UPPSALA
UNIVERSITET

Department of Theology
Spring Term 2021

Master's Thesis in Religion in Peace and Conflict
30 ECTS

Intersubjective Body Mapping for Reintegration

Assessing an Art-based Methodology to Promote Reintegration of Foreign Terrorist Fighters

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Abstract

This research investigates the use of an artistic methodology to explore embodied experiences related to reintegration of returning Foreign Terrorist Fighters (FTFs). The methodology combines bodily, sensory and cognitive aspects of individual and intersubjective processes – dimensions which have long been neglected in research on reintegration. The research seeks to examine how the artistic body mapping methodology can be used in exploratory and participatory research aiming to promote the reintegration of returning FTFs. The *intersubjective body mapping* methodology, developed as part of the research, is used and assessed in order to explore its utility for advancing dialogue in addressing challenges related to the reintegration process, including understanding and trust, as experienced by returning FTFs, community members and security personnel in Mombasa, Kenya. The research confirms that the use of *intersubjective body mapping* is a powerful tool in the context of reintegration, as it serves to enhance understanding for the self and others, which correlates with trust, while allowing for communicating empirical knowledge beyond conventional means.

Key Words: Reintegration, returnee, intersubjective body mapping, understanding, trust, FTF, al-Shabaab, Mombasa

Acknowledgements

While shifting focus from "hugging a terrorist" to "the hug of a terrorist",

To my dad, for giving me, and continuously reminding before I remember, of my inherent sisu;
To my twin and the kids, for the high-fives that continued;
To the Mad Hatter, for sharing always thought-provoking ponders;
To Xavier, for invaluable expertise, visions way beyond tree tops, and for the unwavering support in moving mountains;
To Trine, dada yangu mpendwa, for always abundantly being and doing everything that is you;
To the man who will continue to inspire me for a long time, atoning for all the times it remained unarticulated; and,
To Brian, for allowing creative long pauses and for supporting my exploration of radical empathy;

Thank you.

To the Global Community Engagement and Resilience Fund and the Coastal Interfaith Council of Clerics, for making the body mapping workshop with community members, and the subsequent exhibition, possible; and,
Most importantly, to each participant, for your creativity and courage;

Asanteni sana.

Finally, to Noor; I can still hear you singing in the moonlight.

Tina Mykkänen
Nairobi, May 2021

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Abbreviations

CAP	County Action Plan
CC	County Commission
CG	County Government
CVE	Countering Violent Extremism
CT	Counter-Terrorism
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GCTF	Global Counterterrorism Forum
GoK	Government of Kenya
ITT	Integrated Threat Theory
LE	Law Enforcement
LEO	Law Enforcement Officer
KNSCVE	Kenya National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism
MCAP-PCVE	Mombasa County Action Plan for Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PGI	Participant-Generated Image
P/CVE	Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism
RAN	Radicalisation Awareness Network
ToT	Training of Trainers
UN	United Nations
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
VE	Violent Extremism

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Prelude

> "*Oftentimes have I heard you speak of one who commits a wrong as though he were not one of you, but a stranger unto you and an intruder upon your world. But I say that even as the holy and the righteous cannot rise beyond the highest which is in each one of you, so the wicked and the weak cannot fall lower than the lowest which is in you also. […] And when one of you falls down he falls for those behind him, a caution against the stumbling stone. Ay, and he falls for those ahead of him, who though faster and surer of foot, yet removed not the stumbling stone*."
>
> Khalil Gibran

My work in countering violent extremism (CVE) and counter-terrorism (CT) has given me experience in supporting community engagements and security representatives in CVE and CT initiatives. Reintegration measures, including community facilitation of the process as well as the commitment of returnees, continue to fascinate me and have become my focus.

I believe in the power of forgiveness, the inherent potential of change and reinvention of the self as a human being, and the transformative experience of radical empathy. Beyond preventatively addressing push and pull factors inducive to violent extremism, the reintegration process demands holistic, societal responsibility. This requires patience, and the ability to process the past and to move on, as an individual and as a collective. Foundational elements are understanding and trust, which can generate and unprecedented, transformative growth.

The possibility of combining arts, communication of embodied life experiences and reintegration unfolded through coincidental and intentional events, for which I am grateful. The body mapping methodology has, to my knowledge, never previously been used to address challenges in reintegration. Being able to assess its utility has been an eye-opening honor. I feel privileged and lucky to have had the opportunity to connect with each participant through this process. During barefoot intersubjective body mapping sessions with life-size canvases spread out on the floor, community members lay as their bodies are outlined, while returnees laugh as they draw portraits of one another; and all carefully select which colors and symbols to use to convey their stories, experiences, regrets, visions and dreams, and share the experience of breaking boundaries of what can be expressed and articulated. It has been astonishing to engage security personnel and civil society representatives in the subsequent exhibitions – and discussing the mistakes of the few with implications for the many together with law enforcement – while the audience members carefully select colors and symbols to illustrate their experiences of the body maps displayed.

The workshops have been conducted separately due to potential security risks and consequent implications associated with bringing all participants together as part of the initial stages of this novel and unconventional research. Lakini, tutafaulu[1]. In the meantime, the dialogue related to understanding and trust has been advanced through the creation, display and exhibit of artistic communication created during *intersubjective body mapping*.

[1] [*But, we will succeed*, in Swahili]

1. Introduction

Reintegration of returning Foreign Terrorist Fighters (FTFs) (hereinafter referred to as 'returnees') and convicted terrorist offenders remains a challenge predicted to demand further attention as the number of returning FTFs, and release of incarcerated terrorist offenders, continues to increase globally (OSCE, 2020; RAN, 2020; van der Heide and Bergema, 2019). Reintegration is critical to mitigate recidivism and to counter violent extremism and terrorism (UNSC, 2019a, p. 6), while the significant security risks associated with the complex and constantly evolving, non-linear process of reintegration should not be underestimated (UNSC, 2017; UNSC, 2019a).

International consensus emphasizes the necessity of contextual and community-owned reintegration strategies and practical interventions (OSCE ODIHR, 2018; UNSC, 2020a; UNSC, 2020b). The strategies should be based on assessments accounting for individual risks and needs, including personal and societal factors conducive to violent extremism (VE) and terrorism (OSCE ODIHR, 2018, p. 53; UNSC, 2020a, p. 9; UNSC, 2020b), while developed in accordance with international law and ensuring gender sensitivity and human rights compliance in their implementation (OSCE ODIHR, 2018, p. 53; UNSC, 2020a, pp. 10-11).

Advancing understanding and trust between returnees and community members are recognized as crucial components in the holistic approach to strengthen reintegration strategies as part of preventing and countering violent extremism and terrorism (Hansen and Lid, 2020; OSCE, 2020; Wilchen Christensen, 2020). Enhancing capacity to address challenges will inform and advance the development of reintegration strategies which are facilitated, and committed to, by returnees and community members alike (Mykkanen, 2020). The encouraged development of evidence-based rehabilitation and reintegration programs (UNSC, 2020a, p. 10) necessitates strategies informed by reintegrating or reintegrated returnees themselves. Simultaneously, communities and the security representatives contribute to the notion of acceptance of returnees and critically ease the reintegration process (GCTF, 2012, p. 13; OSCE, 2020, p. 13) while the commitment of the returnee to the process is essential (Dean and Kessels, 2018, p. 50; Mykkanen, 2020). Hence, relevant Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), community actors and stakeholders are to be proactively engaged and consulted in development of reintegration strategies (Dean and Kessels, 2018, p. 42; UNGA, 2018b, p. 10; UNSC, 2017, p 10; UNSC, 2019a, p. 36), while provided support and legal space for operations (Dean and Kessels, 2018, p. 49). In parallel, law enforcement is to be adequately informed of the rehabilitation and reintegration processes, as part of investigative strategies and operational necessities of bilateral and multilateral information sharing in countering terrorism (GCTF, 2016, p. 1; Lid, 2020; UNSC, 2017, pp. 6, 8-9), in order to avoid negative interference with the reintegration process (GCTF, 2012, p. 9; Hansen and Lid, 2020).

Trust and understanding are crucial elements of dialogue related to addressing challenges in the development and successful implementation of reintegration frameworks, strategies and initiatives (OSCE, 2020; Wilchen Christensen, 2020), as lack of trust and understanding are recognized as

reasons for returnees and community actors failing, leaving or abandoning the process (Mykkanen, 2020). Enhancing trust and understanding between agencies and individuals is assessed as vital in order to facilitate and strengthen collaboration in implementation of reintegration initiatives (Dean and Kessels, 2018, p. 49; OSCE, 2020; UNSC, 2019a) and sustain commitment to the process (Mykkanen, 2020).

A continuous threat to peace, security and stability in the Eastern African region is posed by the Somalia based al-Qaeda affiliated terror organization Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujahideen (al-Shabaab) (IEP, 2020; UNCS, 2020b, p. 2). Al-Shabaab is assessed to be one of the four terrorist organizations "responsible for the most deaths" (IEP, 2020, p. 14) globally. While the international community is yet to accept a universal definition of terrorism (IEP, 2020), States have adopted "unacceptably wide and nefarious definitions" (UNGA, 2018a, p. 9). Nonetheless, for contextualization, this research adopts the definition provided as per the *Prevention of Terrorism Act of the Republic of Kenya* (GoK, 2019), which defines "terrorist acts as means of act or threat of action [...] carried out with the aim of - (i) intimidating or causing fear amongst members of the public or a section of the public; or (ii) intimidating or compelling the Government or international organization to do, or refrain from any act; or (iii) destabilizing the religious, political, Constitutional, economic or social institutions of a country, or an international organization" (GoK, 2019, p. 7). Due to geographical proximity to Somalia, violent extremism and terrorism related challenges in Kenya include cross-border terrorist attacks and recruitment of Kenyan citizens. The lethality of attacks in both Somalia and Kenya has increased in recent years, resulting in a surge in civilian casualties (IEP, 2020, p. 17). Following territorial losses of al-Shabaab (UNSC, 2019), coupled with recent challenges caused by the COVID-19 pandemic (Hockey and Jones, 2020), numerous returnees continue to return to their counties of origin in Kenya (GoK, 2016). The *Kenya National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism* (KNSCVE) notes the necessity of providing returnees psychosocial, ideological and economic assistance while supporting "[r]econciliation efforts through dialogue with affected individuals […] and communities" (GoK, 2016, p. 23) in order for returnees to become "peaceful and law-abiding citizens" (GoK, 2016, p. 23). The success of reintegration initiatives is dependent on "social willingness to accept and accommodate the affected, and thus requires concerted efforts to lower stigma and encourage acceptance" (GoK, 2016, p. 23).

While significant steps have been made in Kenya to enhance successful reintegration, including through the 2015 amnesty initiative pardoning surrendering returnees who report to government authorities upon return (Downie, 2018; GoK, 2016; Reliefweb, 2015; Speckhard and Shajkovci, 2019), the pardoning executive order from the president has been criticized for not being supported by a legal framework (Downie, 2018; Speckhard and Shajkovci, 2019), which inhibits coordination and implementation as engagement with terrorists remains illegal per law (GoK, 2019). The indicated "development of a legislative and policy framework covering returnees" (GoK, 2016, p. 23) in the KNSCVE is yes to be finalized. Furthermore, the livelihood alternatives provided, as part of amnesty initiatives and associated rehabilitation programs to surrendering

returnees, are reported to cause friction between returnees and community members, as the latter perceive criminal engagement of the former to be rewarded (Badurdeen, 2020; Downie, 2018; Mykkanen, 2020). In addition, rivalries are created between the selected returnees engaged in rehabilitation programs and those not included (Brendon and Pkalya, 2019; Downie, 2018; Speckhard and Shajkovci, 2019). Simultaneously, transparency, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms are insufficient, while returnees pardoned by amnesty continue to be stigmatized and targeted by security representatives (Badurdeen, 2020; Downie, 2018; Mykkanen, 2020; Speckhard and Shajkovci, 2019). Due to this, perceptions and beliefs continue to be subjectively attributed by returnees to community members and vice versa, while levels of trust and faith in the security apparatus in Kenya remain low among civil society and returnees (Botha and Abdile, 2020; Transparency International, 2020). Whereas amnesty initiatives are assessed to be of great importance by community members and returnees in Kenya, national criminal justice actors continue to express low levels of trust in the success of the same (Botha and Abdile, 2020, p. 91). Despite its recognized potential in advancing comprehensive reintegration strategies (GCTF, 2016; GoK, 2016), no transparent consultations with civil society members, let alone returnees themselves, precede development of rehabilitation and reintegration guidelines on reintegration in Kenya (Downie, 2018; Mykkanen, 2020).

Providing a platform to advance communication and address current challenges will enhance understanding and trust, which are argued to be essential components for the successful reintegration of returnees as well as preventing and countering violent extremism (Hansen and Lid, 2020; Mykkanen, 2020; OSCE, 2020; Wilchen Christensen, 2020). It is recognized that visual arts, including the body mapping methodology, allow for participants to engage in a reflective process enhancing understanding for individual experiences, which increases embodied awareness that allows for non-conflictual interpersonal communication (Boydell et al., 2020; Orchard, 2017; van der Kolk, 2015).

1.1. Research Problem

Non-binding good practices and recommendations on reintegration policies, which have been internationally recognized in the past decade, predominantly focus on rehabilitation in correctional institutions and reintegration post-release (Dean, Kessels, 2018; GCTF, 2012; OSCE, 2020; RAN, 2020; UNSC, 2017, p. 5; UNSC, 2019a). Limited research has assessed the reintegration of returnees not convicted or incarcerated for terrorism offences, even though alternatives for incarceration are encouraged where appropriate (UNSC, 2019). The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) assesses that "[m]ore research and sharing of experiences is needed in order to develop effective, context-specific criminal justice responses to foreign terrorist fighters and enable the effective assessment of the risks posed by various categories of returnees" (UNSC, 2019, p. 17), while the *Kenya National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism* (KNSCVE) emphasizes that "CVE needs to be evidence driven" (GoK, 2016, p. 24), and notes "[c]ase studies

in effective disengagement, de-radicalisation and reintegration of violent extremists" as a priority on the research agenda (GoK, 2016, p. 25). On local level, "[c]onfidence building initiatives between communities and state security and governance agencies" (GoK, 2016, p. 24) are assessed as crucial.

The *Mombasa County Action Plan for Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism* (MCAP-PCVE) highlights that capacities of returnees and community members, to effectively develop and implement policies and strategies for successful reintegration of returnees in Mombasa County, Kenya, needs to be strengthened (MCG et al., 2017). This entails advancing dialogue, related to understanding and trust, between civil society, returnees and security personnel, which includes returnees reflecting on their reintegration experience and relation to the community, as well as communities and security personnel to reflect on the reintegration experience and relation to the returnees.

The body mapping methodology demonstrates significant potential and benefits for scientific understanding, policy and practice, including in advancing dialogue and discourse in addressing numerous social challenges (Boydell et al., 2020; Orchard, 2017). The methodology offers a means through non-conflictual interpersonal communication in enhancing understanding for the individual experience (Boydell et al., 2020; van der Kolk, 2015). The relevance of the body mapping methodology as an exploratory tool in research is coupled with its potential for empowering communities and enhancing advocacy (Collings et al., 2020, p. 57). Despite its potential, the methodology has not been explored as part of research focusing on reintegration of returnees in general, nor advancing dialogue on understanding and trust between returnees, communities and security personnel in particular. Further empirical research utilizing the body mapping methodology is assessed to enhance acceptance of its use in additional contexts and disciplines (Boydell et al., 2020). Utilizing the body mapping methodology in participatory research, with returnees and community members in Mombasa, Kenya, will allow a non-conventional exploration of how the methodology can be used to enhance dialogue related to challenges in the reintegration process, including understanding and trust. The body mapping methodology further allows the research to explore previously neglected bodily and sensory dimensions of the individual experience (de Jager et al., 2016, para. 6) related to reintegration, while communicating knowledge beyond scientific data presentation (Boydell et al., 2020, p. 9), which remains status quo in research on reintegration.

1.2. Objective and Research Questions

In order to support and strengthen capacities of returnees, communities and security personnel to effectively develop and implement policies and strategies for successful reintegration of returnees in Mombasa, Kenya, the objective of this research is to explore how the artistic body mapping methodology can be used to advance the dialogue between returnees, communities and security

personnel in addressing challenges, including understanding and trust, related to the reintegration process. For the purpose of the objective, returnees and community members respectively in Mombasa, Kenya, are invited to participate in body mapping workshops, while civil society, county representatives and security personnel are invited to attend a subsequent exhibition of selected artistic output, in order to answer the following research question:

> *How can the body mapping methodology be used to advance dialogue between returnees, communities and security personnel in addressing challenges related to the reintegration process, including understanding and trust?*

1.3. Relevance

The formality of the amnesty, granted since 2015 to returnees who upon return to Kenya report to authorities, remains disputed due to the insufficient legal framework of the initiative. Nonetheless, Kenya provides a unique context for empirical studies on rehabilitation and reintegration initiatives in non-custodial settings, of returnees and individuals who have been associated with violent extremism (VE) and terrorism but who have not been convicted (OSCE, 2020, p. 12).

This evidence-based research contributes to a grounded theoretical understanding of the reintegration experience as related to by returnees, communities and security personnel respectively; how dialogue can be advanced through the use of the artistic body mapping methodology; and, subsequently, how the body mapping methodology can be used as a means to address challenges in the reintegration process. For this reason, and in order to highlight lessons learned and good practices in Mombasa, Kenya, this research on the use of the body mapping methodology in advancing dialogue to strengthen the development of reintegration initiatives in Kenya, can in turn inform reintegration strategies developed in other jurisdictions. Empirical evidence from the Kenyan initiative will be a welcome contribution to the discourse on reintegration of individuals who are not convicted nor go through the correctional criminal justice process, but nonetheless need rehabilitative support as part of a coordinated reintegration process.

1.4. Analytical Framework

To avoid development of pathologizing theory (Pearson, 2019, p. 1523) within the terrorism research sphere, which is researched with great frequency yet comparatively lacks qualitative participatory research bringing forth the voice of the individual returnee as an active agent in development of reintegration initiatives, this qualitative research allows an inductive logic of reasoning. The research is founded on a constructivist ontological position, as it values the dynamic agency of individual returnees, community members and security personnel in social

construct (Bryman, 2016; Creswell, 2014; Kindon et al., 2010), as well as their individual reflexivity and intentionality in relation to the research (Bryman, 2016; Creswell, 2014). The research is guided by the 'interpretive engagement' framework (Drew and Guillemin, 2014), which refers to the engagement and facilitation of participants, researcher and unanticipated or anticipated audience in interpretation and meaning-making as part of the use of artistic research methodology, as well as the 'axial embodiment' conceptualization (Orchard, 2017), which allows for participant accounts for individual and societal experiences. This research is therefor grounded in an interpretivist epistemological position, recognizing the subjective experiences of each individual as well as the "diverse forms of knowing to inform action" (Kindon et al., 2010, p. 13).

