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"Little by little, the bird makes his nest": A youth participatory action research study of Congolese refugee youths' proposed solutions in addressing ethnic discrimination[i]

Qualifying Paper
[13,199 words]

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September, 2015

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Introduction

In 2014, nearly 30,000 people fled their homes daily from violence and conflict (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2015). Such astounding levels of mass displacement were last recorded during the Second World War (United Nations, 2014). Irrespective of its scale, conflict forever changes young people's imaginings of themselves, their societies and futures (Dryden-Peterson, Bellino, & Chopra, 2015). Discourses around youth in conflict have disproportionately framed youth as potential drivers of conflict, as harbingers of violence and threats to stability (Urdal, 2006; Weber, 2012). This paper instead asks how and why youth displaced by conflict seek to address and tackle ethnic discrimination, one particular driver that has perpetuated and prolonged violent conflict in the case of the Democratic Republic of Congo (UNESCO, 2015). Specifically, it seeks to understand how Congolese refugee youth move away from being framed and positioned as a problem to instead becoming partners in solving and reducing ethnic conflict and strife.

I focus on youth[1] living in refugee camps for two reasons. First, in general, the stage of adolescent and youth development represents both a period of vulnerability and one of great opportunity and promise (Steinberg, 2014). In establishing their identity within a group, young people actively desire and seek opportunities to engage and foster connection with their communities (Fredricks & Eccles, 2006; Zaff, Malanchuk, &

[1] I define youth, following the United Nations convention, as individuals between the ages of 15-24 years (United Nations, 2013), while recognizing that definitions of youth, are socially constructed, varying across time, space, culture and context (Auerbach, 2010; Clark-Kazak, 2009).

Eccles, 2008). Second, nearly 40% of the world's refugees, or individuals forced to flee their homes for fear of persecution, live in refugee camps (UNHCR, 2014b). The scores of young people that inhabit refugee camps find them to be "sites of disempowerment" where their voices are non-influential and absent (Cooper, 2005, p. 467). Subsequently, this then leads us to ask not only if youth living in such disempowering spaces can indeed establish a connection with their community and act on community problems such as ethnic discrimination, but more so, why they construct such problems as worthy of action and how they seek to tackle them. Through understanding youths' responses to negotiating, managing and tackling ethnic discrimination, a community problem, this paper begins to explore how refugee youth attempt at making themselves visible and heard.

The data for this particular paper emerge from a larger study focusing on refugee youths' civic competencies at large. Through a youth participatory action research design, 34 refugee youth identified problems and their capacities to address these problems within a refugee camp. Some of these problems included limited employment and educational opportunities, gender discrimination and alcoholism within the refugee camp. One issue that a majority of youth identified as the most problematic was that of tribalism[2] or ethnic discrimination in their community. This paper therefore begins to explore refugee youths' civic competencies and how they seek to make themselves visible and heard, but specifically in relation to how they negotiate, manage and tackle

[2] While youth refer to tribalism in the interview, they construct it as problematic for the discriminatory practices that accompany it. In their constructions, they recall the differential, disadvantageous and unfair treatment that they experience or observe, based on their tribal identity. While I recognize the youths' developmental needs to develop a group and ethnic identity, so as to highlight youths' constructions of tribalism as problematic, I refer to it as ethnic discrimination from hereon.

ethnic discrimination, an issue youth repeatedly identified as problematic within their community.

One might hypothesize that refugee youths' civic competencies in addressing ethnic discrimination are linked to an acknowledgment of each other's fundamental human rights around equality and the recognition of the explicit violations of these rights. Through interviews with 34 refugee youth, I find youth do not construct the problem of ethnic discrimination or its solutions within a rights based discourse. Instead, youth find themselves at odds with inter-generationally transmitted narratives of ethnic discrimination. Youth in my sample observe and experience ethnic discrimination in multiple ways ranging from exclusion and favoritism in accessing services to extreme violence. In offering strategies to combat ethnic discrimination, youth find strength in the collective. They feel capable in spreading awareness about the issue among other youth and believe that targeted activities like sports and trainings can foster greater intergroup collaboration, love and understanding. Importantly, youth believe that addressing the issue as a collective enhances and strengthens their abilities to contest and challenge adults' divisive narratives.

In this paper, I first present a conceptual framework around youths' civic competencies and the role of narratives within a refugee camp in enabling or hindering the development of these competencies. Subsequently, I provide a detailed overview of the YPAR methodology for this study and present my findings. Finally, I discuss these findings in the light of the conceptual framework and conclude. In Figure 1, I present a roadmap and summary of my methods and findings from this study.

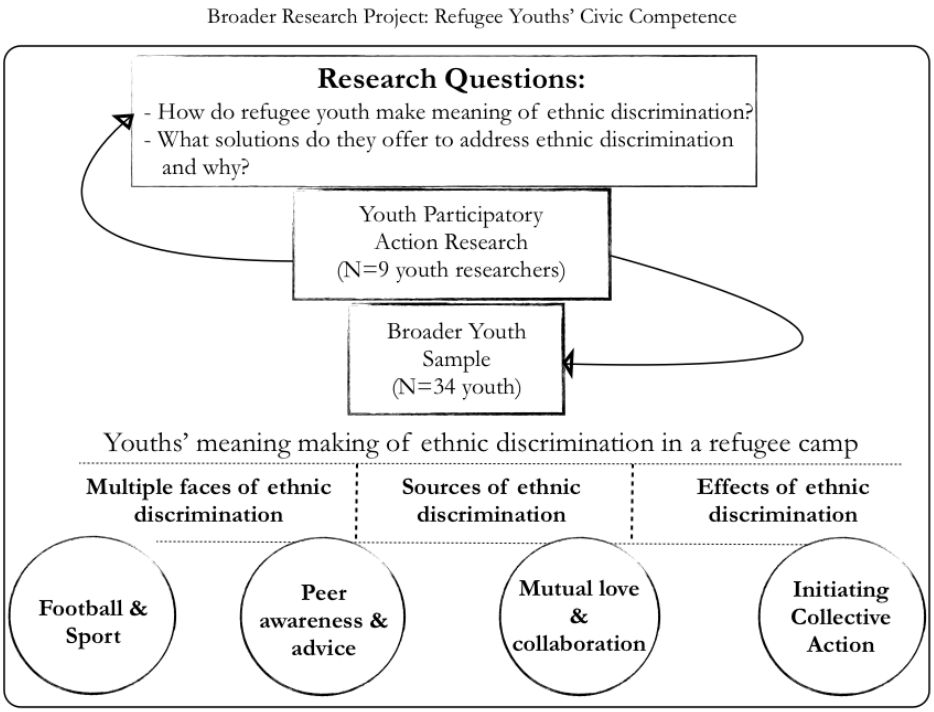


Fig 1: Roadmap and findings of present study

Conceptual Framework

In this section, I first present the role of rights in youth engagement and apply it to the context of refugee youth. Given the constraints placed on the fulfillment of refugees' rights, and by extension, their opportunities to engage within their communities, I elaborate on the idea of mediating institutions or spaces for fostering youth engagement. Drawing from literature around youth civic engagement, I seek to extend our current thinking of mediating spaces to begin exploring the ways in which refugee camps can serve as mediating institutions or spaces where youth engagement can be fostered. In particular, I focus on the narratives that exist within these spaces and their function in communicating to youth the possibilities for change within their communities.

Rights and youth engagement: From theory to practice

Traditional or normative understandings of youth engagement and participation have focused on the role of rights in engaging youth. These conceptualizations have framed participation as a human right; participation of all individuals, irrespective of their age is one of the guiding principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, n.d.). Proponents of this idea have underscored the importance of teaching youth about individual and collective rights, and their role in upholding these rights as rights holders. Focus has also remained on the role of government and political institutions in enforcing and protecting these rights (Carretero, Haste, & Bermudez, In press). This conventional model has largely ignored youths' capacities in creating change within their communities and that youth enact their rights and responsibilities through relational and community interactions (Karkara & Cala, 2013).

In contrast to this traditional understanding, literature from the field of youth civic engagement informs us that youth learn to engage with their communities not exclusively through learning and understanding normative frameworks of rights within a classroom, but also through practice - through actual experiences of engagement and making meaning of those experiences by critically reflecting on them (Haste, 2010; Karkara & Cala, 2013). The assumption here is that when youth see gross violations of rights, they must self-organize and initiate some form of action to garner attention to issues of public and societal interest.

Drawing from the latter, I frame youths' abilities to engage with their communities as their civic competence. By civic competence, I refer to the behaviors that include advocacy, collaboration, collective action and community building in the aspects

of daily life in which individuals associate in groups to fulfill their interests and protect their beliefs (Youniss et al., 2002).

While globally youth find paucity in opportunities to meaningfully engage with their societies and to develop their civic competencies (Ginwright, 2010; Kassimir & Flanagan, 2010; Levinson, 2010), I believe this is particularly accentuated for youth living in refugee camps. Despite a rights-based framework governing the work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the UN agency mandated with protecting the rights of refugees, the organization has publicly admitted that displaced youth remain an "invisible majority" (Evans, La Forte, & Fraser, 2013, p.9) in its institutional policies and practices. The organization has also recognized that refugee camps in particular represent "some degree of limitation on the rights and freedoms of refugees and their ability to make meaningful choices about their lives" (UNHCR, 2014b, p. 4). Collectively these two reasons imply that refugee youth continue to remain systematically disempowered.

Despite these structural limitations, research has found that youth in refugee camps do indeed engage with their camp communities (Clark-Kazak, 2011; Turner, 1999). For instance, in her study of Congolese refugee youth in a camp in Uganda, Clark-Kazak (2011) found youth across lines of gender, ethnicity, education and social class exhibiting agency by engaging in events and decision-making processes that had a direct bearing on their lives.

This creates a fundamental dissonance. While a universal rights-based framework does not fully translate into practice for youth living in refugee camps, thereby inhibiting their fundamental rights, refugee youth work around these frameworks and in turn find

novel ways to engage with their communities and to claim some of their fundamental rights. In the light of this dissonance, I postulate that the answer to understanding refugee youths' civic competencies might lie in the pivotal role of mediating institutions.

Mediating institutions and youth civic competence

Ranging from schools, youth clubs, and ethnic, cultural and faith institutions as examples, mediating institutions are spaces where youth first learn about a collective, practice the rights and obligations as members within this collective and learn to manage and negotiate differences. These spaces enable youth to develop a sense of collective identity, purpose, leadership and access to social capital - critical assets for civic participation (Kassimir & Flanagan, 2010).

Multiple mediating institutions influence youths' civic competence. In their review of youth civic participation in the developing world, Kassimir & Flanagan (2010), find that youth are members of several overlapping or intersecting mediating institutions, each with its own norms and ways of functioning. While the authors recognize that membership in multiple mediating institutions allows youth to learn, develop and build relationships across locality, class, education, ideology etc., they also acknowledge the tensions that may arise when youth only pick and internalize certain norms to self-organize themselves to influence positive change within their communities. Flanagan, Martínez, Cumsille, and Ngomane (2011) also term mediating institutions as "interpretive spaces" (p. 101), for the many possibilities these institutions present in socializing youth to engage with their communities per defined traditional norms and mores, or by contesting and challenging the existing status quo and identifying new strategies to influence collective action.

