NAVIGATING ETHICAL TERRAINS: PERSPECTIVES ON "RESEARCH ETHICS" IN KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP

A DISSERTATION
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ABSTRACT

A dearth of scholarship has examined the phenomenon of *research ethics* from the perspectives of young people living in refugee camps. The following three-manuscript dissertation explores how refugee young people, living in Kakuma refugee camp (Kenya), comprehend and make sense of participating in research. By examining theoretical constructions of research ethics with refugee young people, who have previously participated in research, this dissertation inquires how research participants report the impact and effects of participating as researched subjects. Via a critical ethnographic methodology, including qualitative interview methods, 31 refugee young people explored the underpinnings of "ethical research" in Kakuma refugee camp. The participants were positioned as the experts of research ethics in Kakuma refugee camp. Data indicate that multiple contradictions and discrepancies exist between the values of research ethics for (a) refugee young people in Kakuma refugee camp and (b) the foundations of ethical research scholarship/protocols. For instance, participants reported that researchers did not necessarily provide "benefits" or "respect" during their previous research experiences. Given the disparities in the constructions of research ethics, multiple theoretical prisms were utilized throughout the three manuscripts: postcolonialism approaches, anti-oppression research, self-reflexivity, power, and decolonizing practices. By situating refugee young people as experts in research ethics, this dissertation also presents participant-centered research recommendations for future researchers. These include *providing feedback to participants*, *exercising direct and transparent communication*, *following up with research recommendations*, and *reflecting on one's research and personal objectives in Kakuma*. Findings of this research reaffirm the responsibility of social work researchers, practitioners, and educators to explore "ethics" when engaging with communities that experience displacement, marginalization, and oppression.

RÉSUMÉ

Le phénomène de l'éthique en recherche, selon la perspective de jeunes résidant dans les camps de réfugiés a été très peu étudiée. Cette dissertation en trois manuscrits explore le sens qu'on donné des jeunes vivant à Kakuma, camp de réfugiés au Kenya, à leur participation à des initiatives de recherche. En examinant les constructions théoriques de l'éthique avec ces jeunes réfugiés, cette dissertation enquête sur les manières dont d'anciens sujets perçoivent l'impact et les effets de leur participation en recherche. Usant de techniques méthodologiques d'ethnographie critique, incluant l'entrevue qualitative, 31 jeunes réfugiés ont explorés les fondements de la recherche éthique. Positionnés en tant qu'experts sur la recherche éthique à Kakuma, ils ont partagé leurs perceptions, rapportés ici. Plusieurs contradictions furent notées entre les valeurs (a) de la recherche éthique aux yeux des participants et (b) les principes d'éthique identifiés dans l'érudition et les protocoles en recherche. Par exemple, selon les participants, les chercheurs avec qui ils avaient participés, n'avaient pas toujours fait preuve de respect ou assuré que cette participation en recherche résulte en de bénéfices réels. Étant donné les disparités présentes dans la construction théorique de l'éthique en recherche, de multiples approches furent employés, notamment: l'approche post-colonialiste, la recherche anti-oppressive, l'analyse du pouvoir, l'autoréflexivité et une approche décolonisatrice. En situant ces jeunes réfugiés en tant qu'experts en éthique de recherche, cette dissertation propose aussi des recommandations pour de futurs chercheurs. Ces recommandations incluent une communication claire et transparente avec les participants, notamment en leur offrant du feedback; de faire suite

aux recommandations perçues au fil du projet; et de faire preuve d'autoréflexivité, en identifiant honnêtement les objectifs de la recherche, ainsi que ses motivations personnelles à Kakuma. Les résultats de ce projet de dissertation réaffirment la responsabilité des chercheurs, et intervenants en travail social, à s'engager fermement dans une pratique éthique lorsqu'ils travaillent auprès de communautés vivant le déplacement, la marginalisation et l'oppression.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Attempting to identify and display my genuine gratitude and sincere appreciation for all of the support, energy, love, and guidance that framed this wild and majestic process currently feels unfeasible. While I'm indubitably left with a plethora of existential and practical queries related to this project, one aspect feels clear: this experience was one of the most existentially profound and riveting that I've been privileged enough to embrace.

How could I possibly not commence with the backbone of my doctoral studies: Myriam Denov?! Myriam's gracious and overwhelmingly supportive mentorship and guidance only amplified throughout my process. Thanks to Myriam's leadership, critique, personality, and encouragement, I have irrefutably advanced my academic writing, critique, nuance, point of reference, interest, and position as a social worker and social work researcher. Throughout my journey, Myriam's consistent desire for me to explore: "How will this work impact social work practice, theory, education, and research?" will incessantly guide me well after my training at McGill. Without Myriam, my academic trajectory would clearly look different.

I also am particularly grateful to my two doctoral committee members—Sara Kahn and Steven High. Both scholars were monumental in sharing their expertise and encouragement in a critical, yet very thoughtful and supportive manner. Shari Brotman was also influential and supportive with my research.

As I reflect on Kakuma, I feel it almost unethical or generic to attempt to offer my gratitude. How could I not, realistically, be appreciative and gracious for ALL of it?!! To identify specific individuals or moments feels insufficient, as I firmly believe every single soul that I crossed paths with had immeasurable influence on me, my research, and my personal experiences in Kakuma. These include those who smiled or frowned at me, engaged in an interview, shared a meal with me, drove me on a motorbike, drank Ethiopian coffee with me, fixed my mobile phone, took care of my Elija when she was grossly ill, cooked for me, taught me Kiswahili phrases, and so on and so on. The fact that a community in a refugee camp in rural, northwest Kenya unequivocally welcomed me without consideration is a notion that I am unfamiliar with as a white man, who was reared in an individualistic, middle to upper class suburb in the U.S. As it currently stands, the vile President of my country wouldn't allow these folks to walk freely into my town and talk to me about my experiences of… whatever. The injustice is ripe, and at the current moment, my gratitude for all of what I was provided with in Kakuma simply cannot be put into words. I apologize.

I must be grateful for two travel awards that I received. The first, the McGill Thesis Travel Award, was monumental in affording me the opportunity to financially travel to Kenya and Kakuma, respectively. The second award will allow me to return to Kakuma in order to meet the needs of my participants' recommendations (e.g. share research results, present my research). I am grateful to the McGill School of Social Work and the Graduate Student Association (GSA) at McGill.

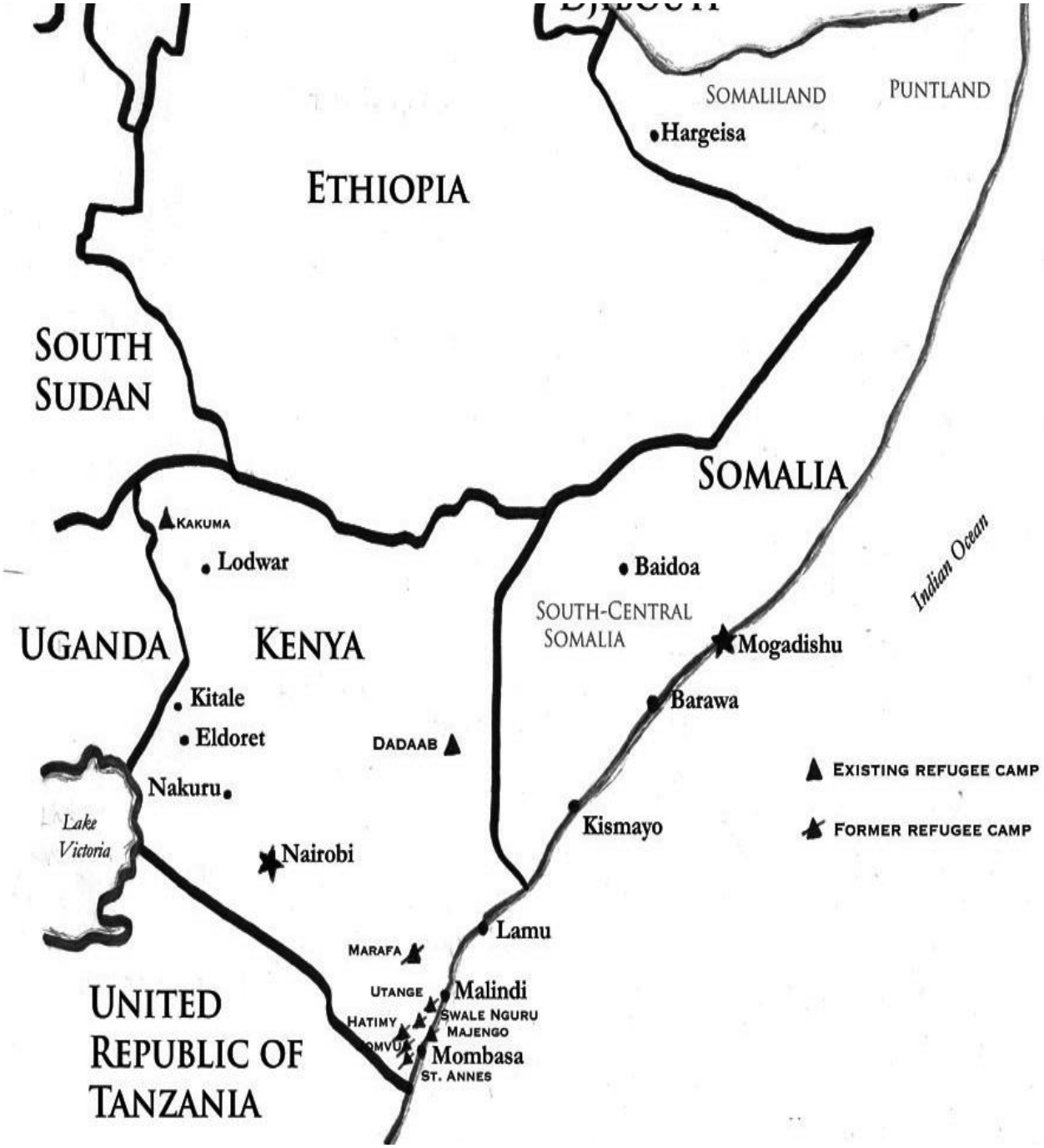
My family is rad. Individually and collectively, they are supportive of whatever I decide—another privilege. A few years ago, while at the beach with my nephews and nieces, one nephew

asked my sister, “Mom, do I have to go to school for as long as Uncle Neil does?” Well, Luke, it’s about over, brother! And, the answer is certainly, “NO!”

How could I not acknowledge my sister, Eve-ita. During some of my most intense moments while in Kakuma, suddenly, an image of Eve would appear. I would reminisce on our times sleeping in fields in Hawaii or philosophizing about the beauty of heroes such as Franz Fanon or Che Guevara or whether gay marriage would ever be legal in the U.S. I would instantly feel a sense of calmness, that she was with me—she is with me in this world, I feel that, for sure.

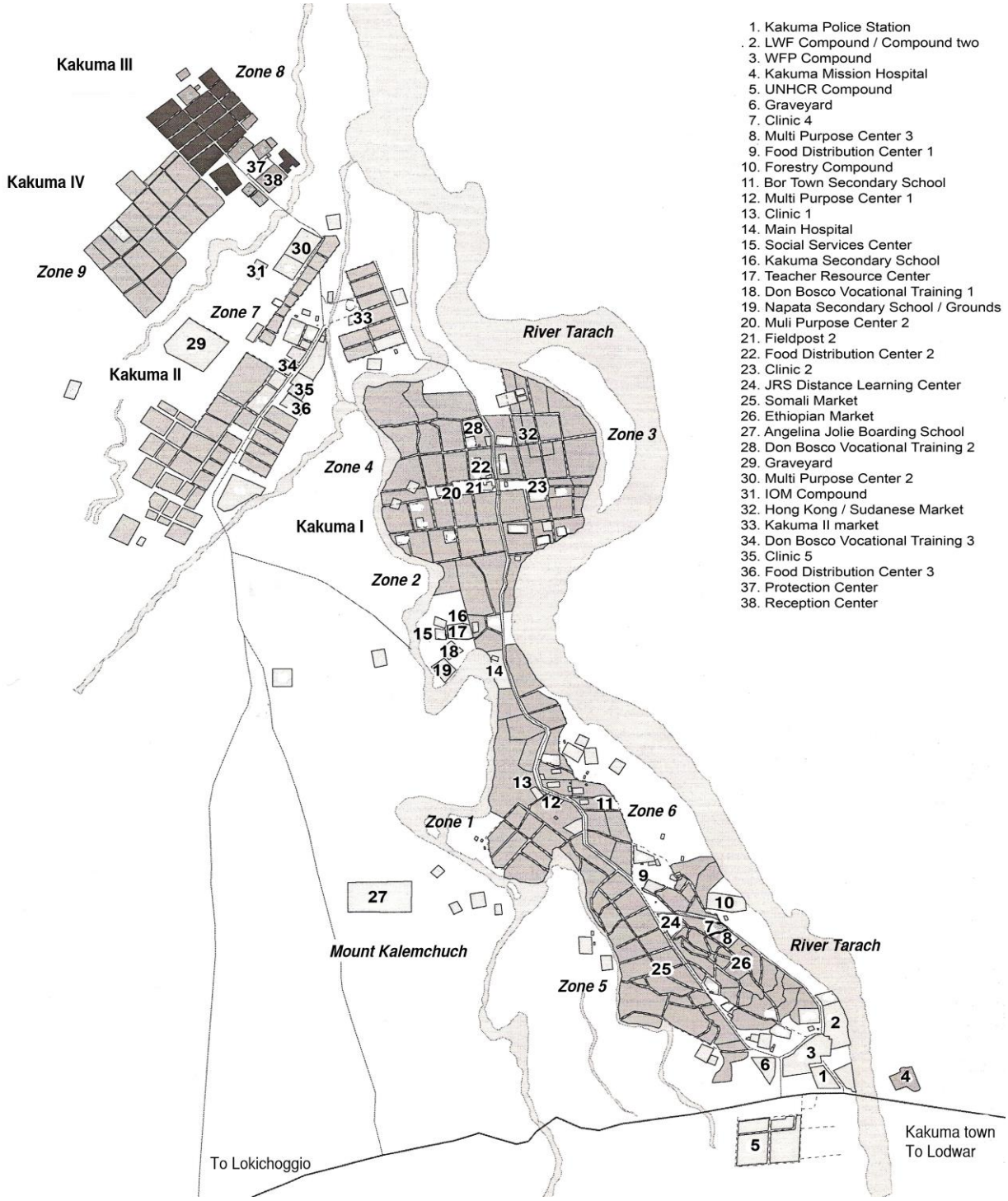
Without further ado, my lovely Elija! Goodness, where would I be without my Elizabeth?! Not only were you integral in engaging in theoretical debates surrounding my work, but also rereading my drafts. Who would be more fitting for this?! You understand the energy of what I’ve drafted here; you experienced Kakuma! For that, I am forever grateful! I also love those yoga reminders or demands to “put down your work, and let’s watch another episode of the British Baking Show.” ALL of YOU was precisely what I needed at each exact moment. Thank you, my partner!

Figure 1: Map of Kenya[1]



[1] Map adapted by author from Grayson, 2017, p. xi.

Figure 2: Map of Kakuma Refugee Camp[2]



[2] Map cited directly from Jansen 2011, p. xiii. Please note that exact details and locations may have shifted in the past seven years. However, the general layout currently remains the same.

INTRODUCTION: IDENTIFYING THE RESEARCH(ER)

Upon searching for a snack in the late afternoon of an exceptionally hot day in Kakuma refugee camp, I stumbled into a dusty shop owned by a Somali family. Initially, a woman in her 50s was the only member present. Given our novice attempts at communicating in languages we only marginally understood, we engaged in what, at first, appeared a pleasant conversation. Using a constellation of Swahili, English, and Somali vernacular, I relayed that I was a "student researcher from a Canadian University." With that, the energy in the shop shifted from one of hospitality to one of frustration and anger. It was at this moment that the shopkeeper began shouting in Somali. Confused, I listened until a man in his 20s entered from the back room. The woman's expressions evidenced that her irritation was directed at me. The man, speaking fluent English, translated for the shopkeeper, his mother. "My mother has become upset." I apologized and asked what had transpired. His response left a pit in my stomach. "She said, 'I've been living in this camp for 20 years, my husband is disabled, and I have no money. You white people have been asking me questions and interviewing me for 15 years. Asking me questions about my life and my husband's problems. And, have I seen one single thing change for the better in my life? No! The answer is No! My husband is still disabled, and I am still poor—living in Kakuma. So, I don't want to see you people anymore, unless you are going to bring change. If not, please get out of my store." I apologized to both the mother and son, and embarrassingly left the shop.

Although a particularly unpleasant encounter, this interaction engendered myriad questions that I continue to grapple with. How was I perceived as an outside researcher in the

context of a protracted refugee camp? What were the true underpinnings of *my* research? Why do *I* get to claim it as *my* research? What was I ultimately hoping to accomplish by facilitating research in Kakuma refugee camp? Are researchers in Kakuma adhering to the needs and expectations of research participants? What are such needs and expectations? Considering my research topic, I had intellectually explored a number of such questions prior to my engagement with the shopkeeper. Being explicitly asked to leave a store based on my status as a "research student," however, viscerally generated feelings and emotions that transcended my intellectual queries.

The incident with the shopkeeper echoed what Limes-Taylor Henderson and Esposito (2017) identify as *using* research participants for the benefit of the researcher. Research in Kakuma refugee camp has existed since the mid-1990s; yet, comprehending the ways in which participants of research make sense of engaging in such research studies is seldom acknowledged. How can researchers in Kakuma refugee camp be assured they are not "using" the researched for their own advantage? By failing to account for such concerns, can researchers authentically claim to facilitate "ethical research" agendas? Finally, what is "ethical research" in the confines of Kakuma refugee camp, and who gets to ultimately decide?

In this three-manuscript dissertation, I explore and unpack research ethics in the context of Kakuma refugee camp. Discourse regarding conducting "ethical research" is abundant in academic scholarship. A majority of ethical research guidelines/protocols and scholarly literature regarding "appropriate research ethics with refugees," however, was drafted in the Global North. Can we, as researchers, from the Global North, be certain that *our* constitution of research ethics aligns with our participants', especially when our research participants are formerly colonized and contemporarily marginalized and oppressed?

As a white social worker from the Global North who works with those labeled "refugees," I have been concerned by the lack of urgency or desire of social workers' ascertainment of how research impacts research participants. Instead, conceptualizations of "appropriate" research ethics and concrete ethical frameworks of research are often designed via researchers' ideological constitution of ethical guidelines. Such guidelines appear to exclude the voices of refugee participants (C. Clark-Kazak, 2017; NHMRC, 2015). This may exemplify mainstream discourses that generally recognize refugees as victims (Bryan & Denov, 2011) and vulnerable (Bilotta & Denov, 2017) who are incapable of determining ethical practices that align with their needs/values. Such beliefs may perpetuate a hegemonic ideology that privileges researchers' voices and actions above refugees. As such, shifting the "expert" or agency perspective from the researcher to the researched, in the latter's philosophical assessments of research in Kakuma, was a catalyst for undertaking this project. For instance, how are the Global Northern constructs of *respect for persons* (CIHR, 2014) and minimizing or avoiding *harm* (NHMRC, 2015) understood in the Global North? Moreover, are they congruent with those living in Kakuma refugee camp? Indeed, it has been noted that by failing to appreciate how the researched comprehend the research process, researchers run the risk of perpetuating a hegemonic or colonial divide between the privileged researcher and the subjugated research participant (Chilisa, 2012; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012).

Due to their underrepresentation in refugee programming and academic literature (Clark-Kazak, 2011), young people[3] are generally not provided the same space to express themselves as

[3] My dissertation will identify "young people" in reference to Clark-Kazak's (2011) work with Congolese refugees in Uganda. She posits that identifying this population in a chronological age categorization is often futile because of cultural variations in what signifies "age." In addition, many refugees may be unaware of their chronological age if they were displaced while young and have no birth documentation. She defines "young people" by a "social age" category which denotes young people as "those who have passed puberty, but who have not yet married" (2011, p. 11). For the purposes of this study, however, "young people" will be considered 18 to 30 years of age.

those labeled “adults” (Lawrence, Kaplan, & McFarlane, 2013). While in Kakuma, I was frequently informed that “young people” are “very important” as they are “the voice and people of the future in Kakuma, Africa, and the world…. They have valuable information and need to be heard” (personal communication, February 23, 2017). Moreover, when provided the platform to offer insight, young people have thrived (MacDonald et al., 2011) especially in contexts of forced migration (Doná, 2007). This information, coupled with my previous experiences as a social worker with refugee “young people” in the Global North, inspired me to focus exclusively on this age range. The denotation of young people between the ages of 18-30 was selected on (a) Clark-Kazak’s (2011) work and (b) my consultation with numerous Kakuma residents, of all ages, who defined young people between the ages of 15-30 years. Due to the bureaucratic challenges (e.g. Research Ethics Boards) associated with facilitating research with those under 18, specifically in refugee camps, my study identified refugee young people as those aged 18-30 years.

By focusing on the experiences or understandings of research ethics, from the perspectives of refugee young people, I intended to shift the gaze from the researcher as “expert” to that of the participant. I envisioned refugee young people as the most qualified to accurately respond to Gillam’s (2013) enquiry: “What are ethically appropriate ways of conducting refugee research?” (p. 23). As such, I set out to explore the following research questions: *How do previously researched refugee young people, living in Kakuma refugee camp, negotiate and make sense of engaging in research? How does research impact research participants, upon its conclusion? How do young people living in Kakuma refugee camp understand concepts such as respect and reciprocity? How does this population experience the process of being interviewed?*

What are the specific needs and/or expectations that refugee young people expect when participating in research?

The following will illustrate how my positionalities and experiences led me to this research topic. I will then, succinctly, detail the three encompassing manuscripts which all take on independent, yet intersecting themes and components of research ethics with refugee young people living in Kakuma refugee camp.

Mapping the Research(er)

The power and complexity of embodying my privileged positionalities has indubitably forced me to reflect on the ways that I navigate my existence. As a white, educated, able-bodied, cis-gendered, heterosexual man, from the Global North, I am positioned in the elite realm of the asymmetrical power divide enveloping this world. My daily life circumstances and experiences are inherently less challenging than those situated in the marginalized spheres of society. Attempting to gain a deeper awareness of the inequities that privilege and power instills upon subjugated populations has compelled me to travel extensively. As a naïve white man, I have commonly made (and continue to make) mistakes when working with oppressed individuals and communities. A richer awareness of how those in positions of power continuously control those without, however, surfaced during my Master of Social Work internship in northern Uganda.

In 2010-2011, I completed an eight-month internship with a non-governmental organization (NGO) in Gulu, Uganda. Although the NGO was locally-operated, all "major" decisions were determined by the NGO, which was headquartered in Italy. In order to continuously receive funding, the Ugandan employees were obligated to heed the instruction instituted by those in Italy or risk forfeiting monetary assistance. I witnessed circumstances

where the commands from Italy directly contradicted the needs of the organization's beneficiaries in Uganda. In addition to generating frustration, among Ugandan staff members, specific projects were ineffective and eventually failed. As I became more attentive to such practices, I understood that this was not an anomaly, but the norm for several "locally-run" NGOs in northern Uganda. Indeed, a Ugandan colleague explained, "This is a perfect example of colonialism today. These people in Italy think they know what is best for us in Uganda, but within a year they spend only one week with us" (personal communication, March 21, 2011).

Upon returning from the experience in northern Uganda I began exploring notions of power as they relate to international social work. I was obliged to consider how the remnants of formal imperialism consistently linger. In the Ugandan context, there was a powerful and controlling Italian NGO dictating direct practices for the post-conflict and formerly colonized society. It was clear that the Ugandan employees of the NGO were more qualified to formulate objectives that met their beneficiaries' needs. Yet, the Ugandans were undermined by a powerful and elite group who operated roughly 9,000 kilometers removed from the reality of life in northern Uganda. Although I felt frustration, I imagined my feelings were incomparable to the Ugandan NGO workers.

A few years later, I experienced another puzzling situation. While shadowing a Lebanese social worker on the Lebanese/Syrian border in 2013, I was introduced to several non-Middle Eastern researchers. During lunch together, one such researcher claimed that the Syrian refugees continuously asked him how his research would help them. Intrigued, I asked him how he responded. The young researcher claimed that he stated "no" his research would not directly "help them," but instead provide other researchers with information with respect to the myriad challenges of life in the refugee camp. I was informed that such a response was met with

"ambiguity" from the Syrians. It was at this point that I began questioning the undergirds of research, particularly with displaced populations. I wondered how and if research could ostensibly be facilitated or acknowledged in a less lopsided fashion. The "benefits of research" trope surfaced as I followed the social worker through various camps for new Syrian refugees. I wondered whether researchers and Syrians shared similar expectations of "benefits." Was each party (researcher and researched) anticipating benefits? If so, did they align?

Upon returning to the Global North, I was employed as a social worker for "unaccompanied refugee" young people with a U.S.-based refugee resettlement agency. Before long, I understood the asymmetrical power dynamics between the organization (and inevitably me as a social worker connected to said organization) and the refugee young people. I experienced countless instances where those of us in power (social workers, directors, supervisors, administrators) acted in the "best interest" of the young people, though without considering the young people in the decision-making process. Routinely, the repercussions of those decisions inadvertently created circumstances that commonly required repair. As not every situation could be redressed, an inevitable barrier remained between the employee and the refugee young person. Frustrated and angry, one young person stated, "Why don't you people [employees] ever ask us what we want? Like, if it's a better idea to live with those foster parents or other family members that we might have here?" (personal communication, December 4, 2012). The practice of collaboration was fundamentally absent in this context, which seemed the antithesis to the discipline of social work.

The underpinnings of *ethics* and *power* became paramount as I conceptualized my interactions with forcibly displaced communities, primarily young people. While moving through my doctoral process the constructs of research ethics, power, colonialism, research

benefits, and expectations reemerged with each conjectured dissertation project. Finally, it was evident that research ethics with refugee young people outweighed each surmised research plan. Essentially, I determined that a prerequisite for holistically appreciating research ethics must incorporate all active parties, from the researcher to the researched. I wondered whether failing to collaborate with or acknowledge research participants' understanding of research ethics was similar to the Italian organization's executive powers in Uganda. Prior to detailing my decision to study this topic in Kakuma refugee camp, I will first illustrate the paradox of my embarking on such a project.

A Privileged Researcher Studying Research Ethics

It has been suggested that the identities and positionalities of the researcher are an essential and pervasive component of the research endeavour (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). As a white, outside researcher, entering a refugee camp, examining the ways refugee young people unpack ethical research with outside researchers should incite caution. In fact, I was what I was studying! Was that practical? Could I expect participants to be authentic with me? For instance, what if refugee young people, who had previously participated in research studies, experienced research participation adversely? Would they feel comfortable transparently sharing this with me, another outside researcher? Or would they attempt to placate their experiences considering I am, albeit remotely, a member of the same community (e.g. "research community") that engendered those negative perceptions? Additionally, how would I "ethically" respond to claims that members of my (research) community were not aligned with the needs and expectations of refugee young people? In consideration of my research topic, would I be beholden to redress any negativity or problems associated with research in Kakuma refugee camp? Moreover, how would my research benefit my participants? I intermittently pondered how my positionalities,

specifically that of an outside researcher, would disrupt the research. In hopes of assuaging such anxieties, I asked each participant two questions that I anticipated would promote transparency. These included (a) *Why did you decide to participate in this research project with me* and (b) *what do you want future researchers in Kakuma refugee camp to know before they come here?* Despite my trepidations about being an outside researcher studying research ethics with refugee young people, I trusted that the benefits of attaining such knowledge would outweigh the irony in my research project.

Why Kakuma Refugee Camp?

As stated, my dissertation incorporates the views of formerly researched refugee young people living in a refugee camp. The decision to travel to Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya, however, was primarily related to its protracted status and its familiarity with research. Established in the early 1990s, Kakuma refugee camp is not only one of the world's oldest but has also received myriad outside researchers. From its early days of inception (Russell & Stage, 1996) to contemporary times (Crea, 2016), researchers have uninterruptedly made themselves present. Such research has, moreover, commonly included young people as participants (Grayson, 2015; R. Horn, 2010). Markedly "safer" than other refugee camps of its stature (e.g. Dadaab refugee camp), I understood that methodically navigating the sociopolitical terrain of Kakuma was also less restrictive than others. For instance, in Kakuma refugee camp I was able to walk freely, whereas in Dadaab refugee camp (also in Kenya) it was obligatory that I be escorted in an International non-governmental organization (NGO) Sports Utility Vehicle (SUV). Additionally, due to the "threat" of al-Shabaab[4], outsiders in Dadaab are offered minimal

[4] Founded in 2006, Al-Shabab, whose name translates from Arabic as "the Youth," is an Islamist insurgent group based in Somalia, but also known for deadly attacks in Kenya. The group is also thought to have ties to al-Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb and Boko Haram in Algeria and Nigeria respectively (Felter, Masters, & Sergie, 2018).

freedom to explore their surroundings without armed protection. I was concerned that such a presence could ostensibly further the unequal power divide in an already marginalized context. Therefore, I opted with Kakuma refugee camp.

In order to set the stage for situating oneself in the following manuscripts, providing a contextual analysis of Kakuma refugee camp, Kakuma town, and the research environment in Kakuma refugee camp, is critical.

Context of Kakuma

Kakuma Refugee Camp

Kakuma refugee camp (see Figures 1,2) is positioned in the semi-arid region of northwest Kenya. It is situated about 100 kilometers south of the South Sudan border and 1,000 kilometers northwest of Nairobi. The protracted refugee camp encompasses four zones (Kakuma I-IV) over 10 kilometers and houses roughly 148,00 refugees, 48,00 above capacity (UNHCR, 2017). Inhabitants of the camp hail mainly from South Sudan and Somalia, though significant populations from Sudan, Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and less from Eritrea, Uganda, and Rwanda reside within (UNHCR, 2017). Each zone in the camp was built to accommodate the growing number of refugees fleeing their homes. For instance, the camp was established in 1992 following the arrival of 12,000 Sudanese "Lost Boys" who were separated from caregivers amidst the chaos of conflict in their country (Jansen, 2016). Many of their fellow country members followed, as did others from Somalia and surrounding countries; all were housed in Kakuma I. Due to the growth in population, Kakuma II was established in 1997, followed by Kakuma III in 1999, and subsequently Kakuma IV (Grayson, 2017).

Following the eruption of civil war in South Sudan, the UNHCR and the Kenyan government established the Kalobeyei settlement in 2015. Roughly twenty-five kilometers away from Kakuma IV, Kalobeyei was designed as a settlement as opposed to a refugee camp. Although the complexity of how each are defined will not be undertaken here, the settlement varies in longevity. As a settlement, refugees as well as Kenyans may inhabit the space and opt for permanent residency in Kalobeyei. This differs from the camp, which was intended as a "temporary" place to seek refuge. As my research was conducted exclusively in Kakuma I-IV, my dissertation will not provide further detail on Kalobeyei.

The weather in Kakuma is especially harsh. With flat and barren terrain, temperatures regularly exceed 40 degrees Celsius and the yearly rain accumulation is only between 7-15 inches (Ohta, 2005). When the rain does arrive, however, one can expect severe flooding in homes and an inaccessibility of roads throughout the camp. Dry riverbeds (known as *lagga*) traverse the camp and infrequently rage with polluted water and random flash-flooding. During my time in Kakuma, water in one lagga took the life of a handful of South Sudanese young children attempting to enjoy a swim. Two days following a heavy rain, navigating the contaminated sewage, rubbish, and watered streets of the camp was a major challenge that forced the postponement of two of my scheduled interviews.

NGOs in Kakuma Refugee Camp

Like various refugee camps, Kakuma is host to myriad non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations (CBOs) that provide a gamut of services. Although visitor accessibility to the camp is processed and permitted via the Kenyan government's Refugee Affairs Secretariat (RAS), it is apparent that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) essentially controls the camp and most services within it. Indeed, nearly

every aspect of camp governance, excluding policing, is organized by UNHCR and its partners (Jansen, 2013). Leading international NGOs in Kakuma, including Lutheran World Federation (LWF), International Rescue Committee (IRC), Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS), National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK), Windle Trust Kenya (WTK), Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), FilmAid International, Don Bosco, Handicap International, are all partners of UNHCR. UNHCR offers funding to such organizations based on its approval of said organizations' implementing projects. The NGOs provide multiple services throughout the camp. The convolutedness of several UNHCR, RAS, and various NGOs' dubious protocols will not be explored in this paper. It is worth noting that countless camp inhabitants shared feelings of deceit and corruption inflicted by employees of RAS, UNHCR, and the Kenyan police team. In fact, while in the camp, I learned that five Kenyan UNHCR workers were terminated for soliciting funds from refugees as a means of expediting the refugees' resettlement cases (AFP, 2017).

Despite corruption, services are dispersed throughout all four zones of the camp. Food rations, which are undeniably diminishing, are distributed once a month by the World Food Program (WFP). The rations are meager and inadequate, lacking meat, fruit, or vegetables (Grayson, 2017). The camp is host to 21 primary schools and 19 early childhood centres (all facilitated by LWF) and just 5 secondary schools (operated by WTK). The schools are terribly overcrowded with more than 100 students in a class and often instructed by teachers lacking proper qualifications. Situated throughout the camp are several medical facilities. Due to the lack of trained medical professionals in Kakuma, IRC, the organization that operates the medical services, offers a rudimentary six-month training course for refugees. Following the course, graduates are then privy to provide medical services. While visiting an acquaintance in the disheveled admittance ward of a health clinic, the inexperience was palpable. I observed a

refugee patient politely ask the amateur medic, sporting a tattered soccer jersey and a baseball cap, what liquid was entering his vein via an IV. The medic callously responded, "If you want to know what I'm doing, why don't you just go take the six-month class!" And with that, the conversation was over.

Don Bosco offers micro-credit initiatives, computer and vocational training programs such as beautician certificates, computer repair, and sewing in different zones of the camp. Jesuit Refugee Services operates the majority of mental health services. These include individual and group counseling, support for those with severe mental health impairments, and a program for unaccompanied refugee young people. Prior to gaining employment at JRS, refugee applicants must undergo a three-month counseling training course that unquestionably leaves the average worker inadequately trained. In addition to the inexperience, I was informed by a counselor at JRS that "regularly talking with people who observed their family brutally killed sometimes makes me feel upset and think about my family members, who are not with me" (personal communication, April 26, 2017).

Salary vs. Incentive Work

Although expatriates and non-Turkana (locals of the region) Kenyan employees hold all of the managerial positions in most NGOs, roughly 90 percent of all agency staff members are refugees, who are commonly referred to as "incentive workers" (Grayson, 2017; Jansen, 2011). Incentive worker positions include teachers and directors of schools, medical staff, language interpreters, mental health counselors/directors, English language and computer teachers for adults, cleaners, security guards, food distributors, community outreach workers, etc. The term "incentive workers" reflects the fact that officially, per the Kenyan government, refugees are unauthorized to work, and the "incentive" is a way around this (Jansen, 2011). Incentive workers

generally share similar duties as salaried NGO workers (e.g. non-Turkana Kenyans and expatriates), though their "incentive pay" is punitively lower than their Kenyan counter parts. Aside from a few school teachers, rarely does one encounter a Kenyan national NGO staff member working in the community. As one South Sudanese woman explained to me, "They [Kenyan and expatriate NGO workers] don't really know our problems because they sit in their cool [airconditioned] offices all day and get refugees to do all of their work" (personal communication, February 8, 2017).