1.5. Methodological Framework

The inherent limitation of language regards its insufficiency as a means to exhaustively account for psychological and internal experiences as part of interpersonal communication in general (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 237), and individual challenges in expressing painful emotions in particular (Boydell et al., 2020). By adopting the body mapping methodology, the research will move beyond limitations of language and allow for an exploratory approach as part of participatory research, in which participants elaborate on, and account for, their individual experiences in relation to the reintegration process through visual arts.

The body mapping methodology combines a therapeutic and transformative practice with visual arts, and provides participants a supportive, secure and non-judgmental forum in which to explore "artful communication about their embodied life experiences" (Orchard, 2017, p. 2), and express needs, risks and norms as part of the reintegration process. Transformation is not achieved through solely rational processes, and the cognitive experience of reintegration holds an emotional element for which it is necessary to provide avenues where paradoxical feelings and the truth can be embraced, and visibility given to thoughts and feelings that defy words. The production of truth as part of individual confession, which relates to enhanced understanding and trust, holds historical and religious importance. Foucault (see 1976) noted the societal structures of control established historically in relation to how, forced or spontaneously; "…one confesses one's crimes, one confesses one's sins, one confesses one's thoughts and desires, one confesses to one's past and to one's dreams, […]; one sets about telling, with the greatest precision, what is most difficult to tell one confesses in public and in private" (Sheridan, 1990, p. 175, quoting Foucault, 1976, p. 79). The notion of confession as part of production of the truth is noted as "so all-pervasive that we no longer see it as the effect of a power that constrains us; instead, we see it as liberating, truth as belonging not to power, but to our freedom" (Sheridan, 1990, p. 175, referencing Foucault, 1976). Noting the transformative and confessional elements of artistic communication, participants are invited to account for their experiences of reintegration in an unprecedented way. This entails using visual and creative story telling by using the body mapping methodology. Through this

process, participants are assessed to "literally draw new connections about their lives and experiences" (Boydell et al., 2020, p. 14, quoting LS).

1.6. Disposition

Following the introduction, Chapter 2 will discuss previous literature in relation to enhanced dialogue, trust and understanding as part of reintegration initiatives, while accounting for engagement of returnees in development and implementation of CVE strategies, as well as the role of perspective taking in enabling this. Attention will be paid to previous artistic methods deployed which may enhance reintegration, with focus on the development and applicability of the body mapping methodology. Chapter 3 will present the analytical framework, which draws on comprehensive frameworks of 'interpretive engagement' and 'axial embodiment' as part of the use of the methodology, in order to advance the data analysis in addressing the objective of the research. Chapter 4 presents the methodological framework and the use of body mapping in practice during workshops attended by community members and returnees respectively. It will further elaborate on the methodology deployed as part of audience engagement during the body mapping exhibition, in order to account for audience perceptions of the methodology utilized in the context of CVE and reintegration. Following a presentation of research limitations and delimitations in Chapter 5, Chapter 6 will establish the comprehensive ethical considerations necessary to ensure the well-being of participants, researcher and facilitator, and community in relation to research on a topic of such securitized and sensitive nature as reintegration of returnees. Chapter 7 presents the findings of the research, including the body maps of the community members and returnees respectively, which are discussed in detail in Chapter 8. Finally, Chapter 9 demonstrates conclusions and provides recommendations for future research utilizing the developed *intersubjective body mapping* methodology.

2. Literature Review

The international community acknowledges the security risks posed by returning and relocating FTFs, while noting the numerous significant and complex challenges this constantly evolving threat entails (UNSC, 2017; 2019). The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) *Resolution 2396* (2017) binds Member States to undertake domestic and international law compliant measures to implement reintegration strategies (UNSC, 2017, pp. 10, 11), and the importance is further underlined by the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) *Resolution A/RES/72/284* following the *Sixth review of the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy* (UNGA, 2018b).

Numerous internationally recognized guiding principles, of which several developed for the Western context but assessed to be of value in other jurisdictions (Dean and Kessels, 2018; OSCE, 2020; RAN, 2020), focus on rehabilitation in correctional institutions and reintegration post-release (GCTF, 2012; UNSC, 2017, p. 5; UNSC, 2019).

The *Rome Memorandum on Good Practices for Rehabilitation and Reintegration of Violent Extremist Offenders*, adopted in June 2012 by the 30 members of the Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF), rely on the nonobligatory decision of the sovereign State to adopt its recommendations in practice (GCTF, 2012, p. 14). The guiding principles address classification and risk assessments of convicted offenders, as well as long-term and short-term correctional plans (GCTF, 2012, p. 5-6), while an addendum, developed in 2016, recognizes the lack of regulatory and structural legislation and framework in place to facilitate and coordinate implementation of reintegration programs (GCTF, 2016). Despite the addendum recognizing differing rehabilitative needs and alternatives, including diversion and probation for different categories of offenders (GCTF, 2016, p. 2), and while alternatives to incarceration are encouraged by the UNSC as part of sustainable and long-term responses were assessed appropriate (UNSC, 2019a, pp. 17, 35), few guiding principles inform regarding procedural recommendations or offer guiding principles for the context in which offenders are pardoned with amnesty and hence do not go through correctional processes as part of the criminal justice system.

The OSCE guidebook on *Non-custodial Rehabilitation and Reintegration in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization That Lead to Terrorism* (2020) provides recommendations for development of reintegration measures in the non-custodial space, and highlights how these initiatives complement correctional-based efforts (OSCE, 2020, p. 12). While the necessity of context sensitive approaches is emphasized in the handbook specifically developed for South-Eastern European policymakers and practitioners, the identified guiding principles are encouraged to inform all non-custodial rehabilitation and reintegration efforts (OSCE, 2020, p. 13).

Reintegration programs should be supported by structural efforts by stakeholders following custodial release (GCTF, 2012, p. 12; Hansen and Lid, 2020) and allow for a holistic and coordinated, multi-agency approach (Dean and Kessels, 2018, p. 50; Hansen and Lid, 2020; UNGA, 2018b, p. 10; UNSC, 2017; UNSC, 2019, p. 16) by allocating jurisdictional

responsibilities and rights of engagement to various stakeholders, including law enforcement, correctional officials, psychosocial professionals, religious leaders, family and community members (Dean and Kessels, 2018, pp. 4-47; GCTF, 2012, pp. 7-8, 13; GCTF, 2016, pp. 2, 4; Hansen and Lid, 2020; OSCE, 2020, p. 86). While the international community encourages these opportunities to be provided to incarcerated offenders, recreational activities are assessed as an important element in non-custodial rehabilitation and reintegration efforts (OSCE, 2020, p. 62).

The attention paid to the role of former violent extremists in efforts countering violent extremism (CVE) has increased in recent years, but is noted to be a topic which remains undertheorized (Tapley and Clubb, 2019). Success of engaging returnees in CVE is context dependent, and little has been done to evaluate its effectiveness. Whether in post-conflict settings or in settings FTFs return to, Tapley and Clubb (2019) offer a conceptualization of engagements in which returnee involvement in CVE initiatives is appropriate (Tapley and Clubb, 2019). While individual qualities play a significant role in the successful involvement of returnees in CVE (Tapley and Clubb, 2019, p. 10), the distinct role of returnees as a category of actors is argued to provide "more credible voices" (Tapley and Clubb, 2019, p. 3), but that this is context and audience dependent; yet often useful in challenging ideological motives and providing counter-narratives (Tapley and Clubb, 2019, p. 6). Further, returnees are predominantly used as assets in intelligence gathering, while it is emphasized that the retrospective accounts of returnees previously engaged in violent extremism (VE) should be regarded as "biased and subject to conscious and unconscious distortion" (Koehler, 2016, p. 99). In addition, involving returnees in reintegration and CVE initiatives may compromise the need of victims of terrorism (Tapley and Clubb, 2019, p. 9). While CVE efforts should be human-rights compliant and victim centered (UNSC, 2019b), it is nonetheless found that in some circumstances, the benefits of engaging returnees "outweigh the risks of marginalising the rights of direct victims" (Tapley and Clubb, 2019, p. 10). Tapley and Clubb (2019) argue that returnees who have disengaged and deradicalized, maintaining none or limited commitment to the extremist movement, have due to the decreased commitment limited yet more immediate impact as part of CVE initiatives (Tapley and Clubb, 2019, p. 11). Simultaneously, Tapley and Clubb (2019) assess that those disengaged but with upheld commitment to the extremist environment, serve counterproductively in CVE initiatives, due to limited credibility in development of consistent counter-narratives (Tapley and Clubb, 2019, p. 12). Yet, returnees who maintain ideologies resonate normatively with the extremist environment in contrast to those deradicalized or who have abandoned the ideology (Tapley and Clubb, 2019, p. 13). Further, returnees who hold a positive role in community are found, irrespective of level of engagement, to exercise positive agency in CVE (Tapley and Clubb, 2019, p. 13). Despite normatively expected to have abandoned radical ideologies in order to be involved in CVE initiatives, Tapley and Clubb (2019) encourage returnees to be actively engaged in CVE while "provided support regardless of whether they have abandoned their ideology" (Tapley and Clubb, 2019, p. 14).

Noor and Halabi (2018) note that the integrated threat theory (ITT) (Noor and Halabi, 2018, referencing Stephan and Stephan, 2000) predicts that "[t]he more we perceive someone as

threatening, the more negative will be our attitudes toward them" (Noor and Halabi, 2018, p. 247), while combining this with research on how perspective taking improves intergroup attitudes (Noor and Halabi, 2018, p. 247). Noor and Halabi (2018) found that perspective-taking improves inter-personal liking, which in turn correlates with the motivation to forgive an individual, even in violent conflicts and contexts where one party is, or is perceived to, issue a threat to the other party (Noor and Halabi, 2018).

The transformative potential of art-based interventions is recognized as an important element of reintegration initiatives, as it offers a unique opportunity for expressing emotions as part of the cognitive desistance process (UNODC, 2016, pp. 77-90). In the *Routledge Handbook of Deradicalisation and Disengagement*, Hansen and Lid et al. (2020) account for pragmatic strategies and approaches for deradicalization and disengagement of violent extremists. The handbook provides a comprehensive understanding for the complexities of reintegration initiatives and acknowledges the importance of community-based approaches (Hansen and Lid, 2020). While noting the importance of components such as dialogue and enhanced understanding and trust among actors (Hansen, 2020; Hansen and Lid, 2020; Lid, 2020; Wilchen Christensen, 2020), no reference is made to art as part of advancing reintegration initiatives.

Art is found to be a pragmatic, non-conflictual means of communicating experiences (Boydell et al., 2020; van der Kolk, 2015), which may further advance perspective taking. Van der Kolk (2015), in his work *The Body Keeps the Score*, accounts for the complexity of trauma as experienced by the individual, while offering informed approaches on how to overcome trauma (van der Kolk, 2015). Trauma resolution is argued to entail "pendulating between states of exploration and safety, between language and the body, between remembering the past and feeling alive in the present" (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 245). Further, the importance of social support is related to the visceral feeling of safety and reciprocity, i.e. "being truly heard and seen by the people around us, feeling that we are held in someone else's mind and heart" (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 79). Van der Kolk informs that traumatized individuals may "find themselves chronically out of sync with the people around them" (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 79), and that the detrimental effect of isolating within a defined category of victims may contribute to internalizing a belief that "others are irrelevant at best and dangerous at worst" (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 79).

Art interventions are assessed to provide alternative ways for expression as well as viable options to traditional psychosocial support for individual healing (OSCE, 2020, p. 62). Traumatic events and experiences are not kept as "a coherent narrative with a beginning, middle, and end" (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 135), and it is hence argued that use of art methodologies in the current life stage, while accounting for views on the past, present and future, "reconnects individuals to their personal stories as a form of visual expression" (Collings and Smith, 2020, p. 29).

The past decade has seen an increase in participant-generated visual methodologies, including photo-elicitation and drawing as part of participant-generated image (PGI) research (Guillemin and Drew, 2010, p. 176). PGI research, where imagery is used for data collection, dates back to

the 1970s (Bahn and Weatherill, 2011, p. 434; Balomenou and Garrod, 2016, p. 335), and is argued to be a "powerful yet simple tool" (Bahn and Weatherill, 2011, p. 441) for pictorial data production which individual interviews nor Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) yield (Bahn and Weatherill, 2011, p. 442). Bahn and Weatherill (2011) argue that this norm breaking conduct of research allows richer data production, which is "obtained through the participants drawing their responses to the research questions rather than providing verbal responses in a traditional focus group" (Bahn and Weatherill, 2011, p. 434).

Moving beyond PGI, the body mapping methodology focuses on the embodied experience of the individual (Collings and Smith, 2020, p. 27). As per phenomenology, the philosophical school of thought studying consciousness structures and perception from the first-person perspective (Merleau-Ponty, 2012), it is argued that individuals fundamentally embody experiences, as the body serves as a means for acquiring knowledge (Collings and Smith, 2020, p. 27, referencing Merleau-Ponty, 1982). Complex and traumatic events are argued to be embodied as a strong "internal map" within in an individual, which becomes a solid portray of how an individual perceives the external world (Collings and Smith, 2020, p. 28; van der Kolk, 2015, p. 129).

The first account of body mapping used for research dates back to the latter 1980s, as part of a cross-cultural study on fertility rates in Jamaica (see MacCormack and Draper, 1987), and subsequently examining reproductive health in Zimbabwe (see Cornwall, 1992). The methodology was further developed in South Africa (Boydell et al., 2020; de Jager et al., 2016; see Solomon, 2007), where body maps were created by women with HIV/AIDS to be accounts preserved for family members and loved ones, as well as used to promote community awareness on HIV/AIDS through advocacy campaigns (Collings and Smith, 2020, p. 27; de Jager et al., 2016). *Remembering the Body: Ethical Issues in Body Mapping Research* by Orchard (2017) remained the only published academic work on body mapping (Boydell, 2020, p. 5) until the recent editorial, *Applying body mapping in research: an arts-based method*, by Boydell and other prominent body mapping practitioners and researchers. Pioneers such as Solomon (2007), de Jager (2016), Gastaldo et al. (2018) are accounted for by Cox, Guillemin and Boydell in the same editorial (2020, p. 37) as important contributors to initial and further development of the methodology.

Critique of the body mapping methodology regards the consideration for political and cultural appropriateness to "selectively use aspects of research methods" (Orchard, 2017, p. 87), which Orchard (2017) argues is the case when the method is used in contexts other than were initially developed (Orchard, 2017; Cox, Guillemin and Boydell, 2020, p. 44). Nonetheless, where artistic expression is considered culturally appropriate and where participants voluntarily engage in the use of the body mapping methodology with adequate guidance, Collings and Smith (2020) contend its applicability as a method which invites the individual to account and contemplate past experiences translated and communicated from their bodily knowledge (Collings and Smith, 2020, p. 27). De Jager et al. (2016) depict this as a process of "storying the self" (de Jager et al., 2016), while Solomon (2020) argues it to be a means for the individual to account for emotional, spiritual and physical aspects of life while "integrating the past with present to ideate the future" (Solomon,

2020, p. xx). The emphasized extended value of the methodology is the potential of conveying complex stories to others for recognition (Smith and Senior, 2020, p. 20, referencing Smith and Dowse, 2019).

A decade ago, scholarly work on analysis of participant-generated images was limited (Drew and Guillemin, 2014, p. 57). Currently, neither image content nor reflections on images are given priority in published academic work (Boydell et al., 2020; Drew and Guillemin, 2014, p. 65). Users of the body mapping methodology, such as Guillemin and Drew (2010), continue to encourage further research to inform the analysis of body maps, with attention to the "detailed examination of image content" (Guillemin and Drew, 2010, p. 183) in parallel to the individual participants' accounts of the experience and reflections as part of the body mapping methodology used. With emphasis on not valuing either, the image content nor interviews, above the other, it is encouraged to see these as complementary (Guillemin and Drew, 2010, p. 184), as images and interview data are perceived "inextricably linked, requiring simultaneous and not separate analysis" (Guillemin and Drew, 2010, p. 184). The cited researchers acknowledge the applicability of a reflexive methodological position, in support of "integrative techniques that incorporate interviews or participants' own images" (Guillemin and Drew, 2010, p. 184, referencing Stanczak, 2007, p. 11), according to which the significance of the analysis is found in participant interpretation of images, "rather than as some inherent property of the images themselves'" (Guillemin and Drew, 2010, p. 184, referencing Stanczak, 2007, p. 7). Guillemin and Drew (2010) further draws precautionary attention to the notion of bias of researchers, whom may "remain overly reliant" on traditional means of textually conveying research findings (Guillemin and Drew, 2010, p. 184), which contradicts the inherent potential of arts-based knowledge translation.

While the body mapping methodology has been predominantly used in clinical contexts (Boydell et al., 2020; Orchard, 2017), relevant exploratory work has included assessments of social resilience and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) processes as experienced by former child soldiers in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Eastern Congo Initiative, 2013). It may be argued that DDR of former combatants share synergies with reintegration and rehabilitation of returning FTFs. However, despite valuable lessons learnt from DDR programming, the reintegration process differs significantly and hence demands distinct attention through empirical research (Cockayne and O'Neil, 2015; Hansen, 2020; Holmer and Shtuni, 2017). No previous body mapping research has been found in relation to reintegration of returnees, nor returnees and community members' parallel experiences of VE and CVE.

3. Analytical Framework

The body maps created by community members and returnees in respective body mapping workshop (see Chapter 4, *Methodological Framework*), will be produced in order to seek and reach understanding of the use of the methodology (Guillemin and Drew, 2010, p. 183, referencing Bolton, Pole and Mizen, 2001, p. 506) in advancing dialogue on reintegration, and providing further insights as to how challenges related to understanding and trust may be addressed.

Dew and Guillemin argue that generating meaning as part of visual methodology is a "co-construction between the participant, the researcher, the audience/s and the images themselves" (Drew and Guillemin, 2014, pp. 56-57), as they all inform the meaning-making for the analysis. It is emphasized that the "analytical responsibility" is naturally assigned to the researcher (Drew and Guillemin, 2014, p. 57), informed of the methodological and analytical frameworks. The data for this research is comprised of participant-generated body maps, participants' reflections in relation to the body maps and the process of generating the images through collective and individual story telling sessions, as well as the researcher's reflections and observations of the process (Drew and Guillemin, 2014, p. 55). In 2014, Drew and Guillemin advocated for advancing the scholarly discourse related to the "analytical complexities involved in quality visual research" (Drew and Guillemin, 2014, p. 54) and hence presented the 'interpretive engagement' framework. This conceptualization of the analysis process refers to the triangular engagement in interpreting participant-generated visual research data as part of research utilizing visual methodologies (Drew and Guillemin, 2014, p. 55). Interpretation and meaning-making is facilitated by the participant generated image, the participants' reflections of the produced image as well as process, and the researcher's analysis, while accounting for the engagement of an unanticipated or anticipated audience (Drew and Guillemin, 2014, p. 55).

In addition, the more recently developed concept for interpretation of visual data, 'axial embodiment' (Orchard, 2017), allows participants to account for the individual as well as the social bodily experiences (Collings et al., 2020, p. 63), as these are represented in different layers of a body map – the internal experience and the experience in relation to the community. The former is often represented visually within the outline of the individual body map, and the latter outside the outline of the body map (Orchard, 2017; Collings et al., 2020, p. 63). The multiple layers allow for individual accounts for support and interpersonal engagement, whether perceived as an inherent capacity or as external support provided by family or community members (Collings et al., 2020, p. 63). Orchard (2017), the pioneer of the axial embodiment analysis framework, encourages accounting for each image, visualization, word or phrase which participants include across the different layers of the body map (Collings et al., 2020, p. 63).