Refugee camps as a potential mediating institution and the role of narratives

For youth, we can consider schools and other learning spaces as critical examples of mediating institutions. However, access to post-secondary education remains severely constrained for refugees (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). In times of conflict, learners and by default, youth, might also actively resist formal opportunities to learn. Schools become symbols of state and national structures that young people do not recognize or personally identify with (Davies, 2011; Fincham, 2012; King, 2014). The absence of sufficient post-primary learning opportunities therefore denies refugee youth not just their right to learn, but also hinders their opportunities to develop their civic competencies through the mediating space of school.

Given the absence of learning spaces, refugee camps can serve as one possible mediating institution for refugee youth to engender positive change within their communities. One might assume that by casting everyone as equals, united by the experience of forced displacement, refugee camps can allow youth to create a sense of collective identity and purpose, and subsequently create opportunities for youth to work across lines of difference.

Allport's seminal intergroup hypothesis, while not originally designed to study refugees, can shed light on the mechanisms through which youth across lines of difference may coalesce to work together.

In his hypothesis, Allport (1954/1979) established the primacy of contact in reducing intergroup prejudice. Extensions of his work have found that while contact *alone* can reduce intergroup prejudice, the magnitude of this effect depends on four facilitating conditions: 1) Equal-status among members; 2) Intergroup cooperation and not competition; 3) Active efforts among the groups to achieve common goals; 4)

Support of authorities, laws and customs to guide norms and behavior (Kenworthy, Turner, Hewstone, & Voci, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

When applied to the context of a refugee camp, this forced contact can potentially reduce prejudice and create enabling conditions for youth across ideological and ethnic lines to work together, negotiate their differences and engage civically in achieving common goals towards improving their community.

At the same time, forced displacement alters previous structural relations and engenders new relational structures. The erstwhile 'big men' and 'small people' are now forced to live side by side (Turner, 1999), creating new or different dynamics that may enable or hinder pathways for young people to engage with their communities. While seemingly homogenous through their experience of conflict and displacement, refugees within camps also tend to represent diverse ideologies, ethnic groups and sub-cultures (Clark-Kazak, 2011). It is here that youth are exposed to differences that they must learn to negotiate.

Therefore refugee camps can serve as mediating space by creating new dynamics that force youth to confront, negotiate and manage differences resulting from forced interactions with erstwhile outgroups as a function of the forced residence within the shared space of a refugee camp.

It is not just the behavioral interactions with members of various groups, including outgroups, but also the narratives within these mediating spaces that communicate to youth when and how to negotiate difference. Narratives play a particularly salient role in times of conflict. They provide justifications and explanations of the conflict (Hammack, 2008, 2010; Oren et al., 2015) and by establishing sequence,

cause and effect, they therefore provide a sense of coherence and organization (McAdams, 2006). While based in some part on real events, personal narratives are selectively biased, allowing individuals and groups to favor preferred meanings over undesired or competing perspectives. The master narrative, on the other hand, allows groups to connect the dots between various individual narratives and serves as the story behind the story, or the grand-narrative (Hammack, 2008).

Conflict-supporting narratives accentuate differences and enable individuals' understandings of the goals of the conflict, how it began and why it still continues (Oren et al., 2015). In his work with Israeli and Palestinian youth, Hammack (2008) finds that Israeli and Palestinian youth developed personal narratives of their identity in connection with distinctly opposing "master narratives," or dominant discourses and cultural scripts.

Individuals' interactions with, and deviations from, master narratives create new opportunities for youth engagement. Narratives are not static across time, but through individuals' co-construction, new counter narratives can be created, allowing new meanings and possibilities for action to emerge. These narratives function in social, cultural and historical contexts; they support youths' understandings of their past, present and future, and justify what course of action is permissible in *this* context, at *this* point in time to *someone like them* (Haste, 2004). Therefore analyzing narratives within mediating spaces like refugee camps allow us to examine the ways youth understand their civic competence and issues worthy of collective action. They provide an insight into social norms and mores around negotiating difference when working across differences to engender community change.

Specifically in the context of this paper, through responses of 34 Congolese refugee youth I seek to answer two questions: 1) How and why do youth living in a refugee camp construct ethnic discrimination as a problem and issue worthy of youth collective action? 2) What strategies do youth offer when attempting to tackle ethnic discrimination in their community?

Based on the answers to these two questions, I further explore their implications to discuss how these findings impact our larger understanding of refugee youths' civic competencies and the ways in which narratives function within mediating spaces like refugee camps to enable or hinder opportunities for youth engagement.

Studying Congolese refugee youths' meaning making of ethnic discrimination and their strategies to combat it within a refugee camp is a relevant inquiry for several reasons. First, there exists a dissonance between UNHCR's normative goals of upholding refugees' rights and the opportunities afforded by refugee camps to exercise those very rights. Through youths' descriptions in this study, I understand ethnic discrimination as a fundamental violation of youths' rights to equality. Second, conflict is now protracted and on average lasts 17 years (UNHCR, 2014a). Collectively, these first two reasons imply that scores of displaced young people living in refugee camps develop their identities while displaced and violated of the universal rights that they are afforded as human beings. Finally, in the DRC, since 1996, conflict spurred along ethnic lines has killed more than 5 million people and displaced nearly 3 million (UNESCO, 2015). In this case, ethnic discrimination has remained an intractable and complex driver of conflict. From India-Pakistan to Kosovo to Northern Ireland, narratives of generational victimization wield great power in accentuating and reproducing vicious cycles of

conflict (Hammack, 2008; Hammack & Pilecki, 2012; Oren, Nets-Zehngut, & Bar-Tal, 2015). Drawing on lessons from these other contexts, attempts at fostering peace in the DRC would usefully begin with engaging displaced youth and understanding the solutions they hold and provide to combat the perilous impacts of ethnic discrimination within their communities. As these displaced youth transition to becoming adults, it will be their decision to reproduce the same inter-generational and divisive narratives of exclusion and violence that they were once exposed to, or in turn, engender new and inclusive narratives of equal rights and peace.

Methods

Site

This study was conducted in 2013 in Bwagiriza refugee camp, home, since 2009, to 9,480 Congolese refugees (UNHCR Burundi, 2013) and situated in the eastern part of Burundi.

Design

A youth participatory action-research (YPAR) design guided this study. YPAR values youth as experts, not the subjects of externally driven research studies but as researchers who study their own social contexts. Cammarota and Fine (2008) state that through YPAR, "Youth learn how to study problems and find solutions to them…They study problems and derive solutions to obstacles preventing their own well-being and progress" (p. 6). YPAR integrates pedagogical aspects in its design and through its learning-by-doing approach, facilitates critical reflection and action (Cammarota & Fine, 2008; Cooper, 2005).

I employ a YPAR design to answer my questions of interest for three reasons. First, I abide by Appadurai's (2006) framing of research as a right; widely available to young people to develop "the social and cultural capacity to plan, hope, desire and achieve socially valuable goals" (p.176) in an increasingly globalized, knowledge-driven world. Second, YPAR has been frequently employed in settings of marginalization and vulnerability, including refugee camps, and has offered youth and scholars opportunities for deep reflection and understanding (Cooper, 2005; Fine, 2008; Kirshner, Pozzoboni, & Jones, 2011). Finally, but perhaps most importantly, it seemed facile for me to study youth civic competence without providing youth in the refugee camp authentic opportunities to develop their own civic competencies—an understanding of social issues in their community and the critical skills of analysis, collaboration, engagement, negotiation and teamwork to address some of those issues.

I am cautious of my claims in this being a 'pure' YPAR study. Owing to unforeseen logistical reasons, my time in the refugee camp was shorter than anticipated. While we, the youth researchers[3] and I, had the opportunity to reflect briefly on emergent findings and engage in preliminary analyses, the youth researchers could not play a key role in the analysis and dissemination of the findings of this work.

Participant Selection

Selection of youth researchers

Through recruitment posters (Appendix A), I invited youth in the camp to apply to be a part of the youth researcher team. To ensure equal information about the opportunity, posters were placed in several key areas in the camps where youth gathered. As a part of

[3] I refer to the youth in the YPAR group as "youth researchers"

the application process, youth candidates wrote a motivation letter. To apply, the only criteria that youth researchers needed to fulfill included: 1) Fluency in French (lingua franca of the refugee camp along with Kiswahili) and some conversational skills in Kiswahili and English 2) Availability for 6-weeks and a maximum of 20 hours/week to attend workshops and be involved in the research process 3) Possession of a valid refugee identity card 4) Permanent residence in the refugee camp. I received 77 letters of motivation of which I interviewed 35 youth[4]. In return for their participation, I offered youth researchers a letter of recommendation and $30 as compensation. While this compensation is meager by Western standards, I determined it in consultation with my collaborating organization and in accordance with the compensation levels of refugee adults in entry-level jobs in the camp. Based on the above criteria and to ensure age diversity, I selected 9 youth researchers. Table 1.1 outlines the age and gender composition of this group.

Table 1.1: Age and gender composition of youth researchers (N=9)

Age/ Gender	**Male**	**Female**
15-18 years	2	1
19-21 years	3	1
22- 24 years	1	1
Total	*6 males*	*3 females*

Broader sample selection for this paper

Through our sessions, the 9 youth researchers identified 34 youth in the 15-24 years age group in the camp. Data from these 34 youth constitute the larger sample for this paper. Table 1.2 outlines the age and gender compositions of this sample. In our collective

[4] Of the 77 youth who applied to be youth researchers, several did not meet the eligibility criteria, and a small proportion was found to have provided fake documents. These youth were therefore disqualified. Of those who were finally shortlisted for interviews, few did not show up for the interview. Finally, I interviewed 35 youth who applied to be youth researchers and eventually selected 9 youth researchers.

attempts at ensuring our sample was representative, we selected these 34 youth based on the following criteria: Residence in the camp; primary occupation in the camp (for example, in-school and out-of-school youth, employed and unemployed youth); other relevant characteristics (for example, youth who were heads-of-households, youth orphaned by conflict, youth considered truant in the community); and consent to be interviewed and recorded. In my role as facilitator, I strongly encouraged and supported the youth researchers in not limiting their sample to include friends or people they personally knew. However, as an outsider, there was no way for me to confirm this. A broader description of the sample is available in Appendix B.

Table 1.2: Age and gender composition of sample (N=34)*:

Age/ Gender	**Male**	**Female**
15-18 years	11	6
19-21 years	6	4
22- 24 years	5	0
Total	*22 males*	*10 males*

* Ages for two participants were not provided in the data

Procedures and data collection

YPAR procedure

Over a period of 6 weeks, we met 4 times each week for approximately 3.5 hours in the morning. We were unable to meet for any longer each day as the three youth researchers below 18 years, attended school in the camp in the afternoon.[5] During our sessions, we discussed a wide range of topics relevant to the study as well as broader, social and professional issues that youth were interested in and wanted to make space for in our schedule and discussions. Figure 2 provides examples of the broad content within each of these three categories and the pedagogy I adopted to facilitate these discussions. A

[5] Owing to a lack of higher education opportunities, the remaining youth researchers were not engaged in any formal educational opportunities.

detailed curricular calendar is available in Appendix C. As a facilitator, my goal was for us all to learn in many different ways and to create a space for multiple voices and dissent while developing mutually respectful, reciprocal and trustful relationships with one another.