A refugee incentive worker at a primary school may earn roughly 50-70 USD per month, while a Kenyan national, teaching an identical lesson, grosses roughly six to eight times that (Grayson, 2017). Incentive work salaries were established by UNHCR and justified on the notion that (a) it is illegal for refugees to be rightfully employed in Kenya and (b) refugees receive food and housing material which should balance out costs. This theory fails to account for the fact that nearly all Kenyan nationals working with NGOs in the camp are provided food and living accommodations that are grossly superior to the dwellings of nearly all incentive workers. Expatriates from the Global North earn markedly greater salaries as compared to all others; a middle-level international staff member at UNHCR may earn 7,000 USD per month (Grayson, 2017).

UNHCR establishes incentive pay rates and mandates its partner organizations to implement these salaries. While inquiring about these exploitative practices, I was informed that staff members from two NGOs gently challenged UNHCR on this and were notified that a failure to oblige by such policies would result in a termination of the partnership. Since essentially all the NGOs in Kakuma camp rely on UNHCR for funding, they were left with little choice. To think that incentive workers are unaware of such blatant discrimination is erroneous.

While listening to the frustrations of one incentive worker, I naively questioned his ability to speak with a director in the agency. Attempting to control an incessant smile, he stated, "I am a refugee here. I have no rights to complain. If these people see me complain, they will call me ungrateful and sack [terminate] me and give my job to someone else. I have to realize that my incentive is better than no incentive at all, even if it is not fair" (personal communication, April 18, 2017).

Solidarity and Advocacy with Vulnerable Individuals in Crisis – SAVIC

During my five months in Kakuma, I partnered with the unique NGO *Solidarity and Advocacy with Vulnerable Individuals in Crisis (SAVIC)*. SAVIC was atypical for an NGO in Kakuma as it was developed by two Congolese refugees living in the camp. In 2010, SAVIC's Director, Muzabel Welongo, launched the organization by initially providing English language and sexual and reproductive health classes for young people in Kakuma. As word caught on, the classes grew in number and Muzabel, along with current Chief Operations Officer, Vasco Amisi, were able to secure funding from outside sources. In 2017, SAVIC shifted from a Community-based organization (CBO) to an NGO and now partners with UNHCR and other NGOs. Being classified an NGO, as opposed to a CBO, signifies registration with the Kenyan government and undoubtedly provides more credibility and financial opportunities. Contrarily, a CBO maintains a more informal status with ostensibly less infrastructure and outside monetary assistance.

The two active departments of SAVIC are its Education and Livelihoods (EduLives) Program and the Adolescents Sexual and Reproductive Health (ASRH) Program. EduLives activities include functional literacy training, English language instruction, and vocational classes for both young people and adults. The EduLives programs, moreover, support economic independence via the creation of savings and loan associations (e.g. microcredit programs)

among all refugee young people; however, it prioritizes women and girls. The ultimate goal is for beneficiaries to operate their own small businesses. The ASRH programs train "peer educators" to facilitate discussions with young people around sexual and reproductive health education. In addition, SAVIC staff members facilitate psychoeducational classes and workshops for adults on issues of sexual, intimate, and gender-based violence and gender equality. Finally, critical to ASRH is the promotion of "family planning" initiatives (e.g. contraception) that aim to reduce unwanted pregnancy and HIV/AIDS cases in Kakuma refugee camp.

SAVIC is located in Kakuma II, though its employees facilitate services and classes in Kakuma II-IV. While I was in Kakuma, SAVIC employed roughly 20 people, all of whom were refugees. Muzabel maintained that he intends to continuously hire Kakuma refugees, for all positions, from top to bottom. He stressed the importance of sustaining a place of employment where the employees are unequivocally the most germane to respond to the needs of the community. In addition to the abovementioned, my justification and interest in partnering with SAVIC will be further outlined in Manuscript I.

Informal Employment in Kakuma

Scholarly debate exists regarding refugees' dependency on NGOs (see Jansen, 2011). This dissertation will not engage in that discussion, though it will succinctly highlight the informal work setting that correspondingly exists in the camp. Bustling in the dusty and broken streets of Kakuma I is the Somali market. There one can find shops, restaurants, kiosks, *bodaboda* (motorbikes), and movie halls. A half of kilometer away is the Ethiopian market where similar shops and restaurants illuminate the area. Businesses in both markets offer mobile phones, drinking water, baked goods, food from their respective cultures, music, brightly colored clothing, photocopy/printing services, eateries to drink coffee/tea while viewing BBC and Al-

Jazeera news programs, and large groups of men. Such markets also exist in Kakuma II (the Congolese and Ugandan markets) and Kakuma III (the Burundian market). Markets throughout Kakuma are not only areas for business to earn capital but create a critical social fabric in which many camp residents choose to participate. It was reported to me that sex work is an additional form of income, as is generally the case in all societies, especially those deprived and oppressed (Bartolomei, Pittaway, & Pittaway, 2003).

The preceding provided a concise and cursory circumstantial snapshot of Kakuma refugee camp. As I resided outside of the camp, in Kakuma town, presenting a contextual detail of the town will offer insight into my reality beyond the camp.

Kakuma Town

The underpinnings of my desire to live in Kakuma town, coupled with the ethical encounters I faced while living in this context, will be unpacked in Manuscript I. In order to conceptualize the experience, however, a concise landscape of Kakuma town is necessary. Kakuma town sits roughly 1.5 kilometers down a pot-hole ridden, partially tarmacked road from the entrance of Kakuma I. The town is nestled in the Turkana District that covers an area of 68,000 square kilometers (Ohta, 2005). As one of the most isolated regions in Kenya, this desperately impoverished district is home to roughly 300,000 Turkana people dispersed throughout the entirety of the district (Ohta, 2005). The majority of Turkana have maintained a pastoral way of life—raising camel, sheep, donkeys, and goats. Prior to the establishment of the camp, Kakuma town consisted of a few shops on either side of the broken main street with approximately 2,000 people (Ohta, 2005). The town progressed in accordance to the refugee population and is now host to 40,000 Kenyans, not only Turkana, (Grayson, 2017). Though it

hardly feels that populated. The dusty, intermittently bustling town comprises a half kilometer of shops, traders, *bodabodas*, and small restaurants/bars.

The abject poverty is indubitable, and scholars have theorized whether refugees or the Turkana face a greater deprivation of basic human needs (Grayson, 2017; Ohta, 2005). Regularly on my evening journey from camp to town, I impassively observed Turkana women and children digging in the heat-drenched, cracked earth hoping to locate water. Concurrently, Turkana men often herded camels into the twilight. Without fail, while arriving in town, I was persistently approached by men, women, and children. "Mzungu[5] give me pesa" or "mzungu I am hungry." Frequently, I was physically grabbed and held during such encounters, and the novelty of seeing a mzungu in town never appeared to wane throughout my stay, at least from my interpretations. As the rain seldom fell, a lingering and consistent hazy dust cloud encompassed the influentially hot air.

A description of my living arrangements and connections to both the camp and town will be furthered in Manuscript I. This was based on the ways in which my living quarters and analysis of Kakuma town and refugee camp align with the content, theory, and methodology of Manuscript I.

Research Environment in Kakuma Refugee Camp

Kakuma refugee camp has been exposed to immeasurable research, both qualitative and quantitative, from the early 1990s to the present-day. The disciplines and topics of research have traversed an expansive range. For instance, early researchers in the camp explored children's

[5] Mzunugu is the Kiswahili term which literally translates to "aimless wanderer" (Che-Mponda, 2013), and was initially coined to identify European colonists. Contemporarily, *mzungu* is commonly used to refer to white foreigners.

experiences of being forced to flee their homes (Wilkes, 1994), the ways Sudanese women were adapting to life in Kakuma (Russell & Stage, 1996), and the reproductive health of young people (Jones, 1998), among others. During this time, NGOs also conducted research which included assessing childhood nutrition (IRC, 1997) and household food economies in the camp (Lawrence, Boudreau, & King, 1996). During the first decade of the 2000s, research expanded to cover issues of identity and citizenship (Bartolomei et al., 2003), resettlement (Jansen, 2008), intimate partner violence (R. Horn, 2010), disease and illness (Weinberg et al., 2009), education (Mareng, 2010), refugees' mental health (Kamau, Silove, Steel, Bateman, & Ekblad, 2004), and the camp's growth and development (Jansen, 2011). In the past eight years, individual researchers and NGOs have consistently conducted research projects similar to those mentioned.

Despite the surplus of research in Kakuma refugee camp, during my five months in Kakuma, I seldom encountered researchers. While I'm not certain as to why this was, one theory is related to my choice of residence. Although this will be unpacked in Manuscript I, it is also worth noting here. From my observations and understandings, researchers commonly reside at the United Nations (UN) or the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) compounds, located on the fringes of the camp. In order to enter these heavily securitized compounds, one must have connections to UNHCR, LWF, or any of the organizations that operate within each compound. For instance, the LWF compound is also home to the International Rescue Committee (IRC) offices. While in Nairobi, prior to traveling to Kakuma, I met with a European staff member of an international organization (name intentionally omitted) which was situated at LWF. That staff member was on holiday from their post in Kakuma. As we spoke on numerous occasions and formed an acquaintance, I was provided the opportunity to reside at the LWF compound.

However, due to several reasons which are outlined in Manuscript I, I opted not to live at a compound, but instead in Kakuma town.

While in Kakuma refugee camp, I only met and interacted with two researchers. Both were white PhD students—one woman from North America, studying "international development," and one European anthropology student. One of the researchers had traveled to and from Kakuma three times, and the other conducted her/his research in one and a half months. One of the researchers resided at LWF and the other at the UNHCR compound. While conversing and philosophizing with each student individually, we shared our research interests, goals, methodologies, theories, and objectives of our research. Upon revealing my research topic/study, I was met with similar reactions from both parties. Indeed, both independently claimed that my research was "very interesting" and "important" work. Perhaps more importantly, however, was that both alleged to have not previously considered returning research results or providing feedback to their participants, up completion of their work. One of the students awkwardly stated, "Ah, now I feel really bad that I am not planning to have any further communication with these people [research participants]" (personal communication, March 1, 2017). Each time that both students shared what perceived to be guilt-related responses, I clumsily attempted to assuage the uncomfortableness by stating something along the lines of, "Oh I'm not trying to make you feel bad, I'm just interested in research ethics and reciprocity." I'm still contemplating why I felt the need to "take care of" those two researcher students. My goal in sharing my research interests, however, was not intended to instill feelings of guilt or shame in them.

Although I only connected with two researchers during my time in Kakuma, I corresponded with another European researcher via e-mail. A constellation of communicating

with researchers, academic and agency-based literature, and discourse with RYP, suggests that researchers constitute a diversity of academic disciplines. Some of these include social work, psychology, anthropology, public health, medicine, nursing, economics, political science, history, education, geography, cultural studies, leisure studies, African studies, and psychiatry. The research projects which RYP partners of my research participated in, will be identified in the methods section of Manuscript II. This will also include the generalizations that RYP participants made of outside researchers.

The following section of the introduction offers a succinct summary of the three manuscripts that compose the thesis.

Intention of the Three-Manuscript Dissertation

Overall, each manuscript in this dissertation addresses issues related to the "ethics" of facilitating research, with refugee young people, in Kakuma refugee camp. The dissertation is designed in a fashion so that each study should be read in conjunction with its predecessor. For instance, the first article is intended for researchers interested in the complexities of facilitating research with refugee young people in refugee camps or other similar contexts. The second and third texts focus on empirical data that explores how refugee young people (RYP) comprehend "research ethics." More precisely, the second manuscript unpacks RYPs' understandings of three specific ethical research principles. Findings from this article suggest that RYP participants' values of research ethics are often incongruent with how they are understood in the Global North. Moreover, these findings engendered the third article which ascertained RYP-inspired recommendations for future researchers in Kakuma refugee camp. Presenting these three documents in such an order provides the reader with a contextual landscape of (a) the personal ethical responsibilities of an outside researcher in Kakuma refugee camp, (b) how participants

make sense of research ethics protocols, and (c) recommendations for future research(ers) in Kakuma refugee camp. Moreover, providing the three manuscripts in such a fashion allows for the organic flow between each section of the dissertation.

The dissertation is primarily framed via a critical ethnography, though it also incorporates components of critical autoethnography, particularly in Manuscript I. Although the objective is for the dissertation to be read as one unit, each study could also be read as a single entity. For instance, each manuscript encompasses its own theoretical approach and structure. As such, minor overlap exists between the articles.

Summary of Three-Manuscripts

Manuscript One: Sharing the Turmoil of a Privileged Researcher in an Inexplicable Setting: The Ethical Complexities of Conducting Research in Kakuma Refugee Camp

Prior to drafting this manuscript, I envisioned it would exclusively focus on the participants of my research and be rooted in empirical data. However, as the paper progressed, it was evident that it explored my personal ethical experiences of conducting research in Kakuma refugee camp. Therefore, this manuscript is not a typical, data-based paper. Instead, it incorporates components of both critical autoethnography and critical ethnography in an expansive exploration of my relationship to my everyday surrounding in Kakuma refugee camp and Kakuma town. From a critical autoethnographic approach, via numerous self-reflexive journal entries, I detail several ethically important moments/constraints that privileged, outside researchers may encounter when facilitating research in many oppressed and post-conflict contexts, particularly in the Global South.

In utilizing both critical ethnography and critical autoethnography, I argue that researchers have a responsibility to explore how their positionalities (e.g. power and privilege) impact their daily environs during the research endeavour. For example, what is a researcher's "ethically appropriate" behaviour within and outside of the parameters of research, particularly in refugee camps or other similar settings? Moreover, who ultimately gets to make that determination? Although the paper poses more questions than provides answers, it posits that researchers must extend beyond the requirements of research ethics boards (REBs) and academic scholarship constituting "appropriate research ethics" with refugees and similarly oppressed communities. Through personal reflection, the paper also exemplifies the ways that nearly all decisions, from choosing a place to eat lunch to responding to participants' requests, engender ethical encounters which may last well beyond the research experience. Finally, considering the paper is not driven by data, it is a reflexive account detailing the various ethical dilemmas that occurred during my five-month experience in Kakuma.

Manuscript Two: "Anthem for Researchers": Postcolonialism and Research "Ethics" in Kakuma Refugee Camp

This data-driven paper explores three commonly cited—in research ethics boards/academic literature— research ethics principles of *respect for persons, beneficence (maximize benefits and minimize harm),* and *justice* from the perspectives of RYP in Kakuma refugee camp. The paper illustrates an existing incongruity between how these ethical codes are acknowledged in academic scholarship/research ethics boards and via RYP participants of my research. Moreover, while privileging the perspectives of RYP and situating ethics at the centre of research (Krause, 2017), it became apparent that these three research principles were Eurocentric in nature.

This paper applies principles of *postcolonialism,* including *othering*, to illustrate potential connections between research ethics in mainstream research methodologies, methods, and theories, in Kakuma refugee camp and other formerly colonized contexts. Postcolonialism was selected as it aligns with the context of my work and how participants seemed to relate to research ethics. In addition, such a framework may highlight how research in postcolonial societies appears to disregard and marginalize *other* ways of knowing (Chilisa, 2005). Furthermore, this manuscript posits that researchers and research ethics boards would do well to adopt a decolonizing process towards research ethics to potentially redress some of the incongruence. Additionally, it attempts to create dialogue between researchers with the intention of (a) identifying the misalignment between research ethics protocols and RYPs' perceptions of them and (b) initiating/continuing decolonizing practices that challenge the inherent power inequities between researchers and research participants, particularly in formerly colonized and contemporarily oppressed settings.

Manuscript Three: Whose Ethics?: Research Recommendations from Refugee Young People in Kakuma Refugee Camp

The objective of the third manuscript was to investigate the experiences that research "participants have of research participation, and the impacts it has on them" (Gillam, 2013, p. 23). Grounded in feedback from 31 refugee young people, there was an overwhelming feeling that participants'(a) expectations were "unmet" and (b) were the recipients of researchers' "false promises." As such, the paper provides four of the most cited RYP participant-inspired "research recommendations" for future researchers.

Rooted in the four recommendations, the paper draws parallels between RYPs' "advice" for future researchers and social work's anti-oppressive practice (AOP) and anti-oppressive

research (AOR) theoretical prisms. Anti-oppressive agendas are especially practical in the context of Kakuma as (a) RYP tacitly recommended researchers embrace such frameworks and (b) anti-oppressive research practices are particularly relevant with oppressed and subjugated communities (Strier, 2006). While holding researchers accountable, the paper also identifies the nuances associated with achieving the four recommendations. Finally, both the broad and specific implications for social work are explored.

The "comprehensive discussion and conclusion" section of the dissertation summarizes all three articles, while identifying similarities among them. Furthermore, it provides the study's implications for the social work discipline (practice, education, and research) and revisits some of the main recommendations, cited in all three manuscripts.

Contribution to Original Knowledge

While scholarly discourse considers the complexity of conducting "ethically important" research with refugee communities (Block, Warr, Gibbs, & Riggs, 2012; Krause, 2017; Lawrence, Kaplan, & Dodds, 2015; Lawrence et al., 2013), a dearth of research prioritizes the participants in *their* understanding of research participation. Instead, such research is largely theoretical, emanating from the voices of researchers. The minimal research that has offered perspectives from refugee research participants (Pittaway, Bartolomei, & Hugman, 2010) is, generally, secondary to the researchers' primary goals. Thus, such research was not examined or explored in an in-depth manner. Contrastingly, the core objectives of my dissertation were to gain further insight into how research ethics is understood, from the perspectives of refugee participants, living in a refugee camp, who have experienced research. By spending five months in Kakuma refugee camp and interviewing 31 refugee young people, who have previously participated in research, this work adds an integral and often absent voice in attempting to

comprehensively understand research ethics with refugee populations: refugee research participants themselves. Without including the voices of research participants, are researchers in a position to apply ethical principles of research that are relevant to all parties involved?

Each manuscript in this dissertation individually includes specific and unique contributions to knowledge. For instance, via a critical autoethnography and critical ethnography, Manuscript I concludes that researchers and research ethics boards (REBs) must be held more accountable prior to embarking on/permitting research in refugee camps or similar contexts. For instance, in addition to "procedural ethics" it is critical that REBs incorporate "relational ethics" into REB applications. Manuscript I suggests that relational ethics are far more common and certainly more convoluted in research conducted in refugee camps and other similar settings. Researchers, furthermore, must acknowledge that their presence both within, and, perhaps more importantly, outside of the formal research setting undeniably impacts participants' experiences of research. A dearth of academic scholarship addresses the "informal" settings of research (e.g. a researcher's living environment, food choices, transportation modality, etc.) and the micro and macro-level implications of these decisions. In contrast, this manuscript contributes the advancement of knowledge in forced migration studies by illuminating a critical, yet often overlooked aspect: comprehensively exploring the researcher within this work? Moreover, how do the daily decisions of a researcher impact (a) participants experiences of research and (b) future research in refugee camps or similar settings? As such, researchers must explore who *they* are in their work—in other words, *why* are they undertaking such a study?

Manuscript II analyzes the participant-reported misalignment of three research ethics principles (i.e. *respect for persons, beneficence, and justice)* between researcher ethics guides and participants in Kakuma refugee camp. As previously acknowledged, a paucity of academic

literature empirically prioritizes the cross-cultural underpinnings of research ethics protocols. For instance, recommendations for "respectful" research (Dickert, 2009; Dickert & Kass, 2009; Guillemin & Heggen, 2009) with refugee communities (Lawrence et al., 2013) are generally situated in the theoretical prisms of researchers in the Global North. While this is valuable information, it excludes the values and expertise of a pertinent voice: refugee participants. Manuscript II centralizes refugee young people in *their* understandings of *respect*, *beneficence*, and *justice*. Due to the incongruity of findings between participants' perspectives of these ethical codes when compared to formal ethical research protocols, the findings were analyzed via a postcolonialism theoretical approach. This is a unique and novel approach to analyzing research ethics in that it accentuates and argues that the historical and contemporary oppressive factors, between the Global North and Global South, is partially responsible for the misalignment between the understandings of these pertinent ethical principles.

Manuscript III includes participant-inspired research recommendations for future research with refugees and other forcibly displaced populations via anti-oppressive research (AOR) theoretical prisms. Most often, "future research recommendation" are derived from researchers. This manuscript, however, identifies participants as the most germane to offer research recommendations for future researchers in refugee camps and other similar contexts. This is unique in its own right. Furthermore, by analyzing the participant-stimulated research recommendations, via social work's anti-oppressive practice (AOP) and anti-oppressive research (AOR), this manuscript argues that researchers and REBs consider decolonizing research ethics principles in order to engage in research that is respectful, beneficial, and just for all parties involved. This argument was tacitly supported via participants' "future research recommendations" for researchers entering Kakuma refugee camp.

Taken together, the dissertation's methodology, diverse theoretical lenses, research results, and data analysis all collectively contribute to original knowledge that has the potential to enhance (a) future research in Kakuma refugee camp and other similar settings and (b) the discipline of social work.

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LITERATURE REVIEW

Each of the three manuscripts contains *individual, comprehensively detailed literature reviews* specific to the theoretical approaches and methods utilized in each paper. This section, therefore, will provide an overview that leads to the justification and overarching conceptual framework of the dissertation. Moreover, it outlines the main theoretical approaches applied in each manuscript. It is important to note that (a) the review of literature in this section is not substantial or comprehensive (see individual manuscripts for expansive literature reviews) and (b) inevitably, there exists overlap and intersection between this overarching literature review and the literature reviews for each distinct manuscript.

Justification for Research Project

With the effects of globalization and advancements in technology, the field of social work has expanded considerably in the 21st Century (Bragin et al., 2014). Such developments have engendered an increase of social work scholars facilitating research in the Global South, particularly with war-affected young people (Bragin et al., 2014) living in refugee camps (Cooper, 2005a). Within the field of social work, specifically international social work, scholars have debated whether or not ethical research principles and procedures can/should be universally applied across cultural contexts (Healy, 2007). Conducting research in refugee camps, moreover, is further convoluted by the vulnerability and marginalization of inhabitants in many of the world's camps (Hugman, Pittaway, & Bartolomei, 2011). A concerted attempt to improve ethical research processes in refugee camps is necessary as refugees are susceptible to exploitative and harmful research practices (Hugman, Pittaway, et al., 2011).

As among the most socially and economically isolated and discriminated against, refugee young people living in camps are often valued less than adults (Boyden, 2001; Lawrence et al., 2013). Consequently, research conducted with young people, particularly in refugee camps, risks privileging researchers' perspectives and experiences, as opposed to those of the participants (Boyden, 2001). Failing to comprehensively explore research ethics with refugee young people residing in refugee camps constitutes a lack of respect (Lawrence et al., 2013) and prioritizes the researcher as expert (Ali, 2014). Including refugee young people as active agents in research, conversely, has the potential to enhance the overall research process (MacDonald et al., 2011) for both the researcher and the researched.

A specific body of theoretical scholarship, with regard to research ethics, stresses the importance of researchers providing agency to young people affected by war (Boyden, 2000; Lawrence et al., 2015). Such advocacy literature consists of researchers prioritizing the voices and affairs of young people affected by armed conflict (Denov, Doucet, & Kamara, 2012) and, more precisely, those in refugee camps (Cooper, 2005a; Mareng, 2010). Within the existing scholarship, however, a systematic exploration of how young people residing in refugee camps perceive the ethical agendas of research is absent. As a population that continues to be researched, young people residing in African refugee camps (Marin, Welongo, & Beatty, 2015; Muftee, 2014) are often exposed to research practices and principles that misalign with their own ideals (Cooper, 2005a).

With the oldest and most densely populated refugee camps in the world, Kenyan camps (Jansen, 2013) have historically and contemporarily experienced an influx of academic and organizational research projects (Grayson, 2017; R. Horn, 2010; Muftee, 2014; Polonsky, Ronsse, Ciglenecki, Rull, & Porten, 2013). Such research has prioritized young people as

participants (Grayson, 2017; Mareng, 2010; Marin et al., 2015). Despite the surplus of research in Kenyan refugee camps however, particularly Kakuma refugee camp (Grayson, 2015, 2017; R. Horn, 2010; Kodish, Rah, Kraemer, de Pee, & Gittelsohn, 2011; Ohta, 2005), an examination of how research participants experience the research process is limited.

Seeking to address this gap in the literature, while prioritizing the experiences of research participants in Kakuma refugee camp, my research set out to uncover the ways in which previously researched refugee young people, living in Kakuma refugee camp, negotiated and made sense of engaging in research. This consisted of examining and unpacking research ethics with participants in my study, particularly in Manuscripts II and III. Unlike these data-oriented manuscripts, Manuscript I is a theoretical exploration of my experiences in connection to my identity as a white, Western-educated researcher in Kakuma refugee camp.

Manuscript I*:* *Sharing the turmoil of a privileged researcher in an inexplicable setting: The ethical complexities of conducting research in Kakuma Refugee Camp*

As I spent five months immersing myself within the context of both Kakuma refugee camp and Kakuma town, I situated my dissertation in a critical ethnographic methodology and also applied components of critical autoethnography.

Critical ethnography contrasts with traditional ethnography in that the former promotes progressive social change by not only prioritizing research participants' voices (McQueeney & Lavelle, 2017), but also positioning the researcher in a place to disrupt the status quo and challenge implicit hierarchal injustices (Madison, 2012). Therefore, merely advancing knowledge, generally the aim of traditional ethnography, is not the goal of critical ethnography. Instead, critical ethnography moves toward political action that can redress injustices ascertained or created during the research process (Cook, 2005; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

While the entire dissertation is framed within a critical ethnography, I certainly adopted principles of critical autoethnography in my research, most notably in this manuscript. Critical autoethnography is a form of autoethnography that enables researchers to incorporate data from their own life stories, as situated in sociocultural contexts, in order to interpret society through the unique lens of self (Chang, 2016). Critical autoethnography expands beyond autoethnography in that the former provides the researcher with a platform to combine personal narrative explorations while bringing attention to ways cultures are created and compromised via institutional, political, social, etc. relations to power, privilege, and oppression (Jones, 2018). Dispersed throughout Manuscript I are sections of my personal journal entries that were written during my time in Kakuma. These brief narrative accounts illustrate the interplay between self-conscious, introspective explorations combined with historical and contemporary accounts of how colonialism and power affect(ed) (a) my experiences and (b) the contemporary sociopolitical landscape of Kakuma town and refugee camp (Boylorn & Orbe, 2014; Ellis & Bochner, 2000).

The decision to primarily couch this dissertation in a critical ethnography as opposed to a critical autoethnography is based on several reasons, which will be explored in Manuscript I. One explanation, however, is related to "action" towards social justice. While critical autoethnography is pertinent to my understanding of social inequities, a critical ethnographer "feels an ethical obligation to make a contribution" towards redressing injustices experiences by research participants (Madison, 2012, p. 5). From my perspectives, critical autoethnography places less emphasis on addressing social injustices. Instead, it requires self-exploration, introspection, and thorough cultural analysis (Starr, 2010), but appears to place less prioritization on rectifying systems of injustice. Despite the significance of critical autoethnography's

principles, I prioritized advocating on behalf of the many disparities experienced by RYP in Kakuma.

It is in Manuscript I where I explore "ethics" in relation to research with refugee communities. I examine the discernment between procedural and relational ethics with refugee "young people." Vervliet and colleagues (2015) distinguish between *procedural ethics* and *relational ethics*, with the former dominating literature with young people affected by armed conflict. Procedural ethics include informed consent, privacy and confidentiality, institutional ethical approval, the right to withdrawal, dissemination practices, etc., (Court, 2018; Vervliet et al., 2015). While procedural ethics are, generally, more objective and tangible then relational ethics, several procedural ethical challenges exist when conducting research with young people affected by war. For instance, the cultural complexities of informed consent documents with displaced populations in the Global South have been given attention (MacKenzie, McDowell, & Pittaway, 2007). Akesson et al. (2014) questioned whether parental consent is necessary, as well as the age limit at which young people are able to consent to research. Moreover, Pittaway and Bartolomei (2013) acknowledge the perspective of one academic, from the Global North, facilitating research in a refugee camp. She noted, "Informed consent is a joke when there is no food, no proper interpreters to read the legalistic forms we take … sometimes it makes me feel sick to have to ask people" (p. 159).

Prior to detailing relational ethics, it is necessary to mention another germane dimension of ethics: "ethics in practice." Ethics in practice, or situational ethics, relates to the common unpredictable, often subtle, yet ethically significant issues that arise in the doing of research (Ellis, 2007; Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). For instance, how does a researcher respond to a participant's request for help or disclosure of something harmful (Ellis, 2007)? Since procedural

ethics cannot direct a researcher to an appropriate ethical response to such issues, Goodwin et al. (2003) claim that many ethical "dilemmas" (or situations) be worked through on a situational basis. Manuscript I details several "ethically important" moments where I acted on a "situational" basis. During these moments, it was clear that relying on procedural ethics would have provided minimal to no support with these experiences. It is within the dimension of "ethics in practice" that the researcher's ethical competence is at the forefront (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). Although I encountered ethically significant experiences in my research, my dissertation focuses specifically on relational ethics.

Relational ethics refer to the recognition of value and respect (Lawrence et al., 2015; Lawrence et al., 2013), reciprocity (Chilisa, 2012; MacKenzie et al., 2007), researchers' reflexivity (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004), and the deconstruction of a researcher's power and positionality within the research process (Barker & Smith, 2001). Moreover, relational ethics include collaborating or partnering with community members, guardians, social workers, teachers, or other actors in the participants' life to assuage the asymmetrical research relationship (Vervliet et al., 2015). Relational ethics attempt to privilege the agency of research participants while striving for dignity and connectedness between the researcher and participant (Ellis, 2007; Vervliet et al., 2015).

Although intersections exist between situational and relational ethics, I focus on relational ethics for several reasons. First, the principles of relational ethics parallel several cultural values of many residents of Kakuma refugee camp. Secondly, as Manuscript III illustrates, participants of this research informally recommended that future researchers in Kakuma embrace elements of a relational ethics framework. Moreover, as its name implies, relational ethics "deals with the reality and practice of changing relationships with our research

participants over time" (Ellis, 2007, p. 4). Given my research topic and the fact that I would spend five months with my participants, it was clear that relationships would, and did, shift over time. Consequently, relational ethics provided a richer grounding for rooting my dissertation than did "ethics in practice."

Like procedural ethics in research with forcibly displaced young people, a paucity of empirical literature explores how relational ethics are understood by research participants. Moreover, relational ethics are less acknowledged than procedural ethics in research with refugee young people. As such, Manuscripts II and III primarily examine relational ethics, and also, albeit more subtly, procedural ethics (e.g. informed consent) with refugee young people in Kakuma refugee camp.

Manuscript II: *"Anthem for Researchers"?: Postcolonialism and Research "Ethics" in Kakuma Refugee Camp*

The first data-driven paper (Manuscript II) in this dissertation examines three frequently cited guiding ethical research concepts—*respect for persons*, *beneficence* (maximize benefits and do no harm), and *justice* (CASW, 2005; CIHR, 2014; NHMRC, 2015)—from the perspectives of refugee young people (RYP) living in Kakuma refugee camp. It uncovers the ways refugee young people who had (a) previously participated in research and (b) resided (at the time of the study) in Kakuma refugee camp comprehended and made sense of these ethical codes.

This paper defines these three research ethics principles from these five bodies: *the Canadian Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* (CIHR, 2014), *Australian National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans*

(NHMRC, 2015), *the Belmont Report: Ethical Principles and Guidelines for the Protection of Human Subjects of Research* (Belmont Report, 1979), *World Health Organization (WHO) Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Researching, Documenting and Monitoring Sexual Violence in Emergencies* (WHO, 2007). These research ethics protocols were used based on their ubiquity across research ethics scholarship, particularly with displaced populations.

In addition, the manuscript frames RYPs' understandings of respect for *persons*, *beneficence*, and *justice* within a *postcolonialism* approach towards examining these three principles. Manuscript II argues that a postcolonialism theoretical prism may be beneficial for researchers working with formerly colonized and currently marginalized communities. Indeed, Tuhiwai Smith (2012) claims, "From the vantage point of the colonized … the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism" (p. 1). Manuscript II draws upon Schwarz (2005), as amended by Saada (2014), to define postcolonialism as, "the radical philosophy that interrogates both the past history and ongoing legacies of European colonialism [and American imperialism] … from static disciplinary competence to activist intervention" (p. 4). Postcolonialism refers to the various forms of locations and discourses, politics, literature, values, and the daily environs, both historical and current, that emanate from the history of colonialism (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2013; Madison, 2012; Young, 2016). This approach is applied to illustrate the divergences of *respect for persons*, *beneficence*, and *justice* between (a) definitions of these terms in research ethics literature and (b) RYPs' interpretation of them based on their previous research experiences.

Couched in a postcolonialism prism is the concept of "othering." Tuhiwai Smith argues that research has ostensibly been an encounter between the Global North and the *other* (2012). The *other* is a method for defining what is "normal"—the "other" is separate from "normal."

Othering, coined by Gayatri Spivak (1988), refers to the social and/or psychological ways in which one group excludes or marginalizes another. Indeed, othering continues to construct the world along opposing binary—self/other, colonizer/colonized, researcher/researched, developed/developing, Global North/Global South, etc. (Chilisa, 2005). Several scholars adduce, moreover, that ethical research codes and methodologies have the effect of silencing *other* approaches to research (Barnes, McCreanor, Edwards, & Borell, 2009; Cannella & Lincoln, 2011; Cram, 2009; Tikly & Bond, 2013). Consequently, postcolonial theory has been applied, albeit minimally, to conceptualize mainstream (i.e. Global North) research practices (Chilisa, 2012; Tikly & Bond, 2013).

By framing *respect for persons*, *beneficence*, and *justice* within a postcolonialism theoretical approach (including othering), this paper argues that the disconnect between the underpinnings of research ethics protocols in the Global North and how RYP participants reported them may be rooted in aspects of colonialization's reverberating effects.

Manuscript III: *Whose Ethics?: Research Recommendations from Refugee Young People in Kakuma Refugee Camp*

In response to Manuscript II, Manuscript III uncovers participant-centered research recommendations for future researchers in Kakuma refugee camp and other similar contexts.

As previously acknowledged, a defining distinction between traditional and critical ethnography is the latter's promotion of social justice (Madison, 2012). Therefore, I applied an anti-oppressive research approach to investigate issues of potential research injustices in Kakuma refugee camp, as reported by RYP participants. Anti-oppressive research is an expansion of Anti-oppression Practice (AOP). AOP, rooted in the discipline of social work, is a constellation

of theories and practices concerned with (a) identifying and understanding individual, institutional, structural, and systemic oppression and (b) engaging in processes to dismantle it (Clarke & Wan, 2011; Holley, Stromwall, & Bashor, 2012; Mullaly & West, 2018). AOP offers a conceptual model for understanding the intersection of oppression, privilege, and power dynamics at individual, institutional, and structural levels (Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005). With that understanding, AOP attempts to shift the oppressive structural mechanisms of social work service through macro-level changes that will promote social justice and equality (Dalrymple & Burke, 2006; Dominelli, 2002).

Generically speaking, the underpinnings of AOP are interwoven with both social work practice and research. Strier (2006), a contributor to Anti-oppression Research (AOR) literature, posits that the pursuit "to liberate social work research from oppression is based on the assumption that any intervention or research project, regardless of the benevolent and progressive nature of its goals and intentions, may replicate the structural conditions that generate oppression" (p. 859). Anti-oppressive research (AOR) scholars have highlighted the incongruence between traditional research methodologies (both quantitative and qualitative) and anti-oppressive values (Rogers, 2012; Strier, 2006). Indeed, it has been noted that despite the benevolent and progressive practices of social work research, the power inequities between the researcher and researched may ultimately replicate the structural conditions that engender oppression (Strier, 2006). Therefore, a fundamental objective of AOR is to shift the ownership of knowledge from the researcher back into the hands of those who experience the research phenomena (Potts & Brown, 2008). AOR literature maintains that researchers have a responsibility to contribute to assuaging power inequities in research. Therefore, by situating this manuscript in an anti-oppressive research approach, I addressed the "injustices" of previous

research, as reported by RYP, by situating the participants as experts in their own research experiences. This was an attempt to redress the reported “disrespect” and “exploitation” reported by a number of RYP participants.

