
Between Care and Precarity

Creative arts facilitators and the making of refugee narratives in the UK

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How do creative arts facilitators working with
refugees and sanctuary seekers in the UK
understand and enact the role of art in shaping
refugee narratives, wellbeing and policy?

Three sub-questions: their roles and goals · the impact they observe · the conditions just practice requires

The landscape this work happens in

Date	Measure	Effect
2012	"Hostile environment" announced	Landlords, employers, banks and the NHS deputised to check immigration status
2014 / 2016	Immigration Acts	Core hostile-environment measures enacted, then expanded: housing, banking, licences, sanctions
2022	Nationality and Borders Act	A two-tier system by mode of arrival; inadmissibility powers widened
2023	Illegal Migration Act	Removal mandated for irregular entrants; settlement and citizenship barred
2024-25	Safety of Rwanda Act; Border Security Act	Third-country removal contested; hotel accommodation phase-out attempted
Nov 2025	Shift to temporary protection, Denmark model	Settlement pushed out to as long as 20 years; status reviewed every 30 months

Creative health has been recognised in UK policy across exactly the same period. The two run alongside each other, and rarely meet.

What the literature already covers

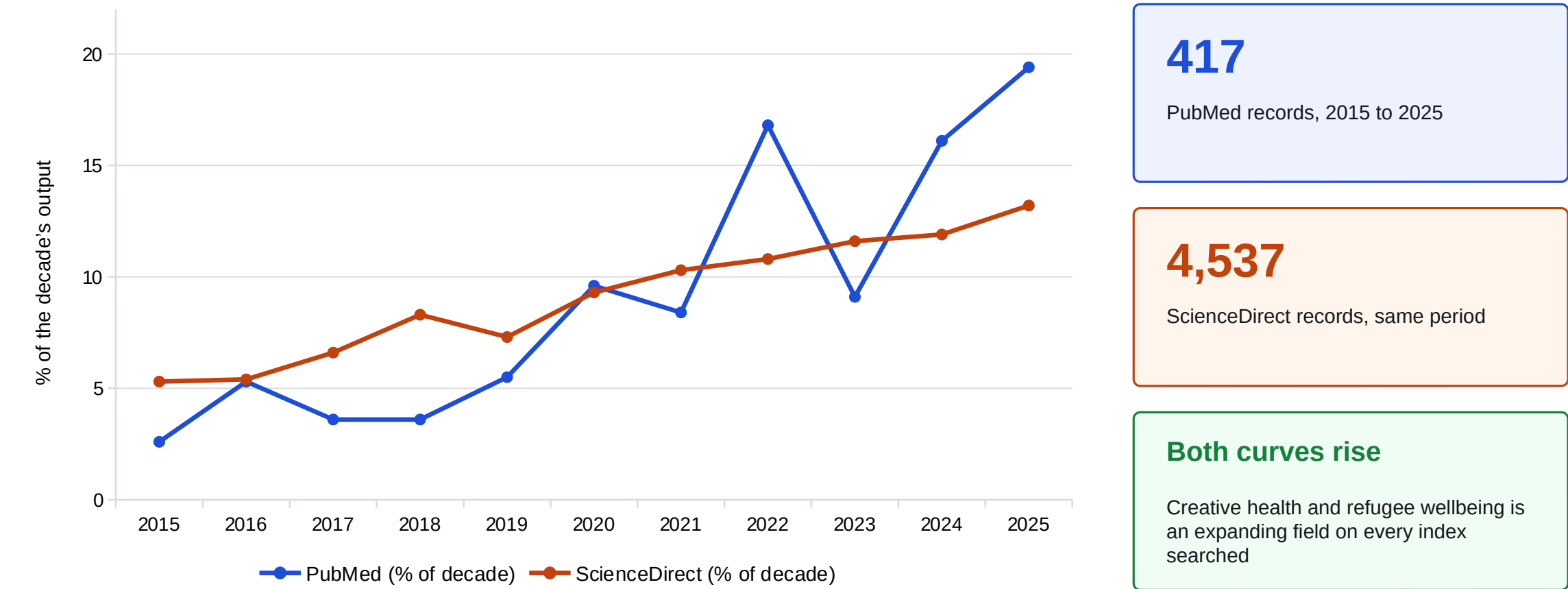
Stage	Filter applied	Records
1	All concept blocks combined	625,094
2	Practitioner and arts-activity terms	22,244
3	Child and youth-only studies removed	21,197
4	Restricted to the UK	91
5	Refugee or sanctuary AND arts required	65
6	Current year only	37
7	Usable after title and abstract screening	34
8	Arts-facilitator × refugee intersection	0 to 3

