



HAL
open science

Ethnographic study and Participatory Action-Research in Non-Formal Education, Artistic experiences and hope: identity issues of displaced children Ashti IDPs Camp, Sulaymaniyah, Kurdistan, Iraq June to September 2017

Albane Buriel

► **To cite this version:**

Albane Buriel. Ethnographic study and Participatory Action-Research in Non-Formal Education, Artistic experiences and hope: identity issues of displaced children Ashti IDPs Camp, Sulaymaniyah, Kurdistan, Iraq June to September 2017. Education. Institut des Relations Internationales et Stratégiques, Paris; Institut Bioforce, 2017. English. NNT : . tel-01621986

HAL Id: tel-01621986

<https://hal.science/tel-01621986v1>

Submitted on 24 Oct 2017

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Photo : Laurent Van Der Stockt, Mosul, 30th Oct., 2016



Self-portrait of N., an 8-year-old Yazidi girl

دەلقین احمد



Institut des Relations Internationales et Stratégiques & Institut Bioforce
Master thesis, « Humanitarian action: strategic affairs and project management »
Years 2016-2017

**ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY AND PARTICIPATORY ACTION-
RESEARCH IN NON-FORMAL EDUCATION**

**ARTISTIC EXPERIENCES AND HOPE: IDENTITY ISSUES OF
DISPLACED CHILDREN**

Ashti IDPs Camp, Sulaymaniyah, Kurdistan, Iraq
June to September 2017 (3 months)

Albane Buriel, under the supervision of Georges Lefevre, anthropologist

Thesis presentation : 21 October 2017



"Education is the point at which we decide whether we love the world enough to assume responsibility for it and by the same token save it from that ruin which, except for renewal, except for the coming of the new and young, would be inevitable. And education, too, is where we decide whether we love our children enough not to expel them from our world and leave them to their own devices, nor to strike from their hands their chance of undertaking something new, something unforeseen by us, but to prepare them in advance for the task of renewing a common world." Hannah Arendt

Acknowledgments

This ethnographic study would not have been possible without the support of my research director Mr. Georges Lefeuvre, who gave me his confidence and great support in the development of this work. Beyond that, his attraction for the original work that is mine, his deep conviction that this type of action can participate, at its level, to build our common world differently, by giving a different hope to our children who will be the adults of tomorrow. Thank you, Georges, for your receptivity which gave me a lot of courage to carry out this project. Thank you also for your proximity, anecdotes and the lengthy discussions that we could still discuss today without them ending. You are a great example to follow.

Likewise, I would like to express my gratitude to all the team of France Libertés and the Civil Development Organization and particularly to the team of the Non-Formal Education project for their hospitality, support, sharing and kindness. Thanks very much to Xenia who immediately believed in my project, who then opened the doors of the project in Ashti camp and gave me the support I needed at good times. Thanks to Sahar and Tablo for their hospitality, their fresh way of being and their commitment to their work. Thank you to Nojeen, volunteer and interpreter, who was the key to continuing my field research. Thanks to her for her natural way of being with the people we met. Thank you all for these insightful and critical discussions and for the closeness I needed to work and understand environments. Thank you to Zhwan, Professor of art at the University of Sulaymaniyah and painter with whom we were able to energetically build the workshops. Thank you for your commitment.

A big thank you to the people I met at Ashti camp. Day after day, you gave me a warm welcome in the camp. Thank you to the three facilitators Balkiz, Adil, and Munib, with whom I collaborated. Thank you for their adaptability, their way of welcoming me and showing me their courageous work with the children they nurture in a beautiful way and of course their collaboration. Thank you to them for telling me about their life, the daily life of the camp and for having relayed it to the different people I met. Thank you for their respect and generosity.

Above all, thanks to the children of Ashti camp whom I got to know and their parents who, despite the difficult heat, made the camp a welcoming place. Thank you for the time given, for the patience to tell me about their past, their present and their desires for the future. Thanks to the children, thanks to whom I have been amazed many times by watching them create, through their imaginary and artistic productions, their dream world. Thank you for the beauty of these shared moments.

Résumé

Les conflits permanents, l'instabilité politique et la montée des radicalismes communautaires et religieux, dont Daesh en est le triste stigmat, caractérise l'Irak depuis de nombreuses années, notamment depuis la disparition de "l'homme fort", Saddam Hussein. Depuis l'été 2014, particulièrement, époque où les combattants de Daesh ont pris le pouvoir sur une large partie du territoire irakien, les mouvements de populations ont été vifs causant le déplacement de plus de 3,2 millions de personnes à l'intérieur de leur propre pays, particulièrement dans le Nord de l'Irak.

Cette ethnographie étudie l'expérience du déplacement d'enfants et de leurs parents, qui ont trouvé refuge, en grande majorité depuis trois ans dans le camp d'Ashti, à Sulaymaniyah, au Kurdistan irakien. Cette étude souhaite interroger et comprendre les espérances de ces enfants, à travers les pratiques artistiques dans le cadre de l'Education Non-Formelle (NFE). Le camp d'Ashti est riche de complexité puisque s'y côtoient différentes communautés : les Arabes sunnites, les Yazidis, les Shabaks et les Turkmens. C'est le seul camp tenant de cette originalité au Kurdistan irakien. Les trajectoires sont diverses, les situations et les espoirs, le sont tout autant.

Le camp est constitué d'installations provisoires qui n'ont pas vocation à se fixer, cependant elles se consolident au fil du temps et des situations de conflits qui s'éternisent. Ce qui doit être une solution de l'urgence ; dans un temps réduit devient la norme dans la marge en y intégrant des processus d'installation dans un lieu qui n'a pourtant pas vocation à en être un. Les camps deviennent une solution pérenne comme une exemplarité dans la gestion humanitaire de ces exils forcés. Les temps sont tiraillés entre une urgence qui demeure dans le besoin de sortir d'un territoire « hors-sol » pour pouvoir retrouver ses racines ou s'enraciner dans un environnement social qui permette à ces individus de repenser leurs possibles. Les vies sont souvent rendues invisibles et rétrécies. Les temps sont allongés, ils révèlent souvent de longues insomnies où l'attente du grand retour marque l'absence de la terre perdue. La souffrance et la posture de victime relayée par l'environnement humanitaire sont les uniques éléments de confirmation de la réalité présente. Alors, le présentéisme devient une réalité où la « pensée pleine de l'exil » donne une présence au monde. Comment accompagner les enfants à regarder le futur déraciné ? Comment répondre, grâce à l'éducation et aux pratiques artistiques, à cette quête d'identité dans un milieu où ne peut pas prendre racine ?

Nous explorons ainsi par l'ethnographie et par la Recherche-Action Participative, notamment grâce à la conduite d'ateliers d'arts plastiques dans le cadre de l'Education Non-Formelle, la perception qu'ont ces enfants de leur futur à travers des ateliers communs sur leurs rêves (entendus espérances). Nous observons la façon dont leur exil structure leur perception du passé et de leur futur mais aussi comment et pourquoi, ces enfants ont besoin de se dire et de se raconter à travers la création artistique.

C'est un aller-retour permanent entre le futur et le passé qui se dessine dans les créations des enfants. Ce faisant, nous considérons à la fois les spécificités du contexte et l'environnement global, notamment familiaux, afin de comprendre comment les rêves des enfants sont façonnées par leurs manques : ce qu'ils ont perdus mais aussi ce dont ils ne peuvent pas jouir dans le présent. Le présent et la réalité du camp, souvent peu désirables ne donnent pas les repères suffisants permettant aux imaginaires de se construire et de se développer.

Nous soutenons que l'éducation, formelle ou non-formelle, particulièrement en ces contextes de déstabilisation, devrait guider l'esprit créatif de ses enfants en leur donnant de nouveaux possibles à inventer. Il est indispensable de leur permettre de réfléchir sur l'altérité et le monde mais aussi de penser qui ils sont et ce qu'ils souhaitent devenir, même dans le dessein le plus extraordinaire. Les pratiques artistiques, lorsqu'elles existent n'interrogent que très peu sur les concepts d'identité, d'altérité et de rêve. Elles soutiennent souvent une démarche formelle de recopiage ou une simple visée ludique ou décorative. Ni les institutions, ni les organisations internationales gouvernementales et non-gouvernementales, ne semblent mesurer les enjeux qu'une telle réflexion suppose. La littérature sur ces enjeux spécifiques est quasiment inexistante. Cette étude souhaite donc souligner la densité des pratiques et des interactions possibles dans ce type de Recherche-Action Participative.

Cette ethnographie montre également que, dans les contextes de déplacements forcés où cohabitent étrangement le passé et le futur, les enfants foisonnent d'imagination et qu'il importe aux adultes qui les entourent et aux agents éducatifs de les aider à construire leur futur de manière créative. Elle a également pour vocation de poser les premières structuration d'un travail de recherche plus fouillé qui interrogera notamment la prise en compte des identités, des besoins et des espérances des enfants par les entités éducatives.

Mots-clés : camp, humanitaire, IDPs, enfants, déplacement forcé, éducation, Education Non-Formelle, arts plastiques, créativité, rêves, futur, ethnographie, Recherche-Action Participative, Art-based research, Iraq, Kurdistan, Sulaymaniyah, camp d'Ashti

Abstracts

The ongoing conflicts, political instability and the rise of religious and community radicalism, of which Daesh is the sad stigma, characterize Iraq for many years, especially since the disappearance of the "strong man" Saddam Hussein. Since the summer of 2014, particularly at a time when the Daesh fighters have seized power over a large part of Iraq, population movements have been brisk, displacing more than 3.2 million people within their own country, particularly in northern Iraq.

This ethnography studies the experience of the displacement of children and their parents, most of whom have sought refuge in the Ashti camp in Sulaymaniyah, Iraqi Kurdistan, for the past three years. This study aims to question and understand the hopes of these children, through artistic practices in the framework of Non-Formal Education (NFE). Ashti camp is rich in complexity because it is home to different communities: Sunni Arabs, Yazidis, Shabaks and Turkmen. It is the only camp with this originality in Iraqi Kurdistan. The trajectories are varied, the situations and hopes are equally diverse.

The camp is a temporary facility that is not intended to be fixed, but it is consolidated over time and protracted conflict situations. What must be an emergency solution; in a reduced time becomes the norm in the margin by integrating processes of installation in a place that is not intended to be one. The camps are becoming a permanent solution as an example in the humanitarian management of these forced exiles. Times are torn between an emergency that remains in need of moving out of an "off-ground" territory in order to be able to find its roots or take root in a social environment that allows these individuals to rethink their possibilities. Lives are often made invisible and shrunk. The times are lengthened, they often reveal long insomnia where the waiting of the great return marks the absence of the lost land. The suffering and victim's posture relayed by the humanitarian environment are the only confirmation of the present reality. Presenteeism then becomes a reality where the "thoughtfulness of exile" gives a presence to the world. How to accompany children as they watch the uprooted future? How can we respond, through education and artistic practices, to this quest for identity in an environment where it cannot take root?

Through ethnography and Participatory Action-Research, notably through the conduct of plastic arts workshops in the framework of Non-Formal Education, we explore these children's perception of their future through joint workshops on their dreams (heard hopes). We observe the way in which their exile structures their perception of the past and their

future, but also how and why, these children need to tell themselves and their stories through artistic creation.

It is a permanent return trip between the future and the past that is taking shape in children's creations. In doing so, we consider both the specificities of the context and the global environment, especially the family environment, in order to understand how children's dreams are shaped by their failures: what they have lost but also what they cannot enjoy in the present. The present and the reality of the camp, which is often undesirable, do not give sufficient cues for imagination to build and develop.

We maintain that education, formal or non-formal, especially in these destabilizing contexts, should guide the creative spirit of its children by giving them new possibilities to invent. It is essential to enable them to reflect on otherness and the world, but also to think about who they are and what they wish to become, even for the most extraordinary purpose. Artistic practices, when they exist, only question very little about the concepts of identity, otherness and dream. They often support a formal copying process or a simple playful or decorative aim. Neither institutions, nor international governmental or non-governmental organizations, seem to measure the stakes involved in such reflection. Literature on these specific issues is virtually non-existent. This study therefore wishes to highlight the density of practices and possible interactions in this type of Participatory Action-Research.

This ethnography also shows that, in contexts of forced displacement where the past and the future coexist strangely, children abound in imagination and that it is important for the adults around them and the educational agents to help them to build their future in a creative way. It is also intended to lay the groundwork for a more detailed research project that will examine, in particular, the consideration of the identities, hopes and expectations of children by educational entities.

Keywords: camp, humanitarian, IDPs, children, forced displacement, education, Non-Formal Education, visual arts, creativity, dreams, future, ethnography, Participatory Action Research, Art-based research, Iraq, Kurdistan, Sulaymaniyah, Ashti camp

I. Contents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	4
RESUME.....	5
ABSTRACTS.....	7
LIST OF ACRONYMS.....	12
INTRODUCTION.....	13
I. SETTING THE IRAQI & KURDISTAN CONTEXTS	16
1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ON THE CONFLICTS	16
2. THE ORIGIN, EXPANSION AND VIOLENCE OF THE DAESH GROUP	18
3. RELOCATION EFFORTS IN KURDISTAN	20
II. RATIONALE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY	22
III. METHODOLOGY.....	24
1. DURATION.....	24
2. HUMAN RESOURCES AND PARTNERSHIP	24
a. <i>Partnership for logistic resources.....</i>	<i>24</i>
b. <i>Facilitators</i>	<i>25</i>
c. <i>The artist.....</i>	<i>26</i>
d. <i>A heterogeneous posture.....</i>	<i>27</i>
3. METHODOLOGY CONSIDERATIONS.....	27
4. ETHNOGRAPHIC PROCESS AND TOOLS USED	28
a. <i>Analysis of the context and intervention zone</i>	<i>28</i>
b. <i>Definition of key research questions and hypotheses</i>	<i>29</i>
c. <i>Preliminary field visits: Observation and orientation, characteristics of the intervention area.....</i>	<i>29</i>
d. <i>Secondary visits: Deeper understanding of the community.....</i>	<i>30</i>
5. LAUNCHING OF PARTICIPATORY ACTION-RESEARCH.....	31
a. <i>Week of training.....</i>	<i>32</i>
b. <i>Observation of activities</i>	<i>32</i>
c. <i>Facilitators workshops & meetings</i>	<i>33</i>
6. DREAM WORKSHOPS PROJECT	34
a. <i>Notion of project in NFE</i>	<i>34</i>
b. <i>Role of participants</i>	<i>35</i>
c. <i>Places</i>	<i>35</i>
d. <i>Art form.....</i>	<i>36</i>
e. <i>Workshops</i>	<i>37</i>
f. <i>An art-based research.....</i>	<i>38</i>
g. <i>Completion of the PAR</i>	<i>39</i>

7.	LIMITS AND CONSTRAINTS OF THE RESEARCH	39
IV.	FINDINGS	40
1.	DISPLACEMENT.....	40
a.	<i>The life before</i>	40
b.	<i>The reason for leaving</i>	41
c.	<i>The conditions of leaving</i>	43
2.	DESCRIPTION OF THE AREA UNDER STUDY AND ITS POPULATION	45
a.	<i>General information</i>	45
b.	<i>Description of the campground</i>	46
3.	SOCIAL AND POWER DYNAMICS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY	48
a.	<i>Organisation governance</i>	48
b.	<i>Neighbour</i>	50
c.	<i>Community cohabitation</i>	50
d.	<i>Social problems</i>	52
4.	LIFE SINCE THE DISPLACEMENT: IMPACT, NEEDS AND HOPES	53
a.	<i>Main impacts of displacement</i>	53
b.	<i>Perceived needs and priorities</i>	55
c.	<i>Family structures</i>	55
d.	<i>Religion</i>	56
5.	ADULT DREAMS.....	57
a.	<i>Alteration of hopes</i>	57
b.	<i>Hopes & expectations</i>	58
c.	<i>Dream of a return</i>	59
d.	<i>Dream of an elsewhere</i>	60
e.	<i>The impossible return</i>	61
6.	CHILDREN.....	62
a.	<i>Everyday life</i>	62
b.	<i>In the streets</i>	63
c.	<i>Child labour</i>	65
d.	<i>Violence</i>	66
7.	EDUCATION	67
a.	<i>Family education</i>	67
b.	<i>Education within the communities</i>	68
c.	<i>Formal Education</i>	69
d.	<i>Non-Formal Education</i>	72
e.	<i>Art lessons and art practices</i>	74
8.	CHILDREN DREAMS.....	75
a.	<i>A Self Narrative</i>	76

b.	<i>An omnipresent nature</i>	77
c.	<i>To go back our place</i>	79
d.	<i>The comfort of a home</i>	80
e.	<i>The protagonists in action</i>	82
f.	<i>From dream to reality</i>	84
V.	FUTURE RESEARCH	85
1.	PAR FRAMEWORK	85
2.	ART-BASED RESEARCH	86
	CONCLUSION	89
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	91
	ANNEXES	92
1.	MAPS	92
a.	<i>Map of Iraq</i>	92
b.	<i>Map of Ashti IDPs camp</i>	93
2.	STUDY DAIRY EXTRACTS	94
a.	<i>The canvas workshops</i>	94
b.	<i>Focus group with girls</i>	96
3.	ART-BASED RESEARCH INTERVIEWS	100
a.	<i>First dreaming workshop</i>	100
b.	<i>Inside my dream home</i>	103
c.	<i>The Canvas workshops</i>	107

List of acronyms

AG Armed group

CDO Civil Development Organisation

CCCM Camp Coordination and Camp Management

CFS Children Friendly Space

DAESH trad. *al-Dawla al-Islamiya fil Iraq wa al-Sham*

HH Household

IDP Internationally Displaced Person

IO International Organisations

IQD Iraqi Dinar (1 USD =1 168,64 IQD)

KRG Kurdistan Region Government

KRI Kurdistan Regional of Iraq

NFE Non-Formal Education

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

NNGO National non-governmental organization

OCHA Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

PAR Participatory Action-Research

UN United Nations

UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

US United States

USD American dollar

WASH Water, Sanitation and Hygiene

Introduction

After various experiences in the fields of education and plastic arts with allophone students, cultural mediation abroad and the conduct of artistic practices, notably through the notion of "dreaming", I now consider working as a consultant in creative approach to education in emergency situations and continuing in the field of research in conflict zones, especially in the Middle East.

Through the association "Les Ateliers du rêve", I designed and conducted this type of artistic project with children of asylum-seekers in France for three years, in the Ali Adeh refugee camp in Djibouti, in an orphanage for out-of-school children in Gaziantep, Turkey, at the Syrian border and in the Jungle of Calais, in a informal school. My comments focused on the artistic productions and the testimonies received during these workshops on drawings and hopes for the future. These discoveries led me to ask myself more questions and to want to deepen this work, in particular by extrapolating this type of practice but also to the contribution of knowledge through ethnographic work.

Limited literature: open doors to innovation through artistic projects

The existing literature on arts practice in education for displaced and refugee children remains extremely marginal. In these contexts, education lacks knowledge in the field of education, both in terms of information provision and the type of scientific research. Numerous reports from international organisations bear witness to the realities on the ground, but not enough independent scientific content through a qualitative and participatory methodology. Nevertheless, it is a powerful lever for innovation to take into account the needs and responses of education actors in these contexts of vulnerability in the field of humanitarian aid. According to Olivier Arvisais¹, UN agencies point to the lack of research on education initiatives for displaced children. In addition, the researchers make the same observation. Indeed, several authors have observed a lack of scientific knowledge on educational initiatives in refugee camps. "*Education in refugee camps remains largely to be analysed by concrete cases, particularly in the perspective that the norms and values that circulate within the various identity spaces (humanitarian / national / local) can be in contradiction with each other*"². This research examined these needs and experimented with concepts and methods of

¹ Professor, Department of Didactics at the Faculty of Education - Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM) and Associate Researcher at the Canadian Observatory on Crisis and Humanitarian Aid (OCCAH)

² "*Educational issues, curriculum and language of instruction in refugee camps: State of knowledge and research perspectives*", Canadian Journal for New Scholars in Education Volume 6, no. 2, Fall 2015, Olivier Arvisais, Patrick Charland, professors, Université du Québec à Montréal, Canada

artistic practice to teach and learn so that learners can tell themselves and consider possibilities for the future in those particular contexts.

I wish to develop a double hypothesis in this work: firstly, to demonstrate that children themselves can bear witness to their own lives, aspirations and needs through the use of artistic material; secondly, that artistic practices are necessary and must be adapted to situations of displacement, because they are teaching aids but also means of imaginary development and enable us to lead hope in these precarious contexts of insecurity.

Thus, the objectives of my study are to make understandable and bring knowledge through contextualized words of children who tell their lives and hopes, but also to experiment through Participatory Research-Action with a creative approach and art-based research, participating in the reappropriation of the possible futures of children affected by conflicts, in situations of displacement. The objective is to provide a critical analysis of the information gathered during the three months of the study and the conduct of the PAR, with conclusions and recommendations for future research.

Research process

In Ashti IDPs camp in the suburbs of Sulaymaniyah, Iraqi Kurdistan, an ethnographic study was conducted over a three-month period to gather in-depth qualitative information on communities in order to improve the general understanding of the social and cultural context of IDPs and to explore their knowledge, perceptions and practices in education and their hopes. Using a typical qualitative ethnographic methodology to gather information, the specific objectives of the study were to understand ways of thinking about the future. A participatory methodology was used, along with observations, group discussions with children and key informant interviews. The aim was to identify them, to trace their paths, in particular through the narrative of life and to understand their social representation on education, their expectations and hopes.

I thus took part in the "ordinary life" of displaced persons in the camp from June to September 2017, especially with learners in the context of Non-Formal Education (NFE) and activities of animators. Difficulties of access and security restrictions, as well as technical difficulties encountered in the field, did not allow a total immersion in the field. The constraints related to school holidays and the Ramadan period were anticipated and considered in the elaboration of this research.

This phase was the second phase and influenced the structures of the Participatory Research-Action (PAR). This type of research was developed jointly with the NFE project staff working in the camp and a Kurdish artist who participated in the development and conduct of art workshops on children's hopes and aspirations. This collective work with the facilitators and learners, thanks to the action carried out, made it possible to understand these perceptions of becoming in this waiting area. In other words, they highlighted the identity issues and representations of children and their families on their living conditions in the camps and their future. This cycle of artistic workshops also focused on how imaginary ideas and ways of thinking about the future are sketched by drawings, especially through the reflective approach of art-based research.

Study report

This study report begins by examining the context of Iraq through a historical approach, political instability and the beginnings of Daesh's emergence. After a brief description of the displacement situations in the region and the conditions of the IDPs in the Kurdistan region, following the territories conquered by the Armed Group (AG). The report then describes the methodology used and the results and conclusions that resulted. It concludes with avenues for future research that will serve as a basis for reflection and postulates.

The findings described in this study are limited to the observations and conclusions drawn from the data collected in the Ashti camp we visited. The findings do not reflect the broader dynamics of other displaced groups in other political and humanitarian contexts. Nor is this research the expression of the ethnographer. The results of this study must be taken into account in the context of the current situation of internally displaced persons and the current humanitarian situation. The conclusions drawn from the observations and words of IDPs, adults and children alike, are not intended to serve partisan political discourse or to take part in political and confessional instability, far beyond the scope of this study.

I. Setting the Iraqi & Kurdistan contexts

(Annex 1.a – Map of Iraq)

Iraq, officially "the Republic of Iraq" is located in the Middle East in Asia, around the Mesopotamian alluvial plain, the Zagros mountain range and part of the Syrian desert. The Iraqi borders are Turkey (367 km), Iran (1,599 km), Jordan (179 km), Saudi Arabia (811 km), Syria (599 km) and Kuwait (254 km). It borders the Persian Gulf between Iran and Kuwait. The capital is Baghdad. This vast territory has an area of 437,072 km². The Tigris and Euphrates cross central Iraq and flow from northwest to southeast. These mythical rivers have made it possible for thousands of years to make the soil fertile and to develop agriculture in the plains. The climate is mainly desert with cold winters and hot, dry summers. Iraq is a very productive country thanks to its natural resources: oil, natural gas, phosphates and sulphur. Land use for agriculture accounts for 18.1% of total land use. Iraq is indeed the third largest oil-exporting country. It has the resources to increase its production considerably, which makes it a country that could experience a great development of these productions. This makes it a key player in the global economy.

The Federal Parliamentary Republic is composed of 19 governorates: Najaf; Maysan; Niniveh; Salah ad Din; Wasit; Dhi Qar; Diyala; Karbala; Basra; Bagdad; Babil; Al Qadisiyah; Al Anbar; Al Muthanna and the Kurdistan Governorate: Kirkuk; As Sulaymaniyah; Dahuk; Erbil and more recently Halabja. The population of 38,146,025 inhabitants, 71% of whom live in urban areas. It is concentrated mainly in the northern, central and eastern parts of the country and on the border between the Tigris and Euphrates.

