvira, the youngest one, chose to stay in Norway and they experience the separation as losing a fourth family member.

The decision to go to Bosnia to film the participants' meeting with their ruined home country had already been made. I had applied for and gotten governmental funding for the production of "Returning to Life". I was trying to imagine what I would be confronted with. I had arranged to get a driver and a translator through IOM (International Organization for Migration) in Zagreb. They informed us that they had a lot of calls from people who wanted to see the destruction; they wanted to be sure I wasn't one of those people. The killing fields of Bosnia had already become a tourist attraction.

Observations 1996 Norway

On the first day of the Preparation Workshop in February 1996 we mapped the group for their individual needs and the conditions for returning. Some of the refugees who participated knew that they could not go home even though they wanted to because their homes were in occupied territories. One participant said that his house was in ruins and that he had nothing to return to. I asked if others were in the same situation. They all raised their hands. The atmosphere in the room was as though we were in the ruins of their homes and not in a Norwegian gym room. All of the families drew pictures of their houses and the children made flowers from clay. They made a map and drew the different stages they needed to prepare. Questions beginning with 'where', 'when', 'who' and 'what' were asked for each phase of the process, such as where, when, and with whom are you going to go and what needs to happen in order for you to go? The Movement Program was repeated, including stress management through movement and breathing, and they were all reminded that it was not only important to be prepared mentally, but also physically. Then the families made a list of their expectations. On day two they shared their expectations with each other and showed photographs and videotapes from home. Then they planned their return step by step. Dzafar was active in finding practical solutions. Senija had already been to Bosnia for a visit and shared what she had experienced and told stories she had heard. She had lost her youngest son in the war and said that the ones who were suffering the most were the ones who had lost children. It was obvious that the participants were showing more affects. Dzafar was crying when he talked about his sons who had been killed. They ended the workshop by writing a letter to the Norwegian government about their concerns for returning (Appendix 8). At this point they believed that sooner or later they would all be forced to return.

The making of the film, Bosnia 1996

In August, four months after they had returned to Bosnia, I arrived in Zagreb with a film crew consisting of a photographer and a sound engineer along with a translator and a driver. I was happy that I had taken part in the Preparation Workshop in February. The atmosphere was thick with mistrust. The fear was still all around. Through the car window I saw a brick wall that was several hundred yards long. Each brick was painted either red or black. The black represented the dead and the red the missing. The wall seemed to go on forever, brick upon brick, the dead atop of the missing, the missing atop of the dead. We drove on through a landscape covered with scars that are going to be there for many years to come. The houses were like skeletons. Either they were burnt out internally, scorched from within, or there was only rubble left. To be able to function in this gruesome landscape it was necessary to distance oneself. My way of distancing myself was through visualizing that I was on a film set and what I saw was all staged for a shooting. It was all so unreal. The photographer, sound engineer, translator and chauffeur were all very tense as the evening approached. The chauffeur was preoccupied with finding a place to stay for the night because the danger of driving at night was tremendous. Law and order had only been partially restored. We found a run-down hotel in Biharz with bullet holes in the walls.

When we arrived in Kljuc the next day Dzafar met us waving both a Bosnian and a Norwegian flag. On the way to the apartment he showed us a mass grave where several of his friends, neighbors and relatives had been buried, while tears were rolling down his cheeks. Dzafar's whole family was present and they were happy to see us. It was not until that moment they learned that repatriation under the Norwegian law for Bosnian war refugees had been changed from mandatory to voluntary.

Observations Bosnia 1996

On our first morning with Dzafar's family in Bosnia we were served a large breakfast of chicken, rice and salad. I wondered where they got all the food from, how they could afford it and if they used all of their savings in order to welcome us. We didn't want to embarrass them by asking. They were so eager to tell us stories that they did not know where to start, stories I had never heard before. It was as though they had something to get off their chests, a need to express themselves. They told stories about neighbors, about a cave where many people hid and got killed (Ahmo 1996), about the farm and the children who were killed and where it happened. The torture camp at Manjaca was a place all the men talked about, but would not

visit. The translator was a Bosnian from Sarajevo who had worked as a translator during the war and was very helpful in giving us information about the culture and the people. The participants trusted him and liked him. This was one reason why they felt safe to share their stories with us. They were not disturbed by the film team. It was almost as though the camera made them more focused and telling their stories was an act of giving testimony.

The making of the film, Bosnia 1998

When I returned to Bosnia with my film crew in 1998, I brought 22 video cassettes each containing an hour and forty-five minute long compilation of the material shot in Norway in 1994 and 1996 and in Bosnia in 1996. It was a rough-cut of "Returning to Life".

A workshop was organized for all the participants in Sanski Most in the building where Ibrahim worked. He lent us his private video player and TV set. They organized transportation amongst themselves. All of the families, including eighteen of the twenty-two repatriates, turned up for the screening. Even though Hajrija had just received the message that her father had died, she decided to participate. She was present with all her feelings. They were given the opportunity to validate the material and/or make suggestions for further shooting. They had to confirm in writing that the material could be used for a film that would be screened publicly. The workshop was videotaped and is included in the final film. They also agreed that all the material could be used for future research (Appendix 7).

Observations Bosnia 1998

Giving a compilation cassette to each of the participants was a moving moment. The expression on each face was as if they were receiving a prize for everything they had survived. They felt seen and heard, like their efforts had been confirmed. While they were viewing the film they all showed emotions, tears were running down their cheeks.

Everybody had a terrible story to tell, and as time had passed more stories emerged that had an even greater impact because more and more details come to the surface. It was as if they knew that now it was safe to tell the truth and the distance made it possible to speak about the unspeakable. It was important to them that the world learned the truth. I experienced that they were more eager than before to tell their stories; we were the witnesses to their testimonies.

5.4 Summary

The fact that the film team came back every other year to see and hear how the participants were carrying on with their lives gave them the feeling of being worthy and important. The distance created by seeing themselves on a screen caused a sense of waking up from a nightmare and knowing that it was over and was now history.

The making of the documentaries became a vehicle for them to weave together images and stories into a whole, which otherwise would run the risk of remaining fragmented like pieces of a jig-saw puzzle. The filmmaking created a sense of “we” among the participants, a sense of telling “our” story instead of individual stories.

PART VI: RESULTS AND FINDINGS 2000

"Repatriation" and "Testimony"

6.1 Introduction

I made my third visit to Bosnia in the fall of 2000. The film "Returning to Life" had been screened on national television in Norway and I had made a copy of the film for each of the participants. Even though I had brought a crew with me consisting of a photographer and a translator, my intention was not to make a new film. At this point videotaping had become a method in my study. The participants were accustomed to the camera. All of the videotaped interviews were made exclusively for this study and are not used elsewhere.

In Time-Post 2000 the participants were asked to look back and reflect on the process they had gone through from 1993 to 2000. In order to help the participants to look back a copy of the film "Returning to Life" was given to each of them. I saw the film together with Hajrija, Dzafar, Merima, Ahmo and their children Meliha and Zuad in Hajrija in Dzafar's apartment in Kljuc. This was the first time they saw the final version.

Since this is a reflection where they look back several themes from the earlier Time-Posts will be repeated, but because time has passed the consequences became clearer and new perspectives were given. The questions they were asked focused on two main themes, repatriation and documentary filmmaking as testimony. Accordingly Time-Post 2000 is divided in two parts: 6.2 "Repatriation" and 6.3 "Testimony".

The complete Interview Protocol for all Time-Posts is found in Appendix 1.

6.2 Results Time-post 2000 Bosnia: “Repatriation”

Dzafar's Story

1. *And now, there’s privatization, so that they become private…the most important thing is that the situation turns around so that young people can be employed. Because, if young people leave Bosnia and Herzegovina, we have fought for it in vain then; and I believe that there can’t be life in Bosnia at all unless Bosnia and Herzegovina becomes unique, sovereign and independent, that there aren’t three armies, three police forces, three presidents, but one army, one police, one custom, one system, and then I think Bosnia could move on towards something better.* (2176-2182)
(Taken from the interview in Dzafar and Hajrija’s apartment in Kljuc.)

6.2.1 Context and focus of the interviews

Dzafar’s farm was still in ruins. With financial help from his son in Switzerland he had bought a piece of land in the town of Kljuc and was building a large three-storey house. All of the participants had rebuilt their old houses or found somewhere new to live. After having finished rebuilding and furnishing their houses, they had stopped being active. Their biggest concern was employment. They had been promised jobs and this was one of the main reasons for them to return early. So when no jobs were offered they felt betrayed. Those who were employed worked full-time without knowing when or if they would get a salary. What was left of optimism in 1998 had by now vanished; the participants had lost their hopes for the future.

Dzafar acted as a guide because he knew where all the participants lived. He was present at all of the interviews except one, but did not participate actively. When there is a gender difference or there is a significant age difference I will include more than one statement about the same theme.

6.2.2 Significant Statements from the interviews

From the analysis of the Interview Protocol 2000 Bosnia the following seven themes emerged:

Unemployment - Work
Loss of Children - Children
Inactivity - Movement
Regretting Repatriation - Staying
Betrayal - Trust
Forgotten - Remembered

Significant Statements: Dzafar and Hajrija

Dzafar and Hajrija were interviewed in their apartment in Kljuc in August 2000. They also took us on a tour of the huge three-storey house they were building in the same town. The themes Unemployment - Work, Loss of Children - Children and Inactivity - Movement are illustrated.

Theme: Unemployment - Work

2. Dzafar: *Well, there are a lot of people who might like to work, but they have no possibility for it. Either they don't have land, or a tractor, or cattle; they've got nothing to start with. And there are people who've got everything, but they prefer to do nothing even if they do not live so well. They don't like to work. And I've always liked to work, since my childhood, and I like to work today as well. I don't need to work now. I could easily sit down, but what I like the most is to work every day, because then I'm healthier, I feel much better. That's why I came to Bosnia. That's why I came to work, to build and then, surely, tomorrow will be better. I hope that when you work, you have more, too.* (2186-2193)

Here employment also means self-employment. Dzafar's perspective includes work as an activity that keeps a person healthy.

3. Dzafar: *But I believe in the future the world will help us to restore the factories, to buy them back again. It doesn't matter if they were bought by foreigners, just so that the young*

people may get employed. Well, it is not so important whether the pay is high or not, as long as it is given out regularly. I believe everyone prefers to live in his own country, but one needs to leave for another country to make a living. (2205-2209)

Dzafar had worked in many countries before the war in order to earn more money. He feared that the younger generation would leave for good if they could not find employment at home.

Theme: Loss of Children - Children

4. Hajrija: *Also, these children, always on our minds, to see where they lay, where they were buried. We also go and visit now. To us, our children are, so to say, in our hearts, because we lost them, I lost my health for them and everything. And I don't care about the rest at all. If I didn't have the land or anything, and only if my children remained, I'd be satisfied. Even if I had to beg for a slice of bread and eat it. But, my children are gone! Everything is in vain!* (1355-1360)

Hajrija spoke as though she had no children left because her three sons had been killed, as if her six daughters did not count.

5. Hajrija: *People in the old days used to say, "If you don't have a son…" A man would chase his wife away and say: "I don't have a son with this one; I'll search for another one who will give me a son". I don't know. I love my daughters, too, but with the sons…* (1456-1458)

For these people, it is the son who takes care of the parents when they get old. The sons usually live with their wives and children in close proximity to their parents. When a daughter gets married she normally becomes part of the husband's family, her responsibilities are towards his family. This is still the custom in the northern part of Bosnia where the participants come from. Women without sons sometimes feel rejected by the community around them.

6. Hajrija: *Because of my sons! Because of children! When I heard that those two were killed, I don't know, I disappeared. When I collected myself…and I was in pain. And again, when the third one was killed, then I had a heart attack again. My son-in-law, Ahmo, and Merima and Elvira brought me (to the hospital). I thought I wasn't going to survive at all.* (1462-1465)

The participants who had lost children complained about having heart problems.

Theme: Inactivity - Movement

7. Hajrija: *We arrived there (Norway) as if we were coming from death. From fear and from everything. From grief. We arrived as if we were in prison, as if we didn't eat or drink or sleep, nothing. And then, when we arrived, we started to go exercising, playing, and doing everything. Until we've…learned a bit. And then, there was… what's her name, of that girl from Oslo? ...Branka. Branka was coming. She was talking to us, you know, she spoke our language and we spoke hers and she knew us well. And you were coming, too, and Dorotea and so on, one after another. And we were exercising ... Good. It helped us a lot. It was good.* (1480-1486)

Branka was the translator who participated in the Movement Program. The staff at Fossnes was also invited to participate in the program when they had the chance. The participants experienced this as being visited by people who cared.

8. Hajrija: *For us the support was that we were welcomed by open-hearted people. We had something to eat and drink. It was ok. Nobody was offending us.* (1366-1367)

The participants often used the heart as a metaphor. Here Hajrija is referring to the meaning of being welcomed by people with an open heart when a person's own heart is broken.

Significant Statements: Merima and Ahmo

Merima and Ahmo were interviewed at their home outside of Sanski Most in August, 2000. The themes Unemployment - Work and No Future - Future are illustrated. Some statements on Unemployment - Work from Merima and Ahmo are included because they offer a different perspective; Merima and Ahmo belonged to the next generation, they had young children and they could have stayed in Norway.

Theme: Unemployment - Work

9. Merima: *It's costly, we cannot afford to go there and just visit. I'd like most of all to go and stay for a while until I find my way. Things happen here. Houses are being rebuilt and so on, but the worse thing is the unemployment. Nobody's working. My husband has not been*

working for four years, since our return. Me neither. The children are not used to lacking anything. They would like to have something like a bicycle. They were used to having it there and they say: "If we were in Norway, we would have it. But in Bosnia, there was a war, so that's why we don't have it here!" (1215-1221)

Merima's daughter remembers the standard of living in Norway when she lived there from the age of three to seven. Merima and her husband Ahmo found it difficult to explain to their children why they had returned to Bosnia.

10. Merima: *Young people mostly leave for America now. And all this, it's more difficult to go abroad. You can't go anywhere. Because, a lot of young people were scattered away from Bosnia.* (1804-1806)

Before the war Bosnian people could come and go as they wanted, but at this time it was very difficult to leave. Applying for and receiving a permit to leave was expensive.

11. Merima: *The chances are small* (to open a hairdresser's salon). *There, where I live, in Hrustov Dolac, there are few young people. Mainly, only the elderly have returned. And to open it somewhere else, I have to pay everything, taxes, rent, etc. So, I would work without making any profit. It doesn't pay to start something here.* (1226-1229)

12. Ahmo: *But, it's the same for the elderly who don't have a pension. What can they do? Just die. They can't work, they have no income. What can they do then?* (1796-1797)

13. Ahmo: *No, if Bosnia entered the European Union, in twenty-four hours the whole country would become one big retirement home. Everybody would live abroad.* (1824-1825)

Given the opportunity everybody would flee the country and only the elderly, who had no other possibilities, would stay in Bosnia.

14. Merima: *I've always been hoping it would get better, that there would be some prospects for the future. I see now it is rather bad. Now, I'd go anywhere. I'd even go to America, perhaps!* (1199-1200)

Significant Statements: Ibrahim, Zekija, Vedo, Sabina and Ado

Zekija, Ibrahim, Sabina and Vedo were interviewed in the garden outside their two-family house in August, 2000. Together with them was Ado, Vedos' brother, who was visiting for the summer. Ado was one of the refugees who chose to stay in Norway. The themes Employment - Work, Betrayal - Trust and Regretting Repatriation - Staying are illustrated.

