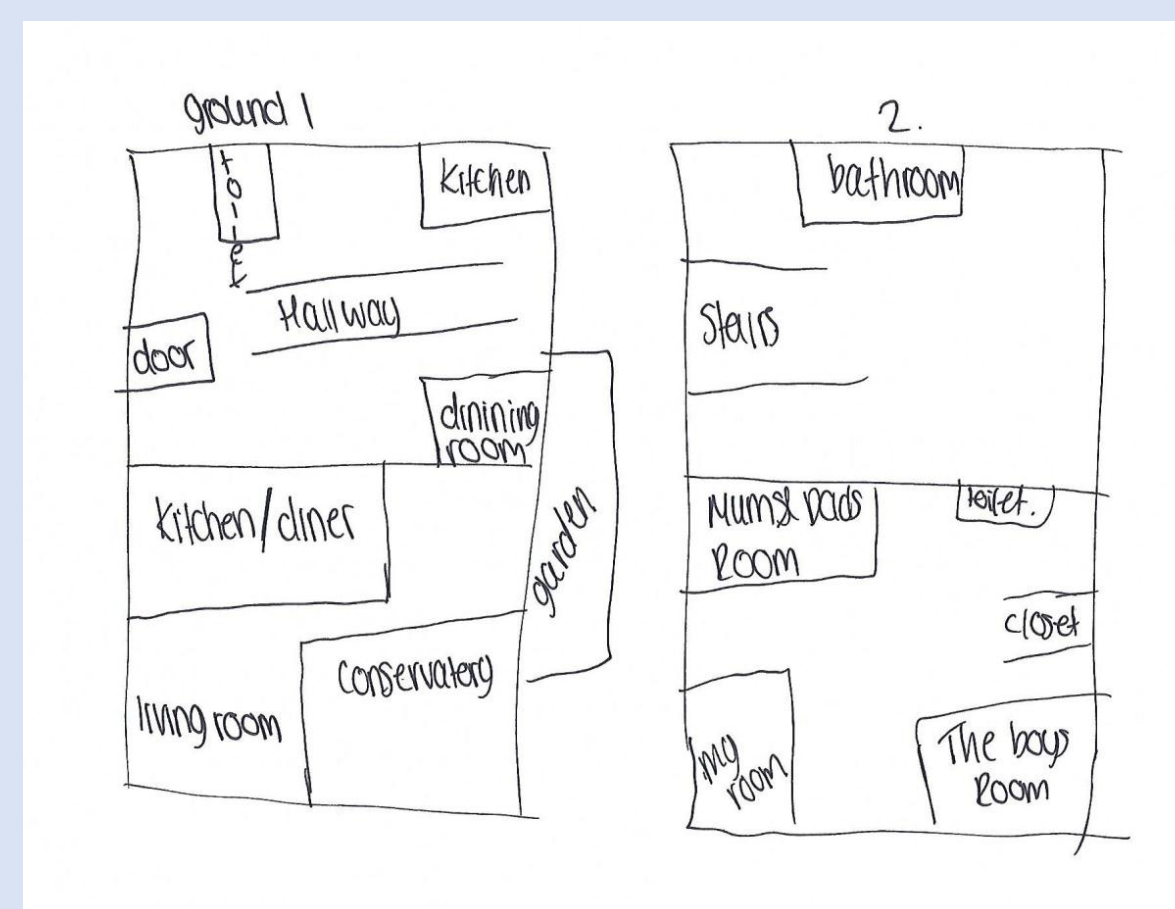


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Well when it (((violence))) would happen with (older brother) it was always in the bathroom, but with mum, it was between the kitchen, the garden, living room – all downstairs basically. Downstairs was never safe if Dad was about because they'll be an argument. He'd make an argument out of an old argument, so downstairs was all his power, I suppose. (Jess, 18)