0 to 3

studies at the exact intersection
this dissertation occupies

Reading the table: across every database the count collapses once the search requires a UK context, refugee or sanctuary populations, and the practitioner rather than the participant.

The field is growing fast, and still not looking here



Both series are shown as a share of their own decade total, so two very differently sized databases can sit on one axis.

The evidence base documents what art does
for refugees and sanctuary seekers.

It does not ask the people who make it happen.

Facilitators are treated as delivery, not as knowledge-holders. That is the gap this study fills.

How the study was built

Interpretivist, qualitative

Knowledge is constructed through interpretation. The aim is depth and meaning, not frequency or generalisation.

Phenomenological sensibility

Drawing on interpretative phenomenological analysis: how facilitators themselves make sense of their lived practice.

Reflexive thematic analysis

Braun and Clarke's six-phase approach. Themes are constructed by the researcher, not discovered lying in the data.

Two-year embedded placement

The researcher was on placement with Counterpoints Arts throughout, which shaped access, trust and interpretation.

Trauma-informed throughout

Consent revisited, no requirement to disclose, participant control over what was recorded and used.

Researcher reflexivity

A research diary recorded assumptions, emotional responses and positionality at each analytic decision.

What was collected, and how

Method	n	Duration	Platform	Key features
Individual interviews	8	45 to 75 min	Zoom / Teams	Semi-structured; trauma-informed; audio-recorded
Focus Group 1	6	180 min	Zoom	Co-facilitated; Mentimeter polling; audio-recorded
Focus Group 2	4	120 min	Microsoft Teams	Co-facilitated; Mentimeter polling; audio-recorded

18

creative practitioners in total

10

took part in the two focus groups, here at Counterpoints

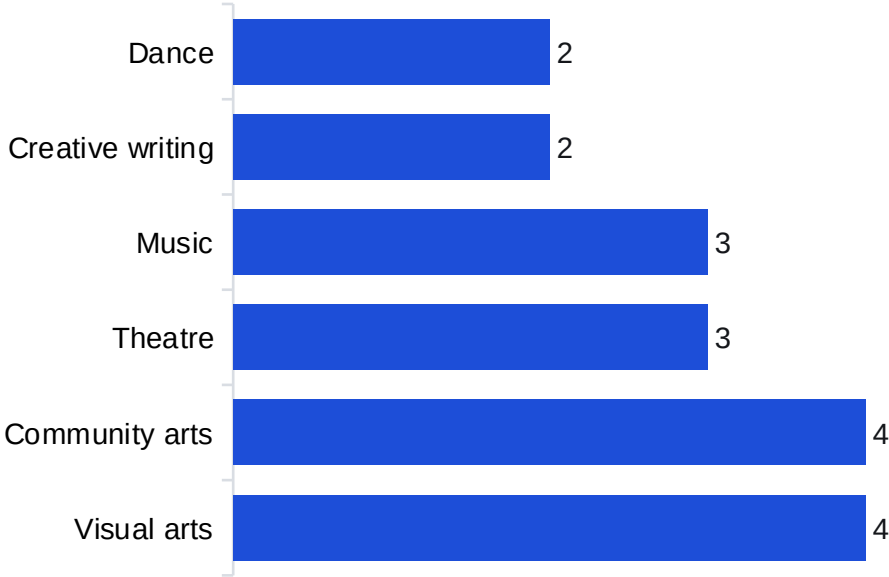
25 Jul
29 Sep

the two focus group dates, both now on the impact timeline

All interviews and focus groups were audio-recorded, transcribed and anonymised. Every participant has a pseudonym.

