STUDIES IN SOCIAL JUSTICE
Volume 17, Issue 3, 428-453, 2023

"Our community needs to heal": Using Photovoice to Explore Intergenerational Memories of Civil War with Young Central Americans in Toronto

JUAN CARLOS JIMENEZ
University of Toronto, Canada

MORGAN POTEET
Mount Allison University, Canada

GIOVANNI CARRANZA
York University, Canada

VERONICA ESCOBAR OLIVO
Toronto Metropolitan University, Canada

ABSTRACT *In 2020, our research collective facilitated a photovoice project titled "Picturing Our Realities: Arts-based Reflections with Central American Youth in Canada," which brought together young, second-generation, and one-and-a-half-generation (born in another country and moved at a young age) Central American identifying people in Toronto to talk about their experiences growing up as children of immigrants. This photovoice project reveals the ways the civil war and migration process is a haunting presence in the lives of second and 1.5 generation Central American Canadians as they grow up and carve their paths as adults. We can see how unresolved social conflict emerges and shapes family memory, sense of self, understandings of community, and means of engaging in community activism and community work. We argue that this act of remembering and paying homage to previous generations is a means of confronting and resisting past injustices and forming ways of healing from the afterlives of violence. This recognition of the afterlives of mass violence, and the calls of action that this recognition entails, may form a powerful catalyst for community organizing and creating community spaces to respond to historical hauntings and structural violence.*

KEYWORDS Central American Canadians; memory; haunting; historic trauma; community; healing

Correspondence Address: Juan Carlos Jimenez, Department of Geography & Planning, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON M5S 1A1; email: juancarlos.jimenez@mail.utoronto.ca

ISSN: 1911-4788

Introduction

In 2020, our research collective facilitated a photovoice project titled, "Picturing Our Realities: Arts-based Reflections with Central American Youth in Canada", which brought together young, second-generation, and one-and-a-half-generation (born in another country and moved at a young age) Central American identifying people in Toronto to talk about their experiences growing up and finding identity and community as children of immigrants. Photovoice is a participant-centered qualitative method that is guided and informed by feminist post-colonial theory and popular education, with the main goals of reflecting on community strengths and weaknesses, promoting critical dialogue about social issues, and fomenting community action and social change (Castleden et al., 2016; Sutton-Brown, 2014).

In a photovoice project, a collective of participants (usually between seven and 10) is assembled and asked to take photos of their surroundings and everyday experiences, and to write reflections on these photos (Amos et al., 2012; Palibroda et al., 2009). These photographs and accompanying narratives, called photovoice, are then shared collectively amongst participants through a focus group, with participants reflecting on what they see and the common themes that are emerging from these photovoice projects (Castleden et al., 2016). From here, participants and researchers plan a way to share these art pieces with the broader public, policymakers and powerholders in the community, with the intention of pushing for policy action and contributing to community building efforts (Jarldorn, 2019). Photovoice ultimately generates a Community Needs Assessment to highlight common barriers amongst the community, and is typically used in Participatory Action Research with populations facing systemic and structural marginalization and silencing in the political sphere (Brydon-Miller & Maguire, 2009; Minkler, 2000; Wang, 1999).

Given the intent of photovoice as a method, it was powerful to hear, in a focus group with young Central American people creating photovoice projects, a young Salvadorian woman tell our collective of researchers and participants that "our community needs to heal," with nods of agreement among our participants. Considering this idea of a photovoice project as a Community Needs Assessment, this participant's reflection that our community needs to heal is an essential insight into the realities of second-generation Central American immigrants to Toronto. From what does the community need to heal? What does healing look like for an immigrant community in a settler-colonial context in Canada? What are some tools and means of healing for second-generation immigrants?

This statement may not surprise students of Central American politics. Central America in recent decades has been characterized by many instances of violence, with periods of civil war in Guatemala (1960-1996), El Salvador (1980-1992), and Nicaragua (1960s-1979, 1980-1990), and contemporary issues of gang violence, forced migration, political authoritarianism, social

instability, and uneven geographic and economic developments across the isthmus (Booth et al., 2020; Hume, 2009; Lukari North, 2021). Salvadorian-American writer Roberto Lovato (2020) writes about these moments of historical violence as a force that fragments parts of the self from familial and cultural history and roots. This process is part of a long-lasting colonial intergenerational trauma from war and genocidal actors of violence that has been central to the formation of the Salvadorian settler state. The 1932 La Matanza massacre of over 30,000 indigenous peasants in a two week time frame, and a brutal civil war from 1980-1992 that claimed at least 90,000 lives and misplaced over one million people, is testimony to this national historic trauma (Cuéllar, 2018; Lovato, 2020).

Historical trauma is defined as cumulative emotional and psychological wounding across generations emanating from massive group trauma, a concept applied extensively to the collective and generational trauma of Indigenous Peoples in North America, and which results in the high prevalence of mental health disorders (Brave Heart et al., 2011). It is relevant to make the case for recognizing traumatic impacts of civil war and genocide on Central American societies given the experiences of extreme violence in the past century, and especially given the recent memories of civil wars on young survivors of this violence (Martin-Baro, 1994).

This photovoice project reveals the ways the civil war and migration process is a haunting presence in the lives of second and 1.5 generation Central American Canadians as they grow up and carve their paths as adults. In the art pieces and narratives participants produced, we can see how unresolved social conflict emerges and continues to be relevant, shaping memory and impacting family, sense of self, identity, and understandings of community. We argue that young Central American Canadians act upon this collective memory, having these narratives inform their life trajectories and means of engaging in community activism and community work. This act of remembering and paying homage to previous generations is a means of confronting and resisting past injustices, resisting current injustices, and forming ways of healing from the afterlives of violence.

The authors of these photovoice art pieces talk about engagement with collective identities as their means of responding to past violence. This political consciousness echoes calls for the formation of communities of resistance, collective identities and community centered knowledge as a means of responding to and resisting historic violence and white-settler colonialism (Lee et al., 2020; Martin-Baro, 1994; Watkins & Shulman, 2008). This recognition of the afterlives of mass violence, and the calls to action that this recognition entails, may form a powerful catalyst for community organizing and build communities of resistance in the wake of structural violences that face contemporary immigrant communities.

All four of the authors were involved in the photovoice project, having taken part in creating our research methodology, outreach to participants, facilitation of photovoice workshops, data analysis, writing of research outputs, and

engaging in community consultations. Three of the four authors identify as part of the Salvadoran diaspora who grew up in Southern Ontario. The remaining author of non-Central American background has worked with the Central American community in Toronto for over two decades in research and activist capacities. All four of our authors identify various stakes with regards to this research, having ourselves lived through forms of racialization, hardships as migrant families, various degrees of personal and familial trauma, and engagement in community work with the Central American community. Our experiences and our constant grappling with the topics of memory and hauntings of past violence have shaped in many ways our world views and influence how we engage with these photovoice art-pieces.

