UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

FROM RELIEF TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE NEW DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM IN DADAAB CAMPS IN KENYA

BY

MOHAMED KEINAN HIRRIE
C50/P/7828/04

A PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

AUGUST 2006

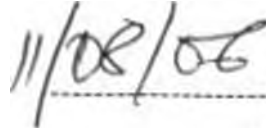# DECLARATION

This dissertation is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree to any other University

_____   11/08/06
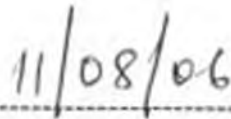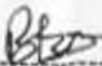   _____
HIRRIE KEINAN MOHAMMED   DATE
C/50/P/7828/04

This dissertation has been submitted for examination with our approval as University Supervisors.

_____   11/08/06
                                            _____
PROF. EDWARD MBURUGU   DATE

_____   11/08/2006
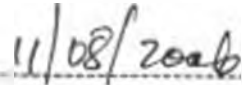   _____
BENEAH MUTSOTSO   DATE

i

DEDICATION

To my children Harun, Tusmo, Mossa and Abrar, all my siblings and Refugees in Dadaab Refugee Camp - Kenya

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS PAGE

ACRONYMS

AIDS	-	Acquired Immune-Deficiency Syndrome
BST	-	Business Skills Training
CARE-RAP	-	CARE Refugee Assistance Programme
CHE	-	Complex Humanitarian Emergency
CHW	-	Community Health Workers
CSM	-	Community Self -Management
CSS	-	Community Services Sector
DAAD	-	German Academic Exchange Service
FGM	-	Female Genital Mutilation
GHDR	-	Global Human Development Reports
GTZ-IS	-	*Deutsche Gesellschaft Fur Technische Zusammenarbeit* International Service
HDI	-	Human Development Index
HIV	-	Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus
IOM	-	International Office for Migration
IP	-	Implementing Partners
KRCS	-	Kenya Red Cross Society
MSF-B	-	Medecines-Sans-Frontiers- Belgium
NCCK	-	National Council of Churches of Kenya
OAU	-	Organization of African Union
PSEA	-	Prevention of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse
RRD	-	Relief Rehabilitation and Development
UDHR	-	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNICEF	-	United Nations Children's Fund
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	-	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USCR	-	United States Council for Refugees
USD	-	United States Dollar
VCT	-	Voluntary Counseling and Testing
VAT	-	Value Added Tax
WFP	-	World Food Programme

LIST OF TABLES

ABSTRACT

A succession of armed conflicts in the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes Region have resulted in the flight of millions of people in search of safety, with some of them ending in refugee camps. Several aid agencies under the umbrella organization United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) are responsible for humanitarian assistance and protection of these refugees. This research was carried out at the Dadaab Refugee Camp of the North Eastern Province of Kenya.

Included in this work is the new development paradigm shift from relief to community development in Dadaab camps in Kenya. The objectives of the study were to examine the patterns of adoption of the new skills, characteristics of the adopters, new activities that those with skills have engaged in, the perception of the refugees on the shift from relieve to development and establishing whether development activities at the Dadaab camps enhance self-reliance. This study was informed by the theories of dependency, rational choice and conflict and dependent development.

Primary and secondary data collection methods were applied to get the appropriate data for analysis. This included interviews, questionnaires, direct observation, schedules, focus group discussions, library research, project returns and reports.

The humanitarian agencies have engaged in various capacity building initiatives to empower the refugees for self-reliance on repatriation, resettlement or integration.

The study found out that the shift from relief to development in the Dadaab Refugee Camp had been necessitated by the increased donor fatigue and the shift of world attention to new emergencies like the Darfur crisis, Tsunami devastation in East South Asia, and the American Hurricanes of Katrina and Wilma. Although the shift to community development is a good idea, it has been introduced prematurely. The refugees were not consulted for the purpose of owning the new development paradigm; hence initiative may not take off as anticipated by the humanitarian agencies.

Further findings revealed that refugees have received skills training through aid agencies in teaching, tailoring, typing, welding, business management, computer education, leadership skills, leather work and carpentry.

The study concludes that for the new shift to succeed, the aid agencies need to involve all the stakeholders in all the major stages in the shift. These stages include project conception, assessment, planning, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Refugee: The 1951 convention defines a refugee as a person whom:

> As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable to or owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. Eriksson, et al, (1979 107).

"Events occurring before 1 January 1951" is further defined as either events occurring in Europe before that date or events occurring in Europe and elsewhere at that time. This definition of a refugee which was adopted by the 1951 international convention was to establish a regime, which would apply to persons who became refugees after the Second World War The definition, even after the adoption of the protocol, was still too narrow to encompass the general African refugee situation. This definition excluded African nationalities. Macharia, M (1999:2) asserts that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) felt it necessary to have its own Convention on the problem of refugees in Africa. This necessity was driven by the fact that previous conventions had not taken Africa into account. This is therefore one area where the OAU proceeded to develop an expanded definition of a refugee. The final result was to add another limb, stating that:

> The term refugee shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality Eriksson, et al, (1979: 107-8); Hitchcox, (1990:6-7); Keely (1981:6-7).

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR): Was formally established in 1950 at the height of East-West confrontation; it was initially charged with protecting and assisting people displaced in the aftermath of world war II and those fleeing communist persecution in Europe. From the 1960s until recently, however, the focus shifted away from Europe to Third World countries. Its role may be summarized as ensuring that genuine refugees

are treated in accordance with the international humanitarian standards recognised by International Refugee Law.

Community: A community is a group of women, men, girls and boys living in the same general area, who have common interests arising from their shared circumstances of living or their background

Participation: Participation is concerned with activities and approaches that fully involve people in decisions and activities which affect them and enable them to take increased control over their own lives.

Relief: Assistance given to people in need or to a disaster area: for example send relief (food, tents, money etc.) to those made homeless by natural and man made disasters.

Human development: it involves (Human Development Report-Kenya, 2001:xiii) the process of expanding human capabilities and access to opportunities in social, economic and political arenas and therefore the overall improvement in quality of life.

Empowerment: Empowerment is a process by which women, men, girls and boys in disadvantaged positions gain increased access to knowledge and resources, which enables them to gain confidence in analyzing their situation, increase their control over their environment and take an active role in taking decisions on issues which affect their lives.

Empowerment is concerned with three aspects of power: 'power within' — an increased confidence within all beneficiaries, that they have rights and feel that they are able to take action to gain access to those rights and improve the circumstances in which they live; 'Power over' – enabling the community to have control over resources or to direct other people's actions and 'Power to' – enables community members to organise themselves and take action

to gain access to their rights and increase control over their environment. They become actors in events rather than recipients of aid or the targets of other people's actions.

It is important to identify the different levels of participation, from consultation – (a passive form of participation) through increasing levels of involvement in decision making, to full ownership of decisions that are made. Different levels of participation may be appropriate with different populations at different times. However a community development approach requires a great level of participation than is often used in humanitarian programmes.

UNHCR Operational Expenditure: For the purpose of this research, operational expenditure includes all expenditure defined as operational in the UNHCR budget and which could be assigned to a particular country. It excludes staffing and administration as well as regional and global projects.

Development: there are many definition and perspectives of the term development, however, this term has to do with the improvement of people's lives or improvement of the quality of life of the people.

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1   BACKGROUND

There are around 40 million refugees and displaced people in the world today who have been forced out from their original homes. They are often living in special camps in their own or host countries. Some of them have remained displaced for years because of the prolonged conflicts (UNAIDS, 2001). The refugee populations of Africa have grown from about 800,000 at the end of the 1960s, to about four million in the 1970s and more than five million in the middle of the 1980s (Nobel 1987:13). Africa today has a refugee population (according to UNHCR statistics) of over 7 million. Africa is the continent generating and hosting most refugees in the world. A succession of armed conflicts in the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes region have resulted in the flight of millions of people in search of safety, with some of these ending up in refugee camps in the north of Kenya. Conflicts in the Horn area have included the war between Ethiopia and Somalia for control of the Ogaden region in 1977-1978, and the more recent civil war in Somalia in the late eighties and into the present, which has generated the majority of the Somali refugees in the Dadaab camps. Other armed conflicts in the region include the struggle for Eritrean independence from Ethiopia, which began in the 1950s and was achieved in 1993, and the conflict between government and rebel forces in the southern Sudan. In the Great Lakes region political and ethnic conflict in Burundi, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda have generated millions of refugees over the past four decades, a few of whom have also ended up in Kenyan camps.

There are currently four refugee camps in Kenya, one in the Northwest at Kakuma, and three in the Northeast near Dadaab, about 75 kilometers from the Somali border. About 97% of the approximately 138,618 refugees reportedly in Dadaab camps are of Somali origin (CARE-RAP, 2004:7; UNHCR-CASA, 2001:13). The remainder is mainly made up of Ugandans, Sudanese, and Ethiopian refugees. The official population in the camps has varied since late 1997 from a low of about 107,000 to about 138,618 because of the dynamics of resettlement, repatriation, new influx and following revalidation exercises

As a signatory to the UN Convention of Refugees of 1951 and its 1967 Protocol, as well as the 1969 OAU Refugee Convention, Kenya is committed to protecting the rights and safety of refugees who have sought asylum within its borders. The international community, with UNHCR as a lead organization, is committed to provide assistance and support to Kenya in this endeavor.

The three camps near Dadaab are between five and ten kilometers apart, and were each set up in the early 1990s. Ifo camp was established in 1991, and Dagahaley and Hagadera in 1992. Most of the area in Northeast, and around the camps, is dense bush land, or rangelands, with sandy soils, low unreliable rainfall, typically dominated by shrubs and small trees of Acacia and commiphora species. The camps are created in an area with a very small settled population, inhabited by Somali nomadic pastoralists who traditionally moved with their herds between this area and neighbouring parts of Somali. The local inhabitants are members of Ogaden sub-clans that are dominant with refugee camps. Since independence, the area has experienced a long history of insecurity and banditry, as well as a brief period of direct conflicts with Somalia in the 1960s. In the 19th century,

clans from Somalia's central and northern regions crossed the Juba River and migrated throughout the South-Western Somalia all the way ti the Tana River in Kenya. Migration served to scatter clans across large areas of the physical environment. For example, the Ogaden clan is found throughout the present day Ogaden region of Ethiopia, southern Somalia, and North-Eastern province of Kenya (Lind and Sturman, 2002:323).

Colonialism in this eastern part of the Horn had significant political and administrative repercussions for Somalia. The scramble for Africa in the late 19th century split Somalia and the Somali peoples into five different polities: southern Somali, administered by Italy; northern Somalia or Somaliland Protectorate administered by Britain; the Northern Frontier District of Kenya also administered by Britain; Ogaden administered by Ethiopia, and Djibouti (France). They were later parceled into four different countries including Djibouti, Ethiopia (Ogaden), Kenya (Northern Frontier District) and Somalia (north-west and south) (Lewis, 1988). This was done as part of an agreement reached between colonial powers during the First World War. Several attempts were made following the Second World War to consider uniting the Somalia inhabited portions of the different countries into a united Somalia, but to no avail (UNDP, 1998).

The three Dadaab refugee camps are similar in size, with the Dagahaley being slightly smaller than the other two. They are set up in sections and blocks, with food and some basic supplies provided through the World Food Programme (WFP), and other services provided through UNHCR implementing partners (IPs), mainly CARE International in Kenya, Medecines-Sans-Frontiers- Belgium (MSF-B), the National Council of Churches

of Kenya (NCCK), and the consulting and logistical wing of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft Fur Technische Zusammenarbeit* (GTZ), with the latter acting as the main implementing agency for the firewood supply project. The camps are provided with water and sanitary services, basic housing, education and medical care, as well as a range of other programs and services, with security/policing provided by the Government of Kenya. As a security measure UNHCR has made efforts to enclose the blocks with life thorn-bush fencing. There is considerable movement of refugees and locals among the camps, and between the camps and the nearby administrative centre of Dadaab. There are marketplaces located within the perimeters of the camps where almost any commodity (from fresh milk and all foodstuffs, to fashionable shoes and clothing, radios, watches, firewood, etc) can be obtained in exchange for Kenyan shillings.

1.2.   PROBLEM STATEMENT

In 2001, UNHCR expenditure on operational activities amounted to almost USD 19 per person. In Africa, expenditure per capita ranged from USD 63 in West and Central Africa and USD 62 in East and Horn of Africa, to less than USD 37 in Southern Africa and USD 34 in the Great Lakes Region of Africa. In Kenya the expenditure per capita in UNHCR programmes by the close of 2001 was USD 63. Per capita expenditure is closely correlated with the level of development, at least at the aggregate level (UNHCR, 2002:66).

