My friends, love is better than anger. Hope is better than fear. Optimism is better than despair. So let us be loving, hopeful and optimistic. And we'll change the world.

Jack Layton, in his final letter to Canadians
August, 2011

University of Alberta

Hope and the Caregiving Relationship

by

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Abstract

Evidence suggests that hope is important during adversity and contains a relational dimension (Farran, Herth, & Popovich 1995), yet there is currently no research studying hope within refugee parent-child relationships. This case study explored hope within two Ismaili Afghani refugee parent-child dyads. In the first phase of the study, parents and children were given cameras and invited to capture images they associated with hope. Secondly, photo-assisted interviews with each parent and child were conducted to better understand how hope is experienced, challenged, and enhanced within the caregiving relationship. Interview transcripts were analyzed thematically across three levels, and the following eight themes emerged: The Importance of Hope, Hope in the Canadian Context, Hope and the Caregiving Relationship, Faith and Hope, Education and Hope, The Refugee Experience, Children as a Source of Hope, and The Family Unit as a Source of Hope. Implications for counselling and future research are discussed.

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And finally, to my parents: Thank you for all of your sacrifices and for always inspiring me to live in this world with curiosity, compassion, and hope.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Background Information

Refugees.

For as long as human beings have clustered together to create communities, and for as long as the histories of those communities have been documented and transmitted, there have been refugees: individuals expelled, banished, or exiled from their homeland. Rose (1981) wrote: "The seeker of sanctuary, driven out by centrifugal forces beyond his ability to control, is as old a figure in the human drama as communal life itself" (p. 8). In his Greek epic *The Odyssey*, Homer told the story of the hero Odysseus and his ten-year journey back home to Ithaca following the Trojan War, during which he endured loss, captivity, and isolation. The Bible, one of the earliest documents of human history, contains the Book of Exodus, which tells of the departure of the Israelites from Ancient Egypt. During the Middle Ages in Europe, churches were known as places of sanctuary, and the act of providing sanctuary was itself considered a sacred gesture. Displaced and targeted populations sought refuge during the Crusades and the French Revolution. In the days before civil rights, Americans escaping the brutal institution of slavery fled as refugees to Canada (Rose, 1988; Amnesty International, 2012).

Despite a long history of forced migration, until the Second World War, there was no formal policy in place obligating countries to offer asylum to those seeking refuge. In fact, until that time, there was no differentiation between

refugees and immigrants. However, in 1951, following World War II, the United Nations Refugee Convention was approved (Amnesty International, 2012). Today, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is an international organization whose mandate is to "lead and co-ordinate international action to protect refugees and resolve refugee problems worldwide," with a primary purpose to "safeguard the rights and well-being of refugees" (UNHCR, 2012). According to the UNHCR, a refugee is defined as a person who,

> owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country (UNHCR, 2007, p. 10).

By 2010, it was estimated that there were 25.2 million people receiving assistance from the UNHCR, a figure including 10.55 million refugees (UNHCR, 2010). In Canada, at the end of 2010, there were 24,696 refugees living in Canada, 6,318 of whom were under the age of 15 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada Facts and Figures 2010: Immigration Overview, 2011).

In Canada, great emphasis has been placed on maintaining the unity of refugee families (Canadian Council for Refugees [CCR], 2004). According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as cited in by the CCR (2004), "The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State." A robust body of research has documented the beneficial and protective qualities of family, and particularly a strong caregiving relationship, to children (Bowlby, 1988; Erikson, 1982; Ainsworth, 1993). The relationship between parent and child can provide a buffer against

trauma for children (De Haene, Grietens, & Verschueren, 2007) and encourage positive human experiences, such as trust and hope (Erikson, 1982). In light of the profound challenges that refugees face, the relationship between parents and children in refugee families is especially important.

Hope.

On June 6th, 1944, less than two months before she and her family were captured and taken to the concentration camp at Auschwitz, a young Jewish girl wrote of the power of hope. "Where there's hope, there's life. It fills us with fresh courage and makes us strong again. We'll need to be brave to endure the many fears and hardships and the suffering yet to come." Although she did not survive to see the end of the Second World War, Anne Frank's words ultimately transcended the passing of the vibrant young writer who penned them. They are regarded as a testament to the strength of the human spirit, a notion that today is well supported in psychological literature on hope and resilience. In her description, Frank contended that hope is inextricably linked to life itself and attested to the importance of hope during adversity, suggesting that hope renews courage and provides the strength necessary to face life's many challenges. Soon after Frank's passing, in post World War II writing, another Jewish victim of the holocaust, Victor Frankl (1959), reflected on his time spent in a similar concentration camp. He wrote that those people who had hope were able to endure tremendous physical and emotional suffering, suggesting that hope is not only possible, but also potentially critical during adversity. Although Frank and Frankl's words were written almost seven decades ago, hope-based research today

has produced theory and findings consistent with their ideas. Hope has been described as universal and as the force that drives people to keep going and rise up in the face of hardship (Jevne & Miller, 1999). In their model of hope, Farran, Herth, and Popovich (1995) proposed that hope and hopelessness are dynamic and interrelated processes, and that hope can stem from experiences of powerlessness and give an individual the ability to imagine a better future. Refugees worldwide face extraordinary challenges, and thus, extrapolating from writings and research on hope, the importance of hope during the refugee experience is paramount.

Statement of Purpose

Hope is critical to well-being and perseverance among vulnerable populations, including refugees. Afghanistan generates more refugees than any other country in the world, yet qualitative research on the experience of the hope within the Afghani refugee population is limited. Additionally, research on resilience has found that hope engendered within caregiving relationships is a compelling source of hope for refugee children (Yohani, 2008; Yohani & Larsen, 2009), but there is no research looking at how this brand of hope affects adults or manifests within parent-child dyads. Thus, the questions guiding this research are (a) from what sources do Afghani refugee parents and children, as individuals, derive hope, and (b) how is hope enhanced and threatened within the caregiving relationship, from both the perspective of the parent and the perspective of the child. This research will provide insights to service providers working with refugee clients, as well as to refugee clients themselves, on how to identify and

strengthen hope within the parent-child relationship as a means of enhancing well-being.

Arriving at the Question

My journey to the research question began long ago, before I even realized it had been set in motion. I was still quite young myself, not even a teenager, and I volunteered at a summer school program held by the Ismaili community for Central Asian youth who had recently arrived in Canada. I was helping a young Afghani girl complete a routine English language exercise when she began to tell me about the atrocities she had witnessed in Afghanistan, including the sudden and violent deaths of loved ones. I remember that she spoke of the experience with sadness and with a sense of urgency, as though she desperately wanted somebody to know her story. Then she returned to the comprehension task at hand, working hard, determined to improve her English skills before the next school year. Many years later, after my second year of university, I helped develop and staff a summer camp for children from multiple African refugee communities in Edmonton. Working with the children was wonderful and eye-opening. They were curious, imaginative, and energetic, and they displayed a sense of excitement and resilience that reminded me of the quiet perseverance I had witnessed in the Afghani girl years before.

In my final year of university, I completed a senior comprehensive project on the developmental and psychopathological impact of war on children. As I conducted the necessary research, I encountered an article by Cortes and Buchanan (2007) in which the authors interviewed a small sample of former child

soldiers who displayed no signs of traumatic stress reactions. The objective of their research was to better understand variables that buffered these children against the experience of trauma. Their article fascinated me because it was one of the few that focused on protective factors, and I desperately wanted to know more about mechanisms of resilience and how such mechanisms could be located and strengthened in children growing up in adverse circumstances.

After completing my undergraduate degree and returning to Edmonton, I began to work with adolescents and families at CASA House. I became aware of stressors in the parent-child relationship and the ways in which those stressors could challenge adolescent health. I found myself thinking once more about the article on resilience among child soldiers. One of the emerging themes from that study was the protective quality of a healthy relationship with a caregiver, even when that caregiver was no longer physically present. Also during the year after my first degree, I was connected with Dr. Sophie Yohani at the University of Alberta and discovered her research on hope among refugee children. This was the first time that I was introduced to formal theory and research on hope; until then, I had known of hope only on a personal and experiential level. Within Dr. Yohani's work, the theme of the caregiving relationship emerged yet again. What piqued my curiosity was the fact that the parent-child relationship seemed to be recognized as a protective factor for children - indeed, the early work of Erikson and Bowlby and Ainsworth speaks to that point - but there was little research directed at *how* hope was experienced within a relational context. Relationships are dances, dynamic process shaped, reinscribed, and altered by the individuals

who share in them. While research was telling me that caregiving relationships are sites of hope, I speculated that the actual experience of hope within a relational context was likely extraordinarily complex and certainly worthy of further study. My interest in working specifically with refugee families stemmed from the vulnerability of refugee populations and a history of expulsion within my own community: Many East Asians became refugees under the governance of Idi Amin in 1972. After being admitted to the Counselling Psychology program at the University of Alberta, I remember making a list of potential thesis topics for my first research meeting with Dr. Yohani. At the very top of my list of topics I wanted to study was "exploring caregiving relationships as a source of hope to refugee children." During that initial meeting, Dr. Yohani proposed the idea of a dyadic approach to exploring hope, and although that meeting was almost two years before the final research project would be completed, I was excited and, indeed, ready to begin.

Overview of Thesis

This thesis is divided into five sections. Chapter Two consists of a review of literature on the refugee experience, with a special emphasis on refugee children and families. Literature on the caregiving relationship, hope, and hope within caregiving relationship is also described.

Chapter Three explains the methodological approach used in this study and shows how this research is contextualized within the embedded qualitative case study framework while integrating hermeneutic photography. Inclusion criteria and recruitment approaches, data collection and analysis procedures, and

evaluation and ethical considerations are also outlined in this chapter. Finally, a brief historical overview of conflict in Afghanistan is provided to provide context of how the study participants came to Canada.

Chapter Four outlines the findings from the study that speak to sources of hope and experiences of hope within the caregiving relationship. Each theme is discussed through use of quotations, photographs, and descriptions of stories and sentiments captured by individual participants.

Chapter Five discusses key findings within the context of literature on hope and the caregiving relationship. Implications for counselling work with refugee parents and adolescents are provided, followed by directions for future research. The chapter ends with a brief section on final conclusions.

The final chapter, Chapter Six, serves as an Epilogue, in which the researcher's own experience of growth throughout the research process is described in a closing reflection.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

The following literature review aims to provide research-based context on the experience of refugee families, with particular emphasis on the experience of hope within the refugee parent-child relationship. Thus, this chapter will be divided into three parts. Firstly, there will be a discussion of the stages of refugee migration, with particular emphasis on how pre-migration exposure to war-related stressors can impact both adults and children. In the second section, research on parent-child attachment will be explored. The importance and benefits of secure parent-child attachment, especially within the refugee context, will be outlined, followed by discussion of the ways in which the refugee experience can threaten the attachment system. The final section will focus on definitions of hope, models of hope, research on hope among children, and research on hope within the refugee caregiving relationship.

Stages of Refugee Migration

The six stages of the refugee career outline a chronological framework that enables the location of a refugee along a trajectory and offers some insight into the living context of that individual (Prendes-Lintel, 2001). The six stages are as follows: pre-departure, flight, first asylum, claimant, settlement, and adaptation (Prendes-Lintel, 2001). The first three stages mark life before arrival in the resettlement country and illustrate pre-migration challenges and risk factors. The latter three stages follow life after arrival into the resettlement country and

encompass challenges encountered when building a life within a new cultural context.

The pre-departure stage.

The pre-departure stage is marked by extreme upheaval and violence in the refugee's country of origin (Prendes-Lintel, 2001, Lustig et al., 2004). Presently, internal socio-political conflicts are the primary cause of violence, with Afghanistan, Iraq, and Somalia producing the largest number of refugees worldwide (UNHCR, 2011). Such conflicts can position individuals and groups as targets of ethnic cleansing and social and political tensions, resulting in an extreme threat to safety and deterioration of quality of life (Merali, 2008). Four primary sources of trauma during this phase are deprivation, physical injury and torture, incarceration in camps, and witnessing extreme violence (Mollica, Wyshak, & Lavelle, 1987). In the following sections, trauma among adults and children will be discussed in greater depth.

Trauma among adults.

In the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders – Fourth Edition – Text Revision [DSM-IV-TR], post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is described as "development of characteristic symptoms following exposure to an extreme traumatic stressor" (p. 463). These symptoms include helplessness and horror, frequent flashbacks and re-experiencing of the traumatic incident, avoidance of stimuli associated with the trauma, and increased arousal (DSM-IV-TR, 2000). The DSM-IV-TR notes that PTSD is common among those

individuals who have been exposed to social and civil unrest and upheaval, which is frequently the case for refugees entering Canada (DSM-IV-TR, 2000).

In a 2005 study, Fazel, Wheeler, and Danesh (2005) conducted a systematic review of literature investigating mental illness among a total of 7000 refugees resettled in Western countries. In particular, the researchers looked at studies reporting on the prevalence of PTSD, major depression, psychotic illness, and generalized anxiety disorder among adult refugees now living in high-income countries (Fazel et al., 2005). In sum, the researchers looked at twenty studies involving a total of 6,473 adult refugee participants resettled in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Norway, the UK, and the USA.

Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in adults.

Fazel et al. (2005) reviewed seventeen studies measuring PTSD rates among a total of 5,499 adult refugees, most commonly from Southeast Asia, former Yugoslavia, the Middle East, and Central America. Synthesis of these studies indicated overall PTSD rates at approximately 9%, although there was great variation across studies on the basis of ethnic group, country of origin, length of displacement, sample size, and sampling method (Fazel et al., 2005). In total, PTSD rates ranged from 44% (Sack et al., 1994) to 3% (Hinton et al., 1993). The results suggested that one in every ten resettled adult refugees is likely affected by PTSD, and that an adult refugee is ten times more likely than a non-refugee counterpart to have the disorder (Fazel et al., 2005; Portes, Kyle, and Eaton, 1992). The effects of PTSD can be debilitating, as outlined in the DSM-

IV-TR, and the disorder has been linked to increased risk of substance abuse and suicide (Brady, Killeen, Brewerton, & Lucerini, 2000).

The war traumas to which adults are exposed vary in accordance with their country of origin, as well as their demographic, social, and economic context. Ai, Peterson, and Ubelhor (2002) studied exposure to trauma among adult Kosovar refugees and found that displacement, deprivation, exposure to violence, theft, and bereavement were among the most common traumas experienced. The most common PTSD symptoms reported were sleep disturbances, strong emotion when reminded of the trauma, flashbacks, and physical reactivity to triggers of war reminders (Ai et al., 2002). There is limited research on the experience of war trauma specific to Afghani refugees. Lipson (1993) conducted an ethnographic study with the resettled Afghan population in Northern California. Her participants spoke of imprisonment, witnessing violence, loss of loved ones, and ongoing fear for their safety as impetuses that eventually led them to flee from Afghanistan (Lipson, 1993).

Major depression, psychotic illness, and generalized anxiety disorder.

Fazel et al. (2005) located 14 studies measuring rates of depression among 3,616 adult refugees. Refugees came from Southeast Asia, former Yugoslavia, Haiti, and Cuba. Overall synthesis indicated a 5% prevalence rate of depression, with results varying across studies in relation to diagnostic method, ethnic group, host country, and length of displacement. Other studies found that approximately 2% of 226 adult refugees experienced psychotic illness and 4% of 1,423 adult refugees experienced generalized anxiety disorder. Four smaller studies looked at

comorbidity of mental illness and found that 71% of participants with major depression also had PTSD and 44% of those with PTSD also had major depression (Fazel et al., 2005).

Trauma among children.

Terr (2003) defined childhood trauma as the mental consequence of sudden single or repeated external stressors "rendering the young person temporarily helpless and breaking past ordinary coping and defensive mechanisms" (p. 323). She described childhood trauma as possessing four core characteristics: "strongly visualized or otherwise repeatedly perceived memories, repetitive behaviors, trauma-specific fears, and changed attitudes about people, aspects of life, and the future" (Terr, 2003, p. 324). According to the DSM-IV-TR criteria for child PTSD, children must respond with "intense fear, helplessness or horror" to the traumatic event they have experienced. Behaviour can be "disorganized or agitated," children can often have repetitive dreams pertaining to their trauma, and trauma reenactment can become a central element of their play (DSM-IV-TR, p. 463; Arroyo & Eth, 1996).

Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in children.

Research on PTSD among children has been conducted in a number of countries, including Palestine (Thabet, Abed, & Vostanis, 2002), Lebanon (Macksoud & Aber, 1996), Sudan (Morgos, Worden, & Gupta, 2008), Rwanda (Dyregrov, Gupta, Gjestad, & Mukanoheli, 2000) and Iraq (Dyregrov, Gjestad, & Raundalen, 2002), suggesting the cross-cultural nature of traumatic stress reactions in childhood. The base rate of PTSD among children exposed to war

has variable estimates. Lustig et al. (2004) found that between 50% and 90% of children exposed to war traumas may experience PTSD. Fazel et al. (2005) found, through synthesis of data from 260 refugee children, that 11% of children experienced PTSD. According to Thabet and Vostanis (2000), research has shown that while trauma symptoms gradually improve, the risk of relapse is high. The long-term impairments caused by PTSD can lead to cognitive difficulties, academic difficulties, and challenges with post-migration integration (Beers and De Bellis, 2002; Elbert et al., 2009; Ruf et al., 2010).

Children living in war zones may be repeatedly exposed to torture, rape, violence perpetrated against loved ones, and lack of basic necessities. They must endure the disintegration of the worlds in which they live (Summerfield, 2000; Allwood, Bell-Dolan, & Husain, 2002). In a study on the efficacy of narrative exposure therapy with refugee children resettled in Germany, Ruf et al. (2010) worked with refugee children from a number of countries, including Syria, Turkey, Russia, and Georgia. The researchers found that children had experienced an average of four different traumatic event types in their countries of origin. Common among trauma types were witnessing military-conducted violence against family members within the home, witnessing violence against non-family members outside the home, experiencing direct violence and assault, and seeing dead bodies (Ruf et al., 2010). These trauma types are congruent with those outlined by Summerfield (2000) and Allwood et al. (2002). Macksoud and Aber (1996) studied patterns of trauma exposure and the relationship between demographics and disorder development with 224 Lebanese children. The

researchers found that, on average, children experienced six out of forty-five possible war traumas, including exposure to shelling or combat, bereavement, witnessing violent acts, extreme deprivation, and being the victim of violent acts. Additionally, traumas such as being the victim of violence, bereavement, and exposure to shelling and combat were particularly likely to cause PTSD (Macksoud & Aber, 1996). The researchers found that older male children were exposed to more traumas than any other age-gender pairing and that older children and those from a higher socio-economic status were more likely to show adaptive behaviours than younger or poorer children. This finding suggests that low socioeconomic status may be a risk factor for trauma (Macksoud & Aber, 1996).

Morgos et al. (2008) investigated the impact of ongoing guerilla warfare on children in Southern Darfur. Unlike Macksoud and Aber, she did not find that the total number of traumas experienced varied with gender (Morgos et al., 2008). This finding may have been a result of different cultural practices that placed fewer restrictions on girls in Darfur, enabling or even requiring them to leave the safety of their homes. Morgos et al. also found a 38% prevalence rate of depressive symptoms, with girl showing more symptoms of depression than boys. This gender difference was attributed not to differences in the actual presence of depression, but discrepancies between how girls and boys display signs of distress (Morgos et al., 2008). Morgos and colleagues also found that traumas similar to those identified by Macksoud and Aber were responsible for elevated trauma symptoms; that is, exposure to violence and separation from family (Morgos et

al., 2008). During the year following the Gulf War, Dyregrov et al. (2002) investigated the impact of the war on children using both interview and questionnaire techniques. The researchers found elevated rates of PTSD symptoms, including avoidance and intrusion, in 80% of children. This finding is congruent with those of Macksoud and Aber and Morgos et al., who each noted elevated PTSD rates in their studies with children in Lebanon and Darfur, respectively.

In two separate studies, Montgomery (2008) and Almqvist and Broberg (1999) explored trauma among Middle Eastern child refugees who were resettled in Europe. In both studies, researchers found that exposure to pre-migration trauma was correlated with increased symptoms of internalization, such as anxiety, withdrawal and depression, even after resettlement. This finding is consistent with Morgos et al. (2008), who concluded that trauma and depression are interrelated, and that helping children address traumatic reactions may be the most constructive approach to facilitating their healing from depression and grief (Morgos et al., 2008). Interestingly, Pynoos, Steinberg, and Wraith (1995) found that war trauma can impair children's ability to openly express various affective states at younger ages and understand the origins and impact of negative emotions as they grow older.

While PTSD is often thought of as the main form of stress disorder, the DSM-IV has an extensive list of disorders that may arise as a result of trauma exposure. Currently diagnosable disorders are brief psychotic disorder, nightmare disorder, sleep terror disorder, separation anxiety disorder, reactive attachment

disorder, dissociative amnesia, dissociative fugue, conversion disorder, depersonalization disorder, adjustment disorders, specific phobia, panic disorder, major depressive episodes, somatization disorder, substance abuse disorder, borderline personality disorder, dissociative identity disorder, and others (Arroyo & Eth, 1996). The symptoms and causal factors of each disorder vary, but the length of the list highlights the multitude of ways in which exposure to the effects of war can detrimentally impact a child's psychological health.

The flight stage.

The flight stage is characterized by extreme uncertainty and high levels of risk (Prendes-Lintel, 2001; Lustig et al., 2004). Frequently, the decision to flee is sudden and desperate, and individuals are forced to leave all of their possessions behind. Additionally, family leaders are forced to make sudden decisions that will not only impact the lives of all of the members of the extended family, but also the lives of future generations (Papadopoulos, 2001). Moreover, refugees often flee on foot, resulting in a grueling journey with increased chances of starvation and physical exhaustion (Prendes-Lintel, 2001; Papadopoulos, 2001). During this time, a refugee must contend with multiple frightening possibilities, including capture by enemy forces, separation from family, and loss of a loved one. Additionally, there is no guarantee that the taxing journey will be successful, leading to extreme uncertainty about what the future holds (Fazel & Stein, 2002; Papadopoulos, 2001).

Within the context of refugee families, the flight stage is the period during which the risk of parent-child separation is most acute (Lustig et al., 2004).

Children born during flight progress through critical stages of psychological development while surrounded by upheaval and chaos (Lustig et al., 2004). Children may be separated from adults during flight or due to upheaval in their country of origin, forcing children to travel alone (Lustig et al., 2004). The relationship between parent and child is critical for healthy emotional regulation among children, and the caregiving relationship can provide a valuable buffer against trauma (De Haene, Grietens, & Verschueren, 2010; Cortes & Buchanan, 2007). Thus, children without caregivers may be at greater risk for developing psychiatric challenges (Lustig et al., 2004). In his original research on child attachment theory, Bowlby (1988) argued that the core of child trauma stems from loss and separation from a primary caregiver. Additionally, previously discussed research on trauma development among adults and children indicates that, for both adults and children, separation from loved ones is a highly significant stressor.

The first asylum stage.

The first asylum stage is marked by arrival at a place of temporary safety, frequently a refugee camp (Prendes-Lintel, 2001). In recent years, the average amount of time spent in a camp has risen from 9 to 17 years (UNHCR, 2007). Camps can vary significantly in terms of living conditions and proximity to conflict zones, and therefore in the level of protection offered to refugees living within the camp. While some camps do offer a degree of asylum, others are simply an extension of the violent circumstances from which the refugee has come (Prendes-Lintel, 2001). Additionally, upon arrival to camps in

neighbouring countries, refugees are often considered stateless outsiders and experience reduced rights, limited access to opportunity, and increased discrimination (Wilson, Murtaza, & Shakya, 2010). Currently, approximately 3 million Afghani refugees live in the neighbouring countries of Pakistan and Iran (UNHCR, 2011).

Rothe et al. (2002) found that, during their time in a refugee camp, 80% of Cuban refugee children witnessed violence, 37% witnessed attempted suicide, and 19% experienced separation from family within the chaos of the camp. With the number of refugees worldwide at the highest level it has reached in the past 15 years, refugee camps are frequently overcrowded, and there are shortages of food, resulting in malnourishment within the population (UNHCR, 2007; UNHCR, 2011). In 2007 in Afghanistan, for example, it was estimated that 80% of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) were living at one of four camps, all of which were located near the Afghan border (International Organization for Migration, 2007). Sudanese youth at a Kenyan refugee camp reported ongoing lack of resources and medical care, and the rate of malnutrition among Sudanese toddlers ranged from 20% to 70% across nine different camps (Harrell-Bond, 2000; Sommers, 2002). Overcrowding and limited health care supplies can result in increased physical illness, and feelings of fear and hopelessness can lead to depression and other mental health problems (Prendes-Lintel, 2001). Prolonged uncertainty and hopelessness, coupled with pre-departure trauma, can ultimately increase the vulnerability of asylum-seeking families (Montgomery, 2008). Although a form of ‘asylum,’ refugee camps pose a unique set of physical and

psychological challenges to the refugee. For children and families, arrival at a refugee camp may perpetuate the lack of safety and access to education and basic necessities that were experienced during pre-departure and flight.