The analytical framework for the research is aligned with the 'interpretive engagement' framework components, i.e. 1) the participant generated body maps; 2) the participants' reflections; 3) the researcher's analysis; as well as, 4) anticipated and unanticipated audience engagement (Drew and Guillemin, 2014), and guided by the 'axial embodiment' conceptualization, i.e. the internal and external experiences accounted for by participants (Orchard, 2017). Aligned with the encouraged

division of attention between the image production and the image content (Guillemin and Drew, 2010, p. 175), the data analyzed will be the participants' visualization of their experience, their accounts and elaborations on the representation as well as their thoughts following the body mapping workshop, in combination with field notes on observation of the process. In this way, the visual data remains central to advancing understanding of the individual embodied experience (Collings et al., 2020, p. 58), while complemented by their narrative, researcher's observations, and the audience accounts during their engagement with the visual output. This will allow comprehensive data collection in order to assess the distinctiveness and strengths, drawbacks and challenges, and ethical considerations for the use of the suggested *intersubjective body mapping* methodology, in relation to the thematic areas presented as part of the data collection with the community members and returnees respectively, as well as the subsequent exhibition of body maps. Hence, the data collection will inform how the *intersubjective body mapping* methodology can be used to advance dialogue between returnees, communities and security personnel in addressing challenges, including understanding and trust, related to the reintegration process. Production of visual and verbalized data are through the *intersubjective body mapping* integrated and not separately conducted, which increases the validity and reliability of narrated accounts (Collings et al., 2020, p. 59).

Meaning of images are made through three stages (Drew and Guilleming, 2014): 1) engagement with participants; 2) engagements driven by research and theoretical framework; and, 3) recontextualization of interpretations (Drew and Guillemin, 2014, pp. 58-59) i.e. locating the generated data in the theoretical framework of the study. It is important to note that the stages, elaborated on below as part of the four components of the 'interpretive engagement' framework, are neither linear nor exclusive, and will inevitably inform one another (Drew and Guillemin, 2014, p. 65).

3.1. Participant Generated Body Maps

The use of textual and visual analysis as part of body mapping research presents challenges in preserving integrity of the images produced, in order not to "reduce them to numerical values or disembodied themes" (Collings et al., 2020, p. 58). Practitioners of the body mapping methodology increasingly advises against assumptions made in relation to the meaning of an image (Harley and Langdon, 2018), for which participants are encouraged to articulate their thoughts in relation to their body maps. Symbols, colors and visualizations will be understood in accordance with the meaning ascribed by the participants' who create these (Solomon, 2020, p. xx). Ensuring credibility of the findings through use of the methodology, symbols are encouraged to be allowed to convey meaning, in combination with the participants' accounts (Collings et al., 2020, p. 65).

3.2. Participants' Reflections

Engagement with participants allows analysis of the experiences accounted for by individuals, and how these are represented for the consideration and observation of the researcher (Drew and Guillemin, 2014, p. 59). This includes data produced through: 1) participant-generated body maps; 2) participants' reflections on the body maps produced, their intentionality in the visualization process, as well as the process of producing these; and, 3) participants' guidance on the body map interpretation (Drew and Guillemin, 2014, pp. 59-60). Narrative inquiry as part of the body mapping methodology enables the research to account for a participant's narrative, i.e. story, in its completeness rather than breaking experiences down as part of codes for theme generation as part of analysis (Collings et al., 2020, p. 58). As the participants' produce their body maps and images, and decide on choice of colors and symbols, their interpretation of the same is assessed to be most consequential (Guillemin and Drew, 2010, p. 184).

3.3. Researcher's Analysis

While reliant on the participants' interpretation and narratives of their generated body maps and images, the researcher is assessed to be best suited to "undertake the overall analysis" (Guillemin and Drew, 2010, p. 184) within the context of the analytical framework. The engagement driven by research will focus on the use of the methodology in the context of reintegration, and includes explanations provided by participants (Drew and Guillemin, 2014, p. 60). This allows for the researcher's reflections and observation of the accounts of participants related to body maps, the participants' reflections on the process of body mapping and their interpretations, as well as "any other data collected within the research project which add additional context and detail to inform interpretation of the participants' visual storytelling" (Drew and Guillemin, 2014, p. 60). This research-driven component allows for themes and patterns to emerge in the produced data, as the researcher draws theoretical parallels as the body maps are systematically interpreted (Drew and Guillemin, 2014, p. 62). The deliberate analysis will follow the 'axial embodiment' analytical framework, for which images and accounts are coded according to time, i.e. the past, the present or the future, whether they are positive or negative, regard emotions and relationships, as well as experience of support as prevalent or absent (Collings et al., 2020, p. 64; Orchard, 2017).

Interpretive and generative analytical questions will support the analysis of the body maps. While the visual methodology of body mapping is used to address the research question, the questions for interpretation and analysis of the images will generate patterns through which the research question may be addressed (Drew and Guillemin, 2014, p. 55). Questions used for the analysis of the body maps are derived from inquiries suggested by Rose (2012) and Grbich (2012), and encouraged by Drew and Guillemin (2014), and include: 1) What does the body map portray? (Rose, 2012); 2) What are the different elements of the body map and what do they represent? (Rose, 2012); 3) How are colors used in the body map? (Rose, 2012); 4) What in the body map

draws the viewer's attention, and for what reason? (Rose, 2012); 5) How is meaning conveyed through the body map? (Grbich, 2012); 6) What social expressions are portrayed in the body map? (Grbich, 2012); and, 7) How does the body map illustrate or depart from normative contextual values? (Grbich, 2012). In addition, as there may be multiple readings of a body map, an additional question (Drew and Guillemin, 2014, p. 63, referencing Grbich, 2012) will draw attention to how knowledge claims are made, i.e.; 8) What alternative interpretations can be made of the body map? (Grbich, 2012).

3.4. Recontextualization and Audience Engagement

The recontextualization of the interpretations entails locating the data generated in the theoretical framework applied for the research. This will allow for conceptual and empirical findings to emerge as part of the grounded theory developed, and will be guided by inquiries proposed by Rose (2012) in relation to what knowledge is conveyed through the body maps, with attention to what the knowledge may exclude (Drew and Guillemin, 2014, p. 64; Rose, 2012). Furthermore, the research will explore how an audience interprets the body maps, and how audience members' differences may contribute to the interpretation of the body maps (Drew and Guillemin, 2014, p. 64; Rose, 2012).

4. Methodological Framework

Language evolved as a means to account for the external experiences, rather than to communicate our internal experiences and feelings (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 237). Van der Kolk (2015) emphasizes the physical attestation of this, noting that the "language center of the brain is about as far removed from the center for experiencing one's self as is geographically possible" (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 237). Recognizing the inherent limitation of language in expressing and conveying complexities of experiential accounts of past, present and the future, the artistic methodology adopted for the research allows for artistic and visual communication regarding embodied life experiences and awareness (Cox, Guillemin, Boydell, 2020, p. 43). Participants are allowed to explore links between physical and psychological experiences (Boydell et al., 2020, p. 12, quoting Boydell), including the confessional and transformative (Sheridan, 1990, p. 175, referencing Foucault, 1976), which is argued to entail engaging in self-observing (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 238.

The use of the body mapping methodology is facilitated in a non-judgmental, supportive and safe workshop environment (Orchard, 2017, p. 2), which in turn encourages "non-verbal and non-textual ways to influence change" (Pain et al., 2010, p. 28). Evidence-based research findings are made available through the procedural and outcome-oriented benefits of the body mapping methodology, which allows individual embodied awareness and knowledge translation (Cox, Guillemin, Boydell, 2020, p. 38), while advancing social and community development (Boydell et al., 2020, p. 16).

The data collection for this research is conducted during 2 body mapping workshops and 1 exhibition. The 2 body mapping workshops organized are: 1) Body Mapping Violent Extremism and Countering Violent Extremism; and, 2) Body Mapping Reintegration. The first body mapping workshop is conducted in attendance of 10 community members from Mombasa, Kenya, who were identified together with local stakeholders, and who may be referred to as victims of terrorism due to their experiences of violent extremism (VE). In the absence of a definition of terrorism, no single definition exists for its victims. The research adopts the definition provided by the *Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power* (UNGA, 1985), according to which 'victim' refers to: "person[s] who, individually or collectively, have suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or substantial impairment of their fundamental rights, through acts or omissions that are in violation of criminal laws operative within Member States, including those proscribing criminal abuse of power" (UNGA, 1985, para. 1). Nevertheless, the aforementioned participants will be referred to as community members, as they are actively engaged in countering violent extremism (CVE) initiatives and do not wish to be collectively categorized as 'victims'. The second body mapping workshop is conducted in attendance of 6 returnees from Mombasa, Kenya, identified together with local stakeholders, and who identify as returnees.

As a data collection method, it is found that the body mapping methodology allows participants time for individual reflection prior to responding to knowledge inquiries (Guillemin and Drew, 2010, p. 181), as part of consideration for e.g. choice and use of colors and symbols, in contrast to

conventional research methods which prompt instant responses (Boydell et al., 2020, p. 13, quoting Boydell). The participants are supported to either conduct the process in silence or by articulating reasons and significance for specific choices and preferences of colors and symbols while creating the body maps. This reflection is found to defy linear narratives and invite developing connections between past events as participants "create multiple sites of meaning and signify different time points simultaneously" (Collings and Smith, 2020, p. 29). Previous research conducted by deploying the body mapping methodology has found that participants assess the methodology as "more flexible than other research [methods]" while providing "an enjoyable opportunity to reflect" on individual experiences (Boydell et al., 2020, p. 16).

4.1. Body Mapping in Practice

Body mapping in practice, by bringing together bodily experience and visual artistic expression, will allow participants to account for their individual reintegration process through painting a life-size representation of their body outline onto a large surface utilizing colors, pictures, symbols and words to represent bodily and cognitive experiences (Boydell et al., 2020).

At the initial stage, following facilitators creating a supportive and safe environment through various ice breaking exercises, the participants are introduced to the body mapping methodology, in order to establish an environment with reduced, if any, reluctance to creating and drawing (Cox, Guillemin, Boydell, 2020, p. 40). Further, group expectations and rules are agreed upon, including not interrupting or judging other participants' work, in order to maintain a supportive environment (Cox, Guillemin, Boydell, 2020, p. 40). The participants will proceed with considering a posture or position representative of their experience (Cox, Guillemin, Boydell, 2020, p. 40) in violent extremism (VE), and supporting another participant in tracing the outline of their body on the life-size canvas (Cox, Guillemin, Boydell, 2020, p. 38), This initiates the research observation and data collection of body maps, including participants experienced body mapping process, and participants' reflections on their body map creation process. The subsequent workshop sessions are guided by theoretically developed prompts from the researcher and facilitator, aligned with which participants chose and use colors, symbols and images to their body maps, to represent and visualize their experiences (Cox, Guillemin, Boydell, 2020, p. 41).

The guided visualization and the intersubjective body mapping sessions are combined with personal storytelling and group discussions, where the participants will reflect on the body maps displayed by others (Cox, Guillemin, Boydell, 2020, p. 38), reflect on their experience as well as relation to the community. This is found to add "another layer to the conversation" which "has the potential to deepen body mapping research" (Smith and Senior, 2020, p. 21).

4.2. Expected and Unexpected Audiences

It is encouraged to account for the audience anticipated to view the body maps, as participants' consideration and choices of the imagery and symbols to be included or excluded are "shaped by the explicitly or implicitly envisaged audience/s and by associated perceptions about the role of the audience/s" (Guillemin and Drew, 2010, p. 182). While perceived and unexpected audiences are discussed in relation to the image generation (Guillemin and Drew, 2010, p. 182) at the later stage of the body mapping workshops, the emphasis remains on the participants themselves as the main audience of the body maps created.

Nonetheless, the body mapping methodology is assessed as "beneficial for knowledge translation purposes" (Boydell, de Jager, Tewson and Vaughan, 2020, p. 104), including through academic publications and art exhibitions – of which the latter complements formal publications as an appealing way to disseminate research findings, which further allows for new interpretation of the data portrayed (Boydell, de Jager, Tewson and Vaughan, 2020, p. 105). Exhibiting research findings allows for advancing audience reach, and has demonstrated to enhance the relevant research literacy among members of the audience (Boydell, de Jager, Tewson and Vaughan, 2020, p. 105), while assessed effective in "encouraging empathy and understanding" (Boydell, de Jager, Tewson and Vaughan, 2020, p. 105). The latter directly aligns with the objectives of this research, and is supported by how audience members of previous body mapping exhibitions related to other thematic areas have accounted for "greater empathy for, and understanding of, the experiences" (Boydell, de Jager, Tewson and Vaughan, 2020, p. 109) of the body mappers', while denouncing negative connotations associated with the specific topics (Boydell, de Jager, Tewson and Vaughan, 2020, p. 109). The audience members' understanding for the visualized embodied experience is argued to include analogy to the body, i.e. "we understand what we understand about others' embodied experiences based on our own bodies" (Boydell, de Jager, Tewson and Vaughan, 2020, p. 110, referencing Merleau-Ponty, 2012). Hence, the body maps created by community members will subsequently be displayed as an exhibit where Civil Society Organization (CSO), County Commission (CC), County Government (CG) and Law Enforcement (LE) representatives from Mombasa can partake in discussion on the use of the body mapping methodology to address challenges in countering violent extremism and reintegration, while anonymity of participating community members are maintained. The body maps created by returnees will not be displayed, in agreement with the individual participants (see Chapter 5, *Limitations and Delimitations*). The audience engagement during the exhibition will further contribute to the empirical knowledge produced. Following viewing of the exhibited body maps, audience members are invited to briefly account for what their experience of the exhibition is, by expressing themselves through drawing. Through this, audience members will gain further understanding for the methodology used by participants creating the exhibited body maps.

Through the methodological structure of the research, *community members* are provided the opportunity to reflect on the reintegration experience and relation to the returnees and security

personnel through the body mapping methodology, while *returnees* are provided an opportunity to reflect on their reintegration experience and relation to community members and security personnel. Hence, the body mapping workshop and subsequent audience engagement during exhibitions allow establishing a platform to wage sensitive cultural and political issues in a non-conflictual dialogue, which challenges preconceptions and bias of all involved (Tolia-Kelly, 2010, pp. 132-134).

5. Limitations and Delimitations

As part of a geographical assessment, the participating community members and returnees were delimited to include individuals residing in Mombasa, Kenya, i.e. a geographical area affected by violent extremism (VE). The participating community members are locally categorized as victims of terrorism, and engaged in initiatives to counter violent extremism. The participating returnees were limited to include individuals identifying as Muslim, which is not to ignore that individuals identifying with other or no religion, and from different socioeconomic backgrounds and ethnic communities, engage in VE. Nevertheless, triangulation of the snowball sampling notes that majority of the returnees in Mombasa identify as Muslim, for which the limitation served as a delimitation. Further, the research sample was delimited to focus on returnees who are in a position to assess their reintegration process and who are not in conflict with the law, i.e. not engaged in the criminal justice system nor previously incarcerated. The returnees were delimited to include those previously associated with al-Shabaab and no other domestic secessionist group or VE organization.

A significant limitation of the study is the absence of an opportunity for participating groups, i.e. returnees and community members respectively, to reflect on the artistic accounts of the other group in subsequent exhibitions. This is beyond the scope of the current research, but following phases of the piloted initiative will serve to engage returnees and community members in body mapping exhibitions to expose participants to the artistic output of each other, in order to enhance the understanding between the groups.

The current research was delimited to exhibit the artistic output of the community members to security representatives. The absence of elaborate security personnel reflections in relation to the community members' artistic accounts poses a limitation, attributed to the limitation in time during the exhibition, while assessed beyond the scope of the current research. A further limitation is the absence of security personnel reflections in relation to the returnee's artistic accounts. This was assessed appropriate in order to mitigate risks in relation to the sensitivity and securitization of reintegration, and in order to preserve the confidentiality of participants, while honoring the wish of the participating returnees to refrain from exhibiting body maps in close time proximity to the artistic engagement. However, participating returnees have given their consent for the body maps to be displayed as part of research findings and in later exhibitions (see Chapter 6, *Ethical Considerations*). Following phases of the initiative will serve to engage security representatives in body mapping activities, while exposing security representatives to the artistic output of each group, in order to enhance the understanding between all actors.

6. Ethical Considerations

The ethical considerations for this research commence by accounting for ethical aspects of visual methodologies, including power relations (Harley and Langdon, 2018), while subsequently categorized as per the *European Commission Ethics in Social Science and Humanities* (2018b) and divided to regard; 1) participants' "rights, safety, well-being and interests" (European Commission, 2018b, p. 4); 2) community "engaged and involved in the research" (European Commission, 2018b, p. 4); and, 3) society, related to the potential contributions of the research "in effecting socially useful and valued development and change" and "avoiding potential misuse or unintended consequences of research results" (European Commission, 2018b, p. 4), as well as aligned with principles of, by National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) accredited, Institutional Ethics Review Committees (IERCs) (NACOSTI, 2019). Risk mitigation measures are continuously assessed throughout the research project.

6.1. Participatory Methods and Power Relations

It is important to note that participatory methods may reinforce, rather than challenge, power relations (Harley and Langdon, 2018, referencing Gallagher, 2008, p. 137). Participatory art methods continue to be assessed as "giving voice to those who may not otherwise be heard" (Guillemin and Drew, 2010, p. 177), which assumes that participants are 'voiceless' and unable to exercise their agency in accounting for their experiences as opposed to under guidance of a researcher (Harley and Langdon, 2018). However, the participatory body mapping methodology is not adopted for 'giving' allegedly 'voiceless' participants a voice, as this would undermine the objective of the research and contradict the perception of participants as "thinking beings with the agency to theorize their own struggles and determine their own futures" (Harley and Langdon, 2018) and their inherent ability to use their voices.

The methodology will solely provide a new and alternative way to communicate the embodied experience, which is often difficult to articulate verbally (Guillemin and Drew, 2010, p. 178), and allows participants to explore how the *intersubjective body mapping* methodology can be used to advance dialogue and addressing challenges in reintegration, including understanding and trust, in a way previously unexplored. The participant framed process further emphasizes the agency of participants in establishing societal change, through individual and collective decision making in relation to the how the research process and output are used (Harley and Langdon, 2018). The body mapping methodology is assessed to diffuse power relations as authority and power are allocated from the researcher to the participants (Boydell, de Jager, Tewson and Vaughan, 2020, p. 104). This includes allowing participants to direct duration and pace of the workshops and their work, detect distress and agitation among participants, while providing the opportunity to break or stop the process would participants wish to do so (Collings and Smith, 2020, p.35). It is also found that the participants using the body mapping methodology are granted the explicit moderating

disposition to disclose as much as they see appropriate and acceptable as part of the research (Smith and Senior, 2020, p. 24).

