# Effects of Social Networks on Livelihoods in Exile and Return: The Case of Southern Sudanese Refugees in Kenya

By

Yohana Matendo Lokiru

A Project Paper Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of the Degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies

Institute for Development Studies
University of Nairobi



October 2009

## DECLARATION

This project paper is my original work and has not been presented to any other university for a degree

**Yohana Matendo Lokiru**

Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi

Signature _____ Date 27-10-09

This project paper has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors

**Prof. Mary Omosa**

Associate Professor, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi

Signature _____ Date 6/11/09

**Mr. Geoffrey Njeru**

Research Fellow, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi

Signature _____ Date 27.10.09

## DEDICATION

*This paper is dedicated to my father in recognition of his determination in prioritizing my education even during the most difficult of times.*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

## LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES AND BOXES

### Tables



### Figures

**Boxes**

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

| | |
|---|---|
| CAR | Central African Republic |
| CPA | Comprehensive Peace Agreement |
| DRA | Department for Refugee Affairs |
| DRC | Democratic Republic of Congo |
| EPAU | Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit |
| GOK | Government of Kenya |
| GOS | Government of Sudan |
| GOSS | Government of South Sudan |
| HIV | Human Immune Deficiency Virus |
| IDP | Internally Displaced Persons |
| IGA | Income Generating Activities |
| ILO | International Labour Organization |
| KRC | Kakuma Refugee Camp |
| LWF | Lutheran World Federation |
| MSG | Multi Storey Garden |
| NGO | Non Governmental Organization |
| NPA | Norwegian People's Aid |
| PRA | Participatory Rural Appraisal |
| RSD | Refugee Status Determination |
| SPLM/A | Sudan People's Liberation/Army |
| SPSS | Statistical Package for Social Sciences |
| SRRC | Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission |
| UAM | Unaccompanied Minor |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNHCR | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees |
| U.S.A | United States of America |
| WFP | World Food Programme |

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I benefited a lot from contributions, advice and support from many individuals and organizations in the course of completing this project paper. I wish to acknowledge them all. First and foremost my sincere gratitude goes to the refugees and returnees, whose willingness to talk about their livelihood circumstances gave rise to this paper. I acknowledge my supervisors, Professor Mary Omosa and Mr. Geoffrey Njeru for their valuable comments and guidance during the design, fieldwork and writing of this paper. I am also grateful to the lecturers, support staff and fellow students at the Institute for Development Studies for inspiring, guiding and challenging me to exploit, share and apply my intellectual abilities.

I would like to thank the University of Nairobi and the Volkswagen Foundation for financing my studies. I acknowledge Dr. Elke Grawert and the research partners and students of the project "Social Action in Sudan after the Peace Agreement of January 9 2005", for offering me insightful research guidance and coaching during the regional workshops and conferences. The Lutheran World Federation generously facilitated my fieldwork both in Kakuma refugee camp and in Jonglei, Southern Sudan. For this I will always be indebted to LWF.

To my beloved wife Phoebe and sons Lomotor and Ekitela, I am humbled by your support and for bearing with me when I had to take away family time in order to read, collect data, write, or attend a conference far away from you. Finally, I thank God for graciously enabling me to complete my studies.

## ABSTRACT

Most studies about refugees in Africa often focus on the desperate circumstances that forced migrants find themselves in, and therefore often highlight the poor quality of and gaps in humanitarian assistance. Conventional findings therefore always emphasize vulnerability and dependence on aid, but hardly account for how refugees and returnees fulfil their unmet needs. This study identified diverse types of social networks of Southern Sudanese refugees and returnees and assessed how the resources accessed through them affect livelihoods in exile and upon return. The findings reveal that refugees have innovatively established and utilized their local, regional and trans-national networks to cushion themselves from livelihood shocks, improve their living conditions, and develop their human and social capital for immediate and longer-term livelihood security. Based on these, the paper makes a case for evaluating, recognizing and supporting self-help groups, associations and initiatives among forced migrants as this is an empowering and sustainable strategy for addressing their short and long-term livelihood needs.