Literature Review: Second and 1.5 Generation Hauntings

In reference to how social violence is remembered and remains relevant to future generations, Avery Gordon (2008) defines "hauntings" as the ways in which past instances of violence make themselves visible and relevant in everyday life, especially when this violence is supposedly over and done (p. xvi). According to Gordon, "a repressed and unresolved social violence is making itself known" (p. xvi), both overtly and covertly, seemingly as ghosts or spectres when no longer repressed, silenced, or blocked from view" (Gordon, 2008, p. xvi). Deeply important to this concept of haunting is the question of "the something to be done" (p. xii). Actors who are "haunted" by these memories or knowledge of past violence are rallied to act upon these memories, recognizing and acting to rectify or reconcile this violence. This concept of "something to be done" bring up questions around agency and longings for the "better world" that was lost during unresolved social violence (p. xii). Future generations interpret, remember, and remold narratives and memories around the past and reconciling these open "soul" wounds.

> To be haunted in the name of a will to heal is to allow the ghost to help you imagine what was lost that never even existed, really. That is its Utopian grace: to encourage a steely sorrow laced with delight for what we lost that we never had. (Gordon, 2008, p. 57)

Grace Cho (2008) writes about the hauntings of the Korean War and the intergenerational silencing of the realities behind Korean women, some of whom were sex workers in US military camps, marrying American GI soldiers during the war and travelling to the United States to begin families. Cho writes about the untold and unsaid traumas of the Korean war and the shaming of women who were victims of sexual violence or who were romantically involved with foreigners; an unresolved trauma occurs as "the haunting effect is produced not so much by the original trauma as by the fact of its being kept hidden" (Cho, 2008, pp. 11). Christina Sharpe (2016) writes about a similar

process in relation to Black peoples in the United States, being "in the wake" of the afterlives of slavery, with lived experiences, memories, and realities shaped, although not exclusively, by legacies of indentureship (pp. 5-9). Sharpe's analysis contains a structural or systemic component, as living in the wake of slavery means inheriting the afterlives of traumatic pasts, in disastrous political economies, indentured labour, structural adjustment, and systemic anti-black racism: "living in the wake means living the history and present of terror, from slavery to the present, as the ground of our everyday Black existence…" (Sharpe, 2016, p. 14).

Writers referring to hauntings underscore how people are not simply haunted by the memories of past violent events, but also engage with this difficult past through memory work, piecing together past experiences and events to re-interpret and re-present past experiences while confronting them in the public narrative. Daniela Jara (2016) writes about this process, working with young adults in Chile who are children of the survivors of Pinochet's dictatorship. Jara draws attention to the everyday life strategies to cope with the legacies of state terror, and the ways in which the past remains present given the lingering effects of personal shame, animosity and unresolved violent conflict that permeate everyday spaces (pp. 3-4). Children of the dictatorship play a role in the making of political culture, providing new voices that rethink what it means to suffer the ongoing effects of state violence and redefining the idea of victimhood (Jara, 2016, p. 11). Part of these acts of responding to trauma is the concept of "return," to a time when a specific event or series of events happened, a time that remains omnipresent in the minds of second-generation diasporas as a means of relating to family trauma. In her work with Cambodian women living in Australia, Maria Hach (2020) writes about the hauntings of the Cambodian genocide on the children of migrants and refugees. Drawing on ethnographic work in Australia and Cambodia, Hach argues that intergenerational hauntings shape the lives of participants and can produce a desire to visit Cambodia, to "return home," not only to the country, but to the past Cambodia that their family members referred to when remembering violence and conflict, as a means of understanding previous generations (Hach, 2020, p. 741-742).

Devgan (2018) writes about the historical tendency of haunting to appear in many instances within a diaspora, including the memories of past massacres, political violence, and racism, an experience that second-generation Sikh diasporas in the United States and Canada learn to navigate, reinterpret, and act upon (pp. 38-39). After conducting field work with Afghan refugee families residing in Denmark and marriage practices, Rytter and Nielsen (2020) write that hauntings reappear and are expressed within moments of intimacy, whereby conflict, war, and atrocities of the past are articulated, negotiated, and contested during prime moments of intimacies within migrant communities. Family members conduct a form of everyday diplomacy as a way of grasping and negotiating violent histories and traumas. The ability and willingness to

articulate new identities, place, and perspectives might be a means of dealing with the ghosts from this past (Rytter & Neilson, 2020, p. 983).

Hauntings have a particular spatial dimension. A geography of trauma exists in the sense that spaces carry the weight and consequences of past violence; space is embedded in the mind, and carries the weight of the past, even on people who were not physically there to witness the violence (Coddington & Micieli-Voutsinas, 2017; Pain, 2021). Rachel Busbridge (2015) writes about this when discussing the case of Lifta, a "ghost village" located outside of Jerusalem. Busbridge examines Lifta as a "haunted geography," in which settler colonial attempts to write nations are confronted by the underlying histories that remain and linger, ghosts of the past of Palestinian claims to land, seen in the underlying graffiti, stories that remain present, and recognition and memory of Palestinians, imagining a reconciliatory "futuring" in the context of the Nakba (Busbridge, 2015, p. 469).

Manchanda and Salem (2020) in their case studies of Afghanistan and Egypt, examine colonial violence and anticolonial developmentalist projects, which leave a lingering memory that is omnipresent in a populace. In revisiting sites of resistance, violence, and contestation, the authors propose haunting as a means of understanding political, social, and economic change in the Middle East, the ways in which spectres of colonial administration and anticolonial nationalism remain relevant in space and nationality (Manchanda & Salem, 2020, p. 243). Cheryl Lawther (2021) contributes to this understanding of haunting in localities that have witnessed conflict and loss, understanding the intersection between unresolved pasts and transmission of trauma in the post-conflict. In writing about the context of Northern Ireland, Lawther says:

> The failure to 'deal with' the legacy of the conflict by the way of formal truth recovery means that for many victims and survivors, the spectres of the past remain in the present…permitting space for the transmission of trauma into lives, spaces and social political fabric of everyday life. (2021, p. 4)

The hauntings of afterlives of violence travel across time, space, and borders. Ana Dragojlovic (2015) writes about the ways in which Indonesia-Dutch diasporas grapple with memories of war, imprisonment and torture, and how Indish travellers who do not purposely invest themselves in memory and genealogy work become overwhelmed by the atmosphere of certain foreign places' feeling connected to a sense of loss that is very much part of their familial history (Dragojlovic, 2015, p. 315). Personal and collective histories of war violence, racialized violence, and displacement, are ingrained in Indo-European intergenerational and gendered family dynamics, where the home becomes a part of a geography of trauma, as home is surrounded by memory of past violence (Doornbos & Dragojlovic, 2022).

The haunting of history appears in everyday realities through the work of institutions, organizations and popular forms of media. Azar Masoumi (2021) writes that Canada as a state-controlled refugee protection, contrary to its

humanitarian narrative, is a site of substantial original violence travelling across actors and institutions. Masouni notes that

> The violence of refugee protection makes itself known in its haunting effects on those who come into contact with it in various capacities [and] are plagued by the psychological ailments that manifest in periodical burnouts, anxiety, melancholy, alcohol abuse, and unrelenting mora and emotional dilemmas. (2021, p. 477)

Performance art, media, music, dance, become sites where these types of narratives around historical acts of violence emerge, spaces where these specters manifest. In the work of Dutch memory artists, Dragojlovic (2021) identifies the contradictory dynamics of silencing and haunted "speakability" that unmasks silence and unsettles the transfer of intergenerational trauma. Rajiva and Schwartz (2018) write about haunting in film as a means of examining historical episodes of war-time gender and sexual violence, and how traumatic pasts co-exist with the current present. Hauntings appear in popular media, reflecting the ghostly appearance of past violence, an omnipresent reminder, especially in Black Diasporic literature that renders past racist violence visible (Chassot, 2018).