Theme: Employment - Work

15. Ibrahim: *There's no future. Everything is being privatized, going into private hands. In a short while there will be the very rich and very poor. Priorities were given to religious buildings, sport facilities, beaches… not to factories, not to firms. There will be changes in the qualifications needed to work, if the firms go into private hands. Then they will produce their products and we, who have been working here for years, will have to leave or be retrained or go on pension or…I don't know.* (1895-1900)

Ibrahim and his son had been promised that they would get their jobs back and do the same work as they did before the war. However, nobody had prepared them for receiving their pay irregularly.

16. Zekija: *Ibrahim and Vedo work in the factory, but they haven't gotten paid since December. And I worked and I got it every month, 300 DM, and this is what we all live off of now. And Sabina just started to work now, but hasn't gotten paid yet. And so, it will be better, we don't know.* (1885-1888)

Theme: Regretting Repatriation – Staying

17. Interviewer: *What do you think about Ado staying in Norway? How do you see it?*
Ibrahim: *Smart. Smart move.*
Zekija: *Good.*
Ibrahim: *It would be best if the four of them stayed as well.* (1940-1943)

Ibrahim had changed his opinion; in 1996 he was convinced that the right thing to do was to return and help rebuild the country. Now he thought that Vedo and Sabina should have stayed in Norway with their two children. He had gone from having expectations that the government would provide support to being disappointed with the reality of the situation.

18. Zekija: We *were asking if they could go back, but they can't.*
Ibrahim: *They can't go back. But, they wanted to go back there again. No prospects for young people.* (1944-1946)

It's too late for Sabina and Vedo to return to Norway. They could not get a visa unless they had someone to sponsor and vouch for them financially in Norway.

Significant Statements: Senija and Iksan

Senija and Iksan were interviewed at their home in Kljuc in August 2000. The themes Regretting Repatriation - Returning to Norway, No Future - Future and Betrayal - Trust are exemplified. The themes Regretting Repatriation - Staying and No future - Future are included because they give a gender perspective.

Theme: Betrayal - Trust

Senija and Iksan were close friends with their Serbian neighbors before the war and Iksan's friendship went all the way back to his childhood.

19. Iksan: *Last time, last time, I saw them in Kljuc, two of her brothers. They were in a car and I noticed they wanted to … they were looking at me and wanted to talk to me. But I was busy and I didn't want to stop at all. I just passed by. You know, when you love someone… We loved each other the whole time, as we would sleep over at each other's houses; we went to school together and were doing everything, good and bad things. But, that night, when I was taken to the gymnasium in Kljuc and when I was sitting on the floor like this the whole night… If someone told me that I had to go through this again, I'd rather commit suicide. And what they did to me.* (1522-1529)

This betrayal was incomprehensible for Iksan and Senija.

20. Senija: *I'm so sorry for what they've become, because I trusted them. I gladly gave them all my furniture because I thought they would keep all of it. I know what the war is like. They didn't do it themselves alone. But you can stay friends, even during times of war. It is possible! I'd tell them now… I wouldn't be ashamed of anybody… to come to me like this, like you, like my family, because I know that they didn't kill my son. I know that. But they took all*

my stuff and destroyed everything. And I repeat, if they had saved only one little photo, for memory's sake, I'd agree to work things out. (1534-1540)

The Serbian neighbors had suffered as well; they had lost a son. Regardless of a person's background, during a war parents risk losing children. Despite this, Senija and Iksan cannot understand the cruelty of war.

21. Iksan: *They shouldn't have hurt children and innocent people. A soldier must go against another soldier. If I don't kill you, you'll kill me. This I can excuse. The shame for this is on those influential people who had ordered it.*
Senija: *Yeah, the presidents…* (1557-1560)
22. Iksan: *But the army shouldn't have touched, plundered and burnt down the houses, killed women and, sorry for the term, raped…* (1561-1562)

Theme: Regretting Repatriation - Staying

23. Iksan: *Most of all I'm happy because I've returned to my place.*
Senija: *In vain! He's happy and that's it! And I'm sorry for the children. I regret having to come back.* (1627-1629)

Iksan was the one who wanted to return to Bosnia. Senija and their daughter Elvisa would have stayed in Norway or waited to return if the decision had been theirs.

24. Senija: *I have a daughter. She's married. She's not working, nor is her husband. And I cannot help her and I feel sorry when I see her, because everybody needs money and you should have a life. And there (in Norway), at least she had the basic necessities for living. Only for that reason.* (1634-1637)

They felt they had betrayed their daughter Elvisa by taking her back to Bosnia. Senija knew that her daughter would have had a future with opportunities in Norway. Elvisa later succeeded in getting an education in Bosnia, but didn't find employment.

25. Senija: *We've got friends* (in Norway)*, but no one wants to invite you, everyone's afraid to take you home. If there was someone…She'd go to a reception center. She says, "Anywhere, just to have the basic things". If she worked, even better. If not, at least she wouldn't need to*

wait until someone gave her something, how to put it, that she was depending on someone. She wouldn't accept being a burden to anyone. She could just enter the country and then… in the center… She says, "They can take me anywhere, it doesn't matter. I'd find a way. I can speak the language, I'm young and I'd like to work. I don't know!" She finished a school for commerce here, but…there's nothing (no work). (1663-1670)

Senija cannot find a way to help her daughter return to Norway. No one, not even her friends in Norway, wanted to take on the responsibility.

26. Senija: *Yes, yes. We were looking for someone who could send us a guarantee letter. They say we don't have the right to come back any more. I mean, we wouldn't go back. We were only asking for them, for the daughter to go until… for, at least, a couple of years until the situation here gets more stable and she would be able to live here.* (1658-1661)

Significant Statements: Elvisa

Elvisa, the daughter of Senija and Iksan, was interviewed in her house in August, 2000. Dzafar was not present. Elvisa offers new perspectives because of her age and her understanding of Bosnian traditions. The themes Employment - Work, Regretting Repatriation - Staying and Forgotten - Remembered are illustrated here.

Theme: Employment - Work

27. Elvisa: *I'd like to work. I finished school, but there's no place to work. And those who work, don't get paid, the main income. In three, four months you get 100 DM, for example, or around that. How to live on that? You are just able to pay for the electricity, water, I mean, everything that you need. No. There's no future for young people here. That's why I say I don't have a future. Because, you can't … I mean, if you don't work you need to live relying on somebody else, to wait for someone else's help.* (2288-2293)

Theme: Regretting Repatriation – Staying

28. Elvisa: *Yes. I wanted to stay. One lady journalist wanted to host me there; Mom was afraid. In our view, as Bosnians and Muslims, it's not so normal to leave an under-age female to stay alone in the world and live there. And that's why they wouldn't leave me and I simply had to come. But otherwise, I went to school there. I could…I was a good student, I spoke the*

language, I had friends and everything, but… Mom is mom, you know. There I had no brothers and no one with whom I could stay with and so… I had to come. (2350-2355)

Elvisa had no family members to stay with in Norway, and being under-aged could not accept offers from strangers.

Theme: Forgotten - Remembered

29. Elvisa: *Everything. Everything, except for the moments when…we didn't speak the language and nothing was interesting or nice, because when you go out, you don't know anyone, you can't say anything. Then it wasn't, but later on…everything was (nice). All my memories are good ones. I don't know what to pick out.* (2345-2348)

Significant Statements: Hasiba

Hasiba was interviewed in her house in Sanski Most in August, 2000. Hasiba's statements are included here because she is the participant with the most education in her age group. The theme Forgotten - Remembered is illustrated.

Theme: Forgotten - Remembered

30. Hasiba: *Yes. I mean, whatever we desired, the community was trying to provide it. They even gave us a sort of gymnastics. It was the psycho-gymnastics that helped us really well. Sometimes we would just talk, exercise, meet with each other, and exchange various experiences with women from Norway.* (2074-2077)

Hasiba introduced the word psycho-gymnastics when talking about the Movement Program at Fossnes in 1992-93.

31. Hasiba: *And those people in Norway welcomed and accepted us really well as refugees so that you could never forget it. Because, in the worst case, at the very least, we got good support from them. As people, as well as friends. Although, their first contact with us was then. They're nice people who really cannot be forgotten.* (2059-2062)

Positive memories from a time in despair, especially of being well received, stay with people.

32. Hasiba: *Especially, I have a nice…a nice memory of Fossnes…when we arrived. We were in a refugee center. Everybody from that community, who was working with us, was like a parent to us. People and elderly ladies, who were coming to meet with us, asked what we needed in terms of help. I always keep this with me, inside. And I'll never forget it. And I was really glad to see that those young people, girls, boys began visiting our youth.* (2062-2067)

6.2.3 Essential Meanings and Clusters

The Significant Statements were categorized under seven Themes:

Unemployment - Work

Loss of Children - Children

Inactivity - Movement

Regretting Repatriation - Staying

Betrayal - Trust

Forgotten - Remembered

Analyzing the Significant Statements further in order to find the Essential Meanings resulted in five Clusters:

Old - Young

Breaking the Heart - Relieving the Heart

Captivity - Freedom

No Future - Future

Disconnected - Connected

Cluster: Old - Young

- A woman is worthless if she does not have sons. [5]
- The elderly come home to die and this happens quickly for those who don't have a pension; they are helpless. [12]
- Living in a community where only the elderly want to be gives a person the feeling of being old and left behind, of not being able to participate. [11, 13]
- Men are happy to be back, but there is nothing here for young people. [23]
- To witness that the "mother country" cannot take care of the younger generation leaves the older in a state of sorrow and despair. [3]
- Living in exile sets a standard of living for the children. In Norway most people had a higher standard of living than in Bosnia. The children therefore feel that they are being punished even though they are innocent. [9]

- If it had been up to the young people they would have stayed in Norway. They spent four important years there, from ten to eighteen. They became part of the Norwegian way of life, but their parents' traditions would not permit it. Many daughters returned to Bosnia because of their parents. [28]
- In Norway girls would have had a future, bringing them back to Bosnia was bringing them back to a life in poverty. By bringing them back, the parents felt they had betrayed them. [24]
- Being optimistic about the future in Bosnia was naive. Many parents have tried to find a way to help their children return to Norway, but it is too late and now they aren't allowed. [18, 25, 26]

Cluster: Breaking the Heart - Relieving the Heart

- Children are carried in one's heart. Losing children creates health problems. [4]
- Having sons killed is a way of killing the mother, too. [6]

Cluster: Captivity - Freedom

- The refugees arrived in Norway in shock. They had been turned into objects; they felt like things that were to be eliminated. [7]
- Being dependent makes you feel like a victim. [27]
- A visa was required to leave Bosnia, and only those who had relatives in America could get visas. It was like living in a prison. [10]

Cluster: No Future - Future

- Thinking about the future as something positive makes a person feel hopeful in the present. [2]
- If the country could be reunited again jobs would be created. [1]
- When the situation gets worse instead of better four years after a war, a person loses the belief that it was right to return. It's hard to see a future when one can hardly survive in the present. [15, 16]
- It is best to stay in one's mother country, but life has become so difficult that a person would be willing to move anywhere in order to find work and have a future. [14]

Cluster: Disconnected - Connected

- Not knowing the language isolates a person. [29]
- There is no excuse for killing children and raping women. However, the people who did it walk among the refugees who have returned. [21, 22]
- In the context of war people change, but there is a limit to what can be forgiven even by friends. [19, 20]
- Being received by people with an open heart when a person has a broken heart is nourishing. Thinking about it helps people in the moment. [8, 30, 31, 32]

6.2.4 Aesthetic Response Story

“Where is Home?”

I heard my mother talking to herself in another room and from the tone of her voice I knew she was hoping that someone would hear her.

“Norwegians can only relate to their pine trees and their outdoor toilets”. She sounded like she tasted the words before she spat them out. “Norway is a prison with open doors, so you have the freedom to go outdoors to freeze!” she continued. “If you have not gone to kindergarten here, you can forget about getting to know someone. If you are lucky you might meet a foreigner on the bus”.

I called out from the other room, “Why did you come here in the first place? If all you can do is complain, why don’t you go back home?”

She looked at me from the doorway with a twisted expression resulting from one too many Martini’s, “As if I have a choice! All of you kids live here. How can I leave?” I felt no pity for her. “Well, you should have thought about that before you left for the other side of the world with two small children to get married with a man you hardly knew!”

Who had the right to complain? I had! I had been involuntarily transported to Norway because of a doctor in a white uniform she had met by coincidence on a cruise ship because she had a cold. I was the victim. Me! "I wish you had taken a better look at the man under the uniform before you sold everything we owned to come to this godforsaken place where we have no friends or family!"

In 1980 we all left Norway. My mother moved back to the USA with my half-brother who is 10 years younger than me. My sister was married to a Norwegian and they lived in Denmark. I moved to Cambridge, Massachusetts, to do my Master’s Degree. None of us knew how long we would be gone or if we would ever come back for more than a visit.

I returned to Norway in 1983 and married a Norwegian in 1987. Today I live together with my eighteen year-old adopted son in Oslo, where I just have bought a house. I have become a Norwegian. But I have kept my American passport.

6.2.5 Findings Time-Post 2000 Bosnia: "Repatriation"

Exhaustive Description of the Essential Meaning of "Betrayed – Received"

Analyzing the Themes and Clusters resulted in the essence of this Time-Post: "Betrayed - Received".

"Betrayed" embodies the Themes: Unemployment, Loss of Children, Inactivity, Betrayal, Regretting Repatriation, Betrayal, Forgotten and the Clusters Old, Breaking the Heart, Captivity, No Future and Disconnected.

"Received" embodies the Themes Work, Children, Movement, Staying, Trust, Remembered and the Clusters Young, Relieving the Heart, Freedom, Future and Connected.

"Betrayed"

Iksan: *You know, when you love someone… We loved each other the whole time, as we would sleep over at each other's houses; we went to school together and were doing everything, good and bad things. But, that night, when I was taken to the gymnasium in Kljuc and when I was sitting on the floor like this the whole night… If someone told me that I had to go through this again, I'd rather commit suicide. And what they did to me.* (1524-1529)

During the war innocent people were hurt and the people who did it walk about freely in Bosnia today. Raping women was a sinister way of destroying women and humiliating their families. People were tortured by neighbors who had been friends and almost as close as family members. Within the context of war people change but there was a limit to what the participants could forgive. Neighbors rejected each other and were not able to reconcile their differences even though they shared the same experience of losing children.

The feeling that things would get better was the reason why the participants did not return to Norway in 1998 when they had the chance. Then they received their pay regularly if they had work, but in 2000 this wasn't so; even the people who had gotten their pay regularly were out of work. Unemployment and the lack of means to survive arrested the progress that had been

made. Because of this things were left untouched or unfinished. The participants who had committed themselves to living in Bosnia and rebuilding it felt betrayed. When their home country did not receive them in a supportive way and did not help them to rebuild, they began doubting if they really were wanted there. Being unemployed made them passive and for the returnees this was connected to being in captivity, not being able to move and to living in exile where they could not be self-sufficient and independent and able to earn a living. Home must also be a place where a person can feed a family. Passivity brought back the feelings of being incompetent and of being a person that the society did not have a use for. Feelings stemming from the war started to emerge – the humiliation, the feeling that they were betrayed by the international community and the feeling of not being wanted in their own country.