The claimant stage.

The claimant stage occurs after the refugee has reached the country of resettlement and is waiting either to be granted asylum or to be deported (Prendes-Lintel, 2001). As of 2009, 31% of refugees who fled their homes arrived at resettlement countries (UNHCR, 2010). During the same year, 922,500 requests for asylum were received worldwide. However, this figure includes repeated requests or appeals, as over half of requests for asylum are denied (UNHCR, 2010). By the end of 2009, 983,000 individuals were awaiting the outcome of their asylum applications (UNHCR, 2010). Seeking asylum can be draining and anxiety provoking, as the process is long and deportation is a possible outcome. While waiting for a resolution, refugees may have limited access to resources and experience acculturation stressors in the country of resettlement (Merali, 2008; Prendes-Lintel, 2001).

Settlement and adaptation.

The settlement stage marks acceptance of the refugee by the resettlement country and includes the first three years after arrival into the host country (Merali 2008). During 2009, 122,500 asylum requests were granted, with the United States, Canada and Australia admitting the greatest numbers of refugees (UNHCR, 2010). For children and families, the resettlement stage is marked by coping with loss of loved ones, country of origin, and physical possessions, as well as the challenges of acculturation (Lustig et al., 2004; Berry, 2001).

Acculturation demands consideration of how to balance retention of one's own cultural practices and beliefs with those of new cultural groups (Berry 2001).

There are numerous other factors affecting the ease with which refugee families are able to resettle: the social and economic capital brought into the country, legal status, economic opportunity, neighbourhood quality, and racism (Suarez Orozco & Suarez Orozco, 2001). Among the challenges refugee parents must face are scrutiny of childrearing practices and shifting family dynamics (Dachyshyn, 2008; Lewig, Arney, & Salveron, 2010). In particular, differing acculturation rates may pose a threat to the parent-child relationship (Dachyshyn, 2008; Lewig et al., 2010).

For refugee children, a primary challenge during resettlement and adaptation is coping with a profound feeling of loss, known as cultural bereavement, related to their country of origin (Eisenbruch, 1991; Lustig et al., 2004), which can lead to grief and survivor guilt (Fantino & Colak, 2001). In the midst of initial hope and excitement at the prospect of resettlement (Keyes, 2000) and the subsequent adaptation to new family norms, a new language, and adjustment to a new educational system, there is limited time to mourn what has been lost (Fantino & Colak, 2001). Moreover, pre-migration disruption and uncertainty, coupled with navigating between multiple cultures, can disturb the process of healthy identity formation in adolescents. At a time when children and adolescents are in great need of support, parental trauma can result in parental disengagement and leave children feeling isolated (Fantino & Colak, 2001). Each

of these factors can impact the ease of the settlement and adaptation process for children and families and will be discussed in greater depth later in this chapter.

After the first 3 years in the resettlement country, refugees enter the phase of adaptation, during which they must adjust and develop a sense of permanence and routine in their new country (Prendes-Lintel, 2001). Negotiating the strategies of acculturation, particularly with varying rates of acculturation within the family, poses a long-term challenge, as do healthy interactions with the host community and stable connections to resources (Merali, 2008). The adaptation stage has no distinct ending and can be an ongoing process of adjusting to life in a new home for refugee children and their families.

Summary.

The refugee experience can be conceptualized along a chronological timeline spanning six stages: pre-departure, flight, first asylum, claimant, settlement, and adaptation. During each stage, refugees are presented with challenges that can undermine physical, emotional, and psychological well-being. Exposure to trauma during the pre-migration stage can result in the development of trauma symptoms or trauma disorders among children and adults. During the flight stage, refugees must contend with loss, uncertainty, and separation from family members, which can be especially traumatizing given the protective value of the parent-child relationship. Arrival at refugee camps does not always mean that refugees have reached a safe haven. Many refugee camps are simply extensions of circumstances of violence, deprivation, and fear. Additionally, refugees can stay an average of 17 years within refugee camps, and loss of

personal documentation may pose difficulties to resettling in another country. Post-migration, refugees must contend with shifting family dynamics, adapting to the culture of the host country, and reconnecting with social networks within the host country.

The Parent-Child Relationship

The early caregiving relationship.

In his seminal work on attachment in the caregiving relationship, John Bowlby (1988) defined attachment behavior as "any form of behavior that results in a person attaining or maintaining proximity to some other clearly identified individual who is conceived as better able to cope with the world" (Bowlby, 1988, p. 27). Although extensively researched among children, attachment behaviors can also be seen in adults, particularly when they are exposed to some kind of stressor (Bowlby, 1988). Research indicates that a child's pattern of attachment is developed during infancy, childhood, and adolescence and is largely determined by how a child is treated by his or her parents. Bowlby identified the objective of parenting as the provision of a secure base for young children and adolescents. Children who are provided with a secure base are more willing to venture into the world, knowing that their base will provide them with physical and emotional support upon their return. Increasing comfort with the security of their base leads to increasing exploration of the environment (Bowlby, 1988). To provide a secure base, parents must be readily available to their children and prepared to offer encouragement and help if necessary.

Through her study of parent-child attachment, Mary Ainsworth, a colleague of Bowlby's, discerned three key patterns of attachment that can be displayed in children (Ainsworth, 1993). The first pattern, secure attachment, is evidenced by a child who is comfortable in the knowledge that his or her parent will be available, helpful, and responsive during times of stress. Parents of these children are available, loving, and respond quickly and sensitively to signs of distress (Ainsworth, 1993). Another possible attachment style is an anxious-resistant attachment pattern. Children with this style of attachment are unsure whether their parents will be available or responsive to their needs, which leads to anxiety and reluctance to explore the world. Parents of these children are inconsistent in their levels of availability and responsiveness. The final attachment pattern is an anxious avoidant style, which results from parents who repeatedly reject and push away their children. Children lose all confidence that their parents will support and respond to them and no longer seek the affection of others (Ainsworth, 1993). Children can also display a disorganized version of these three patterns of attachment. The pattern of attachment between a child and a parent is ultimately internalized by the child, whose cognitive structures and understanding of self and the world are shaped by early caregiving interactions (Bowlby, 1988).

Models of parent-child interaction eventually become unconscious and a characteristic of the child. Frequently, patterns of attachment are reinscribed in relationships with peers, teachers, and significant others (Bowlby, 1988). Additionally, secure parent-child attachment is a bond through which parents can

provide their children with a valuable buffer against distress and trauma through availability, responsiveness, and sensitivity to their children's needs (Bowlby, 1988). Thus, the importance of the parent-child relationship to child development is paramount.

The parent-child relationship during adolescence.

Adolescence is a phase of transition during which, in addition to entering into puberty, children begin to develop a sense of identity and take responsibility for more aspects of their lives, including time-management and educational endeavors, than they do in early and middle childhood (Suldo, 2009). This transition is a period of change for parents also, as they must adjust to their children's increasing independence and future orientation (Suldo, 2009; Steinberg & Silk, 2002). While the early caregiving relationship focuses primarily on meeting the basic needs of children, a positive parent-child relationship during adolescence requires a different conceptualization.

Steinberg and colleagues (1992, 1999) used a framework of authoritative parenting provided by Baumrind (1991) to discuss a positive parent-adolescent relationship according to the three following characteristics: acceptance-involvement, strictness-supervision, and the allowance of psychological autonomy, all of which have been linked to increased academic success among adolescents (Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Darling, 1992; Gray & Steinberg, 1999). Acceptance-involvement refers to the extent to which adolescents feel loved and supported by their parents and the extent to which they feel their parents are responsive to their needs. Strictness-supervision is related to

behavioral monitoring through setting limits, and the granting of psychological autonomy is related to the extent to which parents allow adolescents to exercise control over themselves and their own emotions as unique individuals (Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991; Gray & Steinberg, 1999; Suldo & Huebner, 2004). Because adolescence is a period during which children focus on building a sense of self and assuming increasing control over their own lives, the granting of autonomy by parents is critical (Suldo, 2009). Through giving their adolescents autonomy, parents can allow children to express themselves openly and make their own decisions, behaviors that have been linked to the development of well-established self-concepts among adolescents (Suldo, 2009; Silk, Morris, Kanaya, & Steinberg, 2003). However, parents who refuse to grant autonomy and instead adopt a parenting style based on authoritarian control, risk inducing elevated symptoms of internalization, such as depression and withdrawal, in their children (Suldo, 2009; Silk et al., 2003).

The parent-child relationship and adolescent well-being.

The link between the parent-child relationship and subjective well-being – that is, high life satisfaction and the report of considerably more positive than negative emotions – has been well established with relation to adolescents (Suldo, 2009). Flouri (2004) conducted a longitudinal study with 17,000 British youth and found that a strong relationship with one's mother at the age of 16 predicted life satisfaction at the age of 25. A strong parent-child relationship during adolescence resulted in increased adolescent psychological adjustment and early promotion of physical health, religiosity, and educational attainment, which led to

greater life satisfaction in adulthood (Flouri, 2004). In congruence with these findings were those of Shek (1998), who found that increased parent-child conflict among Chinese teenagers was associated with reduced feelings of life-satisfaction because conflict impaired the development of coping skills and positive mental health.

Within the previously discussed dimensions of a positive parent-child relationship in adolescence – that is, acceptance-involvement, strictness-supervision, and the allowance of psychological autonomy – research has found that the key contributor to adolescent well-being is acceptance and involvement. In particular, there are significant correlations between adolescent-reported life satisfaction and perceptions of parental support, caring, and responsiveness, particularly among younger adolescents (Suldo & Huebner, 2004). Additional research has found that emotional support from parents is critical among at-risk youth, including immigrants, and is even more important than environmental and peer-related factors (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000). This finding is highly relevant when considering the parent-child relationship in relation to refugee children.

The impact of the early parent-child relationship style can also be experienced into adolescence. For example, Priddis and Howieson (2012) conducted research on how an insecure parent-child relationship can impact a child as he or she reaches adolescence. The researchers concluded that one of the underlying factors contributing to anxiety and depression among adolescents was, in fact, an early relationship with an unresponsive and misattuned caregiver

(Priddis & Howieson, 2012). That is, if a young child spent five years or more in an insecure caregiving relationship, even if the relationship was not abusive, that child was at increased risk of developing negative mental health symptoms by early adolescence. Unresponsive parenting can cause a child to experience sadness, isolation, avoidance, negative perception of his or her abilities and worth, and challenges forming relationships with others (Priddis & Howieson, 2012). Together, these factors often go unnoticed and can contribute to feelings of depression and anxiety as the child grows older (Priddis & Howieson, 2012). Thus, it is important to note that the early parent-child relationship can have long-lasting impact on a child's mental health and perception of self and the world.

The Family Refugee Experience

In contrast to the chronological refugee trajectory that was presented previously in this review, De Haene et al. (2007) presented a model tracking the family refugee experience that accounts for the various systemic influences on refugee children. In particular, the authors argued that a family perspective is critical when considering the well-being of refugee children for two primary reasons. Firstly, a family perspective can account for the way in which a family defines psychological well-being and distress, in accordance with particular social and cultural standards (De Haene et al., 2007). Secondly, the family unit is the source of numerous protective and risk factors for refugee children (Almqvist and Broberg, 2003), and a family perspective can provide valuable insight into promoting resilience among refugee children (De Haene et al., 2007). The Family Refugee Experience model contains four intertwined processes. Unlike the

chronological timeline, the intertwining model allows for interaction between pre- and post-migration experiences and an accumulation of stressors (De Haene et al., 2007). The four processes are marginality, traumatisation, uprooting, and acculturation.

Marginality explores the family's history of experiences of marginalization both within its country of origin and within its host country. Traumatisation accounts for experiences of trauma, such as torture, deprivation, and loss. Uprooting refers to disruption and experiences of uncertainty and disempowerment in relation to the future, disintegration of the family unit, challenges within a new environment, and an inability to move forward due to grief. Finally, acculturation explores the adjustment of various family members to the culture of the host country and incongruence between various members' rates of adjustment (De Haene et al., 2007). A family perspective of the refugee experience provides insight into understanding the impact of family processes and relationships on the mental health of refugee children. In particular, each of these four potentially distressing processes can be explored in terms of its impact on a refugee child's family system. By contextualizing the well-being of refugee children within the framework of intertwined migration processes and family functioning, one can better understand the systemic influences on a refugee child in a way that is not possible through the pre-migration, post-migration, and resettlement chronological framework (De Haene et al., 2007). In addition to providing insight into systemic processes, the family refugee model also accounts

for movement patterns during which family members shift between different stages of migration in a non-linear manner.

Challenges to the family process posed by the refugee experience.

Research has documented the importance of the parent-child relationship in buffering refugee children against trauma (Cortes & Buchanan, 2007; Adjukovic & Adjukovic, 1998; De Haene et al., 2007, 2010). However, the refugee experience poses unique challenges to the parent-child relationship. De Haene et al. (2010) wrote:

> While caregiver proximity and availability form essential protective factors in buffering the impact of forced migration in child refugees, the refugee family's capacity for providing this context of emotional responsiveness is precisely what becomes subjected to extreme pressure. (p.251)

Their description captures the stress placed on the attachment system by the refugee experience. In the section below, threats to the refugee parent-child relationship will be discussed, as follows: parental trauma, including maternal depression, family challenges, and acculturation stressors.

Parental trauma.

Parents play a key role in satisfying children's physical needs and providing children with a sense of security and love (Bowlby, 1988; Ahearn & Athey, 1991). In these respects, parents can help to buffer their children against trauma and threats to healthy development. Violence can threaten the parent-child relationship, not only through the possibility of separation and death, but also through parental trauma (Fantino & Colak, 2001; Ahearn & Athey, 1991). Parental trauma can lead to impaired parenting ability and decreased

responsiveness toward a child's need for comfort (De Haene et al., 2010; Ahearn & Athey, 1991). Research on secondary and intergenerational trauma suggests that parental PTSD can have an impact on child IQ (Daud, Skolgund, & Rydelius, 2005). Studies of children born in Sweden after the resettlement of their refugee parents found higher rates of anxiety, depression, post-traumatic stress, attention deficits and behavioural disorders among children of parents with PTSD than among a control group (Daud et al., 2005).

In addition to impacting parental responsiveness, parental trauma can result in reduced parental functioning in other aspects of the parents' lives (Bemak, Chung, & Pedersen, 2003). More specifically, parental trauma can lead to increased difficulties during the resettlement stage, particularly with regard to successfully locating and maintaining employment and accessing other critical resources. In some cases, parental trauma can result in domestic violence that can greatly impair a child's development and functioning (Ahearn & Athey, 1991). If exposure to violence has left a parent psychologically and cognitively impaired, the effects of that trauma are likely to be experienced by the child (Ahearn & Athey, 1991).

Almqvist and Broberg (1997) investigated patterns of silencing and denial among refugee parents, which came to dominate parent-child interactions. In particular, silence and denial began to compromise the parent-child relationship, as parents were not responsive to their children's experiences of trauma and children struggled to generate their own understanding of events without revealing the extent of their distress to their parents. Along similar lines, in their

work with refugees from the Gulf War, Dyregrov et al. (2002) found that parents refused to talk with their children about pre-migration experiences and encouraged their children to move on with their lives. In response to parental silencing, children described feeling "alone with their grief and distress" (p.66). In later research, Almqvist and Broberg (2003) found that maternal trauma led to an erosion of maternal caregiving abilities and maternal self-concept, resulting in the perpetuation of fear within the mother-child relationship. Feelings of fear and decreased responsiveness led to disorganized attachment patterns among children and reinsicribed trauma within the caregiving relationship (Almqvist & Broberg, 2003; De Haene et al., 2010). One of the mechanisms through which maternal trauma leads to impairment of caregiving abilities is maternal depression.

Maternal depression.

Maternal depression can result in decreased social, behavioral, and cognitive functioning throughout the life trajectory of a child (Turney, 2011; Goodman & Gotlib, 2002), a finding likely related to the link between depression and rapid loss of interest, suggesting that depressed mothers have difficulty fully and positively engaging with their children for extended periods of time (Turney, 2011; Lovejoy, Graczyk, O'Hare, & Neuman, 2000). Maternal depression can heavily impact healthy cognitive development in children between the ages of two and four (Petterson & Albers, 2001), and additional research found that children exposed to maternal depression enter school at the age of five with increased behavioral symptoms of internalization and externalization of problems (Turney, 2011). Maternal depression is also associated with adolescent internalizing

symptoms (Hughes & Gullone, 2010). This finding may be explained by the link between maternal depression and lowered maternal parenting self-esteem (Hughes & Gullone, 2010; Rogers & Matthews, 2004), and adolescent exposure to increased interpersonal and non-interpersonal levels of stress (Gershon et al., 2011).

Family challenges.

For children who arrive in resettlement countries with their families, changes within the family fabric can be especially impactful at this time (De Haene et al., 2007; Bemak et al., 2003). Family makeup may have changed due to losses sustained during the migration process. Children may have to adjust to changes in parental roles depending on the employment status of their parents (Bemak et al., 2003). It should be noted that children may come to experience parental hopes as a form of pressure. De Haene et al. (2007) indicated that refugee parents may come to view their children as their hope, which can make the children feel weighed down by familial expectations and obligations.

Additionally, parents may adopt new childrearing practices depending on the standards and laws of resettlement countries, which can result in an altered parent-child relationship to which a child must adapt (De Haene et al., 2007; Bemak et al., 2003). Financial circumstances can be bleak, particularly in the years immediately following resettlement. Securing employment can be challenging for parents for a number of reasons, including language barriers, unrecognized credentials, and pre-migration trauma (Bemak et al., 2003). Poverty

is a risk factor which can become an acute source of psychological distress for resettled refugee children and their parents (Bemak et al., 2003).

Acculturation.

Acculturative stress is the result of attempting to adjust to life in a new country (Bemak et al., 2003). Individuals are forced to synthesize their own identity, beliefs, and behaviours with those of the host culture. Differing rates of acculturation can become a source of family tension, and intergenerational difficulties are well-documented in literature (Bemak et al, 2003; Hyman, Vu, & Beiser, 2000; Seat, 2000). Typically, children are better able to adjust to the norms of a new society, which can strain parent-child relationships and lead to a reversed power dynamic (Fantino & Colak, 2001). Documented anecdotes capture how some children feel ashamed of their parents, who no longer seem competent due to their inability to navigate the new cultural context (Bemak et al., 2003). However, when challenged by their children, parents may feel as though their authority or culture of origin is being undermined, which can lead to conflict and parental rejection, particularly for adolescents (Bemak et al., 2003; Roer-Strier, 1996). Children who choose to adhere solely to traditional family values may risk alienation and rejection from peers (Baffoe, 2007). Consequently, refugee children must navigate a difficult balance between adapting to the norms and customs of their peers in the host society while also remaining adherent to traditional family values and practices (Bemak et al., 2003; Seat, 2000).

Roer-Strier (1996) described three acculturation strategies that are frequently observed within resettled refugee families: the kangaroo strategy, the

cuckoo strategy, and the chameleon strategy. In the kangaroo approach, parents encourage the family to maintain traditional values and roles, and parents are responsible for their children's socialization into the host country. Within these families, changes are minimal. However, children may experience challenges as they try to appease their parents while simultaneously integrating into the host culture (Roer-Strier, 1996). The cuckoo strategy is disorganized, but parents typically maintain traditional views and withdraw as socialization agents in their children's lives. Finally, in the chameleon strategy, parents are able to create space for both their culture of origin and the values and norms of the host culture. Children are encouraged to integrate into the host culture and are able to transition with minimal stress and familial discord (Roer-Strier, 1996). Thus, depending on the acculturation profiles of various families, the acculturation experience can pose minimal to extreme stress within the family unit.

Summary.

The secure parent-child relationship enables children to develop a sense of trust and curiosity about the world. Children build the confidence to explore their environment, comfortable in the knowledge that their caregivers will offer them nurturing, safety, and assistance when necessary. During adolescence, parental acceptance and support is critical and has been linked to positive mental health outcomes among adolescents. When in dangerous environments, as is often the case for refugee children, the caregiving relationship can provide an invaluable buffer against trauma and distress through parental responsiveness, availability, and sensitivity. A strong caregiving relationship among at-risk youth is often a

more significant protective factor than environmental and peer influences. However, the refugee experience can detrimentally impact the parent-child relationship in several ways. Parental trauma can reduce a parent's ability to respond regularly and appropriately to his or her child, and the parent's trauma can thus be transferred to his or her children. Changes within the family, as well as disharmonious acculturation profiles, can increase stress within the parent-child relationship as parents and children attempt to negotiate resettlement challenges.

Hope

Hope is a fundamental human attribute that is essential for life (Stephenson, 1991). Hope has been associated with healthy human development (Erikson, 1964; McGee, 1984), coping and decision-making (Craig & Edwards, 1983; McGee, 1984), and a meaningful life (Crumbaugh & Maholic, 1964; Travelbee, 1971). The study of hope is grounded across several disciplines, including theology, psychology, psychiatry, nursing, and philosophy (Stephenson, 1991). Although there is no single definition of hope, Stephenson (1991) compiled several definitions, including "ambiguous or uncertain expectation of something desired" (Green, 1977) and "a conviction that a good future is possible" (Smith, 1983). According to Jevne and Miller (1999), "hope is looking forward with both confidence and unsureness to something good" (p. 10). When discussing what hope adds to human existence, they wrote: "When we hope, we are willing to get up one more time than we fall down. We are willing to give ourselves one more chance, again and again" (p.11). Farran et al. (1995) described hope as "an essential experience of the human condition…hope has the

ability to be fluid in its expectations, and in the event that the desired…outcome does not occur, hope can still be present" (p. 6). Hope has an enduring quality despite uncertainty and difficulty. Particularly important to the study of hope in refugee populations is the assertion that hope also possesses a universal quality and can be experienced across all groups of people (Jevne & Miller, 1999). Although every person has a different experience of hope, all people possess the capacity to hope and feel hopeful (Jevne & Miller, 1999).

An extensive review by Farran et al. (1995) surveyed the literature on hope and indicated that early hope-based research and theory stemmed from work with physically ill populations. In more recent years, research on hope has been slowly expanding to include additional populations, including immigrants. Khan and Watson (2005), through work with recent immigrants, were able to discern several important characteristics of the hope of immigrants over the course of their immigration experience. This hope evolved from initial goals and dreams to frustration and anger, emerging finally as adjustment and hope for the future (Khan & Watson, 2005). Additional work with immigrants was undertaken by Kausar (2000) in her dissertation, during which she looked at hope among Pakistani immigrants. Her work resulted in a model of hope in which hope phased from diminishing, to recovering, to flourishing (Kausar, 2000). Larsen, Edey, and LeMay (2007) focused on hope within the counselling process and offered a framework to instill, find, and create hope during therapeutic work (Larsen, Edey, & LeMay, 2007).

Theories of hope.

Snyder's hope theory.

Stotland (1969) presented an antecedent to Snyder's more widely known hope model. Stotland, operating within a social psychology framework, presented hope as "an expectation greater than zero of achieving a goal" (p. 2). Within the context of Stotland's definition, high levels of hope can be understood as the perception of increased probability of goal attainment (Snyder, 1995). Stotland suggested that people's levels of hope are most frequently inferred from their behaviors in relation to their goals, and his work emphasized the manner in which goal-related outcomes are cognitively analyzed by individuals (Stotland, 1969).

Snyder (1995) expanded upon Stotland's early theory, also placing great emphasis on goal-related cognitive analysis. Within the context of hope, Synder coined the terms "agency component" and "pathways component" (Snyder, 1995, p. 355). The agency component is defined as one's cognitive willpower to work toward one's goal, while the pathways component is defined as the capacity to generate routes, or pathways, to attain one's goal. Together, agency and pathways constitute the "will and the way" to achieve one's objectives (p. 355). Individuals with high hope possess enhanced agency and pathways in relation to goal-achievement, while those with low hope display a diminished sense of agency and pathways (Snyder, 1995). Thus, Snyder placed hope within a highly cognitive framework and suggested that emotions are simply an indication of people's level of hope – that is, their level of agency and pathways. Individuals with high hope are more likely to approach their goals with positive emotions, whereas

individuals with low hope are more likely to anticipate failure (Snyder, 1995). According to Snyder's model, an individual's hope profile is likely to remain constant regardless of the particular situation at hand. Thus, individuals with high hope – that is, elevated levels of agency and pathways – can provide insight to clinicians on how to build levels of agency and pathways among low-hope clients (Snyder, 1995). Risk factors, as well as factors of resilience, vary dramatically across refugee populations depending on unique personality make-up, and pre- and post-migration experiences (Hooberman, Rosenfeld, Rasmussen & Keller, 2010). However, those refugee with highly adaptive coping styles may also display high levels of hope within the context of Snyder's model.

Duggleby and Wright's model of hope.