However of late there has been increased donor fatigue and a shift of world attention to new emergencies like the Darfur Crisis, Tsunami in the South East Asia and the

American Hurricanes of Katrina and Wilma. Most humanitarian agencies lack long-term financing and the capacity to carry out massive development activities and structures in emergency situations. While the refugee is still in the country of asylum there exists a lot of uncertainty whether if the refugee will be settled there, repatriated back home or even go to a third country on resettlement. Most humanitarian agencies have it on paper that they have shifted from relief to development activities. Currently, non-relief activities are in the process of being established with the aim of reducing dependency and enhancing life skills among refugees.

Expenditure for refugee programmes is determined by different factors. In addition to the size of the refugee population and the capacity of the host country, factors having an impact on the expenditure level include the nature of the beneficiary population and their needs, cost of living, the capacity of other partners, donor preference and local conditions (UNHCR, 2002:66).

The refugees have stayed in the camp for over a decade. Hopes for return continue to diminish by the day as the various peace initiatives fail to reach conclusive agreement that would create necessary conditions for repatriation. This situation has contributed to a state of hopelessness on the part of the refugees, compounding their initial trauma. This situation is exacerbated by the psychosocial and economic problems that generally characterize the refugee life. Consequently most refugees are in a state of apathy and hence generally in need of continuous counseling services whether or not their problems have been manifested in behavior change or other forms of maladjustment.

Aid agencies have come up with a new development approach programme to be able to cope with this protracted refugee problem. There is need to establish viability and soundness of the existing new approaches that are independence enhancing and designed to enable the refugees to run their lives as a preparation towards eventual graduation from dependence to independence. There is considerable knowledge of the activities designed, developed and fronted by the development agencies in the camps. In addition, there is need to investigate patterns of their adoption, the peoples opinions or perceptions of them as well as their cultural appropriateness. It is true that the paradigm shift from dependency to independence has characterized many relief efforts lately. However, what has never been clearly known and what this study investigates is what happens to the individuals who have finally achieved independence. It is yet to be known how they relate to other people. Hence this study intended to find out the new social status and associated role expectations that they have acquired. The study is designed to investigate the kinds of activities that the "successful" refugees engage into and their own perception of their new status. Every human being desires to go to his natural home but financial insecurity has often been a bottleneck to many. In this study the assumption taken was that the successful refugees also require financial security and even desires to go back to his/her country. This was important in order to find out if financial security can be a motivating factor for refugees to be willing to go back to their country.

It is now well documented that many refugee camps show manifestations of anti-social and criminal behavior including robbery, theft, and prostitution which is blamed on poor living conditions. It is hoped that the new development orientation and the acquired life

skills will contribute toward minimizing or eliminating these anti-social activities. Therefore, the study aimed at finding out the extent of the anti-social behavior, the motivating factors and how a shift from dependency to independence was enabling improve the situation.

It is acknowledged that dealing with refugees involves many players and communities. Hence, the need to understand the role played by each partner including the Kenya Government in as far as self-reliance and independence are concerned

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Q1.   What new skills are generated through community development at Dadaab camps and how are they being put to use in enhancing self-reliance?

Q2.   To what extent are the new development initiatives helping to curb anti-social activities such as banditry, prostitution and other degrading vices?

Q3   What is the perception of refugees about the shift from relief to development that promotes self-reliance?

Q4.   Are the development activities and provision of life skills helping in repatriation, resettlement and/or integration of the refugees?

1.4   RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Main objective: To examine the refugees' response to the aid agencies shift from relief to development in Dadaab refugee camp.

Specific Objectives
1. To examine the patterns of adoption of new skills being introduced.

2. To examine characteristics of the adopters of new skills in relation to those who do not adopt

3. To find out the kind of activities generated through the acquisition of new skills

4. To establish how the refugees perceive a shift from relief to development.

5. To establish whether development activities at Dadaab camps enhance self-reliance among refugees.

1.5.   RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

The importance of this study is that the aid agencies will use the results to ascertain the viability of the new approach in terms of resettlement, integration or repatriation of the refugees. This study results will be used to assess the levels of self-reliance and independence which are important goals to achieve in the life of refugees.

This study results will be shared with stakeholders in refugee development programming to influence policy formulation.

The study is significant in that it aims at investigating how refugees can gain skills and enable them to be easily resettled without having to burden the host communities or countries. The study is also designed to understand how refugees are able to be self reliant and again independence and total control of their lives since it is common that dependence on the mercy and assistance of others cannot be guaranteed since priorities keep changing. If anything, self reliance and independence are life-long goals to be achieved in the total life of a refugee all over the world.

1.6.   SCOPE OF STUDY

The research focused on investigating the new skills being imparted on the refugee community, the businesses activities that the refugees are engaged in and how they are assisting them attain self-reliance. The researcher endeavored to understand the perceptions of the people on the newly introduced skills. The patterns of adoption and the characteristics of the adopters were examined too.

UNHCR and partnering voluntary agencies in the refugee camp were investigated to establish the rationale for a shift from community relief to community development and also the implementing strategies they have put in place to achieve community development of the refugee community.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1   REFUGEES IN THE WORLD

Throughout history, people have had to abandon their homes and seek safety elsewhere to escape persecution, armed conflict or political violence. This has happened in every region of the world ... but until the 20th century there were no universal standards for the protection of such people. Efforts to protect and assist them were essentially localized and *ad hoc* in nature (UNHCR, 2000:1).

Immediately after World War I, in the chaos of the postwar period and particularly in the collapse of the Russian imperial regime and the dismemberment of the Austrian and Ottoman empires, one and half million Russians fled several successive revolutions, the long resistance wars, and the destruction of the society they had known (Smyser 1987:5). More than one-half million persons, not only Armenians who were a majority but also Greeks and Assyrians, fled from Ottoman territories as the empire crumbled. Refugees, produced almost casually by the rearrangement of European borders, fled in all directions. Hungarians fled Romania. Serbs fled Hungary. Refugees fled into Western Europe and to a lesser extent, into the Middle East (Ibid: 5).

Europe, still exhausted from the war, was unable to receive or to help the new arrivals. National authorities were uncertain whether to admit the refugees and, if they were admitted whether to treat them as legitimate immigrants, illegal aliens, or temporary visitors. Few resources could be placed at their disposal. Only a handful of persons

understood the dimensions of the tragedy and the urgency of the needs. The refugees shuffled on in confusion and disarray, searching for relatives, friends, fellow nationals, churches, or charitable institutions that could help. Those who tried to help often found that their resources could not begin to match the requirements of the situation (Ibid: 5).

The representatives of a group of charitable organizations met in Geneva, Switzerland, in February 1921 to find a common answer to the problem. Through the president of the International Red Cross asked the League of Nations to appoint a commissioner to guide and coordinate their efforts. The League appointed Dr Fridtjof Nansen, a distinguished Norwegian explorer and humanitarian, to be "High Commissioner on behalf of the League" to deal with refugee matters. He was instructed to determine the legal status of the refugees and to find a permanent solution, either by repatriation, integration into the countries in which they had found asylum, or resettlement to other countries where they might wish to and where they might be welcome.

During the years that followed, the High Commissioner addressed the whole range of refugee problems. These included protection and relief for the Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, and other refugee groups as well as the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey. He persuaded the governments of the asylum countries to issue a new document, known as the "Nansen Passport", the forerunner of today's Travel Document for Refugees to identify the new arrivals and to give them a definite status (Tureti, 2003) committee expired in 1929, it was followed by the creation of the

International Nansen Office for Refugees, established with the stipulation that it too, was temporary and was to cease its functions not later than December 31, 1938.

When the United Nations replaced the League of Nations in 1945, it recognised from the outset that the task of caring for the refugees was a matter of international concern and that, in keeping with its Charter, the community of states should assume collective responsibility for those fleeing persecution. In 1946, at its first session, the General Assembly adopted a resolution that laid the foundations for United Nations activities in favour of refugees. The resolution stressed that no refugee or displaced person that had expressed valid objections to returning to his country of origin should be compelled to do so (UNHCR's mandate, 2003:4).

Refugees are people who have been forced to sever links with their home country. They cannot rely on their own governments for legal protection: it is this that distinguishes refugees from other migrants. Refugees do not have access to the legal and social protection that a properly functioning government is supposed to extend to its citizens. the international community has had to make special arrangements to respond to their particular plight (UNHCR's mandate 2003:3).

By 1950, the international community had still not established a network of institutions, systems and laws to deal with the refugee problem in a global manner. The turning point came in December 1950 with the establishment of the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) by Resolution 428(v) of the United Nations

General Assembly and the adoption of the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. UNHCR is a humanitarian and strictly non-political organization and began its operations on 1 January 1951. Together they provided, for the first time, a formal structure for responding to the needs of refugees and standards for the protection of refugees under international law.

The conviction that the international community – rather than individual governments or organizations – has a duty to provide refugees with protection and find solutions to their problems dates back to the time of the League of Nations, established in 1920 (Ibid:3).

There are around 40 million refugees and displaced people in the world today who have been forced out from their original homes. They are often living in special camps in their own or host countries. Some of them have remained displaced for years because of the prolonged conflicts (UNAIDS, 2001). While Malcom (1957) notes that historians see the refugee phenomenon, inclusive of international refugee law as a twentieth century creation, mass displacements of populations have existed for as long as mankind has lived in organized groups where oppression and intolerance was inevitable. Refugees are one of the major problems facing the international community today. The causes of refugeeism are complex. Persecution, for racial, political, or religious reasons, war, famine and starvation, or fear of these phenomena, cause the major mass exoduses which we know are taking place in the world today. Nobel (1987:13) adds that the refugee populations of Africa have grown from about 800,000 at the end of the 1960s, to about

four million in the 1970s and more than five million in the middle of the 1980s. Africa today has a refugee population (according to UNHCR statistics) of over 7 million.

Kagwanja (1999) has argued that "Kenya's long-standing apprehension with regard to large refugee influxes is the result of several factors: a chronic shortage of arable land, which comprises only three percent of the country's territory; a particular fear of ethnic Somalis', who in the 1960s fought for the North-East of the country to be incorporated in a Greater Somali state; and a more general concern that the arrival of refugees will lead to the spread of firearms, increased levels of crime and social unrest. As a result of these concerns the colonial and post-colonial Kenyan states have sought to limit the number of refugees on the country's territory and have consistently rejected any suggestion that exiled population be given land and allowed to settle in the country on a long-term basis."(Crisp, 1999)

Prior to the early 1990s when a large influx of Somali refugees entered the country (over 400,000), Kenya had readily granted refugees government identity cards and access to education, health and housing. While Kenya had no real means of physically preventing the influx, and was also obliged under UN and OAU Refugee Conventions, Kenyan authorities made it clear that the refugee presence was unwelcome – through forced repatriation of at least half of the refugees, and placement of the remainder in the camps in remote and insecure areas of Kenya and a strong "determination to resist the integration of refugees into the economic and social life of the country" (Crisp 1999:18).

Kagwanja and Montclos' (2000) investigated Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps' socio-economic dynamics being reflective of cities than refugee camps.

Tureti (2003) studied the impact of refugees in the host communities: the case of Kakuma refugee camp where she argued that refugees have both a positive and a negative effective on the host communities. She cited infrastructural development as one of the results of the presence of refugees in Turkana district of Kenya.

For Mayotte (1999: 5), when refugees cross-frontiers, the continuum of their lives is interrupted. Refugees arrive in host countries wholesome. They carry within themselves peace and war, strength and fragility. He enumerates their needs in exile while giving case studies of Cambodia, Afghanistan, Eritrea and Sudan. What is clear from his work is that the humanitarian agencies working in these areas are still in the relief phase as they offer their service to the refugees. This study investigated on the new approach of community development in refugee situation and if indeed this approach is appropriate.

Mekurias' (1985:74) commented that the much talked-about African hospitality is diminishing in many asylum countries, including the Sudan, not because the hosts have become less hospitable but because of the deterioration of their own standards of living. He notes that in some cases the initial attitudes of hospitality and accommodation have turned into hostility and resentment because of increasing competition between the local population and the refugees over scarce resources. The writer based his conclusion on studies done in Sudan

Nobel (1985: 91) investigated the assistance given to refugees creating an unfair situation without necessarily going into the details of substantiating this.

Other scholars like Ayiemba and Oucho (1995) pointed out issues that debase human dignity of individual refugees at the household or family level, also political consequences of refugee movement at the national and international levels. Their article concludes by suggesting policy intervention strategies that could help stem the tide of refugeism. Furthermore, it suggests policy measures appropriate for ameliorating problems faced by refugees.

2.2. UNHCR'S MANDATE AND ACTIVITIES

UNHCR's core mandate has not changed since 1950. The protection and the search for solutions to the problems of the refugees remain the central objectives of the organization. But the environment in which UNHCR works and the types of activity undertaken by the organization have changed significantly over the past 50 years (UNHCR, 2000:3).