Home is supposed to be where a person is born. People who are used to a good standard of living will always dream about rebuilding to the same standard. At this point most people had given up and accepted the fact that life would not be the way it used to be; they would never feel as independent as they did before. They had changed their minds; they felt that it would have been better to stay in Norway. In Bosnia there was no future. In Norway the young might have had a future. Parents felt that they should have advised their children to move to Norway in 1998, when it was still possible. Everybody felt sad and the children felt as if they were being rejected everywhere. Living in a community consisting mainly of elderly people made the young feel left out. They didn't feel they could participate in life; life was somewhere else. This feeling was strengthened through staying in contact with friends in Norway by phone. When they realized that there was nothing to live off of and wanted to leave to find work abroad, it was too late; the borders were closed to them as former refugees, they could not get a visa. Before the war they could come and go freely, now it was more like a prison. Young people who had returned and helped their families to rebuild now had to leave the country if they could and seek work abroad to escape poverty. This gave a person the feeling of not being received. Young people were the future of Bosnia. When the government did not provide work as promised when they arrived, they felt betrayed again.

If it had been up to the younger people they would have stayed in Norway. Many were between ten and eighteen while living in exile, four important years in terms of their development. The young people were assimilated into the Norwegian way of life, but their

parents' traditions would not permit them to stay. As a minor a child must do as the parents decide. Several of the women would have preferred to stay too, but it was their husbands who made the final decision. In spite of this tradition some of the young people chose to stay in exile. The young people who returned to stay in Bosnia felt that they had been loyal to their parents, but that they had betrayed their own children. The ones who had the possibility to leave felt that they were forced to leave because their society could not offer them a future. For the young generation, especially for those with families and children, a post-war country is a place to visit but not to live in.

"Received"

Hajrija: *There (Norway) it was nice, let's say. We had things to eat and drink and it wasn't so costly. We were getting what we were supposed to get – social allowances. So! And we were fine.* (1371-1373)

After having undergone torture, humiliation and expatriation, it was important to the refugees to be received in a way that gave them back their dignity, so they could feel that they were worth something and had a right to exist. Being received in a good way can function as a "medicine" against shame and withdrawal and help the individual and the group to regain a positive sense of identity and start the process of returning. When the Bosnian refugees were received positively at the refugee center, they felt that even if others had rejected them there was still somebody who would receive them and give them shelter when it was most needed. Being welcomed and cared for gave them life-long memories that helped them to heal.

The Movement Group functioned as a form of communal art, a gathering of people living together and practicing an activity that promoted contact and a feeling of "us". They met twice a week and always formed a circle. The circle can open up and it can close. A circle's shape holds a group together and provides contact in the sense that everyone can see each other and feel connected. Often the exercises would require that the participants would hold hands. Holding hands can be experienced as being received. Being touched by each other's bodily expression and language provided safety. Living in temporary protection is like living in a waiting room not knowing what news one will receive or how long one has to stay. Taking part in the Movement Program while in transit kept the participants connected and alive.

Only people who have experienced having children killed know what it feels like and what it does to a person's health. All the parents who had experienced children killed shared the same grief; it is universal. The grief created "a broken heart". The longing for the children became chronic. After losing a child a parent becomes totally indifferent; nothing is of interest. Only grief exists and nothing is pleasurable. After a child is killed a mother cries for the smallest things. Experiencing beauty ignites the longing for the dead child. The heart is full of grief and the blood pressure increases. The participants carried gruesome images of what they had been witnesses to. These images had become internal. The memories and symptoms were new and scary. For some they took all of the focus and dominated their self-image. They could not attack the people who killed their children; instead they attacked themselves and rejected themselves and their right for care. Killing sons was a way of destroying the parents, too.

The refugees felt that home was where their children were buried. Being able to visit the graves of the children gave them a feeling of belonging. After losing several sons it was as if they were waiting for death to come their way. Death was a way of reuniting with the loved ones who were gone. They came home to die and death could come quickly for those who didn't have a pension. They were helpless.

6.2.6 Summary

The experience of "betrayed" and "received" can be defined as follows:

"Betrayed" gives an experience of having a broken heart, being old, humiliated, disconnected and having no future. There is a withdrawal from others and an experience of being passive.

"Received" gives an experience of being connected and respected and treated with dignity. The body feels held and there is a longing to surrender and relieve the heart of its burdens.

In 1998 the participants would not consider living in any place other than Bosnia. They still expected many to return and the factories to reopen. In 2000 it had become difficult to leave the country and it was obvious that the majority would have preferred to stay in exile. The visit was a challenge for us all. The atmosphere was heavy and the participants reminded me of refugees at refugee centers who plea with their eyes to receive help to get out.

Table 6 gives a list of factors instrumental to a successful repatriation and what might occur if these factors are lacking.

Table 6

A successful repatriation depends on:	**Lack of these factors can lead to:**
Being received	Feeling rejected
Employment	Passivity, poor self-esteem and poverty
Government support	Fear
Medical assistance	Illness
Reconciliation	Isolation and alienation
Education	Illiteracy
Open borders	Closed borders, feeling trapped
Reparation	Humiliation
Acknowledgement	Suspicion
Testimony	Silence
Witnesses	Isolation
Operative legal system	Corruption

6.3 Results Time-Post 2000 Bosnia: “Testimony”

Dzafar's story

1. *We were always listening to news broadcasts (in Norway), as much as we could, on the radio or on TV, about when our country would be liberated, and it didn’t matter who was in power, only that you could come back to your country. Because, a person somehow feels the best, feels the most secure when he is at home and who helped us, in …Norwegian TV shows this film to help us, I thank them a lot.* (2247-2251)

(Statement taken from the interview with Dzafar in his apartment in Kljuc)

6.3.1 Context and focus of the interviews

All of the statements are reflections on the filmmaking and are taken from the same Interview Protocol that was used for Time-Post 2000 “Repatriation”.

6.3.2 Significant Statements from the interviews

From the analysis of the Interview Protocol Bosnia 2000 "Testimony" the following five themes emerged:

Breaking the Heart - Relieving the Heart
Silence - Testimony
Nothing to Show - A Thing to Visit
Isolation - Witnesses
Fragmentation - Filmmaking

Significant Statements: Hajrija, Dzafar and Iksan

Hajrija and Dzafar were interviewed at their apartment in Kljuc, Iksan in his home in Kljuc. The themes Breaking the Heart - Relieving the Heart and Silence - Testimony are illustrated.

Theme: Breaking the Heart - Relieving the Heart

2. Hajrija: *It is easier to talk to someone, to know something and relieve your heart a bit. Yes. …I'm not alone. There are a lot of people who lost three, four sons. I lost three. But, there was a woman who lost six sons. It was one TV. I watched it. Six. …She didn't have anything anymore. One was handicapped and the others were ok, I guess. They were all killed in front of the house. Slaughtered. And the handicapped one … he was slaughtered right in front of his mother's eyes. …She says she is alone. She lost six sons and she says, "You can't do otherwise! I know what is in my heart, but I can't do otherwise!" Me too, I can't do otherwise. I got ill and I don't know what to do anymore. Regret! In vain! The sky is high. The ground is hard. You can't do anything! Only my heart knows what it's like!* (1381-1382, 1430-1431, 1433-1435, 1437-1440)

Hajrija got a new perspective on her own losses when others told their stories in public.

Theme: Silence - Testimony

3. Dzafar: *Well, I think that the film reveals the truth to the world and I think, in the future, that we will progress, that we will go towards building better, a better tomorrow.* (2161-2162)

4. Dzafar: *I think that the film's role is of revealing the truth about what was happening in Bosnia during the war and what is happening today, in times of peace. We all know and we're aware that life is difficult after the war in the country that was destroyed. But we have to find comfort and think about the future and that tomorrow will be better.* (2164-2167)

Dzafar was still convinced that it was only a question of time before things would get better.

5. Dzafar: *Because cameras were coming to film us…when we were reaching Karlavac…we could not show up, because we were scared about what could happen to those people who remained. If we told the truth, they might kill the people who were left behind.* (2234-2236)

Dzafar felt he could not tell his story when he was released from Manjaca out of fear that he could put other peoples' lives in danger. Telling the truth took away the burden and responsibility of knowing and not daring to speak.

6. Iksan: *Yeah, that's good that more people saw the film, that they saw the truth about what happened in Bosnia. But what our people are watching there, in America, they like to see it. I also wanted to watch something about Bosnia there, in Norway. I'd always search the channels, but, our people come here from America to visit or on holidays and everybody says that they wouldn't like to come back here anymore.* (1745-1749)

Iksan thought the film would give the Bosnian people living abroad a different perspective, and that perhaps the film could inspire them to come back.

Significant Statements: Merima

Merima was interviewed in her home outside of Sanski Most. Here the themes Nothing to Show - A Thing to Visit and Isolation - Witnesses are exemplified.

Theme: Nothing to show - A Thing to Visit

7. Merima: *It's super. Well done. Really nice. So, we'll always have a memory of Melinda and everything else that happened when we watch the film.* (1851-1852)

The film and the making of it gave a sense of continuity. They knew they would be visited every two years and that they could relive the experience anytime by watching the film.

Theme: Isolation – Witnesses

8. Merima: *I would like to thank everybody, especially Melinda, who put a lot of effort into our relationship and who didn't forget us. And her crew.* (1858-1859)

9. Merima: *The film will be a great help to those people who haven't been here to see the situation. And when they see the film, they can see what we've been through, how it all happened and what life is like in Bosnia now, after we returned. And I think it will also be helpful to many people, more, for Bosnian families, to get together and watch it.* (1872-1875)

Merima saw the film together with her parents, husband and children. She experienced that the film helped them to talk about what had happened; it gave them a reference point when they talked together.

Significant Statements: Sabina, Ado and Hasiba

Sabina and Ado were interviewed at Ibrahim's house in Sanski Most. Ado was visiting from Norway and Vedo, Zekija, Ibrahim and Dzafar were also present. Hasiba was interviewed at her house in Sanski Most. The theme Fragmentation - Filmmaking is illustrated here.

Theme: Fragmentation - Filmmaking

10. Sabina: *She needs to tell us how the film was received in Norway. As for us, and regarding making the film, everything was great, really. And thank them a lot for…for helping us to make it easier to go through all this, to overcome those crises and, I think, she helped us, in a way, to get through this.* (2022-2025)

Sabina's experience was that it was helpful to make the film, because it helped them endure the whole process of reconstructing their lives.

11. Ado: *I can say something about how the film was received in Norway, since I … When the film first appeared on NRK2, the first time… I don't have that channel, but the phone was ringing all the time, so in the end I had to take it off the hook. Everybody said, "Are you*

watching NRK2? You and your family are on TV?" Then, later on, everybody recognized me at work. And they recognized me at this other job, too. And then, in town…and then there were a lot of discussions. Norwegians didn't know a lot about what had been happening here and the film showed everything that we had been through.
Ado: *It will be shown again.* (2034-2040, 2043)

Ado experienced that the film was educational for the Norwegian people who did not know much about the situation of the Bosnian refugees.

12. Hasiba: *The film, it is very important and Melinda can be praised for undertaking this task, to do it, so that a wider audience may see all that we've been through and that the situation is a bit better now, calmer, the war is over… It's normal that there are still difficulties with jobs and so on, I don't know, but I hope that maybe, when people see the film, someone might wish to help a little…as well as that the factories begin operating again, I don't know, and that our young people begin to return. Because, I think, there are really a lot of them who would like to go back, but there's the question of jobs.* (2104-2110)

13. Hasiba: *Very nice. Because we didn't speak the language then. We didn't have anything and the basic thing was to acquire friends, to have someone to talk to a little, to relieve our souls. And everybody was, so to say, offering a shoulder to cry on. Really, you could never forget it.* (2070-2072)

The film helped Hasiba to remember positive experiences in the midst of a difficult situation.

14. Hasiba: *And we always talk about how good they were to us and, through this…I don't know how to say, dubravka, well, Sandra…Maybe it will occur, that someone… A lot of people come to visit us. Not just me, but Bosnia in general. So that Norwegian people may be interested, perhaps, just by watching it, in coming, to see for themselves and see what it's like in Bosnia. Because…they were looking at it with some suspicion, but when people come they can see already where we come from and that our Bosnia has many similarities with Norway, as far as the nature is concerned, but in other things, too. That it's very nice, the film, to watch the film, tell about his destiny…* (2119-2126)

6.3.3 Essential Meanings and Clusters

The Significant Statements were categorized into six Themes:

Breaking the Heart - Relieving the Heart

Silence - Testimony

Nothing to Show - A Thing to Visit

Isolation - Witnesses

Fragmentation - Filmmaking

Analyzing the Significant Statements further resulted in two Clusters:

Nothing to Show - A Thing to Visit

Isolation - Witnesses

Cluster: Nothing to Show - A Thing to Visit

- The film is a preserved document that will be shown to the world again and again; every time someone sees the film the participants know that their narratives are seen and heard. [9]
- The film tells the true story about the participants' experiences. [4]
- Because of all of the gruesome things people did, people do not want to return. [6]
- Seeing the film might make people not forget. [12]
- The film symbolizes freedom. [3]

Cluster: Isolation- Witnesses

- Being visited by the film team and the making of the film gave the participants an experience of being worth creating a story about, being witnessed and not forgotten. It made them feel appreciated in the middle of all of the destruction. [8] [11]
- Telling stories broke the silence. This helped a person to breathe, feel connected and relieve inner stress. [13]
- Hearing other people's stories made a person aware that he or she was not alone. [2]
- Telling the truth on television could have killed people still in the camps. This is a way of keeping the ones who are free still in captivity. [5]

- Seeing a film from one’s home makes a person feel closer to home. The film takes on the role of telling stories about one's homeland. [1]
- Making the film helped people weave their stories together and cope with creating a new life. [10]
- The film may encourage people to visit Bosnia and see the country’s beauty. It is important that people come to Bosnia; if they continue to be suspicious Bosnians will be isolated. [14]

6.3.4 Findings Time-Post 2000 Bosnia: “Testimony”

An Exhaustive Description of the Essential Meaning of “Silence - Art as Testimony"

Analyzing the Themes and Clusters of Essential Meanings of Time-Post 2000 Bosnia “Testimony” resulted in one Essential Meaning that is the essence of this Time-Post: “Silence - Art as Testimony”.

“Silence” embodies the Themes Breaking the Heart, Silence, Nothing to Show, Isolation, Fragmentation and the Clusters Nothing to Show and Isolation.

“Art as Testimony” embodies the Themes Relieving the Heart, Testimony, A Thing to Visit, Witnesses, Filmmaking and the Clusters A Thing to Visit and Witnesses.

“Silence”

Dzafar: *Because cameras were coming to film us…when we were reaching Karlavac…we could not show up, because we were scared about what could happen to those people who remained. If we told the truth, they might kill the people who were left behind.* (2234-2236)

Telling the truth on television could have killed people who were still in captivity. The participants dared not testify and tell their stories for fear of hurting somebody or putting themselves in danger. A way of keeping people in captivity is creating a “conspiracy of silence”. In this way the stories will not be recorded and important perspectives will be lost as though they never existed. The witnesses become isolated with their untold stories. Having witnesses can function as a shield against injustice.

Not being able to share stories with others and having to carry the burden alone can break a person’s heart. Without contact with others the refugees can begin to fragment their stories and move into a fragmented existence. Putting a person to silence is a way of saying that that person doesn’t exist. Not being able to express them selves put the participants under chronic

pressure. Telling their stories helped them to breathe, feel connected and reduced inner stress, but, on the other hand, telling their stories in public can also promote inner conflict and stress.