Duggleby and Wright (2005) conducted a grounded theory study through which they sought to understand the processes enabling palliative care patients to live with hope. Despite significant reduction of health and levels of physical ability, participants expressed a desire to continue to live each day with hope (Duggleby & Wright, 2005).

The core category that emerged from the researchers' grounded theory analysis was "Transforming Hope" (p.76). Transforming Hope was represented as a dynamic process through which new patterns and understandings of hope were generated within the context of participants' newfound realities. In particular, while patients had initially focused on overcoming their illness and being cured, they now derived hope from making the most of their limited remaining time and from hoping for rewarding futures for their families

(Duggleby &Wright, 2005). Controlled symptoms, spirituality, and the support of loved ones played key roles in helping participants to transform their hope. Additionally, three stages were identified in the process of transforming hope: acknowledging life the way it is, searching for meaning, and positive reappraisal (Duggleby & Wright, 2005). In acknowledging life the way it is, participants engaged with the reality that previous hopes were no longer feasible within their new context, and thus they began to accept their new realities. Participants continued to search for meaning within their lives and frequently found it through reflecting on their accomplishments and the prospect of leaving a legacy. Finally, after accepting their contexts and finding a sense of meaning, participants were able to reappraise and create space for new understandings of hope (Duggleby & Wright, 2005).

Duggleby and Wright's model of hope is of particular relevance to refugee populations, who are frequently exposed to rapidly changing environments. Consistently shifting realities may render early hopes unviable and force individuals to transform their hopes to fit their transforming circumstances. This model, which incorporates both the support of loved ones and the derivation of hope from the future prospects of loved ones, is significant to the understanding of hope within the refugee parent-child relationship.

Farran, Herth, and Popovich's multidimensional model of hope.

Farran et al. (1995) provided a theoretical framework of hope, in which hope is broken down into its attributes. Hope possesses experiential, spiritual, rational and relational processes, which the authors describe as the pain, soul,

mind, and heart of hope, respectively (Farran et al., 1995). The experiential process of hope stems from the experience of hopelessness and powerlessness. Hopelessness and powerlessness over one's circumstances lead to suffering on the physical, psychological, social, and spiritual planes. Examples of such hopeless contexts may include exposure to war, captivity, or life-threatening illness. The experiential process of hope occurs when individuals are able to accept these trials as part of who they are but imagine future possibilities that extend beyond what may initially seem feasible (Farran et al., 1995). The experiential component of hope may be an integral part of the refugee hope process, because of the many challenges faced by refugees.

The spiritual process of hope arises from reassurance derived from organized religion or personal spirituality (Farran et al., 1995). Some argue that faith and hope are inexorably intertwined and that one cannot be sustained without the other. The spiritual underpinnings of hope may include a sense of conviction or certainty in relation to the uncertain and the ability to look beyond the present and form positive and flexible expectations for the future (Farran et al., 1995).

The rational process of hope is derived from consciously thinking of the positive elements of a given situation. Farran, Wilken, and Popovich (1992) posited that hope is associated with available resources, active processes through which individuals pursue their goals, a sense of control over one's circumstances, and one's perspective of time. Thus, a positive and rational outlook in response to varying life circumstances is also related to hope.

Finally, the relational aspect of hope stems from support provided by others (Farran et al., 1995). The relational dimension of hope is of particular relevance to the research of hope within the refugee parent-child relationship. Hope can be experienced through the presence of a loved one and through the awareness that others believe in one's ability to prevail during difficult circumstances (Stotland, 1969). Additionally, according to Erikson (1982), healthy development includes hope, which first presents itself during early caregiving relationships and later in relationships within society.

Summary.

The study of hope has been undertaken across multiple disciplines and has generated varied definitions of the meaning of hope. Hope has been linked to healthy human development and to the process of living a meaningful life. Multiple scholars have generated models of hope, including Snyder, Duggleby and Wright, and Farran et al. (1995). Snyder's hope model deals primarily with agency, the will to work towards a goal, and pathways, the knowledge of routes leading to goals. Individuals with high agency and pathways, regardless of the situation, will display high levels of hope, and study of these individuals may provide insight into how to build hope within low-hope individuals. Duggleby and Wright's model of hope addresses transforming hope, which is a fluid and dynamic process through which hope evolves on the basis of circumstantial factors. This model is significant to refugee populations, who must cope with rapidly shifting environmental factors. Farran et al. situate hope in four processes: the experiential, spiritual, rational, and relational. The relational

attribute of hope is relevant to research exploring experiences of hope within the parent-child relationship.

Hope among children.

In relation to enhancing the psychological well-being of children, the majority of research has historically been focused on psychopathology in an effort to better understand problematic behaviors and low levels of adjustment (Kirschman, Johnson, Bender, & Roberts, 2009). However, more recent attempts have been made to study and build upon competencies and strengths within children and their families through positive psychology (Kirschman et al., 2009). Positive psychology is understood as the process of "facilitating good lives, or…enabling people to be at their best" (Linley, Joseph, Maltby, Harrington, & Wood, 2009, p. 35). Such broad-based definitions encompass the study of such positive human experiences as optimism, growth-finding, and hope (Kirschman et al., 2009).

Hope among children has been studied across several populations, including students, pediatric populations, and at-risk youth (Kirschman et al., 2009). Research has found that hope is correlated with academic achievement. In a study by Worrell and Hale (2001), teenagers with high levels of hope were more likely to remain in school than their counterparts with low levels of hope. Other research has found that adolescents with high and average levels of hope experience higher levels of adjustment and lower levels of academic and psychological distress than adolescents with low hope levels. Also, those with high and average levels of hope received higher grades than those with low hope

(Gilman, Dooley, & Florell, 2006). Additional research on hope and academics has found that hope is a significant predictor of academic success in core subject areas (Marques, Pais-Ribeiro, & Lopez, 2011) and that children with high hope are able to use experiences of failure adaptively as compared to their low-hope peers, for whom failure becomes a source of anxiety, self-doubt, and rumination (Onwuegbuzie & Daley, 1999).

Barnum, Snyder, Rapoff, Mani, and Thompson (1998) studied hope among burn victims to better understand whether hope is a protective factor against the challenges posed by physical injury. The researchers matched a group of burn victims to a control group on the basis of demographic and social variables and discovered that, in both groups, high levels of hope became a predictor of low levels of externalizing behaviors and that feelings of self-worth were enhanced by hope and social support (Barnum et al., 1998). Interestingly, the overlap between hope and social support in creating self-worth supports the inclusion of a relational dimension of hope as proposed in the multidimensional model of Farran et al. (1995). In a study with children who had sickle-cell disease, Lewis and Kliewer (1996) found that children with high hope were able to use effective coping strategies, which in turn reduced their levels of anxiety. Another study, conducted by Berg, Rapoff, Snyder, and Belmont (2007), investigated the relationship between level of hope and adherence to a daily asthma medication regimen among asthmatic children. Hope was found to be the only significant variable in predicting levels of adherence to medication regimen. Together, these results suggest that hope plays an important role in the lives of

sick children and can be critical in helping children manage life stressors and treatment regimens.

In their research with at-risk youth, Hagen, Myers, and Mackintosh (2005) worked with children of incarcerated women to understand the relationship between hope, social support, and levels of maladjustment. The researchers found a positive correlation between hope and perceived social support and a negative correlation between hope and internalizing or externalizing behaviors (Hagen et al., 2005). After additional variables were controlled for, hope continued to predict low levels of problematic behaviors. Wilson, Syme, Boyce, Battistich, and Selvin (2005) found a relationship between low levels of hope and elevated levels of substance abuse.

Through a more general lens, research investigating the role of hope in the lives of children has found that hope is associated with positive self image (Snyder et al., 1991), reduced depressive symptoms (Kwon, 2000), and increased problem-solving abilities (Snyder et al., 1997). Children with high levels of hope display higher levels of optimism and are able to pursue goals while concentrating on success rather than failure (Snyder et al., 1997). Hope has also been correlated with purpose in life (Feldman & Snyder, 2005).

Hope among refugee children.

Research on the refugee experience of hope has started to emerge, but it remains limited. Much of the existing research focuses on hope among refugee children and youth. Yohani (2008) studied the creation of an ecology of hope through arts-based intervention with refugee children. The author described the

use of Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory of child development to facilitate children's development of hope through the process of participating in "meaningful activities that in turn contribute to psychosocial development" (Yohani, 2008, p. 312). According to this study, refugee children can enhance their hope by engaging in hope-building arts-based activities and having those activities shared with parents and school staff in the context of meaningful dialogues about what supports and challenges their hope (Yohani, 2008). Yohani and Larsen (2009) explored hope-engendering sources with both refugee and immigrant children. They found that hope in refugee children was comprised of two different but related aspects: an enduring core and hope-engendering sources. Hope-engendering sources were processes from which the children drew resources, and included self-empowering activities and significant relationships with others and the natural world. These two aspects of hope were reciprocally related, in that hope-engendering sources strengthened the core of hope and vice versa (Yohani & Larsen, 2009). Kanji and Cameron (2010) studied resilience among refugee Afghani youth from the Ismaili community. From their sample, they found that these adolescents derived strength from sources including their religious faith, and from relationships with close family members. These particular findings fall within the framework proposed by Farran et al. (1995), wherein hope possesses both a spiritual and a relational dimension.

In a recent study, Eggerman and Panter-Brick (2010) conducted interviews with over 1,000 children and their caregivers in war-torn regions of Afghanistan in order to determine the challenges that they faced and how participants

maintained hope in the face of these challenges. The researchers found that the greatest challenges identified by caregivers were eroded infrastructure, including a dysfunctional economy, healthcare system, and social structure. Children identified poverty and barriers to education as key challenges. Primary sources of hope for this population included faith, perseverance, morality, service, and family unity (Eggerman & Panter-Brick, 2010), which again suggests that hope has a spiritual and a relational element.

Hinton-Nelson, Roberts, and Snyder (1996) explored the relationship between hope and exposure to violence among at-risk youth living in high crime neighbourhoods. Their research found that youth were able to maintain high levels of hope as long as their exposure to violence was indirect. Youth with high levels of hope of were less likely to predict that they would die a violent death. However, those youth who had been directly exposed to violence had the lowest levels of hope and believed that they would die violently (Hinton-Nelson et al., 1996). Although this research was not conducted specifically with refugee youth, it does provide insight into the impact of violence on hope, which is highly relevant to the experiences of young refugees. In particular, these findings suggest that direct exposure to violence can threaten feelings of hope among refugee children, which can subsequently lead to a negative view of the future.

Although limited, this body of literature indicates that the hope of refugee children can be studied, conceptualized, and enhanced, and that hope is an integral part of the well-being of all children. Hope among adult refugee populations may look similar to the aforementioned conceptualizations of hope among immigrant

populations, as there is likely considerable overlap between the cultural and social challenges faced by refugees and immigrants after migration, particularly when migration is forced for economic or social reasons.

Hope and caregiving.

The relational theme repeatedly emerges in the study of hope. According to Farran et al. (1995), one of the fundamental attributes of hope is its relational nature. The authors grounded this attribute in Erikson's theory of development, wherein a child's hope is based first on trusting interactions with a caregiver (Erikson, 1982). It is this trust that enables hope and allows children to explore the world and take on challenges and throughout their lives (Erikson, 1982). They also suggested that hope exists between persons and, as such, is influenced by interactions with others. Hope can be influenced by the presence of another, by positive regard, and by the confidence of others in one's ability to weather adverse circumstances (Farran et al, 1995). Snyder, Rand, and Sigmon (2005) found that parents could help their children develop hopeful ways of thinking through responsiveness, granting autonomy, and helping children to set goals. Padilla-Walker, Hardy, and Christensen (2011) investigated the role of hope as a mediating variable between feelings of connectedness to a parent and positive behavioral outcomes. Results from 489 adolescents indicated that hope did in fact mediate the link between feelings of connectedness to a parent, as reported by the adolescent, and positive adolescent outcomes in school and in prosocial behavior (Padilla-Walker et al., 2011), suggesting the importance of hope and closeness within the caregiving relationship.

Hope and the refugee caregiving relationship.

Much literature on hope in refugee caregiving relationships focuses once again on children. In a literature review on hope within a relational context, Yohani (2008) discussed relational hope specifically as it applies to children. In addition to Erikson's theory of development, she suggested that feeling connected to important people is paramount to the hope of children and youth, and that hopeful interactions with others are also critical to healthy child development (Yohani, 2008). Yohani and Larsen (2009) found that relationships with others were hope-engendering sources to refugee children. Upon further analysis, they found these relationships to be a source of hope for three reasons: they provide a reliable presence, a sense of reciprocity, and unconditional support. Interestingly, many children continued to treasure memories of caregivers who were no longer physically present, suggesting the enduring strength of hope associated with meaningful relationships (Yohani & Larsen, 2009). This latter finding resonates with the findings of Cortes and Buchanan (2007), who studied mechanisms of resilience among former Colombian child soldiers. One particularly strong buffer against the development of PTSD was a relationship with a caregiver, the memory of which continued to provide the child with hope even after the caregiver was no longer physically present (Cortes & Buchanan, 2007).

Research on hope among refugee parents is noticeably absent in the literature; however, Yohani (2008) briefly explored this area when sharing the results of her arts-based intervention with the parents of the children with whom she worked. Her results indicated that prior to seeing their children's work, many

parents seemed hopeless and focused only on the challenges they and their children were facing. Of particular concern to parents was whether their children could feel hopeful if their parents felt so overwhelmed and hopeless. Upon learning about their children's experiences and perceptions of hope through their children's hope-based project, however, parents began to express more hope and felt empowered by their children's vision of the future (Yohani, 2008). This finding hearkens back to the relational aspect of hope and how the hope of one can influence the hope of another. It is also highlights the importance of understanding hope in the context of the parent-child relationship.

Summary.

Hope is important to the psychological well-being of children and helps children develop feelings of self-worth and optimism, even during challenging times. Hope also plays a role in feelings of connectedness to parents, which can result in positive mental health outcomes for children. In the body of research on hope within refugee populations, particular focus has been given to hope among refugee children, as hope is critical to healthy child development. A repeatedly emerging theme within this research is the importance of significant caregiving relationship to the hope of refugee children, which is fostered through the presence and support of caregiving figures. There is indication that this type of hope is enduring and can transcend even physical separation between child and caregiver. Although there is a noticeable lacuna in the research on the impact of relational hope on refugee adults, it appears that the hope of their children can inspire feelings of hope within parents as well.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This study endeavored to generate a rich understanding of sources of hope within the lives of Afghani Ismaili refugee parent-child pairs and hope-enhancing and hope-threatening variables within the parent-child relationship. A qualitative, case-study methodology, situated within a constructivist paradigm, was used to guide this research. Data were collected through photo-assisted interviews conducted with parents and children. A review of secondary sources of information was also conducted in order to create a contextual backdrop of relevant historical and socio-cultural information on the Afghani population. The following chapter will review, in detail, the theory and rationale underlying use of a qualitative case study approach. Procedures surrounding recruitment, data collection, data analysis, study evaluation, and ethical conduct will also be explained. The previously mentioned secondary review of sources will also be included at the end of this chapter, in order to provide readers with additional context on participants.

Qualitative Research

Qualitative methodology was selected for this study in order to generate a rich and in-depth description of the experiences of Afghani Ismaili refugee parents and children. According to Merriam (2009), there are four primary characteristics of qualitative research that remain relatively constant across specific qualitative methodologies. Firstly, qualitative research aims to understand the phenomenon or experience of interest from the perspective of the

participant, not the researcher. Secondly, in qualitative research, the researcher becomes a human instrument through which data are collected and processed (Merriam, 1998). Whereas other forms of research may use computerized systems to generate and store data, qualitative data are generated through a living person, whose experiences and context differentiate him or her from an inanimate data-gathering inventory. Thirdly, qualitative research typically involves fieldwork - that is, going into the field in order to understand a phenomenon within its natural context. Finally, qualitative research is primarily inductive. It attempts to generate and build theory and abstraction where none exists, rather than use a hypothesis to guide and test a given theory (Merriam, 1998).

Richards and Morse (2007) suggest that there are several primary considerations that may lead a researcher to employ qualitative research methods. Firstly, qualitative methods may be appropriate if the research is focused on an area about which very little is known. Additionally, if the research is seeking to understand a complex and shifting phenomenon without undermining or simplifying it, then a qualitative method may be employed. Finally, qualitative studies are used to generate understanding of the participants' perspectives or to generate theory based on lived experience of reality (Richards & Morse, 2007). The present research used a qualitative research methodology because the primary objective was to gain an understanding, from the perspectives of Ismaili Afghani refugee participants, of the ways in which hope is enhanced and threatened in the caregiving relationship. This is an area about which little is known and where there is no existing theory in place. In particular, there is extremely limited

research on the experiences of Afghani refugees from the Ismaili community and no research looking at the parent-child relationship within this population. Therefore, the present study seeks to generate understanding pertaining to a population that has been largely excluded from the overarching body of literature on the lived experiences of refugees. Gaining insight into the lived experiences of Ismaili Afghani refugees is valuable not only because it will add to the canon of literature on refugee narratives, but also because it will create a clearer understanding of the strengths and needs of this particular population, with potential applications to enhancing the well-being of these individuals.

Thus, the present study aimed to understand the experience of hope for Ismaili Afghani refugee parent-child dyads through (a) a focus on sources of hope for the parent and the child as individuals, and (b) a focus on hope-enhancing and hope-threatening variables within the caregiving relationship.

Constructivist paradigm.

According to Ponterotto and Grieger (2007), "owning one's own perspective" constitutes a critical component to the writing of qualitative research (p. 413). The process of taking ownership of perspective involves the researcher identifying his or her own theoretical orientation and personal connections to the research at hand. As a researcher, I situate myself within a constructivist framework and have used this framework to guide me in generating an understanding of the unique realities of refugee parents and children. In order to clarify the underpinnings of the constructivist paradigm, the characteristics of constructivism will be compared to the characteristics of positivism, used in

quantitative research. Constructivism and positivism differ in terms of ontology, researcher role, and method (Ponterotto & Grieger, 2007). In terms of ontology, which deals with the nature of reality, positivism is aligned with the notion of one true, objective reality, while constructivism argues that reality is socially constructed and that multiple valid realities can exist simultaneously (Ponterotto & Grieger, 2007). By way of researcher role, positivism suggests that the researcher should be detached and objective. Constructivism requires an interactive researcher, and the nature of the researcher-participant interaction is a key factor in determining the richness of the data. Methodologically, the positivist paradigm uses exclusively quantifiable conditions, with manipulated and dependent variables that are carefully monitored and measured. The constructivist paradigm generates data through interaction, co-construction, and interpretation of a wide variety of texts (Ponterotto & Grieger, 2007). Thus, unlike positivist approaches that seek to dismantle phenomena into their components and study each part as an objective variable, constructivist research attempts to understand how social phenomena operate as whole entities in their natural environment, with minimal interference from external factors (Merriam, 1998).

The researcher's position within the constructivist paradigm.

As previously stated, within the constructivist paradigm, multiple realities can exist simultaneously and data is generated through a process of co-construction between researcher and participants (Ponterotto & Grieger, 2007). Thus, the researcher's context is inextricably linked to the data that is produced.

The knowledge generated by this study is not attempting to identify experiences that are objectively true or universal to all refugee parents and children but, rather, to generate as accurate as possible an understanding of the distinct experiences and realities of the particular participants involved within this research. Because the constructivist framework posits that multiple realities can exist together, the findings of this study in no way attempt to refute or undermine the validity of the experiences of other refugee parent child pairs whose realities are not represented within this research. Instead, I, as a researcher, have attempted to grasp and represent the realities of the participants involved as fully as I am able to, while acknowledging that their realities do not represent the lived experiences of all individuals from a similar context.

Additionally, as a researcher involved in a highly interpretive and co-constructive process, it is important to note that my experiences and my context have shaped the data generated within this research. Within the constructivist framework, I have influenced the data through my own interactions with the participants, as well as the layer of interpretation that I have added to the data that I gathered. The constructivist researcher is not an objective scientist, but an instrument of the research itself, and researcher context and biases will mold the data throughout the research process. Because of researcher influence and interpretation, it may never be fully possible to truly represent the realities of participants as those realities are experienced and lived; however, by owning my own interaction with the data, I hope to provide insight into the nature of the knowledge that I am generating.

I am a twenty-four year old East Indian Ismaili female and a first generation Canadian. My parents, both of whom were born in East Africa, were expelled from Uganda in 1972 and left the country as part of the mass exodus of East Asians who were forced to create new lives in new places. Unlike many others in their position, my parents were fortunate enough to be able to pursue post-secondary degrees in the United Kingdom. When my parents finally arrived in Edmonton, Alberta in 1977, my father had completed his medical degree and began his residency at the University of Alberta. Although my parents arrived as Canada as stateless individuals, they had enjoyed educational opportunities that many others from similar backgrounds never would and quickly achieved a position of financial security in their new country. Additionally, soon after their arrival, my father was appointed to a position of leadership within the Ismaili community in Edmonton. No doubt through their own experiences, my parents learned the value of education and encouraged my sister and me to pursue the best educational opportunities. Thus, although refugee and immigrant experiences are components of my own family history, my family's trajectory has been very different from the trajectories of many other families resettling in Canada. This recognition of multiple experiences and realities within the broader refugee context has helped me to situate myself within the constructivist paradigm.

This research endeavored to better understand the experience of hope within two Afghani Ismaili refugee parent-child pairs. I have grown up within the Ismaili community and consider belonging to this community a cornerstone of my identity. Although I am a member of the same community as my participants, in

my experience, interaction between East Indian and Central Asian Ismailis has been limited. My desire to undertake this research stemmed from my own motivation to better understand the experiences of members of a community to which I belong, but from whom I have been separated by invisible social structures. Additionally, though my family's experiences may have been quite different from the experiences of many other refugees and newcomers to Canada, the history of expulsion and statelessness within my family and the broader Ismaili community has led me to attempt to understand some of the lived realities of those forced to flee their countries of origin.

Contextualizing the Approach

Case study.

Beneath the umbrella of qualitative research, there are a number of distinct qualitative methodologies. This study employs a case study methodological approach. The case study is unique in that it analyzes and generates a rich description of a single unit, or a bounded system. A case study is carried out to "gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning for all involved" within the unit or system of interest (Merriam, 1998, p. 19). The unit or system in question can vary greatly across case study research, but might be an individual, a family, a program, a school, a school system, or a community (Merriam, 1998). Merriam (1998) suggested that it is the bounded system that is the defining characteristic of case study research, as compared to other research with a general focus of study. If the object or area of interest cannot be somehow fenced in, that is, if there is no theoretical ceiling to the number of possible data sources, then the

appropriate methodology will not be a case study. Stake (1995) suggested that while a classroom of students, a school, or even a school system, could be classified as a case, educational policy reform or the rationale behind creative teaching could not be studied as cases because the number of potential data sources is infinite. According to Merriam, there are three unique characteristics of case studies. Firstly, they are particularistic, meaning that they focus on a very specific experience, phenomenon, or situation. Secondly, case studies generate a rich, or thick, description of the bounded system by involving and exploring as many variables as possible within that case. Thirdly, case study research can generate new understanding for readers by bringing to light new meaning or confirming what was already known (Merriam, 1998). Yin (2003) suggested that a case study attempts to study a "contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context," especially when the phenomenon cannot be differentiated or removed from its context. He also suggested that the case study is most useful when asking a "how" or "why" question about a set of events (Yin, 2003).

Single or multiple case design.

Case studies can be used in either a single or a multiple case design (Yin, 2003). The single case design is most useful when attempting to study a particularly unique case or a case that is typical and representative of the situation or experience being studied. Multiple case designs are useful when attempting to replicate, theoretically or literally, findings that can be used to bolster a theoretical framework (Yin, 2003). Within single case designs, case studies can be either holistic or embedded case designs (Yin, 2003). A holistic design is employed

when there is a single unit of analysis that will be examined globally, while an embedded design is employed when there are logical, multiple subunits embedded within the single case (Yin, 2003). The present research wa ans embedded, single-case design that exmined the experience of hope within the parent-child relationship in Afghani Ismaili refugee families.

Unit of analysis.

According to Yin (2003), one of the greatest challenges in case study research is defining what the actual case, or bounded system, will be. As noted above, the case can vary across research. Yin suggested that the research question must ultimately guide the identification of the unit of analysis. The present research attempted to generate a thick description of how hope is experienced within Afghani refugee parent-child dyads. Thus, the broad case for the present research was examining how hope is experienced within the Afghani refugee caregiving relationship, and the case unit was comprised of the two dyads being interviewed. Within this broader case, each dyad represented an embedded subunit, which indicates that the research attended not only to the overarching case of hope within the Afghani refugee caregiving relationship, but also to the dynamics within each parent-child pair.