Who the 18 practitioners were

Characteristic	Distribution
Artistic discipline	Visual arts (4); community arts facilitation (4); theatre (3); music (3); creative writing (2); dance (2)
Lived experience of forced migration	With (6); without (12)
Years of experience	2 to 5 years (5); 6 to 10 years (7); 10 or more years (6)
Geographic location	London and South England (15); other UK regions (3)
Organisational connection	Current Counterpoints network (14); historical connection (4)
Age range	Late 20s to 60s



A deliberately small, purposive sample. Fifteen of eighteen are London or South England based, which the study names as a limitation.

How the data was analysed

Phase	Process	What it produced here
1. Familiarisation	Transcripts read repeatedly, audio re-listened, research diary kept	Frequent funding mentions; emotional tone around burnout; laughter around creative success
2. Initial coding	Systematic coding in NVivo, staying close to facilitators' own words	100+ codes. Semantic: "short-term funding". Latent: "institutional medicalisation of art practice"
3. Searching for themes	Codes clustered into candidate themes and visualised	Narrative and stereotype codes clustered; trauma and burnout codes clustered
4. Reviewing themes	Coherence checked within themes and against the full dataset	"Policy frustrations" merged into institutional barriers; "cultural identity" refined
5. Defining themes	Essence of each theme articulated and written as a definition	Agency and representation: how facilitators amplify voice and counter stereotype
6. Producing the report	Themes integrated into a narrative, representative quotes selected	The four final themes presented in this talk

Ethics and limitations

UCL ethics approval

Granted, then formally amended mid-study as the terminology and scope developed. Both approvals are in the appendix.

Informed consent

8 interview participants and 10 focus group participants consented in writing, by form or signed scan.

Anonymity

All participants pseudonymised. No organisation or participant is identifiable from the published text.

Small sample

18 practitioners. This is qualitative depth, not statistical representativeness, and no claim otherwise is made.

Geographic skew

15 of 18 are London or South England based. Regional and devolved-nation practice is under-represented.

Researcher position

Two years embedded with the partner organisation. This gave access and trust, and it also shaped interpretation.

Left: what protects the participants. Right: what the study cannot claim.

Four themes.
Each one is a tension.

Something facilitation makes possible,
and something current structures take away.

Constructed from a larger candidate set across 18 practitioners, 8 interviews and 2 focus groups

Theme 1: Empowerment through creative expression

Creative expression enables non-verbal agency and a reclaiming of voice, body and time. It is interrupted by short-term funding, unrecognised emotional labour and gatekeeping evaluation metrics.

Codes were constructed in NVivo from 100+ initial codes, then clustered and reviewed against the full dataset.

Focused code	Subtheme	Dimension
Voice beyond speech	Non-verbal agency	Empowerment
Creativity and recovery	Interrupted life + return through art	Empowerment
Embodied slowness	Reclaiming body/time	Empowerment
Funding scarcity	Funding as enabling condition	Fragmentation
Sustainability and wellbeing	Emotional toll	Fragmentation
Legibility via data	Metrics as gatekeeping	Fragmentation

Theme 2: Community and belonging

Creative spaces build connection and safety through optionality, with no compulsory disclosure. Access stays shaped by networks, resources, institutional recognition, translation and epistemic mismatch.

Codes were constructed in NVivo from 100+ initial codes, then clustered and reviewed against the full dataset.

Focused code	Subtheme	Dimension
Belonging without disclosure	Safety through optionality	Belonging
Inclusion by design	Ordinary public-space encounters	Belonging
Cultural entry points	Reframing arts as making	Belonging
Distributed leadership	Shared responsibility	Belonging
Clinical-language dominance	Epistemic mismatch	Uneven access
Contextual wellbeing	Critique of individualised models	Uneven access

Theme 3: Narrative agency and representation

Facilitators help people author and complicate their own stories and counter hostile narratives. Those stories can then be reduced to funder-friendly success stories or helper-centred accounts.

Focused code	Subtheme	Dimension
Media framing critique	Countering hostile narratives	Narrative agency
Anti-paternalism	Reframing agency and expertise	Narrative agency
Refusing labels	Complexity beyond binaries	Narrative agency
Evaluation pressure	Simplified success stories	Commodification
Institutional framing	Helper-centred narratives	Commodification

Codes were constructed in NVivo from 100+ initial codes, then clustered and reviewed against the full dataset.