If the stories are not documented, doubt about the truthfulness of the stories can easily emerge. It is easy for a person to project his or her fantasy when there is only silence. As time passes there are no witnesses left to confirm the truth and there is nothing to show.

"Art as Testimony"

Dzafar: *I think that the film's role is to reveal the truth about what was happening in Bosnia during the war and what is happening today, in times of peace.* (2164-2165)

When the participants decided to take part in documentary filmmaking the purpose was to share what had helped them with other refugees and to tell the public their stories. Making the films gave the participants an experience of not being forgotten and worth telling a story about. The film crew became witnesses and the films became representations of the events. Other art forms could be used: photography, visual art and performing art. Instead of making individual testimonies, the group decided to weave their stories together and make one narrative. The films tell the story of what the participants had been through during the war and at the same time show their resilience and willingness to rebuild themselves and their homes and country.

It was difficult to be confronted with former neighbors who only came to visit and had no plans of returning. When they saw the films, they were given the story of a few who tried to rebuild the country. Showing the films to relatives and friends who have not been to Norway can give them knowledge of a situation unknown to them. The films tell a story that can promote contact. Seeing a film from home helps one feel closer to home and gives a broader understanding of one's history. Being given a second chance to tell the story can help to restore a person's identity and self-worth. The films can in themselves symbolize freedom – the freedom of telling one's story, freedom of speech, giving testimony and taking responsibility for letting the world know one's own story.

The films tell a story about the participants' experience of war, of living in exile and of their repatriation. The films are a stored documentation of what happened and can be visited and

revisited for generations. The films took over the role of telling the story, so the participants were off the hook, so to speak. They could continue with their lives and feel that they had left it to the films to tell the truth to the world, so that they did not get stuck in repeating a traumatic story that could stigmatize them and attach the trauma to them. They felt that every time somebody saw the films they were seen. Being visited and patching the stories together into one whole helped them to put themselves together and create a new story of their life experience. The films broke the silence and become a bridge that connected the participants to others.

6.3.5 Summary

The filmmaking became perhaps the most important instrument in preparing the refugees for their return to Bosnia. The process of making the films gave them hope. They expected that the films would help develop more empathy for the Bosnian people, that people would come to visit and that people would help. The project gave them self-respect for having the courage to stand up for themselves and face the future.

I consider the making of "In Exile from the Body" and "Returning to Life" to have served several purposes:

- To create an educational project that can offer a deeper understanding of refugees and what they go through.
- To show that repatriation is a complex process dependent on many factors.
- To promote the experience of "us" instead of "us and them".
- To help the participants to weave their stories together and create a group narrative.
- To create a testimony to the world; the films took over the role of telling the stories so that the participants could go on with their own lives and create new stories.
- To create a document that can be passed down from generation to generation.
- To function as a witness; the filmmakers became witnesses, someone from the outside looking in, someone who represented continuity and safety.
- To create imagination and build a bridge to the external world for the participants.
- To create awareness that there is not only one story, but many and if made into a whole they can co-exist and not compete.

PART VII: VALIDATION OF RESULTS BOSNIA 2006

7.1 Introduction

I returned to Bosnia in July of 2006 with the assistance of Sandra, the same translator I had used in 1998 and 2000, to present the results of this study to the participants. Six years had passed since I had seen them. The landscape was green and almost all of the houses had been rebuilt; they looked brand new, almost flashy. It was as though the houses wore costumes brought from the countries where the owners had lived in exile.

While I was planning my trip I was concerned that some of the participants might want to withdraw from the project. They might regret things they had said in the interviews years ago or they might just have changed their minds. I wondered how I would be able to complete my study if the participants withdrew. But I could not deviate from the path I had followed for so many years. The nature of this project from day one had been to risk going out into the field not knowing what was going to happen. I had to trust the process. Furthermore, I was very interested in finding out what they thought about my results and I was even more interested in seeing how they managed to survive knowing that the conditions in Bosnia had not improved at all in the new century.

We found all the participants except for Senija's husband Iksan, who died in 2001, and Vedo, who was out of town working.

7.2 Context and observations 2006 Bosnia

Dzafar's family

Dzafar and Hajrija's farm was still in ruins. They had moved into a new apartment provided for families who had suffered loss of children and were unable to reconstruct their home. Looking back on Dzafar's hopes and wishes to rebuild the farm, I could understand his disappointment and frustration. He was at home taking care of Hajrija, who had been more or less ill the past six years. All his energy was concentrated on her because she had outgrowths on the bones of both her legs. They feared she had cancer. She had received a message from the hospital near by stating that they would have to amputate. The family had decided to send her to Sarajevo for a second opinion (in Sarajevo it turned out that it wasn't cancer at all and that amputation wasn't necessary).

Dzafar, who had been the most positive and optimistic among the participants throughout the whole ordeal, was withdrawn and appeared somewhat indifferent. The huge house that he had been building in 2000 had been taken over by his son so the reality was that Dzafar and Hajrija would never be able to move into a farm house. They would continue to live in an apartment building and most likely would never feel that they had reached home. For a farmer who had always lived off the land through physical labour the reality of returning home had become a great disappointment. On my three previous visits to Bosnia in 1996, 1998 and 2000 Dzafar had always been the guide taking the film team to all the other participants. This time it seemed as though everybody expected him to be with his wife and looking after her. He appeared no longer to be the head of the family. His son who lived in Switzerland was now the one who made the decisions and had taken over the house in the town as a summer house.

Hajrija and Dzafar's daughter Merima lived with Ahmo and their children Meliha and Zuhad in their rebuilt house; the second floor was still unfinished. They gave us room and board during our stay. Both Ahmo and Merima were worried about the future, Ahmo was still without work and so was Merima. We spent hours talking about how they could come to Norway during the summer to find work. They both regretted returning to Bosnia and felt especially bad because the children were not receiving the education or the possibilities they would have had in Norway.

Zuhad, now 12 and a social and friendly boy, wanted to return one day to Norway. Meliha, now 17, was quiet. Zuhad had an infected tooth and they had to drive him to the doctor twice; each time cost 25 DM. They were worried about the future and how they were going to survive. In addition to taking care of her own family, Merima had to take care of her mother-in-law who was suffering from severe diabetes. They grew vegetables and sunflowers and kept chickens and cows to survive.

Ibrahim's family

When we came to Ibrahim's house there was nobody home. We were wondering if Vedo and Sabina had moved abroad to find work, but we walked around the house and found toys and children's shoes and assumed they were not far away. We made contact by phone and set up a meeting for the following day. Zekija had retired from the restaurant where she had been a cook. Sabina was working part-time and Vedo had a full-time job and was gone several days a week. The average pay was between 300 and 600 DM a month. Zekija and Sabina said: "You work all day and you almost can't pay the bills". There was no extra pay for overtime or for having to work out of town. Because they needed the money Ibrahim had decided to continue working even though he was old enough to retire.

Sabina and Zekija talked about things that had changed since they came back; all the changes were for the worse. They talked a lot about the men who had been in the concentration camp at Manjaca. They were concerned about how little the men talked about their experiences. But occasionally they gathered and shared stories. One time when the women were sitting in the background listening Zekija had learnt that her son had been tortured to the extent that he almost died. Sabina and Zekija also reported that the general attitude of people was that the men who had been prisoners in Manjaca were cowards because they had not fought in the war. Their own perspective was that they were betrayed and captured, detained, tortured and then deported to Norway. As soon as the war was over they returned and helped build up the country. The others' humiliating perspective of their role was both hurting and degrading. It is part of the story that when the rich families saw the war coming they sent their sons abroad to save them.

The women expressed the view that the men had become more irritable and that symptoms of post-traumatic stress had developed over the recent years. They connected this situation to

being degraded and not feeling understood. There was no place to go and receive psychosocial help because of war trauma. The amount of pills the average person consumed every day was disturbing.

Ibrahim came later and looked a lot older; his hair had turned gray and he had put on a lot of weight. He was upset that he did not have more to show for all the work he had done. During our conversation he confided that he had suffered a severe heart attack two years earlier. All the stress and disappointments had become too much. He was disillusioned that not all Bosnians had returned and that the national and international community had not helped rebuild the factories and industries.

I could speak Norwegian with Sabina again. A Norwegian anthropologist had stayed with the family for a couple of months so she had brushed up her Norwegian and she now talked better than she did in 2000. In Norway the dream was going back home and now the dream was how to return to Norway. Sabina was aware that her children would have had a better education if they had stayed in Norway.

Senija's family

I met Senija at the bus station where I had met Dzafar the three previous times. She gave me a hug and cried and cried. Her husband Iksan had died in 2001, a year after my last visit, and she was convinced that he had died of the torture he received at Manjaca. His head and the area around his left temple had been beaten so severely that the blood vessels had been damaged and he had had several strokes. She had moved from their house because she did not dare live alone. There were people who robbed houses because of poverty. It was not safe for a woman to live alone in a house. She was satisfied that she had bought a small apartment in Kljuc, but she could barely survive. She was worried about her daughter Elvisa and her future. Senija survived by making honey and different syrups out of herbs and selling it to people. She showed us the bottles she had stored. My translator Sandra tried the honey and ended up having an allergic reaction. Luckily we got her to the doctor and she was given antihistamines.

Senija's son lived in Slovenia. During the summer he stays in his mother's house. The rest of the year it is empty. I asked her why she didn't sell it. She said there were no buyers. Senija and Iksan had used all their savings to rebuild the house, now it was empty and worthless.

Senija's daughter Elvisa was living with her husband and his family outside the same town. She was extremely proud that we came to visit her, and she was proud to show us her child that she was pregnant with in 2000. She said that things were getting better even though things were really bad. Both she and her husband were unemployed. She had an education in sales but there was no work. There were no factories and the private stores usually gave work only to family members. However, she told us about the job she had previously. She had made only 300 DM a month and said it was not worth it. The salary could not cover her bills and she was gone all day from her child and it prevented her from helping out with the vegetables and cows. She made more money participating at home than working. In addition to the low pay at her previous job, she had a difficult time because people were suspicious of how she had gotten the job. She was not a family member. Despite the fact that life was better than in 2000 it was a struggle to survive, but they had gotten used to it. They would endure. She was extremely sad about her father's death and it was a shock to lose her father at such a young age. She was well aware of the grave consequences it had for her life that she returned to Bosnia and didn't stay in Norway.

Hasiba's family

Hasiba's daughter had become a doctor and was going to return to Sarajevo in order to specialize. Hasiba was proud of her. They had been able to survive in their house and get by day by day. She was thankful for the positive experiences she had during the war in Norway. She and her husband were satisfied that they had returned, but did express disappointment about the way things were going. Many people were unemployed in Sanski Most and many lived abroad. During the summer they would come and visit their houses to decorate and finish rebuilding them, but the rest of the year the houses were empty. This was not a good development because it divided the community into "stayers", who were poor, and "visitors", who were rich.

7.3 Summary

Each participant was presented with his or her Significant Statements and Essential Meanings from the Results and was asked to verify them. First I presented the Significant Statements from the interviews and I showed each participant what part of his or her interview I had based the Significant Meanings on. Secondly I presented the Essential Meanings I had made from the Significant Statements. In addition I presented them with the Essential Meanings made from all the Significant Statements, not only their own. This was to verify the validity of the Essential Meanings to the whole group and to assure that I had not deviated from the original meaning in the text. The length of the interview depended on the amount of material that needed to be reviewed. After each interview the participant filled out a form with his or her name and confirmed the Results and Essential Meanings. They were also asked to give their comments, if any, on the results (Appendix 7). They were notifies that nobody was anonymous and that all the interviews from 1994, 1996 and 1998 were taken from the documentary film material. No one withdrew their statements or wanted to withdraw from the study. There was no doubt and no second thoughts. They accepted and confirmed the results often by nodding their heads and giving their "Da! Da!" in grave voices. When I read the results from the interviews to Hajrija she nodded and expressed again that she had a broken heart and that she felt it almost impossible to go on living after the death of her three sons. When I told Dzafar that I wanted to present the results from the study he was a little apprehensive. He said: "I don't know if I can talk about the past". I explained that it was important that I had quoted him right and that it was possible to add comments. He said that it was important to him to participate, and when I began to present the results to him he gradually resumed his old self, he became engaged and commented on the disappointment people felt towards the ones who had not returned. There had been so little help in building up the community, and people were suffering because there was no work.

Ahmo, as the only one, disagreed with one of his Essential Meanings. The Essential Meaning was: "Returning home is important after ethnic cleansing, it's a way of re-conquering the right to exist." Ahmo wanted to return home because home was home. On further discussions with him and his family it turned out to be a generational difference; most of the younger people were not occupied with the question of religion or ethnicity, while this was a concern and one of several reasons for returning for the older people.

I was not able to talk to Vedo because he was working and would not be back for several days. I have therefore not included his statements. Seniya confirmed the statements that were chosen from the interviews with Iksan, her deceased husband.

PART VIII: PARTIAL CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

I will present my partial conclusions from each Time-Post and compare them with relevant research and literature. The Essence from each Time-Post will be given in the heading.

I have found literature and research that are associated with my findings and I will discuss my findings in the context of related research in the field.

8.1 Time-Post 1994 Norway: “Bodily Dead - Bodily Alive”

Living in exile, being uprooted from their culture, religion and family, gave the participants the feeling of being lost and not belonging. For Warner (1994: 162) “home” is “the association of an individual within a homogeneous group and the association of that group with a particular physical place”. The question, however, is if defining “home” as a physical place outside oneself is a productive concept in regard to understanding the reality of the refugees’ situation?

In the beginning of the period of exile it was important for the participants to restore the basic functions of the body. They had to reestablish taking care of themselves, sensing what needed to be taken care of and finding out what their boundaries were. Refugees often find that they are not only strangers to the outer world but also strangers to themselves; to what Scheper-Hughes calls “the individual body-self” (1990). Dori Laub has analyzed the complex state of being after having witnessed gruesome events and/or being a victim of violence, torture and persecution. The images after the traumatic events live inside the survivor and can have such an impact that the survivor loses his or her former identity (Felman & Laub, 1992).

The Movement Program provided a group activity where people could express themselves physically through their bodies. It was easier for a person to cope with being in a group when he or she was not dependent on communication through language only. Each participant “told stories” through their bodily postures and physical behaviors. They were making testimony through movement (Reich, 1972, Pierrakos, 1987, Lowen, 1988, 1990). A study carried out by Rossberg-Gempton et al. (1992) concluded that having an “open” body posture for 10, 20, 30 seconds created positive feelings, while having a “closed” posture in the same amount of time generated negative feelings. In addition, the Movement Program was educational and provided basic knowledge about the body and each participant’s reactions under stress.