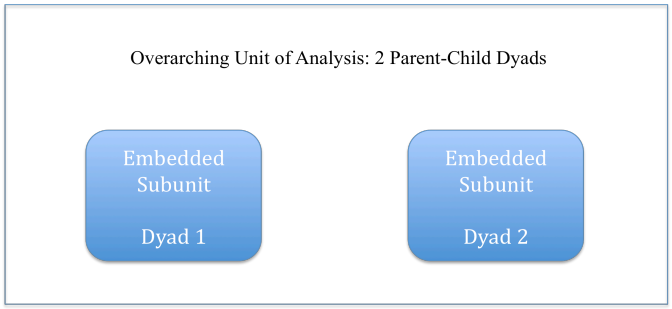

Figure 1. Representation of unit of analysis.

Hermeneutic photography.

Case study research does not specify one particular approach to data collection. Instead, case study methodology encourages the use of many sources of evidence, which can include interviews, observation, and physical artifacts (Yin, 2003). Because no data collection protocol is clearly prescribed and because of the emphasis on collection of multiple sources of data, hermeneutic photography was borrowed from phenomenology as an additional guiding framework for data collection within this study. More specifically, photographs and photo-assisted interviewing were used in the data gathering process. Within the hermeneutic framework, everything can be treated as text, from situation to photography to artistic expression (Ricoeur, 1981). At their most basic level, photographs provide documentation of visual experience and can be used to generate dialog during an interview (Hagedorn, 1994). However, hermeneutic photography understands a photograph as a text capable of generating insight into the human experience (Hagedorn, 1994). Hagedorn (1994) wrote: "Hermeneutic photography explicates the importance of seeing and interpretation and enables one to understand experience by grasping the symbols that reflect experience" (p. 46).

Photography in research has been used with a myriad of populations, including children (Parkins, 1997), individuals with learning disabilities (Aldridge, 2007), and cross-cultural populations (Kanji, 2009; Ziller, Vern & de Santoya, 1988; Okura, Ziller, & Hosawa, 1986). There are several ways in which photography can be used in research, but literature suggests that photographs

coupled with interview narratives will yield the richest data and establish the meaning of images to participants (Parkins, 1997; Hagedorn, 1994; Schwartz, 1989; English, 1988; Weiser, 1988). Hagedorn (1994) emphasized that photographs open expression by "capturing human experience as lived…the images captured in photography invite people to take the lead in inquiry, facilitating their discussion of an experience" (Hagedorn, 1994, p. 47). Thus, she viewed photography as a technique to enrich information gathered during interview. Schwartz wrote that it is participants who give meaning to photographs through their stories, again highlighting the critical interactive element of using photography in qualitative research (Schwartz, 1989). According to Weiser (1988), individual photographs present layers of potential discussion. It is through dialogue about images that people are able to unfold meaning and shed light on their personal values, experiences, and symbols (Weiser, 1988). Also, when working with younger children, photographs can be used to provide concrete reference points during discussion (Hogan, 1981). Thus, this research used photography as a means of yielding rich narratives from participants and enabling participants to generate insight into their own experience.

In summary, past research has indicated that hermeneutic photography is particularly useful in enriching data obtained during interviews. Photography has also been useful in work with children and cross-cultural populations as it not only provides concrete visual aids, but also because it allows participants to document their experiences through a non-verbal modality. Because the present research engaged both children and adults from a cross-cultural population and

aimed to generate a rich understanding of their experiences, hermeneutic photography was a useful and appropriate method of data collection.

Data Gathering

As per guidelines provided by Merriam (2009), the sample was selected through non-probability sampling, also discussed by Patton (2002) as "purposeful" sampling (p. 77). Non-probability or purposeful sampling posits that in order to gain an extensive and deep understanding of an experience, the researcher must select an informative sample from which much can be learned (Merriam, 2009). These selected samples facilitate greater understanding of the experience being studied.

Inclusion criteria.

Participants for this study consisted of two Afghani Ismaili refugee parent-child dyads. One was a father (Walid) and his 15-year old daughter (Zohra), and the second dyad was a mother (Deeba) and her 13-year old daughter (Samira). The sample size was based on both feasibility and a projected sample size required to attain a rich description of hope in the parent-child relationship (Merriam, 2009).

Principle inclusion criteria were as follows: each parent was (a) an Ismaili Muslim Afghan refugee, (b) permanently resettled here in Canada, (c) had a child between the ages of 10 and 15 who was born either in Canada or elsewhere, (d) consented to the researcher interviewing his/her child separately, and (e) consented to audio recording interviews with both parent and child. Children who

assented to participate and whose parents met criteria (a) through (e) met inclusion criteria for this study.

Recruitment.

Participants were recruited through His Highness Prince Aga Khan Shia Imami Ismaili, Council for Edmonton (herein referred to as the Ismaili Council for Edmonton). The Chairperson of the Settlement Committee of the Ismaili Council for Edmonton was given a copy of my letter of initial contact and made contact with Afghani families within the community who met the inclusion criteria for this study. The liaison contacted potential participants by telephone or in person, gave them the letter of initial contact (Appendix A), and asked whether they consented, on behalf of themselves and their child, for me to make contact with them.

The liaison then passed on the contact information of consenting families, and I contacted the families to arrange a meeting time at a place that was chosen by the study participants. At this initial meeting, the details of the study were discussed extensively, and participants were given an opportunity to ask any questions they had. Participants were also made aware that they could ask questions and withdraw their consent at any point during the research process. Parent and child information forms (Appendix B) were distributed. These forms contained information on the nature of the study and the data collection process, including audio recording and data handling, the time required by participants for the interviews, the photography process, the use of interpreters and the risks and benefits associated with participating in the study. Consent forms (Appendix C),

available in both English and Farsi, were reviewed and signed. Both participants chose to review and sign the English form. Disposable cameras were then distributed.

Previous work with this population has found that written consent is not always the preferred mode of providing consent (Kanji, 2009). If participants had been unwilling to sign consent forms and preferred to offer verbal consent, then audio-recorded verbal consent would have been obtained. If participants had not wished to have their consent audio recorded, then a protocol utilized by Kanji (2009) would have been followed, wherein I would have documented the details of the verbal consent and those present at its offering. However, all participants were willing to review and sign the consent forms. Furthermore, all participants were comfortable conversing in English and declined the use of an interpreter.

Data collection.

As case studies encourage the use of multiple sources of information, data for this study was collected from both primary and secondary sources of information. Primary sources, which will be discussed in more detail later in this section, were photo-assisted interviews conducted with parents and children. Secondary sources of information consisted of the previous chapter's literature review on refugee mental health, hope, and caregiving. In addition, through review of existing documents, supplemental information was sought on the historical and socio-cultural context of the Afghani people. This latter base of information was used to further contextualize participants' experiences and findings from this study.

Data collection was conducted over a 6 month period. Primary data was collected through semi-structured, photo-assisted, person-to-person interviews. Parents and children were interviewed separately for data collection purposes. Data collection was divided into two phases: photo gathering and preparation, and one-on-one photo-assisted interviewing.

Phase I: Photo gathering and preparation.

Initial meetings were scheduled at locations that were convenient to participants. I met with one dyad at a coffee shop and the other dyad at a mosque library after religious services. During the initial meeting, I explained the study to the parent and the child and answered any questions they asked. Consent and assent forms were signed, and participants were informed that they could choose to leave the study at any time with no consequence. Then, the parent and the child were each given a Kodak 27 exposure disposable camera to take home and were asked to take pictures capturing what they identified or associated with hope. Explicit instructions were given not to take pictures of people because of ethical requirements to ensure that the identities of individuals who were not involved in the study were protected at all times and kept confidential from the research team. However, participants were informed that they could take pictures that represented people, as long as no identifying variables were captured. At this meeting, it was decided that participants would communicate with me via text messaging to let me know when they were finished with their cameras. Text messaging was the form of communication requested by participants, as they indicated that it was the most convenient way for them to be reached. The time to

complete the photo-gathering phase varied among participants, ranging from two weeks to almost two months. After participants communicated to me that they were finished with their cameras, I picked up the used cameras from participants' homes and had the film developed for use in interviews. For each participant's camera, I obtained two printed sets of photographs, as well as a disc containing digital versions of the photographs. Two sets of photographs were obtained so that the participant and I could each have a set for reference purposes during the interview and so that participants could have a set to keep following the interview. Digital versions of the images were used for integration into the findings chapter of this thesis. Prior to conducting the photo-assisted interviews, I numbered both sets of prints for each participant so that copies of the same print were assigned the same number. This method of numbering was used so that participants could to refer to photographs by number during the interview and so I would be able to locate the identical photograph in my set of prints.

Phase 2: Photo-assisted interviews.

Interviews were set up at the earliest conveniences of the research participants after their photographs were developed, and scheduling was conducted via text messaging and phone conversations. In the case of both dyads, parent and child interviews were conducted on the same day. Time between the development of the photographs varied for each pair. For the first dyad, interviews were conducted approximately one month after photographs were developed. For the second dyad, however, there were some scheduling and availability challenges. As such, the interviews were conducted approximately

four months after photographs were ready. Photo-assisted interviews were conducted at locations selected by participants. The researcher met with one dyad at their home and another dyad at a coffee shop.

Parent photo-assisted interview. (Appendix D1)

As described previously in this chapter, photo-assisted interviews were used in order to yield rich data through discussion of personally-captured images. During the parent interview, the parent was asked to reflect on his or her images and share the stories behind them. Questions such as: "What is the story behind this picture?" and "Describe how this picture says something about your hope" were asked (Yohani, 2008). The parents were also asked about their relationship with their child through questions such as "Can you tell me some of the strengths of your relationship with your child?" and "What are some of the ways in which your child makes you feel hopeful?" As per the flexible nature of semi structured interviews, focusing questions were asked about material raised during the interview (Merriam, 2009). As a final question, to gauge the emphasis parents placed on sources of hope within their lives, parents were asked which photograph they would carry with them on a long journey if they could take only one.

Child photo-assisted interview. (Appendix D2)

As with the parents, photo-assisted interviews were used to encourage depth and to provide the children with concrete reference points during the interview. Each child was asked to reflect on her images and share the stories behind them. Questions such as "What is the story behind this picture?" and "Describe how this picture says something about your hope" were asked (Yohani,

2008). The objective was to gain a rich understanding of the child's sources of hope and her own hope for herself. Questions also focused the child's experience of her relationship with her parent through questions such as "Can you tell me what is important or special to you in your relationship with your parent?" and "Can you tell me about a time when you were feeling upset and your parent was able to make you feel better or more hopeful?" As a final question, to gauge the emphasis children placed on sources of hope within their lives, the children were asked which photograph they would carry with them on a long journey if they could take only one (Parkins, 2004).

Data Analysis

The analysis of transcribed photo-assisted interviews for this study followed the method for thematic analysis proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006). According to Braun and Clarke (2006), "thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (p. 79) and can be used across epistemologies in an inductively or theoretically driven manner. More specifically, the present study used a constructivist, inductive approach to data analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This approach means that the generated themes sought to explore socio-cultural context and structures, and the themes generated were driven directly by the data, not by pre-existing theoretical frameworks. Although thematic analysis is an inherently flexible approach to data analysis, it is critical for qualitative researchers to be able to articulate the steps underlying their process of analysis and answer questions relating to why and how they chose to handle data as they did (Attride-Stirling, 2001). In light of

limited instruction on the stages underlying thematic analysis, Braun and Clarke's six steps were used to guide the process of thematic analysis. This was deemed helpful given my role as a novice researcher.

Throughout this process, I was attentive to three different levels of analysis: analysis within the overarching case, analysis within each embedded subunit, and analysis across embedded subunits (Figure 1). Themes generated within the overarching case were those discussed by all four participants. Themes emerging from within embedded subunits were specific to each individual dyad, and themes emerging from cross-subunit analysis were discussed only by parents or children.

Phases of data analysis.

Phase 1: Becoming familiar with the data.

During the first stage of thematic analysis, the researcher must immerse himself or herself in the data by actively re-reading transcripts. Active re-reading implies that the researcher should be searching for patterns within the data and making notes relating to initial ideas and coding possibilities. The objective of immersion in the data is to become extremely familiar with multiple aspects of the data, including depth and breadth (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As such, after transcribing each interview, I familiarized myself with the content by re-reading transcripts and taking initial notes that also served as the beginning of an ongoing process of data analysis. I also kept a research journal, in which I made notes and memos recording initial thoughts and questions about my data.

Phase 2: Generating initial codes.

In Phase 2, preliminary codes are generated through systematic and thorough review of the data. Each portion of the data set is given equal attention. A code is defined as the most basic chunk of data that bears relevance to the research question and identifies some characteristic of the data that is interesting or significant to the researcher. Coding is the initial process in thematic analysis, as it marks the beginning of organizing data into meaningful categories (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For the current research, I used manual coding during this stage. In manual coding, notes are written on the transcript, and different coloured highlighters are used to indicate patterns and meaningful segments of data. Thus, I highlighted each chunk of data, made a note of the meaning of that unit of data, and then assigned a code to that segment. For example, during one interview, a participant spoke about how she derived hope from the actions and guidance of her spiritual leader. As the unit of meaning, I noted that this participant viewed her spiritual leader as a source of hope. I then assigned this data chunk the code "Religious Leader and Hope." As per the recommendations of Braun and Clarke, I generated as many codes as possible during this phase, keeping surrounding contextual information whenever possible.

Phase 3: Searching for themes.

A theme is defined as a construct that "captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of *patterned* response or meaning within the data set" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82). The appropriate level of abstraction for a theme must be determined by researcher

judgment, as there are no clearly established rules or guidelines. In order to generate themes, codes must be organized into overarching thematic groups. In the current research, I printed out a list of codes and cut it into strips, such that each strip of paper contained the name of a code. These strips of paper were then organized into groups. For example, the previously mentioned code, "Religious Leader and Hope," was eventually collapsed into the theme "Faith and Hope." Not all groups named at this level did go on to become themes: Some became sub-themes, others were divided into multiple themes, and others were even eliminated. As outlined by Braun and Clarke, this phase of analysis was the beginning of identifying potential relationships between codes and themes, but themes were refined later in the analysis process.

Phase 4: Reviewing themes.

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), the objective of this phase is to refine themes by collapsing, dividing, or eliminating those themes that no longer seem viable as they are. This phase is divided into two stages. In the first stage, the researcher must return to his or her coded data and review whether thematically grouped data do, in fact, form meaningful patterns and whether the themes reflect the content of the data. If meaningful patterns are found, then the researcher can move on to the second stage. If not, however, then the researcher must address the situation by reworking and refining themes. During this process, I renamed several themes. Some themes were removed, while others were combined together. For example, while "Hope for the Future" was originally a stand-alone theme for both children in the study, during this stage, it was

collapsed into the theme "The Caregiving Relationship." The objective of this phase, according to Braun and Clarke, is to ensure that the thematic analysis fits the complexity of the data. Once this process was complete, I moved on to the second stage, which involved considering the appropriateness of themes in relation to the entire data set. Although new themes could have been created if they have been overlooked, I did not create any new themes during this stage, as I felt that the thematic map generated adequately represented the nuances of the entire data set.

Phase 5: Defining and describing themes.

During this phase, the researcher must refine and label themes according to the essence of what they capture in the data. When describing a theme, the researcher should focus not only on the theme itself, but should also be framed within the broader narrative at hand. The objective of this phase is to fully understand the themes that have been generated, how themes relate to each other, and to be able to produce a brief description that captures the essence of each theme (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The present study generated eight primary themes across three different levels of analysis. As mentioned previously, these levels of analysis were (a) across all participants, or the overarching case unit, (b) within each individual dyad, or embedded subunit, and (c) parent and child-specific, or across embedded subunits. All four participants talked about The Importance of Hope, Hope in the Canadian Context, and The Caregiving Relationship. The first dyad, or subunit, talked about Faith and Hope, and the second dyad talked about Education and Hope. Finally, both parents talked about The Refugee Experience

and Children as a Source of Hope. Both children talked about Hope and the Family Unit.

Phase 6: Writing a report.

The final stage of thematic analysis can be completed only after the researcher is satisfied with his or her themes and fully understands thematic content and relationships. The objective of this phase is to report research findings in a way that adequately captures the thorough nature of the thematic analysis, the complexity and nuances of the data, and the broader narrative being told (Braun & Clarke, 2006). During the writing process, I endeavored to select rich and clear examples, as well as significant photographs, to illustrate themes and relationships between themes. I also sought to frame descriptions within the context of the overarching research questions: (a) from what sources do Ismaili Afghani refugee parents and children derive hope and (b) how is hope enhanced or threatened within the caregiving relationship.

Evaluating the Study

Confirmability.

Confirmability is the extent to which interpretations of the data follow directly from the data and not from the researchers own biases and opinions, which can be a challenge after building extensive rapport with participants (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Confirmability in this study was maintained by my use of a reflective journal, in which my biases could be tracked and reviewed by colleagues and supervisors. Also, existing literature was referenced extensively. However, it is important to note that, within the constructivist paradigm, which

recognizes co-construction of data as a component of the research process, it is inevitable that researcher context and biases did impact the representation of data (Ponterotto & Grieger, 2007). Thus, despite attempts to ensure confirmability, researcher context could not be fully eliminated from the study.

Credibility.

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Merriam (2009), credibility is defined as the congruence between the how the respondent views the world and the researcher's representation of that view. Credibility in this study was assessed by collective parent-child member checks, at which time participants were given an opportunity to respond to the findings and offer their feedback and desired revisions. Peer and supervisor examination were also used (Merriam, 2009). In particular, in addition to regular supervisory meetings, I also participated in a monthly hope-based discussion group with professors, counselors, and other graduate students. During these meetings, I shared my research findings and received feedback and support.

Dependability.

Dependability, or consistency, speaks to whether research findings can be replicated (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 2009). However, as qualitative research within a constructivist paradigm addresses an individual's unique perception of his or her own experiences, successful replication of findings is not the primary objective. Merriam suggests an alternate mode of consistency evaluation: If the study's generated themes are consistent with collected data, then the study can be evaluated as consistent until new findings are able to disprove

what is established in that study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 2009). In order to ensure that the findings were consistent with the data, as previously mentioned, I kept a research journal, in which a detailed account was made of how data was collected and analyzed and how I arrived at the final thematic scheme. This journal, or "audit trail," included details of parent and child interviews, member checks, memos and notes during data analysis, and the evolving categorization of data throughout the research process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 2009, p. 222).

Transferability.

Transferability is the ease with which research findings can be applied to other situations (Merriam, 2009). The sample size of this study (n=2 dyads) is small, which allows for an in-depth and thick description of individuals within a particular context. Providing readers with a thick description and extensive information will allow them to accurately assess the applicability of these research findings to their own situations (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). A rich description also facilitated comparisons with other qualitative research in similar fields in order to determine patterns and strengthen transferability (Merriam, 2009). However, transferring findings to other contexts was not the objective of this research. Instead, this research aimed to represent the realities of the specific individuals who were involved within this study without making claims about the extent to which these findings can be transferred to other populations.

Ethics

Before moving ahead with this study, a detailed proposal was submitted to the Human Ethics Research Online (HERO) for approval. Included with this application were all the necessary initial contact, information, assent, and consent forms (see Appendix A, Appendix B, and Appendix C).

This research project was thought to be relatively risk-free. However, there was the slight potential for sensitive issues to arise during interviews, particularly when speaking with parents about their experience as refugees and their present challenges in a new social and cultural context. Participants were made aware of the content to be discussed beforehand, and information was provided to participants about resources within the Ismaili community, cultural broker agencies, and counselling services where support could be obtained in Edmonton. Informed consent was obtained from parents and assent from children, and all participants were made aware that they could withdraw from the study at any time. The process of ongoing consent was adhered to throughout the research study by checking in with participants at key stages of the research process.

Because the resettled Ismaili Afghani community is small and close-knit, several measures were taken to protect the privacy of participants. No extensive family background or history has been provided on either dyad, in order to keep all identifying information confidential. Pseudonyms were used throughout the write-up process, and codes were used to identify the participant to whom each set of photographs belonged. When selecting photographs to include in the findings chapter, photographs containing identifying variables were omitted.

The research participants in this study were children and adults for whom English was a second language. Thus, the language of the information and assent forms was carefully selected to be simple and straightforward. When speaking with parents and children, equally simple language was used, and information was communicated in several different ways in order to ensure that the participants had a thorough understanding of what was being discussed. Parents and children were given multiple opportunities to ask questions in order to ensure that there had been no miscommunications and that valid consent was obtained.

Broader Context for the Case Study

As noted previously, secondary sources of information to this study included documents on the Shia Imami Ismaili Muslims and documents reviewing the historical context of the Afghani people. To enable a better understanding of the experiences of the research participants, and in preparation for the findings chapter, that information is provided below.

The Shia Imami Ismaili community.

The Shia Imami Ismaili community is a sect of Muslims belonging to the Shia tradition of Islam (Institute of Ismaili Studies [IIS], 2008). Like other Muslims, they subscribe to Allah as the only God, to Prophet Muhammad as the Messenger of God, and to the Quran (IIS, 2008). In addition to these basic tenets, Ismaili Muslims offer allegiance to a living Imam, whom they believe to be the descendant of Prophet Muhammad. At present, the Imam of the Shia Ismailis is His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan, who is the 49th hereditary Imam. There are currently 15 million Ismailis worldwide, in over 25 different countries,

including Canada, the United States, Australia, and countries in Africa, Europe, and Central and Southern Asia (IIS, 2008). The Ismailis have an established social infrastructure, with national, regional and municipal councils in the countries in which they reside (Kanji, 2009).

Historical context of Afghanistan.

Afghanistan, a land-locked country located in Central Asia, is the home country of 22 million people. To the north, it is bordered by Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, to the east and south by Pakistan, and to the west by Iran (Poppelwell, 2007). Islam is the predominant religion in Afghanistan, where 85% of the population are Sunni Muslims and the remaining 15% are Shia Muslim (Poppelwell, 2007). Rates of illiteracy in 2004 were found to be 57% for men and 87% for women. As of 2007, it was estimated that 257 out of 1,000 children died before the age of five, resulting in one of the highest infant mortality rates globally (Poppelwell, 2007).

Conflict within the region of Afghanistan dates back to the time of Alexander the Great, who invaded the region in 340 BC (Robinett, Miller, & Bedunah, 2008). In 1220 AD, the area was conquered by Genghis Khan, who engaged in the destruction of a number of Afghan cities, including Herat and Mazar-e-Sharif (Robinett et al., 2008). In 1747, the country of Afghanistan was founded by Ahmed Shah Durrani, was ruled by Abdul Rahman Khan from 1880 to 1901, and won independence from the British in 1919 (Maley 2006). Beginning in 1933, for a period of almost 40 years, Afghanistan entered a

peaceful and prosperous time under the leadership of King Mohammad Zahir Shah and Prime Minister Daoud Khan (Maley, 2006, Robinett et al., 2008).

Soviet Control (1970 – 1989).

In the late 1970s, the Soviet Union began to take control of Afghanistan. In 1978, the Marxist group, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), carried out a military coup against Prime Minister Daoud, and by 1979, the Soviet military took over the regime (Poppelwell, 2007; Robinett et al., 2008). Following the Soviet takeover, Afghanistan became the site of ongoing conflict between the Russian military and forces of tribal resistance, known as the muhajedeen, for a period of ten years. This violent guerilla warfare resulted in the deterioration of the infrastructure of Afghanistan, including the disintegration of social, political, agricultural, and industrial developments (Robinett et al., 2008). While the United States supported the muhajedeen during conflict with the Soviet Union, after the latter withdrew from the country in 1989, the United States also removed itself from the situation.

Civil War (1990-1995).

After the withdrawal of the Soviet Union, a number of tribal factions within Afghanistan began to fight for control of the country, giving rise to a destructive civil war that further eroded the infrastructure and urban centers of Afghanistan. During this time, schools, hospitals, and businesses were destroyed, leaving the country no time to rebuild after the war with the Soviet Union. It is estimated that over one million Afghanis were killed during the war, another one

million left injured or orphaned, and over four million fled the country as refugees (Robinett et al., 2008).

Taliban Rule (1995-2001).

By 1995, the Taliban, after defeating the muhajedeen, had assumed control over most of the country, and their rule became increasingly oppressive as time passed (Robinett et al., 2008). In particular, their implementation of extremist interpretations of the Quran disabled women from working and going to school. The Taliban's protection of Osama bin Laden resulted in invasion by the United States. Although the intention of the United States was to overthrow the Taliban and not to harm Afghan civilians, the people of Afghanistan were inevitably impacted (Maley, 2006). As of 2001, after bombings led by the United States, the Taliban rule came to an end. However, despite the end of Taliban rule, Afghanistan has become a highly unstable country with extremely damaged societal infrastructure, including schools, hospitals, and homes. The land itself is studded with mines, and there is limited access to sanitary resources.

Waves of migration.

The forced migration or exodus of Afghani refugees can be conceptualized according to four waves. In 1978, the first wave of migration was triggered after the PDPA's military coup against the government of Daoud and the subsequent spike in the number of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. After the Soviet takeover, refugees continued to flee to Pakistan and Iran as fighting between Soviet troops and the American-funded muhajedeen intensified. The second exodus took place during the civil war, from 1990 to 1995, as internal tribal factions began to fight

for power over the country. After the Taliban obtained power, the third wave of refugees fled the country, and the fourth wave fled after the American War Against Terrorism following the events of September 11, 2001. It is estimated that, in total, 6.4 million refugees, and 90% of the educated population, has fled the country (UNHCR, 2010; Poppelwell, 2007).