Naming traumatic experiences, understanding their lingering aftereffects and impacts, and generating a something that must be done, is a response to traumatic experiences that does not simply render a survivor a victim, but opens space for talking about generational linkages and discussing means of rectifying past violence. With this literature in mind, we explore memories and spectres of the civil war in El Salvador in the 1980s and the various forms of structural violence experienced by first- and second-generation migrants to Canada. We examine the spectres as they emerge in photovoice art-pieces and interviews and discuss how young people act upon this something that must be done, identifying narratives around resistance and resilience that inform life trajectories and community activism.

Context: Central Americans in Canada

In the 1980s, Canada's response to the refugee crisis of Salvadorians, Guatemalans, and Nicaraguans was considerably opened to refugee applications (Garcia, 2006). Central Americans were seen as political refugees in Canada, in need of state-mediated refugee policy and government-assisted settlement, and have experienced consistent naturalization and immigration since the 1990s (Landolt, 2007). With reference to Salvadorian refugees, humanitarian migration infrastructures were shaped by civil society and international efforts at supporting Salvadorian refugees (Basok et al., 2022, p. 262). Latin American migrants to Canada have been a small percentage of the national population (about two percent), because of the type of migratory infrastructures developed in Canada, which focused on permitting highly

skilled professional migration and family reunification over humanitarian and irregular migration (Basok et al., 2022).

Barriers to employment, professional networks, low incomes, language barriers, precarious immigration status, anti-immigrant sentiments, high housing costs, and food insecurity have impacted some of the most marginalized members of the Latinx community in Canada across intersecting structural inequalities of class, race, gender, sexuality and disability (Ochoa & Sampalis, 2014; Serrano, 2015; Vahabi et al., 2011; Wilson-Forsberg, 2015). Latinx young people in the context of schooling have received particular focus since the Toronto District School Board's 2008 report that estimated roughly 40% of Spanish speaking students where abandoning schooling (Schugurensky et al., 2009). Language barriers, students working long hours on top of schooling, low incomes in households, racism and discrimination, and an unsupportive educational environment were identified as strong elements leading to Latinx youth being pushed out of schooling (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2011). Studies with Central American male youth highlight the ways in which young men attempt to find community among peers, both within and outside of ethnonational groups (Poteet & Simmons, 2014, 2016). Recent work on Latinx youth experiences in Ontario's educational system found that educators and counsellors failed to support marginalized students. This pushes youth to find alternative modes of support or depend entirely on themselves, which leaves Latinx youth at a disadvantage in schooling (Parada et al., 2021) and replicates disheartening patterns identified in 2008.

Post-traumatic stress, migration and resettlement, and complicated relationships with immigration and medical institutions, have implications for the mental health of Central American refugees in Canada, leading to depression, stress and anxiety (Bhuyan, 2016; Ginieniewicz & McKenzie, 2014; Pottie et al., 2006). New forms of structural inequity across racialized, gendered, and classed positionings have also served to heighten experiences of marginalization and further traumatize populations who are still in the process of recuperating from war. Mirna Carranza (2008) has written about Salvadorian women in Ontario, Canada, who survived the civil war in the 1980s and came to Canada as refugees. Strategies such as "no pensar" (learning to not think about the past), recalling positive memories, and religious faith, have all been noted as strategies enacted by Salvadorian women to cope with past trauma and share a life of resiliency with future generations (Carranza, 2008, p. 26). Intergenerational teachings around womanhood, piety, religiosity, and Salvadorian mothers sharing positive and traumatic memories with daughters, have been noted as intergenerational means to share lessons on resisting and surviving racism and structural oppression (Carranza, 2007, 2013, 2015). Gendered expectations of caring shape the roles Central American daughters have within their families and communities, resulting in daughters often navigating complex family histories, and intergenerational trauma, and bearing disproportionate caregiving roles in their families and communities (Escobar Olivo et al., 2023).

As part of this process of responding to traumatic histories and new structural inequities, Central American Canadians have been involved in community groups offering solidarity support with communities in Central American through donations, development projects, remittances, projects and cultural associations, which bridge ties across borders (Chute, 2004; Ginieniewicz, 2010). Ethnic social service organizations have developed across the decades of Latin Americans arriving in Canada, forming ethnic networks and negotiating pan-Latin American agendas while navigating differential histories and identities that travel transnationally after migration (Goldring & Landolt, 2014; Landolt & Goldring, 2009). New forms of political participation and resistance by young Latinx activists in Toronto have mobilized to contest white settler colonialism and white supremacy within organizing spaces, and to support decolonial methods and epistemologies in research and community work especially around youth drop out rates and police in schools (Cahuas & Arraiz Matute, 2021; Cahuas, 2020; Villegas et al., 2021).

Methods:

This project began as a research collaboration between our research team and the Hispanic Development Council (HDC) in Toronto, which assisted in the outreach to research participants. Members of the research team engaged in photovoice and digital storytelling projects to familiarize ourselves with the methodology and participate in the activity we were asking our participants to undergo. We took this action to embrace our own subjective experiences, relate ourselves genuinely with research methods and participants, and honour the spirit of mutual and community transformation and self-reflection in community-based research and photovoice (see Figure 1). As mentioned previously, of our research team, three of the authors identify as Salvadorian Canadian graduate students, and one is an "invisible immigrant" from the United States, meaning white and able to pass as Canadian; this author has worked with the Salvadorian community in Toronto for over two decades.

Once our team members completed their projects, we commenced our outreach in 2020 using our own photovoice materials as outreach tools. Eight participants were recruited through the Hispanic Development Council's networks and the research team's networks. Participants engaged in a photovoice workshop with our team and were then given a three-week period to create their photovoice project. When each participant completed their project, they were interviewed by our team members. Once interviews were completed, our team brought participants together for two focus groups. This research was done over Zoom due to COVID-19 restrictions. Preliminary findings were shared with participants on June 17, 2021, and our collective continue our relationships and conversations with participants and engage them in new phases of the project. Pseudonyms are used to refer to individual participants (see Table 1).