Judith Lewis Herman says in "Trauma and Recovery” (1992) that one of the most important treatments for people suffering from trauma and post-traumatic stress disorder is group therapy. In "The Theory and Practice of Group Psychotherapy” (1975) Irvin Yalom lists the curative factors of group psychotherapy in eleven primary categories:

1. Installation of hope: knowing that other people have similar experiences and problems
2. Universality: my experiences are similar to the rest of the group
3. Imparting of information
4. Altruism: by helping another I help myself
5. The corrective recapitulation of the primary family group: I can be part of a family, a group, in the future
6. Development of socializing techniques: breaking the isolation and bonding with others
7. Imitative behavior: being role models for each other; if you can, so can I
8. Interpersonal learning: identifying resources in the individual and in the group
9. Group cohesiveness: being received and respected and receiving and respecting others
10. Catharsis learning: how to express and cope with difficult feelings in the presence of others
11. Existential factors: dealing with existential problems and exploring the future

These eleven factors are extracted from verbal groups. Ditty Dokter (2000) and Ken Heap (2004) have underlined the need for including artistic activities and exercises in group therapy. "The Garden of Praise and Lament: Expressive Arts Group Psychotherapy with Trauma Survivors in Exile" (Meyer, 2004, vol. 6) argues that applying the arts, i.e. movement, drama, music and film, adds at least nine additional curative factors:

1. Being treated as an individual with an identity, instead of being an object
2. Identifying the resources in the group
3. The arts help the clients to find an expression for their symptoms and learn to cope with the symptoms with the help of each other
4. Being in the present
5. The group functions as witnesses to each member's testimony
6. Movement creates energy and gives a sense of life in the body
7. Through the arts and the group one will gain new perspectives on one's own stories
8. Art making is distancing and gives permission to play in the transitional space; the field of play
9. Creating group rituals helps restore psychological balance

All of these factors justify group work in the first phase of living in exile in a reception center where the goal is to help the refugees out of a state of passivity, disconnection, strangulation, depression, numbness and captivity and into a state of breathing, movement, sensibility, connection, playing and freedom.

Having somebody come from the outside to help gave the participants a feeling of being respected and important. Instead of being dependent on experts, the participants felt that they were given knowledge and concrete advice about how they could help themselves. Giving them back their dignity strengthened their ability to make choices in their everyday lives, for example, whether to take a walk or not, what to make for dinner, how to make it and what to buy, and so on. The importance of helping trauma survivors to help themselves through movement and breathing is documented by Peter Levins in “Waking the Tiger” (1997). The participants had to reestablish dignity, self-respect, identity and good health before they could begin to prepare themselves to enter the community, the outer world and a foreign culture and its language. A traumatized war refugee can "come home to the body”, can break out of the state of being “Bodily Dead” and feel alive again through reuniting with his or her identity prior to captivity and exile. Coming home to the body and building up a new body is the beginning of the journey towards a new identity after trauma and exile. In this study the participants had started to prepare themselves to return home from the day they were taken in captivity or forced to leave the country, and they were the first to return. This corresponds with one of Birgit Lie’s conclusions in her study about Bosnian war refugees in Norway (2004), namely that an early decision to return home seems to be persistent over time.

8.2 Time-Post 1996 Norway: “Stranger - Belonging”

After restoring the basic functions of the body the next step is beginning to relate to one’s surroundings; nature, community and culture. The fundamental question for the participants at this stage was: Where do I belong? In Martha Kuwee Kumsa article “No! I’m Not a Refugee!” (2006) she spells “belonging” as “be-longing”. One way of understanding “belonging” is as a tension between being in the present moment and longing to be elsewhere, while the true state of belonging is feeling at home in the present.

After a longer period of time in exile a person does not view him or herself as being a refugee. However, in the eyes of the natives they will continue to be regarded as refugees, even to the extent that once a refugee, always a refugee. The younger of the participants felt that they belonged in Norway while the older people felt that they belonged in Bosnia; but the Bosnia they knew did not exist anymore. The women felt that they belonged with the children, but when the families were split between Norway and Bosnia, they weren’t quite sure where they belonged.

A recurring question throughout this study is: Where is home? What importance does context have in order for an individual to feel that he or she belongs somewhere? If a person does not reside at the place where he or she grew up with their family and friends, will this person always have the feeling of being a stranger? Is belonging mostly related to nature where smells, climate, ocean, mountains and colours are familiar and similar to where you grew up? Or does belonging have more to do with identity, self-respect and being in contact with the reality of the present? All of these questions were raised directly or indirectly during the participants’ considerations about returning. To be able to make a realistic decision about staying or leaving these questions need to be addressed immediately upon arriving in exile, and definitely as people are returning. According to Valenta & Berg (2003) and Rogge, (1994) the longer time refugees spend in exile, the more difficult it is for them to return. The situation both abroad and at home changes as time passes; upon returning a person can at worst experience what was once “home” as a new exile. Then home is no longer home.

"The predominant discourse that repatriation is the 'end of the refugee cycle', and that voluntary repatriation implies a return 'home' deserved to be scrutinised and reformulated" (Black and Koser, 1999). Conditions to be examined before returning include information, loss of children, family and friends, economic status, age, gender, medical and social help, life experiences, the employment situation, language skills/education, family network, religious and cultural activities, nature and environment, physical shape, mental health and support from the host country and the home government. The importance of considering these factors are supported in Valenta & Berg (2003: 100) and in Walsh, Black and Koser's study about Repartition from the European Union to Bosnia Herzegovina and the Role of Information (1999) and in Repatriation of Refugees (1994: Rogge). Before and during exile it is essential to see how these factors have changed and how they will change upon repatriation. They will all be in a dialogical relationship to each other. For instance, what is the relationship between the questions: What was my standard of living before? Now in exile? And what will it be after returning? Who is going to stay behind and who is going to return?

If visiting a person's home country is possible as a part of the preparation to return before making the final decision, the returnee will be given the possibility to check out the reality of the situation and get a sense of where he or she belongs. Muggeridge & Dona argue that the first visit "back home" is important for refugees because it acts as a catalyst for renewed engagements with host country and country of origin. The study shows that conditions in both countries impact on decision-making and ultimately that integration and return can coexist. "Marked by an awareness of the passing of time, it provides both an end to waiting and worrying and a measure of one's progress (or lack of) in life, thus enabling participants to move on" (2006, 19(4): 415-432).

Creating a transitional ritual from being a "stranger" to "belonging", in which a person can choose either to stay or to return home, facilitates the process of strengthening a person's identity. "The loss of binding can be evoked by illness, accident, loss or catastrophic events of a violent nature. The ritual container that is in place to restore the binding is usually called 'rites of restoration'. To give credit to the fact that we can see a restored binding without necessarily presupposing a complete healing of the individual's distress. Examples of rites of restoration in a Western culture are religious healing rituals and all forms of psychotherapeutic counselling, the hospital routines and the doctors' visit" (Knill, 2000, vol. 2:6). Repatriation workshops can function as transitional rituals. They become the bridge to

help prepare the returnees for the unknown. This is the opposite of being unprepared and forced into exile. In Valenta & Berg's study of repatriation projects about Bosnian War Refugees in Norway the refugees report that they should have a focus on repatriation and that the projects should continue to follow the refugees several years after their return (2003: 90).

8.3 Time-Post 1996 Bosnia: “Destruction - Construction”

Returning home after a war and finding everything destroyed can deconstruct the very concept of home. The returnees’ bodies and minds had been damaged by the atrocities of war, their families had disintegrated and their society was in ruins. All earlier structures that provided safety and continuity had been broken down. It is hard to imagine the range of destruction and loss without actually seeing it (Muggeridge & Doná, 2006). Seeing the reality can ensure the durability of repatriation once the choice has been made.

The participants had prepared themselves psychologically, physically and economically for returning for four years, but only one of them had been back to see the horrible realities with her own eyes. The videos and pictures sent to Norway to prepare them was not enough. Their images of what to expect were unrealistic, but the activity and physical labor that was involved in reconstructing the houses kept them focused and optimistic and in good physical shape. For the refugees the reconstruction of their houses was part of a process of rebuilding themselves in a familiar, yet changed context. It was an ongoing process of rebuilding their individual and collective identities and weaving together the old threads with the new like a patchwork. Living where they were born, close to family members who had died and were buried nearby, gave them the possibility of reconstructing their old and familiar rituals. Through shaping wholeness out of the experiences and grounding themselves in the new reality they created a sense of security. The experience of having a home and belonging gave them strength.

The physical activity of building was a “decentering”; in midst of the ruins and destruction they were creative, they were doing something different than what they were usually doing in exile. In reality they were practicing “alternative worlding”, but their intentions were to reconstruct a situation where they could return to “habitual worlding”. Their wish was to recreate the past.

People can experience living between destruction and construction as being in void where no structures exist; the old ones have broken down and the new ones have not yet been created

(Turner, 1996). They knew what they had, but what could they create? This in-between place can offer possibilities for creating something new, but it can also fool people into looking back and trying to recreate what was. In Zetter's longitudinal study of Greek-Cypriot refugees he finds that refugees seek to retain, to a greater or lesser degree, the social and cultural attributes of the past (1999).

In her study "Examining the Discourse of Repatriation: Towards a More Proactive Theory of Return Migration" Laura Hammond writes: "Among the most problematic terms of the repatriation canon are the very words return and returnee, which imply that by reentering one's native country a person is necessarily returning to something familiar" (1999:230). She goes on: "The implication of these terms is that returnees should seek to move backward in time, to recapture a quality of life that they are assumed to have enjoyed before becoming refugees". "Laura Hammond poses the challenge to rethink the repatriation equals homecoming equation. She suggests that the vocabulary of return which emphasises reintegration, reconstruction and rehabilitation should be translated to focus on construction, creativity and innovation and improvisation. Seen in this light, the experience of returnees can teach lessons about culture change, the construction of communities and changing meanings of identity, culture, home and geographical place" (Black & Koser, 1999: 12).

One of the conclusions from this Time-Post is the existing myth of being able to recreate what was instead of creating something new. Perhaps a more realistic dialog with refugees and government authorities on what the possibilities are would help the returnees to accept that they can create something new, but that they cannot recreate what was. Instead of using the term repatriation, a more adequate term should be considered: new-patriation.

8.4 Time-Post 1998 Bosnia: “Them - Us”

After having spent their funds on rebuilding their houses, the question of employment became vital for the participants. Social and economic reconstruction is an important part of the healing process. Getting the economy rolling is a huge undertaking, but an essential one if people are to recover from their war traumas and have a life worth living. A failure to achieve some improvement in living standards can fuel new social tensions (Gibbs, 1997). “The hidden agenda of ‘successful’ repatriation is fundamentally that of meaningful economic reintegration” (Jackson quoted in UNHCR paper Returning Refugees or Migrating Villagers? 1999). For the participants it was not only a question of being able to support their families, but also of strengthening the social contact between people. Being unemployed opened up for destructive thoughts about the past, present and future.

The shock of having one’s children killed is heartbreaking. People who are forced into exile can feel compelled to stay in exile because they doubt that they will be able to return home and meet the people who caused them pain and/or they themselves had caused pain. It takes courage to return and face the truth. In 1998, two years after the participants had returned, they were to live alongside their former Serbian neighbors, who were then given permission to return to their properties according to the Dayton Peace Accords in 1995. But how can a person live alongside his or her enemies as if nothing had happened? People with whom they had watched soccer games and who had been regular guests had suddenly turned against them, had shot at them and burnt down their houses, or appeared in the camps as guards (Agger & Mimica, 1996). An estimated 20,000 or more women were raped during the war (Cullberg Weston, 2001). The necessity of addressing the problem existed, but there was also an urge to avoid it.

The participants painted a picture of a divided society. There were those who returned and those who stayed in exile, those who fought during the war and those who left, those who lost children and those who didn’t and those who were guilty and those who were innocent. Once they were friends, but now they had became strangers. A way for people to protect themselves

is to seek isolation and be uncommunicative. Both side becomes self-righteous in their convictions. “Us” is for them “they”, and “they” are for us “them”. This means that we blame them and they blame us. If this path of thinking is chosen then over time “us” and “them” will become isolated units.

All the male participants had been prisoners. In the camps torture was institutionalized and one of the goals was to make people lose their senses. When the torture and humiliation was so brutal that the prisoners lost their senses and turned away from themselves, mental illness could result. Judith L. Herman notes: “The ordinary response to atrocities is to banish them from consciousness. Certain violations of the social compact are too terrible to utter aloud; this is the meaning of the word *unspeakable*” (Trauma and Recovery, 1992). It was at times overwhelming for them to take in the effects the torture, humiliation and betrayal had on them. They needed a way to explain what had happened. As a result, dividing the community into the good guys and the bad guys, “us” and “them”, offered an easy explanation.

When is the time to start reconciliation? “Is it possible to forgive those who murdered your husband, your child, your friend?” Cullberg Weston asks. “The outside world often links forgiveness and reconciliation. Forgiveness need not be a prerequisite for the process of reconciliation and it should not be pushed by the outside world. Reconciliation is the end product of a long chain of events where trust can gradually be rebuilt. And that takes time. Meanwhile the different (ethnic) groups need to learn to live side by side again - to live and let live” (Cullberg Weston, 2001: 27). She goes on to suggest a “Testimony Project” to establish the “truth”, but “truth” is difficult to establish in Bosnia. There are at least three major truths: the Bosnian, the Croatian and the Serbian versions of what took place during the war and why it happened. Nationalistic leaders were not removed at the end of the war in Bosnia. Thus there has been no unified platform for a truth or reconciliation commission. Reconciling the different truths will be a major task in itself. “Under these difficult circumstances there is yet another possibility that has not been pursued: a ‘Testimony Project’ wherein all three ethnicities can tell their stories. Victim testimonies would then be collected and documented and filed with some university archive. Psychiatrist Stevan M. Weine presented this idea after having started an oral history archive in Chicago with testimonies from Bosnian refugees. He emphasizes that international support ought to be forthcoming to such a project because ‘historical remembering is not only a Bosnian, but a trans-national

undertaking. The historical lessons of the nightmare of ethnic cleansing are not just for Bosnia and Herzegovina and its people, but for all of us' (Cullberg Weston, 2001:23).

1998 was the time when the participants benefited from what one can call a psychosocial intervention. At that time they had enough distance to express their emotions and feelings. Observing their reactions to viewing themselves and their stories on film confirmed this. Instead of using the traditional monological testimony method, one should consider a dialogical testimony approach with art in reconciliation work.

8.5 Time-Post 2000 Bosnia Repatriation: "Betrayed - Received"

In 2000 it had become difficult to get a visa to leave the country and it was obvious that the majority of people had chosen to stay in exile. The participants felt betrayed by the host countries who gave refugees the option of staying instead of helping them return and invest money in rebuilding the country and creating jobs. But above all they had felt betrayed by their own government. "The Dayton Peace Accords contained a blueprint for the rebuilding of a multi-cultural society in BiH. The system was set up in such a way, however, that any entity can veto the legislation if it is seen to be against the "national" interest of the particular ethnic group. This veto-power has been used excessively and has stalled the rebuilding process in several ways. The most critical is a lack of economic reforms, which has averted the interest of foreign investors. Thus, very few new companies are registered and the result is widespread unemployment" (Cullberg Weston, 2001: 20). What made it worse was the fact that people who were responsible for raping women and killing children still walked freely about. The participants felt that if the guilty ones were not caught, peace would never last. "There are no tidy endings following mass atrocity," the legal scholar Martha Minow states. "But groping for a legal response marks an effort to embrace or renew the commitment to replace violence with words and terror with fairness" (Between Vengeance and Forgiveness, 1998). "Through retribution the community corrects the wrongdoer's false message that the victim was less worthy or valuable than the wrongdoer; through retribution, the community reasserts the truth of the victim's value by inflicting a publicly visible defeat on the wrongdoer" (philosopher Jean Hampton, quoted in Between Vengeance and Forgiveness,1998).