The participants involved in the present study left Afghanistan during two different waves of migration, two years apart. Walid and his family left Afghanistan in 1994, during the civil war. They resettled in Pakistan for seven years, during which time Zohra was born, and arrived in Canada at the end of 2000. Deeba and her family left Afghanistan in 1996, one week after the Taliban assumed power. They also fled to Pakistan, which is where Samira was born, and arrived in Canada at the end of 2001.

Summary.

Violence spanning multiple decades and generations has forced multiple waves of refugees out of Afghanistan. Presently, Afghanistan is the country of origin of three quarters of the world's refugees, with the majority of Afghan refugees seeking asylum in Pakistan and Iran (UNHCR, 2010). During its most tumultuous years, Afghanistan produced 6.4 million refugees. By the end of 2010, it was estimated that over three million Afghan citizens remained refugees, having sought asylum in 75 different countries worldwide, including Canada and the United States, making Afghanistan the leading contributor to refugees worldwide (UNHCR, 2010).

Chapter Four

Findings

A total of eight themes emerged from interviews with participants (Figure 2). The first three themes to be discussed, The Importance of Hope, Hope in the Canadian Context, and The Caregiving Relationship, emerged from interviews with all four participants and are listed in the box at the top of the diagram. Next, dyad-specific themes, located within the dyad-inclusive circles, will be discussed. Walid and Zohra talked about Faith and Hope, and Deeba and Samira talked about Education and Hope. The final three themes are parent and child-specific, indicating themes that were discussed only by the parents and only by the children. The parent-specific themes, located at the bottom left of Figure 2, are The Refugee Experience and Children as a Source of Hope. The child-specific theme located at the bottom right of Figure 2, is Hope and the Family Unit.

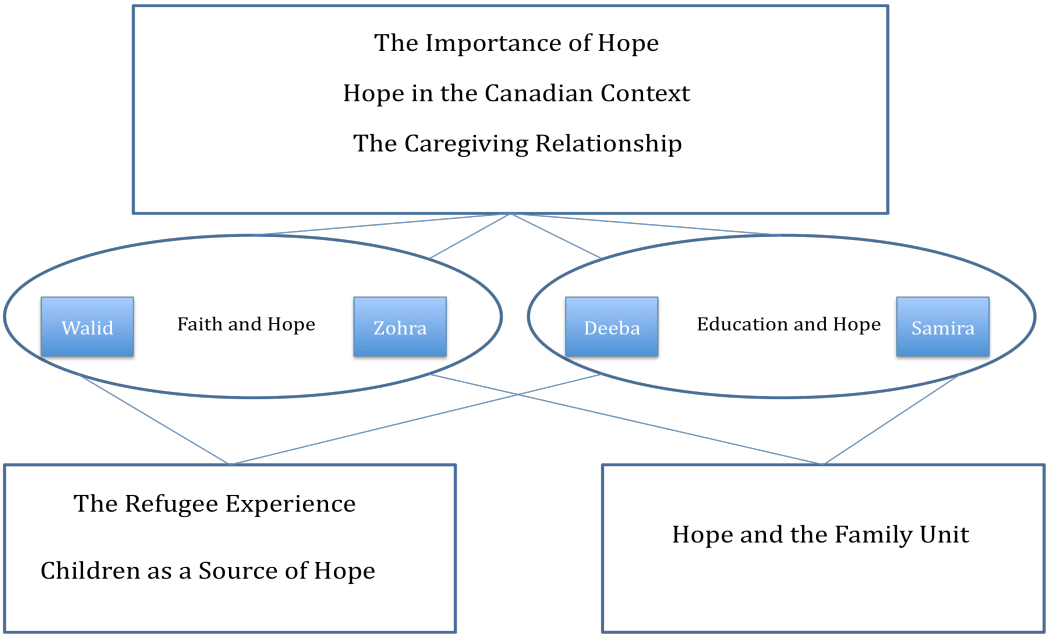

Figure 2. Themes emerging from participant interviews.

The Importance of Hope

This theme, which emerged from interviews with all four participants, describes participants' understandings and conceptualizations of hope. Both parents and children discussed hope as a phenomenon important to coping with adversity. This shared perception of hope being important is a particularly relevant theme in the context of the present study, which aimed to understand the significance of hope in the lives of refugee parents and children. Participants also provided individual descriptions of hope, which elaborated on how important hope was in their lives, including the following: hope and a meaningful life, hope and faith, hope and a brighter future, and hope embedded in relationships and symbols.

Hope and a meaningful life: A positive way to struggle.

In her description, Deeba spoke in an abstract manner of the universal nature of hope and the significance of hope to a meaningful life. She said:

> I think that, like, all people, all human beings, it doesn't matter they are old they are young, they are girls they are boys,…in any culture, any country, any religion, they have hope. They have hope about their children, they have hope for peace.

Her description delineates a hope that transcends barriers and also suggests that people can have multiple hopes in different domains of their lives. She went on to say:

> When people have hope, they have a meaningful life, you know? The life they have for them is very important…And it's a positive thing…And a positive way to struggle.

Deeba's description of hope "as a positive way to struggle" suggests the potential for hope in adversity and indicates the importance of hope and positive struggle in a meaningful life.

Hope and faith: The Devil is hopeless.

Walid's description of hope, while initially abstract, was heavily grounded by personal faith. He said:

> We have an expression, that we say "Devil is hopeless." It means everybody should have a hope…Because if, if you feel that God is there, you have to…feel this, that He is gonna help you.

Like Deeba, Walid acknowledged the universal nature of hope, particularly in relation to those who have spiritual beliefs. His experience of hope and faith appeared to have been reinforced by personal experience. Specifically, he recalled when the Canadian government allowed him and his family to immigrate to Canada and described this experience as "a miracle." He added: "For me, the easy way to explain what hope is that I can say if somebody believe in God, he should believe in hope."

Both Zohra and Samira initially struggled to describe hope in abstract terms. This could be related to their age, as their parents did not have any difficulty. When asked to share their understanding of hope, they employed metaphors, thereby speaking of hope in representational terms.

Hope and a brighter future: Sunshine after the rain.

Zohra's descriptions of hope focused on a sense of growth and possibilities for the future. She used the metaphor of a flower, as captured in her photograph in Figure 3:

> Flowers…they're grown, right? But in the winter they kinda, like, they're not there anymore. But it gives me hope because it just grows right back. And its like, no matter how down you are, you're gonna come back up.

Figure 3. Photographs of flowers and a rainbow, taken by Zohra.

As in the second photograph in Figure 3, she also described hope as a rainbow that emerges after the rain, indicating the arrival of sunshine. These nature-based metaphors suggest a sense of optimism, indicating hope, for this young girl, was associated with growth and forward movement in life despite challenges.

Hope embedded in relationships: A meaningful symbol.

Samira spoke of hope primarily as a representation of meaningful people and things in her life. She referred specifically to her parents, stating:

> If I move away from, let's say, my parents, like, I have that symbol, or representation of that to, like, help remind me of them…So hopeful's kind of, for me, it's more of a representation of something.

According to Samira's description, her understanding of the meaning of hope was the same as her primary sources of hope. In particular, Samira spoke of significant people in her life, including her parents, as sources of hope and described representations of those people as the meaning of hope. Samira's statement suggests that she may have had difficulty differentiating between hope as an abstract concept and sources of hope in her own life, which again may be

related to her age. Nonetheless, for Samira, the meaning of hope was closely linked to important relationships in her life that acted as buffers in times of adversity.

Summary.

While all participants highlighted the importance of hope, particularly in times of suffering, each participant also presented a unique perspective, which captures the multi-dimensional nature of hope. These unique factors were hope as universal and part of a meaningful life, hope having links to faith, hope as the possibility of a better future, and hope embedded in important relationships. Three of the four participants explicitly referenced adversity in their descriptions of the meaning of hope, suggesting that hope is both possible and critical to well-being during difficult circumstances.

Hope in the Canadian Context

Hope in the Canadian Context refers to participants' experiences of hope in relation to being in Canada when compared to living in Afghanistan. All four participants delineated Canada as a hope-enhancing context – that is, an environment that allowed them to feel hopeful about future possibilities. Particular elements of the Canadian experience that inspired hope for each of them included freedom and equality, a multicultural fabric, and a place of safety. It should be noted that participants did speak of challenges involved in the resettlement process; however, these challenges will be discussed later in this chapter.

Freedom and equality: Access to opportunity.

Walid, Deeba, and Zohra understood Canada as a context that enabled access to opportunity for others, for themselves, and for their families. Walid spoke of unlocked opportunities for both himself and his children and described how his children could have freedom, get an education, and "be whatever they wanna be" in Canada. Zohra also discussed Canada as enabling access to opportunity through juxtaposition of her current experience with that of her cousin, who still lives in Afghanistan.

> I just feel so bad for just that one sister that…still lives there…I'm just happy I'm here…Like we try and Skype with them sometimes and they have a daughter that's like my brother's age… and its just, its terrible. She doesn't really have the freedom to do the kinds of things we do, you know?...I saw her like serving everyone tea and everything, and I was like oh my God I don't even do that yet!

Zohra viewed the Canadian context as one in which she had access to increased freedom and opportunity due to different societal expectations and better financial resources in Canada when compared to Afghanistan.

Like Zohra, Deeba explained her hope through juxtaposition of the educational prospects of children in Afghanistan with those of children in Canada. Her response, however, focused largely on gender-equality and increased access to education for females. She described another Afghan family who had arrived in Canada at the same time as her family and who were illiterate but prioritized education for both their sons and daughters after resettling in Canada. She went on to describe how life for the daughters in that family had followed a completely

different trajectory since they had arrived in Canada and received an education. Deeba said:

> Like, its no, any difference between girls and boys… all women, they have their rights, their freedom …I'm very happy when I see families, like, girls and boys,… same education, treated with parents same way… I am so happy!

For Deeba, witnessing equality in Canada enabled her to feel hopeful for the future possibilities of all Afghani women resettled in Canada.

A multicultural fabric: The feeling of belonging.

Walid spoke extensively of the multicultural fabric of Canada as a source of hope. Canada's multiculturalism was one of the factors that motivated him to specifically choose Canada in the asylum seeking process, and it also encouraged him to become an active participant within Canadian society. In particular, Walid indicated that his passion for multiculturalism inspired him to become involved in activities promoting the celebration of cultural diversity both within his own community and in the mainstream society. When speaking of multiculturalism in Canada, Walid referenced a photograph he had taken of many differently coloured hands placed together. Although that photograph did not turn out, he also referenced a photograph of the fabric maple leaf, captured in Figure 4.

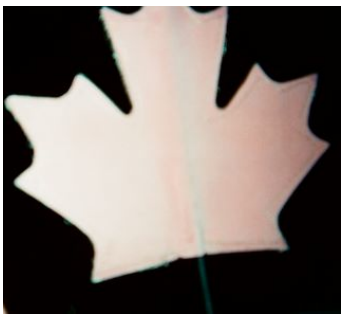

Figure 4. Walid's photograph, representing Canada as a place of hope.

A place of safety.

As with Zohra and Deeba, Samira's sense of hope derived from comparisons with her pre-migration experiences and a juxtaposition of Canada and Pakistan. She described Pakistan as "a really bad place to live," and shared how, when she arrived in Canada and looked out of the airplane window, "it was such a, like, quiet and clean society." She stated that she also perceived Canada as a place of increased safety. Using a photograph of her neighbourhood, shown in Figure 5, Samira spoke of how safety in her community enabled her to have more control over her own well-being, saying:

> At night, when I was little, I used to think, like, somebody would come into the house, maybe, but, but, I know now…my house and everything else will be safe…As long as I, um, make the right choices in life… like maybe locking the door when I go out and just keeping everything in its right, normal place…so it kind of made me hopeful.

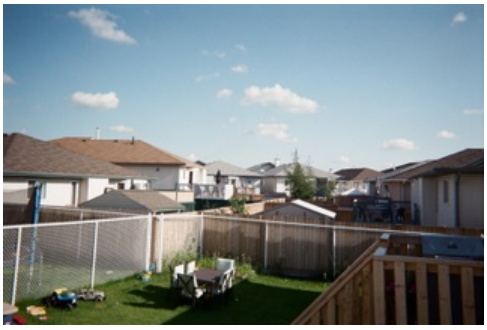

Figure 5. Samira's photograph of her Canadian neighbourhood.

For Samira, Canada provided a context in which felt that she could control her safety, provided that she made appropriate choices.

Summary.

For all four participants, Canada was a place that enhanced the experience of positive emotions, a sense of opportunity, belonging, and safety. Participants

described how Canada provided increased access to opportunity for themselves and their families, allowed them to celebrate different cultures, and was a place where safety and quality of life could be guaranteed, relative to life in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

The Caregiving Relationship

The caregiving relationship is extremely relevant to the study of hope in the context of parent-child relationships. This theme identifies qualities within the parent-child relationship that either enhanced or threatened the existence of hope. Hope-enhancing qualities were those qualities that inspired feelings of hope for either or both the parent and child, while hope-threatening qualities were those qualities that made it challenging for either or both the parent and the child to feel hopeful. Two primary points of view emerged in relation to hope within the relationship, and the findings will follow these perspectives: that of the children and that of the parents.

The children's perspective.

Hope-enhancing qualities.

In their discussion of hope-enhancing qualities, Zohra and Samira focused on the following topics: open communication, allowance for autonomy, reconciliation after conflict, maternal happiness, and making parents proud as a hope for the future. While talking about hope-enhancing qualities, both Zohra and Samira reflected, at intervals, on how fortunate and grateful they felt to have parents who loved and provided for them, suggesting that attending to this topic evoked positive emotions in these children.

Talking things through: Open communication between parent and child.

Both Zohra and Samira addressed the role of open communication for enhancing feelings of closeness and safety within their relationships with their parents. Samira stated that her relationship with her mother was "one of the strongest" relative to her other relationships because she and her mother talked to each other when either of them was feeling emotional, and together they would find ways to make each other feel better. She referred to a time when she and her brother were playing and her brother injured himself, which made her feel guilty. She decided to talk to her mother about the situation.

> We talked it through and I told her what I felt and how it happened, and she was like, "Oh, its okay, its okay." And she…believed what I had to say, so it kind of made me feel comfortable talking to her about it.

Samira's description suggests that, while it was initially slightly daunting to talk about a difficult situation, her mother's support enhanced feelings of safety within the relationship and enabled growth of the relationship.

Zohra also shared how open communication with her parents has positively impacted her. In relation to her mother, Zohra described show she and her mother had recently been talking "a lot more openly," and how this communication made Zohra feel that she knew "a better side of her [mother]." Like Samira, Zohra shared a story about a difficult situation in which she decided to talk to her father about her challenges in school.

> I wasn't really doing good in school, and I never tell my parents that, because I feel like its so disappointing to them, but I actually like told my dad….I thought my dad would get really mad, but he just gave me a lot of, he gave me hope, at that time. He…inspired me to do better, because he wasn't mad at all, he was just like…"You just have to keep trying."

In Zohra's story, her father's openness and encouragement inspired hope within her during a particularly discouraging time. For both Samira and Zohra, open communication and support during challenging times helped to enhance feelings of positivity and build a stronger and safer parent-child relationship.

Allowing for autonomy.

Allowance for autonomy may be a particularly important quality given the developmental stage of an adolescent and the manner in which autonomy enables teenagers to take more responsibility for themselves. Samira talked about how she valued the way in which Deeba allowed her to make choices for herself. She stated:

> She never tells me "Oh, this is bad," or "This is good," she lets me choose…And when I have a choice to make, I usually discuss it with her and my dad, but she usually gives me feedback and lets me think about stuff. And if I make a mistake…she's really supportive.

Samira's description captures the manner in which Deeba's flexibility enabled Samira to take some control over her decisions. Additionally, according to Samira, her parents provided her with guidance as she began to take more responsibility over her choices and provided her with support when her choices did not have positive outcomes. Samira took a photograph of her younger brother's thumbs to represent the idea of choice, as captured in Figure 6.

Figure 6. A photograph taken by Samira, representing the concept of choice.

The importance of reconciliation.

Throughout the interview, Zohra shared a number of challenges that existed in her relationship with her father. When asked what brought her and Walid back together, Zohra discussed the importance of reconciliation after conflict, saying:

> He cares…even though…we won't be good at one point he will always just come upstairs and be like "Goodnight," you know? I don't think we can ever go to sleep mad or something. And I think that really helps everything… my dad's a very caring person…he just tries to make it better.

Zohra's description suggests that reconciliation was important to facilitating reconnection after breaches in her relationship with Walid. Interestingly, Zohra's experience of hope through her father's commitment to reconciliation before each new day was congruent with Zohra's earlier description of hope as the possibility for a better tomorrow.

Maternal happiness and children's attunement to parental emotion.

Finally, Zohra and Samira both touched on the way in which their mothers' happiness enhanced their own happiness, suggesting that both children were highly attuned to their mothers' emotional states. Zohra stated:

> Like, my mom is like, probably the one person that I actually, on a daily basis, that I actually feel hope with…she's just been happy lately. I don't know why but she's just been happy. And it makes me feel happy.

For Zohra, her mother's happiness was a source of happiness to her because, as Zohra later explained, her mother's happiness led to reduced conflict in the parent-child relationship. Samira echoed these sentiments when she said that her mother was sensitive, "so I try…to keep her happy." Both quotations suggest that

maternal perceived happiness can reduce parent-child conflict and be a hope-enhancing factor for children, particularly those children who are highly perceptive to their parents' emotions.

Making parents proud: Hope and the future.

Although not strictly a relational quality, both Zohra and Samira conceptualized hope within the context of their parents' expectations and hopes for them. Zohra said:

> [My hope is] to be successful….I actually want to make my parents proud…I feel like um, sometimes I'm a disappointment to them, cause, I'm not the greatest student right now, so sometimes I can't even talk to them about things like that cause I don't want to make them sad. So I just really want to be successful.

In Zohra's case, her hope to succeed in school was grounded in a desire to make her parents proud, and also to increase openness in her relationship with her parents. At the time of the interview, Zohra appeared to be struggling in school and grappling with the fear of letting her parents down. These challenges evidently played a key role in shaping her hopes for the future.

Similarly, Samira linked her hopes to her parents' expectations, stating that her parents "really expect more" from her. She shared her hope to bring happiness to her parents, support her family and her parents, and keep her loved ones safe.

Both Zohra and Samira spoke of their future in terms of their parents' expectations and hopes for them, suggesting that their ability to imagine the future was heavily related to what their parents had imagined for them. This finding is possibly related to developmental factors, as early adolescents may find it difficult to imagine a future entirely unique from what others expect from them.

Nonetheless, despite challenges in the parent-child relationship, both girls expressed a commitment to meeting parental expectations and continuing to build strong relationships with their parents in the future.

Hope-threatening qualities.

Five factors emerged in the discussion of hope-threatening qualities. Both Zohra and Samira identified guilt after conflict as a hope-threatening quality within the caregiving relationship. Zohra spoke more extensively of acculturation challenges and their impact on both the present and the future. Additionally, she discussed the struggle for autonomy and identity as a threat to hope and parental hope as a burden. Samira spoke of challenges making time to spend together as a hope-threatening factor.

Conflict and guilt.

For Zohra and Samira, feelings of guilt after conflict sparked feelings of insecurity and internalization of anger, and thus posed a threat to hope. The following quotation emphasizes Samira's feelings of guilt and self-directed anger after a disagreement with her mother:

> When I got into trouble from her…I would always think "Oh, it was my fault." Then I would get really sad …It always made me feel insecure or mad about myself for making whatever mistake I had.

Zohra shared similar sentiments and described feeling "so guilty" even if she just had a negative thought about her mother. She shared a story of a time when she got into a fight with her mother and cried for a whole week afterwards, thinking "I can't believe I even said something like that to my mom."

In both cases, the period between the conflict and the resolution was a particularly hope-threatening time for the children, as they internalized tremendous feelings of guilt and self-directed frustration due to the breach in their relationship with their parents.

Acculturation challenges: Disparate views of the present and the future.

Although Samira did not speak of acculturation challenges, Zohra spoke extensively about the way in which acculturation challenges strained her relationship with her parents, particularly as she grew older:

> The Afghani community…its very close-minded. So every day my mom's like "Oh my God, you have to learn how to cook, blahblah." But I don't think I really want to. I feel like its not cause she wants me to learn how to cook, its cause she doesn't want people saying things, and I don't want to learn cause of that.

She went on to explain how her parents' unpredictable attitudes toward certain issues "really depress[ed]" her, saying: "They don't adapt at all. … they kind of start explaining that this is our culture and all this stuff." Zohra linked these pressures to her parents' divergent views of the future, which constituted an additional hope-threatening variable. She further stated:

> I remember this one time…my mom was like, "When you go to your in-laws'…if you don't know how to cook they're just gonna say bad things about us." And it's like why would you want to marry someone whose parents would be disrespectful to you like that? So when I think of the future in that way, it just, I don't like it …I try to tell them sometimes…but they don't really understand.

This young participant shared challenges around differing gender roles within the Afghani culture, particularly in relation to her future aspiration to become a singer.

> I wanted to be a singer, and I remember fighting with my dad a lot about this….I'm like you'd let [my brother] become a singer, and he's like "Yeah, I would let him do that but you're not allowed to do that."…I hate feeling that just because I'm a girl I can't do something.

For Zohra, generational and acculturation challenges significantly threatened her ability to feel hopeful, both in terms of the present situation and in terms of how she and her parents viewed her future in very different ways.

Struggle for autonomy and identity.

While Samira described feeling hopeful when granted autonomy by her parents, Zohra spoke to the opposite situation and explained how lack of autonomy and independence was a hope-threatening factor to her relationship with her parents. She described how she got a job in order to be able to earn money and pay for her own expenses, but her still father insisted on giving her money to spend. Consequently, Zohra felt that her initiative to take responsibility of her own expenses was unsupported by her parents, which was frustrating to her. She went on to say: "I feel like they're not really letting me grow. And I guess I try to be like independent sometimes but they still, they just don't get it right." Along the same lines, Zohra described challenges to securing parental support in her own process of identity development:

> And something else that really frustrates me is that…I should probably be thinking of what I want to be in life. I think I've changed that about five times, and every time my dad's like "No." And that's like…shouldn't you be pushing me to do what I want?...What am I supposed to be, right?

Parental hope as a burden.

Zohra spoke of how she experienced parental expectations and hopes as burdens and strong sources of pressure, particularly when they felt unattainable to

her. Zohra noted that Walid's desire for her to "be on the top" of the class made her feel worse because she felt that she was "just not going to get there." In the following excerpt, Zohra noted how parents' pre- and post-migration struggles added to the pressure that she felt to make up for what her parents lost:

> And [my dad] is always saying "It's cause I don't want you to end up like me."…That makes me feel so bad…he's always like "If I had the chance to study more, then I would have become something."…And…he expects so much of me but I can't do that. I feel like I'm so pressured. By everything.

Zohra's feelings of guilt and sadness in relation to her parents' struggles and the fear she experienced at the possibility of letting her parents down impeded the development of closeness in Zohra's relationship with her father because she did not want to risk upsetting him.

Finding time to spend together.

For Samira, difficulty finding time to spend with her parents was hope-threatening. She explained how, a times, Deeba was not able to follow through on promises to take Samira out, which made Samira feel upset. Samira described many hope-enhancing variables in her relationship with her mother. Her comments suggest that spending time with her mother was important to creating a space in which hope-enhancing variables could be experienced.

The parents' perspective.

Hope-enhancing qualities.

Like their children, both Walid and Deeba identified certain variables in their relationships with their children that were positive and hope-enhancing.

They focused specifically on the following: the parent-child relationship as a friendship, children's empathy as soothing to parents, and recognition of mistakes.

The parent-child relationship as a "friendship": Creating space for conversation.

Interestingly, both Walid and Deeba used the term "friendship" to describe their relationships with their children. However, this term was not used to describe a traditional friendship between peers. Rather, the term "friendship" described a parental attempt to adapt to the changing nature of their relationships with their children as their children entered into adolescence. Deeba described creating an open space where she and Samira shared advice and suggestions and said, "Most of the time I am not thinking, like, we are a mum and daughter, we like a friend." She went on to describe an incident where Samira was disrespectful toward her father and how she would handle such a situation were it to arise again in the future:

> It's natural, like in this age, like thirteen years old…But anyway…I don't wanna be kind of parents be strict, but I think I have to sit and talk…, give some kind of suggestion…this is kind of age she need some suggestion…some advice from the parents.

In her description, Deeba appeared to demonstrate an understanding of Samira's developmental stage and indicated a desire to try new communication strategies that opened up a space to engage in conversation and provide advice.