Theme 4: Community-led practice as distributed care

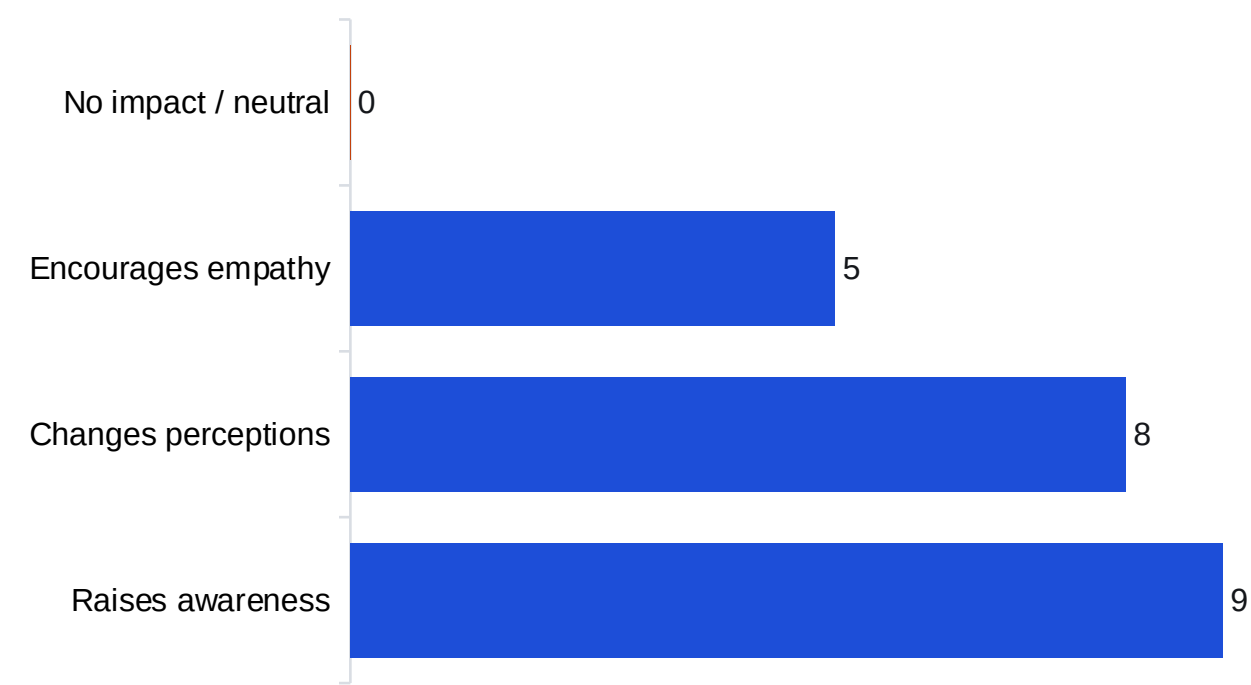
Much practice functions as distributed care, sustained through goodwill and unpaid labour, creating material risks of burnout and attrition.

Codes were constructed in NVivo from 100+ initial codes, then clustered and reviewed against the full dataset.

Focused code	Subtheme	Dimension
Distributed leadership	Shared responsibility	Community-led practice
Co-design and ownership	Participant-led content	Community-led practice
Public encounter design	Solidarity through shared space	Community-led practice
Funding instability	Short-term cycles undermine trust	Resource precarity
Lack of facilitator care	Burnout and attrition	Resource precarity
Metrics vs relationships	Quantification pressure	Resource precarity

What the focus groups said, polled anonymously

How does your combined work influence public understanding of refugees and migration?



0
facilitators selected any option implying neutrality or no impact

Top two
ratings on the scale when asked to rate art's impact on mental health and community resilience

The caveat
several stressed art works best alongside other support, and that introduced too early it can surface more than a person can hold

Art is described as a low-cost public good.

It is low-cost because the people who deliver it
are subsidising it themselves,
with their own money, time and health.

This is the finding that holds all four themes together.