Prior to presenting the data-driven manuscripts, I felt it necessary to approach the first manuscript by detailing the complexity and convolutedness of being an outside, white researcher attempting to explore research ethics in Kakuma refugee camp.

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MANUSCRIPT I: SHARING THE TURMOIL OF A PRIVILEGED RESEARCHER IN AN INEXPLICABLE SETTING: THE ETHICAL COMPLEXITIES OF CONDUCTING RESEARCH IN KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP

Introduction

As a white man, and a Western-educated social work doctoral student, I embody optimal privilege. Embarking on a comprehensive exploration of how refugee young people (RYP), housed in Kakuma refugee camp, conceptualize and comprehend the practical and theoretical phenomena of research, therefore, unequivocally warrants caution. As a research student, ensconced in privileged positionalities, examining the ways RYP living in a refugee camp negotiate and make sense of research and research participation is, perhaps, paradoxical. For instance, I am a researcher studying the moral underpinnings of "research ethics." Could I expect participants to be honest and forthcoming? Or would I simply be received as, yet, another researcher? As such, attempting to "ethically" research the complexity of research ethics as a powerful outside researcher, entering an oppressed refugee camp, engendered countless existential and practical dilemmas.

This paper frames my five-month doctoral dissertation data collection (January – June 2017) in Kakuma refugee camp, Kenya, via critical ethnographic and critical autoethnographic lenses. While the entire dissertation is rooted in a critical ethnography, this manuscript prioritizes critical autoethnography. As such, this is *not* a paper driven by data. Instead, it is a personal and reflexive account of the ethically significant moments that left me feeling confused and unsettled while attempting to act in ethically appropriate manners throughout my research and personal experiences. The goal of my dissertation was to explore the nuances of research ethics in micro and macro-level contexts within the camp. This manuscript unpacks several of the ethical challenges that I encountered while in Kakuma refugee camp and Kakuma town.

As a social worker, I have constantly engaged in self-reflexive practices throughout my work. Thus, while in Kakuma, self-reflexive journaling was a pertinent tool to support the convolutedness and messiness of being an ethically appropriate foreign researcher in a refugee camp. Though, as this paper demonstrates, a self-reflexive journaling process was clearly not a panacea to "solve" the complexity of my research experience. Indeed, I retrospectively wonder if my over indulgence in self-reflexive practices prioritized me and my experiences as opposed to affording more attention to participants and the situation at hand. I personally struggled and oscillated between a "healthy" self-reflexive practice and, conversely, acting as a privileged navel-gazer.

The aim of this manuscript is three-fold. First, by exposing my vulnerability and uncertainty I aim to create a connection with other researchers on the obfuscation of this work. Secondly, throughout the paper I return to Aidani's (2013) existential, yet practical questions: "What is the responsibility of the researcher to the [refugee] participant? How is responsibility towards the participant enacted?" (p. 208). While consistently ruminating on these questions, I quickly realized that, perhaps, a collaborative response among researchers, refugees, and NGO workers is necessary in order to holistically appreciate the diversity of perspectives. I argue that researchers studying in refugee camps and similar contexts, but particularly social work researchers, must hold themselves accountable to explore these questions. As the discipline of social work is predicated on "respect" and "social justice," social work researchers have an ethical obligation to inquire what constitutes an ethically responsible research relationship for research participants, especially for those participants that experience oppression. Therefore, researchers working in contexts of forced migration must expand beyond the boundaries of following research ethics protocols. Although such documents are essential, it is imperative that

researchers acknowledge these documents are simply one component of an entangled web of complexity. For instance, a refugee ethics protocol will not prepare a researcher to ethically respond when an HIV positive, emaciated young refugee mother is peering at you through bloodshot eyes asking for "anything" to help her baby. It will not guide a researcher on the ethics of an appropriate response to "teach the Kakuma community" ways of eradicating themselves of poverty. The intention of this paper, however, is not to provide answers to such existential queries, including "what is ethical and what is not ethical?" Instead, by detailing my experiences, my aim is to highlight the significance for researchers, facilitating work with refugee and conflict-plagued communities, to hold themselves accountable and responsible in the ways their (in)actions impact nearly all of their experiences and interactions. Finally, the paper argues that the discipline of social work revisits the concepts of ethics, power, and values in social work practice, policy, and education.

To support this argument, the paper will provide an initial exploration of what is meant by ethics in the context of research, specifically with refugee communities. It will then describe and justify my rationale for applying critical ethnography to the case of Kakuma refugee camp, followed by the way specific principles of critical autoethnography were employed in this paper. For instance, via multiple self-reflexive journal entries, the manuscript includes examples of my personal insecurities while striving to maneuver "respectful" and "reciprocal relations" when confronted with ethical encounters in Kakuma. Finally, implications for future researchers in Kakuma and the discipline of social work are proposed.

Ethics

Prior to commencing this research journey, I prioritized orienting myself within the labyrinth of conceptualizing ethics in Kakuma. How do I define research ethics? How do

residents of Kakuma define ethics? Do similarities exist? Murove (2009) denotes "African ethics" as a constitution of the core human relationships based on the principles of respect, reciprocity, communality, and solidarity. I reflected on the potential danger of lumping an entire continent's values into one large "African ethics" camp. Similar denotations of "African ethics," however, are considered by African scholars (see Chilisa, 2009, 2012). Therefore, I attempted to heed Chilisa's advice intended for researchers from the Global North. Situated in an Afrocentric lens, Chilisa (2009) posits that researchers from colonized countries generally adopt an I/we relationship in contrast to the Western concept of the I/you individualistic perspective. Moreover, by applying an I/we stance, researchers from colonialist nations could insinuate a more authentic relationship (Chilisa, 2009). This approach aligns closely with the Western construction of relational ethics, which will be discussed below.

Social sciences ethical research practices and protocols, specific to refugee populations, are abundant (Block, Riggs, & Haslam, 2013; Christina Clark-Kazak, 2017; MacKenzie et al., 2007; Miller, 2004; Mulumba, 2007; Vervliet et al., 2015). Among others, this theoretically-based literature has deconstructed and analyzed the role of researchers' respect towards participants (Lawrence et al., 2013), dominant positions (Marmo, 2013), attempting to "do(ing) no harm" (Hugman, Pittaway, et al., 2011), and ethics of responsibility (Aidani, 2013) and reciprocity (MacKenzie et al., 2007). Despite my best efforts to integrate this literature prior to and during my time in Kakuma, the perplexity of adopting appropriate ethical behaviours was constant.

Although I familiarized myself with respect, reciprocity, "doing no harm," and beneficence literature, applying such concepts proved to be a remarkable challenge. For instance, navigating the underpinnings of respectful and reciprocal relationships within the sociopolitical

terrain of Kakuma was far more taxing than intellectualizing them via scholarly literature in the comforts of my office in Montreal, Canada. By focusing on respect and reciprocity within the research context, this paper argues that the reality or actuality of engaging in these notions embeds the entirety of the experience, from the researcher's first to last step in Kakuma refugee camp. Moreover, it suggests that researchers wishing to study in Kakuma, and other similar contexts, are responsible for exploring both their own and their participants' constitution and understandings of "research ethics." Researchers, furthermore, must be held accountable for expanding beyond ethical research documents and prepare for continuous self-reflexive analysis and adaptations, which academic scholarship does not fully recognize.

Relational Ethics

Considering I am a social scientist and my dissertation was not concerned with medical or biological data, I prioritized "social sciences research ethics" as opposed to "biomedical research ethics." Though, the similarities between the two are plentiful. These include minimizing risks to participants, maximizing benefits, and being respectful (CIHR, 2014; CIOMS, 2002; WHO, 2007). With respect to ethical considerations in social sciences research, scholarship generally distinguishes between *procedural* and *relational ethics*. The former represents established mechanisms to ensure procedures effectively acknowledge informed consent, confidentiality, institutional ethical approval, dissemination, etc. (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Vervliet et al., 2015). Relational ethics attempts to privilege the agency of research participants whilst striving for dignity and connectedness between the researcher and participant (Ellis, 2007; Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). In many regards, relational ethics parallel the abovementioned classifications of "African ethics." For example, relational ethics refer to the recognition of value and respect (Lawrence et al., 2013; Vervliet et al., 2015), reciprocity

(Chilisa, 2012; MacKenzie et al., 2007), and the deconstruction of the researchers' power and positionality within the research process (Marmo, 2013). Relational ethics include collaboration with community members, guardians, social workers, teachers, or other actors in participants' lives. This partnering is designed to assuage the asymmetrical research relationship between the "I" (researcher) and "Other" (researched) (Vervliet et al., 2015). In this instance, the "I" inherently incorporates her/his moral responsibility over the, often subjugated, "Other" (Vervliet et al., 2015). It appears that within a relational ethics frame, conceptualizing research ethics relationally attempts to minimize the binary constructs of the researcher and the researched.

Also, of relevance to this manuscript is "ethics of practice" or "situational ethics." Situational ethics refer to the unpredictable, everyday ethical issues that surface during research encounters (Goodwin et al., 2003). Embedded in situational ethics are "ethically important" moments in research (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004) where a researcher's response may have consequences on an ethical level (Vervliet et al., 2015). For instance, how far should a researcher probe when a participant's overt emotional distress surfaces in an interview? Situational and relational ethics share related attributes. However, relational ethics is concerned with the formation and continuation of relationships as opposed to distinct situational encounters (Vervliet et al., 2015)

While this paper presents numerous "ethically important moments," it addresses these moments in a relational as opposed to situational ethics framework for several reasons. First, the principles of relational ethics are comparable with several cultural values of many residents of Kakuma refugee camp. Secondly, as its name implies, relational ethics "deals with the reality and practice of changing relationships with our research participants over time" (Ellis, 2007, p. 4). Given that I spent five months in Kakuma, my relationships with participants intensified and

became more personal. As the relationships deepened, it became evident that such "ethically important moments" were not "situational" or "in practice" but integral aspects of our relationship. Regular face-to-face contact moments with participants engendered long-term relationships that remain today. I inevitably entered "into the participants' contexts and became – temporarily and to a varying extent – part of their lives, thereby creating mutual bonds formed by trust and empathy" (Vervliet et al., 2015, p. 14). Moreover, given the fact that I would meet with participants several times, I was able to refer back to the tenets of relational ethics in an attempt to frame my responses and actions according to the values of both the participant and relational ethics (e.g. reciprocity, respect, etc.). In essence, relational ethics provided a richer ground for rooting my dissertation as opposed to "ethics in practice." As such, this paper explores my (relational) ethical affiliations as both a researcher and an outsider navigating life in Kakuma, via a critical autoethnography.

Critical Ethnography

The inspiration for me to apply a critical ethnography to my overall research in Kakuma was based on the following: the complexity of the methodology, my research topic, and my position as a social work researcher. In distinguishing between conventional/traditional ethnography and critical ethnography, I will outline my rational for adopting critical ethnography during my research. This includes the methodology's (a) promotion of social justice (Chilisa, 2012; Madison, 2012), (b) reliance on reflexivity (Dowling, 2006; Madison, 2012), (c) shift towards a Transformative Research Paradigm (Chilisa, 2012), and (d) utilization of dialogical methods (Carspecken, 1996; Madison, 2012).

As critical ethnography is couched within traditional or conventional ethnography, the two methodologies share commonalities. These include an emic approach in which a researcher

immerses oneself, via prolonged fieldwork experiences, within a "foreign culture" hoping to gain significant insight into said culture. A major distinction between the two is via critical ethnographers' aim to actively intervene on hegemonic practices that may surface in research (Madison, 2012). For instance, traditional ethnographers have tended to describe cultures through their own privileged sociopolitical positionalities that has perpetuated a problematic divide between researchers and their marginalized or "inferior" participants (Fine, 2000). Such hierarchy has distorted academic and mainstream discourse in which traditional ethnography has been associated with colonial undergirds (Bakali, 2015; Fine, 2000). In contrast, critical ethnography promotes progressive social change by not only prioritizing research participants' voices (McQueeney & Lavelle, 2017), but also positioning the researcher in a place to disrupt the status quo and challenge implicit hierarchal injustices (Madison, 2012). Therefore, merely advancing knowledge, generally the aim of traditional ethnography, is not the goal of critical ethnography. Instead, critical ethnography moves toward political action that can redress injustices ascertained or generated during the research process (Cook, 2005; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Conventional ethnography, moreover, addresses the participants by describing "what is"; in contrast, critical ethnography identifies "why this is and what can be done about it" (Cook, 2005, p. 132).

Prior to unpacking critical ethnography's relationship to a (a) promotion of social justice (Chilisa, 2012; Madison, 2012), (b) reliance on reflexivity (Dowling, 2006; Madison, 2012), (c) shift towards a Transformative Research Paradigm (Chilisa, 2012), and (d) utilization of dialogical methods (Carspecken, 1996; Madison, 2012), it is necessary to justify my decision to use principles of critical autoethnography.

Critical Autoethnography

In order to understand critical autoethnography, it is pertinent to first identify autoethnography. Autoethnography, as a research method, enables researchers to incorporate data from their own life stories, as situated in sociocultural contexts, to understand society through the unique lens of self (Chang, 2016). Autoethnography ostensibly provides the researcher with a platform to combine personal narrative explorations with cultural analysis (Chang, 2016). Ellis and Bochner (2000) describe autoethnography as, "auto-biographies that self-consciously explore the interplay of the introspective, personally engaged self with cultural descriptions mediated through language, history, and ethnographic explanation" (p. 742). Autoethnographies situates the self of the researcher as s/he describes her/his experience within a distinct setting. A unique component of autoethnography is that autoethnographers place value on self-analysis and personal information, topics that are generally beyond the reach of other research methods (Chang, Ngunjiri, & Hernandez, 2013). A universal definition of autoethnography appears absent from academic discourse. For instance, Ellis and Bochner (2000) define autoethnography as an organized analysis of personal experiences, the aim of which is to understand cultural expression. Whereas Holt (2003) notes that autoethnography illuminates the ways that a researcher interacts with the culture being researched. In autoethnography, the researcher's "self" is also a participant of the research. Although autoethnographers may define autoethnography differently, the notions of personal experience and culture appear to be central to various definitions (Le Roux, 2017).

Critical autoethnography, moreover, embraces identical principles of ethnography, though seeks to further understand the social conditions that produce autoethnography and ethnography (Reed-Danahay, 2017). For instance, while "autoethnographies may provide rich and detailed descriptions of cultures through the lens of personal experience, critical

autoethnographies work to bring attention to the ways cultures are created and compromised through institutional, political, social, and interpersonal relations of power" (Jones, 2018, p. 5). Critical autoethnography legitimizes first-person accounts of oppression and privilege while critiquing colonialism, racism, sexism, regionalism, ethnocentrism, etc. (Boylorn & Orbe, 2014). Indeed, a goal for the critical autoethnographer is to challenge readers to examine systems, institutions, and discourses that privilege some and marginalize others (Jones, 2018). Critical autoethnographies "extend the work of autoethnographies" and explore how an intersectionality approach reveals the relationships among class, ethnic, gender, sexual, etc. identities (Ellis & Bochner, 2014).

In order for me to fully embrace the ethically responsive social justice aspect of critical ethnography, it was pertinent for me to engage in the abovementioned aspects of critical autoethnography. For instance, self-analysis, via personal narratives, was imperative while analyzing my comprehensive experiences in Kakuma. Dispersed throughout this paper are sections of my personal journal entries that were written during my time in Kakuma. These brief narrative accounts illuminate the interplay between self-conscious and introspective explorations combined with the institutional, historical, and contemporary oppressions embedded in Kakuma refugee camp and Kakuma town.

Despite using critical autoethnography in this paper, I primarily frame my entire dissertation in a critical ethnography for two reasons. First, Manuscript I is the only component of my dissertation where I fully embrace a critical autoethnographic stance via analysis of personal journals entries and how they relate to systemic privileges and oppressions. Secondly, the "taking action" element of the social justice principle of critical ethnography was instrumental in the second half of my research (e.g. ascertaining research recommendations from

RYP participants); and Manuscripts II and III privilege the voices of participants (via dialogical research methods) as opposed to my analysis of "self" within the broader societal structures. Despite their unique approaches, critical ethnography and critical autoethnography do share the values of social justice and reflexivity.

Social Justice

The value of social justice in critical autoethnography was, ostensibly, more tacit than in critical ethnography. For instance, Boylorn and Orbe (2014) note that critical autoethnography is intended to "uncover oppressive power arrangements, and to fuse theory and action to challenge processes of domination" (p. 20). Furthermore, Jones (2018) adduces that the stories in critical autoethnographies are embodiments of knowledge that can and do generate change in the world.

Critical ethnography, on the other hand, overtly implies that researchers embody an ethical responsibility to address processes of injustices within a particular domain (Madison, 2012). By ethical responsibility, Madison (2012) refers to a researcher's obligation to instill a meaningful contribution in adapting conditions to benefit research participants. As a social worker, I am bound to the core social work value of the "Pursuit of Social Justice" (CASW, 2005) while navigating both social work practice and research. As such, reoccurring questions that surfaced, from my initial to final moments in Kakuma were *What am I going to do with this research and who will ultimately benefit from it?* Madison (2012) further challenges researchers' inherent power by posing, "What gives us [researchers] authority to make claims about where we have been?" (p. 8). Wrestling with these questions inspired me to query research participants on what *they* would like to see done with the research. In doing so, I intended to assuage the inequitable differences between the powerful researcher and subjugated participant by (a) seeking dissemination recommendations from participants and (b) supporting research

participants' agency in making decisions about future research in Kakuma refugee camp. This aligns with the methodology's emphasis on the lived experiences and agency of participants through participant insight and criticism that intends to promote social change (Bakali, 2015).

Applying a critical ethnographical lens implies that I move beyond a gatherer of information to a researcher determined and obliged to instill change. This principle was greatly complicated and confounded by the fact that *I was what I was studying*—an outside researcher examining research ethics. Concurrently, I was committing myself to ostensibly amend refugee research protocols. Was this even possible? I grappled with such concerns in my personal journal.

> Isn't the simple idea of my entrance into this camp studying *research ethics* as a Western researcher an oxymoron? After all, I am an outside researcher aiming to learn about outside research! Do I really, naively, anticipate research ethics protocols in refugee camps to align more with refugees' needs? Outsiders have been coming to this continent for centuries. And yes, researchers seek to 'help' but are we always as critical and aware of our presence as we *should* be? (personal journal, Feb 1, 2017).

Reflexivity

Paramount to ethically engaging within both a critical autoethnographic approach and critical ethnography is the notion of reflexivity (McQueeney & Lavelle, 2017; Ohito, 2017). Reflexivity constitutes a researcher's prudent reflections on how s/he constructs knowledge throughout the entirety of the research process (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). This involves a shift in the researcher's gaze. It is a "turning back" on ourselves, as researchers, while examining the complexities of our positionalities and how they holistically relate to the research experience

(Davies, 2008; Madison, 2012). Reflexivity in critical autoethnography extends beyond self-reflexivity and intersects the "self" with institutional, societal, historical, and contemporary oppressive frameworks. Due to my privileged identities, it was obligatory that I consistently deconstructed how such positionalities effected not only my research, but, perhaps more significantly, my daily interactions and relationships throughout my environs (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). As a researcher studying research ethics, my research required me to engage in self-reflexivity by the method of "having an ongoing conversation with your whole self about what you are experiencing as you are experiencing it" (Nagata, 2004, p. 139).

Implementing a reflexive approach consisted of unpacking my personal social and political locations, and how they impacted my perceived reality, experiences, ideological biases, and interests (Chilisa, 2012) during my experience in Kakuma. From epistemological and ontological lenses, I avoided merely representing the *facts* of my experiences and research. Rather, I struggled with actively constructing and deconstructing the epistemological and ontological questions of *what I know* and *how I know what I know* (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). This aligns with critical ethnography and critical autoethnography's examination of words and discourse and relating them to the macro-level historical and contemporary processes and social contradictions, while searching for the hidden forces that underlie such perceived reality (Cook, 2005).

Adopting a reflexive critical autoethnography is commonly facilitated via an extensive journaling process. The journal serves as an opportunity to record analytical processing and self-analysis while connecting with one's thoughts, feelings, and actions (Barry & O'Callaghan, 2008). During my time in Kakuma, journaling enabled my self-dialogical approach (Barry & O'Callaghan, 2008) while examining my identities and locations as they related to both my

research and my everyday surroundings. Furthermore, Tuhiwai Smith (2012) argues that an ethical research practice emboldens transparent reflexive processes between the researcher and researched. The persistent existential challenges associated with my reflexive process will be detailed, via personal journal entries, throughout the paper.

It must also be noted that over-engaging in self-reflexive practices may cause unintended consequences where a researcher may prioritize her/himself and inadvertently shift attention from the participants (Probst, 2015). This will be explored later in the manuscript.

The transformative research paradigm and dialogical methods principles are specific to critical ethnography and are minimized or absent in critical autoethnography.

Transformative Research Paradigm

It has been noted that dominant research paradigms have marginalized African societies' ways of knowing and engendered research designs that were irrelevant to the needs of the participants (Chilisa, 2012; Escobar, 2012). Therefore, I intended to situate my research within a Transformative Paradigm. The major underpinning of this paradigm is to emancipate and transform communities through group action (Mertens, 2015). Ontologically speaking, this paradigm suggests that reality is historically bound, yet constantly changing via sociopolitical, cultural, and power-centered influences (Chilisa, 2012). From an epistemological framework, knowledge is produced from research participants' frame of reference. According to Chilisa (2012), "the relationship between the researcher and the researched is not based on a power hierarchy … but involves a transformation and emancipation of both the participant and the researcher" (p. 36). As such, transformative research is a collaborative effort, between the

researcher and researched, to support social justice and human rights by prioritizing community expertise to stimulate social change (Mertens, 2009).

Conceptualizing this research paradigm forced me to reflect upon previous research conducted in Kakuma and various refugee camps. Such research has indirectly created the "us" (privileged outside researchers) versus "them" (marginalized refugees) divide. I queried whether my research would realistically adhere to the major tenet of the Transformative Research Paradigm. Or, would it replicate studies that pathologize refugees as vulnerable victims with serious mental health constraints?

> A great deal of research in refugee camps that I've read, specifically quantitative, has pathologized refugees which insidiously 'otherizes' an entire population of people. Could you imagine if the U.S. or Europe or Canada allowed 'people'—forget oppressed and subjugated peoples'—but anyone, to come into *our* communities and research *us* and write papers, books, and reports on *our* vulnerabilities, unhealthy living conditions, fragile infrastructure and then win awards off of our stories?! (journal entry, Feb 21, 2017).

To prevent collusion with such practice but instead align with the fundamental principles of critical ethnography, the transformative research paradigm, reflexive journaling, and the social work discipline, it was evident that constant engagement with research participants was essential.

Dialogical Methods

Critical ethnography employs dialogical methods which consist of participant observation, journaling, and individual interviews. All approaches resist a finality, but instead prioritize continuous reflection, observation, and conversation (Madison, 2012) throughout the

research process. This reflective dialogic practice is optimal for examining complex and power-infused processes that influence refugees' lived realities. Such analysis explores these processes and meanings in real-time. Moreover, by instilling a dialogical framework, researchers are in a position to capture the complexity and multiplicity of experiences (Holmes & Kastenda, 2014). Therefore, dialogical methods allow researchers to develop rich descriptions by unpacking phenomena from diverse viewpoints (Whitley & Crawford, 2005).

It must be noted that critical ethnography, the transformative research paradigm, and many African cultures represented in Kakuma refugee camp subscribe to "respect" and "reciprocity" ideologies (Chilisa, 2012; Madison, 2012). As such, I was committed to engaging in respectful and reciprocal relationships with research participants. Prior to exercising such practices, I would need to understand the contextual underpinnings of "respect" and "reciprocity" within the Kakuma context. This exploration will be illustrated in the following section where I contemplate the challenges of navigating Kakuma refugee camp as an outside researcher via a critical ethnographic lens, while prioritizing principles of critical autoethnography. Ideally, experiencing Kakuma for more than five months would have aligned closer to critical ethnography/critical autoethnography, given their resistance to "finality." This was a limitation of my project. Yet, I still attempted to ensconce the whole of myself within this methodology and ideology.

Relational Research Ethics in Kakuma – Town and Camp

The innumerable ethical complexities that surfaced during my time in Kakuma are simply too exhaustive to document in this paper. Instead, I draw upon specific "ethically important moments" (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004) and other situational and relational ethics encounters that may have obfuscated my efforts to practically advance the social justice or action-oriented

principles of critical ethnography. These include my endeavour to provide "respect" and "reciprocity" to my participants, as well as those I associated with. Prior to this, I will illustrate how my desire to insert myself within the Kakuma context inspired numerous personal lifestyle decisions while in Kakuma.

A major tenet of ethnographic research is to embed oneself within the culture. This notion, coupled with yearnings that I continue to explore, compelled me to reside in a context akin to residents of Kakuma town. Living within the refugee camp was prohibited as guests are forbidden after 6pm. I opted to reside in town where I boiled drinking water in my shoddy and dark dwelling. Government funded electricity is non-existent in Kakuma town though some businesses or hotels run generators from 7-10/11pm. The local vocational centre where I lodged provided terribly inconsistent electricity that seldom functioned. Consequently, I often illuminated my reflexive journaling via candlelight. The relentless heat failed to abate in the evening and I, therefore, do not recall a night where my body was not drenched with sweat. To relieve myself, I utilized a squat toilet where I encountered scorpions and freakishly large spiders. I frequently dined in dilapidated restaurants with delicious local food and an audience of young children desperately observing my every move. On the days when the provided food surpassed my appetite, the children aggressively ran in and competed for the remaining scraps. This prompted restaurant employees to forcefully shoo the hungry lads away. Observing this stirred up feelings of discomfort, particularly regarding my potential accountability in this situation.

> How do I realistically act in those situations when the children rush to get my leftover food and they are scurried out by the staff? Does the thought of my intervention——e.g. asking the owners to allow the children to eat the food—equate to a white saviour

> mentality? Perhaps it does. The difficulty is that I get a sense that these kids are actually, legitimately hungry. I decided to ask (name of restaurant employee) what he thinks. He stated, "Ah, Brother Neil. You see if you feed these kids today, tomorrow there will be 50 begging for everything you own. If you are going to survive here, you have to get used to life in Kakuma. It is too difficult here" (journal entry, February 4, 2017).

In addition to adhering to critical ethnography, I recognized a personal desire to live in town. I wondered if the ways in which feeling insecure about my researcher identity, specifically a mzungu researcher, may have contributed to my living at the vocational centre in town. Was I essentially attempting to escape being regarded as simply another mzungu researcher by both refugees and the local Turkana community? After all, I failed to notice any mzungu living in town; were they all living in the NGO compounds close to the camp?

Despite such queries, I am a mzungu and therefore unable to divorce myself from the historical and contemporary colonial devastation that whiteness has ensued on this continent. As such, I frequently deliberated as whether camp residents viewed me as "Neil" or just another mzungu. Consuming an entire page in my reflexive journal exemplifies this point. "You ARE a mzungu researcher; that may supersede Neil" (journal entry, February 13, 2017). Nonetheless, I questioned whether any of my behaviours, as a researcher in Kakuma, were significant. "I was alarmed to learn that prioritizing the value of interacting with participants as complex and important human beings as opposed to 'refugees' and sharing meals or numerously meeting for extended periods of time wasn't the norm for outside researchers" (journal entry, March 17, 2017). During an interview, a female participant shared that mzungu researchers generally disparage refugees by regarding the latter as "below us." Consequently, I was inspired to record my observations in and around the camp.

> I'm sensing an over-arching, dubious feeling that refugees feel mzungu researchers hold towards them. I've only interacted with a few mzungu here, and all of them live at either the UNHCR or LWF compounds. There, they sleep in air-conditioned rooms, access consistent electricity and running water, may opt to eat "Western" food, and spend time with other mzungu. Both enormous compounds are laced with barbed wire and display more security guards than any other place I've seen inside the camp. I seldom witness mzungu walking or biking through the camp. Instead, they are generally escorted around in oversized, speeding, white SUVs that emit clouds of dust all over the people walking on the side of the road. This must inevitably perpetuate the historical, colonial 'us' vs. 'them' divide. Do mzungu living in such fashions ostensibly signify that we are better than or too good to eat, walk, socialize, or live in similar capacities to refugees? Is this common mzungu lifestyle unethical? How is this not an overt form of "othering"?! (journal entry, May 2, 2017).

Throughout my experience, I continuously considered whether my meager endeavour to live outside of, what I perceived to be, the "mzungu box" was significant or simply futile considering I am a mzungu and not a refugee. Moreover, living beyond this "mzungu box" and applying critical ethnography and critical autoethnography engendered significant dilemmas both within and outside of the research context. The next section of this paper explores how such dilemmas relate to the principles of "respect" and "reciprocity," as both concepts are integral to relational ethics (Ellis, 2007), Afrocentric ideologies (Chilisa, 2012), and social science research in general (Seidman, 2013).

Respect and Reciprocity in Kakuma Refugee Camp

Both the profession of social work and research as a practice are rooted in a commitment to "respect" and "the inherent dignity and worth of all individuals" (CASW, 2005). In relation to research, respect recognizes that each participant has value within oneself and such value must inform all interactions between the researcher and researched (NHMRC, 2015). Respect implies that researchers design projects wherein participants' values are not compromised by the aims of the research, the mechanisms to conduct the research, or via dissemination strategies (NHMRC, 2015). A "respectful researcher" must attend to participants' sensitives and vulnerabilities (Dickert, 2009) while reflecting on one's own powerful positions as a researcher. Lawrence and colleagues (2013) posit that respect in "refugee research" is the ability to recognize the value of all persons and the particular needs of refugees. In addition, it creates positive contributions to the experiences of refugees, while holistically appreciating refugees beyond their refugee labels. Ensconced in respectful research is the notion of reciprocity.

Respect and reciprocity are not divorced from one another, but instead intersect within research. In multiple contexts, applying reciprocal research practices constitutes respect (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). Reciprocal relationships in research convey a continuous process of exchange between researcher and participant. The goal of reciprocal research is to maintain equality or feelings of connectedness between researcher and participant; it ultimately aims to eradicate the desire for power or hierarchy (Chilisa, 2012; Maiter, Simich, Jacobson, & Wise, 2008). Moreover, adopting a reciprocal approach stipulates an equality of benefits for both parties of the research. In reciprocal dialogue, the relationship between actors is based on mutual trust, honor, and integrity; this relationship underlies the core of every ethical approach in research (Yassour-Borochowitz, 2004). I quickly learned that committing to a respectful and reciprocal disposition was, at times, convoluted. For instance, will my research *actually* benefit the participants? How

does my previous role as a trained social worker differ from my current identity as a social work research student? The following illustrates several respectful/reciprocal ethical constraints that welcomed me while in Kakuma.

Abiding by respectful and reciprocal practices in Kakuma was less taxing while donning my researcher hat. For instance, my dissertation ostensibly examines how outside researchers can provide deeper levels of respect, beneficence, and reciprocity, among others, to refugees living in Kakuma refugee camp. Therefore, several of my interview questions acknowledged respect and reciprocity within the research process. Participants requested that future researchers be "respectful" by providing (a) a direct and transparent line of communication, (b) study results, and (c) attempting to implement results[6] (reciprocity). While posing questions about respect and reciprocity aligned with my research, I existentially reflected upon my behaviour in the interview process. I wondered whether I was participating in respectful or reciprocal interactions, especially in response to participants.

How do I act, or respond to participants' feedback, as a social worker implementing a critical ethnography during the interview? I connected this question to the concept of "emotional labour," which is embedded within both critical ethnography and critical autoethnography. With regard to research, emotional labour consists of a process that may elicit particular feelings or emotions in oneself as a researcher and research participants (McQueeney & Lavelle, 2017). My previous role as a refugee resettlement social worker, coupled with my current novice researcher status, obfuscated my conceptions of "appropriate" emotion during interviews. For instance, displaying empathetic feelings is critical in social work practice, though over sympathizing with

[6] See Manuscripts II, III for further information.

a research participant may denote bias or an inability to remain critical in analysis (McQueeney & Lavelle, 2017). If I was to remain partial, how would this effect my reciprocity in our relationship? My muddling with appropriate emotional labour, relating to respect and reciprocity, was evidenced in my reflections following an interview with a 22-year-old Congolese woman.

> I noticed myself responding with affirmation during that interview with (name). For instance, she claimed, "Mzungu researchers never come back to share research results, it's like they don't even care or don't respect us. They just take what they need and leave us." I responded with, "That is really not good and unfortunate that that happens!" I'm now wondering if I should have simply stayed neutral? Would that have showed more respect? Or was I attempting to initiate a "respectful" response by ultimately illustrating that I'll be more reciprocal in my work? Even though I followed up my statement with, "Why do you think that is," I still wonder how my response may have impacted the energy or showed bias during our interaction (journal entry, February 21, 2017).

Perhaps the most menacing interview I facilitated was with a 21-year-old Somali woman, only weeks after the sitting U.S. president initiated a ban on all Somali citizens from entering the U.S. As a U.S. national, I was outraged by the blatant discriminatory act. As such, the mere fact of hailing from a country that recognized this participant as a "safety threat" indicated an "array of cross-cultural postcolonial issues, where the researcher dominates the subject, and is seen as belonging to an ethnically or socially privileged group" (Marmo, 2013, p. 95). Prior to the interview, I was puzzled when conceptualizing ways to authentically display respectful and reciprocal research practices. Anticipating such apprehension inherently impacted my interactions during the interview. Although our conversation was unrelated to the travel ban, I wondered if my presence, as an American, would unequivocally designate me as a colluder to

the ban. Following the interview, I detailed a range of thoughts in which I questioned my emotional labour during the process.

> It is clear that my behaviour with (participant's name) was considerably less "intrusive" than with other participants. I mean, I didn't always ask her to expand or follow up too much on some responses, like I may have with others. I feel that I was overly concerned with my positionalities, most specifically as an American white man. Did she think I aligned with the president of the U.S.? How would this potential travel ban affect her future? That thought simply produces a radiating sense of disgust throughout my aura. From my initial observations, I feel that it went fairly well given the circumstances (journal entry, February 12, 2017).

During the interview, the Somali woman shared that reciprocity, in my study, would consist of me providing study results/feedback to the participants. Although this was fairly ubiquitous across my research, I personally sensed a deeper commitment to honour her recommendations as opposed to others, provided our divergent positionalities. I will not fantasize upon an unrealistic notion that somehow the hegemony of the Global North will cease or even minimize in the near future. My responsibility as a researcher interested in facilitating respect and reciprocity in the research relationship, however, obliges me to exert all efforts to comply with participants' recommendations. In my opinion, my accountability is amplified as a citizen of a hegemonic nation that is overtly subjugating and oppressing many residents of Kakuma.

Respect and Reciprocity Beyond the Research Relationship

Significant challenges also arose outside of the research context, in my personal life, including interactions with research participants following interviews. As noted, I queried

whether my relationships were "real" or authentic. Was I able to actually become "friends" with participants or simply act friendly? Should I try to befriend participants, and who ultimately gets to decide? Ellis (2007) acknowledges wrestling with the notion of "participant friendships" by claiming, "We [researchers] became friends with those we studied because we couldn't help ourselves … however, friendship was secondary to our research purposes" (p. 10). Throughout my experiences in Kakuma, I was most commonly referred to as *ndugu yangu* (my brother) or friend. Perhaps the most prevailing insecurity around friendship was my inability to live up to my obligations as a friend (Ellis, 2007). By inquiring with non-research participants, I often discussed the concept of friendship in the Kakuma context. The most poignant feedback was provided by a 26-year-old Ugandan woman who stated, "A good friend is one who shares and treats their friend with dignity and respect" (personal communication, March 21, 2017).