First, the scale of UNHCR operations have greatly increased. The organization initially focused on finding solutions for some 400,000 refugees who were still homeless in the aftermath of the Second World War. By 1996, it was assisting some 26 million people. The organization's budget and staffing levels have also risen greatly. In 1951, UNHCR had a budget of US 300,000 dollars and 33 staff members; by 1999, the budget had

reached over US 1 billion dollars and the organization was employing over 5,000 staff

(Ibid).

Refugee Populations in Dadaab

Table 1: UNHCR Registered Dadaab Camp Population (as at November 2004)

Camps	Population
Dagahaley	34,502
Hagadera	51,928
Ifo	52,188
Total	138,618

Source: CARE-RAP Dadaab Annual Report 2004:7

Table 2: Distribution of male and female refugees at Dadaab according to nationality

Nationalities	Male	Female	Total
Somalia	68,877	66,448	135,325
Ethiopia	1,405	1,029	2,434
Sudan	448	250	698
Uganda	44	16	60
Eritrea	41	9	50
Congo	16	10	26
Rwanda	15	8	23
Burundi	1	1	2
Tanzania	1	0	1
Total	70,848	67,770	138,618

Source: CARE – Refugee Assistance Project (RAP) Dadaab, Annual Report 2004:7

2.3. PERCEPTIONS OF HUMANITARIAN AID/RELIEF

Recent images of war, famine and genocidal slaughter have forced relief agencies,

U.N. institutions, and others not only to offer help but also to question as never before

whether the aid ends up doing more harm than good. "The past decade's tragedies have

17

shaken humanitarians to the core," Thomas G. Weiss, presidential professor of political science at CUNY, writes in a forthcoming issue of the Carnegie Council's journal, Ethics and International Affairs. "The mere mention of Bosnia, Somalia, Rwanda, Liberia, Afghanistan or Sierra Leone profoundly disturbs their composure. Traumas in these countries have become synonymous with the dilemmas of humanitarian action" (*Paul Lewis*, New York Times, *February 27, 1999*).

Weiss and others acknowledge the "bright side" of relief: it can relieve suffering, build bridges among warring parties, promote economic development and enhance the protection of human rights. But Weiss also warns of the "dark side of aid," which includes sustaining a war economy, legitimizing outlaw authorities, creating refugee movements and encouraging parties to play one agency against another.

The Balkan civil war is an example of the two sides of assistance. In the 1992-95 war, relief workers and peace-keeping forces ferried supplies to the scarred villages of Bosnia and Herzegovina and set up camps to care for refugees. Yet some critics charge that they were also aiding and abetting "ethnic cleansing," the very war crimes that tribunals now are trying to adjudicate. "In organizing shelter for refugees and making their exile less painful, the humanitarian agencies were both playing into the hands of the 'cleansers' and carrying out their humanitarian mission," Rony Brauman, writes in "Hard Choices: Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Intervention"(Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), a new book examining the moral dilemmas facing aid agencies.

Kofi Annan, the U. N. Secretary General, concedes that Western aid agencies assisted the "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia and Herzegovina by helping targeted villagers escape before they were attacked, thereby easing the task of removing them from their homes.

But he says that "saving the lives of people in jeopardy had to take precedence." In January 1999 while in Geneva he again warned of the downside of relief efforts, saying it could encourage the West not to press for reform: "Humanitarian assistance has been used as a fig leaf, hiding a lack of political will to address the root causes of conflicts." Nonetheless he insists that the scale of the suffering created "pressure for action that governments cannot ignore."

In some ways, the cruel experience of recent decades has been a loss of innocence. Mary B. Anderson (1998), an American economist, writes in "Hard Choices" that the West can "exacerbate the conflicts that cause the suffering it is meant to alleviate." But she insists that the fact that aid can do harm does not mean, "no aid would do no harm." Aid strategies that strengthen victims' capacity to help themselves may be the best approach, she says, adding that "Do no harm" should be the new "Hippocratic Oath of Aid."

Weiss says that private aid organizations are becoming more careful about intervention. "The watchword now is: 'Don't just do something. Stand there and think,'" he says. "Tough love" is the phrase many workers use to describe this new, more cautious approach to relieving suffering.

The American-led effort to relieve the famine in Somalia in 1993 probably has come in for the most scathing criticism. In his charged book, "The Road to Hell: The Ravaging Effects of Foreign Aid and International Charity," Michael Maren wrote that aid was not only "incompetent and inadvertently destructive" but also "could be positively evil." Maren, a former American aid worker, chronicles the waste and corruption infusing the

Somali operation, saying it wiped out indigenous agriculture and created a new economic system, with its own winners and losers, that resists change.

Alexander de Waal (1998), the former co-director of the London-based Africa Rights, concurs with that assessment Western charitable organizations, which he calls "the humanitarian international," rush in food partly to help and partly to be filmed for television so that they can attract contributions and stay in business The result, says de Waal, is "a disempowerment of the people directly engaged in the crisis which drains their capacity to find a solution." A recent study by the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London concluded that the new patterns of economic interest created by civil upheavals help sustain the turmoil. de Waal (1998), contends that Africa, unlike India, suffers famines because it is not a democracy. Like the Nobel Prize-winning economist Amartya Sen, he argues that famines occur when authoritarian states mismanage the economy and the people have no redress.

Not all relief failures are built into the system; some result from obvious mistakes. For instance, Mohammed Sahnoun, the mediator in Somalia, writes in "Hard Choices," that the United Nations sent too many soldiers without doing enough to rebuild Somali society.

2.4.   FOCUS ON DEVELOPMENT

Humanitarian organizations are now focusing on development strategies because there has been increased donor fatigue and a shift of world attention to new emergencies like the Darfur Crisis, Tsunami and the American Hurricanes of Katrina and Wilma. Most humanitarian agencies lack long-term financing and the capacity to carry out massive development activities and structures in emergency situations.

To understand the concept of development we need to look at some of the theories that have been written by different scholars in trying to define the cause and resultant of development and development as a concept. Adam Smith, founder of classical economies writing in 1776 presented a recipe for economic growth. He noted that economic growth was necessary to raise people's welfare. Savings should be mobilized and invested as a way of generating income.

Walter Rodney (1989) says that development at the individual level implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being. Another scholar who has contributed to the conceptualization of development is Amatya Sen (1999), he says development can be seen as "a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy". He recognized that growth of Gross National Product or individual incomes could be very important as a means to expanding the freedoms enjoyed by the members of the society. Freedoms depend also on social and economic arrangements as well as political and civil rights.

The Global Human Development Reports (GHDRs) have introduced the concept of human development as an alternative to growth-led approaches to development. Human development involves (Human Development Report-Kenya, 2001:xiii) the process of expanding human capabilities and access to opportunities in social, economic and political arenas and therefore the overall improvement in quality of life. The most basic

of these capabilities lead to long healthy lives, knowledge and access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living

The concept of human development differs from other approaches to development such as neoclassical and redistribution approaches which focused on economic growth and the distribution of wealth since it takes people as being central to the development process and the main actors in the process of improving their welfare. It also differs from the basic needs approach which views people as beneficiaries rather than agents of development. The human development approach takes people as being an integral part of the development process. The *Human Development Report 1997* defined development as "A process of change that enables people to take charge of their own destination to realize their full potential. It needs building up in people the confidence, skills, assets, and the freedom necessary to achieve this."

According to Kenya's Human Development Report 2000, human development requires expanding the opportunities by which the poor can do more for themselves through economic, social and political empowerment. Economically, this involves helping the poor to gaining access to productive resources by addressing inequalities in the distribution of productive assets. It also requires expanding their human capabilities through education, nutrition, health care, water and sanitation as important indicators of human development politically, this means using community organizations and giving communities voices to reduce poverty. Related to this is the issue of governance, which has been seen as the key missing link between growth and poverty reduction. Poor

22

economic management and lack of accountability are some of the reasons why targets for reducing social and economic inequalities are never met. Socially, human development requires building on traditional and informal community networks that have supported vulnerable groups (UNDP, 1998a: 6). The Human development therefore goes beyond economic development per se. It involves creating an environment in which people can develop to their full potential and lead a productive and creative lives in accordance with their needs and interests. A country's human development status is therefore its ability to take care of its citizens and provide an environment, which enables them to access opportunities and resources to enhance their opportunities for living decent lives.

Human development is measured by the human development index (HDI), a composite index encompassing life expectancy, education attainment and standard of living as measured by per capita income. Over time, the UNDP has developed concepts and methodologies used in estimating the HDI. This report draws heavily from the methodologies presented in the UNDP *Human Development Report 2000.*

Diagram 1: Relief to Development Continuum
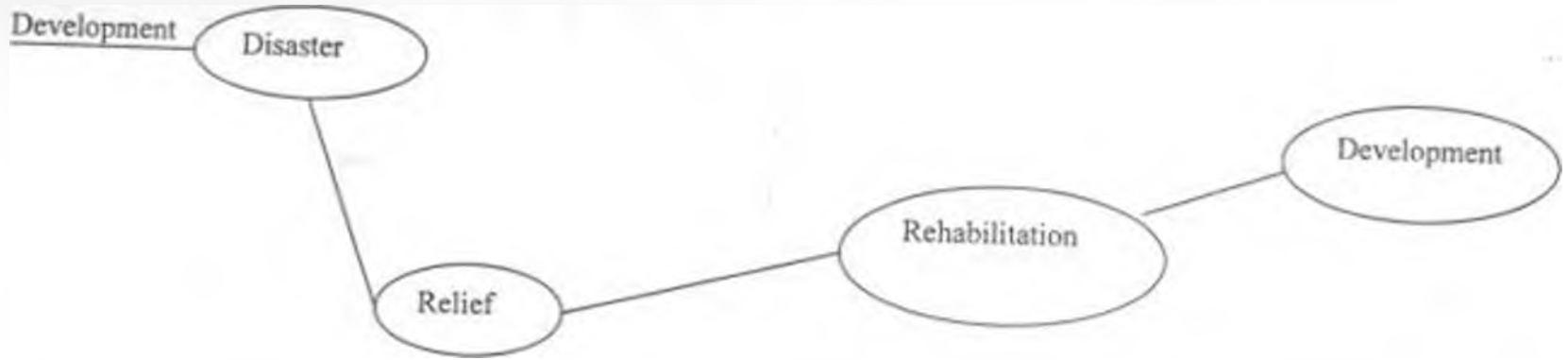
Diagram 2: Complex Humanitarian Emergency Interventions
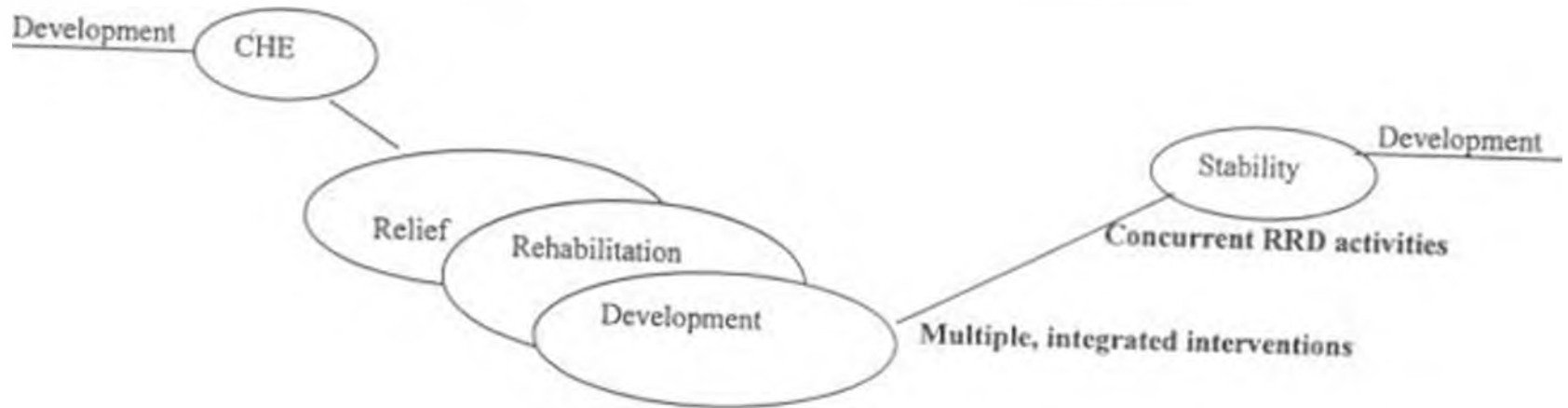
Diagrams 1 and 2 show the differences between natural disaster and Complex Humanitarian Emergency (CHE) interventions. The models are drastically different, indicating that relief, rehabilitation, and development efforts often occur simultaneously in Complex Humanitarian Emergency situations. Recovery in CHEs is not linear. Indeed, life may become even more unstable and chaotic. Change is discontinuous. UN agencies, governmental departments, and NGOs seek stabilizing factors to help create security (D. Eade, 1996).