The participants who did not regret their decision to return to Bosnia in 1998 were now regretting it to such an extent that if they had had the opportunity, they would have left for another country. Four years had passed since they had returned "home", but they still felt that they had not been properly "welcomed home". When they were looking back in 2000, what

they remembered most vividly was being received with respect in Norway and participating in the group work at the Fossnes Reception Center. Being received in a positive way and being part of a group that was revisited every week gave them self-respect and the feeling that somebody cared. Katrine Fangen writes: "Experiences of humiliation will likely be typical of all refugees in their first phase of settlement. Some of the conclusions on how refugees should be met and followed up in a better way might also prove useful in the work with other refugees. Better information and more culturally sensitive welcome and the use of bridge builders in the follow up work are useful prescriptions for preventing humiliation with all new refugees" (Humiliation experienced by Somali refugees in Norway, Journal of Refugee Studies, volume 19, no. 1, Oxford University Press 2006).

Helping people to build up trust and feel connected after a war is an ongoing process. This is not only called for in the first phase of exile, but it is necessary in all phases. Judith Herman emphasizes that "…trauma robs the victim of a sense of power and control," the guiding principle of recovery must therefore restore power and control to the survivor. Groups provide the opportunity not only for mutually rewarding relationships, but also for collective empowerment. People in the group often start to help and encourage each other outside the group. Being able to help others who have suffered ultimately helps the victims to feel valued and valuable. "Trauma isolates; the group creates a sense of belonging. Trauma shames and stigmatises; the group bears witness and affirms. Trauma degrades the victim; the group exalts her. Trauma dehumanises the victim; the group restores her humanity" (Herman, 1992: 263).

In exile the focus had been on coming home to the body and creating identities for individuals in a foreign context. Living for four years in a foreign culture and socio-political system made the refugees dependent in several ways: socially, economically, psychologically and for their education. They had been in a situation of being permanent refugees, living in transit in a situation where it was difficult or impossible to make choices. However, not making choices was like making the choice of letting others take control. From being independent they had become dependent. When they returned to Bosnia support from the authorities was insufficient, help from abroad was nonexistent, jobs were scarce and payment was at best irregular. Instead of coming home and regaining their independence they found themselves in a situation of being homeless and dependent. They resided in their oversized, brand-new houses with nothing to do, with insufficient or no income and with dim prospects for the

future. “For the healing process to proceed one needs to have a sense of a future, and a future with an income that can help rebuild one’s life” (Cullberg Weston, 2001).

When there is no hope for the future, the ground for destructive thinking becomes fertile. The Bosnian refugees had been received well in Norway when they needed help. The European Union had offered what turned out to be in effect permanent residence to over 100,000 Bosnians who were originally accepted under “temporary protection”, on the understanding that they would repatriate (Black et al., 1997). In Norway the majority chose to stay because the law was changed from mandatory to voluntary. This act gave a double message. The participants felt betrayed by the Norwegian authorities; they felt that allowing Bosnian refugees to stay in Norway was, however indirectly, a confirmation of ethnic cleansing, since it meant that many refugees would never return to Bosnia.

In 2000 the participants felt betrayed both abroad and at home. “Assistance to refugees should recognize and enhance their potential, not only for self reliance after their return, but also for contributing to the wider challenges of state formation and national reconstruction” (Black & Koser, 1999: 16). Creating new jobs in this context, getting people to work together, would have the potential of functioning as a peace building project.

8.6 Time-Post 2000 Bosnia Testimony: “Silence - Art as Testimony”

Trauma survivors often suffer from “locked memory”; they get locked in telling their trauma stories again and again in the same repetitious way and are often left with the feeling of not being seen, heard or understood. “The memory of the trauma is not integrated and accepted as part of one’s personal past; instead, it comes to exist independently of previous schemata (i.e. it is dissociated)” (van der Kolk & McFarlane, 1996: 7). The listener often finds himself shut out almost as if he is not being present.

In Expressive Arts Therapy the therapist starts communicating in the modality the client feels most familiar and safe with, the client’s “habitual worlding”, because imagination is not available. In this phase working with “alternative worlding”, telling the story in a new way, reinstalling imagination and experiencing their story from a different perspective, is a way of connecting. Arthur Barath had children from Sarajevo draw their experiences of the war and made an exhibition that has been shown in Europe and USA. He made a survey of the children (Psychological status of Sarajevo children after war: 1999-2002 survey. Croatian Medical Journal 43, 2002). In the case of the Bosnian refugees, their stories were documented on film and they received “creative feedback” by seeing the edited film material. “Testimony is in other words a discursive *practice* as opposed to a pure theory. To testify - to *vow to tell*, to *promise* and *produce* one’s own speech as material evidence for truth - is to accomplish a *speech act* rather than simply formulate a statement”(Felman, 1992: 5). The decision to document the process on video changed the whole project. Their stories were played back from a new perspective and they began to participate in shaping the film.

The filmmaking made the participants feel appreciated in the middle of all the destruction, it gave them hope to continue to rebuild their own identities, their homes and their country. The films functioned as a container for “war” and “peace”, where “the past” and “the future” co-existed. When these opposing forces was identified and could continue to exist side by side without destroying each other, hope was communicated. Hearing others’ stories made them aware that they were not alone.

The filmmaking became a recurring intervention and represented continuity in a chaotic situation. Rituals that help the mourning on the societal level are important. “Reconstructing societies in the aftermath of war and violence thus implies a process of meaning reconstruction both on the individual and community level. It implies space where people can retell and rewrite their stories in a way that seems meaningful, permitting the painful, unjust and often unbelievable events to be recaptured and integrated in structures that make sense, and can be lived with” (Sveaass, 2000: 15). Recording the participants’ stories after their return helped them as individuals and as a group to construct their new identities. The shaping and reshaping of their stories on film was a part of the creative process of constructing a new life. We moved from the individual telling his/her story to the group to telling their story to the world. From being anonymous the refugees became official, they moved from private to public.

Being part of making a film can help people tell their stories to the world and break the silence and feeling of being isolated. It is a different process than telling one’s story and having it documented unedited in archives as raw material. The paper “Stories, identity, and the psychological sense of community” address the issue of belonging through linking the individual narrative with the community narrative (Mankowski & Rappaport, 1995). The healing process is in the reshaping and sharing with people who witness and connect. Imagination is the bridge between the inner and the outer world. When I look at the film, images from my own story emerge. These images help me to imagine what it can be like to be a refugee. The images that emerge in the viewer create the experience of having something in common with the people in the film. If the film can communicate that the participants have something in common with the viewer, it will build solidarity and break the feeling of isolation and enhance the feeling of belonging.

The film “Returning to Life” became an important document for each of the participants to own. It was a thing they could visit. Scarry writes: “We make material artefacts in order to interiorize them: we make things so that they will in turn remake us, revising the interior of embodied consciousness” (1985: 97). Restoring dignity to the victims is an important aspect of the healing process. If the legal process is too slow and too limited it might be wise to complement it with other measures, such as a truth commission or other forms of testimony.

PART IX: FINAL CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

9.1 Introduction

In the film “Returning to Life” I used “the house” as a metaphor for the body, the family and the society. The term metaphor stems from the Greek word ”meta-pherein” and means ”transmission” (literally: to carry something to another place). The meaning of a metaphor is not found in one or the other reference system, but in the interaction between them. A metaphor can give a deeper understanding because it is “...our means of effecting instantaneous fusion of two separate realms of experience into one illuminating, iconic, encapsulating image”. “Metaphor is, at its simplest, a way of proceeding from the known to the unknown” (Nisbet, 1969 :4).

For my final conclusions I will use the house as a metaphor for the body, the family and the society because this metaphor has helped me to go into the unknown of what occurred during the war in Bosnia when all frontiers were invaded and the infrastructure was blown apart. I will supplement the metaphor of the house with Nancy Scheper Hughes’ concept of the three bodies (1990):

- The individual body - my house; as a phenomenon experienced in the individual body-self
- The house of the family; as a social body for thinking about relationships between nature, society and culture (culture: the way people communicate with each other within a given context)
- The house of the society; as a body politic and artifact of social and political control

The infra structure of the House of the Body is analogous with the infra structure of the House of the Family and of the House of the Society; they all need energy, discharge of waste, plumbing, air and communication systems etc. if they are going to function. If theses systems

break down, sickness can easily occur. When the refugees arrived at Fossnes many where malnourished, they lacked energy and could not communicate. When I visited Bosnia in 1996 I saw the same breakdown and fragmentation in the society in general. There was no electricity, the plumbing system was scarcely functioning, garbage was piled everywhere and the communication systems where broken down. The metaphor of the house became the concept for the documentary film and also a tool for measuring observable change. For example, when I returned in 1998 communication was functioning again; telephone, transportation, gasoline stations, the marketplaces where open and I saw people playing soccer and tennis.

When the three "houses" are disintegrated, my argument is that the individual will find him/herself in a liminal phase (Turner, 1974); the walls of the houses have fallen down and the old structures only exist within the individual as embodied culture. The way one perceived the world yesterday is turned upside down overnight, but if the individuals are given the opportunity, they will have the choice of building a new "house" with new structures or returning to the old or do both.

9.2 The Three Phases of the Refugee Cycle

War and exile breaks the continuity of oneself, of one's life story. All boundaries have been destroyed; the "house of the body" has been invaded, the "house of the family" has been fragmented and the "house of the society" is ruined. The first phase of exile is about identity; the refugees need to "come home" to themselves after a shattering and often traumatic experience. After coming home to oneself, one needs to come home to a social context. The main question of the second phase is: Where is "home" in the world? In the third phase, after having made the choice of returning, the challenge is to face the truth.

The House of the Body

People coming from war trauma and captivity often don't have words to express what they have been through. The fear of expressing oneself is the fear of not being received. This lead to questions such as: Who am I now? How can I live with these new embodied experiences? The ultimate question is then: Do I have a right to exist?

Interventions that can help the refugees in the first phase are group work helping them connect to themselves and each other. These groups should focus on movement, playing, body work, testimony through movement and have a psycho-educative approach - teaching the participants how to help themselves – reconnecting with the survivors' identity prior to captivity and focus on resources for survival. It is essential that they feel respected and received – not once, not twice, but all the time. Here groups can function as a receiving ritual, community art that is designed with a repetitious beginning and end. Creating predictability within the unpredictable is essential.

Children should participate in groups with the adults. A young boy, who used to stay at home staring into the wall, expressed joy by watching his father play in the group. Seeing his father in a state of being alive, gave the young son hope and permission to have feelings of pleasure in life. The family connected to each other in a healthy and normal activity.

The house of the body has been torn down and needs to be reconstructed, but there is little research done on the effect of starting the process of repatriation by coming home to the body,

and in most of the research "home" is referred to as a place outside oneself. This study, however, concludes that "home" is also within one self and that homecoming starts with "The House of the Body". This is what needs to be focused on in the first phase of being in exile. Avoiding coming home to the "House of the Body" can result in a permanent feeling of being a stranger wherever one is in the world.

.

The House of the Family

Even if the participants were divided and disagreed on the subject of where and how to continue their lives, they still had a strong need to reunite the whole family, and this included family members in exile who had chosen to stay in their host countries. The participants resorted to the safety of their families and closest social circle; they wanted people around whom they could trust. They tried to strengthen the feeling of "us", because they felt a deep sense of betrayal on the part of former neighbours and friends. The essence of saying "them" is to separate oneself from the evil that occurred. Projecting this evil onto others is a way of protecting a person's own identity and trying to ensure that they themselves don't become part of the evil.

Visiting the homeland ahead of making the choice of returning or not will prepare the returnees and help them to make a realistic decision. Having video films and pictures sent from the home country is an asset to prepare the visit or when a visit is not possible.

The length of the exile period furthers generational differences. The older refugees wanted to return to their home country, while the younger generation wanted to stay in the host country. As years passed, the children tended to forget where they came from and were not prepared for entering into a "strange" country torn by war. The longer they stayed in exile the more they felt they belong to the country of protection; the country that had given them education and a normal life. There is a need for further research on what happens to children who have repatriated from a rich country to a war ridden, poor country. They have had no choice, their parents and/or the authorities have chosen for them. For a child it is hard to understand why the family choose to return to a war zone where nothing works and supporting a life is hazardous. In the worst case they can experience returning as a punishment; first they were betrayed by the country where they were born and then betrayed by the country that protected them.

The loss of children is heartbreaking; the stress and pain is too much to carry. Many people in Bosnia today are suffering from heart problems and many have died of heart attacks. They themselves connect the problems with the children being killed during the war. In this study one of the largest health problems is heart trouble. This needs further research.

The House of the Society

A condition for organizing the political body, the political "house", and install control and new politics, is that reconciliation and employment has been ensured. If justice is not imposed people will not trust the leaders to create a democratic society where people can live side by side with equal rights, especially after a war where ethnic cleansing has been one of the goals. Refugees returning home from exile are confronted with the challenging task of rebuilding their houses and their society, but the real challenge is facing the truth. "Re-patriation" is in reality "new-patriation". Being well prepared means understanding that they have to build up something new, and not try to recreate what was. If "new- patriation" projects are focused on preparing the refugees on creating something new and to follow them several years after their return, the returnees will maybe be able to adjust.
They might avoid getting caught in trying to create the past, which is impossible and leads to disillusionment.

Offering temporary protection to refugees becomes complicated when temporary protection turns into permanent protection. Giving temporary protection puts the refugees in a state of waiting for peace and preparing for returning, and not engaging in an integration process with the host country's language or culture. If temporary protection is changed to voluntary then the issue becomes even more complicated because it sends a double message. Giving refugees the possibility to stay in exile can signal a lack of commitment to help them return to rebuild their own country. Such a policy can actually sabotage successful repatriation and be experienced as a destructive act. When one of the causes of exile is ethnic cleansing, staying in exile may imply that the refugee has given up the right of reclaiming his or her territory. Returning as a survivor of ethnic cleansing is a political act as well as an individual act. Returning and reclaiming their property was the opposite of staying abroad with the thought that they might disappear from history as though they never existed.

A redefinition of the concept (and content!) of repatriation might influence the way governments think; repatriation should not be an intervention to sustain the status quo but should be about creating something new and the government's involvement should be present throughout the whole process. The UNHCR could take a leading role in creating workshops where dialog is created between the authorities of both the host and home countries and the returnees.

The task of mending what a war has destroyed is formidable, but has to be addressed. A new identity has to be formed, a new family and social context has to be created and a new socio-political organisation has to be built. When the construction of all three "houses" - the House of the Body, the House of the Family and the House of the Society - is completed, the refugee cycle has come to an end. Having witnesses to the process restores dignity and, therefore, hope.

9.3 Documentary filmmaking and Dialogical Testimony

Testimony expressed through art gives the participants the possibility to have their testimonies communicated and expressed through movement, through film, through music and other forms of expression in addition to verbal testimony. Art is not linear. A story can be open and the end can be the beginning and the beginning can be the end, confer the famous quote that is ascribed to the French film director Jean-Luc Godard: “Every film must have a beginning, a middle and an end, but not necessarily in that order.” In art it is possible to reshape and expand the story and not get caught in the private story. The story a person has told is something that person has survived, and creating a group testimony reminds him that he was not alone; he survived the experience together with others. Testimony through art yields a product that is possible to share with others; it is a thing you can visit and a thing that is witnessed by others.

In testimony as film there is always a witness coming to listen - somebody coming on a regular basis to hear the stories; someone to help weave and mend the stories together. The teller is in dialogue with the material and the facilitator throughout the whole process. Having a witness is a reference point; it is somebody who carries the continuity and the feeling that one is not betrayed after returning.

I will define this as Dialogical Testimony. It is of vital importance that the content is delivered in a way that engages the recipient. The teller must know that his or her story is received if healing and integration is to take place. Witnessing implies a triangle: the horror, the witness who experienced it and can represent it, and the witness who observes the representation. The survivor who bears witness transforms him or herself from victim to messenger to the community. The film became the bridge between.