The study adopts an ethics of care-model, which recognizes the contingency of ethical concerns in conduct of research through visual methodologies (Harley and Langdon, 2018) and prioritizes the expressed emotions by participants throughout the research. The subjective role of the researcher and facilitator are acknowledged, as questions and prompts presented to participants in relation to reflection and production of body maps, inevitably shape the perception of the research among participants (Guillemin and Drew, 2010, p. 185). In order to mitigate the risk that participants portray images they believe they should portray, in relation to the researcher and an anticipated audience, attention is paid to the framing of the project – conducted in a safe space in which participants chose what to disclose and how to portray their experiences.

6.2. Participants' Rights, Safety, Well-being and Interests

The successful outcome of any rehabilitation or reintegration related program relies on the voluntary participation of any participant (GCTF, 2012, p. 6). In order to ensure that participants voluntarily participate in the research, including workshops and exhibitions, informed consent is obtained prior to participant involvement in the research (European Commission, 2018b, pp. 5, 11, 13) while the objective of the research and methodology for data collection regarding their reintegration experience is transparently communicated with full disclosure of any risks of involvement (European Commission, 2018b, p. 13). [See Annex I: Participant Consent Form – Community Members; and, Annex II: Participant Consent Form – Returnees]

The clarification on objective will further serve to manage potential expectations on the research (European Commission, 2018b, p. 12). It is important to note that the process of participants producing visual output as part of research, as well as the interpretation of the same, may alter the participants understanding of the objectives throughout the process (Harley and Langdon, 2018, citing Guillemin & Drew, 2010, p. 175). For this reason, consideration is paid to individuals who at any stage of the production of artistic output may want to withdraw from the research, by ensuring the possibility for participants to opt out of the research process (European Commission, 2018b, pp. 12-13). Would participants wish to withdraw, their artistic output produced thus far would not be displayed nor analyzed. Methodological elaboration allows for active engagement, while unambiguous data protection measures, including safe storing and anonymization of artistic output, individual accounts and data, mitigates risks for participant identification in the unlikely event of unauthorized access to data or equipment (European Commission, 2018a, p. 7; European Commission, 2018b, pp. 13-14, 18).

Further, as the objective of the research is to explore the use of the body mapping methodology, secondary use of the data collected may be applicable in subsequent publications of the research. Previous body mapping research has noted limited consideration prior to research as to whom

maintains ownership of the body maps produced (Guillemin and Drew, 2010, p. 180). For this reason, the consent from participants regards the voluntary participation in the current research, as well as secondary use of the data collected (European Commission, 2018a, pp. 11-12), while informing that it may not be possible to recall material after it has been made public (Guillemin and Drew, 2010, p. 181). Due to practical reasons related to storage of large artworks, as well as publication or display of the produced body maps (Cox, Guillemin and Boydell, 2020, p. 44), the participants can choose between keeping the body map canvas or to receive prints of their work in A2 format.

Risks related to accounting for previous traumatic events (Boydell and Orchard, 2020, p. 128, quoting Orchard), including re-traumatization, stigmatization and harm to the individual participant, are mitigated through the safeguarding of integrity and privacy of all participants. The researcher and facilitator have relevant expertise for the conduct of the research and body mapping workshops, while a psychotherapist is engaged in consultative capacity as part of the body mapping workshops and research process.

Integrating an understanding of trauma in the use of the body mapping process, Collings and Smith (2020, p. 35) encourages mindfulness practices in order for individuals to "observe feelings rather than react to them" (Collings and Smith, 2020, p. 35, referencing van der Kolk, 2015, p. 128). Exercises to connect to the current moment are integrated throughout the research process. Furthermore, participants, researcher and facilitator alike are ensured to have continuous access to the expertise of the engaged psychotherapist. The risk of harm to participants post-body mapping is posed by continued reflections and reactions following the workshop (Cox, Guillemin and Boydell, 2020, pp. 43-44; Collings and Smith, 2020, p. 34). Hence, continued contact with facilitators and local support providers, is ensured.

Participants will be informed that unintentional production of findings which are beyond the scope of the research question and which may require additional action, such as disclosure of criminal activity or harm to others, will be reported to authorities as per legal obligations (European Commission, 2018b, p. 14). Non-harmful incidental findings as part of the research are absorbed by the overarching research project and objective.

6.3. Community Engaged and Involved in the Research

Returnees and community and community members engaged in CVE initiatives may be targeted with retaliation from former and current extremist associates (Dean and Kessels, 2018, p. 50; GCTF, 2012, p. 10; GCTF, 2016, p. 5). For this reason, precautionary security measures are undertaken in order to ensure risks are mitigated, including confidentiality of the nature of the workshop maintained in relation to venue and location, while timings and information regarding the workshops remain non-public until conclusion of the workshops.

For security reasons, continuous risk assessments and measures adopt an individual and societal perspective (European Commission, 2018b, pp. 16, 18) in promoting social, physical, psychological well-being as well as safe spaces for returnees, communities and stakeholders during research conduct. Due to the sensitivity of the research topic and the necessity of returnee, community and security participation (European Commission, 2018b, p. 21), systematic risk assessment for the design, implementation and post-research stages are continuous.

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, current Government of Kenya (GoK) restrictions, related to limiting the number of people gathered in one location, are adhered to. Participants are assigned their individual work space during body mapping workshops, while movement is restricted in the conference hall where the workshops are held. Furthermore, adequate supply of masks and hand sanitizer is provided.

6.4. Society – Development, Change and Unintended Consequences

The research conducted is aligned with identified local research needs in relation to reintegration (European Commission, 2018b, p. 17), as per consultation with local stakeholders, CSOs, returnees and security representatives (Mykkanen, 2020). The research conduct and objective, including development of the *intersubjective body mapping* methodology, will strengthen local capacities in development and implementation of reintegration strategies. Further, partnership and collaboration with local stakeholders is essential to ensure that body mapping is conducted within established relationships (Boydell et al., 2020, p. 11, quoting LS) while promoting sustainability of the initiative, for which stakeholder engagement in planning and implementation of activities is ensured. The research results will be validated by participants ahead of dissemination and publication of findings, for which partnerships are vital in facilitating knowledge translation to those most interested and benefiting of the research findings (Boydell et al., 2020, p. 16).

The artistic intervention will further complement the *Kenyan National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism* (KNSCVE) (GoK, 2016), including the following Pillars: 1) Psychosocial; acknowledging the importance of mental health and healing; 3) Political; by engaging in dialogue with political leaders on local, county and national levels; 4) Security; on adequate engagement of law enforcement; 6) Training and Capacity Building; on awareness and capacity of stakeholders in CVE engagements; 7) Arts and Culture; by building community resilience with acknowledged commonalities and differences; 8) Legal and Policy; in developing informed policy frameworks for CVE; and, 9) Media and Online; by peaceful engagement between rehabilitated individuals and communities (GoK, 2016).

7. Findings

The body mapping workshop with *community members* was focused on violent extremism (VE) and the role of the individuals in countering violent extremism (CVE), including relations with returnees and their reintegration. The body mapping workshop with *returnees* was focused on their reintegration process and relations to community. Within the context of guided facilitation, community members and returnees in respective body mapping workshops created the, herein included, body maps. The participant generated body maps are presented in respective following section, order to facilitate interpretive engagement of findings. Following the presentation of the body maps, the findings of the body mapping workshops with invited community members and returnees respectively will be introduced, as they account for the process of body mapping, their intentions in relation to body mapping and illustrations, and for participants to guide interpretation of artistic output in relation to their experiences and anticipated audiences. The section concludes with a presentation of findings from the exhibition attended by Civil Society Organization (CSO), County Commission (CC), County Government (CG) and Law Enforcement (LE) representatives, which accounts for audience engagement and perception of the displayed body maps.

7.1. Community Members Body Mapping

In their body maps, participating community members were guided to express in symbols and colors their experiences, and important moments, in relation to violent extremism (VE) as well as countering violent extremism (CVE). It was deemed necessary to discuss the individual definition of VE with participating community members. Further, participants were encouraged to illustrate their perceptions of VE and returnees, as well as their perceptions of how violent extremists and returnees perceive community members. Accounting for the past, present and future, participants further elaborated on their envisioned roles in CVE, which included accounts of co-existence with returnees, and advancing understanding and trust among individuals. Participant reflections on their individual body maps as well as the process of body mapping are collated from storytelling sessions during and after the body mapping workshop.

7.1.1. Community Members' Body Maps

Image 1: Body Map of Community Member (CM) 1

Image 2: Body Map of Community Member 2 (CM2)

Image 3: Body Map of Community Member 3 (CM3)

Image 4: Body Map of Community Member 4 (CM4)

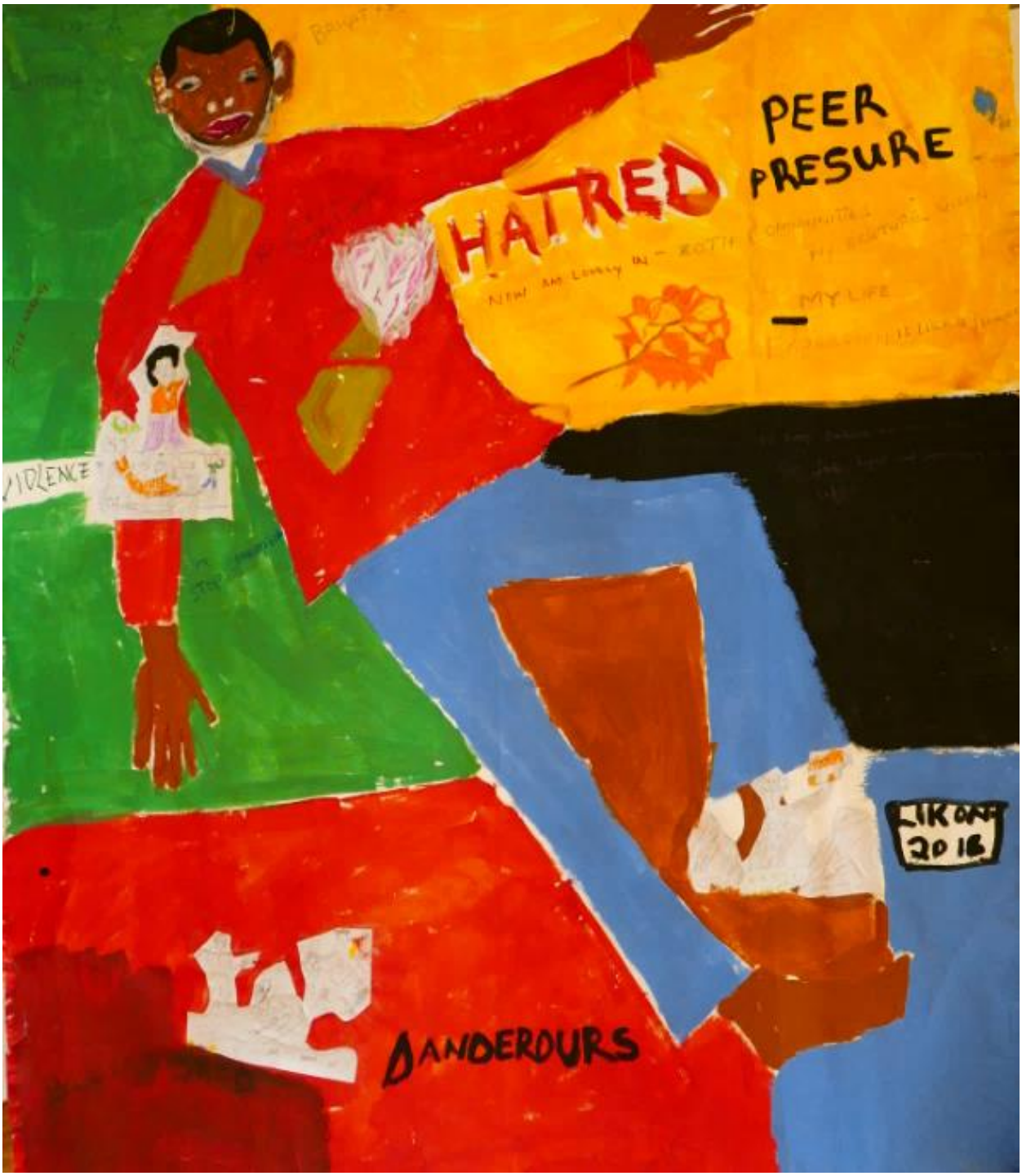

Image 5: Body Map of Community Member 5 (CM5)

Image 6: Body Map of Community Member 6 (CM6)

Image 7: Body Map of Community Member 7 (CM7)

Image 8: Body Map of Community Member 8 (CM8)

Image 9: Body Map of Community Member 9 (CM9)

Image 10: Body Map of Community Member 10 (CM10)

7.1.2. Important Moments Related to Violent Extremism

When asked to portray, through symbols, illustration and colors, important moments related to violent extremism (VE) in their lives, majority of participants portray law enforcement personnel. The police officers are depicted to illustrate "arrest" (CM2; CM5; CM10); "shock" (CM8; CM10); "extrajudicial killing" and "torture" of a violent extremist youth as well as religious leaders in the community (CM4; CM2; CM10), with CM1 portraying "the killing of my brother" (CM1); as well as "extrajudicial violence" (CM2), including in places of worship (CM1; CM2; CM4; CM5). By illustrating weapons, participants note "harassment" by law enforcement (CM1; CM2; CM4; CM5); "gun shots" (CM2); "stigmatization" (CM10); and, "discrimination" (CM8). CM10 elaborates; "The community discriminated me, and wherever I went I seemed [to be] a burden to someone" (CM10). CM6 adds; "I was discriminated against, and labeled 'al-Shabaab' as my brother was instrumental in persuading and convincing the recruits" (CM6). Participants illustrate teargas, which represents "living in fear and false accusations" (CM1), and violent protests, during which CM7 recalls; "My house was lit on fire", and continues; "I struggled a lot choking on smoke and escaped through the window" (CM7). One participant illustrates the "abaya" [Muslim attire] (CM10) which she recalls was worn by Muslim women as well as al-Shabaab members, making it impossible to "differentiate who is who, nor their genders" (CM10). In meetings with abaya-dressed female community members, CM10 recalls; "I was forcing my friend to hold my hand for assurance" (CM10).

Participants account for the loss of family members due to violent extremism (CM1; CM4; CM8; CM9; CM10). CM1 illustrates the loss of her brother, who was "shot in front of his children" (CM1) and CM9 shares: "The last I spoke to [my son], he told me he was being shot and I could hear the gun shots, and I have not heard from him ever since" (CM9). CM10 portrays the loss of her husband, who "disappeared" (CM10). She continues; "I didn't get to burry him. My children ask where their father is, and I have no answers to them" (CM10). CM8 illustrates guns and depicts the loss of her husband who "was shot nine times" (CM8), and shares; "[t]hey just asked him his name, he answered, and they killed him by shooting him [with] eight bullets in the stomach and the ninth in the head, and he fell down" (CM8). Some participants share having contemplated suicide (CM5; CM6; CM8; CM10), and one participant discloses; "I had decided to either hang myself or poison my whole family so that we may escape our troubles" (CM10).

Red and black are used by a majority of the participants for negative experiences and emotions (CM1; CM2; CM4; CM5; CM8; CM10) and for hope, participants have used green (CM2; CM5) and white (CM1; CM2; CM4; CM9). Explaining colors used for painting her legs, CM9 explains; "I painted my legs brown, from the red soil, since I would just walk and walk and walk, during challenges" (CM9) and demonstrates the chosen posture; "I hold my head in the body map, and before I would just hold my head and think" (CM9). CM 2 describes; "Staring from my feet here, I painted black, which illustrates my growing up and I didn't know what to do. The white color is when I embraced education. […] Then comes the green color [which] symbolizes the fruits I gained from my education" (CM2). CM1 elaborates on her use of colors in relation to VE, stating;

"I have used three colors, but the white [positive connotation] takes a larger space. […] I have also mixed white and black, meaning my past troubles, but now I have been accepted back into the community without any discrimination" (CM1). CM4 notes; "Yellow is like a sun which gives me light" (CM4). CM2 describes that, during the workshop; "before we sat down to discuss violent extremism, we were given a chance to draw our bodies first and then a chance to select the colors that would express our inner feelings in relation to our past experiences, and every color had a meaning, whether positive or negative" (CM2).

7.1.3. Important Moments Related to Countering Violent Extremism

Describing important moments in relation to countering violent extremism (CVE), participants illustrate "healing" (CM10); "dialogue" and "creating good relationships" with those involved in violent extremism (VE) (CM1; CM2; CM4); "mentorship" programs (CM2); "critical thinking" (CM2); "employment" and vocational training (CM2; CM10); and "counselling" (CM1; CM4; CM8; CM10), related to which CM8 notes "[b]efore then I couldn't even speak" and how "it helped forget the painful thoughts" (CM8). Further moments include "creating awareness" (CM10), through which CM4 recalls being able "to inform others how bad it is to end up in violent extremism" and "to be good [role] models in the community" (CM4; CM8). Illustrations include a butterfly, which is accounted to "resemble the process of a rehabilitated victim" (CM2). Flowers (CM2; CM5; CM10) and plants (CM9) symbolize "positivity" and "solutions" (CM2 CM5; CM9; CM10). A participant describes the symbol of a bleeding heart: "My heart was broken, because I saw myself as hated, but while hated by the police I felt love in the community, and my heart healed" (CM5). CM3 elaborates on the use of different colors for feet and the immediate background; "because I want greener pasture and a better tomorrow, and my legs and feet are for mobility, and maybe I have walked through different situations, but I want a better tomorrow. That is why I painted one foot green and the other one in mixed colors" (CM3).

A participant retells her reaction to the initial support from a community member; "I didn't see her as able to better my life in any way, as things continued to worsen. But eventually, I changed my mind" (CM10). Another participant adds; "[N]ow I'm strong as steel, and I desire to be blessed with long life and ability to speak to others about my experience" (CM9). Portraying flowers and stones, CM10 elaborates; "I now have courage to stand up before those facing similar challenges as mine, to share with them and show them the way out of their situations" (CM10); and explains that the stones symbolize "all those burdens", and the flowers as "a point where I began getting happiness" (CM10).

7.1.4. Definition of Violent Extremism

When inquiring for participants' individual definitions of violent extremism (VE), participants portray symbols for "hatred" (CM7); "unlawful" (CM4); "harmful" (CM4); "verbal and mental violence" (CM3); "spreading religion illegally" (CM3; CM6) by targeting women and youth

through radicalization; “engaging in war against other religions” (CM3) and terming others as “infidels” (CM6); “gender based violence” (CM3); “using firearms to harm others” (CM3); “hatred towards the government” (CM3); “black or white view of an individual” (CM2); and, a group which “come together with a common goal” (CM8). Participants further portray individuals who “violently agree or disagree with something” (CM1), which is “escalated by lack of scrutiny of friends we choose to have” (CM5), while they “mislead, destroy, fight, or kill people” (CM1). Participants note radicalization to VE and terrorism is difficult for parents to notice (CM1; CM8; CM10), and that; “every parent’s wish is to bring up children with good morals, which begins at home” (CM10), yet “if you try to give [youth] advice, they will disappear and you’ll never see them” (CM8). CM8 concludes; “That is what my son did” (CM8). CM9 shares; “My boy is there and he is dead. I know what I am talking about. It is a snake, and it has already bit me” (CM9).