# CHAPTER 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Background

Sudan has been at war within itself for most of the time since its independence in 1956. According to the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), attempts by various Khartoum-based regimes since 1956 to build a monolithic Arab-Islamic state with the exclusion and oppression of non-Arab Africans with Christian and traditional religious orientations and the Sudanese diversity in general constitutes the fundamental problem of the Sudan and the cause of the conflict (Akuei, 2005; Loiria, 1971, 1986 cited by Elke (2005). The Sudanese state excluded the vast majority of people from governance and therefore their marginalization in the political, economic and social fields. This exclusion and hegemony provoked resistance by the excluded segments of the Sudanese society, leading to protracted civil war, massive internal displacement of more than 4 million people, the death of close to 2 million people, and the fleeing of more than 500,000 Southern Sudanese to settle as refugees in Sudan's neighbouring countries – Central African Republic (CAR), Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda (Akuei, 2005; www.unhcr.org).

In 1992, the first group of about 20,000 Southern Sudanese, mainly young unaccompanied minors arrived in Kenya and was given asylum and assistance at Kakuma refugee camp in north-western Kenya. Over time, the number of Southern Sudanese refugees fleeing to Kenya increased, reaching approximately 65,000 in 2006. Kakuma camp not only hosts Sudanese refugees, but also refugees from eight other countries in the Horn and Eastern Africa region. Southern Sudanese refugees, however, constituted the majority with an average of 70% for most of the period between 1992 and 2008. Over time, a significant population of Southern Sudanese, not necessarily refugees have settled in various Kenyan urban centres and many of them attend educational institutions. Some of these include senior officials of the SPLM/A and the families and relatives of resettled Southern Sudanese refugees, whose sustenance is dependent on remittances.

UNHCR estimates the population of Southern Sudanese refugees living in Kenya to be about 35,548 (19,443 male, 13,105 female) in June 2008.

Life in Kakuma refugee camp, which is located in a conflict-ridden arid area, and where refugees' movement is restricted by the government, is heavily dependent on international aid. The aid, provided through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and by the Government of Kenya (GOK), consists of basic food, water, health, shelter, education, security and social and psychosocial assistance, packaged under an aid regime referred to as "care and maintenance". The main objective of this assistance package is to provide basic life-saving assistance to refugees, while more preferred durable solutions, namely, local integration, resettlement and repatriation are sought. Very little or no assistance is aimed at dramatically improving or changing the present and future livelihoods of the refugees. Harrell-Bond and Voutira (2000) point out that relief programmes under the care and maintenance package are never sufficient to allow for the restoration of livelihoods. Care and maintenance assistance is justified partly by UNHCR's policy and mandate that views refugee life as only a short-term and transitory experience that soon gets resolved when one or a combination of the durable solutions are achieved. The policy does not therefore fully embrace longer-term investments and programmes. The ever-persistent problem of resource constraints also puts a practical limitation to what UNHCR and her partners can undertake and achieve in terms of refugees' livelihoods in the camp and beyond.

Assistance gaps created by the narrow focus on 'life-saving' programmes necessitated devising supplementary and sometimes alternative sources of support and assistance on the part of Sudanese refugees in Kakuma camp. This is consistent with existing literature of refugee livelihoods in similar camp situations in Africa. Jacobsen in *International Migration* 40(5): 95-123 observed that the hardships experienced at the camp and the refugees' expectations for the future combine to cause them to devise and develop livelihood coping as well as livelihood-enhancing strategies. Expansion of social networks, with the aim of tapping on new/more resources and opportunities for livelihood

security, is one key and common response by refugees in camp situations. Such networks not only improve refugees' livelihood opportunities and security in camps, but also become crucial "assets" that facilitate their reintegration into home countries. Other strategies include relying on humanitarian assistance, migrating to urban areas or other countries, engaging in business and trade activities, investing in education and training, and falling back on illegal coping strategies such as crime (De Vriese, 2002:11-23).

This study investigated reliance on social networks and solidarity by Southern Sudanese refugees in Kakuma camp, specifically focusing on the effects of social networks on their livelihoods. The focus was to investigate the potential that resides in social networks in boosting refugees' and returnees' livelihood opportunities in camps and in their home countries. The specific purpose was to assess the effects of refugees' and returnees' social networks on their livelihoods and reintegration in Southern Sudan after the CPA of 2005.