Longitudinal research projects that include narratives and video documentation can also function as a psychosocial intervention. Further research should look at testimony through art and as group activity prior to returning and consider if this is something that should be introduced. Testimony through filmmaking for instance gives the “new-patriates” courage to continue in an unpredictable situation. Psychosocial interventions, group work and activities

will empower the people who return and restore dignity. A testimonial film is a reminder and a reassurance of how proud people can be to have participated in building something new. The international society should consider taking more responsibility for investing in psychosocial support and helping people reintegrate into their homelands over a longer period of time. If people are not supported they find themselves in a new refugee cycle; instead of returning being the end of the cycle, a new dependency and a feeling of being in captivity might be introduced.

Overview Results and Findings 1994-2000

An overview over results and findings and the reduction process from Themes to Clusters to Essences is presented in Table 7.

Table 7

Time	Themes	Clusters	Essences
1994N	Inactivity - Movement Disconnection - Connection Strangulation - Breathing Depression – Playing	Numbness - Sensibility Captivity - Freedom	Bodily Dead - Alive
1996N	Staying - Returning Unprepared - Prepared Rejected - Received Away – Home	Unprepared - Prepared Lack of identity – Identity	Stranger - Belonging
1996B	Burden - Resource Unfamiliar - Familiar Inactivity - Work Recreating the Past-Creating Something New	Staying - Returning Dependent - Independent Homeless - Home	Destruction - Construction
1998B	Humiliation - Dignity Betrayal - Trust Enemies - Neighbors Unemployment - Work Speechless - Expression Disembodiment - Embodiment Forgotten - Remembered Refugee - Native Silence – Stories	Betrayal – Trust Regretting Repatriation - Staying Breaking the Heart - Relieving the Heart Silence - Testimony Unemployment - Work Outsider – Insider	Them-Us
2000B	Unemployment - Work Loss of Children - Children Inactivity - Movement Betrayal - Trust Regretting Repatriation - Staying Forgotten – Remembered	Old - Young Breaking the Heart - Relieving the Heart Humility - Dignity No Future - Future Disconnected - Connected	Betrayed - Received
2000B Film	Breaking the Heart - Relieving the Heart Silence - Testimony Nothing to show - A Thing to Visit Isolation - Witnesses Fragmentation - Filmmaking	Nothing to show - A thing to visit Isolation - Witnesses	Silence – Art as Testimony

References

Abram, D. (1996). *The spell of the sensuous: Perception and language in a more-than-human world*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Acker, S. (1981). No woman's land: British sociology of education 1960 – 1979. *Sociological review 29,* (1), 77-104.

Agger, I., & Jensen, S. B. (1996). *Trauma and healing under state terrorism.* Zed Books: London.

Agger, I., & Mimica, J. (1996). *Psychosocial assistance to victims of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia: An evaluation*. Brussels: ECHO.

Ahearn, F. L. (2000). *Psychosocial wellness of refugees: Issues in qualitative and quantitative research*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Allen, T., & Morsink, H. (Eds). (1994). *When refugees go home: African experiences.* London: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development in association with James Currey.

Allen, T., & Turton, D. (1996). Introduction. In T. Allen (Ed.), *In search of cool grounds* (pp. 1 -23). Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

Al-Rasheed, M. (1994). The myth of return: Iraqi arab and assyrian refugees in London. *Journal of Refugee Studies 7,* (2/3), 199-219.

Ambroso, G. (2006). *The balkans at a crossroads: Progress and challenges in finding durable solutions for refugees and displaced persons from the wars in the former Yugoslavia* (Research Paper No. 133). Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Policy Development and Evaluation Service.

American Psychiatric Association. (1994). Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders: DSM-IV. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association

Amore, K. (2002). Repatriation or deportation? When the subjects have no choice. *A European Journal of International Migration and Ethnic Relations*, 39/40/41: 153-171.

Bachtin, M. M. (1981). *The dialogical imagination: Four essays.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bakewell, O. (1999). *Returning refugees or migrating villagers? Voluntary repatriation programmes in Africa reconsidered* [Electronic version] (New issues in refugee research. Working Paper No. 15). Geneva: United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

Barath, A. (2002). Psychological status of Sarajevo children after war: 1999 – 2002 survey. *Croatian Medical Journal 43*, (2), 213-220.

Barslett, T. (2001). *Hjem, kjære hjem? En studie om tilbakevending av fordrevne i Bosnia-Hercegovina*. Hovedoppgave, Institutt for sosiologi og samfunnsgeografi, Universitetet i Oslo.

Baxter, L. A. (1994). Thinking dialogically about communication in personal relationship. In R. L. Convill (Ed.), *Structure in human communication.* (pp. 23-37). Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Berg, B. (1999). *Når situasjonen gjør det mulig - : Om bosniske flyktninger og tilbakevending.* Trondhem: SINTEF IFIM.

Berg, B. (2003). *Tilbakevending?* Trondheim: SINTEF.

Berg, B., Sveaass, N., Lauritsen, K., Meyer, M. A., Neumayer, S. M., & Tingvold, L. (2005). ”*Det hainnle om å leve”: Tiltak for å bedre psykisk helse for beboere i asylmottak*. Trondheim: SINTEF.

Black, R., & Koser, K. (Eds.). (1999). *The end of the refugee cycle? Refugee repatriation and reconstruction*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Bogdan, R., & Taylor, S. J. (1975). *Introduction to qualitative research methods.* New York: Wiley.

Brekke, J-P. (1999). Midlertidig beskyttelse i Nordisk flyktningpolitikk. I E. Haagensen (Red.) *Midlertidig beskyttelse og tilbakevending. Bosniske flyktninger i Norden*. København: Nordisk Ministerråd. Nord 1999:4

Brekke, J-P. (2001). *Velkommen og farvel? Midlertidig beskyttelse for flyktninger i Norge.* Oslo: Institutt for samfunnsforskning.

Brochmann, G. (1995). *Bosniske flyktninger i Norden: Tre veier til beskyttelse.* Oslo: Institutt for samfunnsforskning. (ISF rapport).

Callaghan, K. (1996). Torture - The body in conflict: The role of movement psychotherapy. In M. Liebmann (Ed.)*, Arts approaches to conflict* (pp. 249-272). London: Jessica Kingsley.

Carey, L. (2006). *Expressive and creative arts methods for trauma survivors*. London: Jessica Kingsley.

Carballo, M., Smakic, A., Zeric, D., Dzidowska, M., Gebre-Medhin, J., & Van Halem, J. (2004). Mental health and coping in a war situation: The case of Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Journal of Biosocial Science. 36,* (4), 463-477.

Caruth, C. (1995). *Trauma*: *Explorations in memory.* Baltimore, MD, US: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Chase, S. E. (2005). Narrative inquiry: Multiple lenses, approaches, voices. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 651-679). London: Sage.

Chimni, B. S. (1998). The geopolitics of refugee studies: A view from the south. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 11,* (4), 350-374.

Chimni, B. S. (1999). *From resettlement to involuntary repatriation: Towards a critical history of durable solutions to refugee problems* (Working Paper No. 2). Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Centre for Documentation and Research.

Colaizzi, P. F. (1978). Psychological research as the phenomenologist views it. In R. S. Valle & M. King (Eds.), *Existential phenomenological alternatives for psychology* (pp.48-71). New York: Oxford University Press.

Cornish, F., Peltzer, K., & MacLachlan, M. (1999). Returning strangers: The children of malawian refugees come 'home'? *Journal of Refugee Studies, 12,* (3), 264-283.

Dahl, S., & Schei, B. (Eds.). (1996). "*The burden left my heart": Experiences from a group psycho-therapy project among displaced woman in a war- zone.* Norway: The Norwegian Peoples Aid.

DeSantis, A. D. (2001). Caught between two worlds: Bachtin's dialogism in the exile experience. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 14,* (1), 1-19.

Dokter, D. (Ed.),(1998). *Arts therapists, refugees and migrants: Reaching across borders.* London: Jessica Kingsley.

Elsass, P. **(**2003). *Håndbog i kulturpsykologi: Et fag på tværs.* København: Gyldendal.

Fangen, K. (2006). Humiliation experienced by Somali refugees In Norway. *Journal of refugees studies, 19,* (1), 69-93.

Felman, S., & Laub, D. (1992). *Testimony: Crises of witnessing in literature, psychoanalysis, and history*. New York: Routledge.

Fischman, Y., & Ross, J. (1990). Group treatment of exiled survivors of torture. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *60,* (1), 135-42.

Freire, P. (1986). *Pedagogic of the oppressed.* New York: Continuum.

Ghanem, T. (2003). *When forced migrants return 'home': The psychosocial difficulties returnees encounter in the reintegration process* (Working Paper No.16). Oxford: University of Oxford, Refugee Studies Centre.

Gibbs, S. (1997). Post-war social reconstruction in Mozambique: Reframing children's experiences of trauma and healing. In K. Kumar, (Ed.), *Rebuilding societies after war*. Boulder, Colo.: Luynne Rienner.

Giorgi, A. (1970). *Psychology as a human science*. New York: Harper & Row.

Giorgi, A. (1975). An application of phenomenological method in psychology. In A. Giorgi, C. Fischer, & E. L. Murray (Eds.), *Duquesne Studies in Phenomenological Psychology, 2,* 82-103.

Godin, M., Kishan, J., Muraskin, D., & Newhouse, J. (2006). *The medium of testimony: Testimony as re-presentation* (RSC Working Paper No.37). Oxford: University of Oxford, Refugee Studies Centre.

Hammond, L. (1999). Examining the discourse of repatriation toward a more pro-active theory of return migration, in R. Black & K. Koser (Eds.). *The end of the refugee cycle? Refugee repatriation and reconstruction*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Heap, K. (2005). *Gruppemetode inden for social- og sundhedsområdet* (3. utg., 1. oppl.) (K. V. Jensen, Overs.). København: Hans Reizels forlag.

Herman, J. L. (1992). *Trauma and recovery*. New York: Basic Books.

Hjelde, K. H. (2004). *Diversity, liminality and silence: Integrating young unaccompanied refugees in Oslo***.** Doktorgradsavhandling, Institutt for psykiatri, Universitetet i Oslo.

Husserl, E. (1962). *Ideas: General introduction to pure phenomenology* (W. R. Boyce Gibson, Trans.). New York: Collier Books.

Husserl, E. (1970). *The crisis of european sciences and transcental phenomenology* (D. Carr, Trans.). Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press. [Original work published 1936].

Ihde, D., & Silverman, H. J. (1985). *Descriptions.* Albany: State University of New York.

Jareg, K., & Pettersen, Z. (2006). *Tolk og tolkebruker: To sider av samme sak*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Jonassen, W., Holm-Hansen, J., & Tesli, A. (2000). *Tilbake etter landflyktighet: Tilbakevending og reintegrering av bosniske flyktninger*. (NIBRs pluss-serie 2-2000). Oslo: Norsk institutt for by- og regionforskning.

Kenny, C. B. (1989). *The Field of Play: A Guide for Theory and Practice of Music Therapy.* California: Ridgeview Publishing Company

Kibreab, G. (1999). Revisiting the debate on people, place, identity and displacement. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *12,* (4), 384-410.

Kibreab, G. (2002). When refugees come home: The relationship between stayees and returnees in post-conflict Eritrea. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 20,* (1), 53-80.

Kjertum, J. (1998). *Repatriation and Reintegration of Mayan Indians Returning to Guatemala*, dissertation in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the M.Sc in International Development Studies, draft version. Roskilde University.

Kloos, B., McCoy, J., Stewart, E., Thomas, E., Wiley, A., Good, T., & et al. (1997). Bridging the gap: A community-based, open-systems approach to neighbourhood and school consultation. *Journal of Educational and Psychological Consultation, 8,* (2), 175-196.

Knill, P., Barba, H. N., & Fuchs, M. N. (1995). *Minstrels of soul: Intermodel expressive therapy.* Toronto: Palmerston Press.
Knill, P., Levine, E. G., & Levine, S. (2005): *Principles and practice of expressive arts therapy.* London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Kraggerud, E., & Welo, E. (Red.). (2006). *Mennesket - det minste og det største*. Oslo: Det Norske Akademi for Sprog og Litteratur.

Kumsa, M. K. (2006). 'No! I'm not a refugee!' The poetics of be-longing among young oromos in Toronto. *Journal of refugee Studies, 19,* (2), 230-255.

Kvale, S. (1998). *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju* (1. utg., 2. oppl.). Oslo: Ad Notam Gyldendal.

LaCapra, D. (2001). *Writing history, writing trauma.* Baltimore, MD, US: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Levine, P. A. (1997). *Waking the tiger: Healing the trauma*. Berkley, Ca: North Atlantic Books.

Levine, S. (1992). *Poesis: The language of psychology and speech of the soul.* Toronto: Palmerston Press.

Levine, S. K., & Levine, E. G. (1999). *Foundations of expressive art therapy: Theoretical and clinical perspectives.* London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Lie, B. (2003). *The triple burden of trauma, uprooting and settlement.* Dissertation, Faculty of Medicine, University of Oslo.

Long, D. L., & Oxford, E. (2006). C*oming home? Refugees, migrants, and those who stay behind.* Pennsylvania, USA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lowen, A. (1990). *The spirituality of the body*: *Bioenergetics for grace and harmony*. New York: MacMillan.

Lowen, A. (1988). *Bioenergetics*. London: Penguin Books.

Løgstrup, K. (1966). *Kunst og erkjennelse.* København: Dansk Gyldendal.

Majodina, Z. (1995) Dealing with difficulties of return in South Africa : The role of social support and coping. *Journal of Refugee Studies 8,* (2), 210-227.

Makanya, S. T. (1994) The desire to return: Effects of experiences in exile on refugees repatriating to Zimbabwe in the early 1980s. In T. Allen, and H. Morsink, (Eds.), *When refugees go home*. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

Maleett, S. (2004). Understanding home: A critical review of the litterature. *Sosiological Review 52,* (1), 62-89.

Maletta, H., Shwarcberg, F., & Schneider, R. (1989). Back home: Psychosocial aspects of the exiles return to Argentina. In P. R. Pressar (Ed.), *When borders don't divide: Labour migration and refugee involvements in the Americas*. New York: Centre for Migration Studies.

Mankowski, E., & Rappaport, J. (1995). Stories, identity and the psychological sense of community. In R. Wyer, Jr. (Ed.), *Advances in social cognition* (pp. 211-226) (Vol. 8). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (1999). *Designing qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mauss, M. (1985). A category of the human mind: The notion of person; the notion of self. In M. Carrithers, S. Collins, & S. Lukes (Eds.), *The category of the person* (W. D. Halls, Trans.) (pp. 1-25). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Original work published 1938].

Mauss, M. (1990). *The gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies*. (W. D. Halls, Trans.). London: Routledge. [Original work published 1925].

McNiff, S. (1992). *Art as medicine: Creating a therapy of the imagination*. Boston: Shambala.
McNiff, S. (1998). *Art-based research.* London: Jessica Kingsley.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962). *Phenomenology of perception*. New York: The Humanities Press.

Meyer, M. A. (1995b). Stress prevention in refugee reception centers. *Energy and Character: The Journal of Biosynthesis, 26,* (2), 32-46.

Meyer, M. A. (1995c). Stressforebyggende tiltak i flyktningmottak. *Sykepleien 83,* 41- 44.