The country is made up of many ethnic groups, 75%-80% Arabs, 15%-20% Kurds and 5% of the total population are Turkmen, Assyrians, Shabaks, Yazidis and other ethnic groups. Arabic is the only national official language, but Kurdish, Turkmen, Syriac and Armenians also have official status in regions where the speakers constitute a majority. Islam is the official religion of the State. Muslims make up 99% of the total population with an estimated 55-60% Shia and 40% Sunnis. The other religions are therefore poorly represented: Christians, Yazidi, Zoroastrians and other minorities, some of whom have been displaced voluntarily from Iraq, including Christian families.

1. Historical background on the conflicts

Known as the "Cradle of civilization", Iraq has had a dense and complex history and an ethnic crossroads for thousands of years. Iraq has been conquered and inhabited by many empires,

including the Sumerians, Assyrians, Babylonians, and so on. This region was part of the Ottoman Empire, which came to power in the 16th century and reigned until after the First World War, when the British Empire took power for twelve years. It was in 1917 that the United Kingdom took control and created the Iraqi state. Iraq gained its independence as a kingdom in 1932. The monarchy is overthrown by a left-wing military putsch. In 1958, independence was proclaimed and the Republic of Iraq was established with a series of “strong men” as Saddam Hussein, representative of the Arab Baath Socialist party came to power with a coup in 1963, who governed the country until 2003. Under Saddam Hussein, Iraq was governed by a primarily Sunni lay elite, who oppressed the Shiite Arab majority and the Kurd minority. The fall of Saddam’s regime reshuffled the cards and the clans have been fighting amongst themselves ever since.

The invasion of the US-led coalition marks the beginning of years of guerrilla warfare and instability, which will have long-term consequences. As early as February 2001, the United Kingdom and the US carried out bombardments in an attempt to neutralise Iraq's air defence network on the grounds that Saddam Hussein possessed weapons of mass destruction. In September 2002, US President George W. Bush told the UN that Iraq is a "grave and great danger". The US invasion of Iraq in March 2003 was the cause of Saddam Hussein's regime being ousted at the end of this year. This marks the beginning of years of violent conflict with different groups fighting for power. During those years, the insurgency and suicide bombings intensified.

The US ceded sovereignty to the interim government led by Prime Minister Iyad Allawi in June 2004. In October 2005, Iraqis approved a constitution in a national referendum and elected 275 members of the Council of Representatives in December 2005. Nuri al-Maliki, is a conservative Shiite from the Dawa Islamic Party. Under the impetus of the US, he became Prime Minister from 2006 to 2014 and then Vice-president until today. He embodies a figure of a strong man for the Shia in power, particularly in his repression against the Sunnis. Almost nine years after the start of the Second Gulf War in Iraq, US military operations ended in mid-December 2011, allowing the US to regain a foothold in an energy-strategic country. Today, Iraq claims to be a federal democratic parliamentary republic led by a centralized government. In January 2009 and April 2013, Iraq held provincial council elections in all governorates, with the exception of the three governorates, including the Kurdistan Regional Government and the Kirkuk governorate.

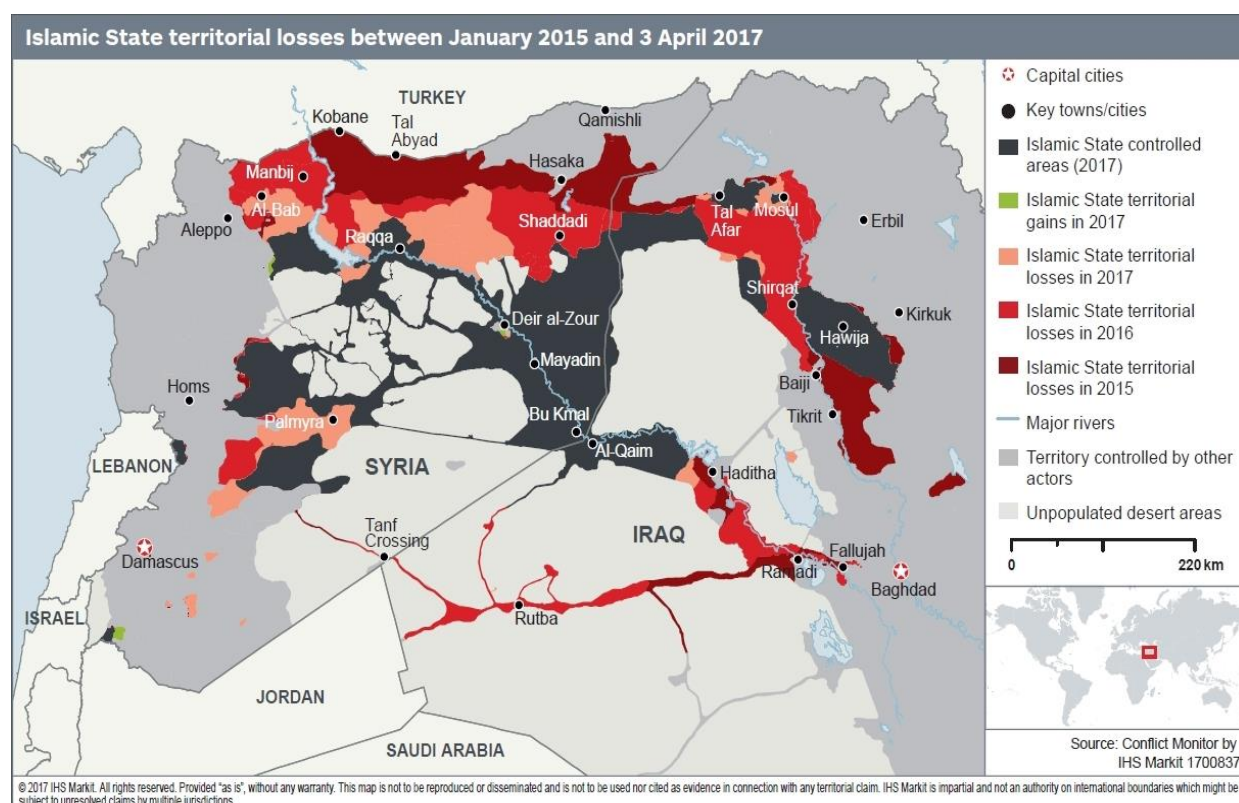
Today, the state is also highly destabilized by Kurdistan, which threatens to take over its independence, and by ethnic conflicts reinforced by the hold of Daesh and Shia militias on the territories.

2. The origin, expansion and violence of the Daesh group

As early as 2003, an opposition to the US invasion called for jihad through the figure of Zarqaoui, who left Afghanistan and then returned to Iraq and made allegiance to Al Qaeda. Its strategy is not only to strike the distant enemy, but also to strike the "near enemy": the American army, Shia Muslims and the powers in place. It thus differs from Al Qaeda's initial strategy of limiting itself to the offensive against the US. In addition to the military forces, they are setting up a political project with the ambition of creating a viable state. This political project aims to create, establish and manage a space. This project brings together the Sunni populations waiting for such a project. It took advantage of the chaos and fury to bring its propaganda. The American presence has only legitimized his opponent. The nationalist alternative, the Islamo-nationalist alternative, hardly exists. Governors have often deserted or lent allegiance to the new government in power.

Between 2004 and 2005, in front of the impasse of the political process, the figure of Zarqaoui embodies a space of hope and will remain the symbolic heritage of what Daesh will become. While Zarqaoui was killed by US strikes in June 2006, in October 2006, a press release proclaiming the creation of Daesh was issued and marked the beginning of Daesh's propaganda and international influence. The main purpose of this proclamation is the restoration of the caliphate in Iraq and Syria. The Iraqi jihadist process is specific in its international dimension, notably through the arrival of foreign fighters. In 2007, the US strengthened its military strength. They are perceived as "agents of violence" in the service of oil predation. Daesh faces difficulties related to food management. It's also too raw for people. The armed group acts very differently in Fallujah occupied in January 2014, they ensure that the locals take power, then in Mosul and Ramadi as they leave a kind of hand to the inhabitants and create politically organized systems. The conflict has become much more complex with the rise of jihadist groups, mainly Daesh, in Syria and Iraq from 2013 onwards. In 2014, Daesh managed to break through and integrate many of the tribal dignitaries loyal to Syria and Iraq. He even took over Iraq's second largest city, Mosul. Tens of thousands flee amid atrocities. Kurdish forces, US-led coalition and Iran assist government in repelling attacks.

On 29 June 2014, Daesh announced the establishment of a caliphate on Syrian and Iraqi territory under his control in Mosul. Since 2014, Iraq and the international coalition have been engaged in a military campaign against Daesh to recover lost territories in the west and north of the country. For the government, the influence of ethnic and religious communities is too great to allow the current government to impose its authority, which is further undermined by the various loyalties of every Iraqi to a tribe, clan or extended family.



In 2016, the Iraqi army and the Shiite militias supported by the international coalition, taking more and more power, gradually regained territories occupied by Daesh until now, including Fallujah and Mosul, after several months of fierce fighting while the various deadly attacks in other cities, including Baghdad, continued. In November 2016, the Parliament recognises the Shia Popular Mobilisation Units (PMU) militia as part of the armed forces with full legal status. A strong gesture to win the battles including that of Mosul, but also a crystallized confrontation even today.

Today, both in Syria and Iraq, the last soldiers of the caliphate are surrounded by the various actors present in the zones. The armies are currently fighting the last weakened bastions, particularly in Hawija. This does not mean the end of the Sunni revolts, nor does it mean the end of the group that has its bases in Afghanistan. As early as 1990, the term "Republic of Baghdad" was coined because Saddam Hussein no longer controlled the territory. Can we still

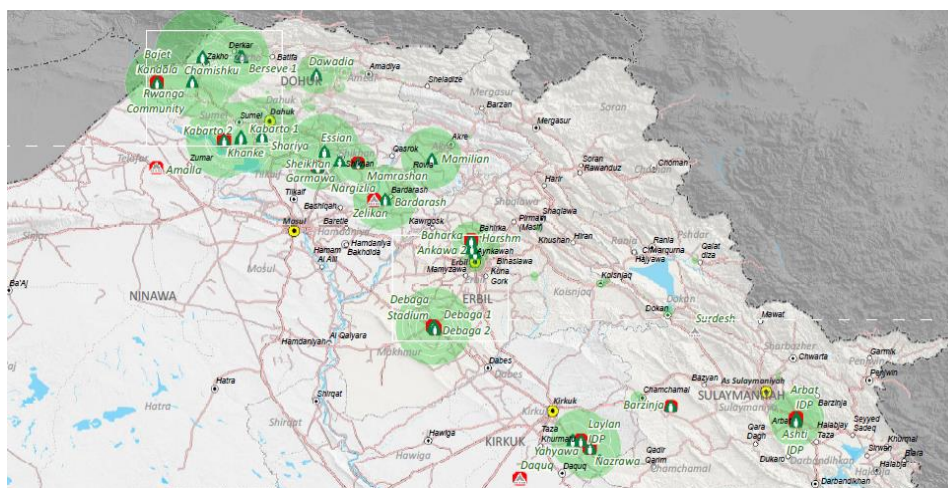
talk about the Iraqi state today? The tribes are also in a predation logic as there are many predation logics. The population is in a state of survival. There is a real crisis of political representation. There is the temptation for radical change, even by extreme violence. There are a number of Sunnis who believe that it is necessary to go through terror in order to finally free themselves and prosper. There is finally no exclusivism in Daesh and the political impasse is the cause but also the reason.

3. Relocation efforts in Kurdistan

More than three years after Daesh's occupation of much of Iraq's territory and the escalation of the conflict through subsequent battles to reclaim these areas, massive displacement has taken place in northern and central Iraq. Some 3 million Iraqis are still displaced and more than 1.7 million have returned to their hometown, while Iraqi security forces, Kurdish Peshmergas and other coalition groups are resuming resumed areas at a steady pace. These people fled mainly from Sinjar, Talafar, Mosul and the Nineveh plains. This first phase of displacement in 2014 saw a large number of people including ethnic minorities; Christians, Yazidis, Shiites, Turkmen and Shabaks. They left their hometown for the perceived security of the Kurdistan region of Iraq (KRI), as well as parts of central and southern Iraq further away from the conflict.

More than two years after the first displacements, in October 2016, Iraqi and Kurdish forces launched a military operation to regain control of the city of Mosul and surrounding areas under Daesh's control in October 2016, triggered new displacements of more than 440 000 people, more than half of whom returned to their homes today, following the end of fighting and the withdrawal of Daesh's fighters. The liberation of these areas therefore does not seem to be a sufficient reason to stimulate returns.

The context of the KRI presents major challenges for the stability of Iraq and the war against Daesh. Today, the governorate of Sulaymaniyah and the entire Kurdistan region are facing a multifaceted crisis, characterized by persistent political conflicts, protracted displacement, a financial crisis and significant development challenges. In the Kurdistan region, most refugees (60% out of 250,000) and displaced persons (80% out of more than one million arrived in KRI after January 2014) live in urban areas, co-existing with host communities and sharing often limited resources. In the last 4 years, since the beginning of the displacement crisis in the KRI, many of the displaced persons who arrived in the KRI were members of Iraqi religious minorities, especially Christians from the Nineveh Plains and the Yazidis of Sinjar.



Map of Iraqi Kurdistan and IDPs Temporary Settlements and populations, IOM, July 2017

The governorate of Sulaymaniyah, with a total host population of 2.08 million inhabitants and 260 000 internally displaced persons, lies to the east of the Iraqi Kurdistan region, on the border with Iran. Since 2012, Sulaymaniyah has been gradually welcoming Syrian refugees from the governorates of Dohuk and Erbil. Since 2003, displaced families from the neighbouring central governorates of Kirkuk, Saladin and Diyala have also sought refuge in Sulaymaniyah districts.

While the host community and local authorities have suffered the impact of displacement in the early years, the deteriorating situation of security in the rest of Iraq and the widespread financial crisis affecting the public and private sectors of the economy are impacting the governorate's reception, despite the considerable support of the NNGOs, NGOs and UN agencies. Budgetary disputes between the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) and the Iraqi federal government have led the KRG to receive irregular and intermittent funds from Baghdad over the last three years. Furthermore, in the absence of an adequate fiscal system in the Kurdistan region to finance the public budget, the KRG has been almost entirely dependent on its own oil exports to cover the costs. However, after falling international oil prices, these revenues fell sharply. This has limited and paralyzed any further development of public service delivery, mainly education and health care. Taken together, conflict, displacement and a weak economy negatively affect government functions, household resilience, private sector survival and the provision of public services in Sulaymaniyah governorate and throughout the KRI in general.

While these groups were initially welcomed, resistance intensified due to deep historical grievances between Kurds and Sunni Arab Iraqis. There is growing concern that the influx of Iraqi Arab IDPs into the KRI region is likely to gradually exacerbate the underlying tensions.

II. Rationale and objectives of the study

The context of the intervention in Ashti camp is complex and presents inherent constraints, including difficult environmental conditions, restricted access and logistical problems, but also very different ethnic groups within the camp, with unique identities and situations, as well as the need to rely on an established pedagogical team.

First, it was necessary to identify and acquire a deeper knowledge of the communities in this camp. Never before had qualitative research been conducted in Ashti camp to understand social and community dynamics. There was also no qualitative research related to education, schooling, and therefore even less to the stakes of artistic practices for educational purposes. Nor was there any such type of research in the Kurdish or Iraqi context that could support community knowledge in the context of displacement.

Secondly, even if some of the specific needs related to education had been identified by the camp's humanitarian actors, it was necessary to collect more in-depth qualitative information on community perceptions.

Finally, the context of Ashti camp was unique in that different ethnic communities were particularly interesting to study because of the diversity of paths, identity quests and hopes for the future, for children and adults alike. Moreover, the rather precarious conditions concerning creative and artistic activities being rather limited, invited to the elaboration of a dynamic linked to the implementation of such a project aimed at action.

As a result, Ashti camp was chosen for an ethnographic study of the communities to be carried out in the targeted camp, with adults and children, to:

- To better understand the humanitarian context, population dynamics and conditions of displacement situations, especially in everyday life
- To improve understanding of the social and cultural context of IDPs (power structure, kinship ties, gender, beliefs, impact of settlement in the camp, relationships between IDPs, etc.)
- Understand the wishes, needs and hopes for the future in these waiting contexts

- Explore knowledge, perceptions and practices related to family, religious, formal and non-formal education
- Understand the relationship between displaced populations and the humanitarian structure of the camp

Using a Participatory Action-Research, described below, to gather through experience and practice, the necessary information while having a concrete action, the specific objectives of the study were to understand and experiment the perception and practice of the educational actors and children of creative workshops on the theme of the dream, to:

- Understand the global educational contexts and issues in the camp
- Understand the representations and uses of artistic practices in the camp
- Accompany and coordinate the idea of an artistic workshop project linked to dreams
- Coordinate a project with artists and animators in order to bring new knowledge and skills
- Understand and analyse the practices and representations of artists and facilitators
- Develop new pedagogical and socio-cultural skills for a group of children
- Identify and monitor children's perceptions of their own lives
- To know and support the definitions of children's dreams and their materialization through the practice of plastic arts.
- Identify existing and potential innovative elements and define impacts in areas that children and their parents consider important.
- Demonstrate that the child is an expert by expressing his/her identity, desires and needs.
- Understand how these results can be encouraged and extrapolated to other levels.
- To formulate recommendations for creative educational activities more adapted to children's needs.

This study was the first of its kind to be carried out, and the aim was to lay the foundations for future research work, which would be more thorough and complete in a research field where stakeholders would be active players in the search for innovation in these fields and where the PAR would constitute a joint project. The aim is to develop and refine a structured methodology that can be adapted to different contexts.

III. Methodology

The research project has two main components: a first qualitative method, through field observations and in-depth interviews with key adult informants and an art-based research in a collaborative way with children which is built through a Participatory Action-Research in collaboration with a team of facilitators, artists and children to make artistic workshops.

1. Duration

The anthropological survey was carried out over 3 months with a full-time researcher dedicated to this task. The CDO/Danièle Mitterrand Foundation team was also mobilized, for a period of 3 months for the different parts of the study. The PAR begun in June until September and depended on the availability of the team of the NFE project. The report needed to be finalized on the 18th September with a final oral presentation due October 13th, with the research director to validate the study as a thesis work.

2. Human resources and partnership

a. Partnership for logistic resources

The first contact with the field actors in Iraq was through the coordinator of the Education cluster in Erbil. In parallel, an appeal to other organizations was launched to host this research. The Danièle Mitterrand Foundation, France Libertés, working in collaboration with the Civil Development Organization (CDO) and the association Léo Lagrange in Non-Formal Education (NFE), has agreed to host my project. This association works in 4 camps in Iraqi Kurdistan, including two in Sulaymaniyah: Barika refugees camp and Ashti IDPs camp. After a constructive exchange during a first meeting with the project coordinator, in order to determine the camp in which it was most interesting to work, a series of meetings took part in the implementation of the study. The Civil Development Organization provided transportation from their office to the Ashti camp, lunch and a volunteer dedicated to this ethnographical study for a month. The NFE project team with which I directly collaborated for this study is composed of the Erbil-based regional coordinator, a project manager and project officer based in Sulaymaniyah and 3 facilitators in the Ashti camp. The idea of the project was also to work on this project with artists, so a Kurdish artist joined the PAR. As a result of the technical constraints explained below, a number of actors have been mobilized, including UNICEF, which has been the relay of requests. The partner institutions provided us with two Kurdish women interpreters, both trilingual, who came with us throughout the field research. They

have been of great help both in the relationship with organizations, families and children. They were thus actively involved in conducting the research.

b. Facilitators

The facilitators working in the Ashti camp were recruited by the France Libertés association in November 2016, for a one-year period. Facilitators are members of the camp communities. After 3 training sessions on topics related to Non-Formal Education thanks to the intervention of staff from the Leo Lagrange association and me as an external trainer, they now lead activities 4 days a week (Sunday to Wednesday) with camp children. Originally, the team was composed of 4 facilitators, they are now 3.

Balkiz was working with the CDO staff before, at that time she was taken sessions of computer and English lessons. They give her the chance to have a job there. She is graduated from the Institute of teaching of Bagdad, she is from Saladin. She worked in the Iraqi centre to solve the problems, she was a teacher for the schools for the old people analphabetic. She is responsible for women issues in a block of Ashti camp. She worked as a volunteer with QRC. In Saladin she was teaching for 1 year. She worked for the beginner: 1,2,3 levels. She was doing the same work but the first level before coming in the Ashti camp.

Adil is 26 years old, he is from Saladin, previously he was a military in Iraq for 7 years. He left the school and joined the military. He lived in Sal al Din. After 7 years, he felt regret to leave the school so he came back to the school and he studied. He had his exams by following the evening school. Because of the situation he could not go to the college but he has the certificate of that. He went to sessions of Human Resources. He did some works as fixing mobiles in the camp and asked to join the NFE project.

Munib is from Saladin, he is 29 years old. He is graduated from the Educational College of Human Sciences department. He was teacher there for 3 months. He is also in Ashti camp for 3 years. He was working for a Korean company at Halabja, at 2 hours from the camp. He worked there for 6 months after that he came to here and worked as a volunteer in the school. He was teaching for people who do not know how to write and read. He was a volunteer with Acted for 3 months, in Formal Education for English and Arabic during the summer time. He was teaching with the teenagers.

The facilitators begin their working day at 9.30, they do a first activity from 9.30 to 10.30 and from 10.30 to 11.30. Each group has one hour of activity. They finish at 12.00 am, so they have thirty minutes to make the report form and the daily dairy. They also talk together about

the work and they debrief during this time. They begin the afternoon work at 1.30 pm, they work until 4 pm. A first activity from 1.30 to 2.30 and from 2.30 pm to 3.30 pm. Activities are for teenagers (10 to 15 years old).

They work with children and young people on a daily basis by conducting educational activities with pedagogical objectives, which they prepare through a monthly plan, a weekly plan and a daily plan. Their vocation is to acquire educational skills, but also to develop individual and collective skills, particularly through cooperation within the group. The activities are mixed, there are more boys than girls, even if the gap is not very significant. Depending on where they were able to work, they worked with the Arab children for 3 days in a tent and then one day with the Yazidi children in a UN container.

They are autonomous in their workplace with a "leader of the day" in charge of writing a logbook. A team at the CDO headquarters coordinates and monitors the team, then the project coordinator supervises the smooth running of activities at the France Libertés office in Erbil. They meet in a weekly meeting on Thursdays to discuss and take stock of their activities, questions, difficulties and achievements. This also makes it possible to maintain a form of follow-up of the various trainings received.

c. The artist

Zhwan is a 36-year-old Kurdish woman artist. She lived in Baghdad, she arrived there at the beginning of the war. She completed her first two years of her Bachelor of Fine Arts degree locally. She then returned to Kurdistan for her third and final year, no longer able to attend university. She continued her studies in Sulaymaniyah, where she was first in her class. In 2012, he was selected to come to France to do his Master's degree in Visual Arts in Aix-Marseille. Her research focuses on women's bodies, religion and culture as symbols. Her thesis is composed of three research themes: women from France, Kurdish women from Iran whose father was born in Iran, and his personal works that blend cultures. Upon her return, she became a professor at the University of Sulaymaniyah in the Department of Visual Arts.

Zhwan has carried out several projects with children in vulnerable situations as a volunteer in her spare time. She worked for Save the Children Kurdistan where she led a project with Syrian refugee children. Focused on the learning of techniques and the materialization of works for an exhibition, the workshops were conducted over a period of one year. The works were then sold to the association and were very successful. However, she regretted that these children had not been rewarded for the work they had done. She has also conducted a series of

plastic arts workshops in a hospital for children with cancer. She particularly liked taking the time to accompany them in their creative process and confirmed the children's ability to draw by themselves. She envisages her role then, notably as a technical support to the application of colours.

d. A heterogeneous posture

The identification of my person has been variable and adaptable. I was indeed a student, trainer, fine arts teacher, project coordinator and researcher. I was also foreign, European and French in a humanitarian context. I was a woman. Sometimes I was independent and sometimes I represented the institutions I worked with. This blurring but also this diversity of facets could be a strength as well as a challenge in such a context.

My stance towards the institutions with which I was working was not easy to define clearly. Not having a clearly established contract and missions, my work was not understood by all the people I met. Research in the field of education, especially when it comes to NFE, artistic practices and children, is not valued and, above all, there is no immediate interest, which contrasts with the permanent state of emergency and the need to meet the immediate needs perceived by the people of the camp and humanitarian institutions. It is also important to note that this type of qualitative research was unknown to the majority of my interlocutors. This rather disconsidered field also allowed me to go in depth on other more delicate subjects.

Attaching myself to introduce myself immediately as an independent researcher, I had a good reception from the displaced people of the camp. They identified me not so much with the humanitarian government of the organizations on which they depend as with a person anchored in her field of research.

As for the team I was working with, having started this project as a trainer, it did not always seem obvious to them to maintain a form of expertise in their field. However, I had a relationship with the team of facilitators, which is closer to that of a colleague. I was also seen as a project leader rather than a researcher in the sense that technical and logistical constraints did not always allow the PAR process to penetrate.