Stabilization allows a variety of interventions, such as feeding badly nourished people or vaccinating children. Simultaneously, food-for-work programs may restore market roads while seed selection and multiplication activities take place (Brandt, JHA, 2000). The traditional, linear relief-rehabilitation-development model may be appropriate for "natural disasters," but is not germane for complex humanitarian emergencies (CHEs). CHEs are essentially civil wars in which much of a country's infrastructure is destroyed. This means that people's normal disaster coping mechanisms no longer work. Can the humanitarian agencies in Dadaab refugee camps follow the above model in their shift from relief to development and how workable is this model?

2.5. THE KENYA REFUGEE BILL

Kenya is a signatory to virtually all the international legal instruments governing or guiding the treatment / management of refugees. In particular, Kenya is party to the 1951 Geneva Convention (relating to the status of refugees), the 1969 OAU Convention (on the specific aspect of refugee problems in Africa) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). In addition, Kenya is subject to the general human rights treaties

such as the international Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights.

Refugee Bill 2003: In 2003, Kenya authored a Refugee Bill for an Act of Parliament to make provision for the recognition, protection and management of refugees and for connected purposes. It adopted both the 1951 Geneva Convention (relating to the status of refugees) and the 1969 OAU Convention on the specific aspect of refugee problems in Africa on its Refugee Bill. And specifically in the areas of definition of the term "refugee." It has outlined reasons that shall guarantee disqualification for the refugee status and cessation of the refugee status. It is important to note that this Bill is still in the hands of the Attorney General waiting for approval from the government.

The Bill states that a Commissioner for Refugee Affairs whose office shall be an office in the Public Service and who shall be the head of the Department of Refugee Affairs shall set up. It's functions shall be: to recognize persons as refugees for the purpose of this Act; co-ordinate all measures necessary for promoting the welfare and protection of refugees and advice the minister thereon; formulate policy on refugee matters in accordance with international standards; to ensure liaison with and assistance from UNHCR the provision of adequate facilities and services for the protection, reception and care of refugee in Kenya. To promote as far as possible durable solutions for refuges as accepted in Kenya; to convene meetings of the Refugee Status Determination Committee (to be established); to receive applications for refugee status and submit them to the committee, to implement and communicate with applicants the decision of the

committee; registration, documentation and issuance of refugee identity cards and passes in case of those below 18 years of age. Its other function is overall management of refugee camps and other related facilities and advising the Minister on the soliciting of funds for the care and welfare of refugees and the rehabilitation of refugee affected areas.

Section 16 of this Bill on the Rights and Duties of Refugees states that every recognized refugee and every member of his family in Kenya shall be entitled to the rights and be subject to the obligations contained in Articles of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of the 28th July, 1951 and the Protocol thereto; and Articles of OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problem in Africa of the 10th September, 1969. It also states that all refugees shall be subject to all laws in force in Kenya.

The Bill also states that no person shall be refused entry into Kenya, expelled, extradited or returned from Kenya to any other country or subjected to any similar measure as to where he is running away from. Protection and assistance of women and children shall be ensured according to this Bill. The Contracting State according to Geneva Convention of 1969 Article 17-18, is to accord refugees lawfully staying in their territory the most favorable treatment accorded to nationals of a foreign country in the same circumstances, as regards the right to engage in wage-earning employment or to engage on his own account in agriculture, industry, handcrafts and commerce and to establish commercial and industrial companies

2.5.1. Kenya's Camp Confinement Policy:

In Kenya, refugees are required by an unwritten executive policy (until 2003 Refugee Bill), which started in 1991, to reside in Dadaab camp or Kakuma camp. The camps have been in place for more than fifteen years. The minister responsible for internal security had been granted the power to enact a policy for "requiring all aliens to reside and remain within certain places or districts." However, under law such a policy may only be enacted "when a state of war exists…or when it appears that an occasion of eminent danger or great emergency has arisen." Neither the minister nor parliament has ever promulgated laws or regulations to enact the encampment policy (Iureti 2003). Nevertheless, a camp confinement policy exists and is enforced on a daily basis. Kenyan officials have insisted for years that all refugees must live in designated camps to qualify for assistance. For instance, they classify Somalis living outside camps as illegal aliens. Kenyan police have conducted annual crackdowns to apprehend refugees and other foreigners found in urban areas. A police sweep in July 1997 detained at least, 1,000 non-Kenyans, including 200 persons "of concern" to UNHCR who were transported to refugee camps (USCR 1998:73).

Kenyan authorities continued their policy in 1997 of gradually closing and consolidating the remaining camps for Somali refugees, partly to encourage more refugees to repatriate. Officials closed one camp along the coast and completed the closure of another during the year. Upto 7,000 occupants of the closed camps moved to existing camps in the east, near Somali border (Ibid: 73). While administrative exceptions to the camp confinement policy appear to exist, they –like the confinement policy itself- are not enacted into law or

regulation. According to UNHCR, the exceptions have been developed through consultations with Kenya's Ministry of Home Affairs. Apparently, the following categories of refugees may fit within one of these administrative exceptions to camp confinement:

- Refugees undergoing resettlement interviews or processing;
- Refugees who require specialized medical or psychological care not available in the camps;
- Refugees who are pursuing educational opportunities not available in camps; and
- Refugees with serious security problems in camps.

However, refugees are completely unaware of these exceptions. In fact, even staff member of large international NGOs working in Kakuma camp informed Human Rights Watch that they were not aware of any exceptions to the camp confinement policy (HRW, 2002:148-9).

This absence of clarity in refugee-specific laws has left a vacuum with regard to the rights and treatment of refugees and asylum seekers in Kenya. Arbitrary arrests of refugees, illegal detentions in Kenya of refugees and general harassment by police as discussed above are key problems of refugees and asylum seekers in Kenya. The government of Kenya has not made a decision on integration. The Alien Card recently issued to the refugees in Kenya was intended to know their numbers. The government though supports the development approach that the aid agencies are taking in imparting skills to the refugees for the future on repatriation, resettlement or integration.

On the Refugee Bill however, at the local level Kenya has come up with one. Hence has domesticated these International Legal Instruments. Although these instruments are binding to the government of Kenya, there is no national legal guarantee for the implementation. The international instruments therefore exist more in books, than in practice in the Kenyan situation. Evidently, the problem in Kenya is not lack/absence of applicable refugee law on an international level, but the deficiency in the implementation of the international treaties mentioned above on a domestic level.

The Government encampment policy may require refugees to stay in camp and restricts their movement outside. This will limit their capacity to establish their own livelihoods and manage their own lives.

2.6. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study utilizes the following theories: Rational Choice theory, Dependence theories, conflict theory and dependent development approach.

2.6.1. Dependence Theory

Dependency theory is the body of theories by various intellectuals, both from the Third World and the First World, that propound a worldview which suggests that the wealthy nations of the world need a peripheral group of poorer states to remain wealthy.

These poor nations provide natural resources, cheap labour, a destination for obsolete technology, and markets to the wealthy nations, without which they could not have the standard of living they enjoy. First world nations actively, but not necessarily consciously, perpetuate a state of dependence through various policies and initiatives.

30

This state of dependency is multifaceted, involving economics, media control, politics, banking and finance, education, sport and all aspects of human resource development. Any attempt by the dependent nations to resist the influences of dependency will result in economic sanctions and/or military invasion and control. This is very rare, however, and dependency is enforced far more by the wealthy nations setting the rules of international trade and commerce. The dependence theory has been a product of the Third World itself. One of the proponent of this theory is called Andre' Gunder Frank born in Berlin in 1928 and educated in the USA. In the sixties and early seventies he taught at Latin America Universities mainly Brazil, Mexico and Chile. Frank is considered as the first theorist to translate this theory into English.

Initially the theory emerged as a critique of modernization theory but had a completely different way of explaining the problem of the poor countries. According to Gunder Frank, the poverty of Least Developed Nations and their dependence on wealthy countries was inevitable given the nature of world systems.

This theory is based on Karl Marx's thesis, which articulates the relationship between classes based on economic dominance. The bourgeoisie (The core, which signify the 1st World Countries) misuse and exploit workers (the Periphery, which signify the 3rd World Countries) who are powerless.

This economic theory is built on economic inequality. This economic inequality has been cited as one of the causes of conflicts, civil wars, the weakening and /or dissolution of democratic institutions and military takeovers, hence massive human rights abuses and

persecutions from which refugees flee. The solution to economic inequality according to Cordoso, Frank, and others is equal distribution of wealth in society. The content and the aim of this theory leads us to discrepancies between First World and Third World Countries, which hold a wide gap between the two worlds

Dependency theory first emerged in the 1950s, advocated by Raul Prebisch whose research found that the wealth of poor nations tended to decrease when the wealth of rich nations increased. The theory quickly divided into diverse schools. Some, most notably Andre Gunder Frank, adapted it to Marxism. "Standard" dependency theory differs sharply from Marxism, however, arguing against internationalism and any hope of progress in less developed nations towards industrialization and a liberating revolution. Former Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso wrote extensively on dependency theory while in political exile.

Dependency theory became popular in the 1960s and 1970s as a criticism of standard development theory that seemed to be failing due to the continued widespread poverty of large parts of the world. With the seeming growth of the East Asian economies and India in the last few years, however, the theory has fallen somewhat out of favour. It disagrees sharply with current economic orthodoxy, but it is far more accepted in other disciplines such as history and anthropology.

The system of dependency was said to be created with the industrial revolution and the expansion of European empires around the world due to their superior power and wealth. Some argue that before this expansion, the exploitation was internal, with the major economic centres dominating the rest of the country (for example southeast England dominating the British Isles, or the Northeast United States dominating the south and

east). Establishing global trade patterns in the nineteenth century allowed this system to spread to a global level. That had the benefit of further isolating the wealthy from both the dangers of peasant revolts and rebellions by the poor. Rather than turn on their oppressors as in the American Civil War or in communist revolutions, the poor could no longer reach the wealthy and thus the less developed nations became engulfed in regular civil wars. Once the superiority of rich nations was established, it could not be shaken off. This control ensures that all profits in less developed countries are taken by the better developed nations, preventing reinvestment and thus growth.

In this case of the Refugee Assistance Project was started in Dadaab in 1991 with the sole purpose of providing protection (humanitarian assistance). As the lead agency, CARE Kenya adopted a strategy of changing from direct service provision to capacity building of the refugees through education and training so as to minimize the dependence levels of the refugees on the donor community.

Dependency theory has been used in this case to imply that the refugees on a greater extent depend on humanitarian organization for their livelihood/survival and hence there is no exploitation of the refugees by the aid agencies.

2.6.2   Rational Choice Theory

Although it influenced the development of exchange theory, rational choice theory was generally marginal to mainstream sociological theory. It is largely through the efforts of James S. Coleman, that rational choice theory has become one of the "hot" theories in contemporary sociology (Ritzer, 1996:289). "The paradigm of rational action" as Coleman (1989:5) calls it, is the only theory with the possibility of producing

33

paradigmatic integration. Coleman does not hesitate to argue that the approach operates from a base in methodological individualism and to use rational choice theory as the micro-level base for the explanation of the macro-level phenomena

Broadly speaking the rational choice approach as used in exchange theory, game theory and in economics begins with the assumption that men have given wants, goals, values or 'utility functions'. It then assumes that these goals cannot all be equally realized. Men live in a world of scarcity and therefore must select between alternative courses of action They will, it is assumed, do so rationally, selecting the course of action which is the most effective means to their goal or selecting the course which leads to their most preferred goal (Heath, 1976:3).

Coleman's rational choice orientation is clear in his basic idea that "persons act purposively toward a goal, with the goal (and thus the actions) shaped by values or preferences" (1990:13). There are two elements in his theory- actors and resources. Resources are those things over which actors have control and in which they have some interest.

The basic principles of rational choice theory are derived from neoclassical economics (as well as utilitarianism and game theory; Levi et al 1990) Based on a variety of different models, Friedman and Hechter (1988) have put together what they describe as a "skeletal" model of rational choice theory.

The focus in rational choice theory is on actors. Actors are seen as being purposive, or as having intentionality. That is, actors have ends or goals toward which their actions are aimed. Actors are also seen as having preferences (or values, utilities). Rational choice theory is unconcerned with what these preferences, or their sources, are. Of importance is the fact that action is undertaken to achieve objectives that are consistent with an actor's preference hierarchy (Ritzer, 1996:263)

Although rational choice theory starts with actors' purposes or intentions, it must take into consideration at least two major constraints on action. The first is the scarcity of resources. Actors have different resources as well as differential access to other resources. For those with lots of resources, the achievement of ends may be relatively easy. However, for those with few, if any, resources, the attainment of ends may be difficult or impossible (Ibid).