## 1.2 Problem Statement

The process of repatriation to and the reconstruction of Southern Sudan following the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of 2005 is currently one of the most conspicuous development-cum-humanitarian programmes in the Horn of Africa region. It has attracted international as well as regional government and private actors, including the Government of Kenya (GOK). However, this initiative is largely externally funded and therefore highly dependent on volatile external variables. The hosting and assistance of more than 500,000 Southern Sudanese refugees in the neighbouring countries has also been heavily dependent on international humanitarian aid. This vulnerability to external aid resources and support has implications for refugee welfare and the success of reintegration of returnees. Most refugee assistance and repatriation programs in Africa are known to face perpetual resource constraints leading to non-achievement of minimum standards in humanitarian assistance. Refugee assistance programmes in Kenya are under-funded and Government polices are either lacking or too weak to assure effective protection and assistance to all refugees and asylum seekers. As a result basic goods and services such as food, shelter, health care, water and sanitation, security and education

are often under-provided leading to non-attainment of the minimum standards necessary to assure refugees and returnees secure livelihoods, protection and assurance of basic human rights. The same scenario prevails for returnees in Southern Sudan, who receive only limited assistance during the first months of their return, exposing them to vulnerability and for some of them extreme problems in re-establishing livelihood in unfamiliar settings. These circumstances lead to the question, how do refugees and returnees strive to bridge the gaps in assistance brought about by limited UNHCR, NGOs and Government programmes and policies? A related dimension to this puzzle is, how come refugees and returnees often exhibit enormous resilience and capacity to rebuild, maintain and improve their livelihoods under difficult conditions in exile and at home after return? Existing literature, most of which is not academic, attributes this resilience to refugees' and returnees' individual, household and collective (community) resources and opportunities, particularly in the form of social capital. Unfortunately, these intangible resources are often underestimated and de-emphasized in favour of the highly visible and tangible yet inadequate relief aid. This study aimed at exploring the 'under-estimated' resources and opportunities embedded in refugees' and returnees' own social networks, and how such resources enable refugees and returnees to maintain and improve their livelihoods. The study focused on identifying and analysing the types of social networks that Southern Sudanese refugees in Kenya have maintained or developed, and those they are utilizing in reintegrating to Southern Sudan. These included the local, regional and trans-national social networks spanning the entire spectrum of social, cultural, economic and political spheres. The research explored the implications of identified social networks on the wellbeing of the refugees in Kakuma camp, and for the returnees, on their efforts to establish livelihood in Jonglei State, south Sudan. The main research question was "how do refugees' social networks influence their livelihoods in exile and upon return to their home country?"

## 1.3 Research Questions

Three specific questions guided the study;

i. What are the social networks of Southern Sudanese refugees in Kenya?
ii. How do the social networks of Sudanese refugees affect their livelihoods in Kenya?
iii. How are returnees using their social networks to re-establish livelihoods in Southern Sudan?

## 1.4 Objectives of the Study

This study had three specific objectives. These are;

i. to identify the social networks of Southern Sudanese refugees in Kenya
ii. to assess the effects of Sudanese refugees' social networks on their livelihoods in Kenya
iii. to investigate the contributions of returnees' social networks on livelihood re-establishment in Southern Sudan.

## 1.5 Justification of the Study

The contributions and capacities of African refugees in maintaining and improving their own livelihoods in camp situations, on the one hand, and of returnees in reintegrating into their home countries following repatriation, on the other hand, are central to the success and sustainability of refugee and returnee assistance, and therefore needs to be investigated and understood. This not only provides some answers to the question of how African refugees manage to survive under difficult conditions of exile, such as encampment policies and perennial under-funding of UNHCR and her NGO partners, but also draws attention on sustainable refugees and returnees livelihood support strategies. The details of Southern Sudanese refugees' and returnees' social capital, particularly with regard to the social networks they have maintained or developed are not fully known. Little empirical linkage is known about the significance of refugees' and returnees' social networks on their livelihoods in exile and while reintegrating into Southern Sudan. In particular, there is not yet any study that links the refugees' social networks to their actual experiences in Southern Sudan following the 2005 CPA.

The findings of this study provide useful insight to both the refugee camp authorities, Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS) and the humanitarian community involved in the reconstruction process, about how to harness and maximize the potential benefits of refugees' and returnees' social networks to promote livelihood security in camps and to foster reintegration and reconstruction processes in the home country. The study also unpacks the unique Southern Sudan's case, adding an empirically based thorough analysis of the dynamics of livelihood networks linked to population movements to the growing research literature about the value of social capital in refugees' and returnees' livelihoods, and in post-conflict reconstruction in general.

## 1.6 Hypotheses

i. Most social networks are kinship-based
ii. Social networks have improved the livelihoods of Sudanese refugees in Kenya
iii. Returnees rely mostly on their social networks to re-establish livelihoods in Southern Sudan.