7.1.5. Community Perceptions of Violent Extremists

Following accounts for individual definitions of violent extremism (VE), participants were encouraged to consider the individuals part of the defined concept. When portraying symbols for how participants perceive violent extremists, illustrations include “gang man” (CM6), “murderer” (CM7) and “killer” (CM6; CM8); “insensitive” (CM3), describing someone “who has no mercy” (CM3); “confident and fearless” with strong principles and followers (CM1); and not “God fearing” which “makes them do evil” (CM1). An illustration of a “court” building is depicted as the need for justice (CM9). CM6 elaborates on the drawing of a radically religious woman; “although she seems good on the outside, she is a killer [on the] inside” (CM6). Weapons portray “gunmen and machete men” (CM9) who make “peace disappear and my flowers wither” (CM9), while shackles are used to symbolize “oppressor” (CM3), and tears depicting “destroyer” (CM4). “Dangerous” (CM2; CM3; CM4; CM8; CM10) is illustrated by bloodshed (CM3), the use of red color (CM10), a skull (CM2), and a red cross (CM4), and “furious” (CM2) is portrayed by a face of someone whom “cannot handle conflict” (CM2). CM2 further notes; “[t]he extremist also is a human being, so at times they also feel isolated too” (CM2). CM3 adds, illustrating a faceless person; “because any person who can be an extremist is not dark, black, white or anything, he could be anyone. He is faceless and an angry person” (CM3). CM6 notes “they shoot and also do good things” (CM6), and elaborates; “a person cannot be completely bad, but has both bad and good” (CM6). CM 5 adds; “I see violent extremists as people ever on opposing sides; both sides incite their supporters to violence” (CM5).

7.1.6. Violent Extremists’ Perceptions of Community Members, as Perceived by Community Members

Participants believe violent extremists perceive them as “weak” (CM3: CM1) for not “defending [my] rights” (CM1); “timid” and “vulnerable” (CM3); as a “snitch” (CM4); the “enemy” (CM5); and “coward” (CM1) for not “revenging what happened to [me]” (CM1). CM1 illustrates

"opportunity" with the symbol of hands, portraying VE as "an act of reaching out to victims to persuade them to join" (CM1). Individuals drawn to sit in a circle portray "victim" (CM5; CM6), which illustrates; "although we are seen as victims and discriminated against, we still have our small social and economical groupings [in which] we unite to help each other" (CM6). CM2 further notes; "[m]aybe there's a time when they will recognize the evil in what they are doing and would need me to mentor and counsel them into the straight path" (CM2). CM7 further adds "advisor" and "trustworthy".

The drawing of a gun illustrates "killer" and a knife representing "evil" (CM6) as accounts for perceptions of returnees attributed to community members. "Informer" (CM4; CM6; CM10) and someone "spreading rumors" (CM6) are illustrated by a bomb and a radio phone respectively, and "betrayer" (CM7; CM8), "obstacle" and "destroyer" of the violent extremist agenda are portrayed by handcuffs and a broken brick wall, which "they are trying to erect and I destroy" (CM2). Drawing a burning tire, a participant explains; "[T]hose who joined violent extremists are regretting why they joined them in the first place. We [community members] wish they returned and told us their stories but due to mistrust, they hide, and [we] wish to just burn them with tires around their necks, yet they want to come to us for help" (CM9).

7.1.7. Envisioning My Role in Countering Violent Extremism

While envisioning for their roles in society and how to improve CVE efforts, participants reflect on forgiveness, peace keeping, co-existence with returnees, building trust, and law enforcement measures against VE and terrorism.

Participants note; "[W]e have come to realize that there's no shortcut, we must just accept [the returnees]" (CM9), and acknowledge; "[f]or the violent extremist to build trust with us is quite hard, so for him to tell [you] his inner secrets is not easy" (CM2). Participants further elaborate on the necessity to "embrace peace and reconciliation, and not to stigmatize or show resentment towards [returnees]" (CM3), through "finding out their reasons for why they did what they did, offer help when needed, rehabilitate them, and correct them to be good citizens in the society" (CM8) and "giving right information to those misinformed about religion" (CM7). CM6 continues; "Another thing is that once we accept these youths back in our communities we should continue showing them good examples and encourage them to be engaged in mentoring others. We should also offer them leadership roles in the community and schools, without forgetting to give them hope" (CM6). Participants explain the use of different colors in hands, stating; "my hand can do either positive or negative things" (CM6), and; "as I meet different people with different perspectives about life, we still try to embrace each other" (CM3).

Another participant further elaborates on law enforcement measures, noting; "We do dialogues with the police, and through those dialogues we often ask the police why they instead of arresting people who have done wrong, arrest even the innocent?" (CM2). It is further noted that; "[M]any returnees are unable to present themselves to the police, because most of the police are also

traumatized, [and] have not been trained in how to handle the returnees, and so you find what they do, whenever they see them, is to shoot" (CM9). It is noted the situation creates further inequalities, and returnees "are forced to engage in crime" (CM9), for which it is encouraged that "police is invited in our sessions" (CM9).

Some participants acknowledge norms upholding violent extremism, and for CVE initiatives, CM3 explains; "I think empowering men is important, because some men believe that a woman cannot tell them anything" (CM3). CM6 emphasizes the importance of "helping youths and men to identify the proper ways and company for his positive growth" (CM6).

7.1.8. Trust and Understanding

Specifically elaborating on challenges related to trust and understanding between community members and returnees, participants note the importance of forgiveness, enhancing understanding, building trust and providing support.

CM3 illustrates a heart shaped symbol against a black background, depicting "forgiveness" (CM3) and elaborates; "[forgiveness] is in the mind, so we have to forgive whoever did whatever to you, and it has to come from your inner mind to your heart" (CM3). CM8 notes; "I need to be humble because I don't understand what their reason for killing my husband was, but I have to move closer to them and even I am ready to ask them for forgiveness" (CM8), and CM10 adds; "first step on their return is to forgive them for the past, but remember, there's always fear" (CM10).

The importance of "understanding how each one of them has been affected and hence forge a bond of trust as victims" (CM6) is assessed as necessary. CM1 elaborates; "there are many returnees, whom we still do not understand, if they need help, or anything else" (CM1). She continues; "We need to move closer to them, they are human, who may have been through a lot out there, we need not discriminate them, but rather welcome them back into the community, befriend them. We need to build trust, to get more information from them and be able help our youths who continue to disappear" (CM1).

CM2 notes "building trust is a process" (CM2), which requires "through me showing them love, and by co-operating with them" (CM7); "exchange ideas" (CM4); and "support in developing self-esteem so that they can discover themselves, where they really are, their strengths, and their weaknesses" (CM2). A participant further elaborates on individual responsibility: "Suppose the community discriminates [the returnee]. I would not allow a returnee who has travelled all that distance to come back home and reform to continue being discriminated against" (CM10).

7.1.9. Body Mapping – Reflections on the Process

When describing the experienced process of *intersubjective body mapping*, participants reflect on challenges, sensations, feelings, expression, processing and a shared sense of unity. None of the participants had previously used art to express themselves or account for experiences.

A participant explains; "[A]t first I thought 'wow, how can you draw a person who is anxious, or a killer?' so, you have to think a lot, like 'what is the expression, the symbol, what colors?'. It is not like using words, or a pen and paper" (CM3). A number of participants note the most challenging part of the experience was expressions related to the face and the head (CM3; CM6; CM7; CM8), elaborating; "I wrote trauma close to my head, for all my issues troubled me mentally" (CM8); and how "[t]ere are things I'm carrying not in my heart but in my mind" (CM7); and noting; "[y]ou can hate somebody from the heart but forgiving and forgetting is from the head" (CM3).

Participants note the use of the methodology has contributed to feeling "relaxed (CM2; CM1); "comfortable" (CM2); "grateful" (CM2; CM3; CM6; CM7; CM8; CM10); "happy" (CM3; CM7; CM8); "strong" (CM8); "proud" (CM3); and, a sense of "relief" (CM3). A participant observes; "Body mapping built my confidence, that I was able to draw things I never thought I could" (CM2). Throughout the workshop, participants have shared their experience with family members (CM3; CM4; CM6; CM9) and one mentions "I slept, dreaming being in the workshop" (CM10).

Participants describe how the body mapping methodology has eased expression; "because there were things I couldn't orally share because they were hidden within my heart […] but I have discovered that those things that would be hard to share by speaking can easily be shared through drawing" (CM10); and, "[w]hat you can't explain verbally or orally, you can express it emotionally using art and paint" (CM2). A participant explains; "Before the body mapping we may have had some tools to use in exploration of the effects of violent extremism, but I don't think they were as easy or friendly. We seemed to still struggle through our feelings and trauma" (CM1). Others note; "I was able to draw myself and put all I have been through by the use of images and colors" (CM4); "I have learnt how to express my feelings through a picture, and it is a big discovery to me" (CM5); and, "I only knew verbal self-expression, and at times one is not able to speak about what is heavy, but I understand that even through pictures one can still express herself" (CM8).

In relation to processing events, participants note how body mapping has supported understanding of "oneself" (CM3; CM6; CM10) and "others" (CM4; CM9), while allowing expression of "whatever it is you wish to express and however you wish to express it" (CM10). Participants note; "When you look at it, you see yourself through that picture, and get an understanding that life is always ups and downs, that there are challenges and good times" (CM2); and, "colors can easily express all the troubles one had been through" (CM4). Elaborating on their choice of colors used in their body maps, a participant observes; "You see those colors reflecting pain, positive or negative, in mine or somebody else's life" (CM3). CM10 continues; "I feel like, as if I'm not the same person who came here on day one. I have changed and feel different" (CM10). CM1 adds;

“You cannot lose someone when using the body map, [because] it captures one” (CM1). Participants describe how the body mapping has; “helped more in self-awareness, it reminded of all I have experienced one after the other and different aspects of my life” (CM7); and, “I felt peaceful when I painted what I felt in my body” (CM9), while another notes; “At first, it wasn’t easy for me to handle conflict, but with body mapping, I could really understand what brings anger in me, and how to solve that anger” (CM2). CM1 reflects on how; “My body map has reminded me I have come very far, from that to here” (CM1). Using symbols, a participant indicates helpful for “showing where and how I am hurting through the picture” (CM6) and “areas in my body that needs help and healing“ (CM6).

Further, the sharing of experiences throughout the process is noted by CM10, who states; “I now know I’m not the only one with such experiences, but there many more like me who have experienced the same, and it made me forget my loneliness” (CM10). CM9 shares the sense of unity, noting; “I am not the only one carrying the load” (CM9). CM2 describes how “the sessions build deeper interactions and trust between participants, which is quite nice” (CM2).

7.1.10. Anticipated and Unanticipated Audience

In the intentional absence of discussions on subsequent exhibitions of the participant generated body maps, participants indicate producing parts of their body maps for a perceived or imagined audience, including other victims of VE (CM1; CM2; CM10); and, “[a]nyone who can benefit from my story or experience” (CM10), in order to “show them in life no matter what happens to them, for them to choose that path of violent extremism is not a good option” (CM2); and youth (CM1; CM7), noting; “I would explain to them each and every aspect of my body map” (CM7). Another participant expresses wanting the community and government to see their body maps (CM5); “because they made me struggle so much to the extent that I lost hope wondering if I was going to die” (CM5). CM3 elaborates; “It is not just about keeping it to you, but about opening up and reaching out to others who are also victims of extremism. […] I would like the world to see it” (CM3).

7.2. Returnees Body Mapping

In their body maps, participating returnees were guided to express in symbols and colors their experiences, and important moments, in relation to reintegration. It was deemed necessary to discuss the individual challenges and achievements experienced as part of reintegration. Further, participants were encouraged to illustrate their definitions of themselves as returnees, as well as their perceptions of how community members perceive them as returnees. Accounting for past, present and future, participants further elaborated on their envisioned roles in reintegration, which included accounts of co-existence with community, and advancing understanding and trust among individuals. Participant reflections on their individual body maps as well as the process of body mapping are collated from storytelling sessions during and after the body mapping workshop.

7.2.1. Returnees' Body Maps

Image 11: Body Map of Returnee 1 (R1)

Image 12: Body Map of Returnee 2 (R2)

Image 13: Body Map of Returnee 3 (R3)

Image 14: Body Map of Returnee 4 (R4)

Image 15: Body Map of Returnee 5 (R5)

Image 16: Body Map of Returnee 6 (R6)

7.2.2. Important Moments Related to Reintegration

When asked to portray, with symbols and colors, an important moment as part of their reintegration process, participants account for the challenges in communities of origin, processes of radicalization, incidents immediately after their return to Kenya, as well as current relations with communities as part of their reintegration process.

R2 illustrates his departure from his village of origin, where he was "happy to have been raised" and "enjoying as a kid" (R2), but notes that; "after I grew up, I realized there was something I was supposed to do and was considered a warrior", and that, "I was not considered as an important pillar in the community, after which I decided to do whatever I decided, on my own" (R2). R5 elaborates through an image of a Sheikh, holding a Quran and whose "dress code and beard are symbols" for radical views (R5) how "[the Sheikh] used the Quran and other Islamic books to enlighten and make me feel more comfortable in this life, preaching radicalized messages and negative ideologies of religion, [and] how to join or be recruited into al-Shabaab" (R5). R4 notes: "On arrival in Somalia, we realized more challenges there, [and] you are forced to come back, and coming home is another big challenge" (R4). R5 adds depictions of "black sheds" which "symbolize the hardship at the place we were staying. We were in darkness, not knowing what to do there" (R5). Portraying symbols of a globe, the sky, a moon, a sun and the ocean, R4 accounts for illustrating; "I'm not just from my mum's womb, but there's a reason why I came here" (R4), referencing his radicalization and return. Another participant chose to portray his return to Kenya by sea, and accounts; "[My] little boat is being overwhelmed by the strong waves and I fear drowning" (R3), while in close proximity R3 notes the presence of a government helicopter, "monitoring" him (R3). He continues; "After coming from where I left [Somalia], life was difficult, represented by being in the ocean here, surrounded by strong waves beating against me" (R3). R1 states; "I used colors instead of pictures to express myself", portraying the color red as dangerous when he returned from Somalia, which fades into a green color when he was "given some new hope" (R1) through the support of local organizations engaged in reintegration. The color fades into white, symbolizing "peace" (R1), prior to the color green emerging again with nuances of yellow, which R1 elaborates to symbolize; "there's another danger looming, because our friends are disappearing here, and we have fear because of it" (R1).

7.2.3. Challenges in Reintegration

When illustrating challenges as part of their reintegration process, all participants make reference to the amnesty granted to returnees, while noting the first stages upon return as dangerous and difficult.

Using colors to portray emotions as part of challenging experiences, participants use the color red to portray danger by and towards themselves (R1; R2; R4; R6). R1 notes; "When I returned, I was [perceived as] danger" and R6 emphasizes that upon return; "there were some killings and kidnappings, and you wake in the morning and you are told someone was been killed, so there was

a fright and panic in us" (R6), which he illustrates with the color red, followed by black for how he perceives government action and extrajudicial killings contributing to "losing all hope into blackness again, without knowing what to do" (R6). R2 notes, that upon arrival, he could not "sleep at home" (R2) and continues; "[W]e were always moving around until one day we heard amnesty has been granted" (R2). He uses symbols of black triangles in his body map; "meaning I have doubts myself, since I'm surrounded with danger" (R2). R4 elaborates on his chosen position for his body map; "I drew myself lying down […], showing that behind was danger as symbolized by red color, and I was lying in green, symbolizing safety; however, within that safety are some grey areas symbolizing uncertainty I have with the government amnesty" (R4). For the present, R1 uses the color black, depicting; "[o]ur lives are still in danger and I feel it is darker today than before" (R1). R1 further uses the color yellow as a frame around an illustration of his house, community members and himself, explaining; "I put some yellow to keep distance. I was keeping distance from my house […] and my friends were running away from me" (R1). R6 reiterates the notion of having no friends in an illustration, as; "they are all running away from you" (R6). In addition, R1 draws a figure "with an open mouth" (R1) symbolizing "that I cannot speak some words and cannot talk with some people" (R1).

R1 and R5 illustrate symbols of weapons to portray "danger", noting; "I was waiting while in shackles, to be jailed or be killed. Here is the gun. So, I was in danger at that time" (R1); and, "one has to protect himself" (R5). Using symbols to illustrate challenges of constant alert and hiding, R1 illustrates a sun and elaborates; "Here is the sun, where I say that the day was my night and the night my day" (R1). R3 illustrates himself as a duck and community members as chickens, observing; "As the duck, I have changed my life, but others see me differently, and I am being stoned and chased away. […] Although I have crossed over, they still see me as a bad person with bad activities" (R3). R4 illustrates a descending path with obstacles, and notes that upon return; "there is the government watching, regarding you as a bad person" (R4). R5 illustrates "travelling through the mountains, a journey that was so difficult" (R5).

7.2.4. Achievements in Reintegration

When illustrating achievements as part of their reintegration process, one participant notes; "My challenges changes to my achievements" (R6). He elaborates on the challenges related to provide for family and "taking the children back to school" (R6), while explaining that "after all those hardships, things began to change and became good" (R6). He continues; "Now, I have a good house to live in, good relationships, some of us have means to make money, we can go and do business at the market, and now children go to school and play well with friends" (R6). He concludes; "Things aren't that bad, like before" (R6).

R1, R3 and R5 use of the color green to symbolize achievements. R1 elaborates; "I can speak to some of my friends and walk with them" (R1), while R3 and R5 indicates green symbolizing the support of local organizations, which have "helped us" (R3) to be "calm and at peace" (R5). R2

uses the color white to symbolize a sense of increased peace throughout the process, as he is "a little bit relaxed compared to earlier days" (R2). He continues; "I can say there's a little hope because compared to [the] early days I couldn't walk nor sleep well" (R2). Majority of the participants note religious practices as a way to connect with other community members (R1, R3, R4, R5). R5 illustrates village and religious elders, providing help "to relax and feel comfortable as you work to change your habits" (R5) as well as a Mosque, "where you turn to for prayers and ask God for forgiveness" (R5). Using the Mosque as a symbol, R4 adds; "one could go to the Mosque but you are not completely free" (R4). R3 elaborates "we are able to differentiate what God wants and what He doesn't" (R3).

Yet, all participants note that despite achievements, many of the previously indicate challenges persist (R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R6). R1 portrays an illustration of his home, noting that now "[i]t is safe but I keep some yellow, for I still need to keep some distance from some people whenever I come home" (R1).