Albeit minimally, 'friendship as a method' has been acknowledged in scholarship (Owton & Allen-Collinson, 2014; Tillmann-Healy, 2003). Such discourse recognizes the complexity of navigating this delicate terrain. For instance, participating in a "friendship" with participants is said to assuage the inherent power imbalances between the researcher and researched (Owton & Allen-Collinson, 2014). Based upon my privileged identities, however, I theorized that in Kakuma refugee camp, power inequalities appear blatant, despite a "friendship" status.

In attempting to holistically participate in my experience, I ruminated on whether I was excessively labouring in the idea of acting as a "friend." I insecurely compared myself to other mzungu researchers and constantly questioned my overcompensation at living less mzungu-like in Kakuma. Did residing in my quarters produce respectful and reciprocal relations during my time in Kakuma? If so, to whom? Why did I seek to avoid other mzungu? And what did "living differently from mzungu" essentially signify as a researcher? I unequivocally straddled a

precarious line of outside researcher yet desiring to be more than simply a researcher. A constellation of factors, including my privileged positionalities and my intimate or "friendly" relationships with participants and non-participants, engendered innumerable requests from Kakuma residents. These included my support with access to resettlement, laptops, school fees, money, education, connections to UNHCR, financial assistance for refugee-driven initiatives, employment in the camp, employment in the U.S. or Canada, identification of European sports and music agents, private sponsorship, computer repair, locating missing relatives in home-country, paying for medicine, buying a *bodaboda*, etc. Clearly reciprocating in a way that benefitted the requestors would have exceeded my financial and emotional capacities.

To abide by the notion of respect, however, should I have considered fulfilling the requests that I was monetarily able to? Or, does that exceed "respectful" research boundaries? Where is the line drawn between respect and reciprocity and the implementation of a "white saviour" ideology? Instances arose where I experienced frustration about being deemed an opportunity provider. The irritation immediately dissipated, however, after a South Sudanese non-participant "friend" apathetically explained, "It's just in some people's DNA that the mzungu is here [in Kakuma] to solve problems" (personal communication, April 6, 2017). I promptly returned to my living space and journaled.

> The historical, colonial, and hegemonic practices of white Europeans on this land remains evident within the current sociopolitical landscape of the camp—the whites living in compounds at UNHCR and LWF [on the outskirts of the camp] while 'helping' the 'vulnerable.' Such lifestyles must fuel the steady requests I receive for anything from food to resettlement. So, it makes perfect sense—see a privileged, powerful, money-hoarding mzungu walk in your community, why wouldn't you make a reasonable

> request? Let's be honest, I can spend all day, every day in Kakuma, pretending that I'm gaining some sort of understanding into 'their' lives and 'their' realities. The truth, however, is that I will never pretend to understand what it feels like to walk a step in their shoes or lack thereof. You see, my ticket out of here is securely nestled in my back pocket. And that fact remains embedded, constantly. So, if I was one of those South Sudanese boys today asking me to "help" their family would I act any differently? If I was the bullet-ridden Somali man [from an al-Shabab attack] would I not ask the mzungu to knock on UNHCR's door and inquire about resettlement? Why wouldn't folks seek something, anything that could possibly assuage some or any of the myriad struggles and challenges for the reality of many in this grossly hegemonic and unjust world? (journal entry, April 6, 2017).

Notwithstanding, I consciously determined that I would continue my engagement and connection with Kakuma as was, because despite the recurrent dilemmas, it felt more genuine than any other circumstances that I could have envisioned. I unequivocally lacked a desire to skirt the periphery of camp, similar to the expatriate NGO worker I met in his office at the LWF compound. "Wait, so you actually know some of them [refugees]? I rarely go into the camp, and if I do it's generally for a quick visit to check-in with a staff member. I basically stay here [LWF] during the day, and someone from UNHCR [compound] picks me up and drives me back [to the UNHCR compound where he sleeps] at night" (personal communication, March 13, 2017). The journey between the two compounds is roughly half a kilometer. Living beyond the compound emmeshed my relationships with participants and non-participants. This inevitably engendered difficulties in responding "ethically" to numerous requests.

As previously acknowledged, the reality of fulfilling reciprocity with the aforementioned requests by refugees in Kakuma would have exceeded my financial and emotional disposition. Determining how to respectfully reciprocate in such encounters, therefore, was based on the context. For instance, I found minimal difficulty in explaining my inability to participate in resettlement processes for refugees. Once it was clear that I was not partnered with UNHCR, the requests for assistance with resettlement often ceased. Challenges arose, however, when interpreting respectful and reciprocal interactions with micro-level propositions. Three weeks following a research interview, I received a phone call from a participant who stated she was "suffering from malaria" and lacked funding for medication as the free clinic "ran out." She was in pursuit of roughly 350 Kenya shilling (approximately $3.50 USD) to treat her illness. Without contemplating, my immediate and reactive response was "yes." Was that the ethically appropriate response?

While retrospectively processing this ethically important moment and my response, I was unable to identify "respect" or "reciprocity" scholarship that identified interactions beyond the research relationship. Mackenzie and colleagues (2007) argue that "respect for persons entails a responsibility on the part of researchers to try to understand and engage with the different perspectives and life experiences of research participants and to construct research relationships that are responsive to their needs and values" (p. 301). Although the participant and I comprehensively discussed the benefits and expectations of our roles as researcher and researched respectively, she exceeded our agreed upon research protocol by requesting assistance. I perceived her request to surpass the parameters of our research relationship, though existentially, or perhaps pragmatically, those parameters are a formality that participants in

Kakuma are willing to break if (a) one's health is compromised and/or (b) they have a 'relationship,' albeit research-initiated, with a privileged mzungu.

Respect and Reciprocity with Partnering NGO

Furthermore, I navigated the intricacies of respect and reciprocity during my partnership with an agency in the camp. Prior to commencing my experience in Kakuma, I was conflicted about the prospect of partnering with an NGO. Based upon my previous interactions with displaced populations and Jansen's (2011) findings that "many refugees [in Kakuma] were suspicious of the agencies and their power in deciding their fate, my visible dissociation from them [NGOs] became an asset in my own representation towards informants" (p. 35). Despite such trepidations, I purposefully opted to partner with an NGO. The notable and highly unique organization, SAVIC, that I was fortunate to gain affiliation with was developed by two Congolese refugees and all employees[7] were refugees. Additionally, my desire to partner with them was based on the fact that being established by two refugees (a) the NGO was unique in its bottom-up approach to addressing appropriate and relevant services in the camp, (b) it established a convincing reputation, by camp residents, as a refugee-led NGO organization that could be trusted, (c) it appeared less bureaucratic then larger NGOs, which offered me freedom to move and interact across the camp, and (d) it was extraordinarily more supportive of my research and presence than any other organization that I contacted. The employees of SAVIC were instrumental in providing me with connections to potential participants, language translation services, a private location to facilitate interviews (if needed) and deeming me as an active member of their team. As such, the organization was where I established myself

[7] Officially, refugees are labeled "incentive workers." Considering the pejorative underpinnings of the term and the fact that their duties and responsibilities parallel NGO "employees" I will refer to the "incentive workers" in the camp as "employees."

weekdays, from 9am to 5pm. When not out interviewing or interacting with the local population, I could be found at the organization, housed in Kakuma II.

Couching my dissertation in a critical ethnography signified that I would initiate reciprocity with SAVIC. Therefore, I assisted with Power Point, Excel, and Microsoft Word support for employees at the organization. Comparable to various circumstances in Kakuma, my privileged identities inevitably impacted and influenced my relationships with employees at SAVIC on both an individual and organizational level.

Relationally, I was clandestinely approached by employees who requested monetary assistance for phones, laptops, or support for family members. Most often I responded in an empathetic fashion but denied such requests. However, a reoccurring phenomenon struck me, which initiated internal conflict. One member of SAVIC was unpaid as he partnered with the organization to fulfill an internship requirement for his advanced diploma studies. This intern, Joseph[8], interned 40 hours a week and walked from his home to the organization, about 75 minutes each way. Akin to non-money earning refugees in Kakuma, Joseph lacked monetary means, period; let alone finances for transportation to/from his internship. Moreover, Joseph's absence of funds precluded him from taking the daily lunch break from 1-2:30pm. Instead, he often sat alone in the stifling, dusty work room and hoped the battery in the organization's donated computers would last until the afternoon generator commenced, provided fuel was enough. Other employees either walked home or dined at one of a handful of shabby, yet delicious, eateries in the Ethiopian market of Kakuma II. There, one could ordinarily feel satiated

[8] The name Joseph is a pseudonym.

from meals worth 70 cents – 1 USD. If not facilitating an interview during lunch hours, I dined with employees at the restaurants.

Despite Joseph being attuned to the harsh weather conditions at Kakuma, I was astounded at his ability to persevere while not eating all day. I was conflicted as I interrogated myself.

> Should I give Joseph 70 cents or a dollar each day so that he can eat lunch? It wouldn't empty my pockets. How can he even concentrate without eating for nine hours, especially in this awful heat? Contrarily, if I give him money today or tomorrow, does he then expect me to provide lunch every day? Or am I trying to 'save' Joseph and in doing so simply perpetuating the white saviour model in the camp? I realize the white saviour philosophy is certainly genuine. But, I'm not going to deny the difficulty in saying 'Bye, Joseph. We will see you soon.' All the while knowing that he will remain behind while we nourish our bodies (journal entry, March 6, 2017).

I opted to explore this further. While enjoying an Ethiopian meal with three staff members, I passive-aggressively asked, "So why doesn't Joseph ever come and eat with us?" One respondent claimed, "Because he doesn't earn any money, he's an intern." Already fully aware of the reason, I stated my thoughts about the mental and physical feebleness that must ensue. Through a mouthful of food, another employee stated, "That is life here in Kakuma. You get used to everything." I attempted to sit and "trust" that information, though disquieting thoughts failed to cease.

> Respect and reciprocity. Would a respectful or reciprocal approach insinuate that I offer Joseph funds for lunch? After all, Joseph was not a participant of my research and our relationship may even constitute a 'friendship' in the context of my experience in

> Kakuma. Just last Saturday, we shared a beer together outside of the camp. I paid for the beer, so is there a significant difference between these two actions? Is one instance okay, but does consistent lunch support draw a line? I'm also feeling insecure about being transparent with Joseph regarding lunch, but I'm not sure why. After all, we have spent time together, outside of work, and he has shared some intense personal stories with me; he is open. Why, then, don't I just ask him? (journal entry, March 7, 2017).

I followed my own advice and engaged in a transparent conversation with Joseph about his financial inability to eat lunch. Joseph smiled and said, "Brother, getting used to Kakuma conditions took me three years. Now, it's different. I am hungry, but I think I trained my body how to deal with Kakuma life. My body now knows that food will not come until later." The unsettling feelings of the injustice did not fully cease. Though, I feel that our transparency did lead to a deeper appreciation or awareness of the other's perspectives. Although I invited Joseph to lunch regularly, my unease was marginally assuaged following our consistent candid conversations. For many, the reality of life in Kakuma can be unforgiving. I feel that I did not attempt to "save" those, especially Joseph, from such circumstances. Though, I'm optimistic that participating in unguarded and honest communication fostered a level of respect and reciprocity between Joseph and me.

Cited and acknowledged throughout this manuscript is my use of self-reflexive practices (particularly journal writing) during my experiences in Kakuma. While reflexive processes have been supported in academic scholarship (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Mertens & Ginsberg, 2008) and specifically social work research (Mikkonen, Laitinen, & Hill, 2016; Probst, 2015), this exercise should not be viewed as a panacea to the myriad challenges associated with facilitating

research in refugee contexts. The following section will explore some of the limitations of reflexivity.

Limitations of Self-Reflexive Processes

Benefits of reflexivity include the integrity of the research process, the ethical treatment of research participants and researchers' personal growth and awareness (Probst, 2015). Despite it being an asset for researchers working with refugee young people (Block et al., 2012), reflexive analysis is challenging and fraught with potential danger (Probst, 2015). For instance, self-reflexivity is generally a subjective practice without objective parameters guiding researchers on whether they are reflexive enough (Probst, 2015) or overly reflexive (Pillow, 2003). In response to the former, I wonder how specific aspects of my political and social positionalities were given more appreciation, via self-reflexivity, than others. While in Kakuma, did I spend "too much" time focusing on my white privilege as opposed to my male privilege? Although both identities warrant scrutiny, my status as (a) man and (b) white represent both independent and intersecting positions of power. Literature on "self-reflexivity" does not generally provide guidelines or methods of practically engaging in such analysis (Probst, 2015).

On the contrary, researchers can participate in excessive reflexivity. Finlay (2002a) equated excessive reflexivity to a confusing landscape of self-analysis and "narcissistic … deconstructions of deconstructions where all meaning gets lost" (Finlay, 2002b, p. 226). In addition, excessive reflexivity has been likened to "navel gazing" and researchers' "self-indulgence" (Probst, 2015) which prioritizes the researcher and shifts attention from the participants or phenomena being studied (Finlay, 2002b; Probst, 2015). Furthermore, excessive reflexivity does not assuage power differentials or allow researchers to "escape from the consequences of our positions by talking about them endlessly" (Patai, 1994, p. 70). Finally,

Probst (2015) has cautioned researchers against misappropriating reflexivity by implying that issues of inequity, bias, and power have been adequately addressed simply because the researcher has acknowledged them.

Despite its limitations, reflexivity has been unequivocally encouraged even by those who expose its imperfections (Finlay, 2002a; Pillow, 2003; Probst, 2015). It has been recommended, however, that reflexivity be exercised with caution and nuance (Pillow, 2003). Further investigation is necessary to understand the ways researchers can strike a reflexive balance between striving for enhanced self-awareness while evading navel gazing (Finlay, 2002b).

Moving Forward

Implications/Lessons Learned

Although this manuscript was focused on one researcher, in one setting, at one time, it has generated important, original contributions to knowledge for future research/work in refugee camps and other contexts of forced migration. First, while research ethics boards (REBs) formally "ethically" permit a researcher to commence research, this is simply not enough. By prioritizing procedural ethics, REBs do not prepare researchers with substantial information to identify and address the complexity of situational and/or relational ethics. From my experiences, specific encounters requiring an understanding of relational ethics are far more common, and more convoluted, than procedural ethics, particularly in refugee camps and other similar settings. Therefore, it seems evident that when facilitating research with communities who have been forcibly displaced, relational ethics must be viewed as tantamount to procedural ethics. It is evident that REBs consider amending their research ethics documents to include an entire section on relational ethics.

Secondly, this manuscript has indicated that researchers, in Kakuma refugee camp, have engaged in a unilateral lifestyle. This lifestyle constitutes living in contexts that are far more privileged than refugees. While I'm not suggesting that all researchers inhabit contexts that parallel refugees, it is important for researchers to understand that their common daily routines (e.g. eating Western food, living with air-conditioning, traveling through the camp in large NGO-owned vehicles, etc.) perpetuate a hierarchal divide that essentially "otherizes" refugees. By failing to adapt, even minimally (e.g. eating in local eateries or walking through the camp), researchers have tacitly communicated that they are, ostensibly, too "good" or "important" to engage in the everyday routines of refugees. Whether this is the intention of researchers or not, the impacts have devastating reverberations that have resulted in refugees feeling as if they are "less than" or "not as important" as researchers. This is especially the case when layers of historic oppression and contemporary subjugation incessantly plague an environment (e.g. refugee camp). As such, it is critical that researchers unpack how their everyday surroundings and their choices, regardless if they appear innocuous, engender significant consequences.

In addition, when facilitating research with refugees and other forcibly displaced communities, researchers must unpack the cross-cultural perceptions of "respect" and "reciprocity." In doing so, researchers must act with humility and humbleness while acknowledging that we may not actually be the "experts" of our research. It is, therefore, our responsibility to navigate our research experiences with modesty while consistently reflecting on how our actions may enhance or inhibit respectful and reciprocal research relationships. Finally, this manuscript has indicated a need for researchers to discuss the messiness and complications that arise within the research process. This is especially true in refugee camps, and other similar

contexts, where an outside researcher enters an oppressed and marginalized setting in which s/he may have minimal familiarity.

In addition to researchers, due to the underpinnings of our discipline, social workers have an elevated level of responsibility to uncover the ethical encounters related to our work. Without allowing such ethical encounters to stymie our work, social workers and researchers must also consistently examine the complexity of ethical dilemmas throughout the duration of our research. As such, researchers should be comfortable shifting or adapting our theories and methods according to the needs and values of their participants. Although theoretical in format, this manuscript also provides important implications for qualitative researchers, social work practitioners, and social work education.

Qualitative Researchers

Whether incorporating critical ethnographic or critical autoethnographic methodologies or not, this paper argues that qualitative researchers have a responsibility to more accurately understand their role of "the self" in the "creation of knowledge" and biases (Berger, 2015). Despite its messiness, one of the most effective ways to invest in this process is via self-reflexive journaling, which enhances the connection between methodology and theory (Barry & O'Callaghan, 2008). In maintaining a more secure awareness of ourselves, and the impacts of our positionalities, researchers may determine which methodology and theoretical lens aligns with our work. For instance, by situating myself in a formerly colonized society, I examined how my power (via a critical autoethnography) manifested in my everyday surroundings and ultimately affected my work. I felt it necessary, therefore, to incorporate de-colonizing theories/methodologies into this paper and the overall dissertation. This afforded me the opportunity to apply critical ethnography/critical autoethnography and decontextualize the

constructs of "respect" and "reciprocity" from the perspectives of those housed in Kakuma refugee camp. Ascertaining "their" comprehension of "respect" and "reciprocity" forced me to embrace a more "ethical" research position. For instance, by understanding what "respect" meant in the research process, I was able to either (a) engage in a "respectful" relationship or (b) communicate why I was unable to fulfill RYPs' construction of "respect." It must be emphasized, however, that engaging in a self-reflexive analysis did not divorce me from the overt and tacit power injustices inherent in my work. Instead, it inevitably exposed a grounding for which to extrapolate further information, including cross-cultural variations of "respect" and "reciprocity" within the context of Kakuma refugee camp.

In addition to journaling, mindfulness practice, talking with other researchers, and re-familiarizing oneself with colonial and decolonizing discourses are all aspects of reflexive analysis. Indeed, it has been acknowledged that researchers have a responsibility to hold themselves more accountable by seeking out ways to better understand how to engage in self-reflexive processes (Probst, 2015). In a study facilitated by Gringeri, Barusch, and Cambron (2013) only 16% of social work researchers reported reflexive accounts in their work and just 7% acknowledged power dynamics inherent in research. This is particularly alarming in social work research as decisions concerning policy and practice are often generated via research. By failing to assess the ways power impacts research, specifically with refugees and other marginalized communities, are consumers of social work research able to trust the authenticity of the research (Probst, 2015)?

Social Work Practice & Education

A prevailing aspect of qualitative research is its connection between practice and policy. Social work practitioners, moreover, may also benefit from gaining a richer appreciation for the

ways in which they are perceived by those they intend to serve. This is especially applicable to those working with marginalized and subjugated beneficiaries/communities. Relevant questions for social work practitioners to consider throughout their work are: *How am I perceived by those I'm supporting? Why? How does colonialism impact my relationship with those I'm providing services to? What are my motivations and intentions for working with this population? How do I understand the constructs of respect and reciprocity and how may they relate to those I am supporting? Am I engaged in a continuous process of deconstructing the asymmetrical power relationships in the micro and macro arenas of my work with those I support?*

Like researchers, social work practitioners, working with refugees and other displaced communities, must hold themselves accountable to the micro and macro level systems that affect their services. For instance, how are the notions of "power," "values," and "ethics" promoted and reflected in their work with refugee and other displaced communities? Should social work practitioners rely solely on paradigms, interventions, and theories developed in the Global North to authenticate their work? If not, are social work practitioners in a position to collaborate with the literature, stories, beliefs, and helpers (Bilotta & Denov, 2017) from the homelands of their service users? Although social work researchers and practitioners have varying roles and responsibilities, both parties must continuously reflect on the existential question: "what can I/must I do?" (Aidani, 2013, p. 213).

Finally, social work education must also be held accountable to maintain a deeper awareness of the ethics of facilitating research or working with displaced and conflict-plagued communities. With the effects of globalization and advancements in technology, the field of International Social Work (ISW) has expanded considerably in the 21st Century (Bragin et al., 2014). Such developments have engendered an escalation of social workers practicing and

facilitating research in the Global South, particularly with war-affected young people and those living in displaced settings (Bragin et al., 2014; Cooper, 2005b). Are social work students currently prepared to participate in the complexity of such work? Social work departments and educators must also reflect on (a) how their departments/instruction are adapting to the expanding field of global social work and (b) whether they are providing ample opportunities for students to explore the "self" and cross-cultural analysis when working/researching in and with displacement and related contexts/communities.

While the paper does not analyze how refugee participants understand the "role of the researcher" it illustrates the complexity associated with facilitating research with refugees, and others similar communities, and the everyday surroundings of life in Kakuma. By utilizing components of both critical ethnography and critical autoethnography, this paper demonstrates a vital need for researchers to hold themselves accountable while in a refugee setting. Furthermore, it begins to unpack the relationship between the outside researcher and inhabitants of a refugee camp. Further research is necessary to gain researchers' stories in refugee camps while working with displaced young people. This may enhance existing theoretical scholarship when detailing the reality of how "respect" and "reciprocity", and "ethics" in general, may realistically unfold in refugee camps and other similar contexts.

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MANUSCRIPT II: "ANTHEM FOR RESEARCHERS"?: POSTCOLONIALISM AND RESEARCH "ETHICS" IN KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP

Introduction:

The constitution of research ethics with refugee communities has amassed substantial scholarly attention. Displaced communities often flee armed conflict, experience traumatic events, and live in precarity (Krause, 2017). This notion, coupled with the reality that outside researchers often work in unfamiliar contexts (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003a), may engender convoluted and confusing ethical research encounters with such communities. Whether exploring research ethics in refugee camps (Pittaway et al., 2010) or with young people (Lawrence et al., 2013), theoretical literature and formal ethical guidelines offer researchers a framework for facilitating research with refugee young people throughout the research endeavour (Hugman, Bartolomei, & Pittaway, 2011). Ubiquitous across research ethics scholarships are the constructs of *respect for persons, beneficence (maximizing benefits and minimizing harm)*, and *justice* (Belmont Report, 1979; CIHR, 2014; NHMRC, 2015). Although an important foundation for researchers, the articulation of these "extensively used … assumed factual" (Krause, 2017, p. 5) ethical principles is generally abstract and provides researchers with insufficient guidance on proper implementation (MacKenzie et al., 2007). For instance, what constitutes engaging in "respectful research"? And who makes such a decision?

Research ethics guidelines are commonly developed and composed by researchers in the Global North. Consequently, the attributes assigned to particular ethical codes (e.g. *respect for persons*) may resonate more with researchers and participants in the Global North than those in the Global South. Krause (2017) claims that a universal research ethics ideology is unfavorable. Instead, as research ethics are applied in diverse settings with various communities, particularly

in the Global South, they must be subject to reasoning and interpretation (Krause, 2017). As such, I was interested to unpack how research ethics principles, that were foundational in my research ethics trainings, resonated with those in Kakuma refugee camp. This paper examines three frequently cited guiding ethical research concepts—*respect for persons*, *beneficence (maximize benefits and do no harm)*, and *justice*—from the perspectives of refugee young people (RYP) living in Kakuma refugee camp. It uncovers the ways refugee young people who had (a) previously participated in research and (b) resided (at the time of the study) in Kakuma refugee camp comprehended and made sense of these ethical codes. This paper argues that the constitution of *respect for persons, beneficence*, and *justice*, consistent with formal research ethics guidelines, misaligns with the ways RYP participants characterize them.

Furthermore, based on participant feedback, the manuscript suggests that research ethics frameworks are designed in a manner that prioritize researchers' "ethical principles" that are rooted in the Global North. Consequently, this may pose challenges for researchers who abide by such ethical scholarship/guides (specifically *respect for persons*, *beneficence, and justice)* and who conduct research in Kakuma refugee camp or similar settings. To gain a deeper awareness of the misalignment between research ethics guidelines and RYP participants' perceptions of them, this paper will incorporate a postcolonial theoretical lens. This framework may highlight how research in postcolonial societies appears to disregard and marginalize *other* ways of knowing (Chilisa, 2005). Moreover, it has been noted that researchers from the Global North may inevitably embody dominant roles that should be critically reflected on from a postcolonial perspective (Krause, 2017; Marmo, 2013). This manuscript posits, therefore, that researchers and research ethics boards adopt a decolonizing process towards research ethics to potentially redress some of the incongruence.

In order to justify these arguments, the paper will first provide a brief overview of research ethics, including my rationale to use the ethical codes of *respect for persons*, *beneficence*, and *justice*. Subsequently, it offers a succinct account of the main underpinnings of the postcolonial approach, followed by the methodology and methods section. I will then independently detail *respect for persons*, *beneficence*, and *justice* and illustrate how RYP participants understood them. During this section, I compare and contrast RYP voices with refugee ethics scholarship. Finally, the discussion section draws links between postcolonialism and research ethics principles, followed by the implications for the social work discipline.

The purpose of this paper is three-fold. First it presents a bridge between a postcolonialism lens and research ethics in refugee camps, or other similar contexts. Additionally, it attempts to create discourse among researchers with the intention of (a) identifying the misalignment between research ethics protocols and RYPs' understandings of them and (b) initiating/continuing practices aimed at decolonizing the inherent, existing power inequities between researchers and research participants, primarily in formerly colonized and contemporarily oppressed settings. Finally, the manuscript provides insight for the social work discipline by arguing that social work researchers, practitioners, and educators comprehensively explore how their work resonates with those they intend to serve.

Rationale for Study

As a white man and a social work doctoral student, I am sensitive to the inherent power that I embody, although primarily when entering oppressed and marginalized contexts. The social work discipline obliges me to facilitate ethical research by increasingly recognizing the rights and interests of my participants as primary (Hugman, Pittaway, et al., 2011). Researchers working with displaced communities, moreover, are responsible for expanding beyond

methodological rigour in gathering data, but instead situating ethical questions at the forefront of research (Krause, 2017). This may explain the confusion I felt prior to embarking on this research project, which included examining research ethics protocols and theoretical scholarship guiding researchers on exercising "appropriate research ethics" with refugee young people. It was during this process that I noticed the exclusion of a prominent contributor to the literature – RYP themselves. I lamented that theoretical scholarship, designed by researchers or research ethical boards, could connote "appropriate research ethical guidelines with refugees" without insight from refugee participants. Without inquiring how RYP comprehend ethical principles, can researchers feel confident that they are exercising ethical research practices that align with RYP values? As my dissertation examines the ethics of facilitating research with refugee young people, I was interested in exploring the synchronization, or lack thereof, between "refugee research ethics principles" and RYPs' interpretations of them.

Research Ethics

Disentangling the multifaceted layers of research ethics will not be initiated in this paper. Instead, it will identify relational ethics (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004) (see previous manuscript for a description of relational ethics) as the point of departure. In examining RYPs' perceptions of research participation, I analyzed extensive refugee research ethics scholarship and formal ethical research protocols. The purpose was to gather potential alignment between the underpinnings of research ethics for researchers and RYP in Kakuma refugee camp. As such, I immersed myself in academic scholarship (largely theoretical) and non-binding national, international, and organizational research ethics protocols. These included *the Canadian Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (CIHR), Australian National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans (NHMRC), the Belmont*

Report: Ethical Principles and Guidelines for the Protection of Human Subjects of Research, World Health Organization (WHO) Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Researching, Documenting and Monitoring Sexual Violence in Emergencies. I studied these documents with the hope of understanding practical ways to implement ethical research with refugee populations. These specific texts were chosen due to their prominence and frequency in biomedical and social sciences research ethics scholarship.

Although the historical landscape of ethical research guides will not be detailed here, it is important to note the distinction between biomedical and social sciences research ethics. Originally developed for biomedical research, ethical guidelines were introduced to establish parameters around research. These boundaries consisted of various ethical/moral codes that offered "appropriate" research strategies or ethics for researchers. Following the path of biomedical research, social sciences research initiated ethical guidelines for researchers. Despite opposing theories and methodologies in biomedical and social sciences research, the core ethical components for research with refugee communities are nearly identical. This study is anchored in the three most recurring ethical principles identified in all documents: *respect for persons*, *beneficence (maximize benefits and minimize harm)*, and *justice*. The three concepts were chosen based upon (1) the ubiquity of their presence in ethical research (and refugee specific) scholarship, (2) RYP participants' consistent reference throughout the research study (e.g. "they were not respecting us", "we received no benefits"), and (3) the fact that my dissertation is rooted in relational ethics as opposed to procedural ethics.

An important limitation of the study is that by focusing on relational ethics, this manuscript excludes the critical (procedural) ethical principle of "informed consent." The conscious omission of "informed consent" was largely related to (a) the majority of RYP

participants claimed to not have received an informed consent document in previous research and (b) it is not a relational ethics component. Despite this, "informed consent" is essential to research and, therefore, will be briefly explored in the discussion section.

Postcolonialism

The *postcolonialism* theoretical approach stems from the more complex and expansive criteria that span *postcolonial theory* (Madison, 2012). Attempting to frame this paper under such a vast theory would far exceed the boundaries of this manuscript. Therefore, I do not claim to apply postcolonial theory to this paper, but instead apply postcolonialism as a lens or an approach for gaining a richer awareness of the data. This section does, however, detail the main underpinnings of the theory that will be unpacked in the discussion section.

As I explored literature on post-colonial theory, I attempted to understand how the theory related to the context of my work. I discovered a distinction between post-colonialism and postcolonialism (without the hyphen). Ostensibly, both spellings represent European domination over non-Western (i.e. Global South) societies and the effects of colonization on these cultures and contexts (Loomba, 2015; Saada, 2014). However, some scholars conclude that the *post* in post-colonial (designated by a hyphen) may be interpreted as temporal or an "epochal shift" (Westwood, 2006) signifying the aftermath of colonial practices in non-Western states (Loomba, 2015; Young, 2016). Others argue that postcolonialism is not distinctly a historical date but instead represents ongoing formations of meanings and practices (Madison, 2012). I argue that postcolonialism does not relate to a distinct period "after" colonialism. Alternatively, it signifies the historical and contemporary, direct and indirect, practical and ideological, exercises of the powerful elite on subjugated communities/societies. Furthermore, this paper draws upon Schwarz (2005), as amended by Saada (2014), to define postcolonialism as, "the radical

philosophy that interrogates both the past history and ongoing legacies of European colonialism [and American imperialism] … from static disciplinary competence to activist intervention" (p. 4).

Postcolonialism refers to the various forms of locations and discourses, politics, literature, values, and the daily environs, both historical and current, that emanate from the history of colonialism (Ashcroft et al., 2013; Madison, 2012; Young, 2016). Indeed, postcolonialism encompasses "all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2003, p. 2). Therefore, postcolonialism examines how the period of formal colonization has profoundly impacted former colonies' educational structures, geographic borders, politics, spirituality, government, health, theory, language, gender, sexuality, culture, etc., which are carried forth to contemporary times (Chilisa & Ntseane, 2010; Madison, 2012; Tikly & Bond, 2013).

Chilisa et al. (2010) claim that colonial ideology was characterized by the process of undermining the authenticity of the *other*. The *other* or *othering*, a critical concept of postcolonial theory, warrants consideration. The *other* is a method for defining what is "normal" – the "other" is separate from "normal." *Othering*, coined by Gayatri Spivak (1988), refers to the social and/or psychological ways in which one group excludes or marginalizes another. Indeed, othering continues to construct the world along opposing binary—self/other, colonizer/colonized, researcher/researched, developed/developing, Global North/Global South, etc. (Chilisa, 2005). According to global discourse, the Global North is geographically, culturally, and politically centralized in the world (Said, 1978). This suggests that the Global South, and its inhabitants, remains on the margins—it is *othered* (N. Wang, 1997).

While such binary constructions may be useful in specific contexts, they are broad and run the risk of being labeled universalistic or homogenize the differences within each side of the binary (Chilisa, 2005; Dube, 2002). In addition, binaries not only privilege the Global North, but also may categorize the *other* as vulnerable and passive victims who are incapable of resistance or lack agency. In fact, a critical aspect of postcolonial theory is resistance. Those suffering from the injustices of colonialism not only resisted with force but also through literature and art (Ashcroft et al., 2013). Finally, the ways in which *other/othering* may affect research ethics in Kakuma refugee camp will be illustrated in the discussion section.

Postcolonialism and Research

Research and research participants have not escaped *postcolonialism* and *othering*. Indeed, mainstream research epistemologies, both privilege and developed in the Global North (Said, 1978), have been identified as "universal" (Scheurich, 1997), "single-minded(ness)" (Pallas, 2001), and "hegemonic Eurocentric discourse" (Harding, 1997) that inhibit other ways of knowing. Edward Said (1978) notes that writers and researchers from the Global North have accepted a clear distinction between the Global North and the *other* (Global South) as a starting point to elaborate on their work. Indeed, Tuhiwai Smith (2012) claims, "From the vantage point of the colonized … the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism" (p. 1). Tuhiwai Smith goes on to argue that research has ostensibly been an encounter between the Global North and the *other* (2012). Several scholars adduce, moreover, that ethical research codes and methodologies have the effect of silencing *other* approaches to research (Barnes et al., 2009; Cannella & Lincoln, 2011; Cram, 2009; Tikly & Bond, 2013). Consequently, postcolonial theory has been applied, albeit minimally, to conceptualize mainstream (i.e. Global North) research practices (Chilisa, 2012; Tikly & Bond, 2013).

A postcolonialism approach is essential for researchers working with formerly colonized and currently marginalized communities. Postcolonialism attests that those interested in redressing the injustices of colonialism prioritize understanding the ongoing implications of the Global North's expansion into Africa, Asia, Australasia and the Americas, from multiple lenses (Crossley & Tikly, 2004). One of the most effective ways of engaging in this process is by learning the perspectives and collaborating with those who are on the *other* side of historical and contemporary colonialism (Chilisa, Major, & Khudu-Petersen, 2017; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). The empirical evidence presented in this paper suggests an existing incongruity between the understandings of the principles of *respect for persons*, *beneficence*, and *justice* for RYP participants in Kakuma refugee camp and formal ethical research guidelines. The discussion section will illustrate how a postcolonialism lens may be germane for uncovering such discrepancies. By identifying a postcolonialism frame, regarding research ethics in Kakuma and other similar contexts, researchers and research ethics boards can begin decolonizing ethical research principles in order to meet the needs and values of research participants.

Methodology & Methods

Ethics Approvals in Practice

Although this manuscript will not necessarily link *postcolonialism* with the academy, an acknowledgement of my journey with ethics preparation is pertinent. Prior to commencing my research, it was obligatory that I received ethics approval from five disparate bodies: (a) McGill University's Research Ethics Board (REB), (2) Kenyan National Government—National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI), (3) the Refugee Affairs Secretariat of Kenya (RAS), (4) a NACOSTI accredited Kenyan University, and (5) the local police chief of Kakuma town/camp. Based upon timely and optimistic e-mail correspondence, I

opted with Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology (MMUST), in Kakamega, Kenya, as my partnering university. None of the five bodies posed questions specific to relational ethics, and only McGill REB focused on procedural ethics such as "informed consent" and "confidentiality." The Kenyan entities were primarily concerned with (a) McGill University's accepted dissertation proposal, (b) an approval letter from McGill's REB, and (c) a monetary fee. Obtaining ethics approval from these five departments indicated that I was ethically authorized to conduct research in Kakuma refugee camp.