Meyer, M. A. (1997). Når livet vender tilbake. Uttrykksterapi i gruppe med traumatiserte flyktninger. I N. Sveaass & E. Hauff (Red.), *Flukt og fremtid.* (s. 192-211). Oslo: Gyldendal AdNotam.

Meyer, M. A. (1999). In exile from the body: Creating a 'play room' in the 'waiting room'. In S. K. Levine & E. G. Levine (Eds.), *Foundations of expressive arts therapy* (pp. 241-255). London: Jessica Kingsley.

Meyer, M. A. (2000). *Film, kommunikasjon og traume. Linjer, 10,* 1, 31-32.

Meyer, M. A. (2000). The unmaking of the made - the making of the unmade. In D. Dokter (Ed.). *Exile: Refugees and the arts therapies* (pp. 100-111). Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire.

Meyer, M. A. (2004). The garden of praise and lament: Expressive arts group psychotherapy with trauma survivors in exile. *Poiesis, a journal of the arts and communication, 6,* 164-172.

Meyer, M. A., & Nygård, M.(1993). Fysisk treningsprogram for flyktningekvinner: Rapport fra et prosjekt ved Brinken asylmottak *Linjer, 3,* (2), 7-8.

Minow, M. (1998). *Between vengeance and forgiveness: Facing history after genocide and mass violence*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Moreno, J. L. (1973). *The theatre of spontaneity*. New York: Beacon.

Morse, J. M. (2002). *Readme first for a user's guide to qualitative methods.* California, Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage Publications.

Munch, M. (1994). *"Det gylne eksilet": En sosialantropologisk studie av repatrieringen til Chile*. Hovedoppgave, Sosialantropologisk institutt, Universitetet i Oslo.

Muggeridge, H., & Doná, G. (2006). Back home? Refugees' experiences of their first visit back to their country of origin. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 19*, (4), 415-432.

Nachmanovitch, S. (1990). *Free play: Improvisation in life and art.* Los Angeles: Jeremy T. Tarcher.

Nisbet, R. A. (1969). *Social change and history: Aspects of the western theory of development.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Nome, P. (Ed). (2004). *Flyktningregnskapet: Alt om mennesker på flukt over hele verden*. Oslo: Flyktningerådet.

Nygård, M., & Malterud, K. (1995). Enkel kartlegging av posttraumatisk stressforstyrrelse hos bosniske krigsflyktninger i Norge. *Tidsskrift for den norske lægeforening, 115,* (16), 1971-1974.

Pierrakos, J. (1973). *Core energetics, developing the capacity to love and heal*. Mendocino, California: LifeRhythm.

Polit, D. F., & Beck, C. T. (2006). *Essentials of nursing research: Methods, appraisal & utilization*, (6th ed.). Philadelphia: Lippincott.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (1989). Phenomenological research methods. In R. S. Valle, & S. Halling, *Existential-phenomenological perspectives in psychology* (pp. 41-60). New York: Plenum Press.

Rappaport, J**.** (1998). The art of social change: Community narratives as resources for individual and collective identity. In X. B. Arriaga & S. Oscamp (Eds.), *Addressing community problems* (8, 175-196). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Reich, W. (1972). *Character analysis* (V. R. Carfagno, Trans.). New York : Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Riess, S. (2000). *"Return is struggle, not resignation": Lessons from the repatriation of guatemalan refugees from Mexico* [Electronic version] (New issues in refugee research. Working Paper No. 21). Geneva: United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

Rogge, J. R. (1994). Repatriation of refugees: A not so simple "optimum" solution'. In T. Allen & H. Morsink, (Eds.), *When refugees go home* (pp. 14-49). London : United Nations Research Institute for Social Development in association with James Curey.

Rossberg-Gempton, I., & Poole, G. D. (1992). The relationship between body movement and affect: From historical and current perspectives.
The Arts in Psychotherapy, *19*, (1), 39-46.

Rushdie, S. (1991). *Imaginary homelands: Essays and criticism 1981-1991*. New York: Granta Books in association with Viking Penguin.

Røkenes, O. H. (1995). Bruk av tolk i psykologisk arbeid med flyktninger og fremmedspråklige. *Tidsskrift for norsk Psykologforening, 32,* (8),
727-735.

Sanders, C. (2003). Application of Colaizzi's method: Interpretation of an auditable decicion trail by a novice researcher [Electronic version]. *Contemporary nurse, 14,* (3), 295-320.

Scarry, E. (1985). *The body in pain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Scheper-Hughes, N., & Lock, M. (1987). The mindful body: A prolegomenon to future work in medical anthropology. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly, 1,* (1), 6-41.

Scheper-Hughes, N. (1990). The rebel body: The subversive meanings of illness. *TAS Journal,* 10, 3-10.

Schwartz, H., & Jacobs, J. (1979). *Qualitative sociology.* New York: Free Press.

Skjetne, T. (Ed.). (2006). *Flyktningregnskapet: Alt om mennesker på flukt over hele verden*. Oslo: Flyktninghjelpen.

Spiegelberg, H. (1976). *The phenomenological movement: A historical introduction* (2nd ed., Vols. 1 and 2). The Hague: Martinus Hijhoff .

Stamou, E. (2000). 'Return 'Home'?: Repatriation, 'Reintegration', 'aid and Development': Approaching the Politics of Time and Space in Guatemala', thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the M.A. in Social Anthropology of Development. London: SOAS.

Storti, C. (2001). *The art of coming home*. London: Intercultural Press.

Sveaass, N. (2000). *Restructuring meaning after uprooting and violence: Psychosocial interventions in refugee receiving and in post-conflict societies*. Dissertation, Institute of psychology, University of Oslo.

Thomas, R., & Rappaport, J. (1996). Art as community narrative: A resource for social change. In M. B. Lykes, R. Liem, A. Banuazizi, & M. Morris (Eds.), *Myths about the powerless: Contesting social inequalities* (pp. 317-336). Philadelphia: Temple University.

Turner, V. (1969). *The ritual process.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Turner, V. (1974). *Dramas, fields and metaphors.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. (1992). *Refugees returning home: Report of the symposium for the Horn of Africa on the social and economic aspects of mass voluntary return movements of refugees,* in Addis Ababa on 15-17 of September 1992. Geneva: Author.

United Nations Commission on Human Rights. (1996). *Voluntary repatriation: International protection: Handbook.* [Electronic version]. Geneva: Author.

United Nations Commission on Human Rights. (1998) Going Home: Mozambique Revisited, *Refugees*, 2 (112). Geneva: Author.

United Nations Commission on Human Rights. (2000). *War and humanitarian action: Iraq and the Balkan*. [Electronic version]. (2000). In The state of the world's refugees 2000: Fifty years of humanitarian action (chap. 9). Geneva: Author.

United Nations Commission on Human Rights. (2002). *UNHCR Executive Committee on Voluntary Repatriation*, Global Consultations on International Protection, 4th meeting, EC/GC/02/5. Geneva: Author.

Valle, R. S., & Halling, S. (1989). E*xistential-phenomenological perspectives in psychology*. New York: Plenum Press.

Valeta, M., & Berg, B. (2003). *Tilbakevending? Evaluering av tilbakevendingsordningen for flyktninger.* Trondheim: SINTEF IFIM.

Van der Kolk, B. A. (1989). Compulsion to repeat the trauma. *Psychiatric Clinics of North America Journal, 12,* (2), 389-411.

Van der Kolk, B. A., McFarlane, A. C., & Weisaeth, L. (Eds.) (1996). *Traumatic stress: The effect of overwhelming experience on mind, body, and society*. London: Guilford Press.

Van Gennep, A. (1960). *The rites of passage*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Van Manen, M. (1997). *Researching lived experience, human science for an action sensitive pedagogy* (2nd ed). London: The Althouse Press.

Varvin, S. (2003). *Flukt og eksil. Traume, identitet og mestring.* Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Warner, D. (1994). Voluntary repatriation and the meaning of return to home: A critique of liberal mathematics. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 7,* (2/3), 160-74.

Weine, S. M., Kulenovic, A. D., Pavkovic, I., & Gibbons, R. (1998). Testimony psychotherapy in bosnian refugees: A pilot study. *American Journal of Psychiatry 115,* 1720-1726.

Weine, S. M. (1999). *When history is a nightmare: Lives and memories of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina.* New Brunswick, NJ, US: Rutgers University Press.

Weston, M. C. (2001). *A psychosocial model of healing from the traumas of ethnic cleansing: The case of Bosnia*. Sweden: The Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation.

Widerberg, K. (1999). *Alternative methods – alternative understandings: Exploring the social and the multiple 'I' through memory- work.* Sosiologisk tidsskrift, 2, 147-160.

Wikipedia: Free dictionary (2006) Testimony in literature. UK

Winnicott, D. W. (1971). *Playing and reality.* London: Routledge.

Yalom, I. D. (1975). *The theory and practice of group psychotherapy.* New York: Basic Books.

Zarosa, H. L. (1998). Internal exile, exile and return : A gendered view. *Journal Of Refugee Studies, 11,* (2), 189-198.

Zetter, R. (1999). Reconceptualizing the myth of return: Continuity and transition amongst the greek-cypriot refugees of 1974. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *12,* (1), 1-22.

VIDEOFILM

Meyer, M. A. (Produsent, manus, regi). (1996). *I eksil fra kroppen / In exile from the Body* [Video]. Oslo: Norsk Institutt for Kunst og Uttrykksterapi, & Psykososialt senter for flyktninger, UiO. (Available from the author, National Centre for Violence and Traumatic Stress Studies).

Meyer M. A. (Produsent, manus, regi). (1999). *Tilbake til Livet / Returning to Life*. [Video]. Oslo: Author. (Available from the author, National Centre for Violence and Traumatic Stress Studies).

Appendices

I.	1.	Interview Protocol
II.	1.	Questionnaire 1
	2.	Questionnaire 2
	3.	Questionnaire 3
	4.	Focus group men
	5.	Focus group women
	6.	Participants consent to participation
	7.	Letter from participants (Repatriation workshop 1996 Norway) to the Norwegian Authorities about returning
	8. a + b	Letter stating that the filmmaking was part of my research project at Psychosocial Centre for Refugees at the University of Oslo. This letter was presented for government offices in Bihac to inform of my purposes for being in Bosnia.
	9.	In Exile from the Body" 21 min (Video)
	10.	"Returning to Life" 52 min (Video)

(In this edition only appendices II.1, 2, 3 are 7 included, the rest of the appendices are available for researchers upon request to the author).

Appendix II.1

Questionnaire 1

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TRAUMATIZED PERSONS

1 - Have you been in a concentration camp? Yes No

If yes, for how long? weeks months

2 - Have you been exposed to physical violence? Yes No

3 - Have you witnessed torture or executions? Yes No

4 - Have you been in combat? Yes No

5 - Have you been forced to do things against your will? Yes No

6 - Have you lost family members or close friends? Yes No

If yes, please specify

Questionnaire 2

Name: Date of birth:

Below you will find some questions about common reactions among people who hav experienced serious strain or stress. Please answer each question to indicate how you have been reacting during the past seven days. Your anwer may be YES or NO.

1 - Nightmares about what happened.	Yes	No
2 - Distressing flash backs.	Yes	No
3 - Scared of persons, things or situations which remind you of original trauma.	Yes	No
4 - Trying not to think about what happened.	Yes	No
5 - Trying to avoid situations or things which remind me of what happened.	Yes	No
6 - Unable to remember something important about what happened.	Yes	No
7 - Tendencies to withdraw myself from others.	Yes	No
8 - Unable to feel love, joy or sadness.	Yes	No
9 - Feeling that there is no future for me.	Yes	No
10- Difficulty with sleep.	Yes	No
11- I am easily getting irritated or angry.	Yes	No
12- Difficulty concentrating.	Yes	No
13- Tendency to jump or startle at sudden noises or unexpected movements.	Yes	No
14- Sweating or heart racing when suddenly reminded of what happened.	Yes	No
15- Headaches.	Yes	No
16- Other bodily aches or pains.	Yes	No

Appendix II.3

Questionnaire 3

QUESTIONS REGARDING THE TRAINING PROGRAM

Place: Stokke

1. Did you participate in the training program with Melinda Meyer?
   Yes No

   If yes, how many times?
   1
   2
   3
   4
   5

2. Did you participate in the once-a week training with Dordo?
   Yes No

3. Were you training on your own or with others? Yes No

4. Had you been engaged in any other physical activity before the training program began? Yes No

5. Were you engaged in other physical activity such as for example football, walking, jogging or similar? Yes No

6. Do you notice that the exercises were helpful? Yes No

7. Do you feel that the exercises caused more pain in your body?
   Yes No

8. Would you recommend these exercises to others as well? Yes No

Appendix II.7 (translation)

Norwegian Directorate
of Immigration

February 26th, 1996

Following 4 years of war, it seems that peace has come to the Republic of Bosnia Hercegovina. The time is arriving when those of us who have fled will start to return to our homes.

In addition to the loss of lives, our country also lost material resources. The time will come when our homeland will be renewed and restored, something that cannot even be started upon without foreign aid. With this appeal, we ask that all of you who are able to help us and support our plea for help. First and foremost, aid is needed to transport our belongings from Norway to the Republic of Bosnia Hercegovina. Furthermore, there is great need for building materials and hospital equipment etc. All help will be more than welcome to our countrymen who find themselves over there in a, so to speak, inevitable and more or less unbearable situation.

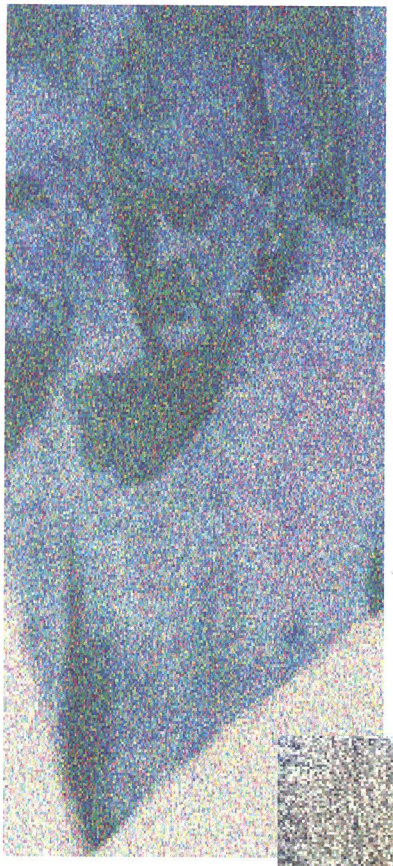
Norway has helped us in many ways thus far, and thanks to Norway we were able to survive all the grief that we experience both during the war and as refugees. We hope that such help from our dear Norway will come once again to us returning refugees; help from generous Norway who gave us refuge from the war. First, it was our men and sons you received from the notorious concentration camp Manjaca. Then it was us, their nuclear families, were taken in by Norway.

It has been 3 years we have spent in this country, but our thoughts have flown to our dear Republic Bosnia Hercegovina. It is time for the happily awaited home journey.

With your help, we can begin a normal life again.

We thank you in advance and await a positive reply.

With friendly greetings



Repatriation and Testimony

This is a longitude study of Bosnian war refugees and presents new understanding of what the principle influences on repatriation are with emphasis on documentary filmmaking and art as testimony. The entire research is based on the participant's immediate and lived experiences.

Norsk Institutt for Kunst- og Uttrykksterapi
Norwegian Institute of Expressive Arts Therapy
Darresgate 4, 0175 Oslo, Norway.
+47 22201130 +47 9007 0078 Email: nikut@online.no

www.nikut.no