7.2.5. Defining Returnee Identity

When using illustrations to portray words they define or identify themselves with, participants portray symbols and colors for "Muslim preacher" (R1, R4), whom is perceived as "important in our society because he sees far" (R1); "mobilizer" (R1) of people to "to keep away from violent extremism" (R1); "ustadh" [*teacher* in Swahili] (R1), noting "I can teach young siblings" (R1); "gentleman" (R2); "honest" (R2; R6); "trustworthy" (R2); "mzazi" [*parent* in Swahili]" (R3); "amani [*peace* in Swahili]" (R3); "ufugazi" [*farmer* in Swahili] (R3); "candle" (R4), which gives "light to the community, that is, people benefitting from my teaching" (R4); "tree" (R4), noting "some fallen fruits, meaning I'm a volunteer to the community, for the community to benefit from" (R4); "humble" (R6); and "love" (R4; R5). R4 elaborates that love encourages everyone "to be at peace, and love one another" (R4) but notes dots in his heart, symbolizing; "although I'm doing good, anything can happen to me which may be harmful, and that is also why I drew red outside [the heart] meaning that though I'm a preacher, there is danger" (R4). R5 also illustrates "love", noting he feels love for everyone, whether "young or old" (R5).

Further symbols and words used include "thankful" (R5), to "the people for accepting me" (R5); "transparent" (R5), symbolizing that "[i]f you ask me, whatever I feel I will tell you, whether positive or negative, I have nothing to hide from you" (R5); and, "creative" (R5; R6). R5 elaborates on creativity in carpentry, noting that; "Nowadays I'm with young boys who before feared to come near me, but after picking the school dropouts and those in drugs and other challenges, I could teach them what I know, and I now have more than 10 boys I'm mentoring who can do something worthwhile in carpentry" (R5). He further notes; "[C]reativity made me social, and people are now coming closer to me" (R5). R6 elaborates further on creativity, explaining; "Although I came back and had nothing to do initially, I didn't sit down to start begging. Instead, I was creative and found my ways to survive, but the community turned around again" (R6). He shares having studied

engineering and vehicle, motorbike and boat engine repairs, yet; "[w]hatever I did was to them neither good enough nor useful, and they ridicule me and that is how life is in the community" (R6). R6 adds; "What I do is never appreciated" (R6).

R2 explains he has illustrated himself "a gentleman, a honest person, a trustworthy person" (R2) with colors that "one with a peace of mind can use" (R2), i.e. green, yellow, purple, orange and red. He further illustrates a green crescent as a symbol for hope, "because I'm working with community and have been doing so for a long time, so I have been gaining their respect, because I know who I am" (R2). R6 has illustrated "honest", along with images of village elders, community and religious leaders, noting that "[When I came back] I was honestly willing to give them the truth" (R6). He continues; "I thought giving them the truth would give me a chance to be accepted and stay well in the community, however things were the opposite, and the community wasn't honest with me because they know who I was, and they separated themselves from me. They knew I was a bad person" (R6).

7.2.6. Community Perceptions of Violent Extremists, as Perceived by Returnees

When illustrating how they think that the community perceives them, R1 presents a number of diffused colors for the word "unclear", noting; "[T]hey see me as someone who can change anytime" (R1), as well as a dark green for the word "somehow", elaborating; "Somehow, I'm important according to them, because of what I give them as a community, to their children, and the masjid [*Mosque* in Arabic]" (R1). He further shares an illustration of the color dark red, noting "important"; explaining further how; "[t]o some, I'm clear or understood. […], since I'm teaching them they see me as an important person, while others do not see me that way" (R1). Participants, commenting on the above elaboration by R1, note; "[Y]ou find that he cannot be trusted fully as he is, so, he needs to buy their trust in the community" (R5), and continues with advice that "[h]e [R1] has to win their trust through their children whom he is teaching. He has to love the children and give them what he has, so that the children will share with their family members at their homes" (R5), with which R1 concurs. Another participant elaborates that; "as he [R1] builds trust and love, we should also look at the chemistry behind why they distrust him in the first place. Is it only because he is a returnee or are there other reasons?" (R2).

R2 continues portraying "mistrust" from the community, and elaborates how he has "drawn people, houses, representing a village, and in their hearts, there are black spots and in their houses also, there's something moving in and out" (R2). He continues; "I'm with them but they do not trust me as before" (R2). Using a symbol of black and red rectangles above the other, he notes having been "labeled", explaining how; "[community] perceives me as a labeled man, someone who can't fully be trusted according to how I was before" (R2). He continues; "Some of them think I'm the most dangerous person around. It is difficult even for them to share their feelings with me. They have lost confidence in me" (R2).

R3 believes the community regards him as a courageous person, depicting “jasiri” [*brave* in Swahili] along an illustration of a lion. He further notes the community perceives him as unpredictable, for which he has illustrated “tikiti maji” [*watermelon* in Swahili], as well as "simi msomi" [*uneducated* in Swahili], which he illustrates by the use of the color black. R4 illustrates “fire”, which “represents how some community members perceive me. [..] They cannot come close to me. They fear to be burned” (R4). He has further illustrated youth; “who think that I’m a dangerous man, a big killer who can use the gun or any other weapon” (R4). R4 has illustrated “youth” (R5), whom “are mostly the victims of violent extremism, so when you return no matter how calm you are they still think you are dangerous” (R4). R5 notes in his comment; “[R4] being one of the preachers, some of the youths may think that he is a recruiter, or may mislead them into violence activities” (R5). R6 adds; “When you return, they [youth] start imagining things about you that aren’t correct. Such are the imaginations of the youths” (R6).

7.2.7. Envisioning My Role in Reintegration

While envisioning their roles in society as part of reintegration efforts, participants reflect on relationship with community members and returnees alike, as well as the use of art in enhancing reintegration.

Participants emphasize the importance of being a “role mode” (R3; R5) and “teacher” (R1; R3; R4) who engages with “young people” (R3), as well as “preach and teach and engage community” through religious activities (R1; R4). While elaborating on developing “good relationships with community” (R1; R3; R5), through “day to day activities” (R3) such as “development activities” (R3; R6) or “attending funerals, weddings, celebrations, to be with [the community]” (R3), participants consider the importance of engaging with “fellow returnees, to help them feel human” (R5). R5 notes engagement with both community members and other returnees, in order for neither category to “see me as a snitch” (R5), elaborating; “I need to be creatively open and honest with them, have activities together” (R5). R6 observes the need for a “strategy, through which I’m capable to help myself and the community, because without that I cannot convince the community that I’m a good person” (R6). He adds; “[a]nd I cannot help any other person before I can help myself” (R6). R2 envisions “a simple life with family” (R2), and continues; “When you get a wife and children, a family will make things to cool down” (R2). He has used symbols of “banana trees, ducks, growing tomatoes” (R2), stating that; “When community sees you at home doing your work, it will create comfort among yourself and the environment” (R2).

Some participants note the usefulness of arts as a means to engage with community members as well as other returnees (R1; R3; R4; R5), and consider “using arts to approach the community” (R3) and “drawing and sharing ideas” (R5). R3 further adds; “Through arts we can move towards returnees and community, and I can tell them about myself through the body map. I can give them examples and show them, and they can show me” (R3).

7.2.8. Trust and Understanding

When elaborating on challenges related to trust and understanding between returnees and community members, participants note the importance of engaging with community members, as well as consistency and honesty.

When expressing experiences and feelings related to trust and understanding, a participant states; "You cannot buy trust, you earn it slowly by slowly" (R2). In attempts to counter mistrust, R2 recalls; "I tried to convince them, so what I did was to become present into peoples' lives by attending all public and social gatherings. […] I would attend football matches, play with them, and slowly the murmurings disappeared" (R2). R6 elaborates; "To make the community to understand me, I need to be with the community. They can't understand me if I am not staying with them" (R6). R3 notes the importance of "accepting their views", but continues; "I can correct what they thought. I can't force them to trust me, but through my deeds, my work, they can see themselves" (R3). R5 depicts; "To build trust, especially with the violent extremists and them not to see me as a snitch, I need to be creatively open and honest with them" (R5), and elaborates on consistency; "Having a [carpentry] workshop and being there every day also has helped improve trust, and for almost two years now I have been present at my workshop" (R5). R2 continues; "The hard part of it is that you are not going to be [perceived as] the complete freedom you feel within as a changed person, because the community know who you were. They don't give you a whole focus, but the forty-five percent focus I get is enough" (R2). He concludes; "For them to have trust in you, you need to keep your promise" (R2).

7.2.9. Body Mapping – Reflections on the Process

When describing the experienced process of *intersubjective body mapping*, participants reflect on challenges, sensations, feelings, expression, processing and a shared sense of unity. None of the participants had previously used art to express themselves or account for experiences.

Reflecting on the use of the body mapping methodology, participants find that "somebody expressing himself through art sounds very difficult" (R1), and recall being unable to, prior to body mapping; "imagine how that was to be done" (R2). R2 explains; "When we began body mapping, I asked myself 'What is [researcher and facilitator] trying to tell us and where is [the researcher and facilitator] heading?' but as the days passed, I found it is not them, but me. It is me who is being needed. They want me, who I am" (R2). R4 describes the difficulties in "finding what would fit in the body map as to really express the real story or feelings of the moment" (R4), and majority of participants account for an initial disbelief in being able to draw (R1; R2; R5; R6). R6 recollects; "I couldn't imagine we would end up with such thing, nor be able to draw" (R6) and R5 notes; "drawing was difficult, as it reminded me of the past" (R5).

Participants note the use of the methodology has contributed to feeling "happy" (R2; R5; R6); "free to express [myself] openly without trembling nor fear and without speaking, but drawing" (R3); "confident" (R3); and "quite excited and joyful" (R5). The methodology is described as

"exciting" (R5; R6); "amazing" (R2; R4; R6) and a new means in contrast to "what we were familiar with and used to do before" (R2). Participants describe how the body mapping methodology has contributed to an ability to "express [themselves] through art" (R1; R2; R4; R5). R1 explains; "My heart is open to being able to express myself through use of drawings" (R1) and R5 reflects on communication through images, stating; "Pictures talk" (R5). He continues; "I used to think pictures were dead. But now I'm coming to realize that they can become alive" (R5). R6 notes; "You can say much more than through speaking" (R6). Participants note the ability to respond to questions "in drawing" (R2; R3) and R6 describes feeling; "I was interviewed not noticing that I'm interviewed. I was made to say something nobody has directly asked me. I was to say things that otherwise I would have hesitated if asked directly" (R6). R4 views his paintings and elaborates; "It is a drawing but one from the mind, according to what is in your heart, whereby you are expressing yourself through the art" (R4). R2 explains; "I found myself free by drawing. […] Whatever I wrote on to that body map, is me" (R2).

In relation to processing events, participants describe the method as "unique" (R1), noting how the sessions "have taken us to another level mentally" (R4). Participants note how body mapping has "helped to process what I went through" (R1), enabling "self-expression" (R5) while "useful for self-awareness" (R4). R3 elaborates; "The body map is me, that is my reality, and it helped me understand myself through arts, like what I want and what I don't want" (R3). The method is described as a "new educative experiences" (R4). R4 explains; "I have been able to reflect on where I am coming from […], my present and my future. I'm from a dangerous place, I am at a safe place now, but with some doubts, and I am heading to the best place, though also with some doubts" (R4). R2 describes; "Instead of just rushing into things verbally, I can make one draw on paper and through that understand the situation. It is a better way of winning someone's heart" (R2).

Further, while being able to "think of [body mapping] as a way where you can learn something, or speak to people through pictures" (R6), the method is assessed to "help somebody else to read [the body map]" (R5). Participants describe a sense of unity through the individual, yet jointly shared, body mapping process. Following an exercise of portraying one another, a participant notes; "Drawing my friend made me know him better, there were [features] I didn't know he had and in drawing I discovered them" (R3). One notes a participant being a good friend, but that; "[T]hrough all those years we have never sat closely like today. Even if he disappears I can draw him very well" (R1), while another participant states; "It has strengthened our bond" (R3). R6 elaborates on shared experiences, when looking at his body map and those of others; "It reflects all that we have been through, our struggles and our fears, how we look at the community and how it perceives us. All these are in there, in the body maps" (R6). Three participants elaborate on how they, inspired by the workshop, introduced the means of communicating through drawing to family members (R3, R4, R6). R3 explains "I asked [my son] a question and I told him, draw the answer in pictures" (R3). R2 adds; "[w]e are all good artists with hidden talents" (R2).

7.2.10. Anticipated and Unanticipated Audience

In the intentional absence of discussions on subsequent exhibitions of the participant generated body maps, some participants indicate producing parts of their body maps for a perceived or imagined audience, while others post-body mapping feel they would like to share their body maps with others.

All participants note having created the body maps for themselves, and R4 clarifies; “That body mapping is mine and for me” (R4), while simultaneously indicating a wish for other to see the body maps. Other audiences include “family” (R1; R5), “friends” (R1; R3) and “community” (R2; R3; R5); and extremists, locally and in other locations (R2; R6). R5 states; “I wish the whole community could see it” (R5) and R3 adds; “I want others who have gone through what I have gone through to see it, and others to read and understand what I have been through” (R3). R2 reflects; “I want the people who are in this violent extremism to see it, even if they are from Syria or Iraq, because I know they suffer the same. What we are talking about here is what they are talking about there, because this is countering violent extremism” (R2). R4 notes; “I could easily explain my life experiences as it has already categorized it into three dimensions, past, present and future” (R4). R1 contemplates; “If I take a picture and send to my friends to see what I have done, they won’t believe it is me who did it” (R1). R6 emphasizes; “To whoever will see this paper, I want to remind him or her that initial it was clear, blank, without the colors. But I was able to do all that there is on that canvas, without knowing I was able to” (R6). In addition, two participants refers to the perception of workshop facilitators (R3; R4); and R4 concludes “I also believe that the organizers of this workshop have learned a lot from us” (R4).

Participants reflect on appreciation for the body mapping as anonymized communication. R4 explains; “I won’t fear explaining for I would select and know to who am explaining and why. To those I don’t know or who do not know me I won’t share my body map, at least not now” (R4), and R1 adds; “Perhaps I teach the community about the body mapping, then later on I can show them my body map and ask one of them to explain it to me. I would not be able to share it with the community with my name yet, because it is too early; I will be confirming what they heard and putting myself in danger” (R1).

Towards the end of the workshop, participants speculate about the next phases of the engagement, sharing; “Throughout the night it was on my mind how are going to end it all” (R4), and advice; “You should not come and disappear; but come again and again so, that we can build a strong relationship with each other. For sometime now many have been coming and just go forever. It appears like it was some sort of business they do, using us, and that is not so good” (R2). Two participants note the exchange throughout the body mapping; “This [method] is different, it has given us something” (R6), and; “I believe with this approach we [participants] not only go far but shall teach many as well” (R3).

7.3. Exhibition and Audience Members' Experiences

The exhibition, which displayed 10 body maps created by community members, was visited by 9 Civil Society Organization (CSO), County Commission (CC), County Government (CG) and Law Enforcement Officer (LEO) representatives from Mombasa, who were invited to engage in artistic communication to convey their accounts of the exhibition. [See Annex III: Audience Members Experiences]

None of the representatives have previously visited a body mapping exhibition, nor expressed themselves through drawing. When asked to illustrate what the exhibition conveys to the respective audience members, audience members portray accounts of differing experiences in relation to violent extremism (VE), using illustrations for "anger, hate and fear" (CSO2); "victimization" (CSO2); "trauma and stress" (CSO2); "headache" (LEO1); "abuse" (LEO1); "loneliness" (LEO1); "chest pain" (LEO1); "hunger" (LEO1); "peer pressure" (LEO1; CC1); "danger" (LEO1); "brutality" (CC1; LEO2); "violence" (LEO2); "returnees" (CSO1; CSO2; CSO4; LEO2; CG1; CC1), as well as; "hope" (CSO1; CSO2); "love" (CSO1; CSO2; CG1); "peacemaker" (CSO1); "advisor" (CSO1); "role model" (CSO1); "support" (CSO4; CC1); "courageous" (CC1); "counselling" (CC1); and, "creativity" (CC1). County Commission representative 1 (CC1) relates "the artwork with what happens in the community" (CC1).

CSO representative 1 (CSO1) illustrates with a sun and a tree; "Whenever there is a bad experience, there waits a new beginning" (CSO1). CSO2 illustrates a hand with different colored fingers, portraying "different personalities and experiences" (CSO2), and uses the symbol of a volcano for a "fire burning deep", and a flower for "peace keepers" (CSO2). CSO3 notes the use of the colors black and red in all body maps exhibited, and perceives this as a "dark and tainted past" (CSO3). He illustrates a figure in "transition" (CSO3), moving from red and black to yellow, who is "not yet really past previous experiences, but moving towards a future that looks bright" (CSO3). CSO4 illustrates a river and different sized trees, explaining; "The big trees represent the community, and the small trees the affected community members, who need support to reach the river" (CSO4). County Government representative 1 (CG1) portrays a heart, noting; "appreciating everyone and welcoming them home", including victims of terrorism, community members in violent extremism affected areas, and returnees (CG1). CG1 continues; "Our homes should be a safe space" (CG1) while noting; "[r]eturnees didn't have chance, and we should consider 'What is the person trying to say?'" (CG1).

CC1, Law Enforcement Officer 1 (LEO1) and Law Enforcement Officer 2 (LEO2) illustrate "a person" (CC1; LEO1; LEO2), depicting the body maps on display. LEO1 elaborates on an illustration containing; "what we go through in everyday life" (LEO1), and makes an anecdote of a "fisherman, who wakes up everyday, and has hope" (LEO1). LEO2 describes the challenges of "unjustifiable killings compared to when you have to kill" (LEO2). He further notes, for justified fatalities; "there are demonstrations next day, and lack of understanding" (LEO2), and adds; "[b]ut we keep trying" (LEO2). CC1 explains appreciating "where we have come from, in community

and police violence, and we have covered so much ground for peace and prosperity" (CC1), but concludes; "There is still so much to do, and the art tells us there is something we can do better every day" (CC1).

Reflecting on the use of artistic communication, audience members note feelings of "tranquility and calmness" (CSO1); and, "excitement" (CSO4) in doing "something new" (CSO4) to "express [myself] through art" (CSO3), while many note the method brings back "memories from childhood" (CSO2; CSO3; LE1; CG1). LEO2 adds; "I was wondering what to draw, but it brought something which I otherwise would keep for me" (LEO2) and CG1 perceives the methodology as a "game changer in countering violent extremism" (CG1). CC1 concludes; "Art is a new way of expressing, good way from conventional teaching, to communicate clearly" (CC1).

8. Discussion

Despite its recognized potential in advancing individual and intersubjective exploration of embodied experiences (Boydell et al., 2020; Orchard, 2017), the body mapping methodology has not been used in research related to reintegration of returnees. The results of this research indicate that the developed *intersubjective body mapping* methodology is a powerful method in exploratory and participatory research aiming to advance the dialogue in addressing challenges, related to understanding and trust, as part of the reintegration process experienced by returnees, community members and security personnel in Mombasa, Kenya. The analysis supports the applicability of *intersubjective body mapping* in promoting reintegration of returnees. Having accounted for the 'interpretive engagement' framework (Drew and Guillemin, 2014) in presenting the findings, while allowing guidance by the 'axial embodiment' conceptualization (Orchard, 2017), this chapter will assess the distinctiveness and strengths, drawbacks and challenges, and ethical considerations for the use of *intersubjective body mapping*. This is done in relation to the thematic areas presented as part of the data collection with the respective workshop participants. The sessions designed for the community members and returnees respectively portray minor contentual differences, deemed necessary in order to account for the holistic, respective experiences and engagements in relation to violent extremism (VE) and countering violent extremism (CVE) in general, and reintegration in particular. The research provides further suggestions for future practitioners utilizing the *intersubjective body mapping* methodology, while providing ideas for further research. This will allow to answer the research question;

> *How can the body mapping methodology be used to advance dialogue between returnees, communities and security personnel in addressing challenges related to the reintegration process, including understanding and trust?*

8.1. Strengths of Intersubjective Body Mapping

Participant reflections on the use of the body mapping methodology indicate positivity, a sense of healing and transformative experience, during which participants have increasingly discovered their inherent ability to express challenging embodied experience by using artistic expression.