In this study the concept of *social networks* was the independent variable. It was operationalized as the ties, relations, obligations, reciprocities and linkages that are sources or conduits of resources, ideas, information, identity and moral support. The dependent variable was the refugees' and returnees' *livelihood,* operationalized as the means of living and constituting the assets, activities, strategies adopted and how risks and vulnerabilities faced in earning and maintaining a living are coped with.

## 1.7 Limitations of the Study

Undertaking research among refugees and returnees is never a straight-forward task. The subjects of 'social networks' and 'livelihoods' can be so diffuse and difficult to define under conditions of forced migration and prolonged dependence on humanitarian aid. Livelihood studies of communities living in their habitual localities and setups are more advanced compared to livelihood studies of displaced persons, refugees and immigrants. There was therefore a limited and less refined pool of academic literature on the concepts of social networks, refugee and returnee livelihoods, in particular in relation to the Sudanese experience. In spite of these limitations, the researcher benefited from livelihood related researches conducted in forced migration conditions in African

countries such as Eritrea and Somalia. Studies focusing on trans-national remittances among refugees and returnees were helpful in linking social networks and livelihoods. Due to inaccessibility and the fact that few of these studies have been published, a lot of the literature was accessed from the internet.

The empirical study targeted Southern Sudanese refugees of Jonglei State origin, but with a primary focus on two Counties – Twic East and Duk. Sudanese refugees from other States and Counties were not included in the study both in Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya, and in Twic East and Duk Counties in Southern Sudan. As a result, the findings of this study may not be fully generalized to the whole of Southern Sudan or to the entire Jonglei State. Neither can they be applied wholesale on all Sudanese refugees in Kenya, because a significant proportion of Southern Sudanese refugees living in Kenyan urban centres and in various educational institutions were not included in the study. The researcher chose Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya and Twic East and Duk Counties in Southern Sudan because they together host a great proportion of Southern Sudanese refugees in Kenya and of Kakuma returnees in Southern Sudan. In terms of safety, logistics and financial considerations, Kakuma refugee camp and Twic East and Duk Counties presented better feasibility for the study.

Despite this 'biased focus', the process of selection of the respondents was done in a random manner within the Zones and Groups in Kakuma refugee camp, and in the villages in Southern Sudan. There were challenges of achieving a perfectly random sample but the researcher improvised by adopting simple random techniques. Data collection methods were diversified in order to increase the chances of projecting the findings on the whole of Sudanese refugees/returnees. This was achieved by combining qualitative data collection methods with quantitative survey data from sampled households.

### 1.8 A Note on the Methodology

Methodologies for conducting social science research with refugees vary with the nature of study and the context of refugee assistance in different countries. In Kenya, due to the

Government policy of having refugees assisted in camp settings, commonly referred to as encampment policy, many studies on refugee livelihoods and related subjects have used a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches. Many of the papers reviewed addressed themselves more towards practice and policy objectives, while very few leaned towards pure academic research orientation. This situation is probably explained by the dual imperative of refugee research – being relevant to practitioners on the one hand, and to the academia and policy makers on the other hand. Studies on refugees and similar groups living under difficult situations often have to be relevant to the humanitarian programs at least, even as they pursue academic and/or policy relevance. Jacobsen and Landau in *Disasters*, 2003, 27(3):185 discussed the dual imperative of refugee research, noting that most studies seek to explain the behaviour, impact and problems of the displaced with the intention of influencing agencies and governments to develop more effective responses. In so doing such studies acknowledge that refugees are not mere research objects for pursuing academic ends.

Due to the relatedness of refugee and returnee contexts with conflict situations, the objectivity and thoroughness of many refugee studies are often affected by insecurity. Other factors include the tight bureaucracy involved in gaining access to remotely located refugee camps, the financial implications and problems of communication with refugees. In a paper on methodological and ethical issues in forced migration research, Jacobsen and Landau captured the common mistakes committed by social scientists in this field.

> *Most researches are exploratory, non-representative, and small sample, affected by security and logistical constraints, ethical concerns, fail the 'Do No Harm' imperative, translation and local language challenges* (Jacobsen and Landau (2003:190)

The study was not an exception with regards to the 'dual imperative' notion discussed above, as well as the other common challenges in conducting refugee research. Apart from seeking to meet academic standards and relevance, this study also aimed to explore the linkages between refugee social networks and their livelihoods. The study appraised Southern Sudanese refugees' own strategies for promoting their livelihoods in exile and

in their home country as returnees. With regards to the common methodological challenges highlighted by Jacobsen and Landau above, this study consciously attempted to enhance *representativeness* by randomly selecting respondents following an initial exploration of issues using purposive methods. The study was cushioned from logistical constraints by research funding obtained from the Volkswagen Foundation in collaboration with the University of Nairobi. The study also benefited from fieldwork facilitation – transport, accommodation and introduction to local authorities provided by the Lutheran World Federation (LWF)[1], a former employer of the researcher. As a result, access to and acceptance to the refugees in Kakuma camp and to returnees in Southern Sudan was greatly enhanced.