Table 1. Participant’s Pseudonyms and Characteristics

Name	**Gender Identity**	**Age**	**Occupation (at the time of the project)**	**Country of Origin**	**Migration path**
Hernan	Male	Late-teens	High school student	El Salvador	Born in Canada
Raul	Male	Early-20s	College student	El Salvador	Born in Canada
Ivania	Female	Mid-20s	Parent	El Salvador	Born in Canada
Lorena	Female	Mid-20s	Law student	El Salvador	Born in Canada
Yesenia	Female	Mid-20s	College student	El Salvador	Born in Canada
Natalie	Female	Mid-20s	University student	El Salvador	Born in Canada
Martha	Female	Mid-20s	Social worker	El Salvador	Born in Canada
Mauricio	Male	Mid-20s	Law student	El Salvador	Born in Canada

Figure 1: Photovoice Submission entitled “My son and I” by Juan Carlos Jimenez

I took this photo while I was doing some work on my computer and my son was watching a kid’s show… for me, this represents my generation and his generation, and how we are both connected…

Findings:

Here we share key insights provided to us by our research participants. Each subsection will share anecdotes from a participant's narratives and selected photovoice submissions.

Ivania

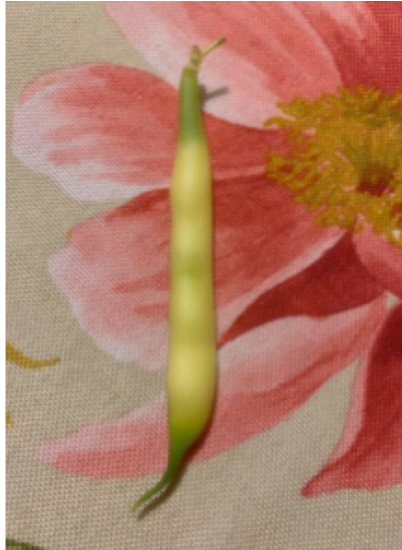
Ivania was around 25 years old at the time of the photovoice project, and is a young mother of two children, ages three and seven. During her interviews, Ivania shared the difficulties that her family experienced while migrating to Canada; her mother migrated to Canada at the age of 17, seeking refuge after her brother-in-law was wrongfully accused of guerrilla activity and assassinated along with other family members. Her family passed through Mexico, where they were sold fraudulent visas; her father was imprisoned and deported back to El Salvador. Ivania mentions that the stressful period of migration may have contributed to her parent's divorce in later years.

Ivania experienced many forms of racialization and policing when an adolescent and teenager, as well as medicalization and institutionalization due to multiple mental health conditions. Hospitals visits for her have been tainted by various difficulties, including a harmful and anxiety-inducing experience while giving birth to her first child. She has received rough treatment from police various times in her life and mentions different barriers to education that she has faced, including high costs and debt for post-secondary.

Although Ivania shares stories of traumatic experiences in El Salvador and Canada, her photovoice materials contain many heartfelt memories and positive experiences shared with her family members. Ivania includes photos of artisanal crafts that were purchased in El Salvador. One of these is a picture of a red bean stock, which Ivania grew in her backyard in the summer (Figure 2). Ivania shared a beautiful story of how she grew this bean in her backyard and joked with her mother that she could now make her Salvadorian-style bean soup with her freshly grown beans. Her mother had eaten beans her whole life and will continue doing so courtesy of her daughter.

Cultural knowledge, or a particular Salvadorian lens, is being passed down between generations. Sharing knowledge includes memories around food, artifacts, culture, and memories of civil war and trauma. Ivania's mother would tell her how her family would eat beans, rice, and eggs every day, as this was the most accessible food for most Salvadorians. Growing up in Canada, she was once a picky eater, but upon hearing her mother's stories from El Salvador, she came to appreciate beans. We see intergenerational connections in these various narratives and images, which are passed down and given new meaning as the participant practices these cultural traditions in Canada and shares these traditions with her mother.

Figure 2. Photovoice submission by “Ivania”



I captured this photo because my mother teases me and says that she has been eating beans her whole entire life. And, I said to my mother jokingly, do not worry, mother, I will make sure that we will have plenty of beans in our backyard someday, and so far, this is the first bean to grow in my garden this summer, and I am looking forward to making the Salvadoran bean soup!

Lorena

Lorena was a law student at the University of Windsor during the project. Her mother came to Canada during the civil war and met Lorena’s father in Canada. In her interview, Lorena talks about her mother’s experiences in El Salvador and migrating to Canada. According to Lorena, her mother wouldn’t tell fairy-tale stories, but instead share anecdotes from her life. Her mother talked to her about the death of Lorena’s grandfather when her mother was 18; Lorena’s mother witnessed various moments of violence in her lifetime, both in El Salvador and in the move to Canada. Lorena comments on her mother’s way of processing these feelings:

> She is not bitter, resentful or angry. She is open and honest about her past because she has moved on from it, and she does not let it bring her any pain… She is the only one who can make me see the light when I'm drowning in anxiety about problems that seem so insignificant compared to the ones she faced. Yet, she never belittles them.

In this quotation, Lorena notes how her mother counsels her and guides her. It is evident that the civil war, and the hardships experienced by her mother and family, remain in the memory of both mother and daughter even as they work past these painful experiences. These women are informed by these past experiences of pain, learning to cope in the future that presents new hardships. Lorena underscores how her mother would discuss very openly the realities of the civil war, migration, gender violence, and family struggles.

Lorena shared a picture of her garden, which she began to grow in the summer of 2020, and accompanied the photo with a narrative about her maternal grandmother (Figure 3). Gardening makes her feel closer to her grandmother, who would take care of her siblings when her parents went to work and garden for hours. As narrated by this participant:

> I am still so amazed that she was able to come to a new country with her eight children, after her husband died during the Civil War, and make a new home for herself. Despite her hardships, she never turned anyone away, and she always had a smile on her face. I'm sure she had moments of sadness and loneliness, but she never let that consume her. She was a burst of colour in a dark world, and I miss her terribly.

Figure 3. Photovoice submission by "Lorena"

She was a burst of colour in a dark world, and I miss her terribly.

Many life lessons are being identified in this photo about gardening, including knowledge about the civil war, the violence witnessed by her grandmother, and her grandfather's death. Another message is the story of migration as a refugee with eight children. At the same time, stories around

gardening, taking care of family members, warm smiles, feeding family members, and being a "burst of colour in a dark world" are positive messages and memories that are passed down as life lessons.

Lorena mentions that hearing about her family's past struggles has contributed to her perspectives on the world and social justice issues. Her memory of her family's working-class experience inspires her to seek out opportunities to work with and contribute to her community. She has recently worked with the Hispanic Development Council, researching Latin American people's access to legal aid in Toronto. Lorena reflects on these messages and notes that she, in some way, wants to pass down these teachings to new generations.

Martha

Martha begins her photovoice production with a mural piece located in her home neighborhood of Jane and Woolner in the West End of Toronto. The mural (see Figure 4), a beautiful art piece that depicts the multicultural make up of the neighborhood, signifies to her the experiences of growing up in the area, which is low-income and has much multicultural diversity. Her family moved into the area during the civil war, and many family friends also migrated to this area. Martha grew up with a sense of community. The storefront, or mercadito, near her home was a common place to socialize and meet with other Salvadorians and Mexicans.

Figure 4. Photovoice submission by "Martha"

I'm a second-generation immigrant, and when my parents migrated to Toronto, they chose to live in a community known to many Central Americans, South Americans, and the Black community.