3. Methodology considerations

Participative ethnographic qualitative methodology has been prioritized for this study with as much time as possible spent with the communities. Nonetheless, given the limited timeframe

of this study and the limited access to the IDP camp linked to lack of translators, the research focuses on representative groups within the camp.

Throughout the methodological steps outlined below, staff training and debriefing was conducted to capitalize on the information collected, to describe trends and to inform the design and use tools / methods to be used. Preparations for the workshops have not always been carried out upstream with the facilitators due to lack of time and translation immediately available.

It is important to note at this stage that most of the tools used in the study were designed and used depending on the nature of the information to be collected. Since the Kurdish-Iraqi context was incredibly complex and sensitive, it was critically important not to put people at risk in the collection of sensitive information. It took a long time to build trust with the informants and this required us to return several times to the same people. The introduction by the facilitators with whom we are paying special attention has been systematically given to the space used for the workshops, the relevance of the method and the will of the informant and the translator. To protect informants, confidentiality was respected throughout the study.

We have chosen to organize the explanation of the methodology used into two distinct parts. The first one focuses on the classical ethnographic aspect, used to understand the global context and directed more towards the adults of the camp. The second explains the methodology of the PAR, that of the construction of the project and the collective aspect desired to implement the action. The third one focuses on the action itself, showing the methodologies used during the dream workshops.

4. Ethnographic process and tools used

a. Analysis of the context and intervention zone

Contextual analysis identifies needs, opportunities and challenges. This takes into account ongoing conflicts and ethnic tensions inside and outside the camp.

- Bibliographic review, camp documentation, meeting with stakeholders

Many books have been written on the context of the war in Iraq and the emergence of Daesh. Numerous institutional and humanitarian sites and documentation document KRI's displacement situations. Thus, the first step of the study was to understand the general situation related to the conflict, the fight against Daesh and mass displacement in the area. A list of the literature reviewed is provided at the end of this report. Background reading was

done to include anthropological studies in camps. The consultation of key actors present in the area for some time (Mercy Corps, CDO, France Libertés, UNFPA, UNICEF, DHRC) also provided an overview of the history of the conflict, the humanitarian issues and the specificities of the intervention areas and the communities located there.

b. Definition of key research questions and hypotheses

- Interview with the staff of the CDO/France Libertés

Before gathering information directly from the IDPs, a consultation of the France Libertés project coordinator and informal interviews with the team working for the coordination of the project at the CDO were carried out. Understanding their perception and understanding of context was a useful starting point for understanding the major potential directions of my research.

c. Preliminary field visits: Observation and orientation, characteristics of the intervention area

- Meeting with key stakeholders in the camp
- Camp management meetings
- Unstructured observation
- Mapping activities with staff and children
- Transect walks with staff and children

Initial visits to the camps focused on meeting with camp leaders, stakeholders (Camp management, NFE NGOs, mullahs and sheikhs from the communities) to present the purpose of the study and to understand the first receptions of the project. Formal focus groups with adults were initially planned, but it was considered that the conditions for this were not met. NGOs often offer a counterpart to participation and this was not acceptable for this research. Institutions generally see the same groups of people at these meetings. As a result, collective interviews were encouraged in the private spaces of the camp's inhabitants.

Participation in several Camp management meetings and interviews were organised with the Camp management and organisations to gather specific information on how best to approach certain groups of people, as well as to gather first impressions on the different issues that will be raised in the study.

The ethnographical method of observation/immersion of the participants, which consists of the researcher living with the communities, could not be carried out in this context because of

the restrictions on access to night camps. However, unstructured observations allowed us to become familiar with the specificities of the different intervention environments and living conditions, and to start identifying specific areas and key people for future activities.

Mapping activities and transect walks were carried out with the staff of the CDO/France Libertés and informally, with children in the camp. These activities helped to understand the organization of the camps and identify potential challenges related to children's spaces and daily life and identify existing infrastructure (schools, community places, health, etc.), shops and shared public spaces. The numerous visits and walks with the children allowed us to look at the camp from their point of view, to understand the spatial segregation of the camp, the interpersonal relations between the communities, their occupations and their interactions with their peers. It was a way to begin to understand community perceptions.

d. **Secondary visits: Deeper understanding of the community**

- Observations
- Key Informant Interviews
- Interviews with HH
- Focus groups with children

Observations were made in the public and private areas of the camp, particularly in child labour. A series of interviews with the following key informants was conducted to explore key research elements and obtain specific socio-cultural information:

- Camp management deputy
- Religious leader (mullah)
- Community leader (sheikh for the Yazidis)
- Principal schools
- Small merchants
- Facilitators

The representatives of the Yazidi and Sunni Arab communities were a very important relay in this study. They helped to understand and complete some of the initial key questions (displacement, impacts of camp life, children, education, hopes and aspirations, etc.). Through reflexive overviews and perspectives, begin to gather more specific information on cultural models.

Focus groups discussions with children and adolescents



Focus group discussions were used to explore some of the topics specific to the child universe. Non-mixed group discussions were used with children aged 7-10 years. The group of male adolescents was composed solely of boys aged 13 to 15. The aim was to introduce the possible actions of the workshops by identifying them more clearly. It was also a question of understanding, by their words, their daily life in the camp environment, of having their point of view on their interests (family, school, play, friends, food etc.) and their various aspirations for the future.

Daily clocks

At the end of these three focus groups, we proposed a creative workshop during which children and teenagers were led to create daily clocks. Depending on their abilities, after drawing their clock, they would draw or write down the various activities they saw themselves doing. This was a very useful way to understand



children's daily activities and their perceptions of them. The favoured artistic practice was then perceived as playful. It was also educational. We then conducted a few one-on-one interviews where we were able to explore these questions with a medium that facilitated the exchange. Together with the group of teenagers, we concluded with a focus group where they discussed their daily life in order to allow the children to reflect on their own daily life and to be able to express themselves by being supported by a material. We found that most children needed significant support in locating the clock and time considerations. So, we had to guide the material development a lot.

5. Launching of Participatory Action-Research

This type of approach is particularly productive when the contribution of practice is a need and desire of children and facilitators. The participatory creative approach in the context of NFE included pedagogical perspectives linked to techniques but also to the acquisition of knowledge related to social and intercultural interactions in the environment in which children live. These pedagogical perspectives were previously considered through the previous phase

of research. This helps to meet the needs of learners through field observations, focus groups and interviews with all the actors present, including these same children.

a. Week of training



At the request of the organizations I worked with, I conducted a series of training activities for camp facilitators in Iraqi Kurdistan. This allowed me to understand the perception of the NFE team, the context, the project and also the perceptions and receptions of each one. This was a luck and an useful starting point for understanding how we could work together as part of the team working in the camp. It was very constructive but unbalanced the roles of everyone. I didn't want to bring in any expertise, other than the reflective framework, and after that I was seen as a project leader and an expert in this field.

D1 - Visual Arts and feelings: Introduction and practices for facilitators

D2 – How and why to develop children imagination and creativity?

D3 – The intercultural mediation

D4 – Project process including interculturality

D5 – The project process: the project planning

D6 – Conclusion: Identity and creativity

b. Observation of activities

We have been able to observe the activities of the animators about fifteen times. This is only non-participatory observation. At the end of these meetings, we often exchanged views on the activities of the day and current issues. So, we found that despite the working conditions, in the morning, outside the schoolyard, the facilitators were conducting physical activities mainly through play. We found that cooperation and sharing were the key words of the activities. We participated in a drawing activity, the only one during my observations. The

animators asked the group to draw a tent with plants. They gave them some examples. For children who don't know how to draw, it's a free drawing. They asked the children if they liked the activity and ended up with a game that moved them before saying goodbye.

c. Facilitators workshops & meetings

A workshop was held with the Ashti team to present the aims and objectives of the study and to initiate the key questions and assumptions that would form the basis of the study. A complete list of the key questions used as a guide for this research was used.

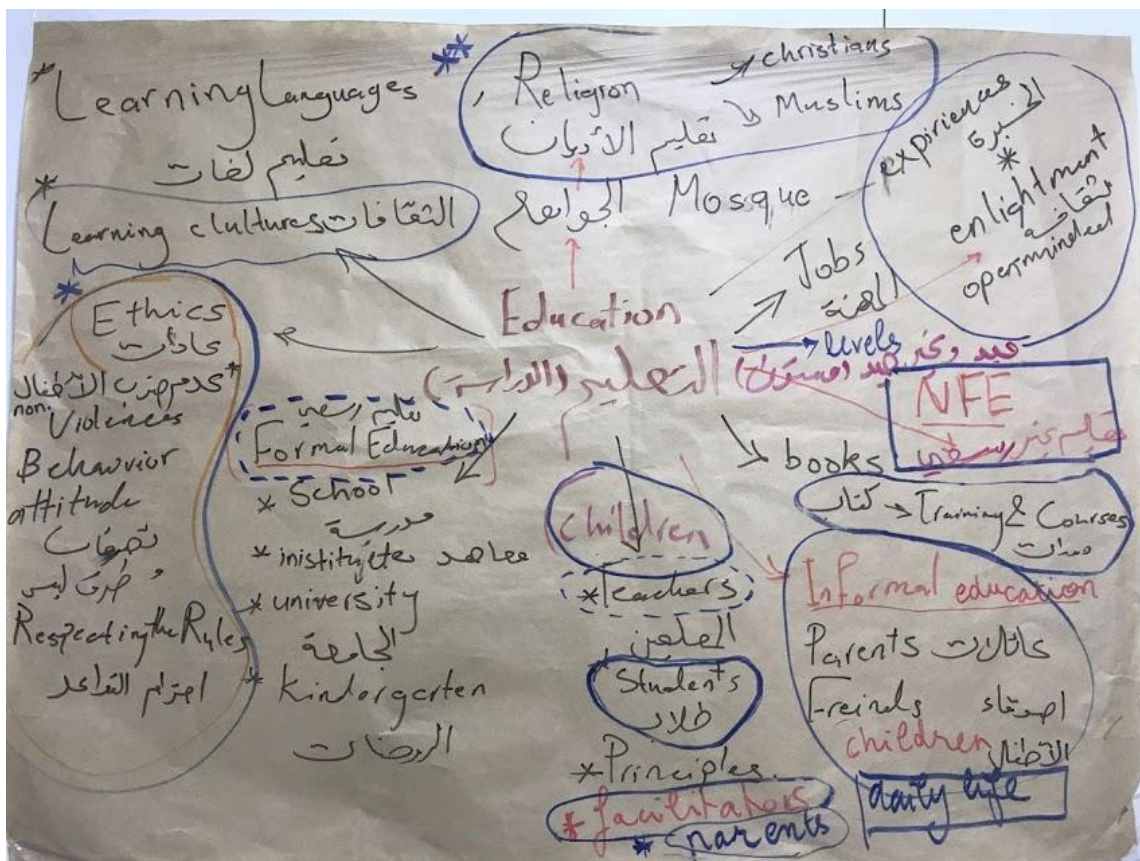
We then had an exchange of views on the conditions under which the interventions were carried out, without being able to do much. We were therefore not able to organise joint work on a participatory basis because we did not have the minimum conditions to consider the work. Furthermore, during the vast majority of my field study, we did not have a place to meet simply to discuss or work. The workshops were therefore unable to result in a solid process.

The more informal meetings, however, have been an excellent opportunity for me to understand the context and needs of the children in general. They also guided me in conducting activities with children, including the complex issue of workshops with Yazidi and Arab children. I asked them questions about their perception of this project so that they could guide me in their knowledge of the context and the children. In particular on the number of children, organization and selection. The question of having a permanent group of children also arose when one hoped for a fixed place. The facilitators suggested using a card that would not only identify the children, but would also be a source of motivation for the children. "*Children are in demand for this*", a facilitator told us.

There was also agreement on the selection of children. First of all, we wondered whether it was necessary to select gifted children for art practices. We then considered that children should be informed of the content of the activity before they arrived. Interest in this type of activity was the only condition. Learning a technique was considered during these workshops. It is therefore up to teachers to adapt to the skills of the children to be developed. The facilitators were the resource persons and the intervening artists would be people who would help them facilitate these workshops.

The role as an observer has been recalled several times, in particular during this meeting and thus the freedom of ownership of the project by the facilitators. They were asked several times how they felt about this new project. Expression of satisfaction. They therefore saw this

new project as a means of promoting their own activities and a learning for children. There could be a lack of energy on the part of the facilitators, or perhaps even a bit of stress at not being able to control the reception and the situation. Even when we wanted to organize the work according to the form to fill out, it was not always easy to decide and make decisions without knowing what was really possible.



6. Dream workshops project

a. Notion of project in NFE

The project concept used here was a cycle of creative workshops with common objectives, creations and goals, with a beginning and an end. The project was intended to mobilize people and, in addition to educational objectives and emancipation through artistic expression, it aimed to be a means of creating links between individuals. The various components of the project responded to the needs of children, whether pedagogical, socio-cultural or recreational. The activities are organized in such a way that they participate, each of them differently in the acquisition of skills and the valorisation of the work done by the participants; facilitators and children. The development of a detailed process from the beginning of the project to its conclusion was not completed. It has not been structured in this

way and the action plan meeting the NFE objectives has not been collaborative, either with the team as a whole or with the children.

As the project is also a means of materializing and framing practices to give them meaning, it helps motivate and organize collective work and anticipate material efforts and needs. We had to work more urgently and spontaneously. The originality of NFE makes it difficult to quantify. It is often difficult to measure, if not by observation, the contributions and breakthroughs of participants. This is why the project concept allows a relevant and efficient anchoring to enhance the value of all the work carried out.

b. Role of participants

This creative project only make sense if everyone finds their place in it and legitimizes the place of the other, roles must be defined and formalized. Despite the initial discussion of the ability to become an expert and carry the proposed project forward, as this was not really defined or sufficiently clear, the team became involved in the workshops. It is therefore necessary to think about the participation of the pedagogical team as a whole, but also of other staff members of the institution, those close to learners and potential existing artists and cultural institutions.

Forming a pair with an artist, has been a driving force in this project. The complementary expertise of these two protagonists contributed to the project and the workshops. Indeed, the artist has made her possible to provide alternative ways of thinking about the organization, conduct, objectives and qualitative aspects of research and local aesthetic representations. The skills and knowledge of the facilitators thus served all the workshops. They were therefore complementary in terms of technical, aesthetic and pedagogical contributions.

c. Places

The facilitators worked in different locations throughout the year. They worked in a tent in the Arab part of the camp, they also worked in a caravan in a school on the outskirts of the two areas of the camp, between the Yazidis and the Arabs. They also worked in a prefabricated building from time to time, when Yazidis children were not accessible while working only in the Arab part of the camp.

The desire for mobile intervention is demanded by the association France Libertés. This allows different audiences to be reached and other children to gain access to the activities offered. The problems inherent in the place where I worked were predominant during my field

work. Regardless of the willingness of the organization I was working with, the team and myself, we were unemployed for more than a month and a half. We then found three different spaces for the workshops. A prefabricated building without electricity, classrooms and then a place of activities previously used by another organization.

Not having a place and then having places in very remote locations, under approximate conditions, did not reach a stable group of children. It was therefore not possible to follow the progress of the same group of children or to follow interpersonal and collective developments. We therefore do not know to what extent, and especially how, this type of practice can bring about lasting changes in children's individual interactions and behaviours.

d. Art form

The art form or medium chosen has meaning and has been an important element of reflection in this research. The practices responded to the concerns and were first included in children's practices. The lack of familiarity was part of the creative process and our desire to acquire new skills and was considered.

In interviews with educational staff, parents and children, we understood that the children had little or no equipment. The few children who have plastic arts classes at school, only use drawing to create. The idea was to start with these two types of usual materials and transform their use and the possibilities associated with them. We wanted them not to be separated from what they know, but at the same time enter a different universe to have moments elsewhere from the rest of their habits.

The last workshops introduced painting for all the children who had never painted before. We needed new creative material to make new ideas, focus on the possibilities of experimenting with novelty and a material that could bring more possibilities. We also introduced the canvas while using rigid paper. It was perceived as solemn but also as an exceptional time by these children.

Access to emotions and experiences

The research method must be finely linked to the research purpose, narrative interviews, group discussions or written field notes provide limited access to the emotional and symbolic aspects of children's experiences and to models of expression related to artistic practices. This is why the dream workshops project illustrates the preponderant role of emotions, senses, visual and movement. The oriented participant observation introduced a new way of

communicating even though it could not be seen in depth. It shed new light on how children and adults coordinate their activities.

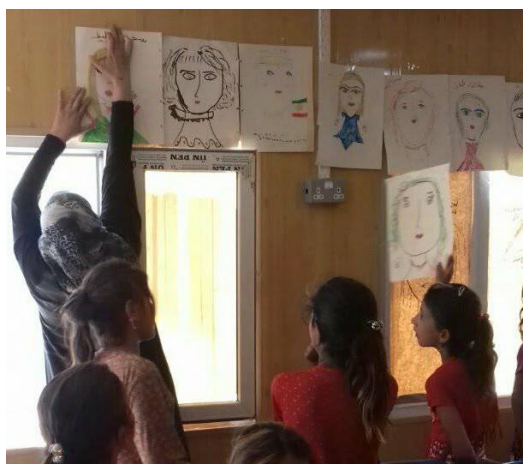
In the course of the observations made, it was found that the group discussion on the few creative activities proposed was not particularly thorough or even only technical, serving to give instructions. The related feelings and emotions are denied. The absence of individual and collective subjectification and oral discussion led me to reflect on the impact this type of exchange could have in the workshops we proposed. The collective times related to the emotional explanation of the realizations could not be particularly worked out, the times of exchanges and narratives did not take place during the activities.

The use of the medium, which is also at the centre of the study to conduct research and share ideas, should make it possible to obtain a complete process of reflection. It argues that children themselves are storytellers, that they can ask questions, find appropriate methods of research and documentation, and then share these stories so that their work is important to their audience and that it is a rich context in which a researcher can enter. Artistic practices are a survey for children, animators and observers. Indeed, the creative process expected by the activity is an investigation conducted first by the child creator, which includes his or her own questions.

e. Workshops

The themes and the course of the workshops were adapted according to the possibilities but also according to the identified needs of these children. Thus, the primary vocation of the dream workshops was to have art produce a series of drawings on hopes for the future.

We then realized that, during the first workshop, the children drawing their dream, put only few elements (a house, a garden, flowers). We noticed that very few children were drawing and inserting themselves into their own production. It was very important for us to understand how a child fits into his or her own dreams, how he or she interacts with his or her production, how he or she thinks



about himself or herself and what state of mind he or she is in. We therefore conducted a "self-portrait" workshop where the children quickly got involved and drew themselves for the first time. We then conducted a workshop "inside my dream house" where the children were invited to explore their own imagination and dreams. Then we carried out a workshop on 'the exterior of their dream house', where we saw more elements and different practices appear, the children took more time. The time of creation is a time apart, children have begun to understand it. We then realized a last workshop, having had to change places, we didn't have the same children, so we couldn't innovate or propose a workshop that would have been a continuation and end. We therefore proposed to these new children to "draw their dreams" without any indication other than this one, by strongly supporting it.

We carried out 5 different workshops with two groups of 20-25 children: Yazidis and Arab children.

W1 - The dream workshops

W2 - Self-portrait

W3 - Inside my dream home

W4 - Outside my dream home

W5 - The canvas workshop for my dream



f. An art-based research

The aim of this type of research was twofold: to acquire children's point of view on the world through verbal means by observing personal perceptions of their experiences through artistic production and also to look at the visual aspects of children's lives. We considered the fact that the children did not practice art, or very little, here drawing and painting. This has been included in the pedagogical objectives of the workshops. We have not delved into the cultural aspects of production, despite the fact that it may be interesting to develop.

In view of this research, it is remarkable that in many cultures and contexts drawings provide valuable information about children's experiences, ideas, feelings and perspectives of hope. We therefore considered that children should be expert informants and witnesses with respect to their own experiences and perspectives. A few interviews were therefore conducted at the end of the workshops or during them in order to go further in the analysis of the productions and to encourage oralization, the explanation of the imaginary and ideas put on paper.

This approach has not only focused on discovering the truth, but above all on creating meaning. The children created images submitted to interpretations. It was therefore a question of creating meaning for themselves while at the same time encouraging oral explanation.

Thus, this art-based research gives us a glimpse of productions located in time, confronted with the uncertainty and ambiguity of these existences and their hopes, as the object of the research initiated it.

g. Completion of the PAR

The end of this project, which was not easy to carry out according to an anticipated process, will end with an exhibition of the works in the camp for the staff of organizations, but also and above all for parents and children. This was left to the on-site team, which will include it in a more global exhibition. It was important for the facilitators to reappropriate this last stage by organizing and disseminating it. This will take place in early October at the team's current venue. The paintings will be exhibited with excerpts from written and translated interviews. A presentation of this project will be circulated. The children and their parents will be invited to look at them, to exchange on this but also to take them back.

In summary, the following tools were implemented:

- 5 one to ones with Key CDO office staff
- 5 meetings with key actors of Education field (STEP, Mercy Corps, UNICEF, Camp management)
- 4 Meetings with facilitators
- 7 meetings with key stakeholders in camps
- 4 open observations
- 2 mapping exercises + 2 transect walks
- 6 observations during NFE activities
- 3 focus group discussions with children
- 12 interviews with key informants
- 1 week of training + 1 workshop with NFE team
- 12 Dreaming workshops (2h) with 20-25 children (8) and 10-15 children (4)
- 15 HH interviews

7. Limits and constraints of the research

- The Ramadan period until June 26th

- School holidays during the period
- Limited access to the field due to lack of translators to the camp
- No full immersion possible as no overnight stay was permitted
- Translations from Arabic to English or from Kurdish to English resulting in loss of information
- Lack of time did not give the possibility to go into depth in the study
- Lack of space for workshops

IV. Findings

The results developed here are the result of the field work carried out. They do not want to provide extrapolable data or describe an overall situation. Moreover, the great complexity of the camp, due to the different communities' present and the short time to study them, does not allow us to explain a set of elements identifying each of the communities living in the camp. The first part of the results explaining the overall context of displacement and the environments in which children live is intended to inform about the conditions of children and to understand the sources of their expectations and hopes.

1. Displacement

This section aims to provide some elements of understanding in the face of forced displacement.

a. The life before

Most of Sunni Arab people come from little cities or villages of Saladin. Saladin or Şalāḥ ad-Dīn is a Governorate with Tikrit as its capital, between the city of Kirkuk and Baghdad. The region benefits from fertile land thanks to the Tigris River, which provides abundant water for crops from the north to the south of the territory and the Therthar Lake, which provides water for agricultural production in the south western part of the territory. People from Saladin were mostly farmer before coming here. They had their own properties often several hectares. Those big families had a lot of fields to make agriculture and won money from this. Families sold fruits and dishes from their own. They cultivated a large variety of vegetables, nuts and fruits and they had also animals like cows. Some others were employees for the government, in the police, security or military in their city.

Most of the people in the camp says their situations were very good: *“We had everything, we had a very good life”*. All of them tells me about the way they were enjoying having everything they needed. They had large houses where the whole family lived. It was not uncommon for the house to have about fifteen rooms and large gardens. The property was also the property of the farm where agricultural work was carried out. Farm families live in closed houses. Marriages often take place between cousins or relatives, *“We are all cousins, we grew up in the same house. We got married together, we're all cousins or parents”*.

The informants also evoke the cars they owned, valuing them much, beyond the comfortable equipment of their homes: *“When I wanted to sell my car before coming here, they gave a very low price for it, the half of the real price because Saladin was surrounded by Daesh. We saved the animals because they can go by themselves and pass the border but we couldn't save the cars. So, the cars stayed there. Because I left those two cars, now I don't know if it is with Daesh or Shia militias. They could do something with it and bombing somewhere under my neck. All the cars, all the documents are in my name and the future if something happen, they will call me. I could be wanted and be consider as a terrorist and committed things.”*

For the Shabaks, life before them is considered very good." *We went outside, ate outside, bought clothes, it was a normal life and it was good”*. Our informant lived next to the governorate of Mosul, she lived in a small town, which is a holy place. Before, *“I had my home, my freedom, I was in my own city”*. She describes the social environment, her neighbours and those close to it who are a strong reason for her attachment. As in Saladin, employment opportunities were mainly related to construction and the agricultural sector.

b. The reason for leaving

“Some people from Saladin accepted to let Daesh enter to our places. We had a kind of fed-up with the government because it was just helping the Shia. That's why we let Daesh come to our place and some Sunni were just silent, not say anything about what happened. They let Daesh come to their place because they had a kind of hope to change the government. That's why...”

“When Daesh came to Saladin, they didn't tell that they will destroy the place, houses etc. without any reason. At this time, Maliki was the president and Daesh told us: “anybody who is talking with the government, relative with the government or under Maliki influence, we will destroy their house and things like this”. We didn't leave our work and stuff, that's why they destroyed our house.”