### 1.9 Organization of the Paper

This research project paper is composed of seven inter-linked chapters covering research design, the research findings and conclusions. Chapter one introduces the study's problem statement, objectives and research questions. It also highlights the study's justification, hypotheses and the theoretical and methodological limitations and assumptions.

The second chapter is a discussion of the State of the Art in the field of refugee livelihoods, social networks and the related concept of social capital, with particular focus on camp situations as well as return and reintegration situations. In the same chapter, the theoretical framework used to guide the study is presented and discussed, together with the definition of the key concepts used.

The methodological approach of the study is discussed in detail in chapter three, including information about the research sites, how the data was collected and analyzed and the lessons and challenges encountered during fieldwork.

[1] LWF is an international non-governmental organization based in Geneva, Switzerland. In Kenya, LWF works with refugees in Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps, and in Sudan, with returnees and vulnerable communities in Twic East and Duk Countries, among other areas, in Southern Sudan. LWF is the leading Implementing Partner (IP) for UNHCR in Kakuma refugee camp.

Chapters four and five are dedicated to detailed discussions of the findings. Chapter four focuses on the effects of Southern Sudanese refugees' social networks on livelihoods in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya. It also covers the impact of encampment policy on refugee livelihoods, and discusses the various livelihood strategies adopted by Southern Sudanese refugees while in exile in Kenya. Chapter five links the exile experiences discussed in chapter four with home country experiences of returnees to Southern Sudan. This chapter looks at repatriation and its destabilizing effects on returnee livelihoods while at the same time acknowledging that it is a desired durable solution to protracted refugee life. The livelihood strategies adopted by returnees from Kenya are presented and discussed as well as the nature of social networks sustained and established by returnees and their effects on livelihoods.

Chapter six is a summary of the research findings, conclusions and recommendations. It also includes the implications of the findings and conclusions on refugee and returnee assistance programs and the recommendations for future research on refugee livelihoods.

# CHAPTER 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

## 2.1 Introduction

Literature on refugee livelihoods has started to accumulate more rapidly only recently. Besides a few academic studies there are a growing number of research papers written by staff members of humanitarian agencies or professional consultants. The purpose of these papers is to provide background information for the agencies to guide their practical protection approach for refugees and to identify refugee policies. One of the milestones in this process was UNHCR's attempts to find alternatives to protracted refugee situations during the 1980s and 90s. This led to the formation of the Refugee Livelihoods Network initiated by UNHCR's Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit (EPAU) in 2003. The Refugee Livelihoods Network included a network of practitioners and researchers with a common interest in refugee livelihoods and self-reliance issues. The purpose of the network was to exchange ideas and lessons learned, to keep members informed of latest initiatives and to provide an opportunity for learning and inter-agency co-operation. (De Vriese, 2006:2). Another key champion of academic, policy and operational research on refugee livelihoods is the Refugee Studies Programme (RSP) of the University of Oxford. Through its regular journal, the RSP has continued to provide an important interaction between academic and practitioner viewpoints on refugees and forced migration in general. A number of refugee practitioners and academics interested on various aspects of conflict, forced migration, repatriation, reintegration and related refugee studies have also provided valuable sources of academic and action research literature for this study. A survey of these sources of literature reveals that refugees the world over actively seek to strengthen their livelihoods opportunities despite the harsh conditions of exile and the struggles of reintegration upon return. One of the prominent strategies they adopt is maintaining old and establishing new social networks (De Vriese, 2006:14), which become instrumental in their wellbeing in exile and also upon return to their home countries.

This chapter provides an analysis of the key themes and findings from research focused on refugee livelihoods and social networks, and particularly how social networks affect household or collective livelihood, both in exile and home country situations. It describes how refugees make use of their social ties and networks to cope with livelihood challenges in camp settings and how they face a "new beginning" back home after repatriating. In order to understand these phenomena and make it possible to conduct a deeper empirical analysis of refugee networks, the "Livelihoods Approach" framework is introduced as a theoretical concept and connected with the concept of social capital.