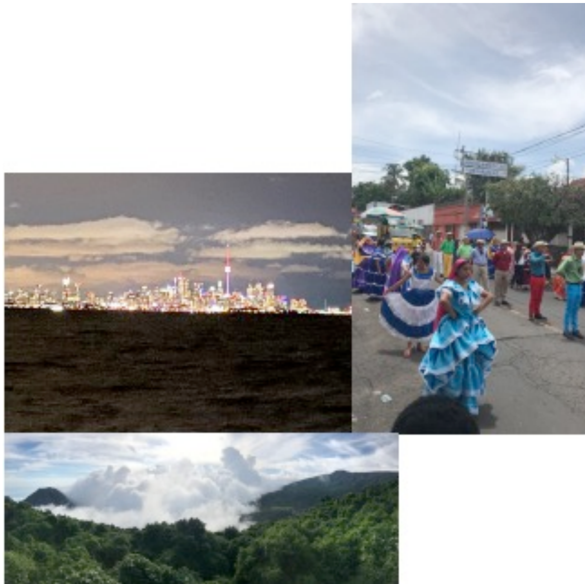
Martha mentions in her interview that her family were originally Milpa farmers. While in El Salvador, her grandfather's convenience store was raided several times by the Salvadorian military, which pushed her family to move out of the violent context. Her parents arrived in Canada in the 1980s as refugees, trekking from El Salvador, through Mexico and the United States, and to Canada where they applied for asylum. Her mother crossed the Rio Grande to gain entry to the United States, and both her mother and father were detained while living in California. Martha shared that these life histories and stories instilled the notion of being "solidario" or being helpful and compassionate with your neighbours. Cooking for newcomers and sharing toys were common in her household to help people who had recently arrived in her community.

In one of her photovoice submissions, Martha includes a photo of Cerro Verde in Santa Ana, El Salvador, and right above it, pictures of the Toronto skyline and a folkloric Independence Day dance that she captured while visiting El Salvador (Figure 5). Martha's relationship with her Salvadorian and Canadian identities is complex. When travelling in El Salvador she feels and is read as "gringa," or North American, and while in Canada she feels out of place due to her experiences of racialization and othering as an immigrant woman of colour, and because of her affection for her cultural roots.

As a child, Martha would act as a family translator of documents from school, government, and social workers, as her mother went on disability and her brother had behavioural problems. In schooling, Martha was placed in English as a second language (ESL) class, as she was mixing Spanish and English vocabulary. Martha shared that the stigma around being labelled an ESL student followed her through her schooling; while she had some trouble reading, she felt the label didn't relate to her. In grade 6, the school wanted to place her in Special Ed class, which was avoided when a teacher advocated on her behalf. "It would have been hard to get out of that label," said Martha in her interview.

Martha is now a social worker in the Peele District School Board. She received her Bachelor of Social Work at Toronto Metropolitan University, and her Master of Social Work at the University of Toronto. Martha mentions that her parents were an enormous influence on her social work education. Messages such as "Dios te acompane, y ponete las pilas," translated loosely as "may God accompany you, and put on the batteries," were accompanied by narratives around cultural teachings and the realities her family faced during the civil war. Martha mentioned in her interview how stories of the civil war gave her knowledge of unequal global power relations and colonial continuities that resulted in mass violence in El Salvador, and she connected this history directly with her own experience as an immigrant child. The participant related these two experiences together, of her family surviving violence and herself surviving structural violence in schooling. She chooses to act upon this process through social work and engaging in protests and community activism to respond to these injustices.

Figure 5. Photovoice submission by "Martha"



The first language that I learnt growing up was Spanish. My parents did not speak a lot of English. I was placed in ESL the moment I was enrolled in school. I would mix up my Spanish and English... I always felt that once I was labelled as an ESL student, the label followed me throughout all of my education until one day I had just one teacher advocate for me.

Natalie

Natalie was a psychology student at York University at the time of her interview. Natalie's photovoice presentation begins with the souvenirs her parents have around the house (see Figure 6). According to Natalie, these family treasures are a constant reminder and representation of her roots: that her family is originally from El Salvador. The story of Natalie's relationship with El Salvador also begins with the civil war. Natalie shared with us in her interview that her parents travelled from El Salvador to the United States by land, making a trek through Guatemala and Mexico to reach the United States. Natalie's father had been in the military, and her mother and father made the decision to leave El Salvador to "escape the violence." Natalie told me a story that her parents would share with her about their migration: on the way from Mexico to the United States, the car trunk where her parents were hiding could not open. The coyote (human smuggler) tried to open the trunk, but with the risk of being caught, fled the scene. Her father used a switchblade to open the

trunk and escape. One of her uncles picked up her father and mother and drove them to Canada, where they moved to Toronto and applied for refugee status.

Figure 6. Photovoice submission by "Natalie"

This photo of souvenirs from El Salvador represents a little bit of my roots that are hung around my house. It's a reminder that my parents came to Canada to create a better life for themselves, my siblings and me. It's also a reminder of my identity.

This history, Natalie notes, makes her appreciate her family, gives focus to her life. Since moving to Canada, Natalie's father had faced schizophrenia and bipolar disorders, which she connects to his history during the civil war and witnessing atrocities. At one point, her father mentions that he was imprisoned during the war by his commanders for not following orders. Her father's experiences with mental health difficulties caused various moments of difficulty that her family has learned to manage. Natalie notes that these experiences with her family inspired her to engage in volunteer work and study psychology at York University. Natalie has volunteered in residential homes for adults with mental illness and has worked in a youth engagement program in her home community of Rexdale.

Relics, heirlooms, foods and bedtime stories were mentioned and photographed in Natalie's project as symbols of happiness and positive memories, and objects that hold memory and remind her of struggles and hardships her family has endured or overcome. Natalie shared a picture of her mother's wedding ring, which was given to Natalie as a gift as the ring did not

fit her mother anymore. Although the ring symbolizes her parents' love for her, it also reminds her of her family's many struggles when fleeing the civil war in El Salvador and their non-status migration journey through El Salvador, Mexico, United States and Canada.

Yesenia

Yesenia is a singer of Latin genre music and was studying dental hygiene at George Brown College at the time of the interview. In her photovoice materials, Yesenia touches upon one photo of her father and grandfather sitting together on the curb in front of her grandfather's home in San Salvador, eating together. This photo was taken during a family trip to El Salvador, and for Yesenia this picture symbolized roots and the notion of coming back home and connecting to family and cultural identity despite the distance between El Salvador and Canada.

In her interview narrative, Yesenia shares stories that her parents would share with her, of seeing young high school and elementary school students recruited into the Salvadorian military, and constant raids and policing of rural communities. Yesenia's narrative emphasizes the notion of hard work and perseverance as a cornerstone of her understanding of cultural identity, a cornerstone that defines her Salvadorian-ness. Pushing your family forward with successes is a narrative that Yesenia appreciates, yet she recognizes how it would at times put much stress on her family. Yesenia tells a beautiful story of a time she visited El Salvador when she was little (under 10 years old) and began selling fruits on the street like the vendors she saw (see Figure 7). These experiences, of hardworking fruit and food vendors, of people working hard for their livelihood, marked her very intimately.