From barrier to action

Barrier	Recommended action	Who is best placed to act
Short-term, insecure funding	Move to multi-year, relational-practice funding with core costs and facilitator time protected	Arts Council England; DHSC and OHID; trusts and foundations; commissioners
Commissioner-facing metrics acting as gatekeeping	Adopt co-created, person-centred evaluation, with not on or for, alongside standard reporting	Funders; evaluators; Centre for Cultural Value; NCCH
Uneven access, referral and dispersal barriers	Embed creative health in social prescribing and link-worker pathways; fund outreach to dispersed communities	NHS England; Primary Care Networks; local authorities

From barrier to action

Barrier	Recommended action	Who is best placed to act
Narrative commodification and the grateful-refugee script	Protect narrative ownership; resource participant-led storytelling on their own terms	Partner organisations; funders; media partners
Facilitator emotional labour, burnout, no capacity for self-care	Recognise and resource facilitation as skilled labour, including supervision, pay and self-care time	Employers; funders; partner organisations; sector bodies
Hostile-environment policy constraining the work	Align creative-health and asylum policy so provision is not undercut by enforcement and destitution	Home Office; DHSC; policymakers; advocacy coalitions

Care without the capacity for self-care becomes unsustainable, and in time a quiet misery.

Creative facilitation offers real routes to
agency, belonging and voice.

Only where the conditions of the work
are themselves just and sustainable.

Thank you.

What this study offers, and what it cost

What it offers

Practitioner knowledge, first-hand
Eighteen people who do this work, treated as knowledge-holders rather than as delivery.

An unoccupied intersection
Between zero and three existing studies sit where this one does.

Depth over breadth
Interviews of up to 75 minutes and two long focus groups reach detail no survey could.

Insider access
Two years embedded with the partner organisation bought trust, and trust bought candour about burnout and money.

Immediately usable
Six barriers mapped to six actions and named actors. A funder can act on it tomorrow.

What it cost, and what it cannot claim

No statistical claim
Eighteen participants. Depth, not representativeness. Nothing here generalises to the sector.

Geographic skew
Fifteen of eighteen are London or South England. Regional practice is under-represented.

Insider position cuts both ways
The closeness that produced candour also shaped what was asked and noticed. The diary records this; it does not remove it.

Emotional weight
Trauma, burnout and a hostile policy climate, held across two years. That is the labour the study itself describes.

Recruited through one network
Fourteen came via the Counterpoints network, which shapes who was reachable and who was not.

Every voice in the study.

71 quotes, 14 practitioners.

The slides that follow carry the full anonymised quote set. All names are pseudonyms.

Mara

“When you talk about isolation it took two groups of people who felt very invisible and isolated and kind of put them together... it took one week... to fall into place.”

Mara · Bridging isolation via community arts

“Asylum seekers and 'refugees' were welcome to join us around a table... a textile project, which was really a form of having a conversation without always having to talk... there was just the most incredible communication between people who quite often couldn't speak the same language.”

Mara · Non-verbal connection and safe spaces

“My personal lived experience - I'm a daughter of a refugee... my grandfather's motto was always tell the stories of people who can't tell them themselves.”

Mara · Personal lived experience & storytelling

“They liked the idea... and were very supportive, but they didn't really want to get any closer. It was too different for them, which was interesting. That's something I learned.”

Mara · Public engagement challenges

Mara

“People who do what I do... we find ourselves slightly isolated because we're balanced between two worlds... People still don't really get it.”

Mara · Feeling “between two worlds”

“If you don't understand the inner workings... the media is going to win quite often... Stop making ['refugees'] a victim... being a refugee is not a profession... allow people to... get their own sort of creative empowerment from it.”

Mara · Media narratives & empowerment

Kiran

"Music is a beautiful thing to... connect, especially when there's language barriers... and emotional trauma... Therapy is one thing, but music just... cuts through."

Kiran · Music as healing & language beyond words

"For me it's all about creating a connection and an idea of belonging and value... giving some form of power through music. A young person... has left behind everything... at the mercy of others. Suddenly having the possibility to create music, write lyrics... bring their own culture into it... can empower them."

Kiran · Belonging, identity & empowerment

"Through music I think they can see the value in their own identity... Even beyond empowerment and narrative, it's also just to get moments of enjoyment and freedom... they're dealing with a lot of pressure... trauma... so... just this window... it feels like we're doing important work."