Like Deeba, Walid also talked about the parent-child relationship as a friendship. Although he acknowledged that he was strict and liked his children to follow rules, he went on to say that he tried, particularly with Zohra, to be "not like a *parent parent* [emphasis added], but…a little friendly." Like Deeba, Walid

was also attuned to Zohra's age and recognized the importance of building a unique relationship with her. In particular, he emphasized the importance of creating open channels of communication so that Zohra could feel comfortable sharing with him. He went on to describe how he used unique approaches to bond with Zohra:

> Maybe if my wife tell me, "This is the problem," then I go, in a different way… you know, especially she, she loves Starbucks. "Oh, do you wanna go for a Starbucks?" "Ooh, yeah, lets go!" And then she start telling me, you know, what was the problem and stuff.

Walid's attempt to try new communication strategies and engage in traditionally grown-up rituals, such as going for coffee with Zohra, spoke to his desire to adapt to a changing relationship with his growing daughter. Interestingly, the photo-assisted interviews with this dyad took place in a quiet coffee shop near Walid and Zohra's home.

Collectively, both Deeba and Walid expressed the importance of trying to restructure their relationships with their growing children through a specific mode of "friendship." Additionally, they both discussed how creating an open space for communication was critical to their relationships with their children. Their emphasis on open communication was congruent with what Zohra and Samira spoke of also, in terms of the ability to talk openly as a hope-enhancing factor.

Being soothed by children's empathy.

Just as their children derived comfort from their parents' love and support, both Walid and Deeba spoke of being soothed by displays of support and empathy from their children.

Deeba described an incident where she was unsure whether she had passed a course she was taking in school. After expressing her concern to Samira,

> Samira said "It's okay mum, you know what, you have three children, and you have lots of responsibility. If you fail, even you are more successful than your other classmates, because they're single, they don't have any responsibility."…So it make me very like, um, happy, very hopeful. Yeah, she's right!

Although Deeba emphasized that she remained afraid of failing the course, Samira's words were able to assuage some of Deeba's fear and enhance her feelings of hope.

Walid also described, in more general terms, Zohra's ability to understand his feelings. He explained how she was a caring child and could tell, simply from the look on his face, whether he had had a bad day. For Walid, Zohra's ability to pick up on his emotions and ask about his day was hope-enhancing and enabled him to experience his daughter's love and care for him.

Both Deeba and Walid described feeling soothed by their children's ability to sense their negative emotions and their attempts to offer them support and empathy. Their descriptions of their children's perceptiveness were congruent with information shared by Zohra and Samira about feeling happy when their parents were happy and being able to sense positive and negative emotions easily.

Recognition of mistakes.

Deeba talked about reconciliation and recognition of mistakes as hope-enhancing. In particular, with regards to the incident where Samira was rude to her father, Deeba said:

> I know this is something normal for teenagers…its kind of puberty…but I felt like hopeful, because…she came and said sorry to my husband….she realized her mistake.

Deeba's explanation was similar to Zohra's description of the importance of forgiveness and reconciliation to preserving hope within the relationship. In the case of Deeba and Samira, Deeba derived hope from knowing that Samira recognized her error and apologized, thereby showing affection and respect for her parents.

Hope-threatening qualities.

Unlike Zohra and Samira, Deeba and Walid did not talk extensively of hope-threatening qualities in their relationships with their children. Deeba commented on conflict in the parent-child relationship. Walid briefly spoke of acculturation stressors in his relationship with Zohra.

Minor challenges in the relationship: Conflict between parents and children.

Deeba spoke of conflict in her relationship with her oldest son, explaining that he was sometimes disrespectful toward his parents and did not comply when asked to do certain things. However, Deeba described how she read that these were common behaviors at her son's age and was careful to emphasize that his behaviors were "small, small things. It's not any difficulty, like, to make me hopeless." Thus, in this particular case, it is possible that Deeba's natural resilience and positive outlook, as well as her interest in educating herself about child development, acted as a buffer against feelings of hopelessness in her relationship with her son.

Acculturation stressors: Clashes in the relationship.

Walid spoke about acculturation challenges as hope-threatening. In particular, he focused on the incident when Zohra wanted to pursue a singing career and how he felt that he had to stop her.

> You know, culture-wise, there's always some stuff coming up between that I have to be a little strict…for example, she has a very good voice. I spended lots of money for her to go be like, a singer, like for an audition… …But while I heard about that business, about Hollywood …I had to stop her. And I feel bad for her and I broke her heart.

Walid acknowledged that he threatened Zohra's hope when he "broke her heart" and did not allow her to pursue a career in singing. He went on to contrast Canadian and Afghani culture, explaining that while he tried to give his children whatever freedom he could, maintaining the Afghani culture remained important to him. Walid's description indicates that he continued to carry some guilt with him after the incident, and he was aware of the painful way in which his decision impacted Zohra. Thus, acculturation stressors appeared to threaten hope for Walid not only because they caused conflict within the caregiving relationship, but also because they were a source of guilt for him.

Summary.

Both Walid and Deeba used the word "friendship" to capture their attempts to adapt to the changing needs of their adolescent children and their desire to encourage safe and open communication, which resonated with descriptions by Zohra and Samira of open communication as a hope-enhancing quality. Both parents also spoke of the soothing nature of support and empathy from their children, which was also congruent with the children's description of

maternal happiness as a hope-enhancing factor. In addition to these factors, both children spoke of their hopes for the future within the context of their parents' hopes for them.

When speaking of hope-threatening qualities, Deeba talked about minor conflict in her relationship with her son, but emphasized that she viewed these conflicts as natural life stressors and not threats to her hope. Like Deeba, Samira spoke little of hope-threatening qualities, saying only that she wanted to spend more time with her mother. However, Walid shared how acculturation stressors caused clashes in his relationship with his daughter, which was congruent with Zohra's descriptions of acculturation challenges, as well as her struggle for autonomy.

Dyad-Specific Themes

This section describes themes that were talked about by both parent and child within each individual dyad. Walid and Zohra both spoke about Faith and Hope, and Deeba and Samira both spoke about Education and Hope.

Faith and hope.

This theme captures Walid and Zohra's spiritual beliefs and practices in relation to hope. It highlights Walid's perceptions of prayer, personal anecdotes describing his belief in prayer, and Zohra's impressions of her spiritual leader, which appeared to serve as a source of hope for these participants.

Prayer and hope: Keeping a clean heart.

For Walid, prayer and belief in God provided him with enduring hope. Using the photograph in Figure 7, he talked about heartfelt prayer and the positive impact that it can have, particularly during trying times:

> If you pray from like, your heart, you ask something, and you have a clean heart, it wash away all of your stress, all the bad things from your mind….you never think bad things. So, the Devil is gone.

When discussing The Meaning of Hope, Walid had shared the saying "The Devil is hopeless." His belief that prayer removes the Devil and inspires hope was congruent with his belief that the Devil is antithetical to hope. Walid also shared significant personal experiences about relying on prayer during difficult times, including a story about a time when his uncle was abducted in Afghanistan and was returned safely after the family prayed for him. He also shared a story about reuniting with old cousins and friends after years of separation. He reflected:

> If we were one of those bad guys, we would be dead by now. But see, God is with good people, so right now we are again together. And this was…a spark for us to think that yeah, if you are on the right path, you are gonna see the benefit of it.

For Walid, prayer and faith formed the foundation of his lived experience of hope, as well as his understanding of hope as an abstract concept.

Figure 7. Walid's photograph, representing the importance of prayer.

"Where Hope Takes Root": Spiritual Guidance and Hope.

One of the photographs that Zohra took was a picture of the cover of the book *Where Hope Takes Root*, a collection of speeches by the Aga Khan IV, published in 2008. This photograph, depicted in Figure 8, was the first photograph that Zohra chose to discuss, saying:

> Cause the author is, like, [the Aga Khan]. He gives me hope, honestly, like he really gives me hope… cause most of his [guidance] and stuff… I really try to listen to them, I dunno, everything he does just gives me hope.

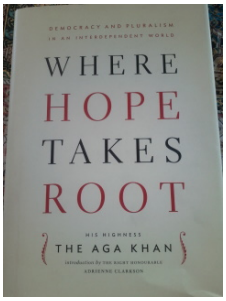

Figure 8. Zohra's photograph of the book *Where Hope Takes Root.*

Zohra struggled to further explain her sense of hope in relation to the Aga Khan. However, it was clear from her choice to discuss the photograph first and her description of deriving hope from all of the actions and guidance of the Aga Khan that her connection with her spiritual leader was indeed a significant source of hope to her.

Education and hope.

This theme captures Deeba and Samira's shared view that education was an important source of hope. Both Deeba and Samira spoke of education as essential to accessing opportunity and achieving self-actualization, and Samira also talked about knowledge in a similar way.

Accessing freedom and opportunity: Education and a better future.

Both Deeba and Samira talked about the critical role that education plays in unlocking opportunities and establishing one's position in society. Deeba shared general insights related to the plight of uneducated women in Afghanistan.

> The most important thing about education, because all women, they were uneducated, so that's why they can't fight about their freedom, and they can't know how we can struggle…. They can't go somewhere and fight for their rights.

Deeba's description captured her belief in the empowering quality of education and the way in which education gives people a voice. Samira echoed some of her mother's sentiments when she expressed that, without education, "maybe you won't succeed to your goals in the future." She went on to describe how she hoped that education would enable her to achieve her goal of becoming a doctor and "become somebody that will be recognized throughout society." Both mother and daughter viewed education as a tool essential to building a better life and carving out a meaningful place within society.

A reflection of hard work and future potential: Knowledge and hope.

Samira described knowledge as a source of pride and hope for her because knowledge was reflective of her hard work and her ability to achieve, while also providing inspiration to continue to strive toward her future goals. According to Samira:

> My knowledge throughout the years has always made me feel hopeful, and it's inspired me…And I'm looking forward to, uh, learning more and more...higher types of knowledge, and a whole new society and a whole new path will open up to me.

Samira's feelings of hope were associated with the knowledge she had worked hard to attain and represented in the photograph of her school books in Figure 9. Tackling new types of knowledge helped Samira to recognize her own intellectual development and imagine a future where new opportunities would become accessible to her because of her own hard work. Thus, knowledge was a source of hope and empowerment to Samira.

Figure 9. Samira's photograph of her school books, representing knowledge.

Summary.

Both Walid and Zohra identified the importance of faith as a source of hope. For Walid, the importance of faith was manifested through prayer and keeping a clean heart, while Zohra talked about the hope she derived from the actions and guidance of her spiritual leader. According to Deeba and Samira, education could empower individuals to strive toward a fulfilling future, and the absence of education posed significant barriers to well-being and self-actualization. Samira also described knowledge as something she had worked hard to attain and something that would help her achieve her future goals.

Parents' Themes

The two parent-specific themes which emerged from interviews with

Walid and Deeba were related to their own refugee experience and perceiving their children as a source of hope.

The refugee experience.

This theme relates to the parents' descriptions of experiences endured during the refugee migration trajectory as a threat to hope. Specifically, the pre-migration refugee experience, including exposure to war and lost hopes for self and country, was described as a hope-threatening factor. Resettlement challenges in Canada associated with education, employment, and discrimination were also described as hope-threatening. Finally, both participants talked about their hopes for the future in Canada.

Moments of hopelessness: Pre-migration threats to hope.

Both Walid and Deeba talked about their pre-migration experiences as refugees as a threat to hope. Firstly, Walid and Deeba described dangerous circumstances that they faced as children in Afghanistan, and secondly, both described contending with unfulfilled hopes, both for themselves and for their country.

A war-torn country: Danger and uncertainty.

Walid and Deeba each shared descriptions of the dangers they faced growing up in an active conflict zone and the sense of loss and uncertainty that accompanied those dangers. According to Walid, although he enjoyed being in nature in Canada, the sense of freedom he experienced in the outdoors also acted as a reminder of the danger he often faced as a child and how being outdoors always came with fear for safety. He said: "Here, every time I go, I enjoy …but

somehow, I remember back home. We were getting some chances to go somewhere for a picnic, and we were scared…Somehow, it's stuck there." Walid's quotation is particularly significant because it captures a sense of loss for a childhood he never had and how that sadness seemed to have endured and remained with him into adulthood. Additionally, although he described enjoying nature, Walid's quotation suggests that being outdoors served as a trigger to remind him of times of dangerous circumstances. Walid described a painful incident later during his adolescence, immediately before he fled Afghanistan, during which he and his cousins said goodbye to one another:

> We really, we didn't think that we are gonna see each other… So, while that day…everybody cried. You know, young men crying is really, there has to be a pain in the, in the heart, so you have to feel that, that, the pain, to cry.

For Walid, pre-migration dangers and the need to flee his country had threatened his sense of hope by forcing him to leave behind his loved ones, with no guarantee that they would ever meet again. In this incident, Walid reflected a tremendous sense of loss.

Deeba also shared accounts of violence and uncertainty faced in Afghanistan:

> Like, in front of us, like, rockets came and all people in blood. And then, it was, first we are feeling really scared and then after that it was the usual something. Like when we went out, we came back, we didn't know, kay, we're gonna be alive or no.

Like Walid, Deeba also described having to flee Afghanistan after the situation became so hopeless that she felt she could not continue her life there under the

oppressive rule of the Taliban. Of leaving the country, Deeba explained how she hid her professional degree inside her newborn son's diaper, and she and her husband left behind everything else, including their home and their business.

In both situations, Walid and Deeba described facing extreme danger with fear and having to contend with uncertainty and lost hopes when they left their country behind. Thus, facing such significant pre-migration challenges was a threat to hope and resulted in feelings of loss, which, in the case of Walid, endured well into his adult life.

Lost hopes: letting go of hopes for self and country.

Walid and Deeba described pre-migration hopes as well as hopes for Afghanistan that were not realized. Walid spoke of his own unfulfilled hopes to become educated and described how, due to the war, he became responsible for managing his father's store and was unable to find extra time to study. He said: "I wanted to be really an educated person, but it didn't happen for me." He went on to describe unrealized hopes for peace in Afghanistan:

> Whenever there is, uh, I hear this word, [hope], it reminds me how…like, we had a hope that one day it gonna end and we're gonna be okay, but at the same time we were kind of hopeless, because nothing was happening. Neither United Nations, you know, worked really good for Afghanistan, and the people of Afghanistan didn't, they never thought of, you know, like, this is our own land, we should come together and do something for it instead of getting involved in civil war.

This quotation again captures the hopelessness and sadness that Walid experienced as he was forced to let go of his hope for peace. As with his earlier description of danger in Afghanistan, Walid expressed that the sadness remained with him even after he resettled in Canada.

Using the photograph in Figure 10, Deeba described her life-long hope to help women in Afghanistan, but explained that, "when the government in country is not peaceful, you can't do anything." Deeba also spoke of a long lasting hope for peace, as by the time she was born, the war had already begun. She explained that education and free speech can take place in a peaceful country, but growing up in Afghanistan "during that time, your life be in danger."

Figure 10. A photograph taken by Deeba, representing peace for women.

As with Walid, Deeba had to contend with unrealized hopes for peace. She also described a loss to the social infrastructure of Afghanistan because a lack of a safe environment in which to dialogue with others.

Resettlement challenges in Canada.

Walid and Deeba both spoke of challenges they faced as resettled refugees in Canada. In particular, they spoke of educational and employment related challenges, and Walid also spoke of facing discrimination in Canada. It should also be noted that previously described acculturation challenges in the parent-child relationship, although they will not be discussed again in this section, were also contributing factors to resettlement challenges.

Employment and education challenges: Resettlement obstacles.

Walid and Deeba both faced challenges upon arrival to Canada, especially with respect to employment and educational opportunities in Canada. For Walid, the immediate pressure to support his family prevented him from pursuing his own goal to open a martial arts school. As soon as he and his family arrived in Canada, he found a job and began working. Walid went on to help develop a program at a local post-secondary institution to provide newcomers to Canada with opportunities to upgrade their education, although he himself could not participate in the program due to work commitments.

Deeba shared her experiences facing obstacles with respect to her education:

> When I came first, I saw, like, same ladies, from our country, like…even they don't have Grade 1 Grade 2 education, and when I had a dentistry degree, and we were all the same level when we came. So, it was nothing different, it was no value for the education I did.

For Deeba, the lack of value given to her hard-earned dentistry degree was extremely discouraging, as her qualifications were considered on par with those of women who had no educational background. In both narratives, Walid and Deeba described facing challenges and barriers to their educational and employment hopes.

A painful experience to remember: Discrimination in Canada.

During his interview, Walid shared an experience of facing discrimination soon after coming to Canada and described the memory as one he tried not to think or talk about often. He explained how, when living in Quebec City soon after arriving in Canada, he sustained a work injury but had difficulty claiming the

required surgery in Quebec because he was an English- speaking person. He then said:

> Discrimination and stuff, its really something that, it shouldn't be here… Because while I was studying about Canada, while I was in Pakistan, really I was thinking people they love each other and they work shoulder by shoulder and they care about each other. But [in Quebec] I, I got different experience.

Walid's retelling of the story captures the disillusionment that he experienced after living through harsh discrimination in a country he believed to be tolerant and inclusive. Additionally, after having experienced upheaval in his country of origin, it was painful to endure discrimination at the hands of individuals who, according to Walid, had little appreciation for their good fortune at having been born in Canada. This incident of discrimination remained a source of frustration to Walid years after it happened and served as a significant threat to his hope.

"Whenever you wanna fish, you can fish": Hopes for the future.

Despite facing pre-migration and resettlement challenges, both Walid and Deeba spoke of their hopes for their own futures within the context of educational goals. Deeba, who was in school and still working toward transferring her credentials, said: "So, my hope is about education, so, I finish, like, as soon as possible." Education was important to Deeba, and although she had not completed her licensing process in Canada, she expressed that she was drawing closer to realizing her hopes.

Walid, who had not had the opportunity to complete his education in Afghanistan, spoke of the desire to one day return to school. He shared his belief that it is never too late to follow one's dreams, and said:

> There is an expression in my language that say, you know, whenever you wanna fish, you can fish…No matter the time, it's winter, spring, you know, whatever, fall, whenever you wanna fish, you're gonna get the fresh fish.

Although at the time of the interview Walid was not in a position to be able to go back to school, he continued to look to the future with the hope. He also spoke of the possibility of entering a profession that focused on providing others with the safety and security that he was denied as a child. Thus, Walid was able to reflect upon the challenges he had faced and use them as a foundation on which to build hopes for his future. Walid shared that, when his family was finally at a place where it was possible for him or his wife to return to school, his wife would go first and he would follow six years later. He ended by saying:

> That is a kind of that we discussed, if its gonna happen or not, God knows…Yeah, we have that plan. Even if it takes me twenty years, it's still gonna be there. I'll be thinking about it, to get to that point.

Although Walid acknowledged that there was still uncertainty in his future, the plan he and his wife had made, as well as his belief that it is never too late to pursue one's goals, gave him hope for future possibilities.

Summary.

Walid and Deeba spoke extensively of hope in relation to their experiences as refugees. Both talked about pre-migration circumstances as a threat to hope, as well as unfulfilled hopes for both themselves and Afghanistan caused by war in the country. Both parents talked about resettlement challenges in terms of barriers to employment and education as well as discrimination faced in Canada. However, Walid and Deeba also shared their hopes for the future. For Deeba,

these hopes focused on having her dentistry degree recognized in Canada, while Walid hoped to one day have the opportunity to return to school.

Children as a source of hope.

Both parents described their children, and their aspirations as parents, as a source of hope. While "The Caregiving Relationship" explored specific relational qualities that either enhanced or hindered hope in the relationship between parent and child, "Children as a Source of Hope" refers to the manner in which both parents identified their children as an enduring source of hope. Two key sub-themes emerged: deriving meaning from parental aspirations and parental hopes for the future successes of their children.

Parental aspirations.

Both Walid and Deeba derived meaning and hope from continuing to provide for their children and give their children a better life than they themselves had growing up. Deeba explained how, when she arrived in Canada, her first priority was "having a good job" so that she could provide for her children. Walid described how he would "take the pressure" in order to give his children education and anything else within his reach.

Walid and Deeba also discussed the positive childhood experiences they wished for their children. Many of Deeba's photographs centered around the idea of parent and child, and using the picture in Figure 11, Deeba talked about the importance of raising her children in peaceful, conflict-free surroundings.

Figure 11. Deeba's representation of her children as a source of hope.

Walid spoke of his sadness at missing out on his childhood and a life of opportunity and how he aspired to ensure that his children "are not suffering like…how I was suffering back home." He also described wanting to foster independence in his children because the challenges he faced during in his life taught him the importance of having a strong will. Both parents derived meaning from providing their children more promising realities than those they had as children.

Parental hopes for children.

Walid and Deeba identified two primary hopes for their children: hope for future success and hope for cultural preservation.

Dream a bigger dream: Hope for future success.

For Walid and Deeba, the future success and fulfillment of their children was an important source of hope. They spoke of how they hoped that their children would one day achieve their fullest potential, and both parents touched on their hope that their children would eventually work toward serving others.

Walid spoke of encouraging his children to have big dreams, saying: "I'm always trying to show my kids a bigger dream, that they can serve for the world or at least for the country." However, Walid also spoke to the parental reality of altering expectations over time and explained how he continued to support Zohra

even though her academic performance was no longer as strong as when she was younger. Although Walid continued to hold on to the hope that his children would achieve "bigger dreams," he also expressed his attempts, as a parent, to refine his expectations as he watched his children grow and change.

Deeba also described her hopes for her children to be upstanding members of the community. She shared her hope that her children would one day become health professionals so that, if ever the family returned to Afghanistan, they would be able to help sick children. Deeba shared that Samira's academic success made her feel hopeful for her daughter's future and that she saw much of her own work ethic reflected in her daughter.

For Deeba, the hope that her children would become upstanding members of the community was tied to the prospect of her children maintaining their cultural heritage. She described how, although many children lose touch with their culture after resettlement, Samira displayed a keen interest in cultural traditions and practices. She described cultural preservation as "something that will make our family stronger," thus identifying it as a source of hope.

Summary.

Both Walid and Deeba derived hope from engaging in activities aimed at providing their children with opportunities and a safe environment. They also derived hope from the prospect of their children living fulfilling and successful lives. For Deeba, her daughter's academic success and future aspirations were a source of hope, while Walid spoke of the importance of adapting expectations as

children grow. Deeba also described her hope that her children would grow up to maintain their cultural heritage.

Children's Theme

The family unit as a source of hope.

For both Zohra and Samira, connectedness within the family was identified as important and hope-enhancing. Zohra described her family as "very family-bound" and explained that spending time with her family was important to her. Samira, when asked what single photograph she would take on a long journey, responded that she would take a picture of her whole family, including extended family, because it would bring back happy memories of her loved ones.

Individually, Zohra talked about the resilience of her grandparents as a source of hope to her, and Samira talked about technology as a source of hope because it kept her connected to her family.

Drawing strength from the strength of others: Family role models.

Zohra described her grandparents as a source of hope, particularly because of their resilient spirits after coming to Canada. She shared how her grandfather, despite his inability to communicate in English, was still content. Of her grandmother, she said:

> And my grandma gives me hope because she raises us… And I think sometimes she doesn't really want to do it cause she's old, right?...But she still does it, cause she doesn't want my parents to be struggling. And it just gives me hope.

Although Zohra explained that she felt a sense of sadness for her grandparents and their struggles since coming to Canada, she subsequently explained that her grandparents made her feel hopeful because they demonstrated to her that it is

possible to find happiness and strength even during adversity. Thus, for Zohra, the strength modeled to her by her grandparents made her feel hopeful about her own ability to display strength during trying times.

Keeping family close: Technology and family connectedness.

Samira described two technological devices, her iPod and her camera, in the context of how they helped her remain connected to her immediate and extended family. She explained that she had family photographs on her iPod, and she could look at the photographs when away from her family. As captured in her photograph in Figure 12, Samira's camera was also an important tool in helping Samira and her family to preserve special memories. She said:

> I bought my own camera, and it kind of makes me feel hopeful cause I usually when, wherever we go, like, if …it's a special, like, day…we take pictures to like, keep and store the moment. Save the moment, the memory.

Samira spoke extensively about the value of a photograph of her entire family and how such a photograph would make many happy memories readily accessible and provide her with a feeling of safety. Her descriptions of the importance of her iPod and camera were an extension of her investment in portable representations of her family, which kept her feeling connected to her loved ones.

Figure 12. A photograph taken by Samira of her camera.

Summary.

For both Zohra and Samira, feelings of closeness and connection within the family unit were a source of hope and happiness. In addition, Zohra derived hope from the resilience of her grandparents in the face of resettlement challenges, while Samira identified technological gadgets as objects of hope because they enabled her to capture and carry images of her family as a reminder of familial love.

Chapter 5

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore sources of hope for Ismaili Afghani refugee parents and children and to better understand hope-enhancing and hope-threatening variables within the parent-child caregiving relationship. Eight themes emerged from the four interviews conducted. In the following chapter, several of these themes will be discussed within the context of the current literature.