Related to the scarcity of resources is the idea of *opportunity costs*, or "those costs associated with forgoing the next most attractive course of action" (Friedman and Hechter, 1988:202). In pursuing a given end, actors must keep an eye on the costs of forgoing their next-most-attractive action. An actor may choose not to pursue the most highly valued end if her resources are negligible, if as a result the chances of achieving that end are slim, and if in striving to achieve that end she jeopardizes her chances of achieving her next-most-valued end. Actors are seen as trying to maximize their benefits and that goal may involve assessing the relationship between the chances of achieving a

35

primary end and what that achievement does for chances for attaining the second-most-valuable objective.

Friedman and Hechter (1988:203) enumerate two other ideas that they see as basic to rational choice theory. The first is an aggregation mechanism, or the process by which "the separate individual actions are combined to produce the social outcome" (Friedman and Hechter 1988:203). The second is the growing sense of the importance of information in making rational choices At one time, it was assumed that actors had perfect, or at least sufficient, information to make purposive choices among the alternative courses of action open to them However, there is a growing recognition that the quality or quantity of available information is highly variable and that variability has a profound effect on actors' choices (Ritzer, 1996:264).

Social life no less than economic life is characterized by scarcity. The refugees and humanitarian agencies may be faced with scarcity of resources, but it is true nonetheless that one cannot have all that they want. Accordingly men must choose and make decisions although with unforetold effects.

The study examined the impact of the shift from community relief to community development in the Dadaab refugee camps as a rational response in light of the new realities.

2.6.3. Conflict Theory

To Dahrendorf and the conflict theorists, every society at every point is subject to processes of change. They see dissension and conflict at every point in the social system.

They see many societal elements contributing to disintegration and change. Conflict theorists see whatever order there is in society as stemming from the coercion of some members by those at the top, they emphasis the role of power in maintaining order in society (Ritzer 1996:128).

Dahrendorf (1959, 1968) is the major exponent of the position that society has two faces (conflict and consensus) and that sociological theory therefore should be divided into two parts, conflict theory and consensus theory. Consensus theorists should examine value integration in society, and conflict theorists should examine conflicts of interest and the coercion that holds society together in the face of these stresses. He recognized that society could not exist without both conflict and consensus, which are prerequisites for each other. Thus, we cannot have conflict unless there is some prior consensus.

Within every association, those in dominant positions seek to maintain the status quo while those in subordinate positions seek change. A conflict of interest within any association is at least latent at all times, which means that the legitimacy of authority is always precarious. The conflict of interest need not be conscious in order for superordinates or subordinates to act. The interests of superordinates and subordinates are objective in the sense that they are reflected in the expectations (roles) attached to positions.

The final aspect of Dahrendorf's conflict theory is the relationship of conflict to change. Here he recognised the importance of Lewis Coser's work, which focused on the functions of conflict in maintaining the status quo. Dahrendorf felt, however, that the

conservative function of conflict is only one part of social reality; conflict also leads to change and development. Briefly, Dahrendorf argued that once conflict groups emerge, they engage in actions that lead to changes in social structure. When the conflict is intense, the changes that occur are radical. When it is accompanied by violence, structural change will be sudden. Whatever the nature of conflict, sociologists must be attuned to the relationship between conflict and change as well as that between conflict and status quo (Ritzer, 1996:131).

However, Collins (1975:58) started with Marxian principles, arguing that they, with certain modifications, provide the basis for a conflict theory of stratification. He contented that it was Marx's view that the material conditions involved in earning a living in modern society are the major determinants of a person's lifestyle. Those who own and control property are able to earn their livings in a much more satisfactory way than those who do not and who must sell their labour time to gain access to the means of production. Material conditions affect not only how individuals earn a living but also the nature of social groupings in the different social classes. The dominant social class is better able to develop more coherent social groups, tied together by intricate communication networks, than is the subordinate social class. Finally, Collins argued that Marx also pointed out the vast differences among the social classes in their access to, control over, the cultural system. That is the upper social classes are able to develop articulated symbol and ideological systems, systems that are often able to impose on the lower social classes (Ritzer 1996:134).

Collins opens with several assumptions. That people are seen as inherently sociable but also as particularly conflict-prone in their social relations. Conflict is likely to occur in social relations because "violent coercion" can always be used by one person or many people in an interaction setting. Collins believed that people seek to minimize their "subjective status" and that their ability to do this depends on their resources as well as the resources of those with whom they are dealing. He saw people as self-interested; thus, clashes are possible because sets of interests may be inherently antagonistic (Ibid. 135).

This conflict approach to stratification can be reduced to three basic principles. First, Collins believed that people live in self-constructed subjective worlds. Second, other people may have the power to affect, or even control, an individual's subjective experience. Third, other people frequently try to control the individual, who opposes them. The result is likely to be interpersonal conflict.

Collins urged us to thing of people as animals whose actions, motivated by self-interest, can be seen as maneuvers to obtain various advantages so that they can achieve satisfaction and avoid dissatisfaction (Ibid.) a case that well explains some of the refugees' antisocial behaviors.

2.6.4. Dependent Development Approach

Dependent Development is the dominant aspect of dependence. Dependent development is dependence combined with development. It is a special instance of dependency, characterised by the association or alliance of international and local capital (Evans

39

1979). The refugees development depending on the support from the international communities through the UNHRC, UN-WFP and CARE fits well into the arguments of Peter Evans' in dependent development theory

This is an exploratory study because there is little known about activities, skills that refugees are engaged / involved in hence no hypothesis testing.

CHAPTER THREE
MOTHODOLOGY

There were two main reasons for the choice of Dadaab as investigation area. The first reason was the high number of refugees in this camp and the proximity of their sites to the researcher. Dadaab is a camp with great numbers of refugees (mainly from Somalia, Ethiopia and Sudan). In addition, the fact that I have resided in Dagahaley, which is one of the camps that I really know well, constituted a notable advantage for this research.

The second reason was linked to the nature of the site. Refugees are settled but they are surrounded by Kenyan Somalis who are of the same ethnic descent as the Somali refugees as earlier mentioned. This made it easier for me to carry the research given that we share common language, cultural and religious value. I have resided in the camp for 15 years hence familiar with the local area. Being a former incentive worker with the aid agencies in the camp facilitated easy access to the agency administrators as they formed part of the key informants.

3.2 Unit of Analysis and Coverage

The researcher did a comparative study of a shift from community service to community development in a relief set up, a case study of Dadaab refugee camp. Hence the unit of analysis was the shift from relief to development and how refugees have responded to the shift. In the selected households within the camp, men and women aged above 18+ and who have been in the camp for at least 5 years were

41

interviewed. The implementing humanitarian agencies were examined too and how they are coping with the implementation of the new approach.

3.3. Population and Sample

The population of this study was divided into three sub-populations. These were: refugees, humanitarian organizations and governmental organizations dealing with refugees' issues. The refugee population consisted of all individuals who are recognized/registered by UNHCR and its implementing partners as refugees and are residing in Dadaab refugee camp. The investigation comprised a sample of three camps of populations as identified by a CARE-RAP project. Although CARE-RAP is not the only voluntary agency engaged in offering community service to the refugees in Dadaab, it has been selected, as it is the lead agency that initiated the shift from community service to community development in the camp. It too delivers majority of the services to the refugees hence has a register of all the registered refugees in the camps.

Both Non-probability and probability sampling were used in this study. In probability sampling the researcher used pieces of paper to randomly select 40 households in each camp for study.

3.4. Sample Sizes

These samples were drawn from the three camps as follows:

Dagahaley camp with a population of 34,502 has seven sections with 11 blocks each plus an additional 2 new blocks for new arrivals. In each of these blocks there are at least 120 households of which forty (40) households were interviewed in this category/camp.

In Ifo camp with a population of 52,188 there are six sections with a total of 68 blocks (with only one for Sudanese, Ugandans and another for Ethiopians). Each block has about 140 households of forty (40) households were interviewed in this category/camp.

Hagadera camp has a population of 51,928 in 11 sections, even though it is not clearly known how many blocks there are per section but it is certain that it has a total of 88 blocks. Since a similar criterion of selection was followed as in the first two a total of forty (40) households were interviewed. Hence, 120 refugee households were sampled for participation in the entire study. In the selected households within the camp, men and women aged above 18+ and had been in the camp for at least 5 years were interviewed.

As for the humanitarian's and the governmental organizations, interview guides were sufficient scheduled with the head of agencies for UN, CARE, GTZ, NCCK and their programme officers, government representatives like the Head of refugee Desk in the Ministry of Home Affairs, DO, Chiefs and councilors were the key informants.

3.5.   Methods of Data Collection

Primary and secondary data collection methods were used in this research.

I. Primary data were collected through field visits and interviews scheduled with the selected population for study.

3.5.1. Interviews: Oral interviews with the local agencies' staff, refugee households and
       the government spokespersons were held. These interviews utilized open-ended

questions to allow for individual variations. Interviews for households were held within their homestead within the blocks, while those for focus group discussions were held in community development halls within each camp. Other key informants like the government officials and head of agencies were interviewed within their offices. The interviewer collected information personally from the sources concerned by asking questions generally in a face-to-face contact to the other person or persons. The researcher preferred to carry out these interviews in a structured way with a set of predetermined questions considering that unstructured interviews are time consuming.

3.5.2. Questionnaire: A simple questionnaire was developed in order to obtain basic data from the refugees, aid agencies and the government of Kenya. A number of questions were printed in a definite order on a set of forms and given to the respondents to answer the questions. The general form of the questionnaire was structured as there were definite, concrete and pre-determined questions. The form of the questions was both closed and open.

3.5.3. Direct observation – First hand observations of some aspect of society have a long history in sociological research. Sociologists have obtained information through participant observation—that is, by temporarily becoming or by pretending to become members of the group being studied. Under the observation method, the information was sought by way of investigator's own direct observation without asking from the respondent. Sociologists also obtain firsthand information by relying on knowledgeable informants from the group (Microsoft® Encarta® Encyclopedia 99). Firsthand observation was applied to small-scale businesses to

44

see what the refugees were engaged in, and since accuracy was ensured, subjective bias was eliminated. This assisted the researcher to get current information that is independent of the respondents' willingness to respond, as it did not demand active cooperation on the part of the respondent. The researcher spent time in the three camps in Dadaab most of the time was spent in the blocks and agency offices. Observational data was used for the purpose of describing settings, activities, people and abstracting the meaning of what was observed from the perspective of the participants.

3.5.4. Schedules: This method of data collection is very much like the collection of data through questionnaire, with little difference which lies in the fact that schedules are being filled in by the research assistants who were engaged for that purpose of covering the extensive inquiries. He had to explain the nature and scope of the investigation thoroughly for them to understand the implication of the different questions put on the schedule for better performance. The advantage of this method is that the research workers explained the aim and objectives of the investigation removing the difficulties and respondent could feel in understanding implications of particular questions.

3.5.5. Focus Group Discussions: The researcher gathered small groups of business men, community leaders, tins smiths, welders, women group leaders and academic unions and took them through the issues that he wanted to be conversant with. That is, issues on the refugees' response to the shift from relief to development by the aid agencies, the patterns of their adoption, the peoples opinions or perceptions of the shift well as their cultural appropriateness.

2. Secondary data were largely obtained through library research including publications in journals, newspapers, periodicals, magazines, researches in the field of refugees, and texts from colloquiums and seminars. *Relevant documents* were examined. Of particular importance for this study were reports obtained from the agencies and government offices for example project reports, project returns, registers and registration forms etc. The information obtained from these documents included the current refugee population, the mandate of each organization on the ground, their objectives and kind of services being offered and figures of those who have benefited and challenges they have faced and strategies in place to meet the said challenges.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter will present and analyze the findings of the different themes under investigation in this study. The first theme focuses on patterns of adoption of the new skills being introduced. The second theme relates to characteristics of the adopters of the new skills in relation to those who do not adopt. The third theme examines the kind of activities generated through the acquisition of the new skills. The fourth theme centres on perceptions of the refugees about the shift from relief to development. And lastly, the question whether development activities have led to enhancement of self-reliance is examined. The chapter starts by presenting data on characteristics of refugees, nature of anti-social behaviours and then takes up on refugee Aid Agencies and their interventions to enable development of refugees.

4.1. DATA PRESENTATION

4.1.1 Age and Gender Distribution

Table 3: Percentage distribution of respondents by age and sex

Age Group	Females		Males		Totals	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
18-25	17	14.1	39	32.5	56	46.6
26-35	8	6.6	17	14.1	25	20.7
36-45	10	8.3	12	10.0	22	18.3
46-55	6	5.0	3	2.7	9	7.7
56+	1	0.9	7	5.8	8	6.7
Totals	42	34.9	78	65.1	120	100

Table 3 indicates that women respondents were 34.9 per cent of the respondents while men formed the remaining 65.1 per cent. This is because men in the selected households readily volunteered for the study and in most cases women were busy handling household chores. Those below 45 years who formed 85.6% of the respondents were readily available for the study while most of those above concluded that this was one of those many papers that they have always filled without any substantial outcomes.