Some people from Saladin could anticipate their departure and leave before the invasion of their city by Daesh, when Daesh captured the city of Mosul, even if it was a bit far away from Saladin cities, some people were informed that they had to leave and that the security was taking away. When the Daesh members entered in the cities, informants say they couldn't even go out from their houses to buy things for their house. They couldn't live properly. Some of them stayed few months under the control of Daesh, during the summer. *"It's like that, we can't leave our parents, nobody should stay in the danger with Daesh. Everybody should come. This is why all of our family are here"*. Saladin is divided into two parts: the 45% was controlled by Daesh.

The injunction to join and fight is permanent and very strong under the control of Daesh. *"So, when I decided to come here, Daesh asked me why you want to go to this place, why do not you want to stay to fight with us? You cannot say no, I will not join you because of that."* This man did not say the real reason he wanted to leave the city but when they discovered he left, they destroyed his brother's house. Other people from Saladin left their cities because of the conflict between the Shia and Daesh, *"the Shia militia came to destroy our cities"*. They seem to be afraid about the way *"they were killing all the people they were suspicious with"*.

Some informants share their resentment at what they consider Shia as "invaders". They denounce what they consider as a total control and threat: *"They were selling electricity for the city before, and all around it, and did a lot of bad things, more that you can imagine"*. Shia militias are often considered as enemies or danger. It is said, they can't have names like Ali or Hussein because it's Sunni names and if they stayed there with these names, they could be killed. Another informant told us about his fear: *"The Shia military is killing everybody without any reason, just because we are Sunni. Even though Daesh went out from our place, after one year and a half, in 2015, the Shia militias went inside the houses. Now they are sending pictures of my destructed house. The conflict is not with Daesh and us. It's between Shia and us. One year and a half, after Daesh took over the town, when the Shia came to my house, look what they did [Photo]. It is the same for all the families. This is the house of my brother after the bombing [Photo]. The Shia militia are sending us those pictures. They have our numbers because it's written in the city, for advertising for our farm. Also, we had everything in our houses, formal papers too. Shia militia did that to us because Shia have our numbers, we can talk with them but when I ask them "why did you bomb my house?", there will just bring excuses about what they are doing."*

The Shabaks are a minority group living in northern Iraq, mainly in the plain of Nineveh, who has been their home for about five centuries. The Shabaks are, at the origin, Aryans from Ardebil who settled in the plain of Nineveh during the Safavid Empire (1502-1736). They are now Muslims with a majority of Shiites and constitute a community living east of Mosul, in the Yazidi neighborhood. This area is home to a great diversity of peasant populations and diverse beliefs.

The majority of the Shabaks left Mosul three years ago. Before Daesh got to the area, they escaped. All of them, parents and neighbours, left the area at the same time. The risk in staying in Mosul was to get killed. Our informant tells us that "*Daesh took a child Yazidi, they cooked and ate it, they ate everything*". She considers the Yazidi as those who have seen the worst. Daesh uses them as sexual slaves and they sell themselves to women among fighters. Meanwhile, many Yazidi women are reported missing. "*We (Shabaks) haven't seen Daesh, only on television. The Yazidi saw them*".

All Yazidis interviewed left their region of origin in August 2014. The people of the camp left Sinjar, a region west of Mosul near the Syrian border, after the August 13 attack. An informant informs us that she took refuge for 10 days in the surrounding mountains. "*When we were all blocked by the rocks, Daesh's members came to these rocks where we were. I pretended to be dead so they wouldn't kill me. I had an open eye, I looked at them, lying in front of them when they arrived. If I hadn't done that, I would have died*". All the people she was with died, including family members who were there with her, apart from an injured man who helped her to leave the scene. There were 572 deaths.

c. The conditions of leaving

The Yazidi population of Sinjar was concentrated mainly north and west of Mosul, particularly in the town of Sinjar, west of Talafar, and in the towns of Bashiqa and Bahzani, northeast of Mosul. After Daesh's incursion, most of the Yazidis settled in Dohuk governorate or abroad. Others also live in Erbil and Sulaymaniyah. Following these killings, most Yazidis went to Dohuk in particular to be treated and then moved to Dohuk as a matter of urgency: "*I was sick and I was in the hospital there*". They then drove to Sulaymaniyah. They had no family in Sulaymaniyah but large families settled there. The camp's neighbours know each other to a large extent.

The majority of Saladin inhabitants who lives in the Ashti camp, left their place there are around 3 years, in Summer 2014, because of Daesh attacks. Most of them were in their cities

when terrorists covered the place. When terrorists took control of Saladin they ran away. The decision to leave the prison city is usually collective. It is done by men, often men who have an important social position in the family as a leader of tribe. The decision is the decision of a tribe or a part of it. The departures are therefore collectively made to an enlarged number of individuals, sometimes 50 to 60 family members. They couldn't take nothing with them and they lost everything behind them, sometimes they took a small bag of clothes.

In order to be allowed to cross the border between the two territories, other informants had to pay a big amount but also give a valid reason for their displacement at the Daesh group. Some families had to pay 2500\$ to come to here to the armed group and needed to have a formal paper from a doctor. Daesh administration asked them the reason for moving from the controlled area, they had to tell them they were sick and gave them the paper from the doctor, they paid and they were allowed to cross the border. An informant told them, one of his children was sick and he was going to bring him medical help and he would come back.

A family had to leave early in the morning to come in Sulaymaniyah. They took a boat, had to pass and cross a river and a lake to get to the Ashti camp. People who went by boat explain there was a huge kind of beach between Saladin and Sulaymaniyah. The alternative of the boat was another emergency solution because the roads were too dangerous including checkpoints where they risked being arrested and killed because of this illegally leaving from controlled areas. Some parents sent their children to come to Kurdistan by boat by the river and to pass it we paid 700\$ for them to come there.

There is a pass way between the area controlled by Daesh and the Kurdistan border. This is a place between Hawija and Kirkuk, where there was a kind of checkpoint between Peshmergas and Daesh. It a kind of small district mostly used for oil and this kind of factories. There was like a small office there. Some people who could legally cross the border took this way. They waited sometimes 15 days because of fire fight which happened between the both forces. In this checkpoint, there were around 9000 people who were waiting at this period.

They chose to come in Sulaymaniyah because they considered it as the only safe place even if they consider its far away from their home. Some people came to work to Sulaymaniyah or did business here before. Few of them have relatives who lived here before their arrival or find this camp and they were asked to join them. Even if Baghdad is closer, conflicts between Sunni and Shia militias there make them afraid and insecure in the capital. Even in Kirkuk, at the time of their displacement, they did not feel safe enough. They therefore flee to the foot of the mountains at the bottom of Iraqi Kurdistan. Sulaymaniyah represented for those Sunni

people, a place where those dual power don't exist here. All the people we met here, explain that they feel safe. They also explain why, notably by the political climate but also by the security and military forces which for them, seems to be very valorous.

When they arrived at Sulaymaniyah, most of them went directly to the Arbat camp. Arbat IDPs camp was the only camp in the area of the city-centre of Sulaymaniyah in the summer 2014. It was a very crowded place and there was not enough space for all the people who were coming as displaced persons. Most of the informants were living in the Arbat camp, from August 2014 to June 2015 when the Ashti camp opened at ten minutes by walk from the previous camp.

The Shiite Shabak were mainly found in the city of Mosul, as well as in the northern villages and the Nineveh plains to the east. The initial displacement of Shabaks IDPs occurred in the summer of 2014, both in Mosul City and surrounding villages. After the start of the October 2016 offensive on Mosul, a second wave of displaced Shabaks, mainly villages north of Mosul.

Our informant knew that she and her relatives had to leave the area very quickly when neighbours came to tell them. They informed them that Daesh was very close to their neighbourhood. Our informant's brother is Peshmergas and they lived near their front lines. So, they got their help to escape. They fled the city by car leaving their gold and all their belongings in their homes. They initially stopped in a town in Iraqi Kurdistan but were afraid Daesh would come any closer to this place. So, they went to Erbil where they did not feel safe yet, so they came to Sulaymaniyah. She has had another brother living in Sulaymaniyah for a very long time, he is a construction worker. *"He often said to me: "Come to Sulaymaniyah, come to Sulaymaniyah!" I told him I didn't want to come. We regret that we didn't come when we had the strength to come to Sulaymaniyah for sightseeing".* Now she prefers the city of Sulaymaniyah over there. She'd rather live in this town than go back to Mosul.

2. Description of the area under study and its population

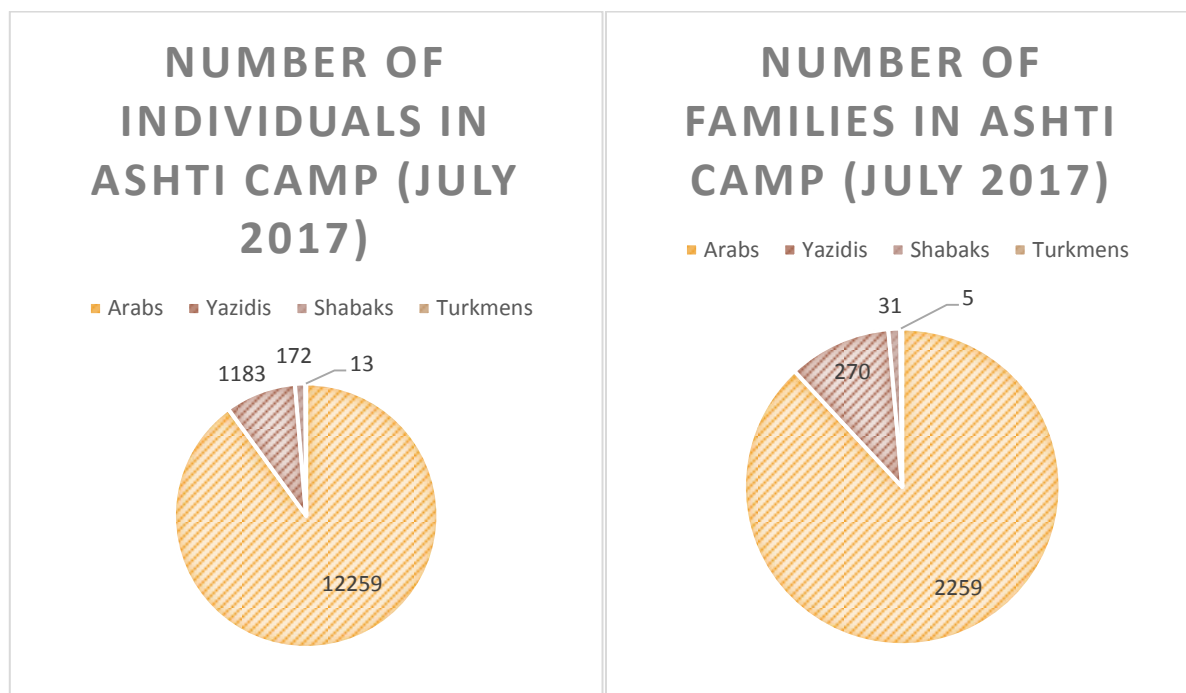
a. General information

The ethnographical study concerned the Ashti camp:

"Ashti" means peace in the Kurdish language. The camp is the largest in the Sulaymaniyah region, both in terms of space and the number of IDPs living there. The camp is run by the KRG and the UN operator working to protect displaced people, UNHCR.

In August 2014, the first groups of IDPs arrived at Sulaymaniyah. The 1st September of 2014, IDPs stayed temporarily in Arbat IDPs camp. Then the Ashti camp opened in June 2015. Some families who were staying in Arbat camp were relocated in Ashti camp at this moment. In April 2016, others IDPs arrived in the Ashti camp.

Since the camp settlements in June 2015, there haven't been substantial population movements. Recent data about the break-down of the population between different communities is as follows (July 2017):



Total: 13,627 individuals (2865HH)

Sunni Arabs from the Saladin regions account for 90%, Yazidis for less than 9% and then the few Shabak and Turkmen families. It is also noted that the number of children per family among Arab families is higher than in other communities. According to these figures, there are 5.4 persons per Arab household compared to 4.4 in the Yazidi families. There are 5509 adults and 7709 children from 0 to 17 years old. The population of Ashti IDP camp is mainly made up of minors (56.6%), 37.4%, for a population of 5093 children under 10.

b. Description of the campground

(Annex 1.b. Map of Ashti IDPs camp)

The camp is divided into 12 sections and then subdivided into "Ashti 1" and "Ashti 2", also corresponding to the community distribution of the populations. It is composed of 2630 plots

with 1 kitchen and 1 bathroom for each. It tried to adapt to the realities of family structures of families, as well, by family:

- From 1 to 7 persons: provision of 1 tent
- From 8 to 14 persons: provision of 2 tents
- From 15 persons and more: provision of 3 tents

Ashti camp is located on the outskirts of Sulaymaniyah city and a few minutes from Arbat village. Located on a major road, the Arbat and Ashti camps are home to the IDPs. The single entrance to the camp is controlled and is only possible with permission. As far we know, the inhabitants of the camp now have free access to the outside world. The camp is protected by barbed wire, delimiting the camp. The camp is bordered by mountains and burnt fields to prevent fire and insect proliferation.

The management camp and the internal security room are located at the entrance. Close to them are the blocks where Turkmen, Yazidis and Shabaks live. The rest of the camp is inhabited by the Arabs. There is a border between the Yazidis and the Arabs.

The long and wide sandy and stony paths are often empty. There are many stones but not the slightest installation in these public spaces. Some people in the morning and in the evening pass through. The suffocating heat in the morning does not encourage to leave the outside of the water-cooled tents, which are located outside. Satellite antennas and cars can often be seen in individual garages, especially among the Yazidis part.

There are a few fortunes shops where you can buy food, fruits, vegetables, drinks, snacks and also poultry. There are shops selling various products for everyday use. There are hairdressers, a shop where you can buy clothes. There are also repair shops and mobile phone shops. There are a few spaces, especially in the Yazidis part, where men play cards in a semi-hard construction. Kurdish street vendors from the town of Arbat come into the camp to sell household items, clothing and vegetables. Another street vendor living in the camp sells falafels. These places are part of the social spaces where we meet, even if they were not very frequented during the visits.

The main habitat is a tent of about 15 m², sometimes several per family. The tents are equipped with TV antennas and satellite, electricity and water. The tents are on a cement base and sometimes a small wall one metre high supports the tarpaulin. This marks the paradox of the semi-permanent installation between temporary and permanent, between precariousness

and comfort. The houses are not very visible from the exterior, protected by latrines and hard showers towards the exterior of the blocks.

The tent is the essential living space. It can be partitioned by a fabric, allowing the space to be structured, but it is difficult to find privacy. Inside, in this large space, there is usually a large fridge, a television, the Koran, some decorative objects. There are also fine mattresses and cushions. Sometimes there's a pantry with empty luggage, blankets. There are also small gardens, which seem to be an important element. The garden is important and a source of pride, even if it is extremely small. It is not uncommon to be shown to us at the end of a visit. Spaces are limited and confined.

The camp is therefore in tension between the temporary nature of the emergency and the durability of the facility. Social relations in public spaces do not seem to be favoured by the geographical structuring of the camp. In the evening, when night falls, the alleys of the camp are not lit. Much of life takes place in the tents, in these private spaces where one finds oneself in between. In the heat-hardened alleys, people only pass through even if children and young people populate these rough spaces. When we are in this confined space, we feel the trapping aspect of altered freedom and control by institutions and the structuring imposed by organizations. Calm, warmth and empty spaces confirm this perception of a desire for neutralized space.

3. Social and power dynamics within the community

a. Organisation governance

The humanitarian system is the ultimate reference for daily life because of the place it occupies and the powers it concentrates. The humanitarian system has taken over from political institutions and often, through the type of structuring it implies, maintains subordinate or even victimizing relationships through the way in which the expected aid is only descending. The system seems to be non-participatory even if people are linking camp management, NGOs and beneficiaries. Needs and complaints seem to be heard, but the participatory aspect of constructing the type of responses seems unusual. Ongoing monitoring and containment add value to the tried-and-tested system of humanitarian governance, often locking in the possibilities of undertaking. In spite of everything, important financial and human resources are put in place to monitor needs and satisfaction with a certain number of volunteers, employed on the camp in order to make contact with the inhabitants.

The camp management is responsible for ensuring the safety of the individuals. They notably go through mobilizers to carry out a constant monitoring. IOs and NGOs provide protection, WASH, shelter and basic needs. They're covered in the camp, according to them. Particular emphasis is placed on coordinating NGOs to work on the gaps in each. Numerous coordination meetings are held with the various stakeholders, notably within the framework of the OCHA Clusters. These are also organized by field.

The humanitarian world governs the camp, creates new social structures, the emergence of new institutions and influences people's lives in their daily lives. It creates new norms, changes cultural perceptions and customs. For example, water management is particularly problematic in the camp. Despite the compliance with international standards by Sphere standards, people accustomed to having large quantities of water, without worrying about waste and without measuring their consumption, complain that they do not have enough. The people in the camp, perhaps because we were representing some of them, a part of the humanitarian machinery, told us about their problems or discontent with the NGOs. They often perceive them as the ultimate solution. Sometimes they see their ineffectiveness or unwillingness.

International funds for IDPs, especially in the Sulaymaniyah region, have been drastically reduced. Most of the funds are distributed for the Mosul crisis or to refugees. Organizations seem to lack the budget to do more. Before food and other distributions took place monthly or bimonthly. Supports appear to have diminished. There is, however, the introduction of a purchase system with a SIM card, at the time when we were in the camp, it was a transitional phase and there were many complaints, both about misunderstanding and about the new system as such. *"Now that we receive an SMS, it is said that we can go somewhere to buy things for his money, but when we go there, we can't buy everything that is written down"*. Some compare the inequality of public utilities in the city with those in the camp, including access to electricity that is useful for protecting against heat with water conditioners.

Kurdistan has its own laws, including social and family law. Some organizations point to the difficulty of adopting different customs from Arab traditions. An informant told us that for him, *"there are no solutions in the camp, they have their own traditions and cultures. I would like my own representations and wishes to be adopted by the IDPs, but it is difficult to change attitudes, especially those of people over the age of 20 to 25. The solution is outside the camp"*. He also doubted the influence of organizations on the reorganization of social structures concerning children: *"Children will not change, there is no point in wanting to*

change their traditions because their parents do not change or adapt to our traditions and rules, especially the older generations”.

b. Neighbour

Tents and blocks are usually grouped by family or relative even if the ethnic groups have their own territory. It is very common for people to live in the same city, village or community. When they don't know each other, they come from the same area. People know their neighbours and visit each other in tents. The links between them are said to be good. Even when they don't know each other, they laugh and joke together. There are large families grouped together but interacting with other groups. It wasn't like that before, families were more self-sufficient. Here, the restricted space favours connections and links with others. Consensual relationships seem to be seen by everyone as essential.

Some say that it is very difficult to get out of the tent and therefore have little connection with the neighbourhood, especially for women. *"I can't go to my neighbours' or friends' tents here in the camp because I'm too scared to leave my children at home alone. I don't feel safe”.*

However, promiscuity is still a novelty, which, although not always said to be the case, is for many people a feeling of being oppressed by a noisy external environment. We are informed that we hear people's televisions, the discussions sometimes. Space and tranquillity seem to be lacking to many people because the confinement is so certain.

c. Community cohabitation

As we have seen, the camp is structured to concentrate families by community. The separation is clearly effective. The camp management, not wishing to take part in inter-ethnic conflicts and promoting the security and protection of everyone decided to organize the camp according to this. Separation outside the camp are much more intense between Arabs and Yazidis, but the rules and wills in the camp seem to be respected. The communities, grouped together in the same precariousness, have made the choice to live in a common global space in a consensus where everyone finds his or her place.

The Yazidis were subjected to a particularly violent and traumatic attack by Daesh, this is acknowledged by all our interlocutors. The Yazidi live in doubt, they are extremely suspicious of the outside world. The sad events that occurred before in Sinjar remain difficult to manage until today. They still participate in the life of the camp in collaboration with the camp management but do not have a solid project so far. The Yazidis seem to want such a

separation because they are afraid and have persistent suspicions. We were told *"that they also have many family problems: we see many protection problems in the Yazidi community, there are more tensions there. This is a reason to understand why they don't participate in finding solutions to their problems without any improvement"*. A woman tells us about the women in her community: *"Women here, especially the women of Yazidi, need educational support. Yazidi are particularly scared now because of the war. They are very defensive towards the outside"*. An organization located in the Arab part of the camp, outside the Yazidis' living area, is now being offered a transport service so that they can come to receive psychosocial care. This was a response to the impossibility of penetration between communities.

The Shabak, an ethnic group of the Kurdish community, are Shiite and seem to have social relations with the Yazidis. A woman tells us that she knows the Yazidis because she shares the same space. She also says that she shares a lot with the Yazidi as in her hometown in the Mosul region.

Through our field visits with the children, we have twice crossed the "borders" between the two parts of the camp with Yazidis children. The first time, it happened quite spontaneously with a little boy who wanted to follow us. The reactions of the Arab children who came across him along the way were very strong: he was insulted, beaten with a stick and a little girl told us that they were not friends because he did not have the same religion and that he was bad. The boy did not pay attention to it, as if the habit or at least the banality did not seem to change it. Another time, to participate in a workshop, we had to bring Yazidis children back, after having had to go to each of the children's tents to find the parents, we had to cross part of the camp in about ten minutes. The small group of about a dozen children and ourselves were surrounded by boys on foot and by bicycle. They threatened them with many horrors along the way, including death and beheading. They were quite violent and we, as adults, doubted the safety of this route to the place of activities.

A real tension exists and rational fears or not, make sense. In spite of field experiences confirming my idea that there is a tension between communities. Life in a common place can then be constrained. Nevertheless, most of my interlocutors in other communities have the desire to settle conflicts and say themselves that the Yazidis are the ones who need the most support and should be given priority.

d. Social problems

In order to understand the potential for violence in the camp, we turned to an organization working as family mediators or even relays to the operators of the law. They report that there are many problems of violence in the camp. It is not easy to discuss such issues with the people we meet. Violence is often denied. We are witnessing violence, particularly between children on the streets. Stone-throwing, clubbing and all kinds of jostling are common, but this is only a symptom.

The violence reported by the staff of this organization is child marriage and when a man has several wives, it is viewed as another big issue. For this organization, one of the reasons for potential violence is that a man with two wives and ten children is often no longer able to ensure the economic well-being of the family. The second is that when a man marries a second time, it is not uncommon for the marriage certificate not to be fulfilled because it is forbidden in Kurdistan. As a result, the woman and her children have no identity papers and are not protected. In addition, another problem with multiple marriage is the jealousy between the two wives. If the husband buys one thing from the first and not the second, there are often big misunderstandings. This increases tensions and violence.

Forced marriages are also a problem for organisations but these are common practices among Yazidis and Arabs alike. The issue of forced marriage is debated: is marriage with a minor a forced marriage? Some consider that there are no forced marriages in the camp because women want their husbands' money, others consider that there are forced marriages, since there are child marriages. As far as they know, there are no cases of sexual abuse in the camp. There was only one case of rape two years ago. Nor did they know of any cases of female genital mutilation. We nevertheless had a child's testimony when we talked about her expectations for the future: *“Two of my sisters they went on to a Genital Mutilation. It's very wrong and I don't want that for me. There are older than me there are more pain that at my age. For me they will not do it yet but when I will be older my dad will do it. My older sisters already did it”*.

Before, Saladin's men were busy with their farms and animals, they worked a lot. Today, they are still in the camp and do little or nothing. They are economically and psychologically unstable, so there is a lot of violence in the camp. They explain the many acts of violence because *“people are really tired of the situation and their experience of war. They report violence to their families. Loneliness makes them guilty of everything that happens”*.

The protection of women seems to be at the heart of the concern: *“Men know that women are more likely to be alone, have lost family members and are vulnerable, so they become super-powerful masters”*. They also relate the level of education and the potential for violence: *“The majority of the camp's inhabitants are not educated, they belong to the very weak social classes of society, because violence is normal”*.

4. Life since the displacement: Impact, needs and hopes

a. Main impacts of displacement

After a significant psychological trauma for some of them that they begin to externalize, after losses and uprooting, life in this camp seemed to freeze. First, the consequences relate to death, psychological pressures and illnesses, including heart attacks and respiratory diseases. Exhaustion and physical weakness of everyone, who can't bear the situation. For example, a camp resident tells us: *“When we talk to people, there are always problems because we can't cope with everything because we are tired because of all the things that have happened to us”* or, *“When I go to women's meetings, Yazidi women have the most difficult stories and start crying. They're the ones who suffered the most, more than any other Kurdish.”*

Life is told in a systematic comparison with the life before. Loss and lack are cross-cutting concepts in interviews. It thus expresses the poverty suffered in connection with the opulence lost. The ordinary life in the camp is out of step with the previous life. The life before was a free life and a simple life. Large houses were places where large families lived. The house means relaxation where one could rest without all these people around them. The camp is disturbing and some people confess to not feeling well.