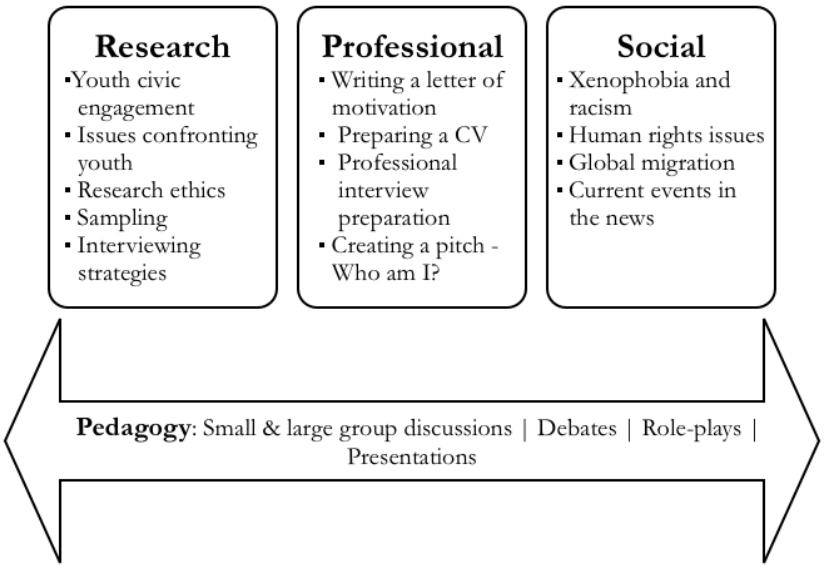


Fig. 2: Examples of topics covered with youth researchers and associated pedagogy

To support youth in becoming critical researchers, I facilitated trainings specific to research ethics, creating research questions, data collection strategies, developing interview protocols and methods to facilitate semi-structured interviews. I adapted the materials provided by the Harvard institutional review board (IRB) for an extended discussion around research ethics and applied this as a group to different hypothetical scenarios. In creating an interview protocol, youth worked in teams to prepare questions that they wanted to ask other youth in their community. We compared and contrasted these lists to finally decide our questions of focus (See Appendices D & E for the interview protocols in English and French, respectively). Our final interview protocols began with understanding participants' likes and dislikes in their community.

Subsequently, we transitioned to exploring more about their beliefs related to social problems in the community and why they saw themselves as efficacious or incapable of addressing the issues. Before formally beginning data collection for the study, youth researchers conducted several mock interviews with one another, and in some cases, with siblings and close friends not a part of the sample. Per IRB specifications, each minor youth researcher (under the age of 18) was paired with an adult youth researcher. Eventually, there were four pairs of youth researchers that collected data in the camp community.

As noted previously, the larger goal of my study in the refugee camp was to investigate refugee youth civic competence. It was only through our collective discussions and the youth researchers' continued persuasion that I came to understand the salience of the problem of ethnic discrimination within the camp. Therefore, and in keeping with the values of YPAR, we collectively decided that our interview protocols must contain specific prompts to probe participants regarding the problem of ethnic discrimination.

Data collection

Youth researchers interviewed 34 other youth in the camp about the social problems youth like them in the 15-24 years age group encountered in their lives. Youth researchers asked about youths' perceived self-efficacy in addressing these problems. Youth in the sample were never asked how they or other youth might *end* or *solve* these problems, but only if they themselves, or other youth like them could address the issue. Our decision in doing so was deliberate. As a group of researchers, we did not want to burden the youth participants in our sample with undue expectations of ending or solving complex social issues in their community.

Our data collection methods were novel. Drawing from a long-standing tradition of combining visual and narrative based methods within qualitative inquiry (Luttrell, 2010; Sirin & Fine, 2008), we adapted the use of brand maps in the field of market research (Chiang, Lin, & Wang, 2008; Gendall et al., 2011) to gather data around youths' civic competence. Youth researchers provided youth participants in the sample with index cards to mark problems that they believe impacted youth like them. Subsequently, the youth researchers provided the participants with two boxes, a red box and a blue box. Participants were then asked to sort the index cards into each of these two boxes. If a participant believed they or other youth could address the issue, they dropped their index card in the blue box. Contrarily, the red box represented all the problems that participants believed they or other youth like them were unable to do address. This sorting provided a useful starting point for the youth researchers to explore participants' narratives about the problems and associated reasons for engaging with, or refraining from, these social issues. In Appendix F, I present the different social issues that youth believed they had the capacity to address or not.

Data analysis

Interviews in French and Kiswahili were transcribed verbatim and translated to English. While the youth researchers and I collected data on a wide variety of social issues that youth participants brought up in the interview, for the purposes of this study, my analysis focused specifically on ethnic discrimination. I used Atlas.ti, a software to analyze qualitative data, for the purposes of thematic coding (Boyatzis, 1998). Through this, I created a codebook that guided my first round of coding. While a useful first step, this coding was too fine grained and resulted in a long list of codes, many of which were

overlapping and therefore hindered my ability to conceptually differentiate the unique meaning represented by each code.

In the second stage of my coding, when exploring youths' meaning making around ethnic discrimination, I attempted to understand the different manifestations of ethnic discrimination, its origin and sources within the camp and why youth constructed it as problematic in the first place. In analyzing the solutions participants offered to address ethnic discrimination, I found overlap in some of the codes and merged them to create a revised codebook with associated families (See Appendix G for the codebook). The codes focused on the solutions that youth offered to address ethnic discrimination such as organizing collectively, approaching adults for support, and collaborating with each other. The merging of codes resulted in a more focused codebook. At this stage to ensure reliability in coding, I used this more focused codebook to check a random sub-set of transcripts that I had previously coded. I used brief memos to record analytic insights, methodological decisions and clarifications for myself.

On completing coding, I examined the quotes within each code family across all the transcripts. This process allowed me to begin synthesizing the data and was a first step in discovering participants' underlying meaning making processes. While I did not use discursive analysis, I remained open in looking for the narratives and discourses that emerged when participants constructed ethnic discrimination as problematic, the narratives that they employed when offering solutions to the problem and the ways they positioned themselves and others within these narratives.

Results

In this section, I present data based on the youth researchers' interviews with 34 youth in their community. In order to obtain a fuller understanding of youths' strategies to address ethnic discrimination, it becomes pivotal to examine how they themselves first make meaning of the problem. In the first half of this section, I explain the many ways youth describe ethnic discrimination and *how* they experience and/or observe the phenomenon. Subsequently, I present evidence about *what* the youth believe as the sources and origin of ethnic discrimination. I also offer youths' insights on *why* youth believed ethnic discrimination was problematic and worthy of action.

In the latter half of this section, I lend evidence to the ways youth believed they could address ethnic discrimination within their communities. I find that youth offer four strategies: Engaging in football and sport; Creating peer awareness and providing advice; Mutual love and collaboration; and Initiating collective action.

Youths' experiences and observations of ethnic discrimination

In this sub-section, I identified five ways in which youth articulated ethnic discrimination within the camp: ridiculing through mockery and jibes marking ethnic salience; exclusion and isolation; hindering the development of relationships and solidarity; restricting access to services and people; and, physical and psychological violence.

While each of these narratives emerge from a larger discourse of ethnic discrimination as being problematic, youths' narratives highlight the multiple ways in which they observe, experience and understand ethnic discrimination. While youths' development of group identities or as in this case, ethnic identity is typical at this stage of their development; I find that youth construct ethnic discrimination as problematic. Through their descriptions of its multiple manifestations, youth describe instances where group identities take prominence and thwart solidarity within the community at large. In

this sub-section, I illustrate the many ways in which youth construct ethnic discrimination in their community as problematic.

Ridiculing: The most common experience youth narrated when describing ethnic discrimination was of being constantly reminded of their ethnicity and being ridiculed and stereotyped. When in contact with a member from another ethnic group, youth recounted instances of being frequently reminded that they belonged to an outgroup. In describing ethnic discrimination, George explained, "These are the problems that often happen when people are conversing and they exchange with each other, 'You! You aren't from our tribe!'" Ferdinand recounted the jibes that he had observed in the community:

> If someone in the tribe commits a fault, people say, "These tribes are like this… they're like that… they behave badly." They can catch someone from the Babembe[6] tribe who's in the midst of stealing and they start to say, "These Babembes are like this, they are the biggest thieves."

In this instance, Ferdinand alludes to the idea of an entire ethnic group being stereotyped, ridiculed and judged on the basis of the actions of a few people within the tribe. He explains the ease with which ethnicity becomes attached to socially undesirable actions, which then collectively seems to become a basis for stereotyping and ridiculing anyone belonging to the same ethnic group.

Exclusion and isolation: Youth recounted instances where different ethnic groups organized themselves in groups with defined boundaries; groups where difference was

6 Words like Banyamulenge, Mubembe, Babembe etc. represent the different ethnic groups found within the camp

salient and marked with hostility towards the presence of the outgroup. Citing the example of two ethnic groups in particular, Nadege further explained this phenomenon:

> They don't listen to each other…Each goes to his side and at this level hatred exists…They say that they will organize a single group that will only be constituted by Banyamulenge and the other by Bafulelo. There aren't any Banyamulenges that will be a part of this group. Those that would like to enter we will refuse and chase them away.

Exclusion around ethnic lines was also present at school. While it is unknown if students, administrators and teachers systematically excluded students along ethnic lines, Claudine recounted her personal experience and offered insight. "When we're at school, the Banyamulenge want to step to their side, the Babembe to their side…Even during break, you will not find that we're all together. We're together only when there's an [official] meeting."

While Nadege believed that the presence of these groups fueled hatred, Prince articulated the psychological impacts of this exclusion and discrimination at an individual level.

> Someone who is discriminated, who feels that they treated him differently from the others, who is treated negatively, this is someone that can be frustrated. This is someone who will never arrive at the same result like the others not only because he's frustrated, but also he is judged as less. He has negative results in comparison to the others, so he becomes lost.

In his narrative above, Prince articulates the frustration that ensues ethnic discrimination, and the ways in which this frustration compounds into youth feeling judged and lost.

Hindering the development of relationships and solidarity: Youth believed that the marked salience of ethnic identity thwarted the development of relationships within the community. One of the examples youth cited was being unable to foster friendships

across ethnic lines. Angélique explained, "There are those who don't want to create friendships with others due to this. If for example you are a Munyamulenge and me, I'm a Bembe, I can't make friendship with you because you're a Munyamulenge."

Other youth explained how ethnic discrimination restrained contact and familiarity among people in the community. Mansa articulated, "We never share love and games. We can't come together to the same table to begin to eat because you're a Mubembe and I'm a Mufulelo."

Youth also recalled instances where individuals refused to aid the injured or the diseased because they were a part of an outgroup. Jean-Pierre explained the gravity of this situation, "If you see for example a Mubembe who meets a Munyamulenge who is ill with AIDS, he can't help him. They don't even help each other."