The Caregiving Relationship

As the caregiving relationship was the primary focus of this research project, several important findings will be further discussed in the following section. Discussion will begin with hope-enhancing factors for adolescents and shifting parenting strategies and then move on to hope-threatening factors.

Hope-enhancing qualities for adolescents.

The parent-adolescent relationship has been described by Gray and Steinberg (1999), Steinberg et al. (1992), and Baumrind (1991) as requiring the qualities of acceptance-involvement, strictness-supervision, and the allowance of psychological autonomy. These qualities have been linked to enhanced levels of psychological adjustment, academic success, empathy, and decreased levels of substance abuse among teens (Steinberg, Blatt-Eisengart, & Cauffman, 2006). Of these three qualities, acceptance and involvement, including parental warmth and support, has been described as the most important relational quality (Suldo & Huebner, 2004). The qualities outlined by Gray and Steinberg, Steinberg et al.

(1992), and Baumrind resonate with the hope-enhancing relational qualities proposed by Snyder et al. (2005), which included parental responsiveness and parental allowance for the psychological autonomy of their children. Both Zohra and Samira described open communication as paramount to enhancing hope within their relationships with their parents, citing examples when they chose to talk openly with their parents despite feelings of fear and shame. In each case, the situation was positively resolved through parental support and responsiveness to Zohra and Samira's emotional needs. Moments of open communication and parental support, then, are congruent with descriptions proposed by Gray and Steinberg, Steinberg et al. (1992), Baumrind, and Snyder et al. about the positive relational impact of parental warmth and involvement. Additionally, Zohra and Samira's description of open communication as hope-enhancing resonates with Snyder et al.'s description of parental responsiveness as a mode through which parents can enhance hopeful thought patterns in their children. Throughout their interviews, Zohra and Samira frequently reflected on the love their parents had for them, which also indicated the hope-enhancing quality of parental warmth and responsiveness. Perhaps the most compelling evidence for the hopeful nature of parental love and warmth came from Zohra, who described many challenges in her relationship with her father, including feeling that her father was refusing to grant her any autonomy and independence. However, Zohra explained that the knowledge that her father cared deeply for her and their collective effort to mend any breaches in the relationship every night before going to sleep enabled them to move forward in their relationship. Thus, despite feeling limitations on the

psychological autonomy she was granted by her father, Zohra placed great emphasis on his caring presence and his loving attempts to reconcile after conflict. This finding is again congruent with Steinberg et al. (1992), Baumrind, Synder et al., and Yohani and Larsen (2009), who found that children cited their caregivers' reliable presence as sources of hope.

However, it should be noted that Zohra's descriptions of struggles for autonomy and identity development as hope-threatening, as well as Samira's descriptions of her freedom of choice as hope-enhancing, were also congruent with research documenting the importance of psychological autonomy to adolescents (Gray & Steinberg, 1999; Steinberg et al., 1992; Snyder et al., 2005; Suldo, 2009). Thus, findings on hope-enhancing relational qualities, as described by Zohra and Samira, suggest that parental warmth and responsiveness is critical to the parent-child relationship, and that it can offset some of the challenges created by parental restrictions of child autonomy; however, both parental warmth and allowance for psychological autonomy are important hope-enhancing relational qualities.

In light of the cross-cultural nature of this research, it should be noted that previous studies have indicated that authoritative parenting may not be optimal for all cultural groups (Suldo, 2009). However, these studies are limited in number, and a more robust body of research suggests that authoritative parenting enhances child functioning across cultures (Amato & Fowler, 2009; Steinberg et al., 1991).

Evolving parenting strategies during adolescence.

Suldo (2009) noted that adolescence is a time of change not only for children but also for parents. As children reach adolescence, parents must manage their own life challenges that accompany middle age while simultaneously navigating the changing needs of their children (Steinberg & Silk, 2002). Through their description of the parent-child relationship as a "friendship," both Deeba and Walid captured, in their own way, the need to adapt their parenting styles to the needs of their growing children. Deeba expressed that she liked to encourage Samira to make her own decisions. When describing minor conflicts in her relationship with her children, Deeba explained that she had researched child development and understood that some level of conflict was to be expected as children reached puberty. Samira appeared to recognize Deeba's attempts to modify her parenting strategies, noting that Deeba made an effort to grant Samira autonomy and provide her with safety and support as she made her own choices. In this respect, Deeba's understanding of Samira's development was hope-enhancing to Samira. Although Walid and Zohra had many relational challenges, he too appeared to be adapting his parenting strategies by engaging in more grown-up activities with his teenage daughter, such as taking her out for coffee.

Although all parents may struggle to adapt as their children grow, acculturation challenges for immigrant and refugee parents can pose an additional layer of difficulty in relation to parenting strategies (De Haene et al., 2007; Bemak et al., 2003; Dachyshyn, 2008). Thus, it is interesting to consider the

extent to which Deeba and Walid altered their parenting strategies not only because their children were entering adolescence, but also because they were adapting to parenting their children in Canada. Additionally, however, it is possible that resettling in a new country affords parents the opportunity to engage in new parenting practices. In particular, one can reflect on whether Walid and Zohra would ever have been able to go out for coffee together in Afghanistan and the extent to which Walid was able to connect with his daughter in that way because of new parenting possibilities offered to him within the Canadian context. The father-daughter relationship will be discussed at greater length later in this chapter; however, the findings from this research suggest that both parents were attempting to be attentive to their growing children and were engaging with new childrearing practices in Canada.

Acculturation challenges as hope-threatening.

Acculturation stressors were the primary threats to hope discussed by Zohra and Walid. Acculturation challenges faced by refugee families have been well-documented in literature (Bemak et al., 2003; De Haene et al., 2007; Lewig et al., 2010) as a source of stress within the family unit. Research has suggested that children often acculturate more quickly than their parents, which can result in tension as different family members display different profiles of acculturation (Walter & Bala, 2004; Bemak et al., 2003). With regards to the caregiving relationship, as children may acculturate rapidly, they may become their parents' point of contact with the host society (De Haene et al., 2007); however, research has also indicated that these integration attempts by children can lead to loyalty

and identity conflicts as well as parental rejection, particularly among adolescents (Roer-Strier, 1996; De Haene et al., 2007).

During the acculturation process, immigrant and refugee parents develop varying styles of parenting in a new culture, as outlined by Roer-Strier (1996). In the uni-cultural style, parents maintain traditional values and expectations from their country of origin. The rapid assimilation style is adopted by parents who feel that the more quickly their children adapt to the norms and values of the host country, the more successful their children will be. These parents often view authority figures within the resettlement country, such as teachers, as the most effective socialization agents for their children and withdraw from helping their children to navigate practices within the resettlement country. Finally, in the bicultural style, children are encouraged to balance both traditional and new cultural norms and values. When speaking of her parents' acculturation process, Zohra indicated that her parents were sometimes very open-minded about particular issues, while at other times they refused to talk about exactly the same issues, indicating a mixture of the uni- and bicultural styles of parenting. Her description suggests that it may be possible for parents to shift back and forth between coping and acculturation patterns or to display differing patterns in response to different issues. It is interesting to note that Zohra expressed a desire for more independence but felt stifled by her parents. Walid, however, talked about wanting to instill independence in his children so that they would be able to face life's many challenges. Thus, both Zohra and Walid wanted the same thing, independence for Zohra, but there seemed to be a discrepancy in how they

understood the process and expression of child independence. It is possible that even when parents and children do want to achieve the same goal, acculturation can lead to incongruence in how parents and children conceptualize and approach their shared objective.

In addition to coping and acculturation patterns, Roer-Strier and Rosenthal (2001) described three different chronological conceptualizations from which refugee parents may choose as they are attempting to guide their children into adulthood. In generating their image of the adaptive adult, the past orientation encourages parents to use a framework based on values and ideals from one's country and culture of origin. The future framework encourages parents to adopt values and norms from their new country when envisioning the adult they would like their child to become. Finally, the dual pattern involves combining some form of the other two conceptualizations. The tension that can arise from conflicting conceptualizations was exemplified in the relationship between Zohra and her parents when Zohra explained how she and her parents had discrepant understandings of her future obligations and goals, both personally and professionally. Within the conceptualization of Roer-Strier and Rosenthal, it is possible that Zohra and her parents had different understandings of the characteristics of an adaptive adult and were deriving their definitions from differing chronological frameworks.

Interestingly, research has documented that acculturation challenges may be particularly pronounced for female youth as compared to their male counterparts. Anisef and Kilbride (2000) collected data on the challenges of

resettled female adolescents in Toronto, Canada. They found that increased pressure was placed on female youth to guard and uphold family values and to behave in ways congruent with traditional cultural roles. Zohra described feeling that her parents were limiting her independence and being frustrated that she was treated differently than her brother because she was a girl. These sentiments have also surfaced in literature on the experiences of resettled female youth. Anisef & Kilbride and Hyman et al. (2000) found that female refugees described their parents as over-protective, and they noted a double standard in how parents treated their daughters and sons: Daughters were expected to adhere to traditional obligations such as cooking and cleaning while sons were given more freedom.

The mother-daughter relationship.

Flouri (2004) found that positive mother-adolescent relationships predicted life satisfaction later in life. In particular, Flouri found that closeness to one's mother at the age of 16 predicted life satisfaction at the age of 42 among women, suggesting the importance of a positive mother-daughter relationship. Both Zohra and Samira talked about attunement to maternal happiness and shared a desire to maintain their mothers' happiness. Attunement to maternal emotion and the impact of maternal emotion on child well-being have been well-documented in literature on maternal depression. Research has indicated that maternal depression can impact adaptive functioning in children (Turney, 2011; Goodman & Gotlib, 2002), as depressed mothers are less emotionally responsive and available to their children. Zohra indicated that she liked when her mother was in a good mood because it reduced conflict in their relationship, suggesting

that maternal happiness was important because it indicated the absence of maternal distress. Samira echoed these sentiments when she described that her mother was particularly sensitive, and so Samira tried to be aware of her mother's sensitivity to avoid making her sad. Again, Samira's description captures the sentiment that maternal happiness was important to the children because it was the inverse of maternal sadness. In light of literature on maternal depression and findings from the present study, hope and closeness within the relationship can provide an important buffer from depression for both mothers and daughters.

The father-daughter relationship.

Although some believe that fathers have a greater impact on sons than daughters, research has shown that fathers can have a lasting impact on their daughters' psychological development (Biller, 1993; Wenk, Hardesty, Morgan, & Blair, 1994). In particular, a healthy relationship with one's father has been linked to positive self-esteem, mental health, and overall life satisfaction (Sarigiani, 1987, Wenk et al., 1994; Scheffler & Naus, 1999). In his work with women in college, Lozoff (1974) found that high-achieving and interpersonally successful women spoke of their fathers as ambitious, encouraging, and involved. Lasser and Snarey (1989) found that adolescent females with high levels of psychosocial maturity had involved and engaged fathers, while those with lower levels of maturity had fathers who were disengaged and distant. The current body of research, though somewhat limited, suggests that the father- daughter relationship is important to child development and to hope.

There is a significant gap in the literature on immigrant and refugee fathering in general, as compared to literature on the impact of fatherlessness on children (Shimoni, Este, & Clark, 2003). Upon arrival in Canada, fathers must contend with a number of challenges, including loss of employment, adaptation to new cultural norms and values, and reconsideration of the role of the father in light of personal experiences and a new cultural context (Este & Tachble, 2011). Also, immigrant and refugee fathers often view providing for their family as their primary responsibility, which negatively impacts self-esteem and self-concept when they are faced with lack of employment (Shimoni et al., 2003; Este & Tachble, 2011).

Shimoni et al. (2003) conducted a study with fathers from four different cultural groups to better understand perceptions of fatherhood and feelings of paternal engagement. The researchers cited Health Canada (1998) for indicating that paternal disengagement is a risk factor among young children. However, Shimoni et al. found that fathers from all four cultural groups displayed strong levels of engagement with their children and remained committed to their children even as they themselves struggled to navigate challenges associated with acculturation, language, and employment barriers. Interestingly, the researchers found that most fathers in their study subscribed to the rapid assimilation coping pattern outlined by Roer-Strier (1996), wherein fathers viewed speedy acculturation and adoption of Canadian norms as the most likely pathway to success for their children (Shimoni et al., 2003). However, while Roer-Strier suggested that such parents typically relinquish control over their children's

socialization to authority figures in Canada, Shimoni et al. found that fathers in their research were reluctant to withdraw from their children's socialization and instead tried to help their children by acculturating as quickly as possible themselves. Shimoni et al.'s findings suggest that the fathers were deeply invested in maintaining responsibility for their children even after resettlement.

Este and Tachble (2011) conducted a study on fathering with Sudanese and Russian immigrant and refugee fathers. Fathers expressed a commitment to providing for their children and instilling a strong sense of morality in their children. The authors also found that fathers deemed spending time with their children as highly important and typically engaged in specific activities with their children, such as going to parks and going fishing. These findings resonate with many of Walid's experiences of fatherhood. In particular, Walid described a strong sense of responsibility to provide for his family and instill key values in his children. He also placed great emphasis on encouraging his children to pursue an education. In his interactions with Zohra, Walid also described activities they engaged in together, such as going shopping and out for coffee. Research has indicated that mothers, who are often the primary caregivers, typically spend more time and share greater closeness with their adolescents than do fathers, who generally participate in leisure time and specific activities with their adolescents (Liable & Carlo, 2004; Collins & Russell, 1991; Holmbeck, Paikoff, & Brooks-Gunn, 1995). This finding is congruent with Samira and Zohra's descriptions of talking and sharing openly with their mothers. Walid, on the other hand, would learn from his wife if Zohra was having a problem and would then try and talk

with Zohra by engaging her in activities, such as going out for coffee. Although he possessed a different communication style than his wife, Walid remained committed to trying, in his own way, to connect with his daughter and provide her with support during difficult times. Walid's efforts are consistent with the findings of Shimoni et al. (2003), who found that immigrant and refugee fathers were not disengaged but, rather, deeply invested in their children.

The Refugee Experience

Although the focus of this research was primarily the parent-child relationship, both Walid and Deeba spoke extensively of their experiences as refugees. Their descriptions were congruent with the chronological timeline proposed by Prendes-Lintel (2001) and shed further light on the refugee family model outlined by De Haene et al. (2007). Discussion of the refugee experience is particularly important because aspects of the refugee experience can pose a significant threat to hope for refugees. Also, their experiences as refugees provide context around the parenting aspirations and choices of Walid and Deeba.

Pre-departure violence.

Walid and Deeba spoke of pre-migration traumas that they endured, particularly witnessing violence outside of their homes and the uncertainty of their safety. Their descriptions were consistent with descriptions of the pre-departure stage as a time of chaos, upheaval, and danger (Prendes-Lintel, 2001). Deeba, in particular, spoke of seeing rockets blow up the earth in front of her when she was a child, which is congruent with Macksoud and Aber's (1996) finding that shelling was one of the most common sources of trauma experienced by children

growing up during the war in Lebanon. In light of the experiences they endured in Afghanistan, both Deeba and Walid emphasized their desire to raise their children in safe and peaceful surroundings, free of suffering and entirely different from the circumstances in which they themselves had been raised. Thus, their strong parental aspiration to provide their children with opportunity in a stable country can be better understood when grounded in the context of Walid and Deeba's personal childhood experiences growing up in a warzone.

In their family refugee model, De Haene et al. (2007) suggested that family experiences of pre-migration traumatization can impact children through intergenerational transmission of trauma. The negative impact of parental and family trauma on children is well-documented and highly relevant to the family refugee model. However, findings from the present study also suggest that parents' exposure to pre-migration stressors can impact children through strengthening parental commitment to providing children with a better future by raising children in a peaceful environment. Thus, there may be multiple ways in which the consequences of exposure to extreme pre-migration stressors can be experienced within the family system.

The experience of flight.

For a refugee, the decision to flee one's country is often made quickly, preventing one from taking belongings or traveling with loved ones (Prendes-Lintel, 2001; Lustig et al., 2004). Deeba's description of leaving behind her home and her possessions and hiding her medical degree inside her son's diaper captures the sudden nature of flight, as well as the forced abandonment of worldly

possessions. Interestingly, however, Deeba's descriptions also capture a commitment to sustaining hope even within adversity, as both her degree and her son represented critical sources of hope for her future. Walid's story of flight focused on the uncertainty that he would ever meet his loved ones again: He explained how they cried during their last Eid festival together because of their pain at the prospect of saying goodbye. During his interview, Walid explained that, if he left his family in Canada and returned to Afghanistan to do business, he would likely be very financially successful. However, he later said that he did not want to leave his children and that he felt a strong responsibility to be present in their lives. Thus, Walid's early experiences of separation from family may have strengthened his adult commitment to keep his family intact, again indicating that his separation experiences as an adolescent shaped his subsequent parenting decisions.

In their model, De Haene et al. (2007) described the uprooting process as "the result of different disruptive processes" (p. 242), including disempowerment due to uncertainty during flight and asylum and fragmentation and separation of the family unit. Findings from the present study suggest that it may be possible to maintain a sense of agency and hope during uprooting, as Deeba tried to do. Walid's experience of separation and uprooting during adolescence influenced his parenting choices and impacted Walid's children through instilling in their father a desire to remain close and an active participant in their lives. When considering systemic influences on the children of refugees, early uprooting and separation

experiences may strengthen parents' hopes to raise their own children in stable environments and to preserve family unity.

Post-migration challenges.

The settlement stage is marked by the first three years after arrival in the post-migration country and is typically characterized by attempts to negotiate acculturation stressors and connect with resources to enhance quality of life (Prendes-Lintel, 2001; Merali, 2008).

Walid spoke about a number of educational and employment goals that he had to set aside upon arriving to Canada in order to immediately begin providing for his family. The navigation of employment and financial stressors is a challenge that newcomers face early on in their resettlement experience (Suarez Orozco & Suarez Orozco, 2001; Prendes-Lintel, 2001; Khan & Watson, 2005). This process can be made more challenging because of traumas endured during the pre-migration stages (Ahearn & Athey, 1991). Although Deeba was a healthcare provider in Afghanistan, her credentials were not recognized in Canada, and she found herself evaluated as being on par with women who had not completed any education in Afghanistan. For highly skilled workers who come to Canada, the lack of recognition for their foreign credentials has been identified as a significant threat to hope (Kausar, 2000; Khan & Watson, 2005; Okoye, 2010). Okoye (2010) found that skilled workers with unrecognized credentials were forced to take on menial, low-paying jobs in order to survive, which led to financial challenges and feelings of frustration and discouragement. Both Okoye and Kausar (2000) found that some newcomers considered leaving Canada due to

their extensive demoralization. Employment obstacles can lead to symptoms of negative mental health, poor physical health, and difficulty in the acculturation process (Grant & Nadin, 2007; Okoye, 2010). Thus, employment and educational challenges constitute underlying hope-threatening variables within the refugee experience.

In addition to educational and employment challenges, discrimination is also a significant challenge during the first years after arriving in a new country (Suarez Orozco & Suarez Orozco, 2001). Walid shared a painful story about experiencing discrimination in Quebec after a work-related injury. He explained that he was treated poorly largely because he was only fluent in English and could not communicate in French. Discrimination has been linked to depression and to reduced levels of hope (Chen, 2008; Kausar, 2000).

Reliance on Children as a Source of Hope

The findings from this study indicate the dual nature of parental reliance on children as a source of hope, both when considered from the perspectives of the parents and the perspectives of the children. In particular, while looking to children as a source of hope possesses a sustaining quality for parents, it can become a burden and source of stress for children.

Parental perspective.

Literature has documented how, in refugee families, parents frequently come to regard their children as their source of hope for the future (De Haene et al., 2007). In their model of transforming hope, Duggleby and Wright (2005) interviewed palliative care patients, many of whose personal hopes were no

longer realistic. These patients had developed a fluid sense of hope and were able to derive hope and a sense of meaning from the prospect of their families going on to live happy and fulfilling lives. Thus, as the hopes they had once had for themselves were no longer viable, the patients looked to their children as their legacy and their hope. In the present study, both Walid and Deeba did have hopes for their own future. However, for both parents, certain childhood hopes were forever lost, and providing their children with safer childhood environments than they themselves had was paramount. They also wanted their children to actively pursue an education, which is congruent with the research findings of Este and Tachble (2011). Este and Tachble found that many fathers strongly encouraged their children to pursue an education so that their children could secure more promising futures and better employment than they themselves had. Walid described extensively how he had missed out on a childhood, an education, and a career. He derived hope and satisfaction from ensuring that his children would never suffer as he did. For Walid and Deeba, as refugee parents, there were certain hopes for their own lives that were no longer within the realm of possibility. The present research suggests that a comparison can be drawn between some refugee parents and the patients interviewed in Duggleby and Wright's research. Refugee parents, perhaps through the model proposed by Duggleby and Wright, transform their hope and derive it from their children, particularly with relation to those hopes that are no longer personally possible. It is possible that their children come to play a critical role in helping refugee parents to sustain a sense of hope.

Child perspective.

In the present study, both Zohra and Samira seemed aware of the extent to which their parents derived hope from them. Zohra explicitly articulated that she felt burdened by the prospect of having to somehow compensate for Walid's unfulfilled hope, and both Zohra and Samira described their hopes for the future within the context of becoming the people their parents wanted them to be. De Haene et al. (2007) found that parental hope can become a burden for children, which is congruent with sentiments expressed by Zohra. In particular, De Haene and colleagues (2007) found that parental hope can lead to parents forcing their children to take on more responsibilities within the family, thereby blurring the parent-child boundary and leading to the "parentification" of refugee children (De Haene et al., 2007, p. 247). Parentification involves children taking responsibility for family obligations and for their parents' emotional well-being, particularly when parents are overly reliant on their children or clearly struggling with trauma-related mental health symptoms (De Haene et al., 2007, 2010; Walter & Bala, 2004). Parentification can impair the healthy social and emotional development of refugee children. For parents, then, deriving hope from their children can provide meaning and solace despite what they have lost. On the other hand, the knowledge of their parents' reliance on them can make children feel burdened with excessive responsibilities. However, some researchers have found that parental expectations can have a positive impact on children as they reach adolescence (Rousseau, Drapeau, & Platt, 1999). In particular, the researchers found that adolescents sought to compensate for loss and suffering in the family

history and used parental expectations to sustain a sense of responsibility, personal growth, and motivation (Rousseau et al., 1999). On the basis of these findings and the current body of literature in this area, it seems that parental reliance on children as a source of hope is a complex phenomenon that can have inverse effects on parents and children, though it can also serve as a source of resilience and motivation to adolescents in some circumstances (De Haene et al., 2007; Rousseau et al., 1999).

Implications for Counselling

Findings from the present study shed some preliminary light on the hope-enhancing and hope-threatening factors embedded within the refugee parent-adolescent relationship. The following recommendations stem from this research as well as published resources on working with refugee parent-adolescent dyads.

Support during the acculturation process.

Acculturation stressors constitute a significant challenge faced by refugee parents and children, both in terms of adapting to a new culture and coping with asynchronous rates of acculturation (Bemak et al., 2003). Participants within this study demonstrated how acculturation challenges can become a source of strain within the parent-adolescent relationship. Thus, counselling work with refugee parents and adolescents must provide both parents and children with support that specifically addresses acculturation. When working with child refugee populations, service providers must be culturally competent and trained in effective interactions across cultures (Bemak et al., 2003; de Monchy, 1991). Yohani (2011) described how community-based cultural brokers help refugee

children and families adapt in school settings. In Yohani's study, one role played by these cultural brokers was to mediate and facilitate communication between parents and children when there was conflict. In their program recommendations, Bridging Refugee Youth and Children's Services (BRYCS) outlined several important attributes that service providers who work with refugee parent-adolescent pairs must possess. Firstly, staff members should be skilled and capable of adapting their approach to the needs of particular cultural groups. They should be capable of working well with both parents and children and should demonstrate flexibility in supporting clients through various stages of acculturation (BRYCS Strengthening Services for Refugee Parents: Guidelines and Resources, n.d.). Like Yohani's study with cultural brokers, BRYCS suggested that it is often staff who have experienced acculturation first-hand and have successfully developed a fluid bicultural identity who are best equipped to guide newcomers through the acculturation process by serving as cultural brokers. Because acculturation challenges can reduce parental feelings of self-esteem and authority, it is important that work with refugee parents helps link them to resources that can help them overcome cultural and linguistic barriers and re-establish a sense of confidence and competence within their new country (BRYCS Strengthening Services for Refugee Parents: Guidelines and Resources, n.d.). Brar (2010) also found that cultural brokers were a critical resource for refugee youth and provided multiple formal and informal supports that included supportive counselling and facilitating the integration process. They also referred refugee youth to mental health practitioners, helped to educate mental health

practitioners, and provided cultural context and interpretation. Thus, cultural brokers who have successfully negotiated bicultural identities for themselves can help parent and adolescent refugee newcomers navigate service pathways in the resettlement country. Alternatively, such services can also be provided by mental health practitioners who are working collaboratively with cultural brokers.

Creating open channels of communication.