A woman explains this to us:

“The most frustrating thing for me is to be in the camp. I'm forced to stay here. I can't go to the stores like I did when I was in Saladin. I don't have the freedom I had before. All I do is wake up, sit here, cook and sleep, that's all. I'm getting out of the tent a little bit, but it's not like it used to be. I'm not getting out of camp. If I went out, where would I go? What would I do? I'm alone here. I have no friends in Sulaymaniyah, only in the camp. I could go outside from one tent to another, but it's better to stay in that tent.”

Dietary habits remained the same. They had their own food, agriculture and plantations. They only buy a few items on the market but do everything by themselves. They used to do everything on their own, even milk and yogurt, but now a little less. *“Men bring money and*

women use it to feed the household. Women work, but it's a free job". Some regret elements of their past everyday life as the natural water that they compare with the chlorinated water proposed in the camp.

Some informants also talk about their assimilation with the Kurdish culture, which has changed some things in their habits. Many Kurds, on Friday, the first day of the weekend will picnic outside the city, now a family explain us how to do it. The same applies to the manner of dressing, especially as regards women, who are allowed to wear these types of clothing. Some say they are more educated, more enlightened because of the environment since the displacement.

The vast majority of people who do not work remain in the camp. They range from tents to tents and recompose past extended and friendly family habits. There is nothing to distract, there is no shopping mall or cafeteria. There is no community centre. This is due and people explain it to us, to the temporary situation in which they are, "*we are not there forever*". Heat seems to be the biggest difficulty to overcome, people say they don't want to do anything because of the heat when they say that despite the heat, they were working at home.

People sleep a lot in the camp, including a good part of the afternoon, because of the heavy heat and the lack of possible activities to do. Children are often outdoors when they don't sleep and some children spend the whole day away from home. Old people are usually in tents, they meet at home together or outside. They wear traditional clothing. An informer tells us that they like to go out in the evening when the heat is lighter. They sit on chairs and talk a lot. They like to talk about life before and what they're going to do.

Informants tell us that they cook as before, they produce a lot by themselves, even if this is less possible today (cuba, dolma, rice biryani). People usually eat at 12 and for Muslims, they pray at 12:30. Everyone eats together, women and men with the children. Children may also eat after their parents. Satellite television, communications with social networks and the telephone are occupations that take some time in daily life. Most families have a small garden where they grow tomatoes, herbs for soups, sunflowers, salads, cereals and flowers.

What often comes back is the unwillingness to get involved in a life here: "*It's a temporary place, it's not meant to come back and we want to go home, so why invest?*" Daily life seems to be caught between the painful past and the uncertain future. The calmness and inertia of life tells the story of waiting.

b. Perceived needs and priorities

When informants are asked about their immediate priorities in general, responses range from comfort to finding a job. They seem to have found some physical security in the camp, which they were looking for above all.

A significant proportion of households continue to rely on humanitarian assistance and temporary or low-income sources that do not provide sufficient security and financial stability. This reduces the sense of security. Households are financially dependent, largely on humanitarian aid, on their former civil servants' salaries, which they were in their hometown. Some work as unskilled, skilled workers in the construction industry or as cleaning agents. Some others have found temporary jobs where many are day jobs and positions as guards or in public safety. Several people have temporary jobs in camp organizations.

Informants who respond that finding a job is their priority continue to state the reasons that are exclusively to meet the immediate needs of their families. Employment is at the heart of the concern: *"The priority for me is to work, because if you don't work, you can't have food. For us, having a job and work is very important before food"*. The current inability to meet needs due to a lack of financial resources is observed in some households reporting inability to pay for specific medical treatments.

c. Family structures

The camp is composed exclusively of large tribal families. The number of persons per family varies greatly according to births and marriages. Sometimes one of the two brides did not live in the camp before. Some people come here from Saladin when they get married. Also, some people leave the camp because they manage to rent outside the camp, they go to live in the city.

There are many marriages and births in the camp, apparently more than usual. Some people consider it a good sign because they are happy and comfortable. This is generally rather poorly perceived by Kurdish organizations and society, which in recent years has often reduced the number of children per household. *"Most of them don't care about the situation, they just follow nature. There are a lot of kids. It's a negative of some kind. If you're an Arab, how can you bring a child to this camp?"* It seems to us that, in view of rural farming traditions and the security needs traditionally driven by descendants, children provide additional security for families for their future, precisely in this complex situation of insecurity. Some people question this and think that *"if a mother has too many children, they*

will not have equal love because she cannot give everyone the same attention. That's why children are too energetic”.

The family structure, especially among Arabs, is composed of a couple or a man with two or three wives. It is not uncommon for a family to have between five and twenty children. Households are grouped into extended families and thus form a large social group. One man explains to us that this structuring allows an aid in daily life and that it brings comfort to their parents living with them. The daily division of labour is quite divided. Women work at home: *“they clean the house, they wash the house, they cook, they take care of laundry and dishes, and the men take care of providing money, food, and women's needs”.*

There is also a problem of lack of intimacy and sexual frustration. It is very difficult to find time for a couple with children living in a permanently crowded room. Needs are not being met and also lead to anger. It is taboo, men and women do not talk about it to us directly, it is not culturally accepted. A good family, according to an informant, is a family where children do not need to work. *“A good family doesn't need to have a lot of money, just for the needs. As an Arab people, it is a tradition not to leave parents alone, parents must live with us until they die, we will serve them.”*

d. Religion

The camp management and humanitarian principles not wishing to favour a religion over another. Also in order to avoid any inter-religious conflict in this place, which was intended to be apolitical and peaceful, it was agreed that there would be no religious place, unlike the neighbouring refugee camp where there is a mosque.

There is therefore no mosque in the camp, nor public space with this vocation but there are three muezzins, calling for prayer. All Muslims interviewed prayed at home. They mostly go to the mosque on Friday in Arbat by car to pray and listen to the Mullah's speech. Some, however, regret that the speech is only in Kurdish. There are Sunni Mullah in the camp, living among the community. There are about one Mullah per hundred people and the Sheikhs. Some of them are graduates of the Religious University of Baghdad. A Mullah describes his function to us: *“A Mullah is someone who knows a lot about Islam, who is recognized and respected. He is a group leader, I have a high position because I have a lot of experience in Islamic life and business. If someone is sick, we can pray for him and write it in a paper, we will give him advice, but we do not ask for money for it. It's a kind of religious way of asking God to have children, to have a good life. We do these things too”.* The Yazidis would also

have an unofficial religious place, without certainty. The Shabaks being Shiite go to the great mosque of Sulaymaniyah, the only one in the city. They don't have a Sheikh in the camp.

Religion seems above all to pass through family learning and the school where children read the Qur'an. A group of religious offer courses where they teach young people between 18 and 25 years old, how to read the Qur'an at night, when they are free and do not work, it is a kind of lesson. There are courses for children, just boys. Most informants don't perceive differences in their practice of religion as before. The father teaches his son and daughter about religion and the things that surround him, as before. The five prayers remain the same. According to an informant, the only difference between a woman and a man regarding religion is that the woman must have her head covered to pray and when a woman prays, men cannot see her.

5. Adult dreams

We have chosen, for this part on the expectations and hopes of the individuals we met, to include a large part of the corpus by directly integrating the words in this writing. There are two reasons for this: firstly, because the subject is very sensitive and we know it, and secondly, to support the fact that it is the words of individuals and not a generalization, even if the following tendencies are clearly revealed during our field research.

a. Alteration of hopes

Most interviewees, regardless of ethnic or religious origin, do not seem to have/to express much hope for their future. They do not seem to have any control over it and the lack of clear vision on their destiny, puts them in a reduced temp that oscillates between past and present. The present precarious conditions also offer no security for looking to the future. Often, when talking about possible futures, it was not uncommon that "*there is no future in Iraq*" or "*Iraq is a dead horse*", concluded a discussion on the future.

At the political level, those who still believe in it want a radical change in the current organization of government. Participation in the democratic act is not excluded. For some, "*the Iraqi government has no future unless the government and everything around it can be changed. The Iraqi and Kurdish government should change. During elections, they should choose other people*". According to them, only elections will change everything if they do not choose the others. Some feel abandoned when others feel excluded from all power over them or even threatened by the powers in place. The social powers that some people had before arriving in the camp were swept away by Daesh or the Shia militias. They do not seem to be

able to imagine finding such a place in the current social configuration, neither in their current living spaces nor in their hometown.

During a break in our crossing of the camp, we spoke with old Yazidis about their hopes. The two men seemed to have difficulty with their future and reported their distress to hope for anything. We watch the children's dream drawings with them.

An Arab informant tries to explain why Daesh has been a source of hope for some people in the occupied cities: *"We cannot blame Daesh because we, Sunnis and Shia, have caused this problem. Why didn't they do anything to stop Daesh from entering our house? Because once Saddam Hussein's regime was over, the government was only helping the Shiites, they were giving them jobs and everything, but only for them. People were deceived by the government, so they didn't do anything to stop Daesh."* The situations of the Sunni Arabs seem to be so uncertain that they cannot find alternatives or strategies to hope for a prosperous future.

b. Hopes & expectations

The clear majority of the expectations expressed by adults concern their future relocation. It is mainly a question of leaving the camp to settle elsewhere. We have been able to draw a dominant tendency from it, which is the hope of returning home and then the expression of being able to ensure their basic needs, such as security. Finally, to a lesser extent, some express the hope of staying in Kurdistan and living abroad. The results clearly follow the same path. Expectations are usually reduced to the impossibility of fulfilling them and to a present that is suffered. We have been particularly marked by the gap between the clear expression of a desire for return and the impossibility in the short and medium term of achieving it. It is precisely here that the notion of hope, which, in our view, is very strong, contrasts sharply with the present and the pragmatic impossibility of putting it into concrete action.

There are also expectations of an ordinary life, it is about marriages, sometimes having a second wife. It's also about being *"like the Kurds, they have a house, a car, a job, everything is stable with them, it's my hope. I want to live at home, in my own home, to be happy"*. Hope is finally being placed on the family and children in particular. Some people want their children to finish their studies and have their diplomas. Finally, a couple of elderly people, go through the pragmatic realities of primary needs. The husband hopes of going to Mecca in Saudi Arabia and his wife hopes to be young again and travel to Europe.

The dreams of the people we meet are mostly concentrated in a perspective of expectation, of waiting for reasonable elements that they consider achievable in the future. Few people seem to be able to detach themselves from an alienating reality condemning them to look at the possible before all else. Conditions capture a certain ability to dream, considering the dream as a hope. Expected future life is put on hold because material, social and political constraints do not allow their realization. Thus, in the same way, hope is hindered by reality and expectations that do not find a positive echo. Moreover, it is being undermined by realities that condemn and obscure the possibility of hope, which is an essential and out of reach element. There is therefore little expression of hope.

c. Dream of a return

Going home is the main concern and that is a lot of things. A woman explains: *“I dream of going home to Sinjar, having a life as before, forgetting what happened”*. Does going home mean going back to the present conditions or forgetting what happened and going back to the old life? The return at home is a hope, but it is in itself a vector of hope: *“I want to return to my place because I have no future here. We can't build ourselves here”*. The life before that for the clear majority of people we met is told very positively. As we have shown in the part "life before", the narratives of this lost life are highly valued by the type of narration used but also by the enumeration of the positive aspects of life put in parallel with the present reality. The dream of going home is often rather vague and comes back to talking about aspects of past life.

In fact, there are few people who actually think back home and explain how they would feel about such a situation. We believe that hope and intentionality are put into tension. A Yazidi tells us that even when they come home, which she says is the wish of most people, people will be more affected because they will remember their ailments again and it may not be good for them. She added that they will need psychological support when they return.

Conditions or solutions

Some make their return conditional on government assistance, which could provide them with money to return home. They also invoke, but do not name it as such, UNHCR funds for return assistance. Also, some people speak of tribal agreement: *“There is a special tribe, there are many relatives of this tribe of Saladin in the camp. This tribe has small groups, some of them can go back to Salah Al Din, but that's something we say, but no confirmation on that”*.

Others contradict this by saying that there is no agreement between Sunni tribes and Shia militias.

The solutions for getting in or the hopes that the brakes to that no longer exist are difficult to find. One family tells us that they want the government to be "*afraid of God*". By June, three Arab households had returned to their areas of origin, while five families had arrived. This even though the regions had been liberated from Daesh for several months already. In the words of one camp management staff member, "*At the end, they will all go home. It is therefore a matter of allowing that*".

d. Dream of an elsewhere

Some of our informants, but a minority, see their expectations turned elsewhere, as if they had resigned themselves to part with their former lives. Some say they want to stay in Kurdistan, in the Sulaymaniyah region, because they feel safe above all. Also, because they feel good, they have family members living here, especially for Shabaks or have found a job here that they no longer expect there. A woman tells us that she wants her children to stay "here" because it's safe. An informant conditions his potential place of life: "*If we have money, we will go to Sulaymaniyah, or to Saladin if it is safe or we will stay in this tent forever*".

These words of a Shabak woman are the only ones that evoke the impediment, or more precisely, the unwillingness to return: "*My whole family has returned to my city, to the province of Mosul. My family returned home two months ago when Mosul was released. I don't want to go home, I want to stay here. I don't have anything in my old house, everything was stolen. My house is partially demolished, but we can rebuild it. I have no intention of going home. If the camp closes and everyone leaves, as I can't be here alone, of course I would leave! My dream is that when my daughters grow up, we'll go somewhere safe and happy.*"

A Yazidi tells us that the people in his community "*want to come out of the war, because they were very afraid of what happened. They really want to get out of Iraq*". Another Yazidi tells us that the 14 members of the neighbouring family left the camp to take a boat to go to Europe the day before our visit. There was very little mention of emigrating and seeking asylum abroad, only in two interviews with Yazidis. Prospects for the future do not really seem to be going in that direction for most of the people we have spoken with.

e. The impossible return

The reasons cited for their inability to fulfil their expectations are first and foremost conflict or war. *"As long as this one's not over, there's no going back"*. The lack of security is the spectre of disincentives to realizing one's dreams, but there are also political reasons related to religious affiliations. Behind this aspect, and only for the people of Saladin, it is embodied by the militiamen of Hashd al-Chaabi who are at the heart of the concerns of the displaced people of this region. It seems to be a threat or a fear.

"We want to go home, but we can't"

A stumbling block on the return that came back in several interviews is the amount Shia militias charge for each person wishing to return: *"If we want to return to Saladin, we must pay 500 USD per person to return there. We live here, so we don't have the money to come back."* They know that because the people who went back there apparently paid that price, and several testimonies mention that amount. They identify this as some kind of secret, illegal or informal. Some interlocutors insist that pressure is exerted on people, including threats of imprisonment to withdraw only money from them: *"I went back to create my driving licence for my car. I went there and they counted it, they said, "You're Daesh." They put me in jail, I had to pay 700 USD until I was free. They just want to take our money"* or a similar testimony: *"They say that you are Daesh, that you have to confess and pay. You only confess things that are not true and you need to give them money"*. Another person sees this as many mafias which control the territory.

"We had planned to go back, but they told me that if we did, the Shiite militias would hurt us. The Shiite army controls all the Sunni regions and if it was safe to return, I will come back, but because of the Shiite militia, they are causing us trouble". While these military forces are legitimized by the government, they are perceived by an interlocutor as Shiites who *"wear military clothes, come into the houses and say that we are military. They say you're a terrorist and they send you to jail. They torture you and beat you with all kinds of torture."* Finally, it also seems to be the stigma of political affiliations that take revenge on History because, according to a man, *"Shiite militias tell us that we are Saddam's sons because we are Sunni. Saddam was a very nice man"*. Another says, *"We have no hope because yesterday on television, the Shiites militia said that Sunnis must dream if they have this kind of freedom in their Sunni regions, just like Saddam Hussein's regime"*. Other testimonies introduce a perception of the opponent as representing absolute control of the territory: *"Now they control*

everything, even because Kurdistan wants to be independent because they are Sunni, they don't want that, they disagree. They control everything in Iraq. If something happens to the Shiites, they'll kill everyone." A person also tells us that *"Even in places where there are no Daesh, Shiites militias destroy and bombard because they are famous, because they want to have Shiites mosques and not for Sunnis"*. These include fear of security actors, reprisals, violence, harassment or discrimination.

Finally, a testimony refers to the possibility that *"if there were Sunni militias, we could go back"*, in the perspective of being protected in an armed confrontation. Also, a man tells us that the area is, according to him, *"safe, but it now belongs to the Shiites."*

6. Children

a. Everyday life

Families are tired, because of their conditions, the heat and living in small tents with 4-5 children and more. Parents like to be calm when children go out and play outside, *"Kids bother us when they are in the tent because they fight. We can't sleep! They used to go to kindergarten, now they have nothing. Now our life seems to be a kindergarten!"* We are told that at home, children sit and play board games, cards and sometimes on the laptop.

For some, children spend most of their time in front of tents. They meet within a block, between siblings, cousins and neighbours. Parents are often from the same region, so they play in each other's homes. When they are outside, they are usually small groups that form at the edge of large alleys, where the shade makes it possible to settle down to play, usually in the morning and evening. In the middle of summer, it is impossible to play in the afternoon, the children sleep at this time until early evening.

For others, the children spend their day outside. They have breakfast, they go out and play outside, they walk the streets. When cars come to sell business, they go with them. In the evening, they go to their tent and sleep. Very few children stay late at night. Because of the heat, they will wake up early in the morning, which is why they will go to sleep very early.

A mother tells us that her children just sleep when they are outside school. They don't play much. They go to kindergarten and come back to sleep at home. They like to be outside, but it's hot outside, so the temperature is better in the tent. They play with dolls or football. They watch a lot of TV, they like watching Tom and Jerry or other cartoons.

The children according to them

Outside the school or children's parks, children tell us to play or draw alone or with their friends. Most girls tell us that they help their mother to cook and work in the tent. They say they do dishes, wash clothes, sometimes they wash the floor. They help their parents in this way. Children also do their homework when they return to the tent.

Girls make crafts whenever possible, otherwise they invent many games. They watch TV series, dramas and cartoons. Some of them play on the Internet when they have it. They also like to play with dolls.

In summer, during school holidays, habits are changed. The children say they wake up in the morning, around 10am and eat at 12pm. Some children watch television after eating, sometimes Kurdish movies or cartoons like Tom & Jerry. Then in the early afternoon, they sleep until mid-afternoon. When she wake up a girl tells us to wash her face, shower and brush her hair. The children then play in friends' tents until about 5pm. A girl tells us to play hide-and-seek with her little brother until 7pm. She also likes to count numbers and sing in the tent or in the courtyard of the house. Children usually eat around 8 pm. and then watch television with their parents until 10 pm., when they go to bed. Children's favourite moments are usually when they play in kindergarten or school.

b. In the streets

As we have seen, children usually spend a lot of time outside, near their tent, in the familiar neighbourhood. There is no free entrance playing field in which they could play permanently. There was one but there was no caretaker and the children broke their heads and legs because it was not a very safe playground.

Boys enjoy playing football all day long and especially in the evening. It's the daily pastime, even if bullets are rather rare, there are two pebbly fields where they meet. A few passes are also improvised in the alleys. Children are usually in flip-flops to play and sometimes barefoot in front of their tents. We have seen many games played by street children. The boys on one side, the girls on the other but also the two sometimes together.

When the girls were asked if they like to play ball, they told us that they did not. The responses were diverse and led to the identification of gender division in relation to gambling. The responses were related to shyness with boys, the brutality of boys, the violence of gambling, and boys' swearing words. But also: *"girls are very different from boys because we want to be alone"*, *"we are calmer"*. One girl also tells us that *"my mother saw me playing*

with boys. She got angry, she yelled at me at home with a stick. Now I can't play with boys anymore". Boys are often a threat, therefore, especially boys outside the tribe: "I just play why the boys from our neighbours in our tents but I don't play with the boys from school".

The children play "Red light, green light": a player stands facing a wall, he is the leader of the game. The other players stand behind him, a few meters behind him. The player facing the wall claps three times, yelling and then turning around. During the time he doesn't look, the other players move forward and must stop when he turns around. If one of them moves, he must return to the starting point. This starts several times, until one of the players reaches the wall. In this case, the latter takes the leader's place, and the game can start again; everyone is replaced at the starting point.



They play to catch each other: a player is designated as the catcher and must then run after the other players until he succeeds in touching one, which then becomes the catcher. For example, the sea and the police (running, running at the foot of the neck). They also play speed races, dominoes, marbles, jumping rope, leapfrog, hopscotch and other team games. Some boys play PlayStation in two shops that offer children to play for 500 IQD for 15 minutes.

A Kurdish NGO comes to the camp twice a week to cut 150 boys' hair free of charge in three different places. Fashionable hairstyles are very much appreciated by children who pay a lot of attention to this organization. We actually see that each time the spaces are filled and that the children have for many a trendy hairstyle.

Children do not have secure and supervised public places in which they can play freely, while CFS organisations no longer work. There are also almost no play materials that can guide children in their practices. Games and hobbies are linked to genres by the representations that adults make of this. Children often seem to embody what their environment suggests.

c. Child labour

It is recognized that many children living in the Ashti camp work both inside and outside the camp, especially in Sulaymaniyah City. Our interlocutors clearly identify the various professions involved. Children sell plastic bags, water bottles, flowers and gum on the market. There are also a lot of beggars on the roads, at major roads and crossroads. Some children clean car windows. They sell vegetables in the camp. They are omnipresent in the Sulaymaniyah market with refugee children, we see them, generally boys but also girls, left to work unattended. Most of them are young, some are barely 9 years old.

A person informs us that the money earned by these children does not even feed a person and they do not earn anything with it. *"Parents force children to work"*. Children and their families know that it is not good to have working children, and some believe that NGOs should help them. This remains very taboo in our interviews. When these questions are asked to a group of children and one of them is chosen by the others spontaneously, they change their minds and finally don't admit it anymore. The same is true for parents. Only one father confesses to making his boy work. A young person tells us that *"families who think that school is better for children, they are parents who have no problems in their lives, financial problems, who have a good life. If they lack something, they can't help but make them work"*. An informant thought that 45% of children do not go to school and many do not go to work for their daily needs. He also points out that *"families have no money, so they hope to have money with the children"*. It gives us the impression that people know that it is not good but they understand the absolute necessity, that they cannot condemn it. Some also talk about a certain lack of parenting since they have been at the camp and that these parents would have had more strength in their hometown to support their children's schooling.

We meet A. a child who works in the camp, he works there two days a week to sell tomatoes with a Kurdish merchant. He pays him 10,000 IQD a day. He has 6 brothers and 6 sisters, he is the youngest of the family. He tells us that he gives the money to his mother because his father is dead. He likes to start his day by going to kindergarten in order to have a fruit juice. He also likes learning to wash his hands there. Then he takes a shower and eats his lunch. After 1 pm., he plays a little and then goes to work with the Kurdish merchant. He works there until evening.

d. Violence

We looked at the relationships between adults and children and their perceptions, especially regarding the violence that is present in public spaces, particularly in certain areas. We are told that this violence comes from parents and also from the situation of forced displacement: *“there are often problems between parents, children look at parents, children do the same thing with their friends and it becomes a habit for everyone”*. Some parents also throw stones, there is a spiral of violence. A woman tells us *that parents are considered much better than children and that they use this power to control children in a very negative way. Teachers are really superior and control the children”*. She challenges this age superiority divide by saying that *“it is not because people are older that they have the right to control younger people”*. A facilitator places the responsibility for children who are too numerous in families to which the mother cannot pay enough attention. It adds the lack of education within families, including the fact that mothers do not provide enough education at home to teach children how to behave. So, they learn by themselves. It is said that teachers cannot replace parents on this type of issue and are therefore unable to provide solutions. According to several informants, the problem of domestic violence must be resolved first. Education actors also tell us that after discussions with parents, some did not care about the violence of their children and put them in perspective to the point of not acting against it.

From my meetings, I see that parents don't really know what their children's daily lives are like, and that they delegate their responsibilities to the organizations in some way and stay out of it, in general. Perhaps they don't feel legitimate enough to look at the education system?

The school system and teachers are also involved. We have often been told of violence in some schools, against children. Reported comments refer to teachers who were violent with children as punishments, they bit them. *“Teachers, especially women, should be kind because of their nature, but they are even meaner”*. Some children say they are afraid to go to school because of this to their parents. The children themselves report it and situate the various forms of violence they are subjected to.

The observations of the facilitators' activities and my observations at the dream workshops show that the facilitators try to manage the fights, they talk with them as much as possible if there is a problem. A facilitator tells us that he excludes them for a short period of time, then explains what is wrong and ignores them. Facilitators promote protection activities and cooperation with children to develop alternative ways of being. The children we worked with were quite quiet in the confined space that is ours. There were rarely any swearing words or

verbal abuse and I didn't see any violence. The children discussed technical aspects when they spoke. We saw, however, just as we came out of this space, that the children, and especially the girls who were struggling to pull their hair in a certain amount of violence. The framework of activities and social rules are therefore understood and respected.