4.1.2. Refugees' education and skills

The tables 4 and 5 give information on distribution of respondents by gender and level of education before establishment of camp and currently.

Table 4: Distribution of female respondents by level of education before establishment of camp and currently

level of education before camp				level of education currently		
Level of education	Frequency	%		Level of education	Frequency	%
None	31	79		None	20	51
Primary	08	21		Primary	13	33
Secondary	0	0		Secondary	05	13
College/Voc	0	0		College/Voc	01	03
Total	39	100		Total	39	100

Table 5: Distribution of male respondents by level of education before establishment of camp and currently

level of education before camp				level of education currently		
Level of education	Frequency	%		Level of education	Frequency	%
None	45	56		None	16	20
Primary	20	25		Primary	30	37
Secondary	14	17		Secondary	26	32
College/Voc	02	02		College/Voc	09	11
Total	81	100		Total	81	100

From table 4 it is clear that 79 % of the female respondents had no education before entry into the camp while 21% had only primary school education. Their current status indicates that 51% of the same respondents have no education which is a decline and which implies that their educational level has improved   Consequently 21% of the respondents had primary school education before camp but this has improved to 33% currently have acquired primary school education. This implies that the educational level of refugees improved at the camp   Table 5 shows that 56 % of the male respondents had no education before coming into the camp compared to 20% currently. From the table it is clearly demonstrated that the respondents have taken great advantage of the educational opportunities existing in the camp to improve their educational levels on vocational training, table 4 and 5 show that 3 % of the female and 11 % of the male respondents have had vocational training. Generally it is observed that the male have had greater access to education than female at all levels. This is partly attributed to the many responsibilities women do or are assigned which denies them unfettered access to education. Those who have accessed these opportunities argue that they will benefit them in the life in the camp, on repatriation or resettlement to a third country.

Skills/vocational training opportunities in the camp (what in this case is referred to as college) are offered by NCCK, CARE, UNHCR, GTZ –IS in diverse areas. GTZ –IS has trained medical- nursing. CHWs and the communities on communicable disease control so as to reduce the risks caused by these diseases. CDWs have too been trained. There has been training in peace education in schools and blocks, from where many refugees have acquired mediation skills. anti-FGM and its risks. Other skills received have been in teaching, tailoring and typing Young people have started income generating

activities after this training with others engaging in tailoring and welding activities. WFP trains SFP cooks. CARE supports trainees in diploma courses like Business Skills Training (BST), computer education, leadership skills, vocational training like welding, leather work, carpentry and apprenticeship courses. A report from the Technical Service Sector Apprentices (1995-2005) and CARE-(K)-RAP Community Development Sector Report of May 2006 indicated that at least 542 refugees have been trained in motor vehicle mechanic, typing, leather work, carpentry, welding and pump management of which 208 are women while 334 are men. Though table 3 shows that no respondent had attained university education, the CARE-RAP report of May 2006 indicated that at least 96 (77 men, 19 women) refugees are engaged in Diploma and Degree programmes conducted by public universities, Premise and Kenya Institute of Social Work and Community Development. Their main objective is to enable refugees develop and reach self-reliance but majority of refugees felt that the skills are meant for them to earn a living and have general community development. This too will help curb some anti-social problems existing in the camp and are life skills too.

This revelation shows that many people have acquired skills which they are now using; others have started businesses where they use them.

4.1.3. Marital Characteristics and Family Size

In terms of marital status, fifty eight percent were married while 25% were single but 27% were either divorced or widowed. The average household size is 6 members per household

4.1.4. Duration of Stay in the Camp

On average these respondents have been in the camp for at least 10 years and 91% are Somali nationals who form the dominant community in the camp while 9% are from Uganda, Sudan and Ethiopia.

4.1.5. Types of Anti-social Behaviours and Causes

Common Anti-social Behaviors

In the Ifo, Hagadera and Daghaley Camps 90% of the respondents noted that rape is the most common, followed by robbery, which is at times with violent. Fighting at the water taps, drug abuse/addiction e.g. miraa chewing; child labour, banditry and torture by the local police are common. Petty theft and looting are also. Gender-based violence ranges from female genital mutilation (FGM), early and forced marriages to abduction and domestic violence. Women are also engaged in prostitution commonly known as *'Group 4' (this name is given to the women who go to the police post/line at 5 o'clock in the evening to sexually offer their bodies for a little pay The name is derived from a security company that used to be in Somalia and offered security during the nights)* and sexual exploitation. Young people spend their entire day in video shops and in pool games and material availed to them is mainly pornographic. Inter-tribal hatreds between the different

Somalia clans are also quite common based on warring factions and their ideologies back home.

A group discussion with the young people indicated that the youth are involved in gambling which they associated with large numbers of school dropouts and poor living standards. The community especially the Imams are speaking about the effects of these behaviors and encouraging young people to take advantage of the free education provided in the camp.

Causes of the anti-social behaviors

Some communities are numerically superior to others and that is cited as one of the major cause of anti-social behaviors. A good example is when a Somali (who are majority) comes to a water tap, and finds especially Ethiopians or Sudanese on the queue, however long the queue is he will just go a head of the line and fill his/her container. This leads to protest from especially the minority communities that lead to fights over unequal access to the water tap.

Disillusionment and revenge (people who were weak in Somalia have decided that it was time to revenge once they were in the camp for their kin who were killed in the bloody civil war). The inter-tribal conflicts are interrelated to those that are currently going on in Somalia. The existence of multiple nationalities and cultures in the camp is a source of conflicts in the camp. There is a conflict in cultural and religious values, belief and practices.

Unemployment but of which arises from the fact that they are refugees therefore cannot acquire Kenyan identity cards to seek employment with and lack of education for some refugees hence they can not access incentive jobs in the aid agencies were cited as the major contributors to anti-social behavior. Therefore the level of idleness is high and committing offenses is then recourse as a means of survival and pass time

Deterioration of cultural values given the diverse cultural background of the refugee community hence immorality and indiscipline. The Ethiopians, Somalis and Sudanese in the camp come from different cultural backgrounds and in their existence in the camp share forums of knowledge exchange, celebrations and festivals and also camp facilities. Young people spend their entire day in video shops and in pool games and material availed to them is mainly pornographic. There is a tendency to borrow dress code and lifestyle from among each other and this has brought about socio-cultural and religious conflicts as the communities blame each other for socio-cultural and religious deterioration.

Hunger, exacerbated by the inadequate food rations received from WFP and semi-arid climatic conditions that do not promote agricultural productivity led to some refugees engaging in robbery with violence.

Kenyan regulations require that refugees do not keep livestock, as this will be a source of conflicts with the local communities. The refugees therefore have to depend on the aid agencies for supply of basic needs. This exacerbates the poverty levels hence indulgence

in anti-social behaviors to afford other needs not met by the aid agencies. One respondent was noted saying that most men who are poor cannot afford to marry, hence resort to rape in order to satisfy their sexual desires.

Poor administration by the aid agencies and security measures by the government are also responsible for these behaviors.

A focus group discussion with the community leaders drawn from the Somali, Sudanese, Ugandan and Ethiopian communities and consisted of five men and three women with their ages ranging between 36 and 55 years find poverty, lack of education, donor fatigue and improper implementation of national law and order as the main causes of the anti-social behaviors in the camp. As leaders they have requested for audience from the aid agencies and the government of Kenya and aired their opinions on curbing of these behaviors some of which are through repatriation back home, improved local camp security, capital for small business start-up, employment and awareness creation on human rights to the refugee community. It was their feeling that there is discrimination when it comes to service delivery among the different refugee communities in the camp. They encouraged humanitarian services that use the 'do no harm approach' (services that do not promote tensions and divisions among the beneficiaries) and more sessions of peace education to the community members.

4.1.6. Measures Taken to Curb Anti-Social Behaviours

The relationship between the shift to community development and decreased anti-social behaviors in the camp is self-evident. The aid agencies are working in partnership with

refugee communities to curb these behaviors. The Sheikhs (religious leaders) and opinion leaders are talking in mosques against these social evils. Madrassas (Islamic schools that teach on the whole Islam and Sharia law) have been set up, 3 in each camp. These teachings emphasize moral uprightness. Each block has its own Holy Quran School for teachings on the Holy Quran.

Public fora have been organized to talk against prostitution, pornography, drug abuse and theft among others.

The youths are being imparted with skills in a variety of trades and peace building. This is encouraging the young people to go into self-employment in income generating activities.

CARE and NCCK have organized counseling sessions in the camp; the elderly refugees in the communities have also taken the responsibility of counseling the young people. A court of law has been introduced in the area. The school going children are encouraged to keep in school until completion. Community awareness creation through training and public information on behavior change communication. Frequent meetings between elders of different clans have aided in prevention of inter-clan fights and robbery. Due to the creation of awareness the gender based violence cases are being reported to the nearest police station. The youths have also formed peer groups to fight the vices.

Specific Aid Agencies Intervention

Most respondents, fifty five percent felt that the aid agencies had intervened to curb the anti-social behaviors while 45 percent thought that there was no intervention as a

measure from the aid agencies to change the situation. Those who felt that there was some kind of intervention cited NCCK's anti - FGM and CARE's anti-rape campaigns and especially Prevention of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (PSEA) programme. They also cited community policing and the enhancement of social values of life through the formal primary schools. The GTZ-Rescue programme is giving firewood to women so they do not go to the bush to collect it as a way of preventing the rampant rape. This is because most rapes have occurred to women found in the bush collecting firewood. The WFP has severally given financial support to victims of rape as a way of rehabilitation. The community development sector of the camps has been on the forefront in awareness creation about sexual exploitation and abuse as well as appealing to women not to venture into the bush for firewood.

Relief services provided by the different agencies range from medical services, monthly food ration-like millet, salt, vegetable oil (most respondents noted that it is very little), non-food items (like utensils, blankets, plastic basins), water and sanitation, firewood, free education, shelter and security. There are job opportunities from other agencies, resettlement and repatriation services. CARE had disbursed Kshs. 19,787,000 as loans for Income Generating Activities to 4,480 beneficiaries. CARE-Kenya carries out most of the administration and implementation of social service activities like food distribution, education and scholarships, water and sanitation. WFP report on credit programme information 2005 indicated that Kshs. 27.1million was disbursed to the refugees for income generating activities.

UNHCR is the funding agency and overall administrator of the camp. It does refugee registration, revalidation and protection, shelter, repatriation, resettlement in collaboration with IOM (International Office for Migration). UN-WFP provides the food supplied to the refugees – sorghum, pulses, cooking oil and salt. GTZ-IS offers medical services. GTZ-Rescue is involved in environmental conservation- tree planting activities, provides solar cookers and firewood distribution. NCCK is responsible for reproductive health education and awareness creation on FGM and HIV/AIDS, peace education, counseling services. KRCS does the tracing and reunion of family members (links relatives with lost kin). MSF provide medicine to be used in the health centres in the camp. NIKE – sports for the youth. UNICEF ensure the availability of safe drinking water to the refugee community. AL-HARAMAN is an Islamic organization that is responsible for religious awareness in the camp while the GOK ensures security in the camp

Therefore many organizations are involved all collectively in addressing the social problems in the camps.

4.2.   DATA ANALYSIS

4.2.1. Patterns of Adoption of New Skills

Two key factors underpin the need for the new look for the community service sector. The first relates to the gaps in the present structure and the second to changes in the UN High Commissioners policy priorities with regard to refugee programming. Other factors necessitating the new look include new/emerging issues, the protracted refugee problem and the change of Community Self-Management (CSM) strategy. In this case CARE had introduced CSM in 1998 for the community to be able to take active participation in the

management of their own programmes. The community was to arrange for the tap stand watchman, sanitation programme and food distribution scoopers. When this arrangement did not seem to work, CARE and UNHCR then shifted to community development initiatives in 2004.

The new structure is organized around four main functional areas, namely Counseling, Sports and Youth development, Women and Children and Community Development and Welfare Management. These functional areas basically respond to the current needs as well as new/potential programmatic areas emanating from the above mentioned factors. They also seek to capture the principles of community development approach as opposed to community services.

Over the years CARE – Refugee Assistance Programme (CARE-RAP) has gradually adopted a developmental approach to service provisioning which lays emphasis on capacity building of the refugees to equip them with self-reliance skills, both to reduce the dependency syndrome as well as in preparation for voluntary repatriation, re-integration or resettlement. In the context of community services this changed approach entailed working with the refugee community to empower and increase their capacities to sustainably meet their needs and deliver services at household and community levels.