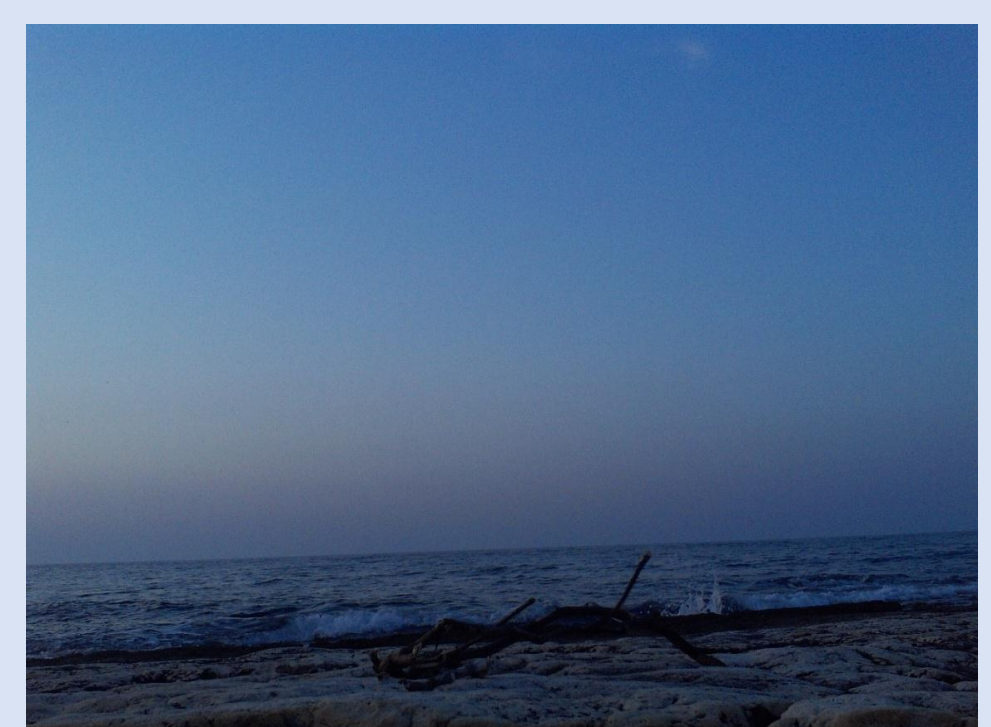


Map of Rachel's Home and Garden



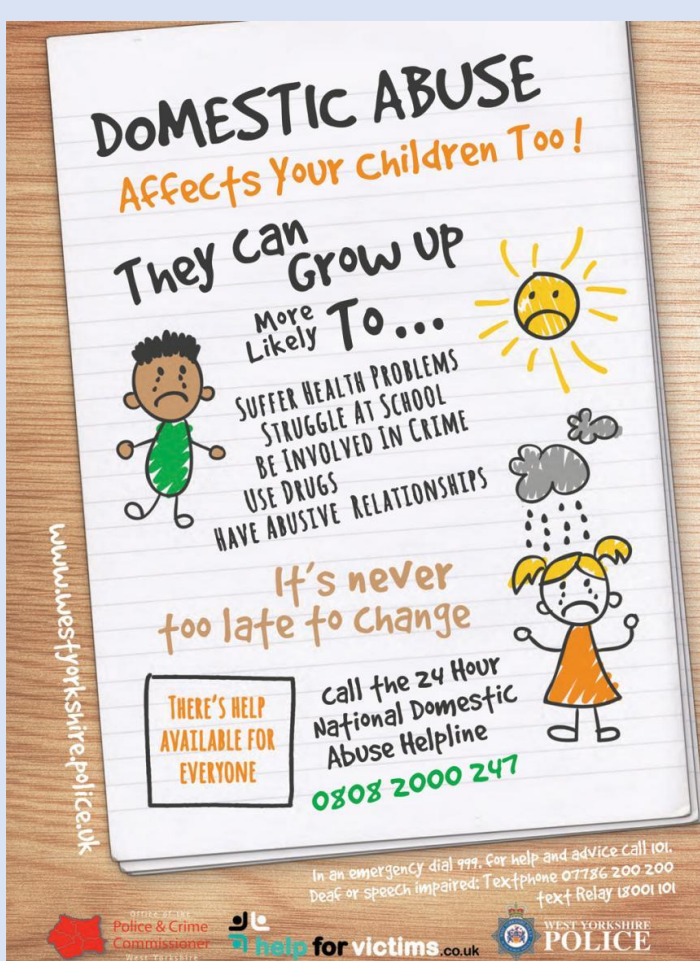
Often I also went out of the window, on the roof up to the neighbour's balcony; there were stairs there, and I would go out to my friends. My parents got angry every time they discovered what I did. But they do not know how many times I went out without them knowing! (Aldo, 14, Italy)

"She's not even family, but I class her as family, I class her as my sister because she's always there for me, she's been there through everything, but them ('People who are there') they just don't bother." (Jess, 16, UK)



Outdoor spaces as spaces of wellbeing,
and as a resource for the construction of
a sense of self as 'ok'.

resiliences'.



OBJECTIVE: To explore how children represent embodied and spatial experiences of violence, and how children use their material experiences to produce resistant embodied agency.



Interviews were conducted with 107 children and young people, aged 8-18, in Greece, Italy, UK and Spain. In addition to typical semi-structured interview techniques, where participants preferred, they had access to photo elicitation, free and guided drawing as part of the interview (Bridger, 2013; Gabb and Singh, 2014).

Domestic abuse occurs in the interface of the psychosocial and material spaces, in the control of space, relationships and bodies. We suggest that children's management of abuse is not therefore always (or even mostly) verbal – they learn to cope by using the spaces around them, and their own bodies. Consequently, it is important to use methods that are able to support children in articulating their material, affective and embodied experiences.

The normative account of domestic violence positions children as passive witnesses. It also highlights young people's experiences as pathological, and positions their experiences as *outside* the normal range of childhood experiences. Extra-normative and counter-hegemonic experience can be difficult to articulate verbally (Callaghan, Gambo and Fellin, 2016a). Photo elicitation, drawing and other creative approaches enable articulation of complex self accounts that extend beyond the dominant categories of 'witness' and 'victim', and can enable children to account for subjectivities that exceed normative constructions of childhood.

Creative methods enable an articulation of spatial and systemic dynamics, helping us to explore to enable children's resilience and resistance as contextual and processual, not just individual (Gabb, 2014, Ungar, 2008, 2015). They enable articulation of embodied and emotional experience not always easily accessible to language (Banks, 2001). They enable children to re-vision the world and spaces in which violence took place, supporting their narration of located memories.