Violence also stems from the past and has a strong symbolic significance. While we are leading a dream workshop, a little girl tells us about her drawing and explains that the people represented are friends with whom she lives, we talk about it for a moment and then she adds that her parents were killed by Daesh fighters, probably three years ago now. The interior of her house was beautiful and hopeful. There was even a pretty vase with flowers. Later, towards the end, an Arab boy of about 13 years old, who usually hangs around and watches with interest at the window drawing children, is allowed to come quietly seeing through the morning drawings. He also felt good about it. We came back to see this little girl, she was completely blocked, she was frantically touching her pencil hidden under the table, without moving the rest of her body, she was staring at her sheet of paper. She, who had started painting, was no longer doing anything. This boy had casually sat next to her because there was room. So, we invited the teenager to browse the drawings outside discreetly and then she took over her brush, with these pretty colours. Fears and violence meet permanently for the children of the camp.

7. Education

a. Family education

Most of the parents interviewed did not complete their studies until to be graduated. The school curriculum does not allow alternative diplomas to the equivalent of the baccalaureate. People can only place themselves as without a diploma. When asked who is responsible for the upbringing of the family's children, the answers vary even if the man is more responsible. The corollary between education and accountability is often the justification: *"The father is responsible for education, but sometimes in successful life an educated woman can do the same, but not just a normal woman"*. An Arab woman tells us that she is responsible for the education of these children since her husband works. She adds that contrary to traditions in which children have the father's name but in her family, it is the mother's name.

At the same time, they emphasize the importance of the community as opposed to the school. *"The only concern was to look after agriculture, feed the animals, give money. There were the only things we thought about before we came here"*. The visit to the camp was for many of

my informants an awareness that they needed to place more emphasis on formal education. They justify this with the new community in which they live: *"The community we live today is more educated and psychologically developed. Their education is better"*.

Education is often seen as a means of enlightening minds. In particular, they announce ways of dressing women. An informant spoke to us about his openness to women's freedoms, but also about the difficulty of his community in accepting these changes: *"People told me that we are not a good family, because they are not educated", "Education is the first thing. Behaviour too, if you don't behave well, you can't have a very good family"*.

For Arabs, the community has set up religious education in the camp, at home and at school. From a few texts of the Qur' an, they teach the fundamental ideas, *"you have no right to lie, you have no right to stay, we teach them how to treat women with respect"*. For example, a mullah has set up classes for children from the age of 5 on Mondays and Wednesdays. They can come, it's for boys only, it's not mandatory. *"We teach them to be good and treat people. We told them that they had to go to school, that they should not lie, that they should not be a problem. If someone does not abide by the rules, they will not be allowed to come back here. They explain that only boys are allowed to come "* because it is under our culture, girls can go to school. At school, children learn everything but here, our religious lessons are different.

b. Education within the communities

Some of the parents we met at the camp, mostly farmers or people working in the construction industry, told us that they didn't have a long education. Especially women from different communities. Some cannot read or write at the end of their schooling, which they left after high school. One woman explains to us that she does not think she has a role in society and explains it as follows: *"I sewed before and it is the same now. My mother sewed when I was a child, when I was 15-16 years old, I started sewing. I finished school without being able to write or read. They don't care. Absolutely no hope. No reading and writing skills. There is a very small minority who can read and write, regardless of their age. It's the same for my children, even for today's generations."* In other words, she puts herself in a position of exclusion in the face of a social community and says that school is not the main door through which her children could see their future. Her family's background, which she reveals to us, shows a continuum in the face of school failure and exclusion. *"My parents went to school, but they didn't know how to read or write when they finished school. They learned by themselves"*. It is an alternative because they have learned by themselves. Indeed, it is a good

illustration of the collective relationship at school and the relationship to life outside the school system.

Indeed, the tribes we met, their ways of life gave them the assurance of having the domain of the family and the social and economic capital of their families. The only rudiments of reading and writing were then necessary. The school did not have for them the function of social elevation or integration in a competitive market where the diploma is a gateway to entry. In this new configuration linked to displacement and the loss of territory no longer ensures these traditional configurations and puts in doubt. School is becoming one of the only resources visible in the present and perhaps the only key to their children's future employment.

In addition, in all the communities, we had speeches that were very rewarding for the previous school. It is part of a kind of glorification and sublimation of the past. We were told that because the teachers were nice, the school was beautiful, the friends were nice. We feel a certain emotion in the voices and animation in the bodies. The school was considered to be very good in this province of Mosul, *"everyone wanted to go there, even my sister"*.

Finally, in Saladin's tribal systems, children, community and teachers belonged to the same small and identified group. They therefore shared a common ground with similar socio-cultural landmarks. The teacher was not only a person affiliated with the education system, but part of the group and therefore an adjuvant. This explains why foreign resistance in education is strong and why problems arise. Past anchorages need to rethink.

c. Formal Education

There are four school buildings in the camp and in each building, there are three schools: primary and secondary school. One building: primary school for boys, primary school for girls, secondary school for boys and secondary school for girls. Classes are non-mixtures. The school is open from morning to evening, and students take turns. There would be about 3000 children going to school. The schools are normally all free in the camp.

In 2015, when the camp opened, there was no school. Teachers and principals of schools were forced to meet the needs to make a kind of school called "emergency school" in tents. In view of the very large number of students, tents were not enough. They had no books and stationery until recently. So, they taught the school according to their abilities, with what they could do. Most of the organizations help them, but especially UNICEF because they helped build the school and provided chairs and tables, bags, stationery and photocopies of books.

The curriculum is the same as in the rest of Iraq. Students follow the Arab system, as in Baghdad. Before opening schools in the camp, the KRG opened schools for refugees and IDPs in Arbat town and Arbat camp, but due to constraints and transportation costs, they decided to implement the Iraqi programme directly in the camp.

There are many problems related to schooling, both quantitatively and qualitatively raised by the parents living in the camp. The overcrowding of children per class is the problem that always comes up again and again, whether by parents or educational staff. There are too many children in one room. Classes or even schools are missing. As one parent tells us, *“Each class has 40 to 50 children and each child has questions. If the teacher asks everyone for a minute, it will take a long time. It is because of the crowds in schools that the level is not as good as it could be”*.

Education in the camp is generally perceived in a negative way. Some parents hope that their children will be able to study outside the camp and this is the only good alternative for them. School institutions outside the camp are perceived as better. A Yazidis child proudly told us that he was attending a school in town. Some parents point to their active role in their children's school success: *“Without my help and that of my wife, she could not read and write. Parents must do it properly”*. Some parents, having no other alternatives, consider that the school is correct, especially because children learn to read and write. That seems to be the most important thing.

School sucks because it doesn't give us resources. The level of education of the children is considered to be very low since the arrival at the camp, this is due to the level of the school in general. They question the fact that children who do not know how to read and write.

Teachers are questioned about their training and expertise in certain areas. A person reports to us that according to her, the way of teaching is very bad because their teaching style is very old and strict and nothing is developed; according to her, teachers do not take the time to train or be educated. The teachers are sometimes said to be *“rude and that their personal development is not very good”*. One person also believes that children lack follow-up from teachers. Religious and cultural differences, especially with regard to language, recur quite frequently in the lack of school. Teachers would make differences between children. At the same time, the number of teachers available to teach in these schools is low. Even though the organisations also use Kurdish teachers, they are not currently paid regularly and their salaries have fallen. The same goes for the Arab professors living in the camp who have had their salaries reduced by 50%. They hadn't received any for 7-8 months but now they have it in a

city office. *"Even if teachers were good, they wouldn't have a positive impact because there are too many children."*

Some believe that in the camp there is no need to hope for a suitable place and that it is almost impossible to finish secondary school in such conditions. Secondary school enrolment rates drop significantly, especially for boys. *"The main problem is to ensure that children reach their capacities"*. We are told some people regret the education in their hometown, before it *"was 100% good, while in the camp it's only 40%, it's the best we can get"*.

The schooling of the Yazidis appears to be highly problematic. We were told that they were forced to take Islamic religion courses and could not accept that. Education is also perceived as difficult for the Yazidis, particularly because they do not have teachers of their ethnicity. We were told that the school was only in Arabic while the children spoke Yazidi dialect and sometimes Kurdish kurmandji. There were Yazidis teachers but they would have left and another one could not teach because of psychological problems. Faced with community stratification and language problems, a Yazidi teacher seems to be the condition for schooling, *"there is a kind of link between us"*. Last school year, it was said that many children left school because of this. There would be very few Yazidis children in school. There was also talk of violence by an *"Arab teacher who despised Yazidis children. He got angry with them and disrespected them. He did bad things to them"*. The children are said to be traumatized because of this, according to community members. An Arab teacher told us that it is *"the barrier between religion is one of the reasons why Yazidis parents do not send their children to school"*.

Some believe that many children who have graduated from this school because they do not learn well and their level is not good. Only 40% of the camp's students have passed this school year, according to one person who was monitoring the results.

There are no formal education programmes, adapted to children out of school educational programmes. We met with a number of children who do not go to school and who would need flexible programs. Many children have lost one or two years of education due to displacement, or have dropped out of school for other reasons such as employment or simply dropping out due to poor school conditions. Returning to formal schooling can be a challenge, even when the child was willing to continue his or her education after dropping out of school. There are also no special programs at school for working children. Working children do not go to school at all.

Parents still want their children to do something important in their lives. A number of parents tell us that they want their children to be doctors or teachers. The profession of doctor is particularly difficult to practice because the university is very selective. Some parents tell us that they just want their children to be graduates, who go to school right up to high school. Education, according to a father, *“helps children succeed and learn something, be a good person, be a doctor, a teacher, anything and have a good life”*.

Post-graduate prospects, such as access to university seems impossible because there are language differences between Kurds and Arabs. We are informed that many of the students here have degrees in law, politics, architecture and one of them has to complete his master's degree, but he cannot apply anywhere. Access to employment is therefore blocked even for young graduates with special skills. The only possible alternative to continue higher education is Egypt, which is recognized for its curriculum, but it is also a country that is financially accessible for some of them. Egyptian Universities accept these young people into their programs. The other neighbouring countries are not accessible because they are too expensive.

Finally, some people conclude that it is a lot to have this in these crucial situations. It has been repeated several times that girls go to school longer compared to before. The displacement seems to have changed the consciences, *“now we let our children go to school and let them finish their studies. That was our tradition, that's what we used to do, but now our tradition has changed and we let them go to school.”*

d. Non-Formal Education

During the ethnographic study, the two large NGOs that were welcoming children to NFE activities stopped their activities because of a lack of funds. They had two spaces the Child Friendly Space. The team of one organization worked with the 125 teenagers aged 13 to 17 and with children from 5 years old. They offered recreational activities, games and arts activities, but also came to support by teaching English classes.

However, they welcomed many children and gave them breakfast to motivate them to come. They were reference organizations and organized many activities. All that remained was the project in which we were working for all the children during school holidays. Teachers give summer classes in a school, but some make parents informally have to pay for it.

Now all organizations are closed. However, they were considered a very important relay for families who are tired, psychologically and physically. Many children are interested in the

organization of NFE we worked with. The crowded everyday life, often with more than four children in a tent and a permanent immediate neighbourhood, invites parents to often prefer their children outside. When questioning parents, they don't know what their children do as activities and what their children's vocations are. They only answer is that they have a teaching purpose. As the children have only 3 hours of school per day, the educational activities allow them to have educational leisure time. Every day, the animators are in charge of hundreds of children.

They see these organizations as an important relay at school. One facilitator thought that *"parents are interested in activities because they want their children to go out, they want them to lose energy because they are very noisy. They know when they come back, they'll be calmer. Parents know that children need space, tents are small. Parents want to do their business, cook or other things, take care of the house, so they want their children to go out"*. Another facilitator also highlighted the pedagogical and behavioural contribution that was noticed as best by some families.

One facilitator pointed out that in kindergartens, activities are repetitive and sometimes not very interesting. *"They play the games and give them juices and cakes, but they're not really interested in the activity. The children go there in the morning for breakfast and they come here. Children are interested in what we do"*. On this subject, we have witnessed bad practices by an organization that raises awareness of water-saving. We were surprised to see abnormal and aggressive behaviours of children being massed in front of the gates of a place where we were doing activities. Children are invited to come through inappropriate communication and gifts. Each child received a small bottle of orange juice, a cake and a closed plastic glass of water. Their goal was only to be able to return home for their long-awaited reward. We believe there is work to be done to treat children and how to get their attention on important issues like this in another way with different means. It seems to me that practices leading to violent disorganization should not exist. Organizations exercise real power, including representation and exemplary leadership. We believe it is important to have a different management and to consider the compensation for shareholdings differently.

Parents observe a lack of English language instruction in the camp, including support classes. There is confusion among some interlocutors between the children's playground, kindergarten and NFE activities. They know, however, that these organizations help children and provide them with interesting things. It is clear that a great deal of work should be done to raise

awareness of the different practices, to communicate appropriately with parents and to be open and even collaborate with them.

e. Art lessons and art practices

Most parents never practiced the arts when they were young. The only practice that seems to be common is sculpture where children made statues with clay. They copied objects and reproduced them with clay. For example, in Saladin, in the city, art is non-existent. There are no artists or works of art in public spaces. He has no statues or paintings. Few parents had access to artistic practices. They do not identify the different media that can be used in such activities. Some women evoke handicrafts or manual practices with a decorative aim, such as sewing.

Artistic practices are perceived by adults as a recreational activity for children only. These activities, according to them, cannot be practiced by adults. However, a woman replied that she values artistic practices because *"it helps the brain to be more energetic"*. She adds that children like to practice because *"it makes them more creative, so they can talk and express themselves"*.

The plastic arts only have a support for drawing in the camp. Plastic arts courses normally exist in the curriculum. However, many interviews with parents and children tell us that a majority of them do not have access to such courses. This does not seem to bother the parent informants: *"My children have no drawing classes at school, only reading and writing. Of course, for me reading and writing is more important than art classes"*. None of the children we met had painted before and some, even at the age of 7-10, had never drawn or coloured with colour pencils.

For those who have such courses, they are led by staff who have not been trained in this but who are passionate and in another school, a Kurdish teacher intervened last year. It is said that children have more access to drawing than ever before in their hometown. UNICEF provided coloured paper and pencils in schools. At school, we are told that the teacher teaches them how to draw and explain colour differences and use pencils, even if there is a lack of stationery. A teacher and the children tell us that the method used is recopying. The teacher draws or shows an image, which he or she posts on the wall and the children should copy as close as possible to this. They draw flowers, mountains, tents, butterflies, trees and sky.

Some children have told us that they have a box of pencil provided by the school and that they are sometimes allowed to bring it into the tent to finish the drawing. *"The teacher shows us a*

picture of a butterfly and give us a set of colour pencils and we have to draw a butterfly. So, they give us something to look at and we draw what we have in front of us” or “sometimes, we draw things independently without what they give to us. But often, they give us things to draw and we draw”. A facilitator explains *“we don’t let them draw independently what they want because if we let them, they always draw their tents where they are living. So, we don’t let them especially the youth”.*

Outside of school, they do not practice the arts. Girls sometimes have a notebook where they draw drawings with a pencil and coloured pencils. Also, some parents consider that children must be accompanied to draw. At home, they would not have the ability to draw on their own, they need teacher supervision, which seems to be the driving force behind the acquisition of skills. The vast majority of children have no creative materials at home, but they still have books for school. This is a priority for a mother who tells us that it is not in her interest.

The children followed the workshops with great dexterity. There were more girls than boys but the whole, in addition to a strong impulse in the production of their drawing, tasted easy to paint. Children report that they love drawing and painting: *“When I draw, it makes me feel like I’m back home. I feel happy when I draw ”;* *“It’s important to draw because if you love a house, you have to draw to remember it”.* It is regrettable, however, that the mode of copying and the lack of pedagogical skills associated with these courses, where they exist, do not allow children to go further in their narration. The elements usually found in drawings are the same for all children. There is therefore much to be done to develop an imaginary imagination in a creative way by strengthening the possibilities for the future.

Generally perceived as a recreative activity, it is often side-lined by football or games. A mother told us, however, that she does not have the necessary plastic arts equipment and that today, as an adult, she is not encouraged, *“If I had the equipment at my disposal, I would certainly be interested in participating”.* It is hoped that if the creative impulse in formal and NFE education develops, it can also be applied to broader aspects.

8. Children dreams

Particular attention has been given to understanding a clear and explicit instruction on many occasions for children to draw their dreams. The superlatives used to describe the projection of the dream were numerous by the animators, the artist and the performer. As a result of this theme, the children created their own individual productions. Here we present a typology of the dreams drawn and told. This typology is not intended to give an accurate picture of what

children as a whole aspire to. Instead, through the material used, it gives elements of understanding about the identities and dreams of children that reveal their person through their creation. These broad outlines have been easily identifiable since the themes are similar and recurrent. As a reminder, we led 12 dream workshops of about 2 hours. The first 8 workshops with more than 20 children and 4 other workshops with between 10 and 15 children.

a. A Self Narrative

We were particularly surprised to learn so much about children's daily lives, identities and aspirations. Thanks to them, we have also understood their parents' lives and vice-versa. The narrative exposes the child's own perceptions, representations, points of interest and frustrations. The child does not always picture himself, especially in the first drawings. As we ask him where he is, he answers. He exposes himself in action with the people who accompany him.



“This is my brother Mo. He's 20 years old. He likes to go for a walk in the camp. He also likes to go to Sulaymaniyah. He sells watermelons in town. I am also in the house and I have lunch, beans and rice, cakes and chocolate ice cream. I like to drink tea. I'm having lunch with my parents and brother. I like watching Tom and Jerry on TV. The place where Mo is. is my favourite. Mo. has a bed but I don't, and neither do my parents. Mo. buys us stuff every day at the market. He also brings us sandwiches.”

When we asked the children about their dreams, we had many references that could be placed



in the present, in the ordinary life that we saw in the camp, with the difference that the scenes take place exclusively in houses and gardens. We cannot say how far dreams dissociate themselves from reality in the narratives of people in motion in drawings. In children's dreams, we find the game that comes to life in many forms. It is a place where one can contemplate an environment that does good. It teaches what children like to do in their daily lives and how they perceive certain family landmarks.

"My mum, my dad and I are in the house, in the second floor. I am in the second floor, studying, my mum is cooking and my dad is under the phone. Here, this is the garden, there flowers I like to plant in my garden. I likes to play in my garden and I play with my dolls there. I feel happy when I am here (in this house at Sulaymaniyah). People are coming here, it's my friends".

Even though children do not always represent themselves physically in the drawing, they are very easily placed in it. They tell each other and tell us about the feelings they have in their drawing: *"I feel relax", "when I draw it gives me the feeling I am back home. I feel happy when I draw ", " I had more freedom at Saladin (where the dream is located), because we were more relax and calm ", " Here we can relax and it's quiet "*.

We notice a symbol of belonging in some drawings by Yazidis children drawing Kurdish flags. This is interesting to relate to the fact that the Yazidis previously seemed to want to identify with their own ethnicity and religion, according to one informant. Today, and not only in children's drawings, we perceive the fact that they say and draw themselves Kurds. The sense of belonging, since the genocide, has changed and is reflected in children's drawings, even if sometimes it changes in the order of colours and the Zoroastrian sun become a flower.

We actually observe children more listening, seeming to release a word. Feelings in drawn dreams or those they feel, as shown in the examples above, evoke peace and quiet. They express something that contradicts the camp atmosphere, which seems to be above ground and tense.

b. An omnipresent nature

The children draw mainly a life buried in nature, mainly gardens, which are an enclosed space of the property. When the child draws or expresses his dream orally, he begins with nature and the different elements that compose it, even if the house is at the heart of the drawing. They are mainly flowers, which sometimes take a large part of the drawing or which composes it only.



In the garden, there are also trees, which are mainly fruit trees: date trees, watermelon, vines, oranges, peaches, pomegranates, apples and mango trees. There are also walnuts. *"I drew*

flowers in my garden. My dad planted those flowers, we get apples and grapes from it". Nature is teeming with fruit that we imagine is ripe. The children drawing this lush nature, coming from Saladin, have probably experienced this life of fruit abundance. This region is Iraq's breadbasket and provides water for the country's markets. It is also known for its sky, clouds and mountains that border the drawing.

Animals are the only living presence in the drawing when the children are not drawing. There are many flying animals: birds and butterflies that take an important place in the drawing, but



also fish, dogs and lions. Even lions, twice drawn, are nice, tender and harmless. They are portrayed as the symbol of "locked power." *"The lion is in a cage, there is a small house for him. It doesn't hurt anyone. I like him because he doesn't hurt us. He just walks around and backs to his home. I can play with him and he doesn't*

eat us" or *"The lions are in the garden, they are brothers, they are 4 years old. They are playing in the garden."* We later learned that some families in this region did indeed have caged lions on their properties brought from Africa. It is therefore an animal that may be rare but not totally imagined.

The garden is a source of probably lost well-being, *"Here this is a garden, I prefer to be in the garden"*. The nature and design of this one does good to the children who express it easily: *"I drew*



flowers because I liked it. It makes me happy, it takes away my sadness"; *"In my house, it's the garden I like the most because it makes me happy"*; *"This is a tree, it takes away my sadness and make me happy"*. Joy is planted by the dream garden. *"What I prefer in the house, it's the flowers."* A girl even inserts herself under a tree that she thinks she has the shadow of: *"I feel relax when I am under the tree, in the shadow"*. Another girl tells us: *"My dream is to have more trees and flowers around me because there are from Allah and because I like it"*. A little girl talks about the reality of the camp and projects herself again into her memories: *"I would like to have more flowers around here. Here, there are small flowers and my dad send us to the garden to give water to the flowers"*.

The scene is watched and admired by the people who compose it: *"In the garden, there is my mum, my dad and me. We pick flowers and we are standing with flowers for a long time"*. The gardens are home to life, *"We eat there [in the garden]"*, *"There is a tree, an apple tree. I am looking at the house and the birds. I just look-up, I don't do anything. I feel it's really really really pretty"*, *"I'm walking around the garden and looking and smelling the flowers. I feel better when I do that"*, *"Me, my mother and my aunt, we go to the garden and start to see for pomegranates and apples, it makes me feel better"*. We walk around in this drawing where it is good to live with the children. We really feel the power of the place where they take root, where you feel good and safe. The fauna and flora are smiling, they are harmless, they calm or give joy. It's protecting them in a way.

c. To go back our place

The scene that the children draw is mainly in their house they left. We don't always know if the place is dreamed of to the point where the place is fantasized or if it is a lost reality that we dream about in the memory. However, children who remember the lost place still dream of returning for the most part. They want to go back because it is a beautiful place, a place they lost and it was theirs. Their dream often resembles a hope of regaining the life of the past.

"My dream is to back to Saladin and to see my flowers again and see butterflies again. I like butterflies because they really like flowers and they go all around the flowers. There are flowers here [in the camp] and butterflies also. It's not the same as Saladin because the ground in the camp is not use for agriculture. The flowers look very pretty at Saladin."

Children also sometimes express the harmful reality that obscures the dream of becoming a reality: *"My Dream is to go back to my house in Saladin. This is my house but the Chia took my house. They demolished it. They hit it with wood stones. I just dream at night to go back home (Silence). When I draw this, I just start going back to my house and going to the amusement park in Saladin"*. The child here puts realism in his dream by saying that he dreams about it at night. She also situated these shortages and hopes of finding what is lost. The dream is in a reality that she would like to have at hand, like an expectation that would take shape. This realism is also part of this excerpt: *"This garden is at Saladin, in front of the house"*. He remembers that particular place where you dream of going back.

In addition, an interview shows us a precise dialectic: a 12-year-old girl tells us about a dream day with her family and then when asked where this beautiful day is going, she explains: "[...] *This is my house in Sinjar. It's my house but now it's taken away. Daesh took it. I don't want to go back to Sinjar, there is nothing nothing nothing nothing there anymore. There is nothing we can do there. I can't go back because if they know we were there, they will come back but even through there is no Daesh there, it stills dangerous in Sinjar. Even if we go back to Sinjar, there is nothing there anyway. We can't go back in our houses, no markets, no supermarkets, absolutely nothing*". This girl breaks the hope drawn and told, finally, when asked to situate it, limit it and cancel it by rationalizing her imagined narrative. Thus, it does not use the guide of a possible external environment where a new life would be situated, which could then be included in an expectation, but in a step backwards that puts an end to the expressed hope. It could also correspond to a need to get to the bottom of things by no longer wishing to have hopes that she would not want to be dependent on because she is in the past.



d. The comfort of a home

Houses have been omnipresent in children's dreams. They are all different, but they are at the centre of the drawing, high and take up space. They're like primordial.

There are some elements in the house that come back in the drawings and interviews. One thing that often comes up again is the fact that you can sleep there. Children often draw a bed or sleeping area, sometimes drawing only their sleeping area. It's sort of, like, their own place, identified. parents' own is also sometimes identified: "*Here, this is my parents' bedroom and my bedroom*" or even the one for babies, "*there is a bed for babies*". It is not uncommon for a description of an interior to begin with this: "*There is someone sleeping in the house, there are cutlery, here is another bed (enumeration) and another bedroom*" or, "*Then, in the afternoon, I go back to my room and I sleep. I drew my bedroom and my bed*". Two children who have designed beds tell us that they don't want to have a bed for them: "*In my bedroom, there is no bed, I don't like beds because it's not comfortable. I don't sleep on beds.*" or "*I prefer to sleep on the floor because it's more comfortable for my back to sleep in the floor*".