Methodology

This qualitative, critical ethnography draws upon 31 semi-structured, in-depth interviews conducted over a period of five months (January – May 2017). The analysis is part of a larger qualitative research project examining the constitution of research ethics in Kakuma refugee camp according to young people who have previously participated in qualitative research projects.

Inclusion Criteria for this Study

To be included in my dissertation, participants had to be between the ages of 18 and 30 during the time of my research. For instance, if participants were over 30 years old, but previously participated in research during the ages of 18 and 30 years, they were not included. This age bracket, which denoted "refugee young people," was influenced by Clark-Kazak's (2011) research with Congolese young people in Uganda coupled with feedback from residents of Kakuma. RYP must also have participated in research that was facilitated by outside researchers (i.e. non-Kenyan) that took place a minimum of two years prior to my interviews. This was assessed on the notion that the two-year minimum seemed like sufficient time for

participants to reflect on and process their previous experiences. I did not apply a maximum amount of time that research participants could have previously participated in research, although all participants spoke of their participation of research within the past five years. Furthermore, only three out of the 31 participants had engaged in research with Kenyan researchers. For this study, those three participants spoke exclusively of their experiences with non-Kenyan researchers.

Although 14 of the participants worked (or currently work) with NGOs in the camp, all addressed their personal, individual participation in research. This manuscript focuses only on those who participated in qualitative research, which entailed individual interviews. The exclusion of RYP with solely quantitative research participation experience was two-fold: (a) out of the 31 interviewees only four mentioned responding to "surveys" or "questionnaires" (in addition to qualitative interviews) and (b) qualitative interviews are commonly more intimate and thus may influence how participants unpack engaging in research. Of 31 participants in this study, 18 were male-identifying and 13 female-identifying. The research participants hailed from South Sudan, Sudan, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Uganda, Eritrea, Somalia, and Burundi.

Data Collection

Participants were drawn into this study via various methods: display documents detailing research protocols were posted at numerous locations, including notice boards in all four regions of the camp, NGO locales within the camp, community health centres, restaurants and shops; word of mouth; and via employees at SAVIC. Indeed, staff members at SAVIC were integral in supporting my initiative to recruit participants. My project was mentioned at different organization-related activities and events, classes, and trainings. The interested participants

utilized numerous ways to make initial contact. These included simply showing up at the entrance gate to SAVIC and sending text messages or calling my local mobile phone. Of the 31 interviewees, only two requested a translator/interpreter. One interview was translated from Swahili to English and another from Dinka to English. RYP represented the four zones of Kakuma as follows: 8 inhabited Kakuma I, 9 lived in Kakuma II, 8 in Kakuma III, and 6 resided in Kakum IV.

While in Kakuma, I met with 53 interested candidates. During our initial encounters, discussions consisted of general demographic criteria, previous research experiences, expectations, objectives, and motives of both the potential participant and myself. Twenty-two candidates were excluded due to age, misunderstandings of "research," and disinterest in the study. The preliminary meetings varied from 30 to 70 minutes with the hope of developing trust and rapport between the potential participant and myself. Although my time in Kakuma was limited to five months, I desired to develop a trusting relationship with each participant. Indeed, I was inspired by what Lincoln and Guba (1985) define as "prolonged engagement" (p. 301) in the research relationship. By constant or repeated engagement with participants, researchers and participants may develop a trusting partnership which may minimize researchers' and participants' biases and reactivity (Akesson, 2014; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In addition, a prolonged engagement "increased the probability that credible findings will be produced" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 301). Therefore, I interacted with each interviewee between two and four times prior to our "official" interview. Our preliminary affairs generally consisted of conversing at participants' houses, eating a meal together, or spending time with participants and their friends.

Formal interviews were conducted at locations selected by RYP. These constituted their homes, their places of employment, and SAVIC. Interviews lasted anywhere from 46 to 119 minutes. Considering we interacted previously, the interviewees appeared more relaxed than our first or second encounter. I feel as if this may have engendered a deeper sense of trust and authenticity. In order to assess RYPs' construction of research in general, the participants were encouraged to describe their motivations for participating in my research, followed by their hopes and expectations of our interview. This method was acquired from Bell (2011) who claims that commencing with such questions provides researchers with an "indication of the participant's perspective of the process and … how the interview process might need to be negotiated" (p. 527). In ascertaining this information at the outset, each interview flowed organically in a fashion that inspired participants to reflect on their previous research experiences and whether they anticipated our engagement would align with or deviate from those experiences. It has been determined that in qualitative research such complexities must be recognized, along with the nuances of the interview experience and the relationship between researcher and participant (Bell, 2011).

Individual interviews included a broad and consistent structure, though unique variations were incorporated throughout. RYP were queried on their general perceptions of research, followed by their own research participation experiences. The latter half of the interview prompted RYP to offer "advice" for future researchers entering Kakuma refugee camp. Further discussion investigated the reasons substantiating such advice or recommendations. All interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder and transcribed verbatim, by the author. The 31 RYP were assigned pseudonyms followed by the abbreviation RYP (Refugee Young People) and a number.

Data Analysis:

Data analysis, via a deductive thematic analysis, was rigorous and time consuming, yet imperative to the overall research process. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing, organizing, and reporting patterns or themes within the data (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006). Generally speaking, theoretical analysis provides a rigorous and fairly flexible approach that can be modified for the needs of diverse studies as it provides rich and detailed, yet complex, accounts of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Frequently, thematic analysis expands beyond organizing and describing data, but also interprets various aspects of the research topic (Boyatzis, 1998). Braun and Clarke (2006) and King (2004) argue that thematic analysis is a useful method for examining the perspectives of different research participants, highlighting similarities and differences, and generating unanticipated insights. Despite its wide use, Nowell and colleagues (2017) posit that in its current state, academic literature does not offer researchers with objective guidelines on how to practically apply thematic analysis to their data. Instead, they claim a researcher's "trustworthiness" is critical to thematic analysis (Nowell et al., 2017). Lincoln and Guba (1985) define trustworthiness as researcher's *credibility* (prolonged engagement), *transferability* (thick descriptions, so that those who seek to transfer the findings to their own study can judge transferability), *dependability* (research is logical, traceable, and clearly documented), *confirmability* (research interpretations are derived from the data), *audit trails* (field notes), and *reflexivity* (reflexive journal).

As described in Manuscript I, I was unable to separate my identities, positionalities, and ontological and epistemological frameworks from my personal and academic assumptions in Kakuma. Therefore, while analyzing data I applied a deductive, as opposed to inductive, thematic analysis. Deductive thematic analysis suggests that data analysis is driven by a

researcher's theoretical or analytical interest in the area (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006). The research may begin with a researcher's theory-driven hypothesis, which may influence the overall research process (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Therefore, deductive analysis is structured in theory and, therefore, the theories are not disconnected from data analysis. In contrast, inductive analysis has been labeled a "bottom up" (Frith & Gleeson, 2004) approach where research commences with a research question and the collection and analysis of empirical data are used to engender a hypothesis or theory (Nowell et al., 2017).

While using an inductive approach may appear more organic as it attempts to generate theory based on data, I felt it nearly impossible to situate my work in an inductive analysis. For instance, as I tend to couch my social work practice, education, and research in anti-oppressive and decolonizing lenses, I was inherently unable to divorce myself from such theoretical paradigms during data analysis. This is not to suggest that I manipulated data to "fit" within the emergent themes engendered from the data, previous academic scholarship, or research ethics guidelines. Instead, the data aligned or deviated from my preconceived notions that were generated from my familiarity with specific theoretical paradigms (e.g. post-colonialism, anti-oppressive research practices).

Coding

Charmaz (2006) attests that it is through coding that a researcher defines what is happening in the data and begins to grapple with what that data means. In thematic analysis there is no specific coding module that all researchers follow (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Of paramount importance is that the researcher consistently applies the same coding method to all of the data (Nowell et al., 2017). In addition, there does not exist one specific method for coding with ethnographic studies. However, open and axial coding are commonly applied with ethnographies

(Pitney & Parker, 2002). Therefore, in my thematic analysis I invested in open and axial coding[9] techniques, as informed by Strauss and Corbin (1998). This process led to the emergence of themes.

First, I immersed myself in the data by repetitively reading transcripts and printing three hard copies of each. On one copy, I documented personal feelings and reactions to both RYPs' and my own statements. For the second copy, I read each transcript with my research question(s) in mind, noting how the dialogue in the transcripts connected or deviated from the question(s). The third set of transcripts acted as a platform to identify and develop initial codes. I highlighted and openly coded each line of the transcript with in vivo codes. Open coding, or initial coding, consists of breaking down qualitative data into distinct sections, analyzing them, and initially comparing them for similarities and differences (Saldaña, 2015; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). I understood that these initial codes were tentative and needed to be reworded as analysis proceeded (Charmaz, 2006; Saldaña, 2015).

While open coding breaks down data into separate pieces and distinct codes, axial coding is meant to reassemble these data (Charmaz, 2006). During axial coding, I determined which codes appeared more important than others. I crossed out synonyms and selected codes that appeared most representative of the data (Boeije, 2009). For instance, I nominated concepts that (a) paralleled both RYPs' reflections and (b) designations (e.g. words) that were specific in "ethical refugee research" scholarship. Axial coding not only allowed me to identify and create new categories and subcategories, but just as importantly explore how they were related (Charmaz, 2006). Ostensibly, axial coding intends to answer when, where, why, who, how, and

[9] I intentionally opted not to engage in selective coding, as my study was not a "Grounded Theory." Thus, I was not interested in inductively generating a theory and identifying one core variable of the data.

with what consequences something happened (Charmaz, 2006; Saldaña, 2015; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Upon generating categories, via axial coding, I copied and pasted categories and subcategories onto a separate word document. Converting categories into themes was a complex process. With regard to thematic analysis, a theme captures an important component of the data in relation to the research question, while representing a patterned response or sense of meaning within the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The development of themes in thematic analysis can range from the prevalence of a concept in data items to a researcher's judgement of what constitutes a theme (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For my dissertation, the prevalence of concepts in the data aligned with my judgement of what appeared to be significant themes. Therefore, after analyzing axial codes, I was eventually able to generate themes that (a) appeared relevant to the data and (b) were prevalent throughout the data set.

In my thematic analysis, I chose to provide a combination of rich thematic descriptions of my data set and the nuance of particular themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Moreover, from the conceptualization of my research project until the write up of the study, I actively engaged in journaling my thoughts, reflections, insecurities, and questions. This afforded me the opportunity to consistently reflect on each stage of my research and data analysis.

Participant Intersectionality

Intersectionality is a vital tool for critically analyzing the interplay and complexity among gender, religion, sexuality, ability, ethnicity, race, class, etc., at multiple levels (individual, institutional, societal, structural) (Mattsson, 2014). Moreover, accounting for intersectionality in research has the potential to advance knowledge, inform interventions, and shape public policy

for several disenfranchised communities (Bowleg, 2008). As Manuscript I focused on *my* intersecting powerful and privileged identities, in relation to my participants and my experiences in Kakuma, this section unpacks the intersecting forms of oppression inherent between and among RYP in my research. Failing to assess such complexities would risk categorizing 31 diverse participants under one generic identity of "oppressed refugee young people."

Universal systems of structural oppression and marginalization existed for all 31 RYP in my dissertation Among others, all participants were housed in an overcrowded, resource-deprived refugee camp in rural Kenya. All were Black and reared in countries that were former colonies to powerful nations in the Global North. Furthermore, as "refugees" all participants were equally subject to physical and verbal abuse at the hands of the patrolling Kenyan police and the local Kenyan Turkana living on the outskirts of the camp. Finally, most generally felt *othered* by non-refugee (specifically Kenyan) NGO workers providing services in Kakuma refugee camp.

On the contrary, intersectionality accounted for hierarchies where oppression was more conspicuous for some. For instance, 13 study participants were young women which inevitably signified heightened subjugation when compared to the 18 participants who identified as young men. The patriarchy in Kakuma was palpable, and I seldom observed women dining at restaurants or congregating in public. Perhaps this was due to the philosophy that, "women do not go to socialize at places alone, because it looks like they are not serious with themselves and must be at home cooking for their families" (personal communication, March 2, 2017). Kakuma refugee camp also hosts a "protection area" for self-identified "lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer, and intersex (LGBTQI)" refugees from the neighboring countries. The oppression that members belonging to the LGBTQI community were subject to was exemplified in physical

beatings and verbal and physical abuse from the police, local Turkana, and fellow refugees. In consequence, many members of the LGBTQI Kakuma chose not to depart from their makeshift living quarters (i.e. "protection area") because of safety concerns.

Finally, distinct ethnicities were stereotyped in several fashions. There were multiple instances where I was informed that certain nationalities or ethnicities (I am intentionally not providing the names) were "not intelligent," "only concerned with fighting," or "not interested in research." While such information engendered caution as I traversed the camp, I eventually engaged with multiple RYP from said communities that ultimately demystified the stereotypes.

During my data analysis, I independently examined each interview while distinguishing the multiple identifies that embodied individual participants. For instance, in what areas did the responses from a "queer", non-religious, Ugandan young woman overlap with or deviate from those of a pious, heterosexual Somali man? More broadly, I was interested in uncovering how participants' marginalized positions might have influenced (a) their previous participation in research, (b) their current comprehension of research participation, and (c) their recommendations for future research. To my surprise, rigorous data analysis suggested that while certain identities may have inspired participation in specific research studies (e.g. participating in a study about "LGBTQI refugees in Kakuma"), participant expectations and recommendations for research were similar, despite disparate identities and marginalities. Considering participant feedback was fairly uniform, irrespective of intersecting oppressive identities, I decided it futile to present the study's themes based on participant identities. Instead, I lumped 31 unique and diverse participants under the structural oppressive identity, "marginalized refugee young people living in Kakuma refugee camp." On the contrary, I also contemplated how attention to intersectionality with such a small population may have compromised participants' anonymity.

Previous Research Experience

Out of 31 of my research participants, 17 participated in multiple research projects with different researchers. Not many RYP recalled the academic disciplines that the facilitating researchers were member of. The others reported being interviewed by social workers, anthropologists, medical doctors, and educators. RYP participants indicated diverse qualitative research topics which included girls' education in the camp, livelihood issues, food (in)security, challenges of camp life, reasons to flee country of origin, the impacts of war on family, mental and physical health of refugees, unaccompanied refugee minors, child protection in the camp, cultural variations in Kakuma refugee camp, conflict within the camp, relationships between camp residents and local Turkana Kenyans, hygiene in Kakuma, repatriation, religion, violent extremist behavior, LGBTQI-related research, police brutality in the camp, and intimate partner violence.

Overall, RYP participants generally referred to research by using a dualistic binary, with minimal nuance. For instance, the majority of research partners identified research as "bad," though not necessarily claiming researchers were "bad" people. When asked about previous researchers, the nationality or gender of the researcher did not appear relevant. Instead, what seemed more important was whether researchers were able to meet the expectations of RYP participants. As not many participants had had their needs or expectations met in their previous research experiences, research was generally described as "bad."

Limitations of Study

Despite my efforts to design and implement an ethically sound study and minimize bias in my findings, inevitable limitations still exist. First, by failing to analyze the data via an

intersectionality lens and, instead, aggregating all research participants as "refugee young people," I eliminated the nuance and diversity among a broad range of participants' social locations. Doing so this runs the risk of perpetuating the "researcher" and "researched" binary, thus contradicting the undergirds of both the social work discipline and the postcolonial lens. By grouping 31 diverse participants as RYP, could I ostensibly be "othering" an already marginalized and oppressed population? Indeed, when I disseminate my research findings, there will exist a blatant distinction between one privileged researcher (myself) and one group of homogenous researched refugees; this unmistakably illuminates an already unjust divide.

Owing to the parameters of completing my dissertation in a realistic time-frame, this study was conducted in five months with only 31 participants. Therefore, to generalize the results of this study to all refugee young people or those in similar contexts, this research should be repeated in several refugee camps or displacement contexts. Time also limited the project to only one segment of the researcher-researched dyad. For instance, I was unable to interview researchers who had previously conducted research in Kakuma refugee camp, or any refugee camp for that matter. Instead, I focused solely on research participants. This was a calculated choice based on (a) time—working with outside researchers is essentially an additional research project, and because of time and funding constraints I was unable to examine research ethics from two opposing populations—and (b) my feeling that it necessary to prioritize the voice of the oppressed rather than the privileged, powerful researcher. However, a study examining how researchers who facilitate work in refugee camps or similar contexts understand and apply research ethics is also critical. Because I did not include other researchers, my dissertation illustrates only one aspect of a more comprehensive research project.

Further research should account for the identities, positionalities, and disciplines of individual researchers in Kakuma refugee camp. In addition to applying an intersectionality framework with RYP participants, the same could be used for researchers. Failing to do so runs the risk of furthering the researcher versus researched binary. By considering researchers as an undifferentiated group, connections and variations between academic disciplines, theories, and methods are lost under the universal and generic "researcher" trope.

Although *respect for persons*, *beneficence*, and *justice* are widely regarded as three critical relational ethical principles, they are not the only research ethics codes. By focusing on relational versus procedural ethics, the principle of informed consent was not examined. Further research should explore "informed consent" from both the perspectives of researchers and participants in Kakuma refugee camp or other similar contexts. For instance, do researchers and participants generally assign the same weight to informed consent documents? The lack of attention given to explore procedural ethics, with both RYP and researchers who have previously conducted research in Kakuma, is a limitation.

A previously discussed limitation is the paradox of me conducting this research, considering that I am a privileged and powerful outside researcher examining *respect for persons*, *beneficence*, and *justice* with an oppressed population. Although I feel that my relationships were, generally, authentic and participant responses were genuine, I wonder how results of this same study would compare/contrast if conducted by a researcher who is more familiar with the Kakuma context (e.g. a current/former refugee, person from same country of origin, etc.)?

Finally, although 29 out of the 31 interviews were facilitated in English, not one participant spoke English as a first language. While communicating in English was not

problematic in our dyad, conversing in one's mother tongue would have clearly been more comfortable for participants. It is important to note that all participants chose a language in which to participate. Using translators/interpreters for two interviews, however, fostered a less intimate feeling with those two participants. Despite its limitations, this research, nevertheless, ascertained important findings that have implications for future research(ers) and the discipline of social work.

The following section will illustrate the ways RYP participants made sense of the ethical codes of *respect for persons*, *beneficence*, and *justice*.

Respect for Persons

"Respect" is a fundamental concept in both the social work discipline and research ethics discourse (CASW, 2005; NHMRC, 2015). With respect to research, an imperative ethical principle in both formal research protocols and scholarly literature is *respect for persons* (Lawrence et al., 2013). Like *beneficence* and *justice*, the pragmatic implementation of *respect for persons* is not generally addressed in formal ethics bodies (Guillemin & Heggen, 2009). In detailing "research ethics," policy documents abstractly identify the basics of each principle. For instance, collectively, they posit *respect for persons* as acknowledging the autonomy of persons, protecting those without autonomy, and the importance of informed consent (Belmont Report, 1979; CIHR, 2014; NHMRC, 2015; WHO, 2007). Due to such ambiguity in the meaning of "autonomy of persons," Dickert (2009) claims that respect for research participants may surface in various ways. Based on responses from his own research participants, respect, while rooted in an autonomous stance was understood as a multi-faceted concept that included elements of care, empathy, attention to needs, and researchers' attitudes (Dickert, 2009).

Within the context of Kakuma, respect was acknowledged through several lenses. For instance, it was noted that one researcher could potentially exhibit traits of both respect and disrespect. According to Pascal, "So they [researchers] were respectful while they were here. But after they left, there was no respect because they have gone without telling or sharing anything" (RYP1). Sarah compared the respect of researchers to a double-sided coin.

> Researchers respect us because if you don't respect me, then you're not going to be interested in getting my views. So, about the respect—it's like for the researchers, they are on the upper side. They respect us, but we [participants] are on the lower side. It's a coin. The respect part with researchers is a coin because they respect us, because they really want to get our views. And if you really want to get my views, you're going to respect me. But then on the other side, you're respecting my views, yes, but then you don't come back and tell me, "This is what you shared, and this is how it went. This is going to be possible and this is not going to be possible." So, about respect, it's a coin (RYP13).

The respect "coin" proposes that respect for RYP in Kakuma is nuanced or two-fold. The first element supports *respect for persons* in terms of ethics documents' notion of respect as autonomy, coupled with Dickert's (2009) findings of empathy, researcher's attitude, and kindness. Secondly, this coin acknowledges respect in alliance with MacKenzie et al. (2007) argument that respectful research relationships are those that are responsive to the participants' needs and values. According to my research, RYP commonly value receiving feedback or results of the research in which they participated. Without addressing this side of the coin, researchers in Kakuma have not been portrayed as exceptionally respectful.

> Researchers, they did not respect us—they neglected us. They have rejected us. They got something from us and they have gone. They disappeared, which means they neglected us. They took us like children, because they didn't come and share with us. If they would come and share with us, we could know that, 'Oh, these people, they consider us.' But they didn't consider us. They didn't give us value. They didn't value us. That means they neglected us. No respect (RYP20).

Prince shared a story of attempting to communicate with two previous researchers via phone, e-mail, and Facebook; all to no avail. Although he experienced the researchers as "nice people" during the interviews, he also expressed his feelings around the lack of follow-up.

> So, I feel maybe there is not—there is a lack of respect. Actually, a lack of respect—that is the worst behaviour. Because if you try to undermine somebody that has been trying to help you get what you want with your research—then after getting what you want you go and undermine that person? I feel, ah, really it is kind of unhuman. Maybe you feel that I'm not even human at all. Yeah, it is unhuman (RYP2).

In their chapter on the role of respect in research interactions with refugee young people, Lawrence and colleagues (2013) allege that researchers' acknowledgment of RYP primarily in terms of their displacement status is ineffective and may create a disparaging relationship. Distinguishing RYP as "refugees" paramount to their identity as an individual perpetuates an *othering* divide between the powerful researcher and subjugated participants in Kakuma. Several RYP in Kakuma contemplated their African identities and refugee statuses while processing respect in research. As our conversation about the constitution of respect in research expanded, Fawisa adamantly claimed, "Refugees are like other persons, we have a private life. We need to be respected" (RYP14).

Speaking via a translator, Joseph spoke of being "homeless" in his country of origin due to political violence.

> Okay, what he [Joseph] is saying is that he wants one thing from research. He is a human being, even if he is a refugee and homeless, he wants somebody to care. If he shares information with somebody, he wants to get some feedback. He said all of the researchers he has seen have shown no feedback. So, he said these researchers are not respecting him as a human in humanity. He just feels like he is not a human being. He's like an animal, like a donkey (RYP4).

Finally, feeling confused by the lack of responses from previous researchers, Prince eventually questioned his status as an "African."

> I don't know whether other researchers, who do their research in those Western countries, also don't give out the feedback to their interviewees, those in Western countries? But, maybe, I don't know whether because we are Africans, or they feel maybe we are—ah you know—we are uninformed, so we may not follow up. You know some people they really feel that, ah these guys they are staying in Kakuma. Kakuma is a remote place, nobody will even try to follow up with what we went about during our research. So, they try maybe, I think, they try to undermine us. They don't show us respect. Because we are Africans here in the camp, they think maybe we are uninformed. They feel that nobody—they don't even expect us to send them e-mails or to communicate back to them and ask them how far the research—how is it going? (RYP2).

From the perspectives of RYP, the concept of respect appeared to be rooted in an expectation of exchange. For instance, the participants seemed to claim that there was a tacit or

understood assumption that if researchers took something (e.g. their time and perspectives) that researchers would return with *something*; there would be an exchange. Although I am cautious of essentializing an "African" way of life, both Shutte (1993) and Otite (1978) recognize that in "African societies" an individual is not identified by a set of properties, but instead her/his relationship with others. Embedded in such long-term relationships (Darley & Blankson, 2008) is the principle of reciprocity in African cultures (Murove, 2009; Otite, 1978). Indeed, Karenga and Carruthers (1986) claim that reciprocity signifies fundamental ethical and moral African behaviour.

In failing to engage in reciprocal relationships with researchers, RYP participants reported feeling "disrespected," "neglected," and "undermined." Moreover, the principle of exchange or reciprocity appeared much more substantial for some, as it was likened to a sense of dignity, worth, or humanity. Indeed, one RYP acknowledged that a lack of exchange was "unhuman" while another equated it to being treated like an "animal" or a "donkey." This exemplifies the prevailing notion of power with respect to reciprocal relationships. It seems reasonable to argue that many RYP equated respect to reciprocity. Without engaging in a reciprocal act, some RYP participants claimed to feel less than human; this is profound. Clearly, the principle of reciprocity appears inherently woven into the fabric of many RYPs' cultures and values which are intrinsic to their conceptualizations of research ethics, including beneficence and justice.

Beneficence

The World Health Organization (2007) considers research *beneficence* as a "duty to safeguard the welfare of people/communities involved, which includes minimizing risks and assuring that benefits outweigh risks" (p. 15). The Australian National Statement (2015)

broadens the definition to include minimizing harm, towards research participants and research communities, where harm is construed as physical, emotional or psychological, social, economic or legal. Similar to "respect," social work researchers are also mandated to minimize the risks for participants (CASW, 2005). This section examines the two elements of research beneficence (maximizing benefits and minimizing harm) as independent variables that deserve individual analysis as opposed to beneficence as a single entity.

Beneficence: Maximizing Benefits

Understanding how benefits are valued by RYP participants was a disconcerting task where participants' feedback seemed to justify the application of *postcolonialism* to research ethics in Kakuma refugee camp. As a researcher, I remained puzzled while contemplating how to implement "maximizing benefits" to research participants. Does providing "maximum benefits" to participants include tangible substance (e.g. money, results of research, material, etc.) or "trickle down benefits" (Bay-Cheng, 2009)? Bay-Cheng (2009) claims "trickle down benefits" are an altruistic stance where researchers trust that their research will "trickle down" and eventually, albeit indirectly, benefit their participants. Feedback from RYP participants suggests there exists an overwhelming expectation for benefits not to "trickle down" but instead overtly flow from researcher to participant. Like the findings of Pittaway and Bartolomei's (2013) work with refugees on the Thai-Burmese border, RYP in Kakuma equated research results or "feedback from researchers" to receiving "maximum benefits" in research participation. As not one RYP in my research had received any follow-up from previous researchers in Kakuma, a majority of RYP cited researchers as "self-benefitting," which they associated with reaping minimal benefits of research.

When struggling to make sense of participant benefits, Prince adamantly attested,

> I think if I'm to define the relationship between the researcher and the client he or she is interviewing, I would say it is kind of a parasitic relationship. That kind of parasitic relationship is that researchers are—I feel that researchers, they come get our data, then waste our time. There is no mutual benefit, the benefit is on one side. Those guys collect the data, and for us at the end of it we don't see any change. We expect to at least get some benefit back, but there is no benefit. You get your data, you go—maybe use it for your own benefit and you leave us hanging. So, I feel only one party is benefitting and the other one is not benefitting. So that's why I say it's kind of a parasitic relationship (RYP2).

Prince was not alone in his "parasitic" presupposition for researchers in Kakuma. Idil also spoke to the self-benefitting researcher: "When you take information from me, you're supposed to leave me with something, not just taking from me. It's like researchers are becoming parasites. They consume from you and you don't gain anything from them" (RYP21).

Although claims of "not benefitting" from research were abundant, three respondents adduced that simply sharing knowledge with researchers sufficed. Fawisa expressed the ways engaging in research will help prepare her for her future studies.

> I benefit. I learn how to do research sometimes. Tomorrow, when I do my undergraduate—for example, I'm hoping to study international relations. So, I benefit from these people [researchers]. The way that they do research, I am learning from them. Yeah, so by participating in research, it will help me learn and talk well (RYP14).

While he would have preferred to receive feedback from his previous research encounters, like Fawisa, Salah claimed to be attracted to the benefit of knowledge as opposed to material goods.

> We get some knowledge. When somebody comes into your place and you exchange ideas, you may get some knowledge, because you are not the same as the researcher. I get to know about his schooling and he learns about me. So, it's like exchanging, and that's important in society. Yeah, so the knowledge is the benefit. (RYP28).

Feelings of benefitting from research participation, however, were on the margins. Indeed, RYP participants overwhelmingly maintained that research participation was non-beneficial. Perhaps the most poignant response regarding benefits surfaced in an interview with Jamal, who has lived in Kakuma since the early 2000s.

> Well, all of these researchers, they are not making anything positive to me. They never made anything positive to me. The reason as to why I'm saying so is that in the 16 years that I have been here, nothing has come back to me up to this point. That is why I can't say that research or researchers are of benefit. They have never benefitted me, because there has never been any action taken against all of what I have been telling them through the years (RYP6).

Like respect for persons, this section tacitly supposes that RYP perceived an expectation to receive something for participating in research. Such participant expectations are explored in Manuscript III. It is important to note, however, that the expectations were most commonly associated with the researcher providing feedback or following up with participants, subsequent to data collection.

Beneficence: Minimizing Harm

As previously acknowledged, the National Statement (2015) identifies harm as physical and/or mental/emotional. The complexity of determining what ultimately constitutes "harmful research" and who is in a position to make such a declaration has been acknowledged in academic refugee scholarship, particularly when referring to emotional/psychological harm (Court, 2018; Hugman, Pittaway, et al., 2011; Jacobsen & Landau, 2003b; MacKenzie et al., 2007). Perhaps, identifying the ways an interviewee may be physically harmed in a research study is less ambiguous than emotional harm. Fortunately, my study did not yield any participants who claimed they were physically harmed in previous research.

While unpacking the intricacies of "doing no harm," Hugman et al. (2011) argue that the principle of "doing no harm," while essential, is antiquated and is insufficient to ensure ethically sound research. Moreover, others suggest that justifiable refugee research must contribute to the termination of any suffering in research (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003b). Akin to asking ourselves, "For whom is this study relevant and beneficial? Who will benefit from its conclusions?" (Yassour-Borochowitz, 2004, p. 179), researchers may consider reflecting upon the weight of risks or harms that may manifest in research. For instance, several ethical frameworks declare that risks to research, which may include harm, are justifiable so long as the benefits outweigh such risks. However, Australia's National Statement on "ethical conduct in human research" states, "Where the risks to participants are no longer justified by the potential benefits of the research, the research must be suspended to allow time to consider whether it should be discontinued or at least modified" (NHMRC, 2015, p. 6).

While analyzing the data from my experience in Kakuma, I wrestled with the power in my privileged identities and how I may have caused harm. Court (2018) reflects upon causing

any harm to research participant by asking, “The most basic questions is, who are we [as researchers] to cause *any* harm?” (2018, p. 85). Moreover, why am I, the outside researcher, in a position to declare how harm is understood? Is it ethical to cause *any* harm, and who gets to decide? Considering that the sizable majority of RYP in my study could not identify benefits of participating in research, I pondered whether a suspension of all research studies should be implemented, as suggested by Australia’s NHMRC. Nonetheless, I was determined to ascertain if researchers in Kakuma had abided by the ethical code of “doing no harm.” To my dismay, RYP in Kakuma were not hesitant in sharing feeling “disappointed,” “bad,” and “annoyed” with past research in Kakuma. Could such sentiments constitute emotional/psychological harm?

Jamal passionately shared his feelings of “pain” following previous interviews.

> I really feel very sorry and it is really so painful when they [researchers] come and ask me all the questions and I narrate the problems that I am facing here. But, the results are not back, either good or bad. So, sometimes I feel very sorry, but I just sit with it (RYP6).

Both Nadia (RYP31) and Gabriel (RYP29) described feeling “used” by researchers. Daniel (RYP8) shared that when researchers do not communicate following research his “heart does not settle” and “doesn’t feel good.” Florence associated her feelings of “disappointment” to more “difficult” circumstances in life.

> Yeah, it’s a bit disappointing. I mean, you opened up to that researcher, you’ve told them everything that is happening and you’re expecting something. But in the end, you don’t get it. It’s difficult, but you move on. Yeah, there are worse situations that have happened. So, if it’s just someone giving you a little bit of hope and then taking it away, you move on (RYP10).

Upon realizing that I was a social work student, coupled with his previous research with social workers, Prince adamantly questioned the authenticity of social workers that "disappear" after research.

> You know, in social work somebody is supposed to advocate. You are advocators. You coordinate, you communicate—those are the things we expect you to do. If you don't coordinate, communicate, and advocate, then it means, really, you are not a true researcher. Or you are not a humanitarian. Or you are not a social worker. So, I get confused when I see people coming and collecting research and not communicating. They don't advocate our issues, so I feel like—it is so disappointing (RYP2).

Prince's frustrations regarding social work researchers resonate with Maschi's (2016) argument that social workers must exert greater effort to utilize their research findings and advocate for social change at the micro, mezzo, and macro levels. Instead, researchers are, by nature, primarily consumed with publishing research findings in academic journals (Court, 2018; Maschi, 2016). Moreover, Prince's comment may imply that there is an expectation that a situation(s) may change if and when RYP participate in research. While Manuscript III unpacks "false promises" as it relates to research, a succinct analysis is appropriate. Based on the expectation of reciprocity for many RYP participants, it appears that a researcher's presence in Kakuma has been interpreted as a tacit expectation or "promise" for change. If the researcher does not fulfil RYPs' expectations, hope is taken away and RYP claimed to feel "bad," "disappointed," "pain," "used," and "annoyed," which may be associated with experiencing research as "harmful."

Florence's quote illustrates the importance of advocacy research.

> So emotionally, research is somehow bad. You know, you actually trust and give them [researchers] your time and everything that you have, and nothing comes back. Isn't the whole point of research—if you come and ask me about my livelihood, and I have explained to you exactly what has happened, then you go back, and you don't do anything about it, then what was the point of that research anyway? You came to do the research to make some change, to listen to me and have an impact on someone or something. So, if you did not do that, then I don't know why you came for the research anyway (RYP10).

Both Prince and Florence's sentiments of "doing no harm" in research resonate with Hugman et al. (2011) "When Do No Harm Is Not Enough" and Mackenzie et al. (2007) "Beyond Do No Harm." Furthermore, Prince and Florence drew a direct link between research and advocacy, in which an entire scholarship exists (Chavis, Stucky, & Wandersman, 1983; Haviland, Frye, & Rajah, 2008; MacKenzie, Christensen, & Turner, 2013). This is particularly applicable to social work research. The role of advocacy was a major concern for RYP in my dissertation. As such, the discussion section will examine RYP participants' ubiquitous expectation for further communication/follow up subsequent to researchers' physical presence in Kakuma; it felt obligatory. By not meeting those expectations and participants' expressions of feeling "used," research as "painful," or research as "emotionally bad" RYP participants appear to have claimed that harm was done. For instance, out of 31 RYP participants, 27 associated with one or more of the following: "feeling used," "exploited," "emotionally bad," "painful," "heart not settled," "taking away hope," "unhuman," "undermined," "less than," "like a donkey," "annoyed," "angry," "frustrated," "rejected," "took us like children," "didn't value us," "neglected," "abandoned," "disregarded," "disrespected," "overlooked," "uninformed," and

"parasitic." Considering harm in research embodies emotional and mental discomfort (NHMRC, 2015), the abovementioned feelings can be considered tantamount to experiencing research as harmful.

The following section will examine the relationship between the ethical value of *justice* and RYP participants' previous research experience in Kakuma refugee camp.