In a photo entitled "Roots" (see Figure 8), Yesenia mentions how the previous generations taught her to appreciate her cultural heritage, her traditions, food, and her history, including that of the civil war. This participant centers this pride in her cultural knowledge as a prominent aspect of her identity and well-being. In this photo and caption, the pride and happiness in one's roots are juxtaposed to the harmful stereotypes she had grown up hearing about "criminal/ghetto" Latinos at school. For this participant, it seems that pride in one's culture is a type of response or resistance – feeling proud of oneself and one's culture despite being the target of harmful stereotypes and racialization.

Figure 7. Photovoice submission by "Yesenia"

Hard work is the foundation of many immigrant homes as it is hard work and determination that catapults a family forward after making sacrifices to move to another country.

Figure 8. Photovoice submission by "Yesenia"

…it can be a beautiful thing to see and an amazing thing to encounter. A Canadian citizen, child of immigrants who boldly and proudly represents their families land and history…we need to be okay with our accents and difficult of others not understanding us. We need to be ok with the difference in our foods because it is the food of our ancestors and is what makes us who we are.

Discussion: Haunting, Memory, and the "something that must be done"

One of the most consistent themes emerging in the photovoice narratives and interviews is the presence that the civil war plays in the life stories young people tell about themselves. This constant reference to the war acts like a type of genesis that includes narratives around their family's migration, the various difficulties that their parents faced to get to Canada, and the hardships around adapting to a new Canadian culture. At the roots of this experience is the treatment of a racialized or colonized people as disposable (Giroux, 2006; Mezzadra et al., 2013; Morgensen, 2011), as Central Americas are rendered as a population subservient to the geopolitical needs of US and Cold War empires in the 1980s, and as a racialized body of immigrants in Canada's socially and racially stratified society in the 2000s. Historical trauma of the civil war coincides with new traumas in the Global North, further engraining deeply embedded wounds across generations.

Martin-Baro (1994), writing on the psychological impacts of the war in El Salvador in the 1980s prior to his assassination by US-trained Salvadorian death squads, identifies how the emotional and traumatic pains of violence would have afterlives in the minds of many children who bore witness to this trauma, and their descendants. The literature on afterlives discusses the ways in which memory of past instances of violence remains present in future generations and places that still contain memory (Busbridge, 2015; Lawther, 2021). In these photovoice projects, we can see the continued relevance of the civil war and the remaining pains from this period in family heirlooms, souvenirs, oral stories, familial practices, and narratives around hard work identified as part of understandings of culture and place. Memories and notions of identity and community contain these important signifiers of conflicts remembered. Spaces and homes contain these constant spatial reminders of an unresolved past.

Along with stories on historic trauma from the war and migration, participants also shared stories around happiness, warmth of the family, and life lessons, which refer to the past and present in a positive light. Sharing stories of gardening with parents and grandparents, sharing pupusas and other Salvadorian foods amongst family members, enjoying family heirlooms, spending time with family, and visits to El Salvador, are regarded with intimacy and happiness. These narratives are not juxtaposed to the stories of trauma. Instead, they are often told together, and both contain important life lessons around hardships, resistance, resilience, happiness, family, and struggle.

A distinctive characteristic of this research project is the ways in which these memories of violence relate to the sense that something that must be done. Hauntings are a call to action, an inspiration for rectifying and responding to past social injustices and feelings of redress that remains present for witnesses and secondary-witnesses to trauma (Cho, 2008; Gordon, 2008). Members of this photovoice project narrate the different ways they felt these lessons around

trauma and cultural teachings influence their paradigms around social justice, hard work, and future life trajectories, with an appreciation for the experiences of their family members.

In some instances, participants identify these persistent hauntings as a main reason for their life trajectory decision making, responding to the mental health issues that remain pertinent to their families and communities, or working with young people who have also in some way dealt with immigration and refugee difficulties, racism, and class and gender barriers in schooling. We see this clearly with decisions around studying social work, psychology, law, cultural work, and volunteering. Acting upon the something that must be done when the past seems ever relevant in everyday realities is a constant process of memory making and reformulating meaning, creating new frameworks and narratives that inform life trajectories, a process that is referred to in discussions of hauntings in diasporas that have been shaped by past conflicts (Devgan, 2018; Hach, 2020; Jara, 2016; Rytter & Nielsen, 2020).

In our research for this project, our research team reached out to members of the Central American Diaspora in Toronto. Those individuals who decided to take part in this project were young people who were in some way socially active, involved in community organizations, educated, and with a fervor to engage in community work. A common experience around grappling with the effects and implications of past trauma facilitates and inspires community action, as young people look to rectify or respond to past trauma and work towards communities of resistance (Lee et al., 2020; Watkins & Shulman, 2008).

Given a specific and small sample size, this study reveals some ways in which recognition and rectification of historic trauma may serve as powerful mobilizing tools for political and socially engaged Central American youth who recognize the implications of civil war, structural violence, and a hostile social environment for immigrants, and are looking for means for social action to rectify these injustices. Participants mentioned consistently that they were already socially engaged, having done volunteer work, or working in professions where they were involved with Latin Americans in Canada. The use of photovoice in this project also contributes to this sense of something that must be done, partially due to the method's intention to contribute to community building and critical consciousness (Castleden et al., 2016; Gupta et al., 2019; Jarldorn, 2019).

With this project we find a potent framework for working with young people in the Central American diasporas. Working through the concept of the afterlives of violence and rectifying past historical injustices is a powerful organizing narrative for efforts to build community spaces and work with members of the Central American diasporas. A key question that emerges from this study is the need for intergenerational dialogue between generations who survived war, and generations who carry this memory while making new futures and futurities.

Conclusion

Civil wars and migratory traumas remain a spectre or haunting in the lives of Central American Canadians, manifesting in everyday realities and memories related to family and notions around home. Memories of civil wars are transmitted as life lessons, as symbolic memory that serves to teach and to inform of this past, a sacred space that facilitates the sharing of experiences and formation of community and identity. With references to collective memory, storytelling, heirlooms, spatial reminders, and cultural events, photovoice revealed some of the ways in which the period of civil wars in Central America in the 1980s remains a consistent narrative that is shared with future generations, alongside memories of happiness, family, resistance, and resilience. These narratives shape life trajectories, everyday activism, and understandings of social justice.

Young Central American Canadians also engage with family and cultural history, reworking memories of the civil war and migratory trauma as part of their life narratives. The injustice during civil war and the migration process is a consistent reference for our collective of Central American Canadians, referring to hardships and losses experienced during civil war. This is pronounced, to the point that our collective mentioned that "our community needs to heal" when thinking back about the many violences witnessed by their families, and the struggles that they endure as second-generation immigrants. Through their everyday actions, Central American Canadians resist, reconcile, repair, and redress the various emotional wounds present in their families and their generations, both working towards getting past the trauma, and acting upon these life lessons to be active members of their chosen communities. Recognizing this past violence and working to redress or respond to this trauma are powerful organizing tools to create community space in the Central American diaspora.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank all the participants involved in this photovoice project; your collaboration is greatly appreciated. We would also like to thank the various allies in the Central American and non-Central American community who provided feedback on our results during various conference presentations. Special thanks to the Hispanic Development Council in Toronto, especially Luis Carillos and Duberlis Ramos, who were our community partners in this research project.