Inability to access services and people: Youth recalled instanced where they or others like them were unable to access services or collaborate with others, including adults, since they belonged to a different ethnic group. Mimi explained, "The day of distribution, they favor one over the other…you will see that some receive lots of firewood and others little bit of firewood." In a similar vein, Abasi retold his experience:

> When I search for electricity [to charge] my phone, I go to a service [provider] to charge [phones]. I don't have an extension [cord], so I ask him where to put my charger and he responds with answers that aren't understandable. He tells me. "No, you are a Fulelo. You there, you're a Mubembe!"

Monique recounted an instance of elections for the camp President where candidates campaigned along ethnic lines and votes were also rallied accordingly. Prince explained,

"Tribalism beats the record here…People collaborate a lot more on the basis of their group—their tribe…It is unfortunate but it is a reality of the camp."

It is unknown if particular ethnic groups had disproportionate access to certain kinds of people, services and employment opportunities, and if they deliberately restricted access to others in the outgroup. However, the youth above construct this particular manifestation of ethnic discrimination as an unfortunate reality in the camp, one that is problematic and exclusionary since it restricts access to services and people within their community.

Physical and psychological violence: A final narrative that youth articulated related to the presence of actual violence, or underlying threats around instigating violence. Explaining the severity of this violence, Claudette explained:

> Even here in our quarter, there were two families from different tribes. They didn't love each other. They often liked to fight with each other, abuse each other. There were even some that said, "If I find you somewhere I can even kill you because you aren't from our family—you aren't from our tribe!"

These threats seemed to compound the actual effects of violence and added to the distress within the community since youth had no means to verify if these threats were merely empty threats or if they were instead followed by actual violence.

Violence was not just latent but indeed manifested. Recalling his own experience of attempting to marry across ethnic lines, Emmanuel said, "I tried to marry a Tutsi woman, but the Bembes threw weapons at me during the night." Similarly, recalling the animosity between different ethnic groups in the community, Kito explained, "Each day, they fight, they hurt each other." Citing the example of violence in the football ground,

Amaziah outlined, “When there’s a match here, one simply sees that there’s tribalism. Some people fight each other with stones.”

The examples above typify the multiple forms and experiences of ethnic discrimination among youth in the community. In their descriptions, youth do not refer to their own ethnic identities as problematic, but instead construct its many manifestations as worrisome and worthy of collective action. In Figure 3 below, I present a spectrum representing the multiple faces of ethnic discrimination in the camp. I deliberately present these as a spectrum because neither of these five categories are exclusive or causal, but represent the forms and intensity with which the phenomenon manifests within the camp.

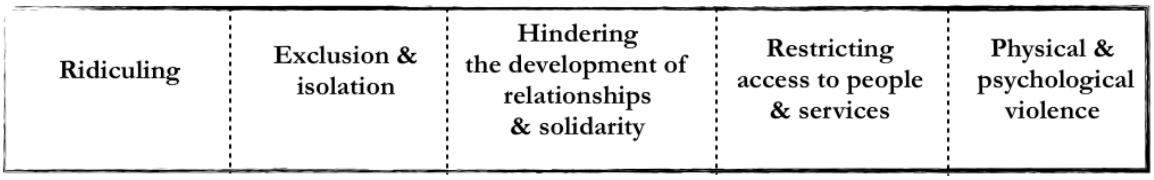


Fig. 3: Multiple faces of ethnic discrimination within the refugee camp

The far left of the spectrum represents jibes around individuals’ ethnicities. While this does not serve as a threat to individuals’ physical well-being, coupled with deliberate acts of exclusion and isolation, it eventually impacts youths’ emotional and psychological well-being. The middle of the spectrum represents individuals’ deliberate decisions to not engage with others from the outgroup, thereby thwarting the development of community and solidarity. Moving across the right of the spectrum, ethnic affiliation interacts with, and impacts larger institutional and organizational activities such as elections and the distribution of humanitarian aid. In this instance, groups exclude and favor their fellow co-ethnics, excluding outgroup members from accessing services and violating their fundamental right to equality. In the extreme right of the spectrum, ethnic discrimination

spirals into its most extreme form—physical and psychological violence—and embroils the community at large.

Origin and sources of ethnic discrimination

In this sub-section, I present data around youths' perspectives of the origin and sources of ethnic discrimination. I find that youth construct ethnic discrimination as a long-standing phenomenon prevalent in the DRC. They describe being socialized and exposed to the practice since birth and hold their parents and grandparents responsible for further reinforcing divisive narratives that separate and differentiate along ethnic lines.

For a few of the youth participants, ethnic discrimination was a complex social and historical phenomenon originating from the DRC, one that several refugees brought with them here to the camp. In their constructions, a small proportion of youth attributed the cause of ethnic discrimination to politics. Emmanuel referred to the DRC's long-standing dictator who ruled the country for over three decades. "It is Mobutu, our President. It was him who brought this [ethnic discrimination]." Amira, on the other hand, referred to rebel forces in the eastern DRC as "bring(ing) these misunderstandings." In Ali's description, he was "born in a world of discrimination…a tribal world…a country of hatred." In this construction, he seemed to describe ethnic discrimination in a fatalistic way, as being *born* into the issue and exposed to it from a very young age.

Youth also understood ethnic discrimination as a long-standing, endemic issue that continued over time. Ali continued, "One knows from a long time, one's heard, 'We and them'…We can't like each other because this one is from such tribe. We have some advice, some manners in our head, 'This one here I can't love them.'" In Ali's example, I find that once again ethnic identification and affiliation creates binaries of 'us' and

'them,' of 'insiders and outsiders.' One then might ask who socializes youth with the "advice" and the "manners" to imagine and enact these binaries.

Youth described ethnic discrimination as a product of inter-generational transfer. Manzi explained, "Tribalism depends on our ancestors. If their tribe followed these rules, their children will also follow these rules." Reflecting on his own experiences, 16 year-old Jean-Pierre confessed:

> Really, I can say that I'm tribal [in attitude], even at work. I really can't lie to you that I'm not tribal – I encounter a lot of tribalism because at my birth they always spoke of tribalism. My parents educated me about tribalism. They told me, "You see this – this a Mufulelo. If you encounter [him] here, you seriously punish him, you beat him." This is a thing that I myself found in my heart that I can't ever leave.

In this example above, Jean-Pierre positions himself as honest, as a young person willing to admit practices of ethnic discrimination. He continues to position himself as someone who has been exposed to the phenomenon since a very young age, thereby attributing blame to his parents. While positioning himself as an individual socialized into the phenomenon, he simultaneously positions his parents as the holders of divisive ideologies who have further transmitted these ideologies onward to the next generation. He concludes believing that it is a phenomenon that has stuck with him, one that he's not capable of leaving, and therefore positions himself as a "tribal," not just as a member of a tribal group and a youth with a tribal identity, but an individual who discriminates along tribal or ethnic lines.

Youth believed the endemic nature of ethnic discrimination as transmitted generationally was an obstacle in finding solutions to the issue. Mansa added, "Even our grandfathers have failed. How can I try to do something? Ethnic conflict is a big thing." In this instance, Mansa draws on the failure of his ancestors in reconciliation and

therefore positions himself as an actor with little agency to address ethnic discrimination. Admitting defeat to not being able to take any action in the future, Salehe explained, "I can't do anything because these are things that our elders and bygones did by entering in our head…One can't change what our ancestors told us." Recounting his own experience, Abasi added, "My grandfather refused me, 'I don't want to see you collaborate with a Mubembe.' This is an obstacle here." Innocent further substantiated:

> The obstacles are the parents – all the parents possess this tribalism in their heads. They will say, "Aah when we were in Congo, these are the Bashis who killed the Banyanmulenges." The Banyamulenges will say, "It's the Babembes that killed my grandfathers." These are the obstacles that can't make us participate with other tribes.

In these instances youth refer to a master narrative of discrimination, a narrative that is transmitted inter-generationally, cutting across space and time. This master narrative positions elders as the grand orchestrators and constructors of divisive ideologies and narratives. In turn, youth share that this is a master narrative they have been socialized into believing, one that leaves some of them inefficacious in creating new counter narratives to contest and challenge existing, divisive narratives.

Effects of ethnic discrimination

In this section, I present data about why youth considered ethnic discrimination to be problematic and therefore worthy of collective youth action. In their descriptions, youth come to understand ethnic discrimination as a cause of forced displacement. They construct ethnic discrimination as a conduit of instability, both, in the DRC and the refugee camp. Referencing their present experiences in the refugee camp, they also construct ethnic discrimination as a barrier to collaboration and to creating a peaceful and cohesive community.

Several youth believed that ethnic discrimination was a driver of conflict and among the primary reasons that they fled the DRC and sought refuge and safety outside its borders. Destin explained, "Tribalism causes war. If in a region there is tribalism, it will eventually be destroyed." In Destin's beliefs, tribalism resulted in war and "war has torn many families." Mansa said, "Tribalism destroys peace." Reflecting on his own experience of forced displacement, Ali elucidated: "When there are tribal wars, there's no development and you lose nearly everything. You can move from village to village, searching for where you'll find stability…Nothing will really continue." In these descriptions, I find ethnic discrimination, peace, stability and development as inextricably linked.

While youth briefly explained ethnic discrimination as a driver of displacement, they also drew on ethnic discrimination as a hurdle to collaboration within the community. Prince explained, "When people limit themselves to collaborate with those that they share the same tribe with, one limits one's self to something less. But when one collaborates with everyone, not limited by tribalism, one appreciates the qualities of others." Abasi wishfully hoped for ethnic discrimination to end. "[It] doesn't bring peace to the camp. If one could leave it, one would live purely and collaborate together." Additionally, it also impeded the development of friendships and amicable relationships. Once again drawing on binary constructions, Claudine outlined, "I can't talk with a Mubembe girl of such and such ethnicity, because me, I'm this or that!" To explain the gravity of the situation, Tindo added, "One cannot share things together. One cannot walk together. One cannot even play together!"

In these descriptions, youth view ethnic discrimination not only as a driver of conflict and forced displacement in the past, but also as a barrier to establishing stability and social cohesion, in the present. Youth position themselves and other youth like them, as victims—as actors born into a larger social system; a system whose underlying values have been transmitted inter-generationally, and one that has remained largely unaltered over time.

By virtue of the universal experience of forced displacement and residence within a refugee camp, youth find themselves face-to-face with their out-group members, other youth who they would have typically not encountered or confronted while living in the confines of their co-ethnics in the DRC. In this refugee camp, the youth are forced to live in close quarters of one another, regardless of ethnic affiliation, and they inhabit the same spaces—the school, the football ground, the cinema. While they inhabit the same physical community, a sense of community is constructed in mostly exclusionary ways and along ethnic lines. Despite this artificially engineered contact, I find that the youth in my sample carry the burden of their ancestors—collective memories of oppression and violence along ethnic lines, memories that they might have never firsthand experienced or observed, but memories that are transmitted inter-generationally. It is perhaps these very legacies of conflict that thwart collective solidarity and community building. This lends me to ask if youth believe they can contribute to addressing the problem of ethnic discrimination, an issue with a life and legacy of its own, complex and contested, yet deeply intertwined with the youths' personal experiences of violence and victimization.