Justice

Justice, like *respect for persons* and *beneficence*, is also both a social work and research ethics principle. *Justice*, moreover, may carry diverse cross-cultural connotations. Therefore, attempting to apply "justice-based" research ethics, in Kakuma, may engender misalignment between researchers and participants. It is also worth noting that *respect for persons*, *beneficence*, and *justice*, as proposed in formal research ethics documents, share commonalities and intersect with one another. This section, therefore, will draw upon tenets of justice that are independent from *respect for persons* and *beneficence.*

The Canadian Tri-Council (2014) defines "justice" as researchers' obligation to treat participants fairly and equitably, which includes deeming all people with respect and equal concern. Justice also incorporates procedural ethics such as informed consent and selecting potential participants on a fair and impartial basis. Block and colleagues (2013) adduce, "*justice-based vulnerability* arises where neither the individuals participating in a study (who take on the associated risks and inconvenience), nor the society of which they are members, benefit directly from the outcomes of research" (p. 6). As previously detailed, by *Beneficence: Maximizing Benefits*, RYP reporting suggests justice-based vulnerability is not only absent in Kakuma, but

additionally repudiates the trickle-down benefit theory (Bay-Cheng, 2009), which subsists in mainstream ethical protocols.

According to Australia's *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2015), the ethical principle of justice involves

> a regard for the human sameness that each person shares with every other. Human beings have a deep need to be treated in accordance with such justice … In the research context, distributive justice will be expressed in the fair distribution of the benefits and burdens of research … While benefit to humankind is an important result of research, it also matters that benefits of research are achieved through just means, are distributed fairly, and involve no unjust burdens (p. 5).

The document, furthermore, identifies three principles of research justice that align with relational ethics. These include, "fair distribution of the benefits of participation in research; there is no exploitation of participants in the conduct of research; and there is fair access to the benefits of research" (p. 6).

As the ethical code of beneficence, particularly maximizing benefits, acknowledges the "distribution" and "access" to benefits, the remainder of *justice* will explore "exploitation," as cited in NHMRC.

Yann's quote, below, illustrates experiences of exploitation and unequal distribution of research-related benefits.

> According to my understanding, because I have been thinking about this for so long, I think they [researchers] come here only for their own business. And once researchers go and they don't come back, it means that they came—maybe, it's like they are exploiting

> something, minerals. Then they go, and they disappear. But, instead of minerals, we are the targeted people, us refugees. They are exploiting the information because they are only benefitting. So, they will gain. They will benefit, but the refugee will never benefit (RYP20).

The feelings of exploitation reverberated across interviews. Exploitation in research was detailed in "selling stories," (e.g. writing books off of RYPs' stories, selling data to organizations, etc.) not providing feedback, and RYP discovering books/documents with acquaintances' stories.

Exploitation in research has been identified as researchers' failure to distribute research benefits in an equitable manner, while researchers gain substantial benefits when compared to participants (Schroeder, Cook, Hirsch, Fenet, & Muthuswamy, 2017). In discursive processes, RYP participants affirmed that following research interactions in Kakuma, researchers generally "sell the data and make money off of us" (RYP1). Furthermore, it was noted that "rumours in the community say they [researchers] come here to make money" (RYP7), and "these researchers they come and sell our ideas and get money because of us" (RYP24). Prossy claimed, "Since the researcher has finished his research, he is taking the results to the donors and is receiving money. Yeah, he is now eating money on the research he did with us" (RYP19).

Sarah's quote illustrates demonstrates feelings of inequitable research relationships.

> The researchers get the information from us and type it in books. I don't think they share it with concerned people. Instead they write some books and make personal use off of those books. And, after making the books, they make money with the ideas we gave them. So, they write a book and sell the book and make money off of our stories. That's

> what I think. They hustle – they do their work. They get what they want, and they get out. Maybe it's the anthem for the researchers [l*aughter*] (RYP13).

In accordance with Sarah, Olivier disclosed thoughts about his story being sold.

> So, you will find a lot of these researchers come to ask us a lot of questions. Then maybe, they are selling our life by the stories, yes. Because, after the research, there is a future for them. Maybe they will go and make some publications. So, they sell the research out (RYP12).

The notion of "selling our life by the stories" has previously surfaced in academic scholarship. While exploring research methodologies with those housed in refugee camps, Pittaway and colleagues (2010) discovered similar interpretations from refugees claiming that their stories were being sold. Indeed, this led to feelings that researchers were exploiting participants by not sharing the benefits of research (Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2013).

Two participants in my study, Sarah and Fawisa, had unexpectedly identified acquaintances in NGO-related research documents or books, which were accompanied by photos.

> Some people write stories in books, and when you look at the book, you realize, "This is [mentions name]. I know this guy. He's from Kakuma, he was once in Kakuma." Then the question comes, "Has he ever been paid or appreciated for giving out this story?" I've always been doubting whether these people have ever been appreciated for this work (RYP13).

Fawisa expressed caution when reflecting on providing researchers with identifying details of her life.

> Sometimes you give the real story of your nationality, your age, and your private life and you don't get any feedback. Maybe you think these people are writing books about it. Sometimes, we see books in the camp. Then, there's a picture of a kid or person that you know. I see the book and I have to ask myself, "Have they [researchers] appreciated these people? Do the people really know that they are in the books?" Sometimes they come to high schools, these mzungu and they take a photo of this guy or this girl. Then, it's on the Internet. Sometimes, I feel bad and I don't want to give out my private information (RYP14).

Although some participants were unsure how researchers used their interviews, Nadia countered one of my questions with her own.

> Let me ask you a question. If you come and do research about something, do you guys [researchers] focus on change or look at the money part? I don't know. Or the grades part? Do you want to be pronounced the best researcher and get a lot of money through your work that you have done in Kakuma? Or are you doing it for a change? Because I don't understand. If you are doing it for a change, then there should be a change in the situation you came to address. But, if you're doing it for a different motive, then it makes sense as to why you people [researchers] never return (RYP31).

Nadia's comments, amalgamated with the discursive process of my research, forced me to conceptualize the tumultuous terrain of research ethics between many outside researchers and RYP in Kakuma refugee camp. Based on my data, it appears that an ensuing disconnect, between RYP and research as a practice, is currently transpiring or has transpired in Kakuma refugee camp. The following section offers a nuanced examination of *postcolonialism* and research

ethics, while recommending a decolonizing approach to addressing research ethics in Kakuma refugee camp.

Postcolonialism and Research Ethics in Kakuma

This research has illustrated divergent constructions of *respect for persons*, *beneficence*, and *justice*, between research participants in Kakuma refugee camp and guiding research ethics literature. Postcolonial approaches appear relevant in interpreting the underpinnings of such disparities as they (a) interrogate both the historical and ongoing legacies of European colonialism (Saada, 2014; Schwarz, 2005) and (b) are committed to reconsidering colonialism's continuing impact from the perspective of formerly colonized contexts (e.g. communities) (Crossley & Tikly, 2004). As such, I (a) reviewed mainstream refugee research ethical protocols/mandates and (b) explored specific ethical research concepts with RYP participants. The latter positioned RYP participants as the center of attention and acknowledged them as experts in their own experiences with research ethics. In applying this *postcolonialism* stance I intended, in accordance with G. Wang (2011), to describe how a "relationship was formed between the way the non-West [RYP in Kakuma] looked at the West [Global North researchers] and the way the non-West looked at itself" (p. 59).

Inherent Power in Research(er)

Since the dawn of colonialism, foreign colonial powers have entered African countries with their own agendas. While the ideologies and practices of present-day researchers (from the Global North) arriving in formerly colonized contexts may certainly deviate from early colonialists in Africa, there are some characteristics that appear intrinsic to both. One such characteristic is the notion of power. Power is a dynamic and negotiated process shaped by

intersecting variables such as race, ethnicity, language, class, ability, gender, sexuality, and education (Foucault, 1982). Like colonialists, researchers enter into subjugated and oppressed contexts in positions of dominance, power, and control (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). Such power is not only evidenced in researchers' privileged and powerful positionalities and identities (e.g. education-level, country of origin, potential race and ethnicity, etc.) but also their epistemological and ontological orientations (Marmo, 2013). It is such epistemologies that determine which methodologies, methods, and theories researchers utilize in former colonized contexts. Without assessing how these epistemologies and ontologies correlate with research participants, it appears that researchers run the risk of instilling values and ideals that prioritize their needs afore their participants.

Whether implicit or overt, researchers' inherent power accounts for "knowledge about formerly colonized and oppressed communities [that] is constructed, and … it accumulates into a body of literature that informs future research activities" (Chilisa, 2012, p. 14). For instance, this study indicates that the ethical principles of *respect for persons*, *beneficence*, and *justice*, which are currently utilized in Kakuma, continue to remain incongruent to the reported values and ethics of RYP participants. This correlates to the notion of what Said (2000) claimed as "intellectual authority." By employing research ethics from the Global North, researchers must be cognizant not to assume an "intellectual authority" over RYP in Kakuma. If not, RYP participants may feel disrespected and unjustified in their research participation. This "intellectual authority" is perhaps related to the power of not only the researcher, but the process of research itself.

Mackenzie and colleagues (2007) indicate that facilitating principles of research ethics (e.g. *respect for persons*, *beneficence*, and *justice*), during research with refugee communities, is

often a highly abstract process. Ostensibly, it is the innate power of the researcher (persisting from colonial times), as compared to RYP participants, where researchers assume that their research expectations parallel those of their participants (Hugman, Pittaway, et al., 2011; MacKenzie et al., 2007; Pittaway et al., 2010). Perhaps further communication regarding "expectations of research," between researchers and RYP, should consider substantiated levels of fluidity, transparency, and interaction. Such efforts may generate more beneficial insight into RYPs' values in research participation. From my analysis, it can be argued that researchers and RYPs' divergence of "expectations of research" is a catalyst for RYP participants labeling researchers as disrespectful, unjust, and inept to provide beneficence.

Research Reciprocity

In failing to explore expectations of research with RYP, researchers may miss recognizing the significance of reciprocity in Kakuma. Research reciprocity has been acknowledged in scholarship with various populations, including African (Chilisa, 2012; Maiter et al., 2008; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). Maiter et al. (2008) defines reciprocity as, "an ongoing exchange with the aim of establishing and maintaining equality between [research] parties" (p. 305). The practice of meaningful exchange, from the perspectives of RYP, appears absent between researcher and RYP in Kakuma. Olivier identified his culture as one of sharing, which illustrates an expectation for reciprocity.

> In [names his culture of origin] if you have something you have to share. If it is stories, you have to share. Yeah, everything we can share without any problem. So, we are also expecting something from the researcher. It [the expectation] can be sharing information or sharing about the research. Because when you are doing research, you are talking to someone. As I said, we usually expect something from you—like you will come in the

future. But when you are not coming back, you are just making a point. So, that point has a lot of meaning (RYP12).

Abdul's expectation for reciprocity highlighted a cause and effect symbiosis; a researcher learns of problems and follows up with those problems.

> Researchers come and ask me for the problems that I am facing. Then, I share my problems with them. My expectation is for you to come back with the feedback later on. Because, there is a reason why you carried out the research, right? Isn't it to share the feedback? (RYP18).

During colonial times, the colonizers of marginalized territories were not interested in reciprocal relationships. Based on the responses from participants in my study, researchers in Kakuma have not engaged in reciprocal relationships that are fruitful to RYP participants. Moreover, RYP participants have claimed that researchers have not discussed research expectations (which may include "benefits of research") with participants. I connect this to what Chilisa (2005) describes as a direct result of colonial-era mentality that persists in contemporary times. In this case, the researcher is constructed as the "one who knows" research ethics and, albeit, perhaps, unconsciously, undermines the authenticity and opinion of the *other* (Chilisa, 2005), in this case RYP participants.

Informed Consent

Despite the information that was shared from RYP participants, I wondered if it was so straight-forward. Although not an aspect of relational ethics, *informed consent* is worth acknowledging. For instance, as a research student I am constantly reminded to provide informed consent documents to my research participants. Informed consent documents commonly include

a section on “participant benefits.” Only six participants in my study had claimed to receive an informed consent document. Were researchers not prioritizing informed consent documents, specifically those with a “benefits” section? Or did previous researchers gain oral consent as opposed to written consent documents? Oral consent has been acknowledged in research with refugees (Hugman, Bartolomei, et al., 2011). Finally, perhaps the disconnect in expectations was related to RYP participants’ expectations of research? For instance, research with refugee young people can, intermittently, engender experiences where participants may envision unrealistic expectations of the researcher (Hugman, Pittaway, et al., 2011; MacKenzie et al., 2007; Pittaway et al., 2010).

During my time in Kakuma, four RYP anticipated expectations that were unfeasible for me to fulfill. These included an expectation of resettlement to a third country (RYP14), a mattress to sleep on (RYP21), and “a lot” of money for her family (RYP22). Moreover, ubiquitous throughout my research was the expectancy of researchers to extend beyond their academic responsibilities and adopt an advocacy framework. Such an ideology engendered an anticipation for researchers to “help” with RYPs’ “problems.” During such moments, I referred back to our agreed upon informed consent documents and questioned participants on whether or not previous researchers had discussed the researcher expectations prior to the research. Although many RYP participants claimed to not have received an informed consent document (in their previous research experiences), those participants who had received them were no longer in possession of the documents. Further research should examine researchers previous research experiences in Kakuma refugee camp, with special interest on (a) the informed consent document and (b) researchers’ practices of discussing “expectations.” Such research may provide

further insight on the expectation gap between researchers and participants of research in Kakuma refugee camp.

Othering

As previously stated, a critical component of a *postcolonialism* lens is *othering*. Othering not only determines what is "normal," but socially and/or emotionally excludes or marginalizes those that deviate from the "norm" (Ashcroft et al., 2013; Spivak, 1988). In failing to account for intersectionality, othering creates binaries that are reproduced in research with subjugated communities (e.g. researcher/subject). In fact, the power of the outside researcher, who enters Kakuma refugee camp or similar contexts, seems to produce the research "subject" (*other*) as one who is different, most times inferior, and needs to be studied. Being *othered* constrains how subjugated and marginalized communities are understood and appreciated, which often manifests in research and writings (Mohanty, 1991). Using ethical research frameworks that were established in the Global North, with RYP in Kakuma, may imply that such ethical principles are "universal" or perhaps "normal." Without ascertaining whether these ethical codes are beneficial to participants, researchers may be employing what Grey (2016) calls "benevolent othering."

Benevolent othering is a process by which *others* are spoken of in ways that are ostensibly positive, but function in ways that maintain the subordination of the *other* (Grey, 2016). A benevolent othering stance towards research ethics in Kakuma suggests that researchers who instill ethical variables developed in the Global North do not actually intend to *other* RYP participants. Indeed, previous (outside) researchers in Kakuma may have abided by their own understandings (i.e. Global North) of *respect for persons*, *beneficence*, and *justice* to produce "ethical research" practices. Despite the intentions, however, the impacts were still viewed as negative by RYP participants. Currently, considerations have not been made to shift research

ethics protocols in order to meet the needs and values reported by RYP participants in Kakuma refugee camp. Instead, research ethics protocols instill "normal" research ethics guides from the Global North. As such, could it be argued that research ethics in Kakuma refugee camp exemplifies aspects of benevolent othering? In order to address power, *postcolonialism,* and *othering* in research ethics with RYP participants in Kakuma, this paper offers potential decolonizing strategies.

Decolonizing Research Ethics in Kakuma Refugee Camp

As researchers arrive in former colonized contexts they enter into a "postcolonial present, with all the symbolic and material remnants passed down from the history of colonialism" (Madison, 2012, p. 55). While research ethics were certainly absent during colonial times, the inherent power ensconced in "normalizing" or "universalizing" research ethics protocols from the Global North in Kakuma refugee camp appears problematic. By not amending the systematic use of Euro-centric research ethics protocols in Kakuma refugee camp, have outside researchers preserved the *othering* divide? If so, this application of research ethics may clearly be utilized without ill intent. Despite the intentions, however, such ethical concepts appear culturally inappropriate and need to be redressed. One such way to engage with this is via decolonizing processes.

Decolonization has been defined as, "the process of revealing and dismantling colonialist powers in all forms … includes dismantling the hidden aspects of those institutional and cultural forces that had maintained the colonialist power and that remain even after political independence is achieved" (Ashcroft et al., 2013, p. 73). Tuck and Yang (2012), however, argue that in contemporary discourse, decolonization has become a "metaphor" with no objective application form to apply such a decolonizing process. Indeed, Franz Fanon (1963) claimed

decolonization cannot be interpreted as a “magical practice” or a “friendly understanding,” but instead a “historical process” that is nearly impossible to define. As such, this section will only scratch the surface on how to begin decolonizing research ethics in Kakuma refugee camp.

Perhaps of primary importance is an initial acknowledgment of the existing dissonance in *respect for persons*, *beneficence*, and *justice* reported by RYP participants in Kakuma and research ethics protocols. Research institutions (i.e. Universities), research ethics boards, and individual researchers must all be held accountable to apply a constant critical lens aimed at revealing unexamined, perhaps unconscious, micro and macro biases and agendas in research (Cannella & Lincoln, 2007). How do institutions (the academy), structures (research ethics boards), and individual researchers contribute to perpetuating potentially inequitable research ethics frameworks with marginalized communities? Although shifting the academy or research ethics boards agendas may yield challenges, researchers can individually begin exploring answers to the aforementioned question. One approach to commence this process, for researchers, is via a self-reflexive (see Manuscript I, III) journaling practice where one unpacks her/his/their positionalities and identities. How does one relate to her/his/their work, the spaces s/he/they consumes, and her/his/their participants?

Secondly, ethical dialogue between researchers and participants should be incessant throughout the research agenda. In fact, it has been cited that an engagement in ethical dialogue, between researchers and participants, should be the core component of research practices that may help assuage inherent power inequities (Cannella & Lincoln, 2007). Aidani (2013) argues that the responsibility for the *other* receives scant scholarly attention in literature regarding the ethics of research with refugee communities. Instead, ethical literature commonly pays respect to procedural ethics (e.g. informed consent) (Pittaway et al., 2010). In accordance to engaging in a

consistent ethical dialogue, Aidani (2013) argues that researchers with refugee communities facilitate regular "face-to-face" encounters; this practice requires researchers to see their participants not only with compassion but also through social and political justice lenses. These encounters would prioritize research ethics and may include a linking of compassion and social justice (Aidani, 2013). Both compassion and social justice are also critical for social work practitioners and researchers. Moreover, these repeated "face-to-face" interactions may provide context on the ways researchers and participants understand and make sense of research concepts. Without such interactions, how can researchers be sure there is cultural and moral alignment between both sides?

Decolonizing research ethics practices may consider diverse research ethics protocols based upon context. For instance, Kakuma refugee camp should consider establishing its own research ethics team examining proposed studies. Research ethics concepts and protocols could be generated by the residents of the camp and composed in numerous local languages. The significance of language has been instrumental throughout the history of civilization. In fact, maintaining local languages was a critical resistance tool during colonialism. One's language reflects one's identity and sense of belonging (Madison, 2012). Language is, ostensibly, a systematic means of communication inherited by culture, tradition, history, colonial powers, location, and status (Madison, 2012). Like research that ascertains the "local" idioms of distress in formerly colonized societies (Rasmussen, Katoni, Keller, & Wilkinson, 2011), researchers may consider understanding "local" research ethics vernacular. Such concepts could then be back translated into participants' original languages that could ultimately assist researchers in those contexts. Decolonizing approaches advocate for the return to indigenous languages to

democratize culture (Ngũgĩ wa, 1986), which can also form a more effective bridge to those who are more comfortable speaking their mother tongue (Ashcroft et al., 2013).

The above recommendations are simply a start. Further research is necessary to explore decolonial strategies intended to decolonize ethical research practices and protocols in Kakuma refugee camp and other similar settings.

Implications for Social Work

As previously acknowledged, *respect for persons*, *beneficence*, and *justice* are all core values of social work as well as research ethics. This study is, therefore, particularly relevant for the discipline of social work. Although based solely on one research project, the association between a *postcolonialism* approach to research ethics in Kakuma refugee camp suggests important implications for social workers, particularly those working or researching in post-conflict settings. Despite scholarship assessing the relevance of deconstructing colonial methodologies, researchers' reflexivity, social justice/advocacy frameworks, and employing "appropriate" research ethics with young people in refugee contexts, further progress is necessary. As this study illustrates, a sizeable gap exists between the appreciation of research ethics for researchers and RYP participants in Kakuma refugee camp. RYPs' reported feelings of disrespect and a lack of beneficence and justice contradict the very basic ideology of the social work discipline. Moreover, it warrants a process whereby social work researchers must genuinely and humbly reflect upon *their* fundamental rationalization for undertaking such work.

In order to redress postcolonial and *othering* views that embody notions of "academic imperialism" (Chilisa, 2012) social work researchers, entering post-conflict and displacement settings, must, at the very least, grapple with the following questions. *What is the goal of my*

research? Who will benefit from my research? Am I more interested in publication or utilizing results that will engender reciprocity? Beyond ethics review boards, what are my personal ethics and how will they (a) reflect in my work and (b) resonate with participants? What are my research expectations for this project? What are my participants' expectations? How do they align and/or deviate from one another? How do I understand reciprocity with regard to research? Does it correlate with how participants comprehend reciprocity? In what ways will I "harm" participants? How do I define "respect", "beneficence", and "justice"? Responses to such questions may establish an initial gauge for exploring how researchers' processes fit into the holistic research narrative. Similarly, such internal queries are valid for social work practitioners working in refugee camps and similar settings. Though not included in my formal research, anecdotal evidence suggests that the values of social work practitioners are commonly disengaged from the realities of RYP in Kakuma. Perhaps, this should not come as a surprise considering social work literature does not necessarily offer uniform alliances on several ethical concepts, such as "social justice" (Mullaly & West, 2018). Indeed, Gil (1994), as cited in (Mullaly & West, 2018), claimed that although social work's professional codes of ethics require social workers to "promote social justice," the articulation or practicality of applying "social justice" is absent, instead treating it as if it were self-evident.

Furthermore, due to the historical and contemporary research practices employed by outside researchers, numerous RYP in Kakuma reported feeling ambivalent about "trusting" future researchers. Several participants claimed disinterest in participating in future research in Kakuma. Daniel adduced, "I don't think I'll want to do or participate in other research. What was the whole point of actually doing the research if nothing has been done? So, I don't feel that I would want to do it again" (RYP8). Natasha's quote speaks to future research participation.

> I sometimes feel like I may reject the coming ones [researchers]. Because if you do not get any benefit out of it [research], then it's useless. And I'm beginning to think that the others coming will also do the same. They will just interview you, take your views, and then disappear in the same manner. So, I don't want to participate with anybody whom I feel that will also not come back with a result (RYP7).

The ambiguity or pessimism reported by many RYP suggests that a reconstruction of research ethics may be critical for future research to continue in Kakuma. Fortunately, several RYP expressed interest in future research despite previous negative experiences. Reasons such as the individuality of the researcher (RYP6) and forgiveness of previous researchers (RYP2) were given as justification. This, however, does not imply that social work researchers are off the hook. In fact, it suggests the contrary. As social workers, we must demonstrate a more substantiated effort to move beyond the barriers of "universal research ethics" or risk further perpetuating an existing divide.

The Social Work Discipline

The results from this study forced me to question the underpinnings of the social work discipline. As a field that has been historically, albeit appropriately, scrutinized for racist and culturally insensitive behaviours (e.g. "the Sixties Scoop"), we must begin to examine who represent the leaders in our governing bodies (e.g. CASW) and directors/supervisors of our organizations. For instance, how does the epistemology, ontology, and ideology of those leaders guide other social workers' understandings of "social work"? Do the social workers in positions of organizational power (directors/supervisors) represent marginalized and/or formerly (or currently) colonized *others*? Or, are the majority of our leaders in positions and identities of elite privilege and power? If our directors/supervisors are in positions of privilege, are they looking to

achieve a Euro-centric preconceived notion about how their supervisees engage with their work (Hair & O'Donoghue, 2009)? Or, are they seeking decolonizing opportunities to deconstruct Euro-centric social work ideology and advocate for and include *others* in developing agendas? Ultimately, diversifying our leadership may essentially diversify the policies, protocols, theories, and practices we strive to maintain—whether in a practice setting, an educational classroom, or a policy-making platform.

Social work education should also consider exploring much of the mainstream curriculum for bachelor, masters, and doctoral students. While most institutions require an anti-oppression course (AOP), this is simply not enough. As oppressive practices persevere within most aspects of life, deconstructing oppressions must be included in all social work classes. In order to conceptualize incorporating aspects of postcolonialism, decolonization, and deconstructing ideologies into their curriculums, educators/directors can begin exploring the following questions. *How can social worker educators insert a postcolonialism lens into all classes, in addition to AOP? What social work theories are presented in class? Are such theories relevant to all students, or just the privileged? Whose voices are represented in such theories? Whose voices are missing? What research methodologies are educators introducing to students? How are educators incorporating "decolonizing methodologies" (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012) strategies into research classes? Are there equity committees established within the department? Is there ample support for racialized and marginalized students? How does the social work department prioritize anti-oppression in its ideology? For instance, is there an anti-oppression mission statement? If so, how is it being implemented? If not, why does one not exist?*

Critically deconstructing curriculums in mainstream social work programs is relevant to diversify the ideologies of future social workers. Indeed, exposure to postcolonial perspectives

will support students in refuting the dichotomies of "us" versus "them," which have been produced, and reproduced, for many years throughout colonial, historical, and political discourses in the Global North (Saada, 2014), including social work.

Conclusion

The reported feelings from RYP in Kakuma refugee camp suggest an inconsistency between the ways in which they, and outside researchers, value the ethics principles of *respect for persons*, *beneficence*, and *justice*. This may be linked to the notion that guiding research ethical documents do not necessarily provide researchers with practical strategies for applying *respect for persons*, *beneficence*, and *justice* with RYP in Kakuma. For instance, with respect to *respect for persons*, RYP participants felt that "being nice" was simply one aspect of respect. To supplement "being nice," RYP participants mentioned engaging in a reciprocal relationship as an essential element of respectful research. The concept of reciprocity is generally absent in research ethics documents. Without including a reciprocal component to research, a majority of RYP participants felt previous researchers were "disrespectful." Similarly, the concept of *beneficence* provided incongruence between previous researchers and RYP. The lack of reciprocity (e.g. returning research results) left several participants feeling "bad," "sad," and that researchers were "self-benefitting." Finally, the ethical principle of *justice*, as documented in research ethics literature, misaligned with participants and their former research experiences. This was demonstrated by RYP participants reporting feeling being "used" by researchers or learning that acquaintances appeared in research documents, most likely (according to participants) without the knowledge of those persons.

Findings from this study suggest that by failing to examine the underpinnings of such ethical constructs, future researchers entering Kakuma are at risk of both emulating and

perpetuating a Euro-centric or *othering* divide. In order to assuage the divergence between diverse understandings of these ethical principles, researchers working in Kakuma must unpack the complexity of research ethics with RYP. Moreover, due to the historical relationships between the Global North and Global South, an effective method for analyzing the results of this study is via a *postcolonialism* approach. Applying such a lens does not indicate that all researchers from the Global North are employing postcolonial elements to research in Kakuma refugee camp. Indeed, researchers from the Global North are unable to divorce ourselves from the devastating realities of a colonial past. Therefore, it is our responsibility as both social workers and researchers, working in such contexts, to familiarize ourselves with colonial epistemologies and social constructions of former colonized and historically oppressed communities (Chilisa, 2009), while considering the micro and macro level impacts of our work. Although not a panacea, exploring research ethics from multiple lenses may mitigate the varying cultural constructions such as *respect*, *beneficence*, and *justice*.

Considering this a single study, further research should assess the ways various refugee (and other formerly colonized) communities comprehend research ethics. This information may assist researchers in determining how diverse refugee communities view research ethics and whether they align with protocols developed in the Global North. If such studies ascertain similar results, it is our responsibility as ethical researchers and social workers to modify and amend ethics protocols in accordance with participant feedback. Regardless, researchers working with displaced communities must collaborate with research participants to design and agree upon research ethical principles that suit the needs of all parties involved. If not, there is little reason to suggest that researchers will facilitate a holistically ethical research agenda.

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MANUSCRIPT III: WHOSE ETHICS?: RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS FROM REFUGEE YOUNG PEOPLE IN KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP

Introduction:

Researchers working with refugee young people have a responsibility to consider and investigate the experiences and impacts of research with their participants (Gillam, 2013). Social work researchers maintain even greater levels of accountability in understanding participants' experiences of being "researched," as we are required to advocate for social justice and ethical concerns (Bogolub, 2010; IASSW-IFSW, 2012). Moreover, qualitative social work researchers working in refugee camps with refugee young people (RYP) must acknowledge the existing inherent power asymmetries present in the research relationship. Research studies with RYP commonly recognize researchers' theoretical and methodological approaches with respect to their work. Minimal scholarship, however, considers the process of research participation from the perspectives of RYP, particularly in refugee camps. Social work researchers interested in facilitating research with RYP should not only evaluate how participants understand research, but also acknowledge their participants' potential recommendations for improvement. Without directly examining how RYP make sense of research, researchers run the risk of implementing a unilateral research platform where researchers' needs are prioritized (Bell, 2011).

Adhering to principles of "ethical research" with RYP, this paper explores (a) the previous research experiences of a sample of RYP living in Kakuma refugee camp and (b) participant-developed research recommendations for future research in Kakuma, with implications for other refugee camp settings. Grounded in previous research endeavours, RYP interviewees claim that their expectations of participating in research have been largely unmet and that researchers have instilled false promises. Consequently, RYP offered several

recommendations for future research/researchers in Kakuma. This study constellates the four most common, which advise researchers to *(1) provide feedback to participants*, *(2) exercise direct and transparent communication*, *(3) follow up with research recommendations*, and *(4) reflect on research and researchers' personal objectives in Kakuma.* These recommendations align indirectly with principles of anti-oppressive research (AOR) practices. The findings suggest that, according to participants, qualitative researchers in Kakuma refugee camp (a) do not appear to be facilitating AOR and (b) RYP research recommendations tacitly suggest future researchers in Kakuma should endorse AOR.

This manuscript commences with an account of anti-oppressive social work practice and anti-oppressive research (AOR) practices. Subsequently, it presents the methodology and methods utilized for this study. Next, the paper outlines RYPs' previous research experiences in Kakuma and how such experiences engendered the four research recommendations for future researchers. In the discussion section, direct links and analysis between RYPs' most cited research recommendations and AOR are proposed. It is argued, moreover, that future qualitative researchers, particularly social work researchers, in Kakuma, should consider adopting AOR. Finally, the study's implications for the social work discipline and profession will be presented.

Anti-Oppressive Practice (AOP) and Anti-Oppressive Research Practices (AOR)

An *anti-oppressive practices* framework is a constellation of theories and practices concerned with (a) identifying and understanding individual, institutional, and systemic oppression and (b) engaging in processes to dismantle it (Clarke & Wan, 2011; Holley et al., 2012; Mullaly & West, 2018). Theoretically, AOP is ostensibly an extension of Marxist, feminist, postcolonial, anti-racist, and critical theories (Baines, 2017). Sakamoto and Pitner (2005) argue that the "ultimate goal" of AOP is the "eradication of oppression through

institutional and societal changes" (p. 436). To instill systemic change, AOP infers that power dynamics be initially addressed at the individual or micro levels prior to institutional or societal platforms. Although it has expanded to various disciplines, AOP has been rooted in social work, particularly by drawing connections between social work and social justice (Dalrymple & Burke, 2006; Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005). AOP offers a conceptual model for understanding the intersection of oppression, privilege, and power dynamics at individual, institutional, and structural levels (Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005). With that understanding, AOP attempts to shift the oppressive structural mechanisms of social work service through macro-level changes that will promote social justice and equality (Dalrymple & Burke, 2006; Dominelli, 2002).

Through a practical lens, AOP scholars have focused on necessary strategies to overcome systemic injustices that social workers and their beneficiaries face. These strategies include constructing liberating agendas with service providers in order to mitigate the inherent power discrepancies (Clifford & Burke, 2005; Strier, 2006). Others advocate for a critical anti-racist approach (Butler, Elliott, & Stopard, 2003) compared to a cultural sensitivity model. The former calls for advocacy and activism in lieu of simply recognizing cultural disparities. Furthermore, AOP courses are now obligatory for numerous social work undergraduate and graduate programs. AOP scholarship has historically prioritized social work practice, social service delivery, and social work education (Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005; Strier, 2006).

Anti-Oppressive Research (AOR)

Although AOP was initially recognized in social work practice, as a result of power inequities in research, *Anti-Oppressive Research* (AOR) practices have gained credence in the past decade. Generically speaking, the underpinnings of AOP are interwoven with both social work practice and research. Strier (2006), a contributor to AOR literature, posits that the pursuit

"to liberate social work research from oppression is based on the assumption that any intervention or research project, regardless of the benevolent and progressive nature of its goals and intentions, may replicate the structural conditions that generate oppression" (p. 859). AOR scholars have highlighted the incongruence between traditional research methodologies (both quantitative and qualitative) and AOP values (Rogers, 2012; Strier, 2006). Consequently, more emancipatory research methods, such as advocacy and participatory research methodologies, have been fortified (Strier, 2006; Thomas & O'kane, 1998), though certainly not deemed a panacea (Potts & Brown, 2008).

A fundamental objective of AOR is to shift the ownership of knowledge from the researcher back into the hands of those who experience the research phenomena (Potts & Brown, 2008). Consequently, researchers have a responsibility to contribute to assuaging power differentials. AOR scholars argue that a fundamental principle of engagement for researchers compelled by a social justice ideology is a critical self-reflexive practice (Baines, 2017; Burke & Harrison, 2002). Such a practice identifies and deconstructs the power and relationship imbalances (Potts & Brown, 2008; Rogers, 2012) ensconced in the research agenda. Being reflexive constitutes the continual examination of how values, social variation, and power impact the interactions between individuals, institutions, and societies (Burke & Harrison, 2002; Rogers, 2012). By instituting reflexive practices, AOR researchers identify the strategies that subjugated research participants utilize to resist oppression while supporting the transformation of social hierarchies (Holley et al., 2012).

Included in anti-oppression work is the notion of intersectionality. Intersectionality, situated in feminist theory, suggests that numerous categories of oppression (due to class, race, sexuality, gender, ability, ethnicity, religion, etc.) intersect with one another, resulting in entirely

new and complex relations of power (Crenshaw, 1991; Lee & Brotman, 2013). These intersecting systems of oppression are mutually constitutive and may reinforce or complicate each other, resulting in multifaceted forms of subjugation and exclusion (Lee & Brotman, 2013). Intersectionality exists at the micro and structural levels of society. It provides an analytical approach for understanding both complex identities and how social structures affect people's everyday surroundings (Mattsson, 2014).

Finally, AOR is not benign but politicized research that is committed to addressing the systems of oppression and unequal power relations that generate current social orders in the power of relationships (Danso, 2015; Potts & Brown, 2008). Anti-oppressive researchers are not interested in identifying "truths," but instead search for meaning, understanding, and the procedures to accomplish change (Holley et al., 2012; Potts & Brown, 2008). The anti-oppressive political charge of AOR also resonates with the core themes of social work as a discipline (Danso, 2015).

AOR in Kakuma Refugee Camp

Unfortunately, the debilitating effects of European colonialism in the Global South have influenced and had an impact on research among marginalized communities particularly in that area (Chilisa, 2012). For instance, Tuhiwai Smith (2012) states, "From the vantage point of the colonized … the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism" (p. 1). Because of this, following a critical review of "colonial" research practices, many First Nations communities in the Global North adopted the principles of ownership, control, access, and possession (OCAP) in research (Schnarch, 2004). These research standards were established to illustrate how research in First Nations should be facilitated to assuage the asymmetrical power hierarchy between the researcher and the researched. Essentially, Indigenous communities

wanted to be in control of the research that was conducted about them, particularly from outside researchers (Schnarch, 2004). Furthermore, Chilisa (2009) posits that researchers working with formerly colonized participants have a heightened responsibility to familiarize themselves with colonial epistemologies and social constructions of former colonized and historically oppressed groups in order to deconstruct and reframe them (Chilisa, 2009). Anti-oppressive research practices are designed to engage in such processes.