References

Amos, S., Read, K., Cobb, M., & Pabani, N. (2012). *Facilitating a photovoice project: What you need to know!* The Novia Scotia Participatory Food Costing Project of the Novia Scotia Food Security Network. https://foodarc.ca/makefoodmatter/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/VOICES_PhotovoiceManual.pdf

Basok, T., Goldring, L., Landolt, P., Mata, F., & Villegas, P. E. (2022). Latin American migration to Canada: Understanding socially differentiated inclusions. In X. Bada, J. Durand, A. E. Feldmann & S. Schütze (Eds.), *The Routledge history of modern Latin American migration* (pp. 261-274). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003118923-22

Bhuyan, R. (2016). 'Once You Arrive, Se Te Sala Todo (Everything is Salted)': Latina migrants' search for 'dignity and a right to life' in Canada. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, *14*(4), 411-431.

Booth, J. A., Wade, C. J., & Walker, T. W. (2020). *Understanding Central America: Global forces and political change* (7th ed.). Routledge.

Brave Heart, M. Y. H., Chase, J., Elkins, J., & Altschul, D. B. (2011). Historical trauma among Indigenous peoples of the Americas: Concepts, research, and clinical considerations. *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs*, *43*(4), 282-290. https://doi.org/10.1080/02791072.2011.628913

Brydon-Miller, M., & Maguire, P. (2009). Participatory action research: Contributions to the development of practitioner inquiry in education. *Educational Action Research*, *17*(1), 79-93. https://doi.org/10.1080/09650790802667469

Busbridge, R. (2015). On haunted geography: Writing nation and contesting claims in the Ghost Village of Lifta. *Interventions*, *17*(4), 469-487. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369801X.2014.937735

Cahuas, M. C. (2020). The struggle and (im)possibilities of decolonizing Latin American citizenship practices and politics in Toronto. *Environment & Planning D: Society & Space*, *38*(2), 209-228. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775820915998

Cahuas, M., & Arraiz Matute, A. (2021). Enacting a Latinx decolonial politic of belonging: Latinx community workers' experiences negotiating identity and citizenship in Toronto, Canada. *Studies in Social Justice*, *14*(2), 268-286. https://doi.org/10.26522/ssj.v14i2.2225

Carranza, M. E. (2007). Building resilience and resistance against racism and discrimination among Salvadorian female youth in Canada. *Child & Family Social Work*, *12*(4), 390-398. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2206.2007.00492.x

Carranza, M. E. (2008). Salvadorean women speak: Coping in Canada with past trauma and loss. *Canadian Social Work Review, 25*(1), 23-36

Carranza, M. E. (2013). Value transmission among Salvadorian mothers and daughters: Marianismo and sexual morality. *Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal*, *30*(4), 311-327. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10560-012-0291-z

Carranza, M. E. (2015). Protesting against mothers' surveillance: Salvadorian mothers and their daughters negotiating adolescence in a foreign context. *Journal of Family Social Work*, *18*(2), 106-122. https://doi.org/10.1080/10522158.2015.1005784

Castleden, H., Sloan Morgan, V., & Franks, A. (2016). Not another interview! Using photovoice and digital stories as props in participatory health geography research. In J. Baxter & N. E. Fenton (Eds.), *Practicing qualitative research in human geography* (pp.167-189). Routledge.

Chassot, J. (2018). *Ghosts of the African diaspora: Re-visioning history, memory, and identity*. Dartmouth College Press.

Cho, G. (2008). *Haunting and the Korean diaspora: Shame, secrecy, and the forgotten war*. University of Minnesota Press.

Chute, T. (2004). *'Seguir luchando' The struggle continues: Salvadorian political participant in Toronto, A participatory action research project* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of Toronto.

Coddington, K., & Micieli-Voutsinas, J. (2017). On trauma, geography, and mobility: Towards geographies of trauma. *Emotion, Space & Society*, *24*, 52-56. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emospa.2017.03.005

Cuéllar, J. E. (2018). Elimination/deracination: Colonial terror, La Matanza, and the 1930s race laws in El Salvador. *American Indian Culture & Research Journal*, *42*(2), 39-56. https://doi.org/10.17953/aicrj.42.2.cuellar

Devgan, S. (2018). A haunted generation remembers. *Contexts*, *17*(4), 36-41. https://doi.org/10.1177/1536504218812867

Doornbos, J., & Dragojlovic, A. (2022). 'The past should not affect the children': Intergenerational hauntings in the homes of Indo-European families. *Gender, Place & Culture*, *29*(8), 1141-1161. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2021.1950644

Dragojlovic, A. (2015). Affective geographies: Intergenerational hauntings, bodily affectivity and multiracial subjectivities. *Subjectivity*, *8*(4), 315-334. https://doi.org/10.1057/sub.2015.15

Dragojlovic, A. (2021). Practising affect for haunted speakability: Triggering trauma through an interactive art project. *History & Anthropology*, *32*(4), 426-441. https://doi.org/10.1080/02757206.2021.1901287

Escobar Olivo, V., Poteet, M., Carranza-Hernandez, G., & Jimenez, J. C. (2023). Our Daughters: Central American Women, Intergenerational Trauma, and the Gender of Caring. Canadian Ethnic Studies, 55(1), 25–45. https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2023.0001

Essed, P. (2007). The integration of racism into everyday life: The story of Rosa N.. In T. Das Gupta, C. E. James, R. C. A. Maaka, G.-E. Galabuzi & C. Andersen (Eds.), *Race and racialization: Essential readings* (pp. 209-216). Canadian Scholars' Press.

Garcia, M. C. (2006). *Seeking refuge: Central American migration to Mexico, the United States, and Canada*. University of California Press. https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520939431

Gaztambide-Fernández, R. A. (2011). *Proyecto Latino Year 1: Exploratory Research. Report to the Toronto District School Board*. Centre for Urban Schooling, Department of Curriculum, Teaching & Learning, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto. https://books.scholarsportal.info/en/read?id=/ebooks/ebooks0/gibson_cppc/2011-09-16/1/10484443

Ginieniewicz, J. (2010). Identity politics and political representation of immigrants: The perceptions of Latin Americans in Toronto. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, *8*(3), 261-283. https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2010.501280

Ginieniewicz, J., & McKenzie, K. (2014). Mental health of Latin Americans in Canada: A literature review. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, *60*(3), 263-273. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020764013486750

Giroux, H. A. (2006). Reading Hurricane Katrina: Race, class, and the biopolitics of disposability. *College Literature*, *33*(3), 171-196. https://doi.org/10.1353/lit.2006.0037

Goldring, L., & Landolt, P. (2014). Transnational migration and the reformulation of analytical categories: Unpacking Latin American refugee dynamics in Toronto. In L. Rivera-Sánchez & F. Lozano-Ascencio (Eds.), *The practice of research on migration and mobilities* (Vol. 14) (pp. 103-127). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-02693-0_5

Gordon, A. F. (2008). *Ghostly matters: Haunting and the sociological imagination*. University of Minnesota Press.