Children do not always identify pieces that would have different vocations, it is more about



counting them or at least identifying a piece for family members. For example, a place for children and a place for his father's wives: *"There is just one room, all the children are sitting together. The two wives are in one room and we are in the other room. I like this way"* or a place for children or parents: *"My favourite room is my parent's room*

because it's a very old room and very nice bed".

Area and space are also returning elements. So, a girl tells us, having drawn two canvases, why she prefers one of them: *"I prefer this house, because this house is a bit smaller, we don't have enough space. My family prefers here two because it's bigger. Everyone has his space. There are also 3 rooms here but the rooms are bigger here. Here, the rooms are better because there are curtains in each room, there are lights, we put plants in each rooms and photos of my parents in each room. My father likes the both, he doesn't see any difference. My mother likes this house more because it's bigger. It's important to have space because we are a lot of people so it's important to have a lot of space, big rooms"*. These expectations still contrast with the proximity and very limited space of the camp tents.

Finally, the enumerations of the objects present in the dream house concern materials valued or even absent from their daily life in the camp, *"There's a fan here. This is a TV. This is the air-conditioner for fresh air"*. The fan and the air conditioner are, for example, equipment that cannot be found in the camp despite the heat. There are only water conditioners. A child draws a house and trees as the only elements and a boiler: *"I have a water-boiler next to it, to hit-up the water because we use it there"*.

The dining room is also presented with tables and chairs. The tables are sometimes decorated with flower vases, cutlery and food on the table. The inside of the tents cannot be equipped with tables and chairs. Meals eaten are the dishes they say they prefer: meat, beans and rice, chocolate too. One child tells a scene she dreams about: *"We are in the living room together, in the second floor. There are two floors in my home. We are playing jumping rope and hide and seek. My dad is sitting and my mum is cooking. My dad plays in the mobile and my mum is cooking rice" or "then, it's the night time, my mother prepares the food for us"*.

e. The protagonists in action

Even if some children don't draw themselves, they animate their cartoons when they explain what they are doing. Either they play or they're just sitting there watching the scenery. They're just at home. Life scenes are those of children, their friends and families living in a world of their own, which they aspire to find or which they seem to have partly here in the camp. The children represent themselves as children, the characters drawn also look like children.

The game is for many at the heart of their life in the painting of their dream. We find the hide and seek games: *"I play with my two friends, we play hide and seek together"* or *"Here, there is a street, there are children playing football. Only boys and girls play with dolls in the house"*. The world is often a place where you spend your time playing, according to the narratives: *"What I like most is playing, watching TV*



and meeting my friends". Also, the playground is sometimes part of the property: *"I designed a football field with players because I like to play football here in my home"*. The games invest the house: *"I would like to have all kinds of games in my house"* and *"I like to play PlayStation and eat fruit inside"*.

Friends are part of this dream environment: *"Here are my other friends and me: this is H., me, L. and S. I love them very much. I drew a road, it's in the street. He's going to another house, to friends' houses. I like my friends' houses. Here, this is my friends' house"* or also, *"The boy is watering the tree, he's my friend."*

The brothers and sisters are the comrades in play when they are on the move: *"I am with my sister in the garden, we play: we jump with rope, we run after another"*. Parents spoil their children, especially the father who represents a certain power to offer: *"I live here with my father, his two wives and all the children. My dad came into our room and gave them chips and lollipops. He buys us a lot of things"* and *"My father bought things for Eid: dresses and a lot of things. I love Eid because I feel good with my dresses. I'm eating candy."* or *"I love my father's room because I love my father"*. Parents are often present in the house, *"I drew my father, mother and myself. I'm going to draw my sister"* and *"This is my brother, he's 8 years old. In my house, there are my father and mother and my 6 brothers and sisters"*. Parents are actors in their children's lives: *"We have a swimming pool in the garden and my father sometimes sends us to the swimming pool to swim. It's cold out there. I love summer and*

winter. Here we swim and my father does everyday things. I've known how to swim since I was four years old".

Some children dream of interaction with their surroundings, the house seems to be hectic:

"I'm inside the house with my family: my mother, father, brothers and grandparents. My friends come to my house. I feel love in my home because I love my family. Family is the most important thing to me. I play inside my house, we meet each other, we all play together with the children".

The houses often welcome many people like here: *"My sister and aunt are in the house. They play a game, they make a sculpture with clay. In the house, there is a room*



for my mother, my father, my aunt, my cousins and one for me. There are 4 bedrooms. My older brother has his own house. My favourite is my father's room because I have papers and coloured pencils to draw in this room".

Life as an adult is not excluded and one feels that there are some children who think about being an adult: having children, seeing a home and responsibilities, but also having a job. In general, children want few children, in any case, children generally dream of having 2 or 3 children: *"I want to have 3 children: 1 boy and 2 girls"* or *"I want to have babies, but not a husband"*. A facilitator gave us an advice during a focus group, *"at this age, we don't talk to them about this kind of things (children and marriage). When they have 14 you can ask them"*. We had few interviews where the children said they wanted to get married. On the other hand, the children again play in the house: *"My children play in this house, with the toys"*. The family is also present as the child says, *"When I grow up, I would like to cook and become a doctor because my mother knows all the parts of the body and she can make you sick. My back had hurt and my mother knew how to fix it. My cousins come to our tent and she helps them. I'd like to do the same thing as my mother. We all live together in this house. I'll teach them. We should teach them to pray, to respect all people. They should respect everyone. Respect is not to answer and shoot them. We should accept everyone"*. Also, a little girl tells us how she could make her dream come true: *"The only reason I can make my dream happened and be together in the house, is for me to get a job and play with the family. So, we can buy a house and living together. I would like to be teacher, doctor or make handcrafting. My favourite is to be a teacher only for kids"*. Some, however, are certainly aware that adult life also means old age and seem to apprehend it as one girl said: *"My dream is just to be a*

child and not to be old, because I don't like the way they are treated at this age. When I grow up, my parents don't grow up nicely anymore. I want to be the same I was as a child".

f. From dream to reality

We have not seen in the drawings or interviews the expression of any eccentricity, of a dream that would have no vocation to be achievable. Children, even if guided by open coercion and clear instruction, seemingly remain as close as possible to their past lives. Some describe a daily life that could be situated in the present with absent elements that give joy to children, in which they find living landmarks. The dreamed life is however magnified since it is about dreaming. At the same time, boys and girls, whether during the act of creation, work quietly. The scenes of nature, the images, the situations and the feelings that go with them are just as important. We saw how dream workshops were a way to see a situation that went beyond reality with the material support. Often, the scenes of the dream seem to unfold in a past from which we can take a step back because we take note, by the notion of dreaming that it is a situation that is only expected or hoped for. The productions are sometimes a mixture between a past environment and a situation resembling the present in a framework expected for the future. The future seems to have difficulty penetrating the imaginations and a kind of regret of a past life seems to be the point of reference for children's hopes for a future. Do they allow themselves to take a freedom when to hope rather than expectation?

Thus, it is considered here that children caught up in material constraints and instability, for a majority of them, understand expectation as meaning the dream. It also seems to us that the expectation serves to carry the present in order to support it and maintain the acceptable expectation of a better future. We also believe that we need to hear and make sense of these expectations. We must work on hopes, cultivating a flourishing imagination that is essential to pass on to them. This part of untouchable and unrealizable, but which guides the being and pushes it beyond the pragmatic and materializable limits of existence, must be able to be led and deepened in particular by practices that seek and dig into the imaginary. However, we still find that we are responding to another need of children: to feel safe and to continue to wait for better conditions.

A little girl tells us about freedom: *"Freedom is a way you can do and you can go everywhere you want. For me, it's not important because we have to ask our mum if we can go out. When I will be older, it will be more important, it can do and go anywhere I want. It will be*

important when I will be an adult because I need freedom to visit my family and to go everywhere I want. I had more freedom at Saladin, because we were more relax and calm".

We believe it is essential that parents and those involved in children's development support the children's need to express themselves in the future. Not only through playful activities in which everyone participates, but also through the inclusion of children through considering different aspects of their identities and aspirations. We note that the two supports we used: the plastic arts and the notion of dream in a project, are great novelties for children and also for the people around them. We note that there is little or not enough creative impulse. The elements drawn by the children are above all anchored in pragmatic realities, in past situations that are lacking or in humble futures that draw security needs. Through this type of short ethnographic study, we cannot provide any more data on the reasons for this difficulty in inventing an extraordinary way in the future. The paradoxical conditions of emergency waiting and the present in the past, with difficulties in anticipating a future that is too uncertain, are the first elements that are also present in adult's dreams.

Also, and this is certainly a major element in any case, which makes sense, when we ask what children dream about, they spontaneously answer us that they want to be a teacher or a doctor. This is extremely common in the camp and we had to dig deeper into these questions as well. However, we have not seen this in artistic productions, focusing more on finding a secure and stable point of attachment. However, we find these same elements related to the trades, drawn in other contexts. It seems to us that it is revealing here, through the drawing of dreams, children try to meet primary expectations. This clearly shows the need to lay the expected foundations which are the first fruits of a hope that will take shape.

V. Future research

This final section aims to shed light on some of the issues that need to be considered or taken into account for future doctoral research. They are hints to guide and refine future research.

1. PAR framework

Anticipated and transparent collaboration

The PAR will emanate from a solicitation, from a need expressed by the actors in the field although it will certainly act as a relay and support. The contextualized arguments describing this need and the researcher's position as a participating observer, making them perceptible,

will set the research axes which will then be developed by the joint structuring of the research. A scientific process linked to collaborative educational practices will be set up in order to build an appropriate response that provides sustainable solutions regarding the concepts of children's identity and the type of materialization that can be envisaged by artistic practices within the pedagogical framework.

Research assumptions will therefore take into account the need for an institutional framework that gives practitioners and researchers autonomy in terms of their decision-making and innovation powers, but also in terms of their explicit collaboration without negotiating powers as to what is needed. The institution will therefore be integrated into the PAR.

The complexities, difficulties and restructurings of the PAR will be anticipated by the research methodology to the extent possible. If necessary, they will be a matrix to move in order to orientate the project differently. This also requires an autonomy of the agents but also a mastery of the possible orientations.

Actors as experts

Education actors will therefore be the experts in their field, since they will be able to develop the research project by finding the reference points for their own knowledge production. A problem is not decreed, it is located, identified and characterized. Our goal will be as this work was built, to rely on the actors of education to observe and analyze contexts and practices. The material observed and analyzed will thus emanate from what the actors produce.

2. Art-based research

Artistic Autobiography

We will try to create the concept of "artistic autobiography" for Education in Emergencies through which, the concept of life narrative supplemented by ethnographic research and "field philosophy" will make it possible to focus the different aspects related to identity and hopes. We will have the task of following the same group of children and, thanks to the project concept, we will trace the thread of the different identity-related elements to be developed. We will conduct this through a PAR and in observations of the animators and educational personnel invested in this mission. We will conduct participant observations and methodologies related to stakeholder participation, as well as individual interviews and focus groups to observe and analyse the evolution of artistic practices and narratives related to

oneself and the world. We will thus be able to work on an extensive corpus that will serve as a pedagogical, socio-cultural and research support.

The child as the bearer of truth in itself

We think that we will bring a different methodology with adapted objectives in taking into account the people and children we meet themselves. Thus, the concept of “field philosophy” proposed by Christine Vollaire⁵, interests us in the space that it gives to individuals but also in the goals that it envisages for a corpus: *"And this work with migrants in Poland affirmed on the one hand a response to this violence, and on the other hand a willingness, towards people exposed to this violence, to clearly mark the existence of a determined opposition to these policies".* On the other hand, *"The experience of the subjects is not presented as a victim witness, but as a reflective word carried by the experience. The interviewees are not specialists in migration issues, but they have an authentic expertise on its reality, and a thought of its experience, which informs the text and guides its philosophical content "*. Thus, we also share the rejection of this particular posture: *"The field work will therefore involve a double problematic: that of distance and that of rationality. It is to the very extent that forms of solidarity are targeted that distance is necessary. Distance from both people and situations, which will generate a triple refusal:*

- *refusal of objectification that would reduce the partner to a mere work object*
- *refusal antagonistic of identification, which would enter into a fusional desire to reduce the other to his own data and to indiscriminate the partner.*
- *refusal of the projection, which would imply to the other his own expectations, and which one finds as well in the form of exotic fascination as in that of compassionate emotion."*

Also, Chistine Vollaire determines what distinguishes philosophical ground from other ground:

- *the sociological field as directed as a survey likely to provide objective data*
- *the anthropological field as it is oriented towards highlighting contextual constants*
- *the police field as it is oriented towards laying charges by solving puzzles*

⁵ Philosopher, Member of the Editorial Board of *Pratiques*, *Chimères* and *Outis* journals, lecturer at the Collège International de Philosophie, collaborator of the "Non-lieux de l' Exil", Fondation Maison des Sciences de l' Homme

“It is distinguished by its origin as much by its origin as by its purpose; but also by its modalities: no rigid questionnaire, but an orientation of questioning; no technical mediation, but a correlative effort of the interrogator and the questioned to try to understand himself”.

These philosophical orientations of the "field philosophy" will be methodological guides and orientations that will frame the research.

The process as a result

From the origin of our work in education, in the pedagogical process and in what we mean by plastic arts, the process created and experienced by the actors will be our research material. They will inform our research through the social and pedagogical interactions and productions created.

This type of research is not only an opportunity to find meaning, but also to consider children's speech as meaningful in oneself and first for oneself. The creative approach is a form of dialogue that enriches the people who participate in it *“In doing so, I argue that arts-based methods that invite participants to take part in a creative process enable us to live with and even revel in the mess, uncertainty and ambiguity of research, and thereby of the world”.* (Parry, 2015, p.89)

This type of approach is particularly productive when the contribution of the practice is a need and a desire of the children. The participative creative approach in the educational context will include pedagogical perspectives related to techniques but also to the acquisition of knowledge related to social and intercultural interactions include in the environment in which children live. So, we find this open posture here: *" What art seeks is not the discovery of the laws of nature about which true statements or explanations can be given, but rather the creation of images that people will find meaningful and from which their fallible and tentative views of the world can be altered, reflected or made more secure”* (Eisner, 1993, p. 9)

Artistic cultures taken into consideration

We will continue to work through ethnography and educational and artistic actors to sow PAR through the elements that make up the context of our research. We will thus promote the emergence of cultural structures that we have not sufficiently explored here. Thus, in this context where artistic practices do not exist or hardly exist, it is a question of grading the interventions and the inherent needs. In this way, we will try to look at how practices are shaped through the different symbolic representations of the creator. Yamada-Rice et al.

(2015) plead "*for [a] greater consideration to be paid to how visual research methods, means of analysis and dissemination can be tied to theories and practices that have evolved from Western-dominant ideas and adult-centric practices, and to consider how these might need to be adapted, or new frameworks sought for other cultures*".

Conclusion

This study report on the challenges of displaced children's identities through artistic experiments on hopes was modelled on the questions and results that emerged as the ethnographic terrain evolved. We came without any hypothesis about the concrete objectives of this work and we wanted to understand the global context through observations and interactions with the Ashti camp people. Much of this work has been devoted to explaining the movement, daily life and expectations of adults. This was done in parallel with our work with and by children. We have been led to understand the essential role of the adult world's influence on the identities and expectations of children across the field. Nevertheless, we were particularly touched by the coherence and fluidity of the narration of the "I" through the artistic media created.

As a result of this work, we believe that the issues we have attempted to highlight in this study are acute. Identity themes provided by teaching aids are essential to go beyond the simple return trip in the past in these emergency contexts. According to our observations of ordinary life, the child is not considered to be a vector of knowledge and therefore information, knowledge and proposals are only descendants. Yet, children are a vector of hope for families and sometimes a major expectation. The aim is to sensitize and encourage children to reflect on a process of dual creation so that they can come to the world with a critical look. As far as the plastic arts are concerned, they constitute the alternative medium that allows them to think of themselves by creating a new proposal. The child can make up for the possibilities as hopes. Here too, the creative approach makes it possible to raise children's awareness of reality and assert a legitimate place to be an actor in it. We did not want a comparative approach for this field, but a dream workshop was nevertheless conducted in a refugee camp and with young Kurdish children. The contrasts are striking: the children in the refugee camp have neither drawn nor dreamed of returning home, unlike the vast majority of the children here. They were projecting themselves into expectations related to the adult future (occupation, family life) or hoped to become a star or a recognized football player. Among the Kurdish children, we had artists, doctors, nurses, princesses and travels. First of all, we can

qualify the fact that the lack of settlement of communities and the insecurity that emanates from it condition the imagination. Moreover, given the terrain, it is also thought that one axis to be developed in particular is that of interculturality with a view not only to resilience but also to inter-ethnic and religious acceptance.

As mentioned in the introduction to this work, the lack of scientific and reflexive data is sorely lacking in refugee and IDP camps. The educational stakes, as we have seen, are extremely high and so are the lack of innovation in the field of Education in Emergencies. We are convinced that long-term research work on the aspects mentioned in this study are essential axes to be worked out together with a research laboratory working in this field on the educational sciences but also with the educational actors concerned in these contexts. That is why this ethnographic work provides a solid basis for considering deepenings with the same audiences in similar contexts in Iraq and Syria.

Bibliography

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION | IOM-IRAQ MISSION
DISPLACEMENT TRACKING MATRIX | DTM, OBSTACLES TO RETURN IN
RETAKEN AREAS OF IRAQ, March 2017

OCHA, Education Cluster Meeting Report, Directorate of Education, Sulaymaniyah, Tuesday
16 May 2017

REACH, COMPARATIVE MULTI-CLUSTER ASSESSMENT OF INTERNALLY
DISPLACED PERSONS LIVING IN CAMPS, IRAQ, ASSESSMENT REPORT, JUNE
2016

REACH, Situation Overview: Mosul Crisis - Intentions of Ethnic and Religious Minorities,
April 2017

UNHCR, DISPLACEMENT AS CHALLENGE AND OPPORTUNITY, Urban profile of
refugees, internally displaced persons, and host community, Sulaymaniyah Governorate,
Kurdistan Region of Iraq, August 2016

UNHCR, IDP Participatory Assessment, February 2016, Sulaymaniyah— KRI

Annexes

1. Maps

a. Map of Iraq



b. Map of Ashti IDPs camp



IRAQ - Sulaymaniyah Governorate - Ashti IDP Camp
General Infrastructure - Updated 25 January 2017

For Humanitarian Purposes Only
Production date : 30 January 2017



- Camp Infrastructure**
- Fence
 - Sector
 - Under Construction
 - Health
 - Office
 - Education
 - Child Friendly Space
 - Distribution
 - Community Centre
- Service**
- Entrance
 - Office
 - Community Area
 - Water Tank (27)
 - Tapstand (23)
 - Borehole (1)
 - Announcement Board
 - Generator

GPS Coordinates of Camp Location:
Longitude: 45° 39' 21" 350" E
(45.65583)
Latitude: 36° 29' 3.43" N
(36.47592)

Thematic Data: 25/1/2017 - REACH
Administrative boundaries: GADM
Background imagery: DigitalGlobe, WV1, 16/12/2016
Projection: WGS 1984 UTM Zone 38N
Contact: iraq@reach-initiative.org
File: IRQ_Map_IDP_Ashthi_30Jan2017

Note: Data, designations and boundaries contained on this map are not warranted to be error-free and do not imply acceptance by the REACH partners, associated donors mentioned on this map.



2. Study dairy extracts

a. The canvas workshops

“One facilitator and an artist collaborated for 1,5 hours of workshop with 10 children. This workshop was done 4 times with the same facilitator for two days. The 2 other facilitators came and helped a few when they didn’t have other activities to do. They used the same school for 2 days to make activities about “recycling”.

Only as an observer, without any translation (not available), I observed the way they collaborated, the way they interacted with children and the way workshops were going on. I helped them only in strictly technical things as washing brushes or bring materials. I also gave help as a kind of supervisor when they requested for help for decisions.

The lack of possibilities to make meetings and to prepare the team to collaborate make it as a kind of spontaneous way to collaborate for a same objective: to make children create their dream on a canvas. They had to adapt themselves and to cooperate in a kind of emergency way.

It was the first-time children used a canvas, it was the first time the facilitator did this kind of cooperation and activity too.

We worked in a school in Ashti 2, at the end of the camp in the “Arab part”, all the children were doing their scholarship in this school. In the morning, as in the beginning of the afternoon, because there were two workshops at the same time, there were approximatively 40 children waiting at the door of the school, in a noisy way. It was quite difficult to keep them calm. The first day, one of the facilitator asked for two boys to stay at the door to manage the entrance. Then, I asked them it was not possible. On the afternoon, the two boys participated at the workshop.

Facilitators managed to choose children and to bring them in the room. The first day, they decided to ask them, at the door, who wanted to do a plastic art workshop and then they chose them by age (from 7 to 11). The second day, they decided to make 30 children coming and then, we asked in the other room, who wanted to make a plastic art workshop. Lot of children raised their hands, so we chose children by the left side to not make any difficult choice.

The artist took on the role of the main coordinator during the activities. She quickly explained the principle of the workshop. The latter was composed of three phases, according to what she wanted: the first was to draw on her A4 sheet her dream for the future by taking the time to

refine her ideas and drawings, the second was to recopy the same drawing on the canvas, the third was to paint on the canvas. The time being particularly limited, workshop needed to be limited to once, they could not realize a fourth phase that would have been a time for sharing with the all group. The artist wanted to concentrate on explaining the first phase and then as the workshop progressed, explain the phases to come to each group of two or three children.

The facilitator supported the instructions to the children and was mainly concerned with the technical support of the children. For example, she handed out the sheets and pencils to them, she prepared canvas and the various elements necessary for the application of the painting. The facilitator was also, in general, the relay for the demands of the children.

The technical aspect was highly valued during these workshops as there was a thorough follow-up of the children's drawings with clear instructions on the application of colours, the use of brushes and the management of colour mixes. Some children were more guided than others, not by age but by their ability to create an aesthetically interesting production. The facilitator also tended to help a child for several minutes by doing it in its place, sitting next to him. The two people were in a relationship related to the technique and rigor of final production. The artist and the facilitator often participated in the colouring of the children's canvases. The drawing, however, remained reserved for the child in all cases. As far as I know, no assistance was provided by the coordinators to make children drawing. During this first phase, they anticipated the next steps.

The collaboration between the artist and the facilitator during the workshop seemed to be clear and mainly concerned the technical aspect. The division of tasks was natural and guided by the needs of children. They participated in the installation and preparation of the material, mainly carried out by the facilitator and then each took a few children on which they concentrated their efforts.

The children, mainly girls, were particularly calm and applied to produce a quality production. The school was already a standardized space, as it is usually used only for formal education, but also the medium used (the canvas) was also a vector of valorisation for the most of them. Given the technical and logistical conditions, we were not able to work with these children before, but there was a kind of secure way with the use of two supports, the first one as a draft. Despite the material constraints (no air-conditioning), the children showed an interested attitude by creating for 1.5 hours.

The children were particularly in demand for technical assistance and logistical support, without any rules being set out by the coordinators. This brought about a certain disorder and broke the calm of the workshop. Some children had never painted, so this was a first step towards expression through painting. All were able to paint after concise and clear instructions. There were no spill overs related to this activity. The children have all finished their canvas with the acceptance of 5 children who have not had time for this. The activity was therefore followed by all until the end.

The children took part in the cleaning of the material and the classroom very spontaneously, sometimes on request of the facilitator. They also signed and deposited their canvas in a dedicated room. The lack of time and certainly, a practice that is not usual, did not permitted a final stage of gathering or debriefing with them. However, the team could take the time to discuss the different aspects of the workshop after it, but soon engaged in other discussions. They were also discovering themselves. Interviews and the exhibition of the canvases and their restitution [allowed a continuum].”

b. Focus group with girls

Focus group – girls – from 6 to 12 (11,7,9,9, 12, 9, 11,11)

SI Spontaneous Intervention

FI Facilitator intervention

GA General answer

All of them come Saladin but from different tribes. 2 pairs of sisters.

[Explanation + names and ages]

[SI] My sister is a painter, she can draw but she can't come here because my father doesn't want her to leave the tent. [SI] I like to draw!

[Who like to draw?]

SI. Everyone

- I like to make drawing at school.

- I like colouring.

[What you do at school?]

- At school we have English, Arab, Kurdish, Islamic teaching, that's why we like school.

– They teach us things we don't know about. Languages, now we know a little bit of English.

[What do you do during art lessons?]

- The teacher shows us a picture of a butterfly and give us a set of colour pencils and we have to draw a butterfly. So, they give us something to look at and we draw what we have in front of us.
- Sometimes, we draw things independently without what they give to us. But often, they give us things to draw and we draw.

FI. We don't let them draw independently what they want because if we let them, they always draw their tents where they are living. So, we don't let them especially the youth.