Kiran · Joy and emotional relief

Kiran

"It's not just walking in with an instrument, saying 'Oh yeah, let's make music.' There's a whole process... warm-ups and games... a playful way. It's not technical, it's accessible."

Kiran · Accessible, playful workshops

"You want [the kids] feeling safe and welcome and that the school has got their back... you're trying to influence things in a positive way... They don't really want to talk about what they've been through... you just find yourself in a place where... you lost all power over your own narrative... So... through music... it can empower them..."

Kiran · Safe, supportive environment

"I've seen a lot of them want to assimilate quickly... they don't want to be perceived as a refugee... So... through music... it can empower them to be like, 'Yeah, this is my identity'... It can give them freedom to express their story or their language..."

Kiran · Challenges & assimilation pressure

Leila

“Nonverbal communication, image making, art making, all of that is just like an instant tap into the psyche and an instant tap into how that person is feeling.”

Leila · Non-verbal communication as instant access

“Creativity is an expression, right? It’s really important self-expression, also giving platform, giving voice, giving agency... there’s so much of what’s happened you’ve had so little control of, and it’s a way of you taking back this sort of control in these moments.”

Leila · Agency, voice and control

“Boundaries, I think, is the key thing. There really needs to be clear boundaries. If you’re working in this field, you need to have some sort of trauma-informed practice. You can’t work without it.”

Leila · Boundaries and trauma-informed practice

“The vicarious trauma that occurs is very, very strong; people are carrying these stories that are ongoing... when the oxygen mask comes, first you put the oxygen mask on yourself and then on your child, like in an airplane.”

Leila · The facilitator’s own safety (vicarious trauma)

Leila

"It's to be seen, witnessed, heard; that's something that is not afforded to this community."

Leila · Being seen and witnessed

"Instead of these exploitative poor-me narratives, it was more like, here's this really incredibly powerful human being who happens to be in this awful asylum system but actually can really give back a lot to society."

Leila · Reframing the narrative / anti-exploitation

"For us it's been a lot about the sisterhood - working with a lot of women and coming together... how you can cheer this person up... they give hugs."

Leila · Women-centred belonging ("sisterhood")

"In the end we made this beautiful installation of his work... it was called Passing Time... like an army of origami, paper cranes coming out."

Leila · Shared authorship and dignity (installation "Passing Time")

Leila

“endless... paper cranes and boats”

Leila · Shared authorship and dignity (installation “Passing Time”)

“would just... chuck in the bin.”

Leila · Shared authorship and dignity (installation “Passing Time”)

“In this particular hotel they put all the Black people in the basement... in a space that was... illegal... They put an architect who... [was] from Sudan... she took pictures... and I was able to take it to [Bell Ribeiro-Addy MP].”

Leila · Witnessing and advocacy (asylum-hotel conditions)

“Within the asylum system... that person’s been transferred... this was somebody who was really contributing, and now it’s gone to Liverpool or something.”

Leila · Continuity broken by relocation

Nadia

"You also need to take care of your own well-being in the process of making [the film]. And I definitely didn't, and... yeah."

Nadia · Artist wellbeing & burnout

"There's a whole initiative called Film in Mind... therapy for filmmakers because filmmakers are... becoming mentally ill from [this work]."

Nadia · Artist wellbeing & burnout

"So much [I would do differently] - just like have money to pay myself to focus on it. That was like the hardest thing. I really made it under the most limited capacity."

Nadia · Funding & capacity limitations

"It's always hard to explain how films work to people... people have expectations that it's going to be some sort of Emmy-award-winning Netflix thing and they're going to get rich... It's just not like that... Managing expectations is a big one that I would want to improve on."

Nadia · Managing expectations

Nadia

"They need a forum to be together with people who are struggling with similar things and have an artistic or creative outlet to kind of let that out."

Nadia · Arts as healing for community

"Documentaries... it's not going to change your life [financially]. You tell these stories because you want to... anybody making a documentary like this isn't doing it to win something big - they do it because they love film... love telling a story."

Nadia · Intrinsic motivation

Samir

"I am an illustrator. I'm also a digital producer, so I make short-format short films... For me, art is a mixture between entertainment, fun, but also social justice."