The use of community-based approaches helps to understand the existing or traditional forms of community organization or structure such as family relationships, mutual assistance among neighbours, local social and economic organizations, business

activities, credit organizations, community leaders, religious institutions, practices and leaders, traditional ceremonies and festivals and traditional healers. This helps refugees and other people of concern to begin to re-establish familiar cultural patterns and support structures. This will help prevent social problems and help them deal with those problems that arise.

Through the use of community based approaches, UNHCR and implementing partners have established a process of strengthening the links between people in the community and developing their self-confidence and skills. The ultimate objective of such approaches is for the community to be able to initiate action, to address their common concerns and improve their situation. It has taken the direction of participatory development. Participatory development stands for partnership which is built upon the basis of dialogue among the various actors, during which the agenda is jointly set, the local views and indigenous knowledge are deliberately sought and respected. This implies negotiation rather than the dominance of an externally set project agenda. Thus people become actors instead of beneficiaries. UNHCR and IPs acknowledge that participation will not be achieved instantly but will increase and deepen as people of concern gain confidence and become more involved in programming. The whole community participates fully in the programme through individuals and representatives with an active representation from interest groups/ marginalized groups such as women, men, girls, boys, disabled and the elderly.

Another strategy in place is that programmes respond to community initiatives, enabling the community to take responsibility for the programme direction and implementation rather than keeping absolute control in the hands of outside professionals. This has been through empowerment initiatives by the aid agencies as they impart skills to the refugee community for increased confidence. This has enabled them to have control over resources with the ability to own businesses hence becoming active participants in events rather than recipients of aid or targets of other people's actions.

UNHCR's programmes are supported by funds from donors who want to know how the money is used and if it is having the desired effect. It also acts, as donor in its relationships with its NGO partners and it demands that they are accountable to it – for example, through Sub-Project Monitoring Reports. In accountability to people of concern it is committed to explaining its decisions and actions to them and expects the implementing partners to be accountable to the communities they work with. The development agencies view is that through accountability to the donor and the people of concern to UNHCR they will be able to achieve community development.

IPs have disbursed loans worth Kshs. 46.8 million to over 5,000 beneficiaries. These have especially gone to those below ages 45 as they see this opportunities as benefiting them now and after the camp.

4.2.2. Characteristics of the Adopters of the New Approach

Sixty two percent of those who accessed skills training opportunities fall between ages 18 and 45 years. Their reasons for taking advantage of these opportunities are that they will benefit them in the life in the camp, on repatriation or resettlement to a third country. Those above age 45 years feel that it is a waste of resources for them to access these opportunities and that they are usually left out when it comes to resettlement consideration. Only 3% of the female and 11% of the male respondents accessed vocational training, this shows that gender roles and responsibilities have impacted on the levels of women accessing the education opportunities available in the camp.

Training and awareness creation on HIV/AIDS has raised the number of those who visit VCT and people are aware on the effects of this pandemic. The peace education training has sensitized them on the merit of peace and security and the need for a stable government back home. Most of the people who have received the training are youthful. Some respondents felt like the training are not culturally appropriate because they are Muslims and organizations like NCCK that are Christian based had conducted the training. The Muslims noted that FGM is a rite of passage and anti-FGM campaigns are clashing with the teaching of Islam. It is culturally unacceptable to have women uncircumcised and to encourage gender equality especially the side of girl-child education. One respondent noted that he is totally opposed to skills training as they are teaching their women bad behaviors- this is associated with their leaving home compounds to go for the training sessions hence contravening with the Somali's pure

culture where a woman is supposed to stay at home. Others see it, as time wastage hence if it has to succeed then the agencies should first work on attitude change.

There are no follow-ups after the training hence viewed as a waste of time and resources and a chance for the organizers to squander project money. The respondents felt the need for provision of material assistance to start IGAs for those who have undergone training. Other respondents felt that the training sessions are purely entertainment to keep their men and children busy.

What is clear however is that, those who have learnt the diverse skills have been able to access the incentive jobs available for the refugees in the camp. These range from community health workers, teachers, assistant sanitation officer, schools inspector, gender officer, typists, clerk, security officer, reproductive health motivator, social worker and micro-finance assistant. Unfortunately these opportunities are less than the numbers of those who have acquired skills.

The respondents with skills and below 36 years of age felt that given their current status they can not do without relief, unless the Kenyan government considered giving then identity cards so that they access jobs and earn a living.

On characteristics of the adopters of the development approach however, the youth between ages 20 -30 years are more receptive of the new issues of development

compared to those above 45+ years. Women and girls still need massive encouragement to participate or to show interest.

4.2.3. Activities Generated Through Acquisition of New Skills

Out of the skills training that have been provided by the aid agencies, some business groups have emerged among the refugee communities to utilize their skills in various independence enhancing activities as shown below

Welding group

This is a group of eight people (male) with ages ranging from 26 to 35 years and from the Somali and Sudanese communities. They noted the problems of drugs, rape, shifta and associated these problems to the levels of insecurity and poverty in the camp.

To overcome the problems then there is need for education and information dissemination from the aid agencies and law enforcement from the government of Kenya They too pointed out that relief services being received range from water, education, medical care, food and non-food items from UNHCR and its partnering organizations.

They noted that the skills they received have enabled them make a variety of household items like sleeping beds, wheelbarrows, donkey cart, metal chairs, Jua kali sufurias, tables and gates. These items that they make are long lasting and quite affordable. Through CARE-Kenya support they were trained on welding and engine operation. They appreciated the training and formed a youth group which now provides most of the

metallic needs in all the camps. Through their own initiative they pooled resources and began a workshop

They said that a combination of skills acquired, material support and availability of market are their strengths. They see a bright future as a result of their business. Today, they receive many orders from individuals and institutions in the camps.

Dagahaley academic union

This is a group of young men and women aged 26-35 years specifically from the Somali community. All have at least secondary school education and computer skills. Some are single while others are married. This group has started a business where they offer computer lessons in the community. They through combined force raised enough to purchase a few computers to start the classes. Though job opportunities are scarce in they camp, the group is optimistic of a bright future.

They recon that through the aid agencies intervention there has been support for setting up business through granting of loans, the groups in need of support are however overwhelming to the aid agencies.

Their challenges ranged from not having enough computers, lack of advanced skills in computing, lack of space, desks and tables, financial support for repair and maintenance, and certificate of recognition.

They recommended that other projects like ice factory can be started in the camp and access to Internet.

Tin smiths group

This is a group of 4 female and 11 male people from Somali, Sudanese and Ethiopian communities. Their ages range from 26 –45 years and have at least secondary school education and have been in camp for over 5 years. CARE trained them on how to use empty scrap tins from food distribution centers to make Jua Kali products for sale.

Among their products are boxes for clothes storage, gates, tables, chicken houses and vendors' goods cases that they sell within the camp They are able from these businesses to get profit that they use to supplement the ration given by the aid agencies.

They noted that poverty and inadequate host government intervention cause the anti-social behaviors in the camp. These are being overcome through creation of awareness, education, employment and financial support from the aid agencies in the camp.

Business Men

This is a group of five men from the Ifo camp of ages between 26 and 35 with at least secondary school education and with families with an average of 7 members. They have been in the camp for at least 13 years. They combined their resources and opened a pharmacy to store drugs on diseases common in the area. Group members have worked in the camp hospitals and undergone training on drug dispensing. They are affiliated to Medina Pharmacy Ltd. in Garissa who supply them with the drugs that they sell at a

profit. They return the initial cost of drugs to Medina Pharmacy and retain the profits to feed their families hence reduced their dependence on relief.

Sunshine School Academy group

These are secondary and diploma graduates who give tuition to primary and secondary school children for pay. They are male and female with their ages ranging from 18-25 years from the Somali community and have been in the camp for about 16 years.

This group has various challenges that has greatly affected their stability; lack of school stationery, desks and blackboards, space, lack support from any organization especially to pay rent for the space that they are currently using. The institute is located in the market hence not a conducive learning environment. They have approached CARE for support towards space and school stationery and are optimistic that is their project picks up they will be able to live without the support of aid agencies.

Women group

Five women from a women group in the Somali community of ages between 26 and 35 years involved in food Kiosk and saloon business were gathered in a group discussion by the researcher They were in consensus that UNHCR, CARE, GTZ, WFP and NCCK have skills imparting programmes, are giving loans, empty sacks and other relief services so as to eliminate dependence on aid agencies. Group members have specifically benefited from capacity building initiatives in the area of book keeping. They feel that development initiatives will lead to independence of the refugee.

In conclusion, these business groups felt that first, the aid agencies will fully achieve their objectives by putting mechanisms in place to encourage the refugees see the need to access the diverse skills training opportunities available in the camp. Secondly, the aid agencies need to provide business start-up capital for those with the skills to start income generating activities.

4.2.4. Perception of Refugees on Shift from Relief Reliance to Self-reliance

The refugees clearly distinguished between relief and development. They indicated relief as involving regular food handouts, which is given on the basis of registration and not related to work or not but they understand development as working for what you earn They saw development as a process by which one reaches physical, mental, educational and financial progress in life. Most respondents felt that development is better than relief as it involves community participation in decision making, project planning, implementation and monitoring and evaluation. It also involves minimal dependency if any on aid agencies and with a long-term effect on their livelihoods. They also strongly believed that the skills obtained are useful in the after camp life or when donors pull out they will be able to sell their skills for a livelihood. They also strongly believed that imparting new skills is a pre-condition for development of refugee communities. For instance, only 25 percent of the respondents preferred material support to mere skill training. The skills received so far are not adequate for the refugee's self-reliance. Some respondents especially the old and illiterate were noted saying:

"Because we are a pastoral community who rear cows, sheep and goats – what will training give to a nomadic person like me "

"Because Somalis cannot govern each other, it is good for them to be in the hand of the agencies "

There is need for intensification of the capacity building for sustainable livelihood for the refugees. There is need for a knowledge, attitude and practice change to help the Somali refugees try other alternative ways of livelihoods.

4.2.5. Challenges to Enhancement of Self-reliance

A number of aid agencies are directly involved in the implementation of the development approach. World Food Programme (WFP) is charged with food and some basic supplies provision and other services provided through UNHCR implementing partners (IPs), mainly CARE International in Kenya, GTZ-(IS), the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK), and the consulting and logistical wing of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft Fur Technische Zusammenarbeit* (GTZ), with the latter acting as the main implementing agency for the firewood supply project. These agencies provide water and sanitary services, basic housing, education and medical care, as well as a range of other programs and services, with security/policing provided by the Government of Kenya.

CARE-Kenya

CARE-Kenya has been in operation in the camp for the last 15 years and its main objective was to offer relief and emergency operations and community development in partnership with locals (host communities). They are able to raise funds through appeal to

donors, but overtime there has been donor fatigue and a change of focus to new crisis areas as earlier mentioned.

They specifically offer community development and relief services like water, sanitation, education (CARE -Kenya offers and prioritizes basic to higher education especially for the youths) and food distribution. These are basic services for which there are no competing alternatives – so the general attitude is that of acceptance from the refugees. CARE hopes to achieve sustainability of the relief programmes through involvement of the beneficiaries in the project cycle and by promoting participatory decision making and ownership. To enhance the growth of the new approach of community development/capacity building, CARE has embarked on training the youth to eventually assume control of the projects. It is promoting women's capacity for participatory decision making and development through promoting both skills development and trade among the refugees. Their perception is that development supercedes relief, as it is sustainable due to the in-built community ownership and participatory opportunities and the chances of eventual in independence through transfer of skills.

However some refugees are both receptive and opposed. For example, like relief is given more prominence than development issues like training and income generation and vice versa. This ambivalence among the refugees is one problem that the aid agencies have to win. The loan scheme has also faced rejection by the refugees of the Muslim faith as it requires that one pays interest which is against their religion. Other interested parties have also not taken the loan as they claim that the interest rates are too high.

UNHCR/WFP

The UN is supporting the refugee community to actively participate in their own development through its implementing partners as this has been necessitated by donor fatigue and the fact that the camp has been in place for at least 15 years. UNHCR does not have strong development components as they indicated that they do not have enough funds

NCCK

NCCK feels that the paradigm shift is a timely idea introduced with no proper structures in place to support its implementation. The refugees still have the attitudes that the humanitarian agencies are in relief not development. Those above age 45 years feel that it is a waste of resources for them to access these opportunities and that they are usually left out when it comes to resettlement consideration. Only 3% of the female and 11% of the male respondents accessed vocational training, this shows that gender roles and responsibilities have impacted on the levels of women accessing the education opportunities available in the camp.