The importance of accounting for community members' individual definitions of VE is reiterated in the findings. It appears the community members have differing views of the definition, which are guided by their individual experiences, and hence deviate from universal and locally adopted conceptualizations and frameworks. This indicates that the participating community members may not have adopted the recognized definitions or rhetoric, but define the concept in accordance with their own experiences, which is an important finding provided by the use of the methodology, in order to align strategies and initiatives informed and contextualized as per the local definitions.

Using symbols and colors is assessed by participants as easing the conveying of their embodied experience, cognitive and physically embodied, while processing past events. It is noted it allows

for illustrating "where and how I am hurting" (CM6) as well as "areas in my body that needs help and healing" (CM6). Further, participants note that the experience of *intersubjective body mapping* has forged not only "deeper interactions and trust between participants" (CM2), but an intersubjective understanding that the challenging experiences are shared by others – making some participants feel less isolated in their trauma. All participants portray a capability and capacity to process traumatic events, as part of being able to vividly and intriguingly elaborate on experiences, while a participant notes; "Instead of just rushing into things verbally, I can make one draw on paper and through that understand the situation" (R2). Participants are observed being able to convey answers to questions that are not articulated, but by addressing prompts related to challenges associated with VE, extrajudicial violence, engagement in VE and terror organizations, disengaging and returning to counties of origin, and reintegration. The findings demonstrate that the body mapping is a viable methodology for participants to account for traumatic events, while exercising agency in how much, and what, the participants wish to disclose. This is important when inquiring for accounts of traumatic and challenging experience related to, and active engagement in, VE and terrorism, including loss of family members and friends, discrimination, stigmatization and associated psychological and physical implications. Subsequently, audience members account for the exhibition of body maps as a means through which the individual experiences are clearly communicated for their interpretation. The findings further indicate that audience members do not perceive the displayed experiences and accounts as criticism, but that these are communicated in a relatable and non-conflictual way which allows for individual reflection (Boydell et al., 2020) while the audience reach has demonstrated enhancing the relevant research literacy among members of the audience (Boydell, de Jager, Tewson and Vaughan, 2020, p. 105).

The assessed important moments in relation to VE and CVE accounted for by community members, as well as challenges and achievements in reintegration accounted for by returnees, present connotations of perceived positive as well as negative experiences. While the methodology allows to account for negative experience in relation to VE, the symbols and colors used further imply a sense of resilience experienced, which is through the use of colors allowed to expand further than the depicted negative – symbolizing a relational expansion of the positive. The important moments in relation to CVE and reintegration are exclusively related to the individual strength and ability to counter, adapt and relate to others with similar experiences.

Further, the intersubjective method allows for assessment of oneself as an individual, while allowing to contemplate how oneself is perceived by others. The methodology has allowed for insightful inquiry for the mutually perceived and real attributed perceptions between community members and returnees. While the findings are not exclusive of other local experiences which may present synergies in perceptions, they indicate discrepancies in the perceptions perceived as attributed by returnees to community members, and by community members to returnees. For instance, community members' perceptions of violent extremists and returnees are more positive than what is perceived by the returnees to be the community perceptions of themselves. While community members account for violent extremists' and returnees' engagement in violence and,

intentional harm and immorality, they also convey more empathic observations of isolation, as well as the duality of the perceived positive and negative as part of being human. Returnees account for unrepaired trust and stigmatizing labels assigned, which are difficult to counter, as they perceive community to regard them as untrustworthy. Community members believe themselves to be perceived, by violent extremists and returnees, as vulnerable and opposing their objective, whereas some community members believe they are perceived as support figures as part of radicalization, disengagement and reintegration. This has moderate resonance with the perceptions shared by returnees, who account for a fundamental mistrust conveyed by community members. While none of the participating community members' nor returnees' body maps were disclosed for the other, the participants accounted for the importance of co-existence between community members and returnees. The findings imply that the discrepancies may well be addressed, would the attributed perceptions be revealed to participants of each group. This could serve to exclude assumptions and inform understanding. In addition, while returnees indicate understanding the experiences of community members and vice versa, the findings confirm an anticipated enhanced understanding for the own experience as part of the society (Cox, Guillemin, Boydell, 2020). This may be attributed to the external and internal experiential accounts which participants have explored through the *intersubjective body mapping*. Seeing one's body map displayed, elaborating on the content and intentionality of colors and symbols used, have provided participant an opportunity to view their body maps as their internal experience within a collective society, as described by a participant who explains; "[W]hen you look at it, you see yourself through that picture, and get an understanding that life is always ups and downs; that there are challenges and good times" (CM2); and another assessing that; "colors can easily express all the troubles one had been through" (CM4).

When accounting for current and future roles in CVE and reintegration initiatives, *intersubjective body mapping* has allowed individuals to detail their role in the present, and their development potential as part of their future roles. Community members and returnees portray synergies in their roles and expectations of others as part of reintegration efforts. Community members note their willingness to engage with returnees and support their active participation in society, while returnees account for the importance of their individual active roles in engaging with communities. Importantly, community members perceive returnees as active participants in society and advocate for further opportunities to be availed to enhance this, which confirms the argument that formers can be actively and positively engaged in CVE initiatives (Tapley and Clubb, 2019).

Through the use of the methodology, the reluctance to articulate experiences was noticeably reduced as participants seemed to enjoy expressing themselves through artistic means. Participants account for the difference of being interviewed in contrast to using the methodology and discussing their artistic expressions in detail, illustrated by a participant noting; "I was made to say something nobody has directly asked me. I was to say things that otherwise I would have hesitated if asked directly" (R6). This notion is shared by community members and law enforcement representatives, noting feeling more able to elaborate on aspects "which I otherwise would keep for me" (LEO2)

and how the artistic means allows to express "whatever it is you wish to express and however you wish to express it" (CM10). Returnees, who evidently have been interviewed regarding their reintegration process on numerous occasions, account for not having expected the outcome of the applied methodology nor the rewarding process this entails. Criticism of conventional research methods are implied by a participant noting; "[M]any [researchers] have been coming and just go forever" (R2), and how "[i]t appears like it was some sort of business they do, using us" (R2). In contrast, the participants share a positive perception and sense of mutual exchange throughout the *intersubjective body mapping* process, and how "it has given us something" (R6). It further appears the *intersubjective body mapping* and expression through arts post-story telling sessions added "another layer to the conversation" (Smith and Senior, 2020, p. 21) and further deepened the subsequent discussions.

8.2. Challenges in Utilizing Intersubjective Body Mapping

None of the participants had previously used art to express themselves or account for experiences. Combining the verbal and the non-verbal in relation to attributed definitions, inter- and intra-personally, returnees use anecdotal symbols and idiomic illustrations, e.g. ducks and watermelons, to describe how they believe they are perceived by others. Community members refer to symbols through the use of words primarily, which may imply that these are words of expression previously used. The findings indicate that, in comparison to the community members, returnees use less verbally descriptive and more abstract symbols, such as black triangles as symbols for doubt and embodied in the self and others, or an open mouth without voice illustrating restricted communication, as well as descending paths with obstacles and mountains. This implies that participating community members have a more advanced and elaborate vocabulary when accounting for their experiences related to VE and CVE, in comparison to returnees accounting for their reintegration experience. This may be attributed to previous extensive counselling provided to community members, whom are locally simultaneously categorized as victims of terrorism, which may have contributed to a more developed emotional vocabulary. Returnees describe in more abstract terms their experiences as part of reintegration, even during group sessions where influence of others' terminology may contribute to repetition. Further, the returnees' use of colors is more elusive and less static than that used by the community members, i.e. colors fading and diffused to convey meaning of unclarity, or a yellow sphere of protection or distance around one's home. Hence, the findings indicate that at times returnees preferred to use colors, rather than words and symbols, to convey meaning. The differences in emotional vocabulary and articulation is not a hindrance to utilizing the *intersubjective body mapping* methodology, but to be accounted for in intersubjective communication.

The richness of data and observation of participant engagement indicate that majority of participants, community members and returnees alike, were committed, attentive and engaged during the body mapping workshops. Individuals more reluctant would have, presumably, shared

less of their experiences throughout their engagement. It is worth considering the self-revelatory dimensions of the use of the methodology, in contrast to the self-healing components. It remains beyond the scope of the research to assess the truthfulness in expression in relation to self-revelation and self-healing. Nonetheless, it is important as part of the assessment of the utility of the methodology to note that parts of the expressions, shared and communicated through artistic means, may be genuine accounts as well as influenced with an anticipated audience in mind. Yet, as the agency of the individuals is an inherent part of the use of the methodology, it may be assessed that the self-healing and self-explorative nature of the engagement outweighs alternative objectives.

In addition, the audience members invited to view the body maps created, were engaged in artistic communication to convey their accounts of the exhibition. It is evident that the officials and law enforcement representatives remained, in comparison to participants in respective workshop, less expressive in their artistic accounts. This may be attributed to the difference in engagement and significantly less time spent in exploring artistic expression to convey perceptions and experiences, as per delimitations of the research. Nonetheless, this serves to further the justification to engage audience members, who are stakeholders as part of development and implementation of reintegration strategies and initiatives, in *intersubjective body mapping*.

8.3. Ethical Considerations for the Use of Intersubjective Body Mapping

The main ethical consideration which demands attention as part of utilizing and developing the *intersubjective body mapping* methodology, regards the individual account of traumatic events and well-being of participants. While majority of participant account for a transformative and healing experience in expressing their embodied life experiences throughout the body mapping workshops, the findings present severe traumatic events in relation to VE and reintegration. It is further noted that, even though some participants account for perceiving a more comprehensive picture of the chains of events related to VE and reintegration, the findings indicate that many present fragmented incidents of the past, present and future. This aligns with the argument that traumatic events are accounted for in a non-linear, fractured way as part of trauma healing (van der Kolk, 2015), which may indicate that participants are still processing the experienced events, which demand further professional attention.

Furthermore, although disclaiming caution in body mapping methodologies deployed by untrained professionals and facilitators, the findings indicate that many of the participating community members and returnees have encouraged artistic expression among family members and friends in relation to everyday life. While the expressed curiosity and ownership of the utility of artistic expression should be appreciated, it needs to be accompanied with further clarifications on the harm that may be caused for the engaged individuals if the *intersubjective body mapping* methodology is utilized without adequate theoretical, methodological and ethical considerations.

It is crucial, as part of ethical research practice, to maintain full disclosure of the objectives of the research engagement, including subsequent exhibitions and anticipated audiences. Nonetheless, it remains justified to emphasize that the body maps are created by, and for, the participants themselves. It cannot be excluded that participants have internalized an individual objective, including having multiple audiences in mind as they create their body maps. Yet, this may have significant implications affecting the intentionality conveyed by the use of colors, symbols and references. While the research confirms that the body mapping methodology grants participants the explicit moderating disposition to share what they see appropriate (Smith and Senior, 2020, p. 24), the disclosure relates to the cognitive process and the various individual reasons for sharing information related to past experiences. In addition, the practice of confession in production of the truth throughout modern history, whether in carceral and therapeutic settings, has been noted as a societal structure of control (Sheridan, 1990, p. 175, referencing Foucault, 1976). The duality between the individual confession, as part of liberation and transformative healing through expression, and the power dynamics manifested through constrains and fact-finding, as part of a societal agenda related to countering terrorism and VE, presents a noteworthy contrast. Hence, the potential risks associated with utilizing participants' accounts as confessions, whether selectively or sincerely disclosed, demands further ethical consideration.

In addition, while it is valuable for the research findings to explore the participants' perceptions of anticipated and unanticipated audiences, it should further be noted that the subsequent knowledge translation, including anticipated dissemination and display of body maps, should be part of the research project design. Inevitably, subsequent engagements may be limited and restricted by feasibility and resources to organize exhibitions, further workshops and trainings, for which it is vital to manage appropriately participant expectations in relation to results and outcomes. Furthermore, in respect of the sense of ownership, pride and attachment developed to one's individual artwork, assessment of whether subsequent exhibitions are perceived appropriate and viable should be guided by participants themselves. In addition, participants' presence and engagements during subsequent exhibitions, if assessed suitable, should be voluntary and allow for participants to decide whether they want to present their body maps themselves. This research allowed for participating community members to decide to have their body maps displayed for Civil Society Organization (CSO), County Government (CG), County Commission (CC) and Law Enforcement (LE) representatives in Mombasa, while exercising their right not to partake on site during the exhibition. Importantly, the research further allowed participating returnees to decide not to have their body maps displayed to stakeholders and actors in such close proximity to the workshop conducted, while assessing it as appropriate to present the body maps as part of research findings and later exhibitions subsequent to this research.

8.4. Suggestions for Practitioners and Ideas for Future Research

When designing *intersubjective body mapping* workshops, the research findings highlight the importance of encouraging the perceived sense of intersubjective and collective unity experienced by body mapping participants and audience members. Hence, the suggestions for future research relates to non-conflictual communication to enhance understanding and mitigation of pre-held assumptions, a shared sense of ownership of the reintegration agenda, as well as introduction of norm-critique.

The intersubjective engagement among participants and audience members, as guided by the *intersubjective body mapping*, allows for returnees, community members and security personnel to reflect on their reintegration experiences as well as relation to one another, which in turn accordingly serves to challenge preconceptions and maintained biases (Tolia-Kelly, 2010, pp. 132-134). The process allows returnees to reflect on the importance of engaging with other returnees, "to make them feel human" (R5), and community members through "day to day activities" (R3), while community members account for the importance of engaging with other community members, victims of terrorism, as well as returnees. Community members illustrate, despite VE having caused them individual and significant suffering, a willingness and ability for perspective taking in relation to those who may or may not be perceived as representatives of a societal threat, which is argued to relate to the motivational aspects for forgiveness (Noor and Halabi, 2018). None of the participants had envisioned the other groups to see their body maps, but the findings reveal that many of the perceptions upheld could be mitigated were the respective groups exposed to the body maps and testimonials of the others. Returnees would take part of accounts that, to them unknown, community members disclose a curiosity and willingness to forgive and understand their experiences, while noting "both bad and good" (CM6) aspects in any individual. Returnees would further be exposed to the community perception that the community members need to act in order to gain the trust of the returnees, provide support for the development of retunrees' "self-esteem so that they can discover themselves, where they really are, their strengths, and their weaknesses" (CM2). Returnees would further gain insights to county representatives illustrating empathy, willingness to further understanding and welcome returnees home to "a safe space" (CG1). In turn, community members would know of the challenges experienced by returnees in relation to trust, attempts to approach community, enhancing understanding, as well as the commitment of participating returnees to keep promises made to the community.

Furthermore, all participants would arguably benefit from being exposed to the shared perception that trust is a process. While the *intersubjective body mapping* methodology seems to advance a perception of responsibility among participants, the findings illustrate that a deficit prevails in accounts of community members in relation to practical steps to show love, compassion, provide support and enhance the self-esteem of returnees. Returnees on the other hand indicate practical steps as part of their attempts as well as achievements in establishing trust with communities. Some explore consistency and experiences of perseverance, emphasizing; "I can't force them to trust me, but through my deeds, my work, they can see themselves" (R3). It is also noted that strategy

development would be necessary for returnees to support themselves as well as community members, as in the absence of established strategies a returnee notes: "I cannot convince the community that I'm a good person […] [a]nd I cannot help any other person before I can help myself" (R6). This implies that the *intersubjective body mapping* can be further developed to address practical steps in building trust, through including development of solutions and implementation as part of the agenda.

Returnees and community alike note the importance of engaging with law enforcement through artistic initiatives. Participating community members and returnees assess, from an implied collective perspective, the extrajudicial violence and killings as factors contributing to, and inhibiting efforts to counter, VE. Community members reflect on the trauma experienced by law enforcement personnel, as well as inadequate training, while this remains unexplored by returnees. The necessity of advancing assessment and adequate training for law enforcement initiatives is noted by participants, suggesting law enforcement representatives to be "trained in how to handle the returnees" (CM9) as well as invited to body mapping sessions with community members and returnees. The findings further confirm that the exhibition and knowledge translation, through non-confrontational and non-conflictual communication as body maps were displayed for community actors and law enforcement personnel, served to encourage understanding and empathy among audience members (Boydell, de Jager, Tewson and Vaughan, 2020, p. 105) while the audience members were allowed to reflect on the messages directed at them in a non-judgmental and non-confronting space. The level of understanding may be further enhanced by a shared sense of unity experienced by all audience members utilizing the methodology and hence understandings its value on the individual as well as the collective level, including in relation to feasibility in enhancing dialogue related to understanding and trust. Subsequent *intersubjective body mapping* initiatives would benefit from engaging all stakeholders in the use of the methodology in exploring the individual experiences in relation to VE, terrorism and reintegration, as well as exposing all participants to the body maps and accounts of the respective participants, while paying close attention to appropriate confidentiality and security measures.

Participants suggest using "arts to approach the community" (R3) as well as "drawing and sharing ideas" (R5). The potential of the methodology is further indicated through the assessment of a participant noting; "I can give them examples and show them, and they can show me" (R3). Subsequently, audience members attending the body mapping exhibition note the potential of *intersubjective body mapping*, describing it as a "game changer in countering violent extremism" (CG1) and how the "art tells us there is something we can do better every day" (CC1). With the disclaimer that appropriate training is necessary in order to facilitate body mapping workshops, further research would be needed to assess the appropriate modalities of introducing a Training of Trainers (ToT) in the local context, for enhancing competency and outreach in relation to the assessed benefits of *intersubjective body mapping*.

Not surprisingly, community members and returnees alike share interpretations of colors, e.g. red and black for negative connotations, while green, white and yellow depict positive connotations,

as part of normative, cultural contextuality. This draws attention to shared norms in the affected communities, including in relation to masculinity norms in VE and CVE, as noted by some participants. Hence, further research should consider why and how norm critique could be introduced in the local context. While introducing and developing local-grown norm critique to advance reintegration efforts may be encouraged, this demands local attention and localized assessments. In addition, as returnees have accounted for societal implications for their radicalization as well as reintegration, it is further noted that this could convey further insights to the community members as well as law enforcement representatives locally and in other geographical locations affected by VE and terrorism. A returnee notes the value in exchanging experiences with stakeholders in other jurisdictions, “even if they are from Syria or Iraq, because I know they suffer the same” (R2).

9. Conclusion

The research has demonstrated rich findings produced through the use of the unconventional *intersubjective body mapping* methodology, in order to advance dialogue between returnees, communities and security personnel in addressing challenges related to the reintegration process, including understanding and trust. How the *intersubjective body mapping* methodology can be used is illustrated through elaborations on its strengths, weaknesses and ethical considerations, as well as the subsequent recommendations for developing further the use of *intersubjective body mapping* as part of norm-critical, participant driven research, which has potential to advance the notion of radical empathy.