It can be argued that AOR is simply good research practice, and therefore should be applied in all research, especially social work research. Although this is a rational assertion, AOR "focuses purposively on the study of the most oppressed populations that are largely excluded from the main spheres of public and economic life …" (Strier, 2006, p. 860). While most social work research engages with those who are marginalized and subjugated, AOR is particularly relevant with formerly colonized, displaced and conflict-plagued communities in order to address and redress the cultural images that classify the colonial subjects as "othered" (Chilisa, 2012; Strier, 2006). Given the objectives of deconstructing the colonial and oppressive mechanisms that have historically plagued colonial research subjects, AOR is unmistakably germane for the Kakuma context. The discussion section of the paper will illustrate a relationship between the future research recommendations of RYP and the groundings of AOR.

Methodology & Methods

The methodology and methods utilized in this document are nearly identical to Manuscript II. For instance, like Manuscript II, this qualitative, critical ethnography draws upon 31 semi-structured, in-depth interviews conducted over a period of five months (January – May 2017). As this paper was generated from the same data as Manuscript II, the *Inclusion Criteria*, *Data Collection,* and *Data Analysis,* between the two manuscripts, are identical, with one

exception. As noted below, several future research recommendations were provided by RYP participants, yet this paper offers only four. Discerning which recommendations to include and exclude for this specific manuscript was based on the following criteria (a) each recommendation must have been suggested by a majority of participants (i.e. 17 out of 31) and (b) considering more than four were recommended by the majority, I included the four, presented in this document, by asking participants to prioritize their recommendations. Furthermore, like Manuscript II, I analyzed all data in this paper via an intersectionality approach, though opted not to report findings through such a lens. Please refer to Manuscript II for (a) my justification for aggregating all data and (b) the limitations and risks that this decision may have engendered. The study does yield its own limitations, which are offered below.

Study's Limitations

Manuscript II detailed several limitations that are also relevant to this paper. These include (a) a failure to interview researchers who conduct research in refugee camps or similar contexts, (b) the paradox of me (an outside researcher) facilitating research exploring research ethics, (c) the small sample size, (d) exclusively focusing on relational ethics, and (e) using a translator/interpreter for two interviews.

This study also includes its own unique limitations. First, RYP participants offered numerous recommendations for future research(ers) in Kakuma refugee camp. This study only details the four most commonly cited by participants. The decision to provide four was based on the level of depth and analysis that is provided to each recommendation in this manuscript. Detailing all of the recommendations would have exceeded the boundaries of this paper. By not exploring all recommendations, this manuscript fails to provide a comprehensive analysis for all RYP participant-inspired research recommendations. However, by presenting and analyzing four

an initial “starting point” or launching pad has been established to expand the study of research ethics in refugee camps or similar contexts.

The exclusion of interviewing outside researchers who have worked in Kakuma or other refugee camps was acknowledged as a limitation in Manuscript II, however, it warrants further analysis. By failing to understand the research and personal goals, protocols, ideology, theories, methods, etc. of researchers working with displaced populations, a significant gap remains. For instance, how do researchers comprehend “false promises” and “unmet expectations” with respect to their work? Do researchers feel as if they inadvertently create “false promises” that result in participants’ feeling that their expectations of researchers are left “unmet”? Or no? Can there be nuance? For instance, while conducting an interview with a young, newly single mother (her husband was killed during a recent armed conflict in her homeland), I personally noticed emerging feelings of helplessness towards her. As a social worker, I am accustomed to displaying empathic behaviours, and I am certain my empathy was not subtle in our dyad. As I listened to her horror, I inevitably perceived a personal desire to assist/support her in some way. Simultaneously, I acknowledged my research topic and therefore found myself in an existential dilemma. On a moral ground, I wanted to assist this woman, considering that my multiple privileged positionalities could have generated instant support (e.g. money for food). However, how would providing that support instill feelings that I was more than a researcher (Manuscript I details this further)? Furthermore, did providing “empathy” and “active listening” translate to creating “expectations” for the participant? Further work with researchers and research participants should unpack these morally and practically challenging ethical research encounters.

Although the issue is discussed briefly, this manuscript does not provide an expansive evaluation of the role and responsibility of academia in regard to RYP participants’

recommendations. The paper does acknowledge the notion that the academy is infertile ground for researchers to uphold RYP participants' recommendations (MacKenzie et al., 2013). Thus, further research should focus on (a) how researchers navigate the contradiction between implementing research results while abiding by academic standards (e.g. publish or perish, tenure, etc.) and (b) the dichotomy between the academy and RYP research results.

In the following section, I address participants' previous research experience as a preface to RYPs' advice for future researchers in Kakuma refugee camp.

Previous Research Experiences

Displaced persons may experience precarity and disruption in their everyday surroundings. As a result, exercising "ethical research practices" with refugee communities is fraught with various complications that have been acknowledged in the literature (Block et al., 2013; Hopkins, 2008; Hugman, Pittaway, et al., 2011). Such difficulties surface throughout the research process, from formulating a research question to dissemination (Block et al., 2013). Non-theoretical, practical solutions aimed at navigating these challenges, however, are less acknowledged (Block et al., 2012). A core objective of this research study was to ascertain results to a query proposed by Gillam (2013): "What are ethically appropriate ways of conducting refugee research?" (p. 23). As research is a collaborative enterprise (Gillam, 2013), I took this question to those who may hold the most germane and appropriate insight, RYP themselves.

Prior to exploring such an inquiry, it seemed relevant to uncover how research participation has influenced RYPs' recommendations for research. Block and colleagues (2012) attest that whether positive or negative, research participation inevitably impacts the lives of

refugee participants. Therefore, I was curious to gauge how previous research had affected or impacted RYP in Kakuma. This section offers the two most common, recurring themes that participants acknowledged when reflecting upon previous research experiences. These are RYPs' prevailing sense of *unmet (research) expectations* and feelings that researchers have instilled *false promises*. Paired together, unmet expectations and feelings of false promises conveyed a general sense of "disappointment" for RYP who had participated in previous research.

Unmet Expectations

A pervasive theme that surfaced in nearly every interview was an "expectation" for post-interview, researcher-initiated action. In fact, several participants anticipated that they would receive either research results or tangible improvements to the issues discussed during the research (e.g. enhanced educational opportunities for girls and young women). Ibrahim's quote illustrates his connection to receiving "help" and the challenges of life in the camp.

> The first thing that researchers should know is that they are coming to a poverty-prone zone in which people are expecting positive things. What I mean is anybody who accepts to be interviewed here in Kakuma expects results. My participation was based on the hardship of life. You know, when you are in a hardship, you feel that anything or any person who comes to do some research is likely to do something that can help. So that's one of the reasons that made me participate (RYP8).

Like Ibrahim, Florence likened her participation to the adversities of life in a camp and the precariousness of being a refugee.

> My major reason for participating was that when they [researchers] laid out the concerns that needed to be raised, I felt that if I participated, I would get help or see some change.

> When living in this condition as refugee, research is vital for my life. So, I did participate expecting, you know, to get a little bit of change (RYP10).

RYP participant most often claimed that if individual researchers were unable to provide direct benefits to participants or the larger community, they were expected to advocate for the community on the basis of their research results.

> When we see researchers approaching us all the way from America and Europe, we say, "Oh these people will talk to UNHCR [United High Commission for Refugees] and see how it goes." Because we know that these people can easily talk to UNCHR. So, they will take our problems to UNHCR, then we will be able to get solutions to our problems (RYP20).

Contributing in a reciprocal engagement was another reason why some chose to participate in research. Aliya's quote demonstrates an expectation for a mutually-benefitting relationship between researchers and participants.

> My interest in being in research is that I'm also in school, learning. So, when I carry on research with you, you'll provide me with some knowledge and help that will be beneficial to me and my family to create change. And, what I'm giving you will make you also benefit. So, I expect both of us to benefit (RYP17).

Like many fellow participants, Prince's quote represents the notion that if generating change was unattainable, he would expect researchers to provide feedback on the progress of the study. "I expected some kind of feedback, because they [researchers] seemed to have serious objectives in collecting their research. So, I thought after collecting my research, they would at least give me feedback on the progress and developments" (RYP2).

Although directly benefiting from research was an expectation outlined by various participants, Prossy's words suggest an anticipation that research would change participants' lives.

> Once they [researchers] come for their research, we always participated for them, so that they bring us feedback so that we can see whether our lives will change. The feedback might positively change my life … being here in Kakuma is like we are in prison. But, when researchers come, we think that they will release us from the current situation we are living in (RYP19).

The ability to "release" RYP from their current situation is a drastic order for researchers to fill. Though, Prossy's expectations were not an anomaly, for a handful of participants had a propensity to uphold expectations that were unrealistic for researchers to attain. These included sponsorships for resettlement (RYP1), employment (RYP22), and large compensation (RYP17).

Scholarship has identified that research with refugee young people may harvest unrealistic participant expectations (Hugman, Pittaway, et al., 2011; Krause, 2017; MacKenzie et al., 2007; Pittaway et al., 2010). Akesson and colleagues (2014) warn researchers who work with refugee young people against engendering "false hopes" or making promises they are incapable of fulfilling, while also being careful not to "mislead or raise unrealistic expectations" (p. 83). According to the majority of participants in my study researchers in Kakuma have, ostensibly, not heeded Akesson's et al. (2014) advice. Or, are additional factors, such as the asymmetrical power dynamics between the privileged researcher and marginalized refugee participant, responsible for "unmet expectations"? In fact, RYP participants uniformly reported that their research expectations remained unfulfilled. Out of 31 research participants included in this study, not one alleged to have either (a) obtained results from the research or (b) observed any level of

change in their situation. While the latter may be an unrealistic expectation for researchers to fulfil, the disappointment was ubiquitous. This suggests that further research is necessary to uncover what is fueling this kind of expectation. For instance, are researchers not properly communicating post-research objectives? Or is the expectation an inevitable effect of the power and positionalities of the researcher? Indeed, while in Kakuma, I was informed by a South Sudanese friend that, "It's just in some people's DNA that the mzungu is here [in Kakuma] to solve problems" (personal communication, April 6, 2017). Despite the ambiguity of what underlies "unmet expectations," this was a major concern for nearly all RYP in my study.

False Promises

Perhaps more alarming than professing "disappointment" or feeling "bad" about unmet expectations was the predominating sentiment that researchers broke their "promises" to RYP. Wanting to verify that I understood participants correctly about "researcher promises" I asked RYP to recount the notion of "researcher promises." In only my second interview, I was introduced to the false promise phenomenon, which was eventually exposed by several RYP. Below is a brief engagement about "promise" between Prince and me.

> RYP2: The bad thing about research is to promise someone and then you do not achieve the goal that you promised that person.
>
> Researcher: Wait, what do you mean by promise?
>
> RYP2: Yeah, these researchers they promised us. They promised us, as in making a promise to change things, making a promise to provide feedback. But, they never do, they never do anything that they have promised.

Despite an unsuccessful attempt at citing scholarly literature on "researcher promises," I observed RYPs' authentic feeling of being "used" by "self-benefitting" researchers who, according to the participants, routinely broke promises. Bilan's comment addresses this point.

> These researchers used to come and promise us that they will change something about our situation. But, I don't see that they have changed it. Yeah, they generally come and promise. We believed these people, and we trusted them. But we don't know the problem of why they promise us and then they disappear (RYP27).

Common in research with displaced populations is the expectation for researchers to assist participants in ways that may differ from non-displaced contexts (Hugman, Pittaway, et al., 2011; Pittaway et al., 2010). For instance, researchers with displaced populations may be perceived as authoritarian outsiders to whom expectations of assistance may be attached (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003a). If such expectations are unfulfilled, participants often experience disappointment (Krause, 2017; McLaughlin & Alfaro-Velcamp, 2015). Though, the distinction between an "unmet expectation" and a "false/empty promise" was evident, as a number of RYP claimed to be the direct recipients of researchers' "false promises." Salah claimed that she was aware of empty research promises more than one time.

> You [researchers] have taken information, you have done everything here, and you have left. And that is an empty promise, because you promised us. I have seen it more than one time where researchers say they will come back here and help us. It is not okay to promise people when you are not giving something. So, you are telling a lie—you have to tell the truth, and people will welcome you every time when you come to that community (RYP28).

According to Isaac, research promises "absolutely" transpire in Kakuma, though they are not necessarily ubiquitous.

> Some of the researchers, not all of them but some of them—after they ask you questions, they start promising something that they cannot do. They just create these false promises, which is not good. Totally not good. But they should know that they shouldn't promise you something that they're not going to do (RYP23).

Although a dearth of literature analyzes the impacts of promise-making in social sciences research, researchers have been cautioned to resist coercing participation through excessive incentives (Mita & Ndebele, 2014). It is also imperative to explore how a researcher's presence of simply entering the camp and asking about RYPs' experiences may be perceived as a potential promise. Moreover, Goodhand (2000) argues that in conflict and post-conflict settings, the risk for researchers to instill false hopes is amplified since participants may experience few external means of support. Therefore, researchers must engage in precautionary measures to clearly communicate the exact benefits, or lack thereof, prior to engaging in research (Goodhand, 2000). Grounded in unmet expectations and false promises, RYP in Kakuma unequivocally felt disappointed and frustrated with their previous research experiences. Because of this, I felt it necessary to ascertain how research could be improved from the perspectives of previously researched RYP. This was inspired by the initial attempt of Horn et al. (2014), who proposed that refugee "research advocates" contribute to discourses on research protocols and the continuous monitoring of research.

The following section of this manuscript identifies RYPs' four most common recommendations for future researchers who intend to facilitate research in Kakuma. These include *providing feedback to participants, exercising direct and transparent communication,*

following up with research recommendations, and *reflecting on one's research and personal objectives in Kakuma*.

RYP Recommendations for Future Research in Kakuma

1. *Provide Feedback: Feedback is Reciprocity*

The appeal for researchers to share their findings with participants in Kakuma was a universal recommendation from nearly all RYP. The relevance of receiving feedback from researchers could be interpreted as RYPs' desire to engage in reciprocal relationships. The notion of reciprocal research (Hugman, Pittaway, et al., 2011) has been examined extensively, particularly by non-European scholars (Chilisa, 2012; Kovach, 2010; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). Chilisa (2012) defines research reciprocity as "the extent to which the researcher is contributing or giving back to the relationship and the extent to which sharing, growth, and learning are taking place" (p. 118). The denotation of "giving back to the [research] relationship" may represent incongruencies between RYP and researchers. Thus, further evaluation of researchers' comprehension of "giving back" is warranted. This section of the paper, however, will examine "giving back" or reciprocity from the perspectives of RYP in Kakuma. For RYP, reciprocity commonly signified *researcher/researched sharing*; *recognition of participants' contributions*; and *being trustworthy*.

Nearly all RYP recommended future researchers in Kakuma provide research results as a method of fulfilling the reciprocal research relationship. Joseph quote illustrates a connection between future research and "sharing."

> Research is sharing. You are asking the questions and we are giving you answers. That is sharing. But when you take something without giving any feedback, then you realize it's not sharing. So, you must come back with feedback, because we want to share (RYP4).

Marley associated reciprocal research relationships with cooking soup.

> It is important to see the results [of research] because I want to see what I worked for. It's obvious that everybody wants to see what they do. You cannot cook soup and at the end of the day you pour it out. You will want to taste the results of your cooking (RYP26).

Tasting the results of *your* cooking insinuates that participants are essentially co-cooks or co-creators of the research project. RYP, however, predominantly felt as though their participation was subjugated to that of the researcher. Nadia linked researchers' post-Kakuma "disappearances" with their aspirations of attaining full credit for the work.

> You need to come back with the feedback from the research. If you don't come with the feedback and are only interested in improving your grades in school or being a great researcher—well, what about me? What about the person who participated? It's not always about money and fame for you, but what about me as a person who participated? Am I being recognized somewhere? You know, I'll feel good if I see the finished research and my words are quoted there, meaning that someone is learning from me. But if you don't show us, and take all the credit for yourself, then it's really unfortunate that I never even see the finished research (RYP31).

Like Nadia, Abdul referenced researchers' inclusion of RYP in their works without presenting it to them. If he were ever to be interviewed by a researcher writing a book, Abdul not only requested to read it, but more importantly deduced that he should be provided a copy: "And

if these researchers come only to write a book, then we should be receiving a copy of the book. Why are we not seeing or owning the book if it is about us?" (RYP18).

Discovering that a reciprocal relationship was warranted by nearly each participant was unsurprising. In fact, reciprocity is a defining characteristic of many African cultures (Darley & Blankson, 2008). Broadly speaking, "African society" has been characterized as a system of mutually benefitting reciprocities that privileges the phenomenon of communal responsibility and interdependence (Mphahlele, 1962; Otite, 1978). The relationship between "Africa" and "sharing" seemed to justify RYPs' recommendation for feedback. Yann adduced,

> In Africa we share together. Once there is something in front of us, we must share. Those who go to do research, they have to come back and explain to us, tell us—they have to be open to us to give us the full information with what they have got as a result of their research. That's our African behaviours, our beliefs (RYP20).

The notion of sharing and working together was evidenced throughout RYPs' contribution to this research project. Receiving post-research feedback, moreover, would foster a sense of belonging or connection between researchers and RYP. For instance, in addition to "sharing ideas" and "applying those ideas" to adversities in the camp, Nancy stressed that feedback would cement a "feeling that I am a part of the entire research project" (RYP3). By obtaining feedback, RYP acknowledged that they would develop "trust" in the researcher, which could help fortify the communal or collectivist nature (e.g. "sense of belonging") of the research relationship.

The concept of "trust" as an integral ethical component of research has been well documented (Israel, 2015; Maiter et al., 2008; Yassour-Borochowitz, 2004). Without researcher-

participant trust, there are few guarantees of the validity and authenticity of information exchanged (Fitzgerald, 1997). Gabriel's quote indicates that receiving feedback from researchers may engender trust.

> Us interviewees, we would be given some motivation by the feedback that the research could bring to us. It would make us trust the researcher. The first time the first interviewer comes and gives all the feedback, next time, when another one comes, we'll feel encouraged to give out more information about our society (RYP29).

This statement may imply that if Researcher A provides results to RYP in Kakuma, a level of trust will form. Consequently, Researcher B may experience elevated interest from participants. Abdul echoed this theory: "The most important thing for researchers is to share the feedback. As participants, we will feel good and free to give out information, because we have trusted you … because at the end of the day, we know we will get feedback" (RYP18).

The notion of reciprocity has also been acknowledged in research impacting other marginalized communities, particularly First Nations communities in the Global North (Moniz, 2015). Indeed, the lack of researchers' reciprocity was one factor that initiated the development of the, previously acknowledged, OCAP research principles in Indigenous research discourse (Moniz, 2015). Finally, in order for researchers to engage in reciprocal and trustful research relationships, RYP confirmed that it is necessary for researchers to be direct and transparent when communicating. This includes post-research plans and an exchange of expectations and benefits. The next section will unpack the second research recommendation from RYP: *Direct and Transparent Communication.*

2. Exercising Direct and Transparent Communication

Ensconced in the undercurrents of "unmet expectations," but particularly "false promises," is RYPs' request that researchers facilitate transparent and direct communication styles. This recommendation was inspired by participants feeling that researchers were indisputably fabricating and misinforming RYP, primarily in communicating participant benefits and expectations. RYP, therefore, advise researchers to "tell the truth" about post-research objectives and benefits, regardless of what constitutes that truth.

When queried on the ways researchers could augment their practices with RYP in Kakuma, Prince highlighted "communication."

> There is something that has to be done with researchers. They have to do some kind of improvement on how they conduct themselves. They really have to improve on providing feedback and the communication. Mostly, the communication, that is really important (RYP2).

Whilst delving into "improving the communication," it became apparent that RYP participants were most concerned with researchers' transparency about the research agenda (including benefits and expectations), irrespective of whether the truth contradicted RYPs' expectations. For instance, when asked to elaborate on "communication," Prince asserted,

> Okay, if the research will not provide any benefits to us, they [researchers] need to state that first. Just tell the truth about your [researcher] motives for the research. If you tell us before the research that you are not coming back, or I should not expect help, then I can decide if I want to participate or not, knowing that I won't get help after it's over. But when they [researchers] don't say anything about their research, about what will happen after they leave here, that is not good (RYP2).

Claiming that he had previously experienced researchers' false promises, Jamal spoke to researchers' honesty.

> Researchers need to be honest with us. It's like they are not even being truthful. Just speak openly. They should speak the truth and say that they are not capable of helping if they are not capable. But do not lead us with false information by saying that you will come back with feedback if you will never come back with the feedback (RYP6).

In providing direct and transparent communication, researchers can effectively avert potential misunderstandings that may lead participants to assume researchers have broken their promises (Akesson et al., 2014; MacKenzie et al., 2007). Abdul explained that RYP would rather be told that researchers will not come back with feedback, as opposed to holding onto false hopes.

> Communication is very simple. If you cannot come back, you say, "I will not come back" and you give your reason. Then, we will know and not feel bad because we have understood that you will not come back. Because, some people when they do research they say, "Okay, I will come back." But, at the end they never come back. That is very bad (RYP18).

Researchers' transparency would ostensibly assuage RYP expectations, according to Fawisa.

> Researchers need to tell people the truth. They should tell people exactly what they are doing, and don't make people expect things, like that they will be able to help. So, by being honest, you won't give expectations to us (RYP14).

According to several RYP, direct communication equates to researchers' "respect" for participants. Moreover, the nebulously communicative researcher is frowned upon and often labeled as "disappearing," as Isaac illustrated,

> Researchers, they must be honest. They have to respect us. If you are honest, it means you really respected us.... You should try to give us feedback. But, if you can't or you don't want to help, or you don't have the budget, you just have to be honest and tell us. It is much better to be honest than to disappear (RYP23).

The four research recommendations developed by RYP align more closely with relational ethics (respect, reciprocity, etc.) (Vervliet et al., 2015) as opposed to procedural ethics (informed consent, confidentiality, research ethics boards, etc.) (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). The concept of direct and transparent communication, however, traversed across relational and procedural ethics boundaries. For instance, RYP suggested that researchers include documenting their post-research plans on informed consent documents. Jamal spoke directly to this point.

> The document [informed consent] should state the future plans of the researcher. Like, tell us if you will come back to us with the results. If we see that you will come back, we will actually have hope of waiting for the date you stated. But, if you cannot come back, you must also include that, and we will not feel badly (RYP6).

While others equated informed consent with a "contract," Nadia's quote illustrates researchers' accountability.

> You need to explain everything that you will talk about in the informed consent. Like, "I am interested in making a change, so I will be back this day to show you the results." Or, "If I cannot come back, I plan to do such and such by this date." And if the date has to be

> changed, that's okay, but you need to communicate that with us. And make sure you sign the document, because, now, if you break your word, it's on you and not me (RYP31).

While Francis deemed it necessary for researchers to communicate directly, he opposed including future research plans on the informed consent form. His reasoning, however, appeared linked to morality.

> You do not need to explain, in that consent document, that you will or will not come back. Because, it's really a moral aspect. It should just be in the researcher's conscience that they will come back with the results or try to help in some way (RYP15).

It must be noted that despite Francis' comments being an anomaly, the concept of researchers' morality parallels the second RYP research objective: *Exercising Direct and Transparent Communication*. This section presented an alarming display of how RYP in Kakuma acknowledge the communication of researchers. As with the additional recommendations, the nuances of researchers' *direct and transparent communication styles* in Kakuma will be expanded upon in the discussion section.

3. Follow up with Research Recommendations

Because of sundry of factors, returning results to research participants is multifaceted, especially when attempting to facilitate research in the Global South (MacKenzie et al., 2013). Although this will be explored further in the discussion section, many RYP in Kakuma were aware that researchers are merely individuals who, realistically, may only engender change within a limited scope. This point may validate the second research recommendation stating that researchers' transparency supersedes any equivocal endeavours to "help" RYP. As researchers seldom find themselves in places to generate systemic change, several RYP valued research and

advocacy as a merged or a unified entity. Florence's quote highlights an expectation of advocacy.

> If you are doing research, for example, on occupational stress in organizations, at the back of your mind you should know that you found x amount of teachers or organizations are facing occupational stress. Then what? So, at the back of your mind, a researcher should be saying, "This and this should be recommended." And recommendations should be followed up. Actually, recommendations should be bigger than the research. They should be given to others to follow up on (RYP10).

The ideal that research recommendations could apparently initiate change in Kakuma was commonplace among RYP. Again, the association between researchers and advocates was unambiguous. Magdi's quote also exemplifies this: "After the research, you will know the conditions that are going on here in the camp. So, you should follow up and try to help those people in the camp. You all [researchers] need to take action from the research" (RYP17). Taking "action" from research projects essentially positions researchers as advocates. "Advocacy research" has been acknowledged in the social sciences (and social work) literature (Gilbert, 1997; Haviland et al., 2008). In fact, MacKenzie et al. (2013) convey that numerous researchers have inevitably embraced the researcher-as-advocate position by being asked, whether implicitly or directly, to use research results on behalf of individuals and communities with whom they work.

Despite comprehending that RYP participants thought of researchers as agents of change or advocates, it appeared relevant to ascertain the pragmatics of "following up" with research recommendations. For instance, could it be argued that disseminating research results via academic scholarship was "taking action" from our research? Or were RYP conveying that

researchers should act within the confines of Kakuma? Upon further exploration, it was evident that RYP were referring to the latter. RYP recurrently regarded researchers as brokers between themselves and non-governmental organization (NGO) workers. Thus, RYP contended that researchers ought to share results with NGOs, primarily those in Kakuma. Isaac's comments emphasized "durable solutions" for the hardships of Kakuma.

> So, the researchers should speak with UNHCR [United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees] here [in Kakuma] and come up with something—some durable solutions … Durable solutions means more resources for education, creating jobs, increased access to scholarships. Education is the only weapon here. Maybe more food, too. You know, people are starving (RYP23).

Sarah also commented on a collaborative process between researchers, NGOs, and RYP.

> Sometimes we expect that when you're doing research—this research is not about you keeping the results and just staying with it. No, we expect that you do research and share it with those people concerned, those NGOs and others that are concerned.… We expect that you will go and share it with those concerned and then come back and tell us what you shared and what were the results of your sharing. We can then think of new ways to have this feedback help us more (RYP13).

Sarah's collaborative presuppositions align with what Tuhiwai Smith (2012) terms "sharing knowledge" rather than "sharing information." Sharing knowledge constitutes a researcher's responsibility to burrow beneath simply sharing "surface" level research results with organizations, but rather to present the theories and/or analysis in which information is construed and represented (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). By engaging in a multiple-step endeavour (e.g.

facilitating research, sharing results, returning to the community to discuss result sharing, etc.), Sarah appears invested in a long-term relationship or process designed with the intention of continued analysis and construction of knowledge. Such hallmarks are embedded within "sharing knowledge" (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012).

The philosophy of "sharing information" with NGOs was also coveted by RYP participants. According to Tuhiwai Smith (2012), sharing information connotes distributing "surface" information (e.g. study results) to those concerned. Perhaps related to their precarity of living in a refugee camp, several RYP tacitly presumed that sharing information with NGOs and others concerned would suffice. Francis spoke to the potential collaboration between researchers and NGOs.

> As refugees, we don't have a lot of the things that we need and are not able to do a lot of things. Researchers need to highlight our issues and share them with NGOs, those who are not refugees, to get us some services and support. You have to share the main points of your research with those NGOs working in the camp. They know that we don't have anything, but we need something (RYP15).

By saying that "we don't have anything, but we need something," Francis seems to imply that "things" (e.g. food, education, material, etc.) are a priority. In order to acquire such "things," Francis posits that researchers should distribute feedback (i.e. "surface" results) to NGOs. Such a sharing of information, according to Francis, might catalyze change. Although Francis adduced that he was interested in enduring relationships with researchers, he stressed that simply bringing research results to NGOs would be "most helpful" in assuaging immediate difficulties within Kakuma.

The first three RYP research recommendations indicate that researchers should initiate a collaborative practice—providing feedback to participants, transparent communication, and following up with research recommendations. The fourth recommendation, alternatively, proposes an independent self-reflexive process. The recommendation, which calls for researchers to reflect on their research and personal objectives in Kakuma, is intended to force researchers to formulaically and systematically explore themselves and the true underpinnings of their research. According to RYP, this would indubitably provide indirect benefits to RYP.

4. Reflect on Research and Personal Objectives in Kakuma

The fourth RYP research recommendation calls for researchers to essentially shift the gaze of the research journey from RYP back to themselves. For instance, RYP in Kakuma encourage researchers to formulate their researcher objectives and, perhaps, more significantly, reflect upon and contemplate their personal intentions or groundings for embarking on this work. With respect to research objectives, Prince's quote illustrates the need for researchers to be "realistic" with their goals.

> The most important thing is that researchers formulate their objectives. And their objectives should be realistic and achievable. When I talk of achievable—I mean, you can set an objective that is not achievable, and you come and waste my time here and collect your data, knowing that it is impossible for you to achieve that objective. Instead, research should be realistic and focus on real-life problems. You know, sometimes these researchers come and see a challenge that's not even there. So, they need to research something that is important to people. Because when you come and are doing research that never helps people, then it means that you have wasted our time (RYP2).

Like Prince, Florence quote highlights the significance of researchers' objectives.

> The research agenda that researchers are coming here with should be number one. And with the research agenda, they should figure out whether they are really in a position to see if they can make a change. I mean, why are researchers coming if they don't want to do anything about it? I don't expect researchers to move mountains and feed the hungry. No, I don't expect that. But are you really not able to give me feedback? Or refer me to something or someone? Researchers should not just be coming here for the purpose of research or the purpose of finishing your book or writing your thesis. Because it's like you're using someone—taking from them and not giving anything back (RYP10).

The phenomenon of RYP feeling "used" in research or that researchers "wasted our time" was substantiated throughout my process in Kakuma. In their article on qualitative researchers "using" participants, Limes-Taylor Henderson and Esposito (2017) claim that academia is designed in a way that requires most researchers to use participants' sharing for their own gain. Moreover, regardless of researchers' ambitions to "do good," evidence suggests that researchers' benefits supersede those of the participants in both the short and the long-term (Limes-Taylor Henderson & Esposito, 2017). Florence provided her own comments on the matter.

> It should be something like 50-50 between the researcher and us [participants]. Because, in most cases it's 90-10. Yeah, the 10 is for me to talk and that's it. The 90 goes to the researcher taking all of the information and getting all the credit on the other side. So many times, people read the research and say, "Oh that's what happens there? Oh, that is so sad." And that is it, there is never anything done about it (RYP10).

As previously acknowledged, the feelings of frustration about being "used" were palpable in Kakuma; and several participants, including Sarah's quote relates to future research in Kakuma: "All these researchers that come, they never come back. So, it's better if they will not come, because it's very bad when you come and look like you want to help, and you don't. Yeah, maybe it's better if they do not come" (RYP13). Abdul also raised his concerns about future research.

> If the researchers know it's impossible to bring about any change—if you are not able to do the thing you are asking us about, it is good for you to not come to Kakuma and ask us questions. Because when you enroll all of us people in asking questions and you know you will not address the problem with us, you are actually creating a problem for us. So, don't do the research, because you may stop other researchers who are able to come here and make change (RYP18).

RYPs' recommendations for formulating realistic research objectives also included the potentiality of re-traumatizing or over-researching RYP in Kakuma. In querying participants to recollect or relive conflict-related traumatic experiences, researchers run the risk of re-traumatizing participants (C. Clark-Kazak, 2017; Zwi et al., 2006). Coupled with the danger of re-traumatizing research participants in a protracted refugee camp setting is the feeling of being over-researched (C. Clark-Kazak, 2017; Sukarieh & Tannock, 2013). When envisioning future research in Kakuma, Ibrahim indirectly alluded to this point.

> The researchers need to ask themselves what are the important questions or information that they are trying to get. You know, so many of us have been asked questions that we don't want to talk about anymore. For example, I'm here as a refugee and everybody knows that refugees leave their places due to some problems, and those problems are

known to the whole world. So, why can somebody ask me, "What is the reason that brought you here?" That is actually a harassing question that I don't want to even answer anymore. It's unnecessary, actually. Because, being a refugee means that you fled your land due to such a problem. That is obvious (RYP8).

RYP propose that researchers, prior to formulating realistic and achievable research objectives, engage in a self-exploratory journey that assesses their primary motives for facilitating research in Kakuma. Such a personal analysis signifies "finding empathy" (RYP10) and "understanding their [researchers'] mindset to understand how we [RYP] feel on this side of the research" (RYP26). RYPs' requests for researchers to "find empathy" and "understand how we feel" corresponds to what Limes-Taylor Henderson and Esposito (2017) regard as the "ethic of humility." "Ethics of humility" indicates that researchers employ an honest evaluation of themselves in relation to a wider, observable environment (Limes-Taylor Henderson & Esposito, 2017). This position essentially suggests that researchers empathetically appreciate how their research affects participants for the duration of the project. This comprehensive endeavor mirrors previously discussed self-reflexivity, where researchers are encouraged to continuously focus on self-knowledge and the all-encompassing sensitivities for the entirety of the research process (Berger, 2015). The parallels between self-reflexivity and the fourth RYP research recommendation will be developed further in the discussion section.

Finally, as in the case of devising "realistic and achievable goals," Nadia's quote demonstrates strong feelings about the research process.

Before researchers come here, they need to make sure they have the right motive. They shouldn't get excited about however they are going to benefit. But get excited about whatever you're going to deliver, because that's the most important part. Because, if

> you're concerned about what you're going to deliver, then you are doing the right thing. You know, researchers need to ask themselves these questions—do you want to come and just be the best researcher? Or do you really want to make change? If you're not making any change, then just sit back at home and relax. Yeah, relax, because you're not helping anyone. You're only helping yourself. Just tell yourself that you're the best and keep it to yourself because we are in a crazy world. We are after things that are tearing us apart as human beings. So, if you're not making any change, then comfort yourself by saying you're the best and just relax (RYP31).

Perhaps the most germane process for delving into Nadia's profound questions and comments is by familiarizing oneself with an anti-oppressive research agenda, which includes self-reflexive analysis. This notion, coupled with the four RYP research recommendations, will be detailed in the following section. Furthermore, specific examples will be drawn out to exemplify how these four recommendations align with an Anti-Oppressive Research Practice agenda.

Discussion: Anti-Oppressive Research Agenda in Kakuma Refugee Camp

In providing their four research recommendations, refugee young people in Kakuma refugee camp indirectly indicated that future researchers should adopt an anti-oppressive research agenda. Although emboldening AOR in Kakuma is vital for all future research, social work researchers have an ethical obligation to adopt an AOR lens. For instance, as social work researchers we are mandated to prioritize "social justice" and "human rights," while maintaining "ethical awareness" whether in social work practice or research (IASSW-IFSW, 2012). Moreover, anti-oppressive research practices are prioritized in formerly colonized contexts (Chilisa, 2012; Strier, 2006). This section of the paper will draw connections between AOR and

RYPs' four research recommendations. Additionally, it will expose nuances embedded within academia that may preclude particulars of RYP recommendations from being achieved. Finally, interwoven throughout the discussion section are my recommendations for researchers to augment the research process for both RYP and researchers in Kakuma refugee camp.