Adolescence is a time during which children begin to develop a self-identity, and they strive to make personal choices that are congruent with the individuals they hope to become. Such choices can be made increasingly difficult by acculturation barriers that result in lack of parental support and guidance and feelings of discomfort communicating with parents. Seat (2000) found that parents expressed great confusion about the issues their children were facing and how best to support their children in the resettlement context. In the present study, and in recent literature, the importance of open adolescent-parent communication has been well-documented. In light of these findings, as part of acculturation support, practitioners working with refugee parent-adolescent pairs should emphasize the development of open channels of communication between parents and children. To do so, service providers may need to encourage the development of strong communication strategies in parents and adolescents, although some styles of communication may be unfamiliar to newcomers (BRYCS Strengthening Services for Refugee Parents: Guidelines and Resources, n.d.). Brokers and bicultural mediators can work with parents and adolescents to

help establish communication patterns that enable refugee adolescents to receive the support they need during a challenging juncture in their lives.

Engaging in new styles of parent-adolescent interaction.

Although the refugee experience can threaten parenting confidence and cause breaches within the parent-adolescent relationship, findings from the present study also indicate that the resettlement culture can provide parents with new approaches to engage with their children. Therefore, in addition to supporting parents and adolescents in overcoming resettlement challenges, service providers working with this population can also emphasize taking advantage of new modes of interaction that may have been impossible within the pre-migration context. By engaging in new activities together, parents and adolescents can work together to construct a shared resettlement experience. New modes of interaction may be particularly relevant to refugee fathers, who may previously have had limited involvement in the caregiving process.

Building on existent hope-enhancing factors.

The current research suggests that, although the refugee experience can present challenges to the parent-child relationship, there are still hope-enhancing relational factors that remain intact in the presence of adversity. Just as service providers should be attentive to the presence of seeds of hope in various aspects of refugee clients' lives (Larsen et al., 2007; Yohani, 2010), they should also be attuned to the presence of hope-enhancing factors within the caregiving relationship, regardless of the number of hope-threatening variables that are also present. Participants in the present study demonstrated that their hope was

resilient and that, despite numerous acculturation stressors, mutual love and caring was an impetus for both parents and children to move forward in their relationship. Thus, service providers working with refugee parents and children should be aware of important hope-enhancing factors within the parent-adolescent relationship, as identified by literature, and should able to hone in on functional and hope-enhancing aspects of the caregiving relationship as a solid foundation upon which to build.

Supporting parents in strengthening hope-enhancing sources within their own lives.

Findings from the present research suggest that, although it is certainly natural for parents to regard their children as a source of hope, children can feel burdened by the feeling that they are their parents' only source of hope. Feelings of excessive responsibility for parental emotional well-being can threaten the well-being of refugee youth and the overall parent-child relationship. Thus, work with refugee parents should help them set realistic educational and employment goals for themselves and connect with resources that can help them achieve those goals. Such work can be conducted by cultural brokers, who can help parents navigate service pathways, learn the English language, and begin to advocate for themselves during the resettlement process. Helping parents strengthen their own hopes will not only reduce the burden on refugee children but can also help parents work toward positive personal futures within the resettlement context.

Directing research and counselling resources toward refugee fathers.

At present, literature on immigrant and refugee fathering is extremely limited. Consequently, a lack of cross-cultural understanding of fatherhood and limited services for immigrant and refugee fathers has resulted in the marginalization of this population (Este & Tachble, 2011). Findings from the present research echo Este and Tachble's observations that refugee fathers, despite facing numerous challenges, remain invested in their children and in finding ways to be involved in their children's lives. It is recommended that future research, as well as counselling practice, focus on the needs of refugee fathers and provide refugee fathers with support in engaging their children and adolescents.

Implications for counselling research.

As conducting research is one aspect of the counselling profession, implications for counselling research arising from the present study are also noted in this section.

Sensitive dissemination of research findings.

The present study has generated significant insights into relational variables that can enhance or threaten the hope of refugee children. As such, considerations of how to disseminate research findings to Ismaili Afghani parents are critical. Although, like research participants, the researcher belonged to the Ismaili community also, it is important to be aware of the existence of sub-communities within overarching communities. Because of differences in cultural and linguistic norms between East African and Afghani Ismailis, the use of an

Afghani Ismaili cultural broker would amplify the extent to which present research findings could be sensitively disseminated. This implication is relevant to many counselling researchers who conduct research with cross-cultural populations, or with other sub-communities within their own broader cultural context. The importance of disseminating research to the populations about whom the research has been produced is paramount. As previously mentioned, the use of cultural brokers in productive and sensitive cross-cultural communication has been well-documented in literature (Yohani, 2011; BRYCS, n.d., Brar, 2010), suggesting that the engagement of brokers in research dissemination would be beneficial. Thus, in addition to their involvement in counselling practice, cultural brokers can also play a significant role in the process of counselling research.

Hope-focused photography and interviewing as hope-enhancing for children.

Children in the present study indicated that the process of reflecting on their hope through photography and conversation actually enhanced their feelings of hope throughout their participation in this research. In counselling practice, research has found that hope-focused questioning can serve to facilitate clients' explorations of their own hope (Larsen et al., 2007). Along a similar vein, in their research on hope among refugee and immigrant children, Yohani and Larsen (2009) found that talking about hope enabled the youth to engage with hope-strengthening strategies. Findings from the present study suggest that the use of hope-focused reflective photography and interviewing may present methodological opportunities to researchers seeking to use the research process as

a hope-enhancing experience for participants. In particular, providing participants with time to engage in hope-focused photography prior to participation in interviews may serve to better connect participants to their experiences of hope before discussion with the researcher.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The present study had several limitations that may provide direction for future research. Firstly, recruitment challenges resulted in a small sample size and did not afford the opportunity for the mother-son or father-son relationship to be explored. Future research may wish to expand on hope within the parent-son relationship within the Ismaili Afghani community. Due to scheduling difficulties and time constraints in the case of one dyad, there was a four-month lag between the time when photographs were taken and the time when interviews were conducted. Consequently, the significance of some photographs may have been forgotten or may have changed. Methodologically, such a limitation could potentially be overcome by use of a notebook in which participants are instructed to make a note of the significance of each photograph that they take. This notebook could then be used to jog participants' memories during subsequent interviews. Additionally, there were some technical limitations, as many photographs taken by participants could not be developed. A notebook could also help participants to remember photographs they had taken, even if the photographs did not develop properly. Future research may benefit from the inclusion of a joint interview with both parent and child, during which parent and child are able to share their photographs and their hopes with each other. A joint

interview would provide the researcher with an opportunity to examine the impact that the hope of one member of the dyad can have on the other member of the dyad. Because of limited discussion of hope-threatening qualities by the parents in this study, future researchers could spend more time building rapport with adult participants, as this rapport may increase parents' comfort levels when talking about sensitive subjects.

As the present research provided an initial indication of the applicability of the multidimensional model of hope to the Ismaili Afghani refugee population, future research may wish to further explore the applicability of this model to other culturally diverse populations. Findings from this study suggest that open communication between parents and adolescents is important to sustaining adolescent hope. In light of the decision of some refugee parents to silence discussion of experiences of trauma and the detrimental impact of silencing on children, more research is needed to explore appropriate ways for refugee parents and children to communicate openly about pre-migration experiences.

Finally, the family refugee model proposed by De Haene et al. (2007) and used in this study focused primarily on systemic challenges posed by the refugee experience and the detrimental ways in which these challenges can impact children. While findings from the present study suggest that refugee parents and children do indeed face multiple challenges, they also suggest that aspects of the parent refugee experience can positively impact children by enhancing parental commitment to raising children in peaceful surroundings and maintaining family

unity. Future research may wish to explore the integration of positive systemic variables into the family refugee model.

Conclusions

This study was an initial attempt to explore, in depth, individual sources of hope to Ismaili Afghani refugee parents and adolescents, as well as hope-enhancing and hope-threatening variables within the caregiving relationship. Findings from this study suggest that the hope of participants possessed a multidimensional quality and was resilient in the face of adversity. This study also sheds light on relational qualities that are important to sustaining the hope of parents and adolescents and on relational challenges that should be understood and addressed by service providers. The present study lays the groundwork for future research exploring relational qualities of hope within the Ismaili Afghani refugee population and other culturally diverse populations.

Chapter Six

Epilogue

Persistence is incredibly important during the research process, and sometimes, patience is a form of persistence. Committing to a project and fully engaging not only with the triumphs, but also with the numerous challenges and setbacks entailed therein, is a form of agency (Reflective Journal, June, 2012).

It seems fitting to end this document with a reflection surrounding my own relationship with this research. In my introduction, I concluded my description of arrival to the research question with the phrase "I was excited and, indeed, ready to begin." However, I did not have the opportunity to address the question "And then what?" Because, in fact, there was an entire process of development as a researcher that occurred for me after that point of beginning. Thus, in this final chapter, I share some closing reflections on the process of growth and development that I experienced while conducting my thesis.

After carving out my research question in September of the first year of my Masters, I had a very fixed timeline in my mind. Straying from this timeline, or having to modify it in any way, seemed inconceivable to me. That did not fit into my plan, a plan that was the product of my own broader work ethic as a student. My plan was to finish completing data collection by the end of the summer, have a draft of my thesis by February, and have defended by April. In my mind, this timeline was set in stone.

I remember meeting with the liason with whom I worked on the Settlement Board of the Ismaili Council in January of my first year. She was very

excited to hear my research proposal, and agreed to help me recruit participants as soon as I was ready. That meeting, in my mind, was a manifestation of exactly how I thought the research process should and would unfold, from that point forward: After I made initial contact, we agreed on a mutually convenient meeting time and location. We both arrived at said location at the agreed upon hour. We had a discussion and a follow-up plan in place. It was neat and tidy and, incidentally, it was also the last meeting of its kind that I would have for the remainder of the research process. I was about to learn an important lesson about research: When you begin to work with others, you have to give up full control, and develop trust in the process. And it helps to replace some of the space that was once filled with a need to control, with the virtue of patience.

This was a lesson that was reinforced to me, exponentially, after I began working with my participants. In the case one of one dyad, I was hopeful after our initial meeting that we would be able to schedule interviews promptly. However, that was the last time I saw them for almost five months. During that period were multiple setbacks in the context of own timeline. Phone numbers changed. The child left town for an extended period of time. The parent sent me a text explaining that due to rigorous work demands, a meeting would not be possible in the foreseeable future. I remember one weekend when, in the midst of having scheduling challenges with that particular dyad, I also had scheduling difficulty with the other pair. I had tried to schedule a meeting with the parent the way I normally scheduled meetings with friends, clients, professors: by taking out my agenda and deciding on a mutually convenient time and location. The parent

explained on the phone that a meeting time could not be scheduled in advance, in case family or friends wanted to spend time together at the last minute. Instead, the parent offered to call me when both the parent and child had a free afternoon. I had entered my research project with a plan, but at that point I felt completely without control. Two of my participants were unavailable for the indefinite future and the other two would contact me if and when they had free time to meet. Because I had hope on the brain, I remember drawing on a scrap piece of paper a trajectory of my own hope. At previous points in my research, my hope had been soaring, but at this point, it was veering dangerously close to the bottom of the page. I remember speaking with Dr. Yohani and explaining that I no longer thought my research project was feasible in the time I had left, and that I would be better off working with service providers who work with refugee families. To be fair, I think that changing course when you have reached a brick wall is, in many cases, a sensible and adaptive thing to do. However, what I had not yet realized was that, in research, a brick wall is not always a brick wall. In fact, there may be no wall there at all, but rather, an open and momentarily still road, fading off into the distance. But the length and uncertainty of the journey ahead may tempt some to project a brick wall into place and change course anyways, because doing so is a form of *doing*, of keeping busy and maintaining a sense of agency and control. Dr. Yohani, a much more experienced researcher than I, explained to me that challenges around scheduling and timing are inherent in the process of community research and that I would likely face similar challenges even working with service providers. I was frustrated beyond belief, but reflecting now I see that I was

slowly learning that persistence is incredibly important during the research process, and that sometimes, patience is a form of persistence. Committing to a project and fully engaging not only with the triumphs, but also with the numerous challenges and setbacks entailed therein, is a form of agency.

Looking back now, I can appreciate that many of these challenges are underscored several times over when working with vulnerable populations whose lives are often incredibly busy and filled with variables beyond their control. In my mind, when I first approached scheduling interviews with Deeba and Walid, it was logical to each locate a free block of time in our near-future schedules. But this was not what worked for them. I know this now because both families were committed to helping me in my research endeavors and both families did come through for me in the end, but they came through in their own ways. However, whether it was my inexperience or my slight narcissism as a novice researcher, I had envisioned that my participants would do things my way and would stick to my plan. I now know that is not the way of research and that it is especially not the way of research with vulnerable populations. My participants generously found ways to fit me into their busy lives, but I had expected them to fit their busy lives around me. This realization has been one of my most significant learnings as a developing qualitative researcher. I am glad that I was encouraged not to give up on my research process and that I saw it through to the end, especially because I believe that research contributing to understandings of refugee well-being is incredibly important.

Two years later, I have arrived at the final destination on a road that once appeared exceedingly long and unpredictable. I am two months delayed form my estimated arrival time, but I am not an infuriated and exhausted traveler. Instead, reflecting upon my journey, I have learned, to some extent, how to relinquish the control we often must relinquish in our attempts to enter into the lives of others. I have a more enhanced capacity to view others' involvement in my research with sensitivity, patience, and hope. I have learned to appreciate the experience of others making space for me and not around me. I believe that these skills will serve me well in my future research undertakings and that I will be better equipped to handle challenges the next time around. In essence, my relationship with this research was certainly not unidirectional: While I conducted the research itself, the experience of research, and my participants themselves, have contributed to my growth in wonderful ways. I have much left to learn, but I do believe that I am slightly wiser than before. Returning back to the point at which I left readers in my thesis – "I was excited and, indeed, ready to begin". In full circle fashion true to the finest stories, to express where I am now at the end of this epilogue would sound much the same, but slightly different. Today, I am excited and ready to continue.

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Appendix A:

Letter of Initial Contact
Study Title: Hope and the Caregiving Relationship

This is a letter inviting you and your child to participate in research being conducted by Soraya Lakhani, under the supervision of Dr. Sophie Yohani, as her Masters thesis in the Counselling Psychology program at the University of Alberta.

The purpose of this research is to understand how hope manifests in the caregiving relationship in refugee parent-child pairs, and will explore sources of hope and threats to hope through interviews with both the parent and the child.

If you agree to participate in this study, you and your child will be invited to take photographs of things that make you feel hopeful. Soraya will then arrange to interview each of you separately to talk with you about your photographs and how they make you feel hopeful, and also to talk about challenges to your hope. All meetings and interviews will be conducted at a location that is convenient and comfortable for you, and you will have an opportunity to learn more about the procedure and ask any questions before being asked to consent to the study.

If you are interested in participating, I will pass your name and contact information on to Soraya, who will make contact with you shortly afterward. She will then set up a meeting with you where you will have an opportunity to learn more about the project and ask any questions, and decide whether you would like to give your consent for you and your child to participate. If you agree to participate, formal consent forms will be signed during that meeting. Please note that this study is *not* being conducted by the Ismaili Council for Edmonton, and your refusal to participate will have no effect on your relationship with the Council.

This study has been reviewed and approved by the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board 1 (REB1). For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, you can contact the Research Ethics Board at (780) 492-0459.

If you have any questions at this time, you can contact Soraya at (780) 667-xxxx or sorayalakhani@gmail.com

Thank you for your consideration.

I give my permission for my contact information to be released to Soraya Lakhani. Yes No

Name _____

Phone Number _____

Email Address _____

Appendix B1:

Parent Information Sheet
Study Title: Hope and the Caregiving Relationship

Objective of Study

As part of my master's degree at the University of Alberta, I am conducting a study to try and understand how hope exists and is experienced in the relationship between refugee parents and their children. Questions will explore what makes parents feel hopeful, what makes children feel hopeful, and how parents and children can make each other's relationship stronger. The results will be helpful to agencies and service providers that are trying to develop programs and improve their services by understanding positive factors in the lives of refugees in Canada. The findings of this study will be published and shared with others at conferences and workshops.

Confidentiality

I would like to include you and your child in this study. All information for the study will be gathered by using interviews and photographs taken by you and your child during the study. The study is completely voluntary and you may withdraw from participating at any time without negative consequence. Your personal identity will also be kept private by using fake names and removing all identifying information in photographs, interviews and written documents. Fake names will also be used when research is published and presented. All research materials will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in the office of my supervisor at the University of Alberta Education Building, and will be handled only by me and my supervisor. All interpreters used in this study will also be required to agree to these terms of ensuring your privacy. If you are agreeable, the data collected from you and your child during this study may be used for future studies also.

Overview for Participants

If you consent for you and your child to participate in this study, I will set up a meeting with you and your child together in a convenient location. At this time, we will review the objectives of this study, and you will have a chance to ask any questions. I will then give each of you a disposable camera. You will be asked to independently take photographs of anything that you associate with hope. However, you cannot take photographs of other people, because those people have not given permission for their identities to be revealed to the research team. It is important that you and your child work separately during this phase of the project. After you are finished, I will arrange to pick up the cameras in order to have the film developed. After the film has been developed, I will arrange one to two interviews with you and your child separately. Please note that all interviews in this study will be voice recorded. During these interviews, we will discuss the photographs, sources of hope in your life and challenges to your hope. You may also bring in photographs that you have in your home. I will have a similar discussion with your child. These interviews will each take around one hour. After these interviews, I will review the transcripts, and will again arrange to speak with your and your child separately to discuss with you what I have learned from our interviews, and to see whether you agree with my findings. You will not have to pay for any photograph development, and you may keep a copy of the photographs if you would like. If you are interested, I will also contact you when the research has been written up as a final document, in order to distribute a copy to you and your child.

This study has been reviewed and approved by the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board 1 (REB1). For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, you can contact the Research Ethics Board at (780) 492-0459. You may also contact my supervisor, Dr. Sophie Yohani at (780) 492-xxxx.

Thank you for your consideration,

Sincerely,

Soraya Lakhani
M.Ed Student, Counselling Psychology
Department of Educational Psychology
University of Alberta
email: sorayalakhani@gmail.com
phone: (780) 667-xxxx

Appendix B2:

Child Information Sheet
Study Title: Hope and the Caregiving Relationship

Objective of Study
The purpose of this study is to gain an understanding of your photographs of hope and how it is experienced in your relationship with your parent. I will interview you and your parent separately, and ask you questions about what makes you feel hopeful, what challenges your hope, and how your parent can make you feel more hopeful.

Overview for Participants
At our first meeting, I will give you and your parent each a disposable camera, and ask you to take pictures over the following week of things that make you feel hopeful, although you cannot take any pictures of people. It's important that you and your parent work separately on this part of the project. Once you're finished, I will pick up the camera and get the film developed. After I have the photographs, I will set up an interview with you and your parent, although I will interview you separately. I will be voice recording our interviews. I will ask you about your photographs, and how what you have photographed makes you feel hopeful. If you'd like, you can bring in photographs you already have. I will probably ask you to talk a little bit about challenges to your hope, your relationship with your parent and how your parent can make you feel more hopeful. This interview will last around one hour. After the interview, I will take a few weeks to listen to the recording, and will then arrange to speak with you and your parent although I will talk with you separately again. During this conversation I will tell you about what I learned from my interview with you, and you can tell me whether I fully understood what you were trying to say. You are welcome to keep any of the photographs you wish, and you can ask me questions at any time. If you do not feel comfortable participating in this study, you can withdraw at any time, and there will be no consequences.

Confidentiality
Your name will be removed from all written documents. Photographs and interview transcripts will be organized using a fake name, and fake names will be used when the research is written up. All identifying information will be removed and changed. All research materials will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in the office of my supervisor at the University of Alberta Education Building, and will be handled only by me and my supervisor. All interpreters used in this study will also be required to agree to terms of confidentiality. If you don't mind, I may use some of this data in future studies also.

You are welcome to contact me, Soraya Lakhani, at any time with questions or concerns. My contact information is below.

email: sorayalakhani@gmail.com phone: (780) 667-xxxx

Appendix C:

Parent Consent Form
Study Title: Hope and the Caregiving Relationship

Please answer the following question by circling Yes or No:

I understand the objectives of this study.	Yes	No
I understand the procedure of this study.	Yes	No
I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary, and I can withdraw consent on behalf of my child and myself at any time.	Yes	No
I understand that information collected from me and my child will be kept confidential, and all identifying information will be changed or removed before data is released.	Yes	No
I have read through and understand the content of this information and consent form.	Yes	No
I have had an opportunity to ask any questions that I have about this study, and I understand that I can ask questions about the study at any point in the future.	Yes	No
This study was explained to me.	Yes	No

If 'Yes', what is the name of the person who explained it to you?

_____

I give my consent for my child and me to participate in this study. Yes No

Name of Parent _____ Name of Child _____

Signature of Parent _____ Date and Time _____

Signature of Researcher _____ Date and Time _____

Appendix D1:

Detailed Parent Interview Guide

Icebreaker Questions
Tell me a little bit about yourself.
Can you tell me a little bit about how you found the experience of taking photographs?

Questions on Individual Hopes
Can you tell me about some of the thoughts you have about hope? Can you tell me about some of the feelings you associate with hope? What else do you associate with hope?
Can you tell me about a time when your hope was challenged?.
What are some of the things that helped you at that time?
Can you tell me a story about a time when you realized what hope means to you/how important hope is to you?

Questions on Photographs
I'd like you to go ahead and pick six photographs that you'd like to talk to me about today.

What is this photo about for you?
Can you describe how this photograph says something about your hope?
Can you tell me more about that?

(More specific prompts) → Can you tell me a story about this photo? Can you tell me about a time when (whatever is depicted in the photo) made you feel hopeful? Can you tell me about a time when you realized that (whatever is depicted in the photo) was important to your hope? Can you tell me about a difficult time when (whatever is depicted in the photo) was able to support you/make you feel better/more hopeful?
What are some of your thoughts about this photo?
What are some of the feelings you associate with this photo?
Can you tell me about how this photo is important to you?

Questions on Caregiving Relationship
I'd like to go back to the photos of your family.
Can you tell me about this photograph?
Can you tell me about your relationship with your child?
What are some of the things that are most important/special to you in this relationship?

Can you tell me some of the ways in which your child makes you feel hopeful?
Can you tell me about a time when things were difficult for you, and your child was able to make you feel better/more hopeful? Can you tell me about a time when your child wasn't able to make you feel more hopeful?

Is there anything you would change about your relationship with your child?
Was there ever something that happened in your family that made it difficult for you to feel hopeful? Tell me more about that.
What are some of the greatest strengths of your relationship with your child?
What are some of the thoughts/feelings you associate with your child?

Final Questions
What are some of your hopes for your child's future?
If you could only take 1 photo with you on a very long journey, which photo would it be? Can you tell me some of the thoughts/feelings you associate with that particular photo?

Appendix D2:

Detailed Child Interview Guide

Icebreaker Questions
Tell me a little bit about yourself and your family.
Can you tell me a little bit about how you found the experience of taking photographs?

Questions on Individual Hopes
Can you tell me about some of the thoughts you have about hope? Can you tell me about some of the feelings you associate with hope? What else do you associate with hope?
Can you tell me about a time when your hope was challenged? What are some of the things that helped you at that time?
Can you tell me a story about a time when you realized what hope means to you/how important hope is to you?
What are some of your hopes for the future?

Questions on Photographs
I'd like you to go ahead and pick six photographs that you'd like to talk to me about today.
What is this photo about for you?
Can you describe how this photograph says something about your hope?
Can you tell me more about that?

(More specific prompts) → Can you tell me a story about this photo? Can you tell me about a time when (whatever is depicted in the photo) made you feel hopeful? Can you tell me about a time when you realized that (whatever is depicted in the photo) was important to your hope? Can you tell me about a difficult time when (whatever is depicted in the photo) was able to support you/make you feel better/more hopeful?
What are some of your thoughts about this photo?
What are some of the feelings you associate with this photo?
Can you tell me about how this photo is important to you?

Questions on Caregiving Relationship
I'd like to go back to the photos of your family/your parents.
Can you tell me about this photograph?
Can you tell me about your relationship with your parent? What are some of the things that are most important/special to you in this relationship?

Can you tell me some of the ways in which your parent makes you feel hopeful?
Can you tell me about a time when things were difficult for you, and your parent was able to support you/make you feel better/more hopeful?
Was there ever a time when your parent wasn't able to support you, or when your parent made it difficult for you to feel hopeful? Tell me more about that.
Is there anything you would change about your relationship with your parent? Is there anything your parent could do to make you feel even more hopeful?
Was there ever something that happened in your family that made it difficult for you to feel hopeful? Tell me more about that.
What are some of the greatest strengths of your relationship with your parent?
What are some of the thoughts/feelings you associate with your parent?

Final Questions
If you could only have shared 3 photos with me today, which ones would they be?
If you could only take 1 photo with you on a very long journey, which photo would it be? Can you tell me some of the thoughts/feelings you associate with that particular photo?