Youths' solutions to address ethnic discrimination

While youth express anguish, frustration and in some cases, even skepticism, about initiating action around ethnic discrimination, this doesn't pose as an obstacle in them

imagining and offering recommendations. They find ethnic discrimination as an issue worthy of critical thinking, reflection and action. Their pro-activeness, optimism and agency—in imagining and initiating individual and collective action—are exemplified through the solutions they offer.

Nearly all sampled youth believed that they were only capable of addressing the problem of ethnic discrimination together, as a larger group. Ali articulated:

> Tribalism exists in this Camp, but little by little while nailing, while penetrating and while persevering, little by little, the bird makes his nest… We must chase this spirit of hatred to finally bring peace. One will unite with each other because unity makes force. Alone, one can't do anything.

This metaphor of a nest is Ali's description is particularly poignant. It represents the desire of youth like Ali to collectively address ethnic discrimination and eventually create the safety and stability associated with a nest, with a home. It also represents the joint actions needed to construct this haven.

In the presentation that follows, I differentiate between two kinds of solutions – those that they have already implemented, tried or enacted; and solutions that they imagine within their realm of possibility, but are not necessarily equally tried or tested in specifically addressing ethnic discrimination. Youth in the camp had already leveraged football and sport as a strategy to address ethnic discrimination. In imagining other solutions, youth believed the need to address the problem collectively, as a group of youth across tribes, collaborating and helping each other, as well as creating awareness about the issue and its impacts on the community. In each of these solutions, elements of collective action are visible.

Enacted Solution: Engaging in football and sport

> *At 8.15 a.m. on a breezy Tuesday morning, 9 youth and I step out from the darkness of a mud-walled, damp and practically windowless Church, into the lightness of the day. Today, the youth researchers' only goal is to show me the community through their eyes—to identify spaces and places in the camp that they think are important for youth like them, here.*
>
> *With rolling, green hills encircling us, I'm privy to much debate and discussion—what route to take, where to start, which places to go first and then, later? Moving swiftly with a mission in our stride, we begin our walk on the central, winding, dirt road that cuts through, and divides the camp into its many parts. In the first few minutes, our army of ten causes camp residents to turn and take notice. Jibes, hoots, curious inquiries and requests to join the revelry ensue. The youth respond to some, ignore the rest, and beam on with pride while showing an outsider what it means to be an insider within this community.*
>
> *Our first stop is the camp's football grounds. Situated opposite the camp's main entrance, I have often passed by it but have never stopped to soak in its sights and sounds. For the first time, I realize its only grandeur lies in its vastness. The goal posts lack any nets, the dirt ground has not a speck of green and whirlwinds of dust punctuate our time here. George, a 19-year youth researcher enthusiastically chimes in, "This is where the youth come to entertain each other…They lack a space where they can go. They come here to pass their time and to be interested in other youth."*
>
> *Over the remaining weeks in this camp, I find the grounds always occupied by mostly male, and at times, female youth. It is only with time I realize how wrong I've been about the ground. Its grandeur and appeal is not in its appearance, but in its centrality in youths' lives for both, relaxation and rebellion. (From fieldnotes, 2013)*

In recounting the ways that youth had addressed ethnic discrimination, sports, particularly football, emerged frequently as a solution. Youth recalled previous instances when football teams were organized along ethnic lines. Kabona explained: "The team Flash essentially had the players of the Banyamulenge community. In the team Mazembe, there were players essentially from the Babembe group. Sometimes during the course of the match, the players confronted each other forgetting that they were in the process of playing and the entire community was mobilized [in the fight]." These brawls would sometimes become violent and UNHCR eventually asked Kabona to create a football team that consisted of youth across different ethnic groups. Proudly, with a sense of

accomplishment, he added, “I found that sports brings people together. I tried to use sport because this could bring together people from different ethnicities.”

Even though this football team was initially created at the request of UNHCR, youth continued the initiative. They organized football teams based on refugees’ residence in the camp, placements that were independent of ethnic affiliation and dictated by UNHCR. Tindo articulated, “If you play with another, the others can see how to live with others. This creates relationships between youth…Those who play together don’t create conflicts. If you play together, the ideas are the same.” Ali further described, “Football reunifies us when there are quarrels…It shows us fair play.” Drawing on this theme of fair play, Emmanuel explained, “I can have some conflicts with you [the interviewer], but in sport, if one meets each other, the beauty is that one will play…No? One will give each other [a] hand. One will talk to each other.”

While sporting opportunities provided a fertile ground for interacting and cultivating relationships, my analysis finds that they also offer two interesting counter-narratives in the community. First, the creation of football teams devoid of ethnic links serves as a powerful counter narrative to the adults’ narratives around ethnic discrimination. By defying adults’ advice to not mingle with other ethnic groups, it is an act of rebellion and a challenge to the divisive narratives youth have previously been exposed to. Through football, youth are able to renegotiate existing narratives and construct countervailing narratives of equality, reunification and fair play across ethnic lines. They not only create a new counter narrative but also experience the power of working collaboratively across lines of difference.

Second, it is one of the few spaces in the camp where the youth have the opportunity to lead, to debate and deliberate, to exchange ideas, to take charge of their own decisions and to drown away the banality of life in a refugee camp. In this sense, engagement in football and team based sporting activities serves as a mediating space, a space where youth come across ethnic lines and through sport develop some of the skills critical for civic action.

In these counter-narratives, youth position themselves as agents, efficacious and capable of organizing themselves. While it is unknown if football creates opportunities to *overcome* differences and prejudice, it certainly creates opportunities where differences can be *left aside*, even if just temporarily. Importantly, it is pivotal to acknowledge that this is not just a solution that is imagined or fancied, but one that the youth have actually tried, tested and believe in.

Imagined solution 1: Engaging in Peer awareness and providing advice

Youth believed that creating awareness among their peers by extending advice was a useful, first place to begin for it allowed youth to engage the skeptics in the community. Monique further substantiated this point:

> One can firstly watch the youth who don't want to change and one calls them and one introduces them in the group. It works! Because, if you, if you like tribalism, it's necessary that firstly, one brings…one puts you in the group that raises awareness against tribalism. Will you raise awareness about the things you can't practice? Little by little, you too will practice [against it] and you will change.

In her description above, she speaks to using the power of a group in attracting youth who are resistant to change. She speaks to a fundamental concept within the field of civic education, that of *praxis*, of critical reflection and action and learning-by-doing (Carretero et al., In press). Monique seems to suggest that one way of convincing those

resistant to change is by making individuals aware of their own exclusionary beliefs and practices, and alongside asking them to create awareness about the issue within the context of a larger group. It is a classic example of the adage, 'practice what you preach' and of providing individuals with information that conflicts directly with their existing beliefs, ideas and values and that therefore pushes them to strive for internal consistency by adopting new beliefs and ideas.

When asked about the specific advice they would share with other peers, the underlying nature of this advice varied. Youth spoke about two kinds of advice. The first kind of advice pertained to an *acknowledgement of similarity* embedded in notions of sameness and commonality. In their constructions, youth do not draw on a rights-based discourse or frame their understandings of sameness as synonymous to equality. Instead, youth re-categorize themselves through discourses of divinity, of a common humanity, of being Congolese, and refugees in the same camp.

Destin elaborated, "I can tell them, 'My dear friends, one can't be tribal all the time. We're created by the image of God. We're all the same. Why be tribal all the time?'" For Mimi, sameness was linked with everyone in the camp being Congolese. "You advise your friends so they have love, because we all are the same. We are Congolese. Live with love." Even within the same conversation, youth frequently drew from different discourses underlying sameness. Innocent explained the advice he would render to peers in the camp:

> I can advise them that one must not create discrimination between them because all are refugees who quit the same country. We are in the same camp. How can one make conflicts, even when they're the same? We're all refugees. We're all Congolese…We all—we possess blood that is red.

While there is a larger discourse of sameness embedded in these narratives, youth establish different kinds of sameness. In none of these cases sameness is rooted in ideas of equal rights to all. In some cases, youth establish that they're all human, images of God and created through a higher power. In other cases, youth invoke ideas of being Congolese, of emanating from the same physical boundaries they know as home. In other instances, youth seek to establish sameness through being a refugee, the universal experiences of forced displacement and fleeing from conflict uniting them all. In the different kinds of advice they propose, the youth use these narratives to position themselves and other youth as same, and construct a counter-narrative of similarity that challenges existing narratives of ethnic difference.

The second type of advice that youth proposed related to *acknowledging* the deleterious impacts of ethnic discrimination and *abandoning* it all together. Denis elaborated: "To say that you are Munyamulenge, that you are Mufulelo is what made us quit our homes in Congo…This makes our minds upset and we lack peace because of this…I can tell [youth] that [ethnic] conflicts aren't good and to come construct our camp while leaving these conflicts." Citing the example of school as a place to begin practicing this, Antoine explained, "When you see each other in class, you try to be together…We must leave these things when you meet each other at school."

Through these narratives, youth attempt at creating shared understandings of sameness, acknowledging the negative impacts of ethnic discrimination and the need to abandon the practice. Using examples of the school, above, and the football ground, earlier, youth also seek to create awareness about spaces where ethnic discrimination must be consciously left at the door. In doing so, it seems that the youth are gradually

beginning to create 'islands of safety and similarity' in an otherwise polarized and divided community; relationally symmetric spaces where youth identify each other as similar. Their proposal to counsel and advise their peers is an attempt at creating collective and shared understandings that contest existing narratives of difference, division and exclusion within their community.

Imagined solution 2: Mutual love and collaboration

In thinking about ethnic discrimination, several youth referred to the need to "love each other." Youth believed that loving the 'other,' or youth from tribes different than their own, was one way of transcending 'otherness.' As Manzi explained, "You can't join or get together without love. Firstly, there's love. Love each other – that's it!" Ali's views were similar in this regard. "Know peace, know [how] to forgive, know [how] to love." In these examples, youth like Ali and Manzi seemed to establish loving the other almost as a pre-condition in building peace.

Some of the youth drew from Biblical and divinity related references to justify the importance of loving the other. For instance, Denis articulated: "While leaving tribalism, you can start with conflict. Love your neighbor…Even God said it in the Ten Commandments. He said, 'Love your neighbor like you love yourself.'…It can allow us to leave tribalism." In this case, Denis recognizes the need to leave conflicts to leave ethnic discrimination. In turn, he draws upon a narrative of loving one's neighbor, who in the camp community could be anyone from the same or different ethnicity. Similarly, Kito, a female youth added, "Love everyone because it's God who created. Everyone has the same blood…You must mutually love each other." In offering their recommendation, youth like Kito and Denis use narratives of similarity stemming from divinity. Within

these narratives, they locate a larger discourse of love, a discourse that is universal, familiar and established in the religious practices of refugee youth within the camp.