RYP Research Recommendations and AOR

The first research recommendation, *Providing Feedback to RYP*, is a plea for researchers to return the results of their work back to participants. This request parallels anti-oppressive academic literature that situates itself in a decolonizing research methodologies framework (Chilisa, 2012; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). For instance, in an effort to assuage colonial and oppressive methods in research, Tuhiwai Smith (2012) poses the following questions: "Whose research is it? Who owns it? Who benefits from it? How will the results be disseminated?" (p. 10). While RYP participants were not necessarily bidding to "own" the research, they are clearly invested in the work. This recommendation indicates that being a recipient of the results will engender feelings of reciprocity and/or respect that are essential to many African communities and AOR (Chilisa, 2012).

Numerous social science scholars argue that researchers have an ethical commitment to share results with participants, which parallels supporting social justice initiatives and anti-oppressive research practices (Bocarro & Stodolska, 2013; Cahill, 2007; Krause, 2017). By receiving and reading "books written about us" (RYP15), RYP will at least "own" a copy of the co-constructed knowledge, which is a prevailing aspect of AOR (Potts & Brown, 2008). Co-owning the actual "data" or "knowledge" is a bureaucratically complicated phenomenon, which will not be addressed in this paper. It should be clarified, however, that RYP participants were

substantively interested in receiving copies of the research, as opposed to "owning" or "co-owning" the data.

Clearly not all researchers in Kakuma are attracted to facilitating oppressive research practices. Why then have no researchers, according to study participants, distributed their results to RYP in Kakuma? In unpacking this question, two entities must be analyzed: (a) power as it relates to the research process and (b) the academy. The existing explicit and subtle notions of power transcend the political, emotional, and physical landscapes of Kakuma (see Manuscript I, II). Partly as a consequence of the historical and contemporary colonial underpinnings of Kenya, outside researchers are often seen as "self-benefitting" and "disrespectful" (see Manuscript II). Indeed, research has been identified as a colonial entity (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012) wherein unacknowledged power hierarchies between the educated and privileged researcher and subjugated and oppressed research participant constitute oppressive research practices (Rogers, 2012).

Conversely, many RYP participants also acknowledged researchers as "those in positions to help us" regardless of researchers' capabilities. This role assumption may be a direct result of the individual and systemic levels of power that we embody as non-Kakuma-resident researchers affiliated with academic institutions. Reigning on the upper echelon of the power hierarchy in Kakuma reinforces the presupposition of researchers as "experts" (Rogers, 2012) in the lives of RYP. An exploration and deconstruction of the power imbalances in the research relationship, specifically with subjugated communities, is not a prerequisite for facilitating research. Therefore, researchers may inadvertently bear the "expert" role and inevitably prioritize *their* values, interests, and ethics above the participants'. In doing so, they may fail to ask participants for *their* research expectations and desires. Self-reflexive processes, as referenced in AOR, could

assuage *some* of the commonly unrecognized, multifaceted power discrepancies in research (Baines, 2017; Rogers, 2012). This discussion of this process will be expanded later in this section.

Finally, challenges in returning results to participants may exist despite researchers' self-reflexivity and comprehension of RYPs' desires and expectations. This may be linked to the requirements and constraints of the academy. Although a full examination of academic demands for researchers far exceeds the boundaries of this paper, a succinct detailing is noteworthy. Researchers in the social sciences and social work support providing results to participants (MacKenzie et al., 2013; Rose & Flynn, 2017), though they have acknowledged the clear and persistent challenges associated with doing so. For instance, researchers are routinely bound by numerous responsibilities including semester-based teaching, funding proposals, tenure conditions, and the "publish or perish" phenomenon (Castleden, Morgan, & Lamb, 2012). While this is not intended to diminish RYPs' recommendation, it indicates the accompanying nuances. Researchers sport multiple hats that may encumber their ability to physically return results. This notion, coupled with the fact that returning research results is non-binding according to research ethics boards, may provide a reason why findings are seldom provided to participants. Many RYP participants recognized the cost and constraints researchers face and, therefore, suggested an alternative, secondary solution in regard to receiving research results.

Although not intended as a panacea, Kizza observed that if researchers were incapable of returning results, e-mail correspondence would suffice.

> Some of us understand that it is very expensive for you [researcher] to go back to your country and then return here to give out the results. Yes, it will be better for you to come

and show us and explain the results to us, but if you cannot, you can e-mail them to us (RYP24).

Like Kizza, Idil reinforced the proposal of electronic communication between participant and researcher.

> If you cannot come back, which we really hope you can, you can even e-mail us the results or provide us booklets. The mode of feedback can depend on how the researcher is best able to give it. Maybe, if you even have a website where you can share them, that could also work (RYP21).

Unequivocally RYPs' most pressing aspect of the first recommendation is for the researcher simply to not "disappear." Jean alluded to this.

> You know, to cut off the communication, and not share your contacts is a big problem, which has not pleased us here. It is like you have gone in vain. If you provide us with e-mail—you know some of those researchers don't give us their contacts—but if you give them to us, then we at least know that you have not gone in vain and we can be proud of what we participated for (RYP30).

Although disseminating research results via e-mail was recommended, not all RYP participants in my study had (a) e-mail access or (b) an e-mail account. This point illustrates that despite efforts to simplify returning results, pragmatically, there are multiple barriers obstructing this recommendation. Further research is necessary to examine how this recommendation might be practically formalized.

Although the second RYP research recommendation, *Exercising Direct and Transparent Communication* may appear trite, RYP noted a significant lack of transparent communication on

the part of researchers. Underlining the relationship between direct and transparent communication (specific to participant benefits and expectations) and AOR will not be provided, as the connection is apparent. Instead, an attempt to examine the underlying reasons why miscommunication occurs is necessary.

Miscommunication between researchers and refugee young people has been likened to a paternalistic relationship in which researchers' inherent power and privilege are unacknowledged in the dyad (Block et al., 2012). Potts and Brown (2008) claim that research cannot commence without transparent and comprehensive communication practices between researchers and participants; such relationships are vital to AOR. Indeed, according to a "Research Ethics in Africa" guide (Kruger, Ndebele, & Horn, 2014), establishing a trusting and respectful relationship includes ongoing and transparent communication between researchers, participants, and members of the community. This includes a full disclosure of both researcher and participant expectations. Indeed, not engaging in such relationships connotes a Euro-American paradigm that suggests a "fundamentally oppressive and unethical" imposition to non-European, subjugated research participants (Ramsey, 2006, p. 167).

As previously noted, mentions of unmet expectations and false promises were commonplace among RYP in Kakuma. Why are researchers in Kakuma, according to RYP participants, ineffectively communicating with participants? In fact, misunderstandings stemming from ineffective communications between researchers and participants are well-documented. Mfusto and colleagues (2008) identify "therapeutic misinformation" as a process whereby research participants overestimate the benefits of research participation. Further research is needed to determine whether "therapeutic misinformation" is associated with Kakuma RYPs' second research recommendation. For instance, will researchers because of their

privileged positionalities commonly be perceived as authoritarian figures on whom expectations of assistance may be attached (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003)? Or do researchers genuinely lack constructive cross-cultural communication skills, precisely in regard to research "expectations and benefits" material?

Regardless of the underpinnings, researchers have an ethical responsibility not to raise false expectations of assistance (Akesson et al., 2014; Pittaway et al., 2010). To solidify direct and transparent communication in the research endeavour, researchers in Kakuma should not only engage in extended efforts to communicate expectations authentically, but also consider creating a communications guide or plan. For instance, can researchers in Kakuma be "guided by a communications plan in terms of the process and the end-of-study results dissemination?" (Kruger et al., 2014, p. 148). This communications guide could parallel an informed consent document, though it would be specific to expectations, benefits, post-research plans, dissemination, and providing research results. Such a communications guide/plan would inevitably mitigate communication misunderstandings between RYP and researchers. It could, moreover, potentially assuage unrealistic expectations and false promises. Although there are clear differences, this communication guide resonates with the "control" principle of the First Nations' OCAP principles. For instance, by developing a communication guide, RYP may feel that they are "within their rights in seeking to control all aspects of research and information management processes which impact them" (Schnarch, 2004, p. 81). Indeed, as previously cited, RYP participants have ostensibly recommended researchers utilize a communications guide by asserting that researchers include dissemination agenda on the informed consent. Future researchers in Kakuma, therefore, should consider exploring this initiative.

The third RYP research recommendation, *follow up with research recommendations*, directly coincides with AOR. Participants' demands for researchers to distribute results to NGOs or those capable of assisting RYP exemplifies researchers as active elements in potentially alleviating adversities. A key principle of AOR positions researchers as social justice activists committed to initiating change for researched communities (Potts & Brown, 2008). In disseminating research results to NGOs, researchers act as catalysts for implementing "actionable knowledge" to combat oppression (Strier, 2006). In this sense, the researcher is not a neutral observer, but one affiliated with a political objective. Furthermore, it was unequivocal that RYP participants are uninterested in participating in research simply for the sake of research. According to participants, following up with research recommendations necessitates expanding beyond publishing results in academic journals or books, which are unavailable to them. In contrast, there was a yearning for researcher recommendations to "be bigger than the research itself." Again, RYP often perceived researchers as in positions of power, a perception likely rooted in power inequities between researcher and participant. This radiating power could engender responses from NGO representatives, according to RYP participants. Here also the structure of academia intervenes, as it did in relation to the second recommendation. As present, the academy appears to be more interested in researchers' productivity than promoting the dissemination of results to NGOs or those qualified to "help." Although the priorities of the academy have been analyzed in scholarship (MacKenzie et al., 2013; Rose & Flynn, 2017), a deeper investigation detailing the relationship between research participants' expectations/goals and those of the academy is warranted.

Research as advocacy prioritizes anti-oppression and social justice while calling for action at the forefront of research (MacKenzie et al., 2013). As acknowledged, RYP participants

are requesting "researchers to advocate," a central tenet of AOR. Mertens and Ginsberg (2008), however, pose a critical question that illustrates the discord between RYP and researchers in Kakuma by querying, "Do [social work] researchers have an ethical imperative to conduct their research in a manner that facilitates the use of their research findings as an instrument of social change?" (p. 498). A response to this question is, perhaps, contingent upon the recipient. For instance, the academy appears to support the principle that publishing results in academic journals or books constitutes facilitating the use of research findings "as an instrument of social change." From the findings of this research study, however, such dissemination methods are the antithesis of promoting AOR for two reasons. First, the reality of published studies landing in the hands of RYP is quite unrealistic. Due to a myriad of factors, accessing academic journals is a challenge for non-academics in the Global North, let alone residents of Kakuma with limited accessibility to the internet and electronic databases. The primary consumers of research results are those nestled within academia. To the majority of research participants in the Global South, moreover, academic literature is often futile, ineffective, and accentuates the power discrepancies between the ivory tower academy and local communities (Sidaway, 1992). Considering this point was recognized nearly three decades ago, future research should re-examine the perpetuation of the academy's prioritization of such dissemination methods.

Secondly, publishing research results in books or academic journals contradicts RYP participants' interests and research recommendations. It was irrefutably clear that RYP were far more concerned about the objective and tangible impacts of research. Indeed, when researchers did not follow up or engage in reciprocity with RYP, some felt "used" or that researchers were "self-benefitting." Limes-Taylor Henderson and Esposito (2017) argue that qualitative researchers inevitably "use" their participants, as the former "need" the latter to maintain their

relevance in the academy. Additionally, as this study suggests, researchers are not meeting RYPs' needs, which fundamentally contradicts AOR. In order to engage with any pursuit of knowledge and anti-oppressive research, researchers must begin by acknowledging the truth of their positioning and priorities as researchers (Limes-Taylor Henderson & Esposito, 2017). This ideal is essential to the fourth RYP research recommendation, *Researchers' Reflections on Research and Personal Objectives in Kakuma*.

This research recommendations can be divided into two intersecting yet distinct components: (a) understanding yourself as a researcher and (b) identifying the goals of your research. Both components of the fourth recommendation imply utilizing a self-reflexive framework. Researchers engaging in a self-reflexive practice is fundamental to AOR (Rogers, 2012). Research self-reflexivity constitutes a consistent internal dialogue and critical self-evaluation of researchers' positionalities and the understanding that this explicit recognition may ultimately affect the research process and outcome (Berger, 2015). In turning the gaze of the research back onto oneself, self-reflexive processes, including deconstructing knowledge production, power relations, researcher's responsibility, trustworthiness and integrity, and impacts of research, are given primacy (Berger, 2015; Råheim et al., 2016). Social work researchers facilitating research in formerly colonized communities have a heightened responsibility to practice self-reflexivity. Indeed, ethical reflexivity is vital when working with the colonized researched and the ways research methods and theories have disadvantaged these communities (Block et al., 2012; Chilisa, 2012)

Although the idiom "self-reflexivity" was not explicit within RYP vernacular, the tacit connections were palpable. Indeed, Nadia posed questions that could benefit researchers.

> You know, researchers need to ask themselves these questions—do you want to come and just be the best researcher? Or do you really want to make change? (RYP31).

Nadia's firm questioning coupled with Florence's envisioning research as 50-50 in contrast to 90-10 relates to the underpinnings of AOR. In fact, anti-oppressive social work researchers are responsible for embracing social advocacy, not only in the "placard-waving sense, but also … making a personal commitment to action of purposefully working to make change for individuals, communities, and institutions" (Potts & Brown, 2008, p. 260). In essence, RYP participants demand researchers pragmatically explore themselves by means of an existential and practical platform.

It is only once researchers begin the self-explorative journey of understanding their true motives for embarking upon research in Kakuma that they can begin to unpack their research objectives. For instance, can one realistically define reciprocal and meaningful research objectives with RYP in Kakuma prior to exploring those objectives' relationship to oneself and the nexus of implicit and explicit hierarchies in the research relationship? Several RYP recommended researchers examine the "motives" and "values" associated with their research in Kakuma. Indeed, what underlies our reasons for partaking in such research? Does our research allow opportunities to engender "change" as this fourth recommendation suggests? If not, should researchers respect the voices of RYP in Kakuma and "stay home"? Or will the demands of academia force us to disregard this recommendation and perpetuate asymmetrical research relationships that privilege us and suppress the already subjugated RYP in Kakuma?

While not a panacea to these questions, self-reflexivity is a critical prioritization for social work researchers, particularly those working in refugee camps and other similar settings. The reality that our research may not prove beneficial to RYP participants in Kakuma is

disconcerting. Further research should explore researchers versus participants' benefits and expectations as they relate to refugee young people. By imposing strict criteria for researchers, the academy plays a critical role in researchers' meeting the needs and expectations of research participants. As such, a full examination of the potential for academia to align with oppressed participants' values and dignity is essential. Given the discord between researchers' and RYP participants' motives, future research should study the reality of researchers' implementing an AOR framework given the protocols of academia. Is it possible to implement an AOR framework in Kakuma while ensconced in the academy? While further research is warranted, if the answer is "no," perhaps ethical research should consider heeding the advice of RYP participants and "stay home."

Implications for Social Work

As a result of unmet expectations and broken promises, RYP in Kakuma have suggested that future researchers provide feedback to participants, exercise direct and transparent communication, follow up with research recommendations, and apply self-reflexivity. These four recommendations parallel an anti-oppressive practice that resonates with social work research, practice, and policy.

With respect to social work research, the four recommendations indicate that RYP in Kakuma are interested in research aligned with anti-oppressive research. Bogolub (2010) asserts that social work researchers must move beyond the creation of new knowledge. Instead, "social work research is guided by the ethical principle of beneficence, and social work researchers are also obligated to bring about good" (Bogolub, 2010, p. 10). As the constitution of "bringing about good" may differ by culture and context, perhaps seeking how research participants understand such a phrase should be a priority for all social work researchers. Indeed, by

soliciting feedback from our research participants, we attempt to minimize the innate power asymmetry. Furthermore, by probing participants about the most beneficial dissemination procedures, results can be more relevant to both research participants and broader communities (MacKenzie et al., 2013). In this dialogical communication, researchers value participants as worthy and respected agents in the research endeavour.

This collaborative process is also germane for social work practice and policy. For instance, a dearth of literature acknowledges how consumers of social work services make sense of policies or practices that impact them. Often, social work theory and policy are designed and implemented by those in positions of power who may intellectualize their "expert" opinions of best practices/policies. This process is antithetical to anti-oppressive social work. How can social work practitioners or policy makers claim to understand services that are in the "best interest" of consumers without (a) being self-reflexive and (b) soliciting feedback from service users?

The discipline of social work is predicated on socially-just and anti-oppressive practices that attempt to integrate the search and struggle for social change (Baines, 2017). Thus, it is safe to argue that social work practitioners should continuously investigate the power and oppressive relationships within social work policy or practice ideologies. Without ascertaining how service users comprehend social work services, the power hierarchies may continue to perpetuate the "us versus them" dichotomy. It may be important for social work practitioners to ask: *How are the consumers of our services/organization making sense of our services? What are their experiences within our organization? What are their expectations and needs? Are these needs being met? If not, why not? What recommendations may consumers/beneficiaries have for us? How does my practice ideology take a stance against institutional and structural oppression?* By asking such questions, social workers within displaced and conflict-plagued communities

inevitably unpack how power and privilege intersect with oppression and reverberate throughout their work.

In conjunction with reflecting on their own practice ideologies, social workers should inquire with their beneficiaries about service provisions. Mutually gathering such knowledge may develop trust between service consumers and social workers. Moreover, as advocates and activists, social workers could then present this information to shift policy in the hope of meeting consumer needs. Such action could denote more confidence when social workers claim that consumers' "best interests" are being met.

Social work education is also impacted by power dynamics. For instance, social work research courses are often designed to encourage students to conceptualize research projects, theses, and dissertations to meet the perceived need of students (Chilisa, 2012). This may lead to research projects that are more beneficial for research students versus researched communities. Hodge and Lester (2006) propose educators link researched communities' priorities to coursework and students' future research projects. By partnering with community members to ascertain their priorities, social work educators can promote socially just relations between students and researched communities to reduce the colonizing tendencies of academic research and social work education (Chilisa, 2012; Hodge & Lester, 2006).

Beyond Kakuma

While this study was based solely in Kakuma refugee camp, additional evidence suggests that due to the complexity of research with refugee communities, refugees face a heightened risk of exploitative research, despite researchers' benevolent intentions (Allotey & Manderson, 2003; Pittaway et al., 2010). Indeed, Pittaway and colleagues (2013; 2010) ascertained that refugees

and internally displaced persons distrusted researchers, felt exploited by researchers, and that researchers instilled false promises. In fact, a research participant housed in refugee camp in Thailand claimed, "We never heard from the researchers again … they stole our stories" (Pittaway et al., 2010, p. 236). From such information, it has been documented that the ethics of research with displaced communities needs to be readdressed in order to meet the needs of participants (Hugman, Pittaway, et al., 2011; MacKenzie et al., 2007; Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2013; Zwi et al., 2006).

Further research is essential to determine how other marginalized and oppressed research participants relate to research ethics and research participation. For instance, this same research could be carried out in different contexts of displacement around the globe to increase the relevance of the results in several cross-cultural settings. Although this research is only relevant to the context of Kakuma refugee camp, there are broader implications of this topic outside Kakuma. These include refugee and displaced camps across the Global South that are exposed to outside research. Research ethics as a research topic could also benefit a variety of subjugated communities across the globe. Scholars have debated whether or not ethical research principles and procedures can/should be universally applied across cultural contexts (Healy, 2007). By exploring research ethics with several oppressed researched communities, researchers may begin to understand the justification for context-specific research ethics protocols.

Researchers working in cross-cultural settings, particularly with subjugated participants, could also benefit from an enhanced "informed consent" document that includes a "communications guide/plan." Included in the guide would be dissemination plans and whether or not the researcher is in a position to (a) return with research results or (b) forward results to those in positions to "help" participants. Such a guide could minimize the risk of participants'

“unmet expectations” and researchers’ “false promises.” This is not only relevant for refugee and displaced communities, but also in all research where the power of the researcher and marginalization of the participant is conspicuous.

The results of this study indicate that researchers in Kakuma, particularly social work researchers, have a responsibility to situate their work within the confines of AOR. Contrary to most academic scholarship, the research recommendations were primarily derived from the research participants themselves. The participants have suggested we, as social work researchers, initiate significant changes to our methods and approaches when facilitating research in Kakuma. As it currently stands, it is evident that we may not be meeting the needs and expectations of participants. Moving forward, it is vital that we acknowledge and encompass the participants four research recommendations within the boundaries of AOR to illustrate our respect and commitment to them as individuals and a collectivity. If we are not able to fulfil their requests and demands, then perhaps we should reconsider our work.

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DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

While waiting for a Congolese friend to finish teaching a beginning English-language class, for newly arrived South Sudanese women in Kakuma II, my mind slowly drifted. I considered the harrowing journey that many of these women must have embarked on to flee violence and chaos. I then reflected on my own distressing experience of journeying to South Sudan to renew my Kenyan visa. Although my excursion to their country of origin and back produced constant anxiety, I clearly discerned the distinct differences between our journeys. I traveled to and from their country to simply renew a visa, so I could continue to work on my research. They, on the other hand, left their homes to escape a viscous, cruel, and unjust war. On my journey, I noticed many South Sudanese walking along the dusty, broken roads, intermittently dispersed with "armed bandits." I witnessed other South Sudanese being herded like cattle in the back of an oversized truck that made me cringe each time it navigated around a pothole—hoping that that it wouldn't tip. At once, I felt a gentle hand rest on my shoulder. "These South Sudanese really have it tough." It was Emanuel[10], my friend, the teacher. He went on, "You know, I've been thinking a lot about war lately, and I just wonder if life would be different if people were better at communicating." I curiously asked him to expand. "Well, I don't know, it is obvious that President Kiir[11] and Riek Machar[12] don't like each other, but they don't even allow for real, repeated communication or conversations. I just wonder what would happen if all these powerful leaders and people in charge would actually

[10] Emanuel is a pseudonym.
[11] Current President of South Sudan
[12] Former "First Vice President" of South Sudan and now leads the main opposition group to Kirr's government.

> *communicate with each other. Or, what if they communicated with the South Sudanese women in the class that I just taught? Maybe then they would realize that war is not the solution to their problems. I don't know, I just think people need to be communicating more with each other." I nodded, inquisitively, in agreeance* (journal entry, May 30, 2017).

Throughout the writing of my dissertation, this conversation with Emanuel intermittently resurfaced. It seems apparent that communication, or a lack thereof, is an essential tool in the function of a process, a relationship, or a society. Emanuel's theory of communication, specific to the South Sudanese crisis, is unequivocally more menacing when the entire humanity of a country is at stake. Despite this, it was, perhaps, inevitable that I began reflecting on "communication processes" as a concept that traversed much of not only my research, but also my experiences in Kakuma. For instance, by addressing the complex notion of research ethics with refugee young people (RYP) living in Kakuma refugee camp, I sought to engender an honest, communicative experience that positioned RYP as experts in their previous research engagements. In doing so, I was exposed to both broad (*what are research ethics?*) and specific (*respect for persons*) understandings of research ethics from RYP participants. This process exposed several existing discrepancies between the reported values of RYP participants and research ethics protocols developed in the Global North. I now wonder how a more intentional or conscious communicative practice, between researcher and researched, may assuage some of these perceived discrepancies.

The significance of transparent communication, between researcher and participant, surfaced as an RYP-inspired research recommendation: *Honest and Open Communication* [between researcher and participant] (see Manuscript III). Moreover, communicating honestly

with Joseph about my trepidations of offering him lunch money were ameliorated, albeit minimally, during our candid conversations regarding the matter (see Manuscript I). Honesty and transparent communication are both integral values of the social work profession. Indeed, CASW (2005) maintains that, "Social workers demonstrate and promote the qualities of honesty, reliability … transparency … [when] … communicating" (p. 7-8). Based on RYP participant responses, can some of the incongruence regarding the constitution of "research ethics," between RYP and previous researchers/research ethics protocols, be linked to ineffective communication? More research should explore the communication phenomenon further.

The remainder of this section will provide recommendations and the implications of my dissertation for researchers, research participants, social work theories and methodologies, and forced migration studies. These recommendations and implications either overtly or tacitly recognize the value in honest and conscious communication exchanges between researcher and participant.

Recommendations and Implications of Research

Researcher: Power & Accountability

While the three manuscripts each take a unique shape and identify varying aspects of research ethics with RYP in Kakuma refugee camp, the notion of researchers' power is present throughout. The innate power of a researcher, when compared to participants, has been previously acknowledged in academic scholarship (Karnieli-Miller, Strier, & Pessach, 2009; Råheim et al., 2016; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). Researchers inevitably embrace power and privilege from their diverse identities (race, class, education, etc.) that has the potential to reproduce systemic inequities in the entire process of research (Muhammad et al., 2015). A failure to

address power imbalances in research relationships has been identified as "exploitative" (Benatar, 2002) and "a purposeful disruption of other peoples' lives" (England, 1994, p. 85). Such power is amplified when researchers from the Global North conduct research in formerly colonized contexts (Chilisa et al., 2017).

The results from this dissertation indicate an incongruity in the perceived research expectations of participants and what is tangibly transpiring during research in Kakuma refugee camp. This has raised alarming consequences where several RYP have claimed feeling "disappointed" and recommend researchers "stay home" if we are unable to engage in reciprocal research practices. Moreover, the findings from this project ostensibly contradict Bogolub's (2010) assertation that social work researchers are "obligated to bring about good" for our research respondents (p. 10). Ultimately, the underpinnings of "good" should be determined by or co-constructed between participants and researchers. An honest communicative practice, between researchers and participants, may help both parties reach a "bring(ing) about good."

Prior to participating in transparent communication with participants, researchers should undergo a self-exploratory process in hopes of uncovering and exploring their various identities. Although not a panacea, one way to acknowledge power is for researchers to engage in self-reflexive practices, which have been detailed throughout the dissertation. Being self-reflexive constitutes a continuous, critical examination of the ways one constructs knowledge—it is a questioning of our assumptions, biases, positionalities, and identities and how they impact our work (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). Self-reflexivity, moreover, is applicable to social work research, policy, education, and practice. Berger (2015) argues that reflexivity should be considered whether (a) social workers share the experiences with research respondents, (b) social workers move from the position of an outsider to an insider, or (c) when the social worker has no

personal familiarity with the experiences of research participants. Despite the effectiveness of self-reflexive processes, they are simply one component of a larger nexus of tools intended to deconstruct power.

While engaging in self-exploratory or reflexive practices, researchers should investigate the questions: "What is the responsibility of the researcher to the [refugee] participant? How is responsibility towards the participant enacted?" (Aidani, 2013, p. 208). In addition to uncovering these questions, via a self-reflexive practice, researchers should also consider exploring these queries with their participants. This transparent line of communication may minimize RYP participants' reports of feeling that their expectations are "unmet," they are recipients of researchers' false promises, or they are "used" by researchers (Limes-Taylor Henderson & Esposito, 2017).

Research Participant: Agency & Respect

The findings from this dissertation suggest that research participants are worthy individuals with valuable information to contribute towards an ethical research process. While this point may appear rudimentary, RYP participants in Kakuma have not reported feeling valued or appreciated by researchers. Further research should explore whether research participants in various contexts, particularly in the Global South, have similar feelings towards their previous research participation experiences. If so, "research ethics," as it is commonly understood in contemporary academic discourse, should be reassessed. Moreover, if research ethics protocols are to be reframed or reconsidered, including the active participation of research participants seems compulsory. By failing to openly communicate with research participants, with respect to research ethics, it may be naive for researchers to holistically claim that we are facilitating respectful, beneficial, and just research.

RYP participants in my dissertation reported feeling "disrespected" and "exploited" in their previous research engagements. RYPs' stated feelings certainly do not imply that all previous researchers in Kakuma failed to incorporate research ethics into their research. Instead, it may insinuate that a deeper level of communication is warranted, by both parties. Perhaps participants would appreciate a more thoughtful discussion on the underpinnings and cross-cultural denotations of "respect" and "beneficence." For instance, if we, as researchers, fail to consult with participants, but instead abide by mainstream (i.e. Global North) academic research ethics protocols, can we be certain that our ethics will align with our participants'? The findings of my dissertation suggest that the answer is "no." Although this is simply one research project, it should, nonetheless, raise concern.

Social Work: Diversifying Theory and Methodology

The field of social work does not escape from structural oppressive forces that are prevalent in all aspects of the discipline (Baines, 2017). Therefore, social workers can also begin to or continue examining the institutional and societal forms of power that exist in their social work departments or organizations of employment. Do the power inequities, inherent in such places, inhibit a collaborative process of knowledge production and practice ideology? If so, what are the ways in which unequal power dynamics could be assuaged in these contexts? For instance, are social work practitioners inquiring with the beneficiaries of their services with respect to *respect* and *beneficence*?

Although mainstream social work education curriculums require an anti-oppression course (AOP), more work needs to be done. As a discipline, social work must diversify research, theory, and practice courses to include the voices, ideologies, and values of oppressed and marginalized populations. Research courses and research ethics boards are not designed in ways

that prioritize *other* ways of knowing (Chilisa, 2012). Moreover, can social work education include criteria to guide students towards tangible methods to effectively engage in self-reflexive practices? As previously mentioned, more literature is needed to address the implementation of exercising self-reflexive processes. Perhaps, students are unaware of how to commence these practices.

As social work educators, we must ask ourselves who developed the theories and methodologies that we are presenting in our classes and curriculums. Were they written specifically for privileged and/or non-oppressed communities? If so, can we begin exploring how we, as social work educators, contextualize our conceptualizations of social work problems, theories, and methods (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012)? Is there an existing process, aimed at critically deconstructing curriculums in mainstream social work programs that is relevant to diversifying the ideologies for future social workers? Can the voices of the oppressed become common and not on the margins of social work education curriculums? With diversified research methods, theories, and practice approaches, future social workers will be more equipped at engaging in work that meets the needs of *others*.

With respect to theory, social work researchers, and all researchers, from the Global North, working in the Global South, should explore anti-oppressive theories and approaches (Chilisa, 2009; Potts & Brown, 2008). These include postcolonial theories, feminism, Marxist theories, intersectionality, anti-racism, among others (Chilisa, 2012). These theories/lenses do not necessarily need to frame the entirety of a research project but should be considered, at the very least, in relation to researchers' relationship to their work, particularly in the Global South. By incorporating postcolonial or decolonizing lenses, researchers may begin connecting the micro level contexts of their work to the broader and, perhaps, oppressive structural systems of

the settings/societies that they navigate. In only applying theoretical approaches from the contexts they embody, researchers may overlook the values of their participants.

Similar to theory, research methods in the Global South should consider expanding to methods that are more culturally relevant to their participants (Bilotta & Denov, 2017). These may include participatory and advocacy research methods and those that are not mainstream in academic discourse. For instance, could researchers working in refugee camps and other similar contexts consider consulting with local leaders and elders, participating in "sharing circles," partnering with local "helping professionals," or inquiring with participants concerning the ways *they* feel most comfortable participating in research (Bilotta & Denov, 2017; Chilisa, 2012; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012)? By diversifying research methods, researchers may tacitly demonstrate a level of mutual respect that is not always palpable in more traditional research methods.

Forced Migration Studies

Forced migration studies examines the forced migration of peoples, while emboldening a focus on a collective phenomenon rather than on the personal predicaments, needs, challenges, and rights of refugees (Hathaway, 2007). Forced migration studies expands beyond the study of refugees, but also encompasses those who are internally displaced or seeking asylum. My dissertation was conducted in one refugee camp, in one place, at one time. Future research should examine how other forcibly displaced communities comprehend and make sense of the phenomenon of research ethics, in multiple contexts. For instance, would internally displaced persons in the Democratic Republic of the Congo report parallel feelings to RYP in my dissertation? If not, why not? If so, can we infer that research ethics challenges may be more specific to the power and positionalities of an outside researcher? Moreover, how may resettled refugees in Canada make sense of research ethics? Drawing on findings from such studies will

provide the discipline with further information concerning the ways research ethics, as a phenomenon, is identified by several communities under the "forced migration" umbrella.

As with the discipline of social work, forced migration studies should also consider research ethics as integral to the field. While forced migration literature clearly refers to the significance of research ethics with this population (Krause, 2017; Rodgers, 2004), more work is needed. Similar to social work, forced migration studies should also consider innovative methodologies and theories. These may include advocacy and participatory approaches and methodologies/theories that align with participants' cultures and values. Such research may provide justification that (a) collaboration and collectivity should be prioritized when developing research ethics protocols and (b) context-specific research ethics protocols are more aligned with the true values of both social work and forced migration studies. My dissertation should be considered an additional element in the nexus of ethically expanding the underpinnings of research ethics for future studies in forced migration studies.

Research: Context-Specific Research Ethics Protocols

As this dissertation has demonstrated, the inferences and values of ethical research concepts (e.g. *beneficence*) vary according to context. Scholars have debated whether or not ethical research principles and procedures can/should be universally applied across cultural contexts (Healy, 2007). One purpose of the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) Declaration of Ethical Principles is to "formulate a set of basic principles for social work, which can be adapted to cultural and social settings" (IFSW, 1994, p. 2.1). In response, Healy (2007) asks: "Are [social work] practitioners left to decide when and how to adapt ethical principles? On what basis should they make these decisions?" (p. 13). With no concrete or objective "rules" for adapting such codes, social workers may simply revert to the universal application of

research ethics, regardless of geographic, political, or cultural context. As this dissertation has illustrated, such decisions have led RYP participants to report feeling "undermined."

Taken together, the three manuscripts indicate that research ethics protocols should be developed on a culturally-specific basis. For instance, could specific research ethics guidelines be developed for Kakuma refugee camp? These documents could essentially be composed via a collaborative process between residents of Kakuma, NGO workers, and outside researchers. These guidelines could ostensibly pave the way for a more equal understanding and acknowledgement of research expectations, research benefits, and research reciprocity between researcher and participant.

Future Research Agenda

As a cursory exploration, this dissertation represents one tenet of a more expansive examination of how research participation and research ethics are understood in formerly colonized and displaced contexts. By providing a platform for young people living in Kakuma refugee camp, this study has the potential to strengthen future research endeavours in refugee camps and other similar settings. Failing to explore participants' research experiences indicates a level of researchers' irresponsibility when working with young people in refugee camps (Gillam, 2013). As such, this dissertation was explored to prioritize and privilege the voices of refugee young people living in Kakuma refugee camp. Moreover, it offers valuable insight for qualitative researchers, though more specifically, social workers conducting research and working with young people in post-conflict and displaced settings.

It has been declared that research ethics is paramount to research with forcibly displaced communities (Block et al., 2013). It is, therefore, the responsibility of researchers, and especially

social work researchers, to position research ethics at the centre of our cognition, throughout our research endeavours (Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2013). Prior to embarking on my research in Kakuma refugee camp, I could only intellectualize the pertinence of facilitating culturally-appropriate, ethically responsible research ethics principles with refugee young people. Being privileged enough to explore such a phenomenon with 31 RYP in Kakuma refugee camp, however, engendered a personal transformation from intellectualizing research ethics to viscerally witnessing its enduring impacts upon a community.

I am now confident in declaring that research ethics is far more multifaceted and significant than simply providing an informed consent document to RYP participants. It is more substantial than applying ethical constructs (e.g. *respect for persons*) that were generated in the Global North and trusting that they are culturally syntonic to all persons. Future researchers in refugee camps, and other similar contexts, must heed the recommendations of RYP, as indicated in Manuscript III. We must employ more effective communication strategies to explore the complexity of how research ethics are conceptualized, understood, and perceived by our participants. If we fail to be critical in our approach towards understanding and appreciating the needs and values of our participants, we should not feel shocked when we are assertively ordered to leave a Somali market, simply because of our identity as a researcher. We owe it to our unique fields of study. We owe it to our research, in general. But, most notably, we owe it to our participants.

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