Samir · Illustration and short film for social justice

"It's just a story of migration and a story of identity and the plasticity of identity, and the meaning of home. All of that is reflected in my artwork."

Samir · Identity, migration and the meaning of home

"Delaying my papers led to me being in a limbo for four years, even though I had a very legal situation on a student visa... After that was resolved I had this sort of exclusive period of creativity which really helped me get back on track."

Samir · Creativity in limbo (Home Office waiting)

"One of my favourite comments was from a woman who said, this is me, this Asian woman with a kid and this poster, that's me. I'm not used to seeing myself represented in art or artwork. So thank you. It makes me feel like I succeeded."

Samir · Representation ("that's me")

Samir

“Creative support needs to be a part of the mental health support... Routine was the biggest tactic ever; I had a creative day, so my Friday was my creative day.”

Samir · Creative support as mental-health support; routine

Amina

"You don't have to talk about your pain or your experience to belong. Typically that is what I find within sessions."

Amina · Belonging without disclosure

"It triggers dopamine that can have a positive impact... stitching, when they use that for healing or some sort of quality time. It's proven that stitching can lower your heart rate."

Amina · Stitching and the body

"The other thing I was trying to incorporate was grounding sessions at the beginning... and object-related creativity, so that it brings a little bit of themselves to it... to highlight how art is in the everyday and how it touches us through memory."

Amina · Grounding and object-led creativity

"The whole thing is about consent and how much someone wants to share, how much someone wants to participate... it is non-disclosure, in terms of we only share what they want us to share."

Amina · Flexibility, consent, led by the room

Amina

"I usually prefer to use the word transformation... healing almost suggests that you're in this position to heal, when actually we can only really heal ourselves."

Amina · Transformation over "healing"

Sara

“Using art as a language, as a means to heal, to centre ourselves and reclaim who we are beyond colonial narratives... especially when you’ve experienced displacement and you don’t necessarily have the words to describe certain experiences.”

Sara · Art as a language to heal

“I would always advocate for hands-on, analogue style: painting, collage, ceramics, printmaking, knitting, anything that requires your hands... that sensory touch, that mind and body flow and connection really just lets your body slow down and be in the moment.”

Sara · Slowness and mind-body connection

“A lot of it was born out of finding a way to express grief... it’s been a means of being able to let go and release and put pen to paper, to communicate things that sometimes I don’t feel like I can really say out loud.”

Sara · Processing grief

“Art holds that power... to heal, to give people a language to grieve through, to express themselves through, to communicate political resistance through... it is proven that it has that capacity.”

Sara · Art’s proven capacity to heal and resist

Sara

"It has an amazing effect on your mental health... in addition to other services, especially if you've gone through particularly traumatic experiences. I'm not saying that it should be done on its own."

Sara · A complement, not a replacement

"You really see how people can come alive when you just give them the tools to be creative... people feeling confident enough to try in the first place, without the pressure of being good at it."

Sara · Confidence and coming alive

Jo

“After six or seven months of doing frontline humanitarian aid relief, it’s all so short-term... I was reaching burnout, and I just thought, this kind of support isn’t sustainable.”

Jo · From frontline aid to sustainable arts

“I’m no longer that outcome-focused. I’m so much more into the process of providing a space for people to come every week and to express themselves, and to connect... to move out of that box of, I’m a refugee.”

Jo · Process over outcome

“The mental health element of supporting people’s wellbeing in terms of being part of a community who notices when they’re not there, who checks in... giving more routine and structure and meaning to their day and their week.”

Jo · A community that notices you

“The work I do is about creating spaces to improve people’s health, like physical health, because they’re getting up, they’re getting active, they’re connecting with their body... all my warm-ups are very embodied.”

Jo · Embodiment and physical health

Jo

“Our asylum system is set on taking away people’s voices and taking away their agency, and that then becomes so internalised... reclaiming your right to happiness and joy and expression and culture.”

Jo · Reclaiming agency and joy

“There’s a real risk of people being reduced to their stories, and reduced to their past... I didn’t leave Nigeria to then come here and spend every day representing Nigeria.”