Gupta, N., Simms, E.-M., & Dougherty, A. (2019). Eyes on the street: Photovoice, liberation psychotherapy, and the emotional landscapes of urban children. *Emotion, Space & Society*, *33*, 100627. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emospa.2019.100627

Hach, M. (2020). Tracing the past, uncovering the present: Intergenerational hauntings among Cambodian-Australian women. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *41*(6), 740-755. https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2020.1831456

Hume, M. (2009). Researching the gendered silences of violence in El Salvador. *IDS Bulletin*, *40*(3), 78-85. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1759-5436.2009.00042.x

Jara, D. (2016). *Children and the afterlife of state violence: Memories of dictatorship*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Jarldorn, M. (2019). *Photovoice handbook for social workers: Method, practicalities and possibilities for social change*. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-94511-8

Landolt, P. (2007). Nation-state building projects and the politics of transnational migration: Locating Salvadorans in Canada, the United States, and El Salvador. In G. Yurdakul & Y.

M. Bodemann (Eds.), *Citizenship and Immigrant Incorporation* (pp. 141-162). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-07379-2_8

Landolt, P., & Goldring, L. (2009). Immigrant political socialization as bridging and boundary work: Mapping the multi-layered incorporation of Latin American immigrants in Toronto. *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, *32*(7), 1226-1247. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870802604016

Lawther, C. (2021). Haunting and transitional justice: On lives, landscapes and unresolved pasts. *International Review of Victimology*, *27*(1), 3-22. https://doi.org/10.1177/0269758020945144

Lee, B., Caranza, M., McGrath, S., & Moffatt, K. (2020). Organizing within communities that have experienced collective trauma: tensions, contradictions, and possibilities. In S. Todd & S. Savard (Eds.), *Canadian perspectives on community development* (pp. 65-90). University of Ottawa Press.

Lovato, R. (2020). *Unforgetting: A memoir of family, migration, gangs, and revolution in the Americas*. Harper Collins.

Lukari North, L. (2021). The historical and contemporary causes of 'survival migration' – From Central America's Northern Triangle. *Revista de Estudios Globales. Análisis Histórico y Cambio Social*, *1*(1), 43-70. https://doi.org/10.6018/reg.497751

Manchanda, N., & Salem, S. (2020). Empire's h(a)unting grounds: Theorising violence and resistance in Egypt and Afghanistan. *Current Sociology*, *68*(2), 241-262. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392119886866

Martin-Baro, I. (1994). *Writings for a Liberation Psychology* (A. Aron & S. Corne, Eds.). Harvard University Press.

Masoumi, A. (2021). Contagious terror: Violence, haunting and the work of refugee protection. *Studies in Social Justice*, *15*(3), 475-496. https://doi.org/10.26522/ssj.v15i3.2528

Mezzadra, S., Reid, J., & Samaddar, R. (Eds.). (2013). *The biopolitics of development: Reading Michel Foucault in the postcolonial present*. Springer India. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-81-322-1596-7

Minkler, M. (2000). Using participatory action research to build healthy communities. *Public Health Reports, 115*(2-3). https://doi.org/10.1093/phr/115.2.191

Morgensen, S. L. (2011). The biopolitics of settler colonialism: Right here, right now. *Settler Colonial Studies*, *1*(1), 52-76. https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2011.10648801

Ochoa, S. C., & Sampalis, J. (2014). Risk perception and vulnerability to STIs and HIV/AIDS among immigrant Latin-American women in Canada. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 16*(4), 412-425. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2014.884632

Pain, R. (2021). Geotrauma: Violence, place and repossession. *Progress in Human Geography*, *45*(5), 972-989. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132520943676

Palibroda, B., Krieg, B., Murdock, & Havelock, J. (2009). *A Practical guide to photovoice: Sharing pictures, telling stories and changing communities.* The Prairie Women's Health Centre of Excellence.

Parada, H., Olivo, V. E., & Bravo, F. L. (2021). Latinx youths' experiences in the Ontario education system: Race, invisibility, and capital. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, *53*(1), 69-87. https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2021.0003

Poteet, M., & Simmons, A. (2014). Schooling goals and social belonging among Central American-origin male youth in Toronto. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, *46*(3), 55-75. https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2014.0047

Poteet, M., & Simmons, A. (2016). Not boxed in: Acculturation and ethno-social identities of Central American male youth in Toronto. *Journal of International Migration & Integration*, *17*(3), 867-885. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-015-0442-0

Pottie, K., Brown, J. B., & Dunn, S. (2006). The resettlement of Central American men in Canada: From emotional distress to successful integration. *Refuge*, *22*(2), 101-111. https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.21335

Rajiva, M., & Schwartz, A. (2018). Haunting and the aesthetics of trauma in *A Woman in Berlin* and *For Those Who Can Tell No Tales:* Redefining cultural memory. *Slavonica*, *23*(2), 75-90. https://doi.org/10.1080/13617427.2018.1555923

Rytter, M., & Nielsen, A. G. (2020). Marriage in the ruins of war: Intergenerational hauntings in the Afghan diaspora. *Ethnicities*, *20*(5), 983-1002. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796819896100

Schugurensky, D. & Mantilla, D., & Serrano, J. F. (Eds.). (2009). *Four in ten: Spanish-speaking youth and early school leaving in Toronto*. LARED/Transformative Learning Centre, OISE/UT. http://fcis.oise.utoronto.ca/~lared/fourinten2009F.pdf

Serrano, A. (2015). 'How am I going to work?': Barriers to employment for immigrant Latinos and Latinas living with HIV in Toronto. *Work*, *51*(2), 365-372. https://doi.org/10.3233/WOR-141978

Sharpe, C. E. (2016). *In the wake: On Blackness and being*. Duke University Press.

Sutton-Brown, C. A. (2014). Photovoice: A methodological guide. *Photography & Culture*, *7*(2), 169-185. https://doi.org/10.2752/175145214X13999922103165

Vahabi, M., Damba, C., Rocha, C., & Montoya, E. C. (2011). Food insecurity among Latin American recent immigrants in Toronto. *Journal of Immigrant & Minority Health*, *13*(5), 929-939. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10903-010-9384-y

Villegas, P. E., Landolt, P., Freeman, V., Hermer, J., Basu, R., & Videkanic, B. (2021). Contesting settler colonial accounts: Temporality, migration and place-making in Scarborough, Ontario. *Studies in Social Justice*, *14*(2), 321-351. https://doi.org/10.26522/ssj.v14i2.2211

Wang, C. C. (1999). Photovoice: A participatory action research strategy applied to women's health. *Journal of Women's Health*, *8*(2), 185-192. https://doi.org/10.1089/jwh.1999.8.185

Watkins, M., & Shulman, H. (2008). *Toward psychologies of liberation*. Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230227736

Wilson-Forsberg, S. (2015). 'We don't integrate, we adapt': Latin American immigrants interpret their Canadian employment experiences in Southwestern Ontario. *Journal of International Migration & Integration*, *16*(3), 469-489. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-014-0349-1