Training and awareness creation on HIV/AIDS has raised the number of those who visit VCT and people are aware on the effects of this pandemic. The peace education training has sensitized them on the merit of peace and security and the need for a stable government back home. Most of the people who have received the training are youthful. Some respondents felt like the trainings are not culturally appropriate because they are Muslims and organizations like NCCK that are Christian based had conducted the training. The Muslims noted that FGM is a rite of passage and anti-FGM campaigns are clashing with the teaching of Islam. It is culturally unacceptable to have women

uncircumcised and to encourage gender equality especially the side of girl-child education. One respondent noted that he is totally opposed to skills training as they are teaching their women bad behaviors- this is associated with their leaving home compounds to go for the training sessions hence contravening with the Somali's pure culture where a woman is supposed to stay at home. Though NCCK recognizes that community participation is paramount for refugee ownership of the projects, others refugees see it as time wastage hence if it has to succeed then the agencies should first work on attitude change.

GTZ

GTZ has two programmes in the camp, RESCUE which is charged with environmental conservation and International Service (IS) which is charged with provision of medical services. They see the paradigm shift as a timely idea introduced with no proper structures in place to support its implementation. There is need to change the refugees' attitudes and sensitize them of the shift as they still feel that the humanitarian agencies are in relief not development. They conclude that community participation of all members old and young alike is paramount for refugee ownership of the projects.

Kenya Government Perception of Refugees in Kenya

According to the Refugee Desk Ministry of Immigration, Kenya has acceded to all international instruments governing the management and protection of refugees It came up with the refugee camp confinement policy to be able to offer assistance in a more appropriate way. It works in partnership with UNHCR in the provision of basic needs

like water, food, firewood, shelter, medical care and education to the refugee community. For example refugee medicine and NGO and UN assistance is tax free. The government works with UNHCR in Refugee Status Determination and has provided security and land to the refugees.

The government acknowledges that though community development is the perfect direction to move to, there is uncertainty in the ability of the aid agencies to carry out the processes to maturity. There is need to ponder on the refugees' ability to adopt these development initiatives. The refugees who have come from arable lands may not be able to practice agriculture given the semi-arid climatic conditions in these refugee camps.

On the part of relief, some assistance trickled down from the refugee aid agencies to school feeding programmes in public schools in these nomadic areas i.e. selected schools given food by UNWFP in conjunction with UNHCR.

On further analysis of these data, it is clear that although the CARE Community Services Sector (CSS) has made considerable gains towards realizing the objectives envisioned under the new programmatic focus, its efforts have largely been constrained by the fact that it retained its "old" service delivery structures and delivery strategies while at the same time seeking to achieve development oriented goals. This is to say that the change was only effected on capacity building initiatives but not on the project implementation structures and strategies, the old methods were retained. This undermined its capacity to effectively and efficiently deliver services within a development context as well as

respond to emerging issues such as youth, development and sports, counseling and children welfare. At the same time its service delivery orientation has been a major contributory factor to the sustenance of the dependency syndrome within the refugee community.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1. CONCLUSION

The main principles of community development process are: enhancing community participation in efforts to improve their standard of living; ensuring provision of essential services for individual and community, including health, basic education, counseling, tracing and reunification of family members, foster family support, etc., ensuring provision of essential support mechanisms, with the aim of building the capacity of the refugee community organizations-material, technical, human and institutional – in ways that encourage individual and communal initiative, self-help and mutual help.

The Development Agencies in the camps have been able to offer capacity building opportunities to the refugee communities to improve their standards of living. This has brought about reduced levels of anti-social behavours as those with skills engaged in income generating activities.

CSM as it is practiced now is implemented through established community structures/committees composed mainly of the elderly members of the community. This structure has however alienated the youth, yet they constitute the majority besides being the most dynamic, knowledgeable and vibrant group within the refugee population. Non-participation of youths within the CSM implies that the program has not utilized a huge resource potential that could be put to productive use. Yet the active involvement of the

youth in development initiatives would have helped to address the problem of idleness and deviance among the youth.

It was realized that the people think it is impossible for the shift to occur because of high the poverty level. All business groups are however complaining of lack of funds from the donor agencies and so are organizations like UNHCR and WFP. Acquisition of skills without material and financial support to start income generating activities beats the purpose of the initiatives. But even where resources have been provided, ignorance, and the lack of regulations/code of conduct for the members has led to failure of self-reliance initiative.

Most elderly do not positively appreciate the capacity building initiatives out of the misperceptions that the aid agencies would stop assisting them once they are self reliant. On the contrary most of the youth and young adults between 18 to 35 years are however very receptive of the capacity building initiatives. The youth and young adults are optimistic of the future since they strongly believe that one time in the future they will be integrated or repatriated.

The humanitarian agencies that have engaged in various capacities building initiatives to empower the refugees for self-reliance on repatriation, resettlement or integration need to consolidate their resources to help improve the refugees managerial skills, work on their attitudes and encourage them to take responsibility for their own development. To date, blanket training in one or two vocational areas creates a glut of entrepreneurs or artisans, with no market for their skills.

The knowledge that security comes before development will be handy in the endeavors to make the refugees self-reliant.

5.2. RECOMMENDATIONS

- In order to improve businesses after training, Development Agencies need to offer micro loans for lending to business men and women.

- Education for refugee children is important hence the Development Agencies and the Government of Kenya need to develop more primary and secondary schools in order to increase access to education.

- A special focus needs to be put on the female refugees who as it was shown do not benefit from the trainings due to their low level of education.

- There is need harmonization of trainings by the Development Agencies to avoid duplication.

- A mechanism needs to be developed by the UN, Development Agencies and the Government of Kenya to absorb refugees into the formal labour market.

- There is need for training on business management in order to inculcate a business culture.

- There is need to identify training priorities for the refugees before actual training are done.

- There is need for sensitization especially among the elderly refugees in order for them to embrace development and move away from relief perceptions.

- There is need to promote effective participation of refugees in all stages of program cycle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ayiemba and Oucho, *The Refugee Crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa*, African population and Environmental Institute, Nairobi, 1995.

Brandt Donald P, Journal of Humanitarian Assistance, *Relief as development, but development as reilef?* http://www.jha.ac/articles/a024.htm. June 2000

CARE-RAP report of May 2006

Coleman, James S., "Rationality and Society", *Rationality and Society*, 1:5-9, 1989

Crisp, Jeff, *A State of Insecurity: The Political Economy of Violence in Refugee-Populated Areas of Kenya*. New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper No 16. UNHCR, December, 1999

de Waal, "*Famine Crimes. Politics and the Disaster Relief Industry*" Indiana, 1998

Eade D. (ed.), *Development in States of War*, Oxford, UK: Oxfam 1996

Eriksson, L.G., *Ten Years of Assistance to African Refugees through International Cooperation*, Geneva, 1972,

Eriksson, et al.(ed.), *An analyzing account of the conference on the African Refugee Problem*, Arusha, 1979

Frank Andre Gunder, "The Development of Underdevelopment," in James D. Cockcroft, Andre Gunder Frank, and Dale Johnson. eds., *Dependence and Underdevelopment* Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1972, p. 3.

Friedman, Debra, and Hechter, Michael, "The Contribution of Rational Choice Theory to Microsociological Research." *Sociological Theory*, 6:201-218, 1988

Heath, Anthony, *Rational Choice and Social Exchange: A Critique of Exchange Theory*, Cambridge University Press, 1976

Hitchcox, L., *Refugees*, Franklin Watts, London, 1990

HRW, 2002

Hyndman and Nylund 1998

Keely, C.B., *Global Refugee Policy: The case for A Development-Oriented Strategy*, The Population Council Inc., 1981

Levi, Margaret, Cook, Karen S., O' Brien, Jodi A., and Faye, Howard, "The Limits of Rationality" In K. S. Cook and M. Levi (eds.), *The Limits of Rationality*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990

Lewis, I. M., *A Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*, Westview, Boulder, 1988

Lewis Paul, 'That a Helping Hand Can Hurt', *New York Times*, February 27, 1999

Lind Jeremy and Sturman Kathryn, (eds.), *Scarcity and Surfeit The Ecology of Africa's Conflicts*, Institute of Security Studies, South Africa, 2002

Macharia, M., *OAU Refugee Convention in the 21*[st] *Century. A Retrospective*, 1999, Nairobi. (unpublished)

Malcom, P., *European Refugees 1930-1952 A Study in Forced Population Movement*, London, Faber & Faber, 1957).

Mayotte, J. A., *Disposable People? The plight of Refugees*, Obis Books, New York, 1992

Montclos and Kawanja, (art. Refugee camps or Cities? The socio-economic Dynamics of the Dadaab and Kakuma Camps in Northern Kenya) *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 2000

Neuman, Lawrence W., *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, 2 edn., Allyn and Bacon, 1994

Nobel, P. (ed), *Refugees and Development in Africa*, Uppsala, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies – Seminar proceedings No. 19, 1987

Rowman & Littlefield, *Hard Choices: Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Intervention* Rony Brauman's article, 1998

Paul Lewis, *That a Helping Hand Can Hurt* ' New York Times, *February 27, 1999*

CARE -Refugee Assistance Project-Dadaab Annual Report, 2004:7

Refugees International Organization, *Relief and Development in Refugee Situations*, 2004

Rodney, Walter 1989,

Sen Amatya, *Development as a Freedom*, New York: Anchor Books, 1999

Smith Adam, *An Inquiry Into The Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 1776

"Sociology," *Microsoft® Encarta® Encyclopedia 99.* © 1993-1998 Microsoft Corporation.

Tureti, Martha K., *Impact of Refugees on the Host Communities: The Case of Kakuma Refugee Camp, Northwestern Kenya, 1992-2002*, 2003, M.A. Thesis-UON, Unpublished

UNAIDS, *Population Mobility and Aids- UNAIDS Technical Update*, Geneva, UNAIDS, February 2001

UNDP, *UNDP Human Development Report*, Somalia, 1998

UNHCR 1951-1972, *Refugees: A problem of Our Time*, vol. II, 1975, The Scarecrow Press, New Jersey

UNHCR, *The State of the World's Refugees 50 Years of Humanitarian Action*, 2000, Oxford University Press, Clarendon

UNHCR, *Evaluation of the Dadaab Firewood Project, Kenya*, CASA Consulting, 2001:13

UNHCR, *Statistical YearBook 2001: Refugees, Asylum-Seekers and Other Persons of Concern – Trends in Displacement, Protection and Solutions*, October, 2002

USCR 1998

WFP *Report on Credit Programme Information* 2005

QUESTIONNAIRE

CATEGORY – I (Refugees)

Part I: Demographic

Name:(Optional)....................

Nationality.................. **Camp**:............ ... **Section**:.......... **Block**.............

Sex: Male...... Female..........

Age: 18-25 .... 26-35....... 36-45.......46-55........ 56+........

Level of Education before camp: None.........Primary..... ..Secondary........

College......

Current level of Education: None.......Primary ......Secondary ....College.......

Marital Status: Single....... Married.......... Divorced.......... Widowed........

Family Size:...........................

Occupation:..............................

Part II

Length of time in camp.---------------------

What anti-social issues apart from theft are experienced in the camp?-----------------------

----

Why do these anti-social issues exist in the camp?..

....

What are the people doing to overcome them?...

....

Do the aid agencies have programmes to eliminate these behaviours? Yes. No? If yes,

Which ones?...

....

What relief services are you currently receiving from the aid agencies?.................

....

Which agencies specifically are giving these relief services?...........................

....

What does each development agency provide?...

....

Have any of them given any skill training? If yes, which ones............................

....

Why do you think they are giving training?...

....

Have you ever gone for the training? Specify which ones.................................

....

Do you know any people who have undergone training?..................................

Who trained them (specifically which organization(s) provided the training)?..............

....

Was the training beneficial? If Yes, in which ways?......................................

Are the training(s) culturally appropriate/acceptable? Yes/No, Why?......................

....

Are there any people who established any independent businesses after the training?.......

....

What is your opinion or perception of these training?....................................

....

What do you understand by relief/ development?...

....

And which one is better?.................................

Why do you think so?...

....

Do you think the skill obtained can help people to survive on their own? Yes /No?

Why?...

Any other information you want to share with me..

....

CATEGORY II – AID AGENCIES – Key Informants

Part I

Name of Agency:...

Period of operation in camp:..,

Part II

What are the objectives of the Organization?. ....

....

How do you access (get) donor funding?...

....

What specific relief services are you offering?...

....

How are the refugees responding to these kind of service?.........................

....

How do you hope to achieve sustainability of the relief programmes?.........

What are you doing as an agency to enhance the growth of the new approach of development/capacity building?

Debate between Relief and Development Which one is sustainable and why?

What in your opinion is the perception of the refugees to development?

Are there successful cases on the training you offered?

What is your opinion on the relief in future?

What are the characteristics of the adopters of the development approach in terms of education, age and gender?

How will the shift from dependency to independence help curb the anti-social behaviors?

Any other information you want to share with me

CATEGORY III – Government of Kenya

What is the role of the government of Kenya towards refugees? What does it offer?.......

....

What is the government's opinion towards Relief/Development?...........................

....

Does Kenya have a refugee policy? Yes/No If yes, what is its position towards refugees?.

....

....

Any other information you want to share with me...

....

......