In understanding why youth suggested mutual love as a strategy, it becomes relevant to see this in relation with other initiatives within the camp to tackle ethnic discrimination. While we already know about the example of football as a youth-lead initiative, humanitarian NGOs within the camp often organized street theatre groups, and the many local churches within the camp formed choral groups. Through these many different groups, refugees attempted tackling social issues in the camp, one of them being ethnic discrimination. It is possible that none of these initiatives addressed the importance of affect in overcoming prejudice and instead adopted cognitive approaches in addressing differences and prejudice. Through youths' examples above, I find that youth speak about love as a *tool, a first step,* in bringing youth together, and in learning about peace and forgiveness.

Related to this discourse of love, youth also spoke of the need to 'help the other.' Denis articulated this further: "I can tell the youth to leave tribalism and to help others – to not leave him because he isn't from your tribe, because he's a Mufulelo. For example, me, I'm a Munyamulenge. If I come across a Mufulelo who has fallen here, I can't leave him. I'm capable of transporting him [to the hospital]…Like one says, unity brings strength." Similarly, Henri outlined this idea further:

> In life you don't know who...umm…who can help you. Maybe this one here, it may very well be him who will help you tomorrow and while you're here…you hate him…You see each other in another place, it's him here who will help you, or shoulder you in different problems that you may find.

In the examples above, youth like Henri and Denis leverage narratives of collaboration and helping the other, irrespective of ethnic affiliations. One reason for suggesting mutual collaboration, as Denis explained, is related to finding strength in unity, in the collective, an idea outlined subsequently. Another reason, as outlined by Henri, seemed to imply the importance of social currency, of being able to count on another. Youth underscored the need of helping the 'other' not just for sake for collaboration, but as a social currency that they themselves might be able to draw from in times of need, in the future.

Imagined solution 3: Initiating collective action

In youths' descriptions, their ideas of a collective action varied from that of clubs to formal youth associations, to youth trainings or to informally reaching other youth through friends' networks. Undergirding each of these ideas are elements of collective action, of the need to address ethnic discrimination as a larger group of youth. As 18-year old Abasi said, "Youth can do if they get together, but one youth simply isn't capable…If we get together all the tribes of the camp…we could be capable if there's a reunification of all the tribes." Youth suggested addressing ethnic discrimination collectively, as an intentional strategy in reunifying and bringing youth across ethnic lines together. In this sub-section, I elaborate on youths' descriptions of collective action as relating to the following questions: What should the collective engage in? How to enlarge the collective and attract and engage other youth? How to manage and organize the collective?

Youths suggested the need to be trained collectively. In doing so, youth suggested reaching out to humanitarian organizations within the camp to train youth and enhance their capacities in addressing ethnic discrimination. Abasi explained: "It must also be that there are some trainings because you can't only go to inform someone and tell him, start

like this and like that. It must be that first of all that you will use some key words. We will leave with these key words. If we use these key words, one can succeed." Youth believed that these trainings would enable them to collectively address ethnic discrimination within their community.

The second activity that youth believed the collective should consciously engage with was in contesting and challenging adults' divisive beliefs relating to ethnic discrimination. These were the very inter-generational narratives that posed to be challenging for the youth to address individually. Claudine explained, "From my side, I can do a meeting for us youth to discuss letting go of ethnic history, to let go of mutual hatred." Manzi further added, "We must know how to battle against tribalism. We must avoid the past to plan for the future. This is why I say that we must leave the things of our ancestors and plan your own." Subscribing to this view of collectively staying strong against archaic values ascribed by elders and in further spreading this message, Ali said, "We have roots that we must uproot…I tell them [the youth], 'Here, we must be suspicious of our ancestors who want to initiate hatred amongst us.'"

In each of these narratives, while youth like Claudine, Manzi and Ali position other youth as receivers of inter-generationally transmitted narratives, they simultaneously position themselves as agentive, persuading other youth to 'let go', 'leave' and 'uproot' their ethnic histories and roots. They believe that these roots and ethnic histories have stymied peace, development and stability within their communities and believe that standing up collectively empowers them with the courage to question and contest these narratives of exclusion and hatred.

Youth also offered strategies to attract, encourage and convince other youth to join them in their efforts. The most common of such strategies was to reach out within their own networks of friends and people they knew. Claudine suggested, "You have five among your friends who can help you to regroup people…You tell five who tell the others and so on and so forth." Similar to this idea of a network, Ali explained, "I contact 2-4 youth…We make a group of 10 or 20 to raise awareness for the others - 50,100,1000, all the youth who are…We must little by little remove tribalism."

A second suggestion to enlarge the collective was to create clubs and structured opportunities for youth to get involved. "One can create some clubs," suggested Innocent. He believed that reaching out to youth immediately after their football game was an opportune moment to spread information about new initiatives and youth clubs within the camp. In Vincent's opinion, youth must be "invited" to "discuss and make harmony."

In these descriptions and in light of the evidence presented earlier, youth speak to the power of a network, to the strength in unity and therefore the need to expand the collective. They position themselves as efficacious, able to reach youth through friends of friends, and in the process targeting a large mass of youth in the camp.

Youth suggested expanding the collective to reach many different kinds of youth, with different ideologies around the practice of ethnic discrimination. Acknowledging this diversity, Manzi said, "We the youth aren't all the same. But if we alert youth and if we get together and share all that we have, this can eliminate tribalism." Along similar lines, Ali explained:

> In my refugee camp here, there are Banyamulenge youth, Bafulelo youth, Bembe youth. But when we're together with them, you will know who is a Munyamulenge youth – what does he want? What doesn't he want? Who is a Mubembe youth – what does he want? What doesn't he want? It's the

> same with the Bashis. You see, here you will know the youth when you're with them. You will know what you can avoid with them, what you can do to satisfy them more.

In this construction, Ali positions youth as seeking information about the 'other,' about the other's likes and dislikes and about creating opportunities to develop accurate social perceptions of the other.

A few youth even offered suggestions to manage this youth collective. "After coming together, we will elect the responsible or the authorities who will conduct us because we can't start along like this. It's important that there is order," articulated Vincent. Per Vincent, the activities of the youth collective must be orderly and managed both by elected individuals and authorities. In this case, youth position themselves as agents playing a key role in electing representatives and in organizing and managing themselves to achieve their goals. Denis subscribed to this idea of order and youth self-organizing. He explained:

> One must make strength, like an association of us youth. If a youth falls in a mistake for example if he practices tribalism, we punish him seriously. It [ethnic discrimination] can really diminish. It can't finish, but it can diminish…If a youth has fear of being punished by this youth group, this will really diminish. Not by the police, but only us the youth.

In the above narrative, youth like Denis seek to garner strength through the presence of a youth association. Here, youth position themselves as responsible and with the necessary authority to undertake punitive measures and ways to hold each other accountable. Through these measures, they suggest engendering accountability and legitimacy not just for the youth collective, but also for themselves and each other, as agents and leaders in their own right.

Discussion and Conclusion

Through a YPAR design, this study sought to understand how 34 refugee youth perceived, experienced and tackled practices and narratives of ethnic discrimination in their community – a refugee camp. This study focuses on youths' proposed solutions to specifically tackle ethnic discrimination, an issue youth themselves identified as problematic and worthy of initiating collective action around. Understanding the management and negotiation of these narratives and the solutions youth propose to address ethnic discrimination renders insight into refugee youths' civic competencies, specific to one type of issue.

Ranging from jibes to favoritism and physical and psychological violence, ethnic discrimination makes its presence salient in multiple ways in youths' day-to-day lives. Through their personal experiences and observations youth constructed ethnic discrimination as problematic - as a driver of conflict and an impediment to creating any semblance of peace and stability in their community.

Despite being deeply enmeshed in their observations and deeply personal and difficult experiences of ethnic discrimination, youth were able to distance themselves and demonstrate the metacognitive skills to reflect and critically think about ethnic discrimination and its associated solutions. Cognizant of the historical origins of ethnic discrimination, youth found that one of the greatest barriers to overcoming the problem are their parents' and adults' divisive narratives which further perpetuate discriminatory attitudes and practices within this community. For these multiple reasons, youth proposed creating a larger youth collective, comprising of youth across different ethnic lines. In this section, I draw our attention to three main takeaways from this work.

The marked absence of a rights based discourse in youths' responses

In none of the youths' responses do we observe any traces of a human rights discourse. In imagining and proposing solutions to tackle ethnic discrimination, while youth speak of 'sameness,' constructed as being Congolese, or refugees who have experienced displacement, none of the youth speak directly to fundamental ideas of 'equality' or of being rights holders. In their responses, I do not find any references to acknowledging the rights of others or that they share individual and collective responsibility in upholding their rights.

While salient in the mandate of the UNHCR, the rhetoric of a rights-based discourse does not translate into the lived experiences of refugee youth in this study. While youth seek safety and shelter within a refugee camp, a space created by UNHCR to uphold and protect the rights of refugees and to facilitate the easy provision of aid (Dryden-Peterson, 2011), this rights based discourse does not percolate into youths' narratives around management of community problems like ethnic discrimination.

In constructing a shared narrative of why ethnic discrimination is a problem worthy of collective and immediate action, their responses are not underpinned in any acknowledgment of a violation of each other's fundamental rights of equality. Instead, they construct ethnic discrimination as problematic for its role in perpetuating and prolonging conflict in the DRC and its adverse impacts in creating a shared sense of community and cohesion in the context of a refugee camp. Youth find it problematic that these very narratives of discrimination travel across time and space thereby thwarting peace and stability in their current camp community, a place where they seek safety and refuge.

Conflict-affected youth as change agents and partners in finding solutions

Despite the marked absence of any acknowledgement of each other's rights, youth still seek to engage collectively. Their desires and proposed solutions to tackle ethnic discrimination are in stark contrast to stereotypical discourses around youth impacted by conflict. These discourses typically categorize young people impacted by conflict into one of two reductionist tropes: as the vulnerable victim – passive and apathetic, or as the violent villain – rebellious and explosive (Clark-Kazak, 2011; Talbot, 2011). In youths' responses I find great heterogeneity between these two polar ends of the vulnerable victim or the violent villain. When considering solutions to address ethnic discrimination, youth draw from their current experiences of leveraging football and sport as a tool for cross-group collaboration and for "fair play." Akin to studies that suggest the importance of affect, empathy and perspective taking in actively reducing prejudice (Kenworthy et al., 2005), youth in this study find value in the emotional appeal of loving the 'other' as a useful starting point in overcoming ethnic differences. Reflecting on the drivers and consequences of ethnic discrimination, they suggest tackling the issue as a youth collective across ethnic lines; a collective that will strengthen their abilities to contest adults' divisive narratives that have spanned across generations and geographies. Youth suggest actively utilizing the collective as a way to develop accurate social perceptions, relationships and deep understandings of the 'other.'

Through these enacted and imagined actions, youth actively re-position themselves. They move away from being cast as victims, as passive recipients socialized into divisive inter-generational narratives and instead, construct themselves as agentive and efficacious in being able to think deeply and critically about the issue of ethnic discrimination.