[What do you like to draw and why?]

- Flowers, because I like flowers
- Mountains because I like it
- Flowers and tents because we learnt how to like it now, we have to.
- Flowers, butterflies and houses
- Apples
- Flowers, butterflies and mountains
- The sky, the water, trees, flowers
- Everything, my last drawing was flowers

[Where do you like to draw?]

- Everywhere, in my tent or at school, anytime
- At school but also in my tent

[At home, on what do you draw?]

- On a notebook
- Colour pencils, oil colours, papers
- Paper and oil colours given at school I take from the school

FI. They have all the stationary at home coming from the school

[What boys like to draw?]

- Football and cars

FI. Boys draw at school but when they draw, they draw tanks, guns, weapons, all violent drawings. Things which are in the past. They need more positive things. I see it during school time because I'm a supervisor there during the art lessons. Outside the school, they don't practise art.

[Why do you like school?]

- To learn

- I like it because I see my friends
- I learn things I didn't know before
- The kids who come they don't even know how to read and then teacher help them to read.

[What don't you like at school?]

- When teachers hit us with a stick in our hand because we are late
- When teachers hit us with a stick in our hand when we speak
- Some teachers put a pen between our fingers and hit on it very hardly.

FI. Sometime, teachers are very violent but they shouldn't be.

[What is a good teacher for you?]

- When they don't hit us, when they are not violent
- When they teach us new things
- When they don't hit us on the fingers
- Teacher of Kurdish
- I like my teacher of English because she kisses us every day at the end of the day.

[What do you do when you don't go to school?]

- We draw and we play
- I help my mum in the kitchen, around the [house]
- I wash the dishes, I wash the clothes, sometimes I wash the floor but I feel tired
- I don't help my parents, I go to do my homework. Sometimes, I help my parents and I go to play.
- I do my study
- I help my mum: I wash the tent, I wash the dishes
- I help my mum to wash the clothes
- I wash my clothes and help my mum
- I do my homework and invite my friends
- I help my mother and play with my friends

[Which kind of game do you like to play?]

- Jumping rope (Corde à sauter)
- The Hopscotch (la Marelle)
- The game of luck (3 cartons/balls)
- Red light, green light (1,2,3 Soleil)
- Bagdad (La serviette qui traîne)
- Leapfrog (saute-mouton)

[Do you like to play with balls? Why not?]

GA. No

- I don't like to play with the ball because I am very shy with the boys

- Boys get very bas when they play with the ball. One time my nose started bleeding.
- Girls are very different from boys because we want to be alone
- Because we are more calm
- Because they say bad words
- Because my mum saw me to play with boys. She got very mad, she shouts me at home with a stick. Now I can't play with boys.
- I don't see differences between boys and girls, because we are like brothers and sisters.
- I just play why boys of our neighbours in our tents but I don't play with boys in the school.

[What are you dreaming about? What you would love for your future? Why?]

- I want to be a teacher because I want to teach kids
- I want to be a doctor to help people who are sick
- I hope to be a teacher to work with children
- I hope to be a painter
- I hope to be a doctor
- I hope to be a fashion designer
- I hope to be a painter to paint everything
- I hope to be a painter
- I hope to be a teacher to teach French and Arabic

[Where do you want to live in the future?]

- In the camp
- Saladin (4) because I have my house there (3) and we have to go back (2), to see my family (3)
- Saladin (2) because I born there and I have my grandparents there (2) and I have my own house there
- Sulaymaniyah (3), it's a nice city (2), because now we use to live here (1); because we go to Shaviland, Ahmad Awa, Parki Azidi
- In the camp because we are not allowed to go out at Saladin

FI. At Saladin, because it's an agriculture area, there are a lot of scorpions and snakes, so children are not allowed to go out from their home

[Where do you feel freer, in Saladin or here?]

GA. Saladin

- Here (2)
- Saladin, because here, the situation is very bad. If someone tell you that's it's comfortable here, he lies you. There is nothing here, it's like a prison.

[Do you want to be married?]

GA. No

- My teacher of English is Kurdish, has 30 years old and she is not married. I want to be like her.

FI. At this age, we don't talk to them about this kind of things (children and marriage). When they have 14 you can ask them.

[What do you hope for your family?]

- Two of my sisters they went on to a Genital Mutilation. It's very wrong and I don't want that for me. There are older than me there are more pain that at my age. For me they will not do it yet but when I will be older my dad will do it. My older sisters already did it.
- I want good things for my family and my fiancé
- I want there is only love between my family and I, no hitting, no violence. That's what I hope
- I hope everything in the world
- I hope my semblable to be safe and well
- I hope my sister succeed in a nice College because my sister in the 2nd Grade but my father doesn't allow her to go to school anymore. Instead of her, my brother went to school and had the diploma my sister was supposed to get. That is why. I respect my sister, I would like her to study more.
- I want to study and to pass my class because my mum told me if you don't pass your classes you will be a hose when we were to Bagdad. I never miss it.
- I hope my sister will continue her studies because when because the school was mixed between boys and girls my father took out my sister out of the school.
- My wish is my family and the world be happy as I wish it for me.

3. Art-based research interviews

a. First dreaming workshop



(1. Alone) “I drew flowers, I also drew the sun and the moon but we can't see it now because there was no yellow. They

mixed yellow and black together. This was my aunt's garden, she used to plant a lot of flowers and she likes to teach to kids how to draw flowers. This garden is at Salah Al Din, in front of the house. We used to play at [cache-cache] behind the flowers. I like this garden because there are flowers. Our house and our garden was very quiet. The steam and the leaves from the flowers were greens. In the camp, there are also flowers. I dream to be back with those flowers and play again with my flowers. Here I can also play with it but I prefer flowers there than here. Flowers in our garden are better than the ones here. In my garden at Salah Al Din there are also grass, trees and pomegranate trees, grape trees. I like to go to this garden with my parents sometimes.”



(2. Alone) “I drew my dream. My Dream is to go back to my house in Salah Al Din. This is my house because the Shia took my house. They demolished it. They hit it with wood stones. [What do you feel?] I just dream at night to go back home. Silence. When I draw this, I just start going back to my house and going to the amusement park in Salah Al Din. I drew flowers in my garden. My dad planted those flowers, we get apples and grapes from it. Now we are just worried because it's so dangerous. Here, there is a tree. I'm walking around the garden and looking and smelling the flowers. I feel better when I do that. Me, my mother and my aunt, we go to the garden and start to see for pomegranates and apples, it makes me feel better. My sister and my aunt are in the house. They are playing a game, they make a sculpture with clay. In the house, there is a room for my mother, for my father, for my aunt, for my cousins and one for me. There are 4 rooms. My older brother has his own house. My favourite is my father's room because I have papers and colouring pencils so I can draw in this room. In my dream, there are mountains also.”



“(3. Group of 4) I drew a house and mountains. This is my sister. There are birds. It’s the same as Salah Al Din, like the flowers, the house, the mountains. All about here is from Salah Al Din. There is a tree, an apple tree. I am looking at the house and the birds. I just look-up, I don’t do anything. I feel it’s really really pretty.”



“(4. Group of 4) M. I drew flowers, butterflies and suns. I like flowers. This is our garden in Salah Al Din. We had a very very big garden full of flowers. I used to pick some of my flowers and give them to my sisters. My dream is to back to Salah Al Din and to see my flowers again and see butterflies again. I like butterflies because they really like flowers and they go all around the flowers. There are flowers here [in the camp] and butterflies also. It’s not the same as Salah Al Din because the ground in the camp is not use for agriculture. The

flowers look very pretty at Salah Al Din. I am with my sister in the garden, we play there: we jump with rope, we run after another.”



“(5. Group of 4) I drew a house. It’s my house. I have a water-boiler next to it, to hit-up the water because we use it there. I drew an apple tree, a fish pond, mountains and the sun. There is a pigeon in the sky. This place is nowhere, just in my imagination, it’s not at home. I would like to find a place where there are fish ponds, trees, mountains and a garden. I am inside the house with my family: my mum, my dad, my brothers and my grand-parents. My friends come over to my house. I feel love in my house because I love my family. Family is the most important for me. I play inside my house, we meet together, we all play together with the children. The only reason I can make my dream happened and be together in the house, is for me to get a job and play with the family. So, we can buy a house and living together. I would like to be teacher, doctor or make handcrafting. My favourite is to be a teacher only for kids.”



b. Inside my dream home

S. “There is a bed and a teacher. This is a school, a house and a garden. There is also a football field next to the

house. Here, this is my parents' bedroom and my bedroom. I drew a football field with players because I like to play football here in my house. In my bedroom, there is no bed, I don't like beds because it's not comfortable. I don't sleep on beds."

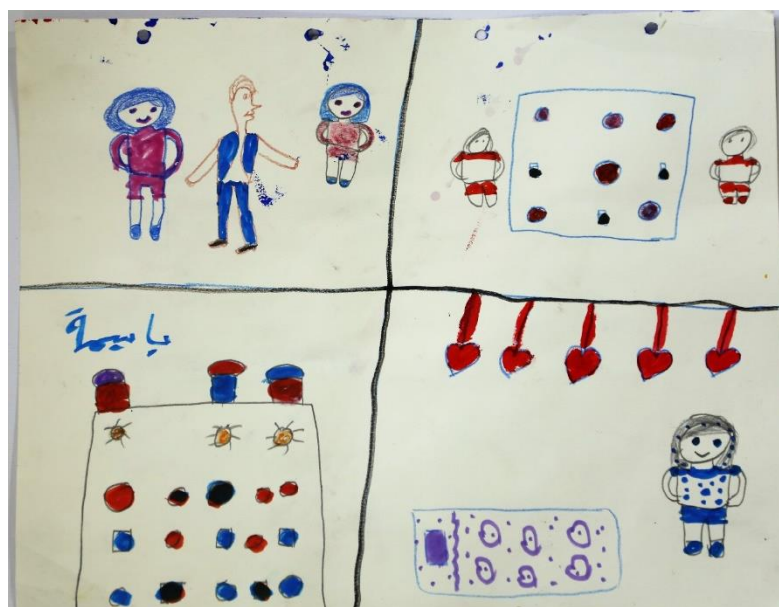


G., "I drew flowers because I liked it. It makes me happy, it takes away my sadness. I am playing with my two friends, we play at hide-and-seek together. In my house, it's the garden I like the most because it makes me happy. This is a tree, it takes away my sadness and make me happy. The boy is watering the tree, it's my friend. This is my other friends and me: this is H., me, L. and S. I like them a lot. I don't like the butterfly I drew. I would like to have all kind of game in my house. In just want to have in the house. What I prefer in the house, it's the flowers. My parents are not here because they were killed by DAESH. I drew a road, it's in the street. It goes to another house, my friend houses. I like my friend houses. I've lost all my family instead of my parents. Now I live with my friends, the mother of my friends. I will draw my bed now."

L. “There is a bed for babies, there are chairs and TV, there is a tree and a house. There is a dining room and another bedroom. This is the door and this is a fan. Outside there are flowers.



There, this my friends' houses. This is me and my friend house. At home, we eat meat and rice. Chocolate is my favourite food. What I like the most, is to play around, to watch TV and to meet my friends. I also drew a bed in my house. There is only my brother because my parents are now in Sulaymaniyah. They work there.”



N., “I drew a dining room with me and my sister. In this room, it's me, my dad and my mum, we are all ready to go out. Then, in the afternoon, I go back to my room and I sleep. I drew my bedroom and my bed. Then, it's the night time, my mother prepares the food for us. I drew my dad, my mum

and myself. I will draw my sister. I like to eat meat. My dream is just to be a child and not to be old, because I don't like the way they are treated at this age. When I grow up, my parents don't grow up nicely anymore. I want to be the same I was as a child. What I like the most is my older sister, she is really pretty and she has a lot of hair. I don't like my parents cook beans and rice. I didn't like when Daesh came and hit our home. I really don't like when Daesh and the way Daesh shot my friends in front of my eyes and how they sold the Yazidi women as sex slaves to Arab men and at Daesh members also. I wish I never saw that. They use the religion Islam in a wrong way. Now, there is a misunderstood of the religion because of that. This is my house in Sinjar. It's my house but now it's taken away by Daesh. I don't want to go back to Sinjar, there is nothing nothing nothing there anymore. There is nothing we can do. I can't go back because if they know we were there, they will come back but even through there is no Daesh there, it stills dangerous in Sinjar. Even if we go back to Sinjar, there is nothing there anyway. We can't go back in our houses, no markets, no supermarkets, absolutely nothing.”



I. "There is someone sleeping in the house, there are cutlery, here is another bed. There's a fan here. This is a TV. This is the electric generator for fresh air. This is my brother Mo. He's 20 years old. He likes to go for a

walk in the camp. He also likes to go to Sulaymaniyah. He sells watermelons in town. I am also in the house and I have lunch, beans and rice, cakes and chocolate ice cream. I like to drink tea. I'm having lunch with my parents and brother. I like watching Tom and Jerry on

TV. The place where Mo is. is my favourite. Mo. has a bed but I don't, and neither do my parents. Mo. buys us stuff every day at the market. He also brings us sandwiches."

c. The Canvas workshops

M. is 8 years old. She is from Salah Al Din and now she is displaced in Ashti camp, near Sulaymaniyah. It the first time she painted and used the canvas. At school, she didn't draw before. She never used colour pencils or normal pencils. She told us she likes to paint before she feels calm and relax when she does it.



"Here there are clouds, houses, this is flowers and two lions. My mum live in the first house, I live in the house too. My sister lives in the other house. Here there is a street, there are children who are playing football there. There only boys, girls are playing with the dolls in the house. Here this is a garden, I prefer to be in the garden. The lions are in the garden, they are brothers, they are 4 years old. They are playing in the garden."

Meriam is 9 years old, she is from a city between Salah Al Din and Bagdad. She has 7 brothers and sisters from the second wife of her father. She also has 13 brothers and sisters from her mother. She is in Y-4. I will go in the Y-5 in September.



“I like the school because teachers help us, because they teach us things that we don’t know. I like all the student in my class. I don’t hit student in the class. When I am not at school I play with my friends in the playground. I play hide and seek and jumping rope. When I go back home, I eat and I do my homework. I like to eat pikles, I like to come at home when my mother has pikles for me.

I drew a sun, clouds and flowers. My dream is to have more trees and flowers around me because there are from god and because I like it. My dream I have for my family is them to be safe and go back to their house. Here is a garden, it’s in my city near Bagdad. There are apples in the tree. The flower is a rose. I would like to have more flowers around here. Here, there are small flowers and my dad send us to the garden to give water to the flowers. In the garden, there is my mum, my dad and me. We pick flowers and we are standing with flowers for a long time. We have a pool in the garden and my father send us to the pool to swim

sometimes. The weather is cold there. I like summer and winter. Here we are swimming and my father does everyday stuff. I know how to swim since I am 4.”

The girl tells us she did another painting, she finally tells us that one of it is her one too. I know it is not true but I continue to make the interview with the other drawing as she seems to want. She continues to explain what she is supposed to have drawn. It is a way for us to continue to share with her in a different space with different elements.

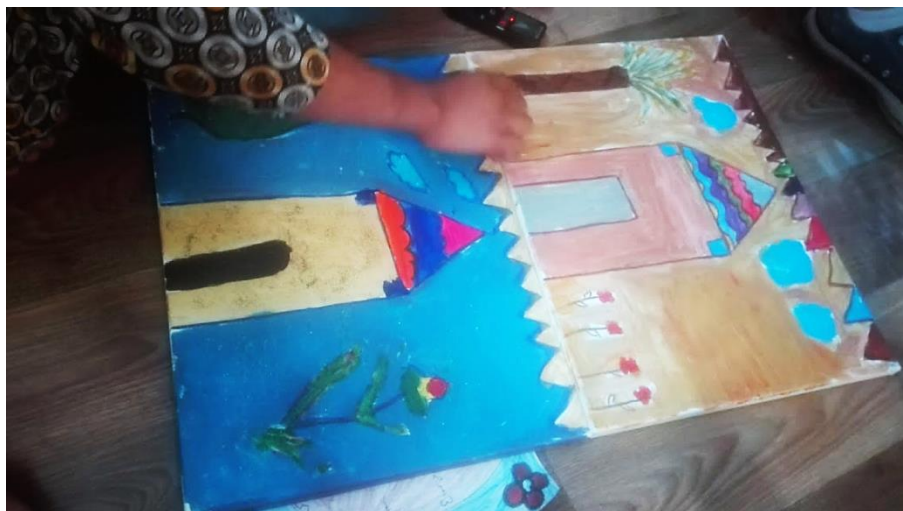
“I drew car because I was sitting in the street. I am using to live in this house. I live here with my father, his two wives and all the children. I like all the rooms there. There is just one room, all the children are sitting together. The two wives are in one room and us we are in the other room. I like this way. My dad come to our room and give them chips and lollipops. He buys us a lot of things. Here this is the garden, there are flowers, an apple tree.

We took it with us everything we had in our house, when we came and run here but the security took all our things. That’s why we couldn’t bring it here. My father bought stuff for the Aid: dresses and all king of things. I like Aid because I feel good with my dresses. I eat sweets.

“My dad never lets us go out here in the camp because ones my sister was shot in a leg when we were at home [Salah Al Din], now he doesn’t let us go out. He takes us by car. It happened when we were coming here, when we were running out from Daesh. We went to the hospital because she had pain, here. Now she is ok. It’s maybe hurt a bit”.

She never drew in a canvas before and she never tried to paint. At school, a teacher draws in a board, then they must copy. She has ever draw with a colour pencil but never with painting and brushes. She draws houses, plants, flowers at school. At school, they gave her paper, she can bring at home to draw. She tells us she likes to draw everything she was even back home because “when I draw it gives me the feeling I am back home. I feel happy when I draw”.

S., 12 years old. This girl did two drawings. Two very similar drawings we decided to analyse together in a same way.



“Here the is a house, tree, flowers, mountains and in the other there is a date tree, flowers, house and mountains. My dream is to be a doctor in Sulaymaniyah. I hope

to have a house like this, this is the house of my dream. The first one was my house, the second one is the house of my dream at Sulaymaniyah.

[First drawing (1)] There are flowers with a lot of colours and a lot of kind of trees. I’m not here, just my mum and dad are here, in the garden. Me and my brothers and sisters are in the house. There are 17 children. We are in the living room together, in the second floor. There are two floors in my home. We are playing jumping rope and hide and seek. My dad is sitting and my mum is cooking. My dad plays in the mobile and my mum is cooking rice. I like to be under the date tree. I like it because it’s my house.

[Second drawing (2)] My mum, my dad and I are in the house, in the second floor. I am in the second floor, studying, my mum is cooking and my dad is under the phone. Here, this is the garden, there flowers I like to plant in my garden. I likes to play in my garden and I play with my dolls there. I feel happy when I am here (ndlr. In this house at Sulaymaniyah). People are coming here, it’s my friends.

[The both] I prefer this place (2) because there are no trees here (1). We are happier here (2) because there are more trees and the house is bigger. I want to be a doctor to help people. My children are playing in this house, with the toys. The weather is cold here (2) but it’s hot there (1), I prefer when it’s cold. My friends like to come here (2), the come in the garden. We like to do picnic. This place it’s beautiful because of the trees and the mountains, I feel relax”

She never paints before, it's her first time she tried this. She said they don't paint at school. She likes it. "I like to draw at home but I have nothing at home to draw. At school, we don't draw".

O. 12 years old, Salah Al Din, 2 sisters and 3 brothers



"I like school because we learn from them, they teach us what is respect, how to clean"

"I drew flowers, a house, a boy, a tree and a butterfly. My dream is to succeed at school. and to go back home, to be a student again and to study even more than I am doing now. I have a high grade. It's my dream house, it's at Salah Al Din. I want to go back to Salah Al Din because we are here by force. We are here because the situation there is bad. I want to go back because my father's family is there: my uncles and my relatives are there. Until the attack happened we had to leave our houses. Here this is my brother, he is 8. In my house, there is my dad and my mum and my 6 brothers and sisters. We had two houses, one was more in the city and one was in a garden as a kind of farm house. This house, is the dream of my dream. I like this garden. At 6 of the afternoon I go to the garden and I go around and I play. We go together to have food there with my family. My favourite food is beans and rice. I like the watermelon of my garden. In the garden, there are also grapes, oranges, peaches and mangos. There is also walnuts, butterflies and lions. The lion is in a cage, there is a small house for him. It doesn't hurt anyone. I like him because he doesn't hurt us. He just walks around and backs to his home. I can play with him and he doesn't eat us. We eat there [in the garden] and my parents are talking about one of my daughter who got married. If one of my brother hit us,

we shouldn't do the same. My older sister is 13, one is 8, I am 12, another one is 17. I don't know the age of my brothers. My brother here is the younger. My dad is taking a photo of him with his mobile.

In my house, there are 3 rooms: one is for my parents, another one is for us and the other is for my brother who is married upstairs. My brother has one kid but the other died after a while at 7 months. Now he has a boy called Adil. My favourite room is my parent's room because it's a very old room and very nice bed. I prefer to sleep on the floor because it's more comfortable for my back to sleep in the floor.

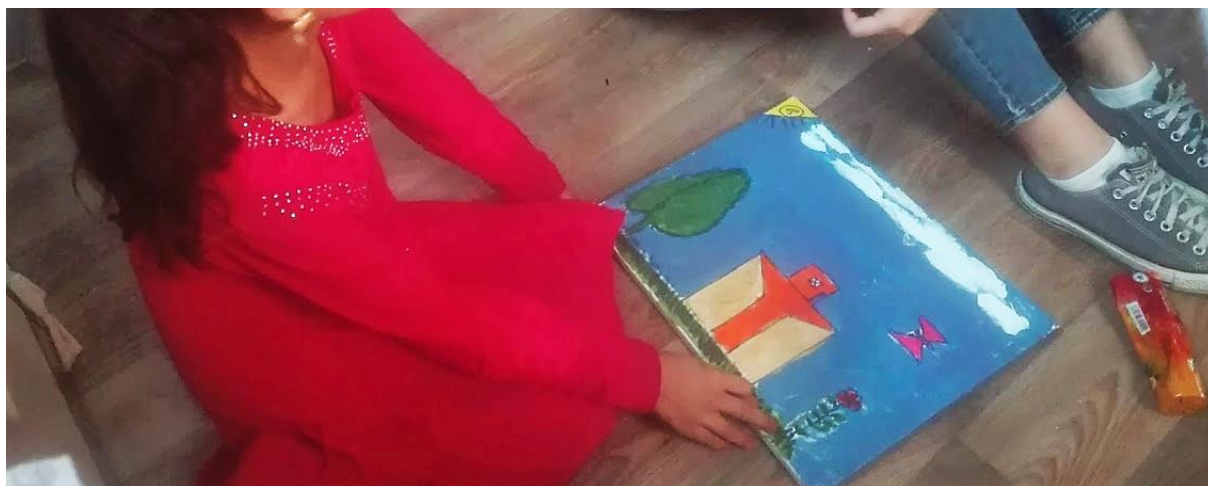
When I will be older, I would like to cook and to become a doctor because my mum she knows all the points of the body and she can make you ill goes away. My back had hurt and my mum she knew how to fix it. My cousins come to our tent and she helps them. I would like to do the same as my mother. I want to have babies but not a husband. We are living all together in this house. I will teach them. We should teach them how to pray, how to respect all the people. They should respect everyone. Respect is not answer back and to shot them. We should accept everyone. I have one Yazidi friend. There are like me. They use the same word as us. Some words are the same in Kurdish and in Arabic.

Freedom is a way you can do and you can go everywhere you want. For me, it's not important because we have to ask our mum if we can go out. When I will be older, it will be more important, it can do and go anywhere I want. It will be important when I will be an adult because I need freedom to visit my family and to go everywhere I want. I had more freedom at Salah Al Din, because we were more relax and calm.

In the camp, I like the school, the kindergarten, the way they teach them about the cleanness, also I like the kids here in the camp.”

The girl shows us a second painting, she did, we didn't know. She explains this is the other painting which represent her house inside the city.

[Second drawing]



” This home is in the same area of Salah Al Din. Here there is a garden. My father did a pool for us, here. We swim here. If the sun heats us, we go under the water. When we go to school, we pick a flower and we give it to a teacher. There is a butterfly in the garden and he feels it’s pretty. In my home, here this is my brother’s room and the two other rooms there. When the sun is too hot, we go under the trees there and we stay in the garden. I feel relax when I am under the tree, in the shadow. We go outside when it’s hot. Here we can relax and it’s quiet. There are a lot of birds and pigeons who come to our house.

[The both]

I prefer this house (1), because this house is a bit smaller, we don’t have enough space. My family prefers here two because it’s bigger. Everyone has his space. There are also 3 rooms here but the rooms are bigger here (1). Here, the rooms are better because there are curtains in each room, there are lights, we put plants in each rooms and photos of my parents in each room. My father likes the both, he doesn’t see any difference. My mother likes this house more because it’s bigger. It’s important to have space because we are a lot of people so it’s important to have a lot of space, big rooms.”