The discussion has emphasized the transformative potential of the methodology for individual and inter-personal healing. The process of facilitating a non-coherent narrative of fractured events allows participants to exercise agency in simultaneous exploration of safety and trauma, "between language and the body, between remembering the past and feeling alive in the present" (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 245), while drawing connections between the past, present and the future. The resilience and strength of the individual to process traumatic events is emphasizes by a participant explaining; "My body map has reminded me I have come very far" (CM1). While noting the importance of understanding individual definitions related to experiences, the methodology enables unconventional exploration of experiences related to violent extremism (VE), countering violent extremism (CVE) and reintegration. The *intersubjective body mapping* contributes to participants feeling less isolated amidst their experiences, while observing a shared responsibility for individual and collective healing. It further illustrates the transformative potential of recreating negative experiences to positive, action-oriented lessons, as part of developing strategies for manifesting compassion and support inter-relationally between community members and those associated with VE and terrorism – between those expected to act perseveringly to make amends, and those not initially seeing their practical efforts as accommodating of the reintegration process. The method further facilitates the defiance of potential limitations of an emotional vocabulary, in exploring and communicating experiences through colors, symbols and abstract illustrations. The intersubjective nature of the developed body mapping methodology further demonstrates significant potential to allow the emergence of synergetic discourse while accounting for discrepancies and misconceptions in relation to perceptions and beliefs, which will advance the dialogue in addressing challenges related to the reintegration process, including understanding and trust. In addition, the method facilitates the conveying of expectations of oneself and others as part of reintegration efforts.

The participatory engagement is accounted for, and portray the individual agency in determining how, what and why to disclose elaborations on the embodied experiences. Importantly, a participant notes; "I was made to say something nobody has directly asked me. I was to say things that otherwise I would have hesitated if asked directly" (R6). The account was conveyed as an elaboration of a positive experience, yet serves as a word of caution in relation to the guidance developed as part of the use of the methodology. In knowledge inquiry, the well-being and agency

of the participants should remain a priority, and be assessed in relation to the confessional elements of the artistic and therapeutic accounts and how these relate to the overarching objective of the local CVE agenda.

As part of the contextual research, which poses potential risk of contributing to a research fatigue among participants, the findings imply that the research modality has been perceived as a mutual exchange between researcher and participants. The researcher has previously undertaken qualitative research, conducted with traditional social scientific methodologies, including semi-structured and unstructured interviews. In comparison, non-conventional data collection methods such as *intersubjective body mapping* ensures enhanced individual agency in disclosure and adequate time for reflection prior to responding, while providing more vivid data in relation to the individual experiences. The research contributes considerable insights to the experiences of the individual while assessing the utility of the *intersubjective body mapping* methodology, in parallel to participants gaining further understanding for body mapping and artistic communication, therapeutic exposure, a sense of ease in accounting for their experiences, and developing a sense of fulfillment and confidence through the use of arts. Caution needs to be exercised in developing *intersubjective body mapping* research, including assessing the trauma of the individual participants while engaging professionals trained in trauma processing and the artistic methodology, combined with a sound understanding for theoretical and analytical foundations of the research. Nonetheless, the outreach of the *intersubjective body mapping* should be expanded in order to avail its proven benefits to others, with adequate training of facilitators provided to those utilizing the methodology. This includes suitable and contextual assessments and facilitation of security and risk mitigation measures, while managing expectations of each participating individual pertaining to objectives of the initiatives, and granting them the ultimate ownership of their artistic creations – including their dissemination as part of research findings.

Audience members engaged to view the body maps indicate an understanding for the body mapping, while perceiving accounts of e.g. extrajudicial violence and killings not as criticism of law enforcement, but rather the individuals in non-compliance with human rights based law enforcement measures as part of the holistic approach to counter violent extremism and terrorism. This illustrates the non-conflictual characteristic of the *intersubjective body mapping*, through which the most severe of criticism may be presented as part of an embodied individual experience, while received not as an accusation, but with the objective of improving measures in addressing some of the most significant challenges in the local context. This enables reflecting and relating to trauma experienced by oneself and others from, initially perceived as, opposing sides, while allowing for advancing perspective taking, understanding and, ultimately, forgiveness. Hence, the *intersubjective body mapping* is recommended to be deployed with respective stakeholders seeing to reintegration, with a comprehensive and synergetic theoretical framework and thematic areas explored, in order to produce data that may allow for comparative assessments of perspectives. This will encourage individual exploration and subjective, artistic account for embodied experiences, while allowing for the embodied experience to be communicated in a non-conflictual

means when displayed to others. The display will enhance the audience understanding for the respective experiences, while the mutual understanding for the use the methodology will forge a sense of collective unity as a foundation to explore various accounts, perceptions and experiences in relation to the researched topic and associated challenges. Whether this regards trust and understanding in reintegration, or another discipline, the *intersubjective body mapping* may be used to explore and advance dialogue between various actors and stakeholders in addressing challenges related to the process.

It is interesting to further explore how the created body maps, the intentionality and the exploration of experiences and the utility of the *intersubjective body mapping* may or may not depart from the normative contextual values – irrespective of whether this regards the local community in Mombasa, other locations in Kenya, other jurisdictions, or other religious and cultural contexts. Whether in a geographical or nonphysical locality, the individual and collective trauma demands intersubjective and intangible healing, part of which the individual experiences being "held in someone else's mind and heart" (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 79), in order to subsequently advance understanding and build trust through a continuously facilitated, and committed to, process.

Conducting *intersubjective body mapping* sessions with returnees and community members, of which the former have either committed or are associated with atrocities that the latter may assess unforgiveable, contends what has been concluded to be challenges related to the reintegration of returnees. The research demonstrates that *intersubjective body mapping* can enhance trust and understanding between returnees, community members and law enforcement representatives, who barefoot connect to the intersubjective exploration of experiences manifested through the intentionality in use of colors and illustrations, in order to enhance reintegration initiatives as part of countering violent extremism and terrorism. Through the use of art as a means for communicating the individual embodied experience as part of the societal whole, the human experience can encompass a shift in perspective – from the moral judgement of radicalization, to radical empathy for the individual.

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Appendix I: Participant Consent Form –Community Members

Participant Consent Form

Purpose of Research: The study aims to explore how the body mapping methodology can be used to advance dialogue between community members and security in addressing challenges related to CVE processes, including understanding and trust.

The research project is being undertaken as part of the Global Community Resilience Fund (GCERF) and Coastal Interfaith Council of Clerics (CICC) funded project, of which Ms. Tina Mykkanen is the principal researcher, initiator and consultant.

I, [*Please print your name*]_____, affirm that I am over 18 years of age, and that I consent for myself to be interviewed/audio recorded by the principal researcher, CICC and GCERF. I understand that the researcher is bound by ethical research principles, and CICC and GCERF personnel and/or contractors are contractually bound by GCERF to use my data only in accordance with GCERF's instructions and legal requirements.

I agree to participate in a research project conducted by Ms. Tina Mykkanen, CICC and GCERF.

Participation involves partaking in body mapping workshops organized by Ms. Tina Mykkanen, CICC and GCERF. The participation will take 5 days, during which my daily subsistence is catered for by CICC and GCERF, i.e. travels, accommodation and meals.

I allow the researcher to take notes during the art workshop. I also allow the recording of the art workshops, body maps, and any related dialogue by audio/video tape, in which I am anonymised. It is clear to me that in case I do not want the interview and dialogue to be recorded, I am fully entitled to withdraw from participation.

I have the right not to answer questions. If I feel uncomfortable in any way during the workshop and related discussions, I have the right to withdraw from the interview and ask that the data collected prior to the withdrawal will be deleted.

I authorise that my words and/or images may be published and distributed for documentation, publication, informational, and marketing purposes. This includes in journal, hardcopy, via email, in news media, on the GCERF and consultants' websites and social media platforms (such as Twitter, Facebook and LinkedIn). I authorise that my body maps and data collected by researcher during the body mapping workshop and story telling sessions are reproduced for subsequent research projects and activities where this is relevant.

Publication of personal data may result in harassment, the threat of harm or actual harm to the participant or their family and friends. The principal researcher, CICC and GCERF seek to mitigate these risks by assessing the intent and capacity of hostile groups in the area and by delaying the spread of information online until after events are concluded.

I have received sufficient information about this research project and understand my role in it. The purpose of my participation as an interviewee in this project and the future processing of my personal data has been explained to me and are clear.

My participation as an interviewee in this project is completely voluntary. There is no explicit or implicit coercion whatsoever to participate.

I have been given the explicit guarantee that the researcher, CICC nor GCERF will identify me by name or function in any reports using information obtained from my participation in this research, that my confidentiality as a participant remains secure. Personal data will be processed in full compliance with the European Union General Data Protection Regulation. The researcher may be contacted on +46702115801, +254743155700, or at tinamykkanen@gmail.com for any questions concerning data protection.

I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time by contacting the principal researcher, and the GCERF Secretariat on +41 22 306 0810 or at compliance@gcerf.org.

I have carefully read and fully understood the points and statements of this form. All my questions were answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

I obtained a copy of this consent form co-signed by the researcher, Ms. Tina Mykkanen.

_____	_____
Participant's Signature	Lead Researcher's Signature
_____	_____
Participant's Name	Lead Researcher's Name
_____	_____
Date	Date

Appendix II: Participant Consent Form – Returnees

Participant Consent Form

The study aims to explore how the body mapping methodology can be used to advance dialogue between returnees, communities and security in addressing challenges, including understanding and trust, related to the reintegration process. The research project is being undertaken by Ms. Tina Mykkanen, who is the principal researcher, initiator and consultant.

I, [*Please print your name*]_____, affirm that I am over 18 years of age, and I agree to participate in the 5-day research project conducted by Ms. Tina Mykkanen, and that I consent for myself to be interviewed/audio recorded, in which I will be anonymised, as part of the research.

I allow the researcher to take notes during the art workshop. It is clear to me that in case I do not want the interview and dialogue to be recorded, I am fully entitled to withdraw from recorded participation. I have the right not to answer questions. If I feel uncomfortable in any way during the workshop and related discussions, I have the right to withdraw from the interview and ask that the data collected prior to the withdrawal will be deleted.

I authorise that my words and/or images may be published and distributed for documentation, publication and informational purposes. I authorise that my body maps and data collected during the body mapping workshop and storytelling sessions are reproduced for subsequent research projects and activities where this is relevant.

I have received sufficient information about this research project and understand my role in it. The purpose of my participation as a participant in this project and the future processing of my personal data has been explained to me and are clear.

I have been given the explicit guarantee that the researcher will not identify me by name or function in any reports using information obtained from my participation in this research, that my confidentiality as a participant remains secure. The researcher may be contacted on +46702115801, +254743155700, or at tinamykkanen@gmail.com for any questions concerning data protection.

I have carefully read and fully understood the points and statements of this form. All my questions were answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study. There is no explicit or implicit coercion whatsoever to participate. I obtained a copy of this consent form co-signed by the researcher, Ms. Tina Mykkanen.

_____	_____
Participant's Signature	Lead Researcher's Signature
_____	_____
Participant's Name	Lead Researcher's Name
_____	_____
Date	Date

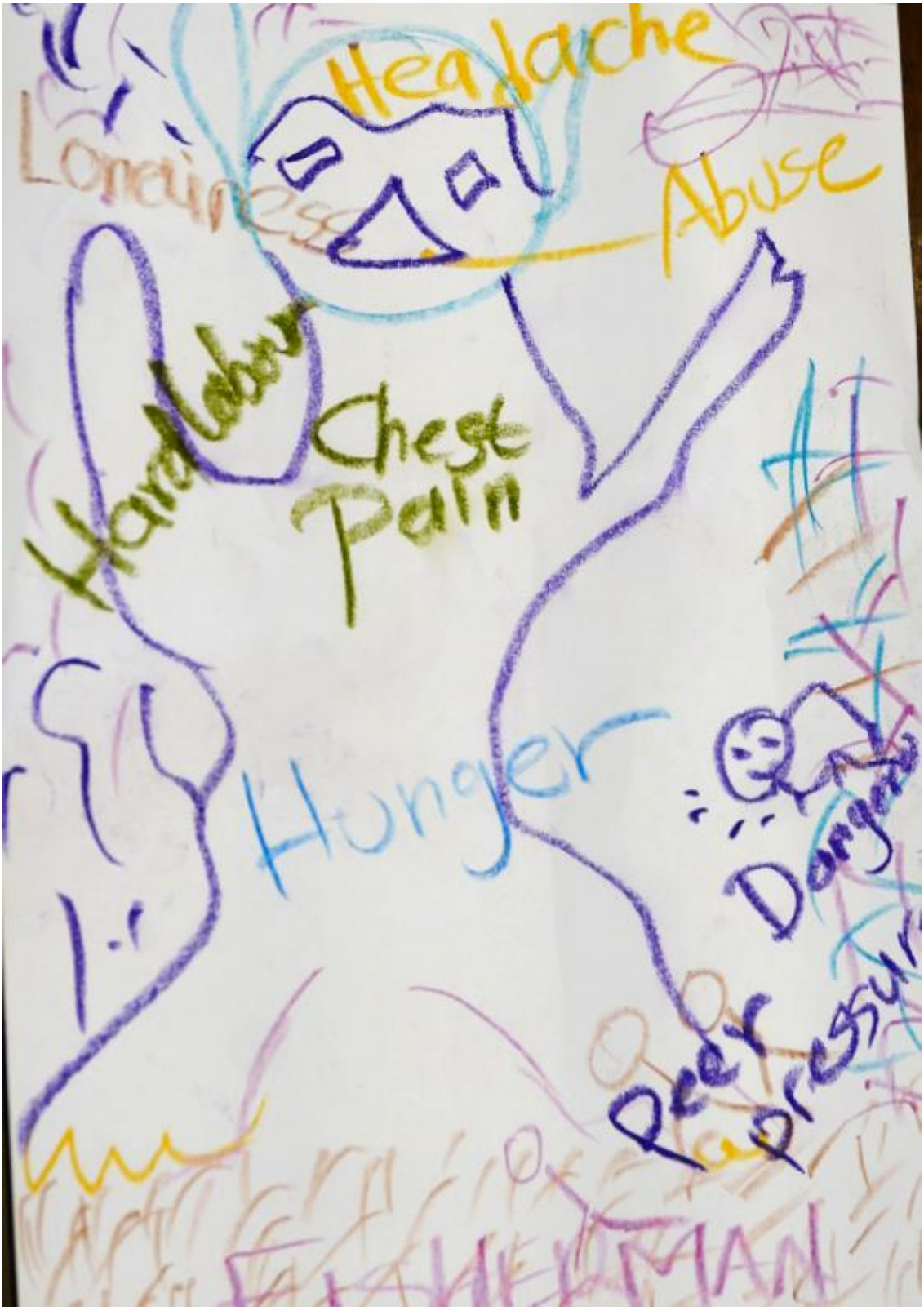
Appendix III: Audience Members Experiences

CSO representative 1 (CSO1)

CSO representative 2 (CSO2)

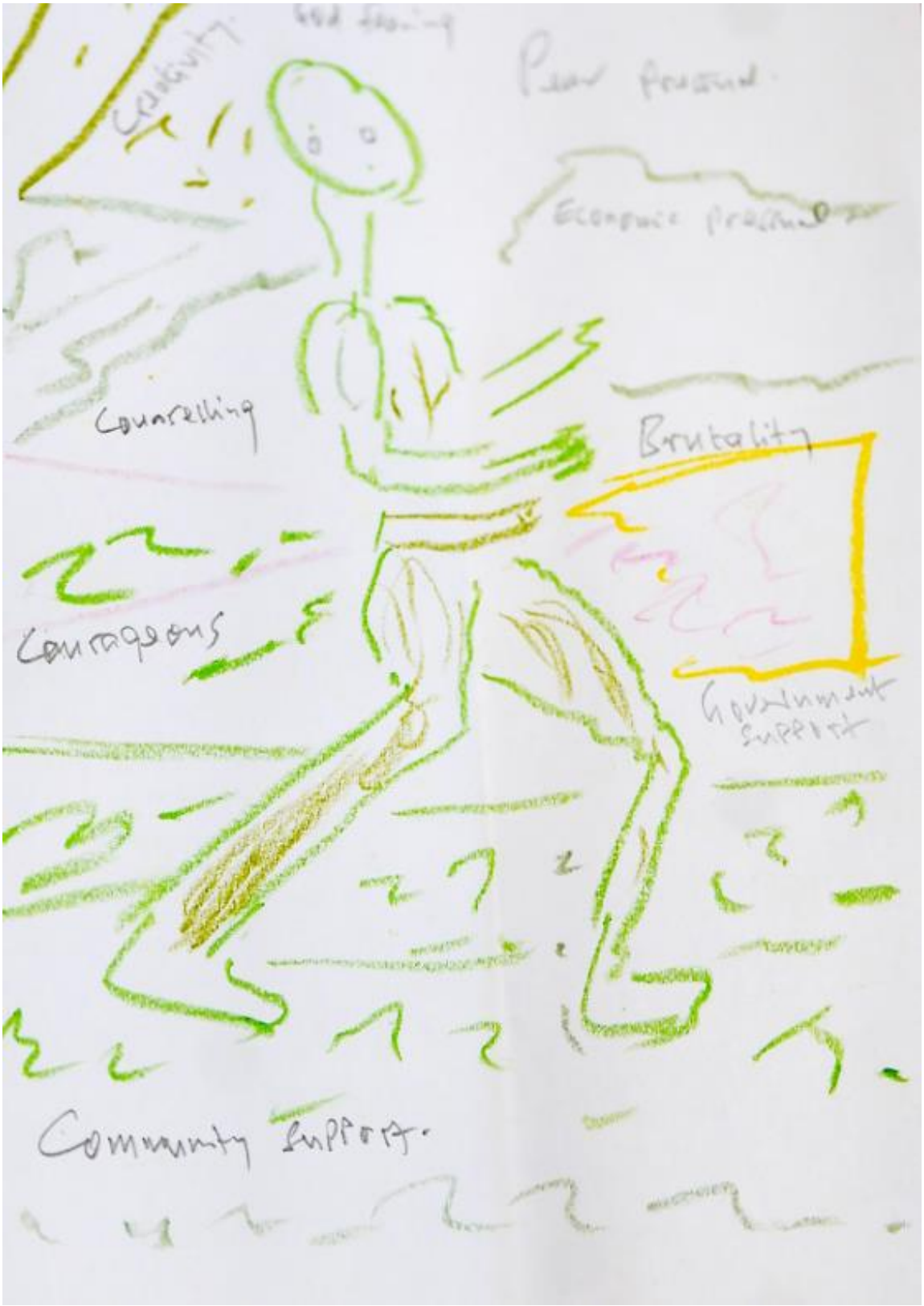
CSO representative 3 (CSO3)

CSO representative 4 (CSO4)



Law Enforcement Officer 1 (LEO1)

Law Enforcement Officer 2 (LEO2)



County Commission representative (CC1)