Refugee camps as mediating spaces through the presence of multiple narratives

In my study, I find that refugee youth occupy several, intersecting mediating spaces - home, football teams, classrooms and the refugee camp community at large. These mediating spaces are brimming with narratives and practices around ethnic discrimination, which in turn influence youths' imaginings of any potential solutions to addressing ethnic discrimination. Through their interactions with family, community elders and peers within these mediating spaces youth are exposed to these multiple, and sometimes competing narratives that they must weigh, make meaning of and negotiate simultaneously. I further discuss two intersecting mediating spaces that youth occupy concurrently and that offer two very different kinds of narratives and experiences around ethnic discrimination.

In the football ground, youth are able to self-organize to manage themselves. They come together voluntarily across ethnic groups and in equal status as football players, play cooperatively towards a common, defined goal, and collectively follow rules and norms that they themselves have established and hold each other accountable to. In addition, it also provides youth the opportunity to establish inter-group friendships. Proponents of Allport's work (1954/1979) would suggest that this space in fact satisfies many of the facilitating conditions pivotal to reducing intergroup prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

In contrast, within the mediating space of a refugee community at large, youth are confronted with a larger master narrative of conflict, discrimination and exclusion. It is a narrative that repeatedly plays out in the speech and actions of community elders, adults and peers, and is one that youth describe as the raison d'être for their forced displacement. For some youth these narratives lead them to believe that ethnic

discrimination is a long-standing practice, a byproduct of history, fixed in nature and practice, and subsequently unchangeable. Its practice frustrates and angers them. In other instances, these narratives of exclusion and discrimination spur youth to imagine and initiate collective action, leading them to believe that despite its historical origins, change and improvement within a society is still possible.

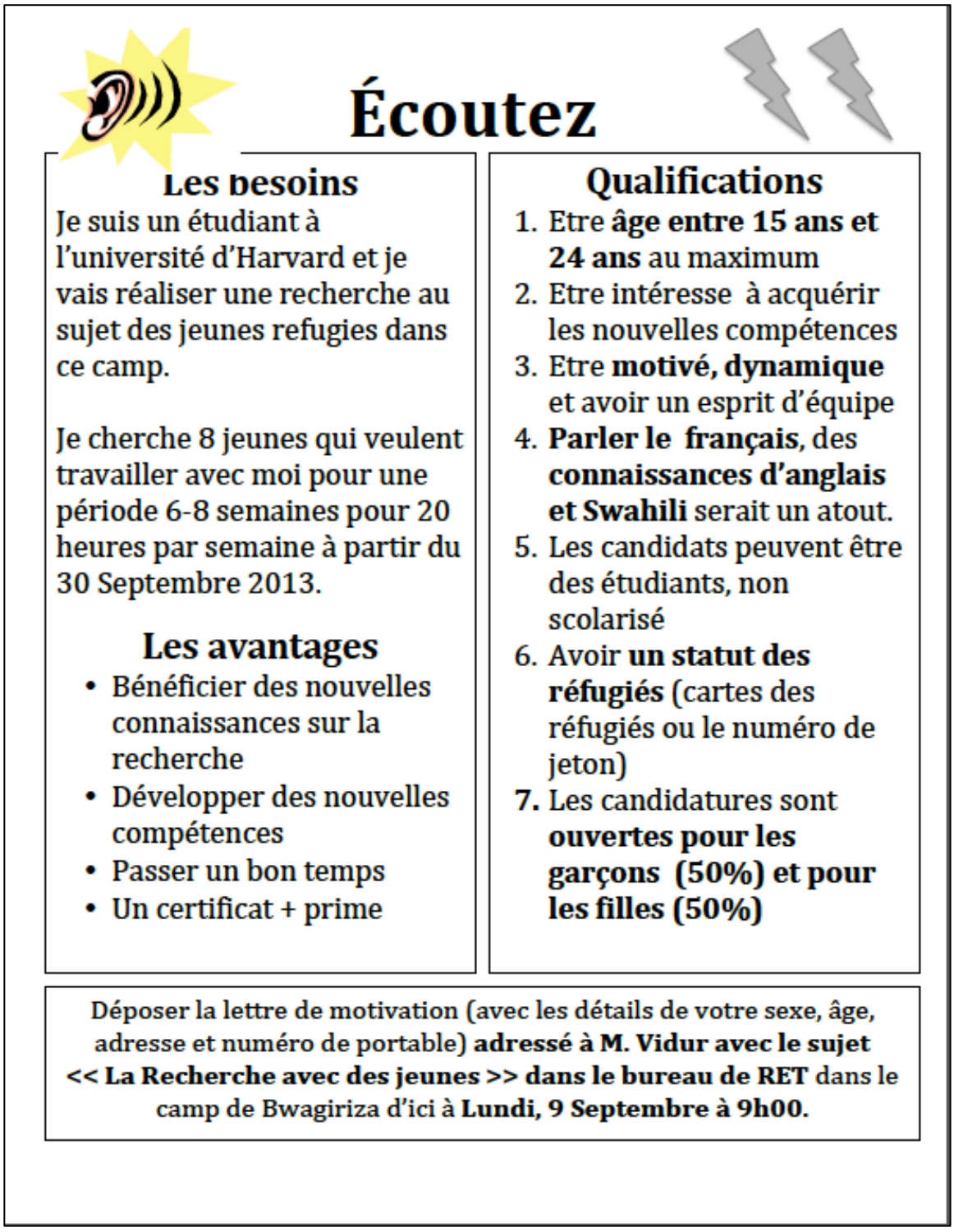
Through their enacted and proposed solutions they seek to construct new counter narratives that actively resist currently archaic and divisive narratives that they've been socialized to believe. In these narratives, they position themselves as agentive and efficacious, thereby challenging current divisive norms and values. They re-categorize their identities as superordinate identities—of being human, refugees, or Congolese and suggest not self-identifying solely along ethnic lines.

Bulley (2014) finds refugee camps as spaces with a "plethora of meanings, demonstrating the agency of the community" (p.75). In the context of this study too, the presence of multiple, intersecting mediating institutions in youths' lives communicate different meanings, norms and values thereby guiding youths' thoughts and actions around ethnic discrimination. The narratives within these mediating spaces convey to youth what change is possible, who is impacted, when and how, and most importantly that through them positive change can be imagined and engendered.

These youth reassure themselves, and us, that a better future is within the realm of their possibility. Their collective imaginings remind us that many a time finding solutions to intractable problems entails the authentic, active and deep engagement of youth from the very communities that confront these issues.

Appendices

Appendix A: Recruitment poster (in French) inviting youth researchers



Écoutez

Les besoins

Je suis un étudiant à l'université d'Harvard et je vais réaliser une recherche au sujet des jeunes refugies dans ce camp.

Je cherche 8 jeunes qui veulent travailler avec moi pour une période 6-8 semaines pour 20 heures par semaine à partir du 30 Septembre 2013.

Les avantages

- Bénéficier des nouvelles connaissances sur la recherche
- Développer des nouvelles compétences
- Passer un bon temps
- Un certificat + prime

Qualifications

1. Etre **âge entre 15 ans et 24 ans** au maximum
2. Etre intéresse à acquérir les nouvelles compétences
3. Etre **motivé, dynamique** et avoir un esprit d'équipe
4. **Parler le français**, des **connaissances d'anglais et Swahili** serait un atout.
5. Les candidats peuvent être des étudiants, non scolarisé
6. Avoir **un statut des réfugiés** (cartes des réfugiés ou le numéro de jeton)
7. Les candidatures sont **ouvertes pour les garçons (50%) et pour les filles (50%)**

Déposer la lettre de motivation (avec les détails de votre sexe, âge, adresse et numéro de portable) **adressé à M. Vidur avec le sujet << La Recherche avec des jeunes >> dans le bureau de RET** dans le camp de Bwagiriza d'ici à **Lundi, 9 Septembre à 9h00.**

Appendix B: Broader Sample Decomposition

Participant ID	Alias Name	Age (years)	Gender
P1*	Destin	Not reported	Male
P2	-	16	Male
P3	-	17	Female
P4*	Nadege	17	Female
P5	-	20	Male
P6	-	15	Female
P7*	Monique	19	Female
P8	-	21	Male
P9*	Claudine	16	Female
P10	-	20	Male
P11*	Jean-Pierre	16	Male
P12*	Denis	16	Male
P13*	Mansa	18	Male
P14	-	Not reported	Male
P15*	Antoine	18	Male
P16*	Ferdinand	22	Male
P17	-	18	Male
P18	-	22	Male
P19*	Prince	24	Male
P20*	Salehe	19	Male
P21*	Ali	24	Male
P22*	Abasi	18	Male
P23*	Emmanuel	24	Male
P24*	Angélique	19	Female
P25	-	22	Male
P26*	Claudette	20	Female
P27*	Amira	16	Female
P28*	Tindo	21	Male
P29*	Manzi	17	Male
P30*	Mimi	16	Female
P31*	Kito	19	Female
P32*	Amaziah	16	Male
P33*	Innocent	18	Male
P34*	Vincent	20	Male

* indicates participants who have been quoted in the study

Appendix C: Draft curricular calendar – youth researchers

Week 1	Themes to cover
Session 1	Overview + ice breakers + having fun - getting to know each other - trust
Session 2	Inducements - voluntary participation + RQs and suitability
Session 3	Research ethics - why care and what does do no harm mean in this context

Week 2	Themes to cover
Session 1	Ethics
Session 2	Starting to think about samples + visual methodologies intro
Session 3	Intro. To interviewing
Session 4	Reviewing ethics again + interviewing methods contd.

Week 3	Themes to cover
Session 1	Snowball sampling - participant recruitment
Session 2	Ethics
Session 3	Practicing protocols
Session 4	Practicing protocols

Week 4	Themes to cover
Session 1	Data Collection - Day 1
Session 2	Discuss in the morning + Data collection continues in afternoon
Session 3	Data Collection - Day 2
Session 4	Discuss in the morning + Data collection continues in afternoon
Session 5	Data Collection - Day 3

Week 5	Themes to cover
NO SESSION	Holiday
Session 1	Data Collection - Day 4
Session 2	How did it all go
Session 3	Starting to analyse - how do we share this - start preparing for exit
Session 4	Analysis continue + who do we invite and how - exiting

Week 6	Themes to cover
Session 1	Prepare + what did we learn + what worked + what didn't work
Session 2	Prepare + ethics + what do we do now - where do we go from here
Session 3	Final showcase
Session 4	Reflections and closing

Appendix D: Interview protocol (English)

Brief introduction:
Thank you for your time and interest today. I will ask you questions concerning your community and the role of youth in the community. When we discuss about youth, think about people who are between 15 and 24 years.

Your participation is **entirely voluntary.** You can leave a question if you feel uncomfortable or don't wish to respond. Even though we want to know about your experience, if at any moment you want to stop, please tell me. We're eager to know your thoughts and detailed experiences.

We will never utilize your real name when we share the results of this research.

Introduction [To establish a relationship with the candidate]

1. Firstly, I would like to know how much time have you already spent here in the camp?
    a. Which year did you arrive here in?
2. Did you go to school or university in Congo?
    a. If so, until which class?
3. Can you describe your routine each day here in the camp? OR [Can you describe your routine from the time you wake up until the time when you sleep (at night)?]
4. What do you think about other youth here in this camp?