Jo · Anti-tokenism

Rana

“Rather than feeling sorry... if you actually share the joy in resistance... people feel more energy. Of course people are dying... But... recognizing the people who are still alive and share art with them, that is the key... It's all based on joy, hopefulness, and life... By-product: you're gonna feel better about yourself - and if that's mental health, that's mental health.”

Rana · “Joy in resistance”

“This imagination... it's like giving birth to a new reality. It's really the only hope... capitalism has reached a stage where you cannot imagine an alternative... Art has to offer new ways of imagining... The most imaginative now are asylum seekers... There's so much to unravel there; it could have solutions... If we can imagine and start to believe in an alternative... that's revolutionary.”

Rana · Imagination & alternatives

“We have a brain that gets accustomed to horrors... capitalism is disgusting... Something has changed and we haven't adapted, which gives me hope... Not forgetting death, but recognizing life... We have Wi-Fi even where there's no water - you can't feed people with Wi-Fi, but you can communicate some kind of mental... relief.”

Rana · Media / capitalism critique

Rana

"It's not self-satisfaction, it's like hell yeah!... as if I went to a therapist... The therapist would give me Xanax... But doing something meaningful... fixes stuff that not even the therapist will know... The more we get closer to the problem and address it by action, it's gonna fix things."

Rana · Art as personal healing

"People built the pyramids without money, and it is art. Street art, hip-hop - they never cost much to start... We can network, pool resources - someone has a speaker, someone has a venue... So many things can be done on zero amount of money... We have to be economically clever, not just say 'we need funding.' Use what's there; optimize."

Rana · DIY resourcefulness

"You go back and you're a foreigner; you come here, you don't look the same... There is a third culture produced - it's not fully either - and it's not to be ignored... Working with those people and seeing what they think... has a scary potential of change because... we will have answers for making connection."

Rana · "Third-culture" creativity

Rana

“People won’t move unless they can get funding... rather than looking for an authority telling me that my work is valid enough to receive funding.”

Rana · Funding versus DIY action

“You make friends with people who have phones, who have speakers, and they just bring it to the protest.”

Rana · Funding versus DIY action

“Capitalism is gonna reach a stage where you cannot imagine an alternative, where it’s easier to imagine the end of life... the cancelling of imagination is scary.”

Rana · Imagination versus systemic barriers

“By by-product, you’re gonna feel better about yourself. And if that’s mental health, that’s mental health. I feel so much better when I’ve done stuff.”

Rana · Mental health and empowerment through action

Rana

“Start by going to your local shop... distribute your expenses away from the big stuff to local shops. When you go to the local shop more, you’re seeing more diverse people. Then, from their music, check what other cultures have.”

Rana · Practical everyday interventions

Rima

“I think creative activity is the most useful, effective tool we have to address our physical health, our mental health, our problems... Creative work is our most useful tool to unblock our imaginations, to help us work together.”

Rima · Creative expression for health and change

Kaya

“What if art was the industry that welcomes people, where it welcomes everyone, asylum seekers and refugees alike, to build their life again?”

Kaya · Art as a portal of integration

Mayaan

“Having the puppets there, having Amal there, and having all the children being excited... I had an opportunity to get into a chat with local people at the bus stop who were really against refugees... it was bringing me into a conversation with people I would just maybe never meet.”

Mayaan · Public art bridging communities

“When they do engage, it has a really high impact... but a lot of people who could really benefit are not engaging as much... they need some time to settle, so maybe other kinds of mental health support are needed more than art at first.”

Mayaan · Art’s impact on mental health (basic needs first)

Carly

"I don't use the term safe space. I think you can't guarantee that a space is safe. You can only make it as safe as possible, or secure. Sometimes I use the term brave space... being brave enough to be vulnerable."

Carly · "Safe space" nuance

"I run some training for migrant support workers around how to build creativity into their job roles, as a way to also help overcome language barriers."

Carly · Training and supporting workers

"Facilitation was almost... I had to erase myself, because it was all about the people I was working with, and that made me feel not very nurtured as an artist... feeling burnt out."

Carly · Reciprocal benefits for facilitators

Fareeda

“It was Ramadan, and the people running the funding and the planning didn’t take into account that it was Ramadan... so I started to offer later sessions, or I would send fasting participants home with food for them and their family so they could break their fast together later.”

Fareeda · Cultural and logistical adaptation