About the community

1. Now, I will give you a paper on which there's already a map of your community. This isn't exact but only an approximation of your community.
    a. Now, suppose your cousin who doesn't live with you, he want to know about your community and the camp. He wants to know the things that you like and the things you don't like here. [PAUSE]
    b. I will give you stones and leave. I would like that you use the leaves to mark the things that you like and the stones for the things that you don't like.
    c. For the things that are concrete, you can mark inside the map. For the things that are abstract, for example war, you can mark outside the map, like this [SHOW and DEMONSTRATE]
2. I would like to know how you obtain information inside this camp, for example what happens all the days, opportunities, problems, jobs, information about developments? [PAUSE]
    a. Are there specific people who help you to find information here? Who are these people?
3. Now I would like to ask you questions about social problems that concern youth like you in their daily life here in this camp. You can say all the social problems that you things are important or relevant for the youth.

a. I would like that you write each social problem on each card. You can write as many problems as you would like OR I will write all the things on the cards here.
b. There are 2 different boxes. The first box this is the blue box. This is for all the social problems that you think you can do something about these problems
c. The second box, this is the red box. This is for all the social problems that you think you can't do anything about these problems.
d. I would like that you put the cards where you think relevant
e. If you aren't certain where you can put a particular card, you can put the card on the floor/the table.

[If the candidate hasn't already spoken about banditism/tribalism/unemployment/hatred, you can ask the question " There are some people who think that there is… What do you think about this subject? Do you think the youth can do something about these problems?]

About the youth and you

1. Who are the people who can do something about these social problems during the future?
    a. Why do you think this?
2. Are there youth who have tried to do something about these social problems?
    a. Who are these people?
    b. What have they done? It's not necessary that they succeeded or failed.
3. What are the good things that the youth have done for your community?
4. Have you already tried do something about these problems that you've discussed?
    a. Why or why not?
    b. What kinds of obstacles have you encountered when you've tried to do something?
    c. Were you successful?

Appendix E: Interview protocol (French)

Petite-introduction

Merci pour votre temps et intéresse aujourd'hui. Je vais vous commander les questions à propos de votre communauté et le rôle des jeunes dans la communauté. Lorsque nous discutons à propos des jeunes, pensez au sujet de personnes qui ont entre 15 et 24 ans.

Votre participation est **entièrement volontaire**. Vous pouvez laisser tomber une question si vous vous sentez inconfortable ou ne souhaitez pas répondre. Bien que, nous voulons savoir à propos de votre expérience, si à tout moment vous voulez arrêter, dites-moi, s'il vous plait. Nous sommes impatient d'entendre vos pensées et expériences détaillés.

Nous ne serons jamais utilisée votre vrai nom lorsque nous partageons les résultats de cette recherche.

Introduction et pour établir une bonne relation avec le candidat

1. Premièrement, je voudrais savoir combiens de temps avez-vous déjà dépensé dans ce camp ? Vous-êtes arrivé dans quelle année ?
2. Avez-vous allé à l'école ou à l'université au Congo ? Jusqu'à quelle classe ?
3. Est-ce que vous pouvez décrire votre routine chaque jour ici dans ce camp ? [Qu'est ce que ces votre routine du temps quand vous réveillez jusqu'à le temps quand vous dormez ?]
4. Qu'est-ce que vous pensez à propos des autres jeunes ici dans ce camp ?

Au sujet de communauté

CAUTION EXPLIQUEZ TOUS!!

5. Maintenant, je vais vous donner un papier sur lequel il y a déjà la carte de votre communauté. Ce n'est pas précis mais juste une approximation de votre communauté.
    a. Et maintenant, supposons votre cousin qui n'habite avec vous, il veut savoir au sujet de votre communauté et le camp. Il veut savoir les choses que vous aimez et les choses que vous n'aimez pas ici. [PAUSE]
    b. Je vais vous donner les feuilles et les cailloux. Je voudrais que vous utiliser les feuilles pour les choses qui vous aimez et les cailloux pour les choses que vous n'aimez pas.
    c. Pour les choses qui sont concret, vous pouvez marquer dans la carte. Pour les choses qui sont abstrait par exemple la guerre, vous pouvez marquer dehors la carte comme ici [MONTREZ]

6. Je voudrais savoir comment vous obteniez les infos dans ce camp par exemples - qu'est ce qui passé tous les jours, les opportunités, les problèmes, les boulots, les infos des évènements ? [PAUSE]

a. Est-ce qu'il y a les personnes spécifique qui vous aidez pour trouver les infos ici ? Qui sont ces personnes?

7. Maintenant, je voudrais vous poser les questions au sujet de problèmes sociaux qui concernent les jeunes comme vous dans leur vie quotidien ici dans ce camp. Vous pouvez dire tous les problèmes sociaux que vous pensez important ou relevant pour les jeunes. [Je voudrais que vous écriviez chaque problème social sur chaque carte. Vous pouvez écrire autant de problèmes que vous voudriez OU Je vais écrire toutes les choses sur les cartes ici.]

CAUTION
Sensibiliser
Conseiller

JAMAIS!!
COMPETENT
CAPABLE

   a. Il y a 2 boites différents. La premier boite celle-ci la boite bleu. C'est pour toutes les problèmes sociales que vous pensez que vous pouvez faire quel que chose au sujet de ces problèmes
   b. La deuxième boite c'est la boite rouge. C'est pour tous les problèmes sociaux que vous pensez que vous ne pouvez rien faire au sujet de ces problèmes
   c. Je voudrais que vous mettiez les cartes où vous pensez ce relevant.
   d. Si vous n'êtes pas certain où vous pouvez mettre une carte particulier, vous pouvez mettre la carte sur le terrain/la table.

[Si le candidat n'a pas déjà dit au sujet de banditisme/ tribalisme/conflits/chômage/haine, vous pouvez poser la question « Il y a quelque personne qui pense qu'il y a ….Que pensez-vous à ce sujet? Pensez-vous que les jeunes peuvent faire quel que chose au sujet de ces problèmes ?]

Au sujet des jeunes et vous

8. Qui sont les personnes qui peuvent faire quel que chose au sujet de ces problèmes sociales pendant l'avenir ? Pourquoi vous pensez ça ?
9. Est-ce qu'il y a les jeunes qui ont essayé de faire quel que chose au sujet de ces problèmes sociaux? Qui sont ces personnes ? Qu'est ce qu'ils ont fait ? Ce n'est pas nécessaire qu'ils aient du succès ou ils aient raté.
10. Quelles sont les bonnes choses que les jeunes ont faites pour votre communauté ?
11. Avez-vous déjà essayé pour faire quel que chose à propos de ces problèmes que vous avez discuté?
    a. Pourquoi ou pourquoi pas ?
    b. Quels types des obstacles avez-vous rencontré lorsque vous avez essayé de faire quel que chose?
    c. Etiez-vous réussi ?

Appendix F: Matrix representing different issues identified by youth sample

Issues youth believed they could address	***Issues youth believed they could not address***	***Issues where youth opinion was split about their abilities in addressing the issue***
• Drug use • Youth dropping out from school • Undesired pregnancies • School absenteeism	• Poverty • Limited food supplies in the camp • Unemployment opportunities • Lack of community cohesion • Poor quality health care	• Ethnic discrimination • Limited recreational activities for youth

Appendix G: Selected sample of codes from the codebook

Family	Code	Definition	Exclusion /Comments	Example
Advice	Advise_all_same	Refers to advice that is centered around sameness and similarity	Can be multiple kinds of similarity (not necessarily distinct from one another) e.g. refugee, Congolese, human	"We're all the same" "We possess blood that is red."
	Advise_effects_of_T	Refers to advice that informs individuals about negative consequences of tribalism	Not referring to any positive consequences of tribalism (none found)	"I can contribute the idea of saying that conflict isn't good."
	Advise_friends	Refers to advising friends	Only when specified. In some cases, difficult to separate advice to friends vs. advice other youth	"I can advise my dear young friends…"
	Advise_God	Advice provided has some kind of a spiritual/religious undertone		**"**We're created by the image of God."
	Advise_others	Any misc. kind of advice not captured by codes above		-
Effect	Effect	Participant describes the effects of tribalism in their life/camp	Answers the question of what are the manifestations of tribalism in the youths' lives?	"Tribalism causes war" "These are things that don't bring peace to the camp"
Keeper	Keeper	Any quotes that are "sticky" and worth including	Be choosy about which ones are keepers!	"One must make an organization

		in the final write up		of us, youth…"
Personally	Me_can	Any references to the participant believing that they CAN do something about tribalism	Offers/proposes some kind of a solution. Must include "I"	
	Me_can_not	Any references to the participant believing that they CAN NOT do something about tribalism	Generally limited in the data	"No because they don't love each other…it's not easy to reconcile."
Tribalism not exist	No_tribalism	Refers to no instances of tribalism in the camp	Generally limited in the data	"Tribalism has decreased."
Obstacles	O.elders	Refers to elders as an obstacle of sorts	-	"We youth are innocent…it's our parents who say…"
	O.endemic_problem	Refers to history of tribalism, or it being a problem that's difficult to resolve or do anything about	Different from me_can_not because they might offer some solution but believe they're yet constrained	"Even our grand parents failed. How can I do something?"
	O.no_change/no_listen	References to people not changing their behaviors or not listening	-	"He refuses and falls asleep…"
Routine	Routine	Participant's daily routine in the camp.	Only used to understand the context	
Solution	S.all_same	Refers to a solution that's based in the idea of sameness	Not Advise_all_same	"We're Congolese by origin..We must show by example."
	S. football	References to football or sport		"I found that sport brings

		as a solution to end tribalism		people from different ethnicities together."
	S.harmony	Refers to the need to 'create harmony'		"I like to create a climate of harmony" "When we meet each other on the path, we can greet each other."
	S.help/share_other	Refers to helping each other and sharing	Helping across different tribes	"I like to help each other mutually" "The solution is to share together"
	S.love_other	Refers to loving each other across different tribes/groups	Loving across different tribes	"If we love each other tribalism will end itself"
	S.misc	Misc. solutions not captured by the code above	-	-
	S.mix_tribes	Refers to mixing the different tribes together		"If they can get together, they can fight against it."
	S.network	Refers to calling people who will call more people	Might seem similar to S.together but different since it doesn't refer to necessarily acting together but just bringing people together and maybe even informing them	"You tell 5 who tell the others and so on and so forth."
	S.organize	Refers to organizing formally in some	Not exactly S.together but might double	"We can create a club"

		way	code	
	S.orgn	Refers to the need for organizational involvement in addressing the issue		"There is a theatre group by RET that has built awareness."
	S.together	Refers to tackling the problem together, as a part of a group	Not s.network	"We call the other youth who are here in the camp."
Source	Source	Participant describes the source of tribalism in the camp	Provides evidence around – How does one know that tribalism exists in this community? Different from the manifestations of tribalism.	"The cause I know is that tribalism depends on our ancestors." "This maybe caused by the ethnic groups."
Time in the camp	Time <=2 yrs.	Participant has spent less than or equal to two years in the camp	-	-
	Time >2 yrs.	Participant has spent more than two years in the camp	-	-

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