## 2.2 Refugee Livelihoods

According to the United Nations, a refugee is a person who

> *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 nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country (UNHCR, 2007:16)*

In this study, all individuals, male and female originally from Southern Sudan staying in KRC on the basis of fear of persecution was considered a refugee. Surveyed literature reveals a general consensus that in matters of *livelihood*, refugees are often, disadvantaged in comparison to *non-refugees* with regard to comparable access to resources, opportunities, socio-cultural backgrounds, skills and capabilities. This scenario is typical in a case of cross-border neighbouring communities whose most other important livelihood variables are similar or comparable, except the fact that one community is taking refuge in the other's territory. A *livelihood* has been defined as the 'means of living' and as 'the way in which a living is obtained'.

> *A livelihood comprises the abilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living (Chambers and Conway, 1992:7). Livelihood comprises the assets (natural, human, financial and social capital), the activities and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household* (Ellis, 2000:10).

The study adopted this broad and all-encompassing definition of *livelihood* in order to show that refugees do not completely disintegrate in the course of flight, displacement and exile. Against many odds, they always strive to live as normal lives as they can and pursue their self-actualization goals as much as possible.

These definitions of '*refugee*' and '*livelihood*' highlight several factors that are important in understanding 'refugee livelihood' as a single concept. The fact that refugees are in exile, in many ways affects their ownership, access and control of important resources and assets such as land and employment opportunities. The circumstances surrounding flight, displacement and asylum seeking often causes refugees to lose hard earned financial and other stored resources. Family and social dislocation also robs them of precious social capital embodied in lost and severed ties and networks. In many countries, refugees do not enjoy favourable legal and political protection and sufficient goodwill from national laws and citizens to guarantee them equal or similar opportunities for earning a decent living. Furthermore, humanitarian aid provided to refugees by host Governments, UNHCR and NGOs often does not meet all their needs, predisposing them to livelihood shocks which they are often unable to cope with or overcome on their own. As a result of the combined effect of the above factors, refugees often have to endure dependant, insecure livelihoods eked out of limited, less rewarding and sometimes illegal activities. This livelihood vulnerability among refugees was observed by De Vriese (2006:22) in his 2006 article on R*efugee Livelihoods*.

Across the surveyed literature, livelihood for African refugees almost invariably entails adopting a combination of a variety of strategies all complementing each other. Refugees in Kenya enjoy neither basic freedoms available to nationals nor the rights enshrined in the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of refugees. Their right to asylum in Kenya is premised upon complying with *encampment policy*. The Government of Kenya's (GoK) refugee encampment policy obliges refugees to register and reside in refugee camps which are located in the Garissa (Dadaab) and Turkana (Kakuma) districts, two remote, semi arid and sparsely populated areas close to the Somali and Sudanese borders respectively (Dube and Koenig, 2005:ii). Refugees in Kenya have

limited freedom of movement, difficulty getting permission to work, lack of access to land for agricultural production, and no access to the credit or saving sector. Moreover, the location of the Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps undermines attempts to secure a livelihood because they are located in ecologically marginal areas where refugees can hardly fall back on available natural resources (De Vriese 2006:9). Conflicts and competition with even worse off host communities makes it even more difficult to build and sustain a resilient livelihood.

African refugees invariably adopt a combination of a variety of livelihood strategies all complementing each other. *Diversification* is one of the common strategies. Refugees carry out different livelihood strategies and activities to try to make the most of the opportunities available to them. The strategies are not just limited to diversification of activities but also of location. Some of the most prominent strategies that refugees adopt include seeking international protection, receiving humanitarian assistance, relying on social networks and solidarity, doing subsistence farming, resorting to urban livelihoods, engaging in trade and services, investing in education and skills training, and adopting illegal coping strategies. (De Vriese, 2006:11-22; Horst, 2006:10). These strategies were often aimed at increasing capital and reducing risks even before flight, as many refugees come from insecure contexts, where they had to deal with recurrent scarcity of resources and situations of conflict. Strategies developed to deal with these past insecurities remain valuable for the livelihoods of refugees after flight and even upon repatriation (Horst, 2006:11).

Some authors focuses on social networks and solidarity as a livelihood strategy employed by refugees and returnees. According to Jacobsen (2002), there is growing evidence that communication and ties with relatives and friends living in the camps, urban areas and abroad helps refugees survive the harsh conditions of their displacement. Assistance from family and friends include financial resources such as remittances, as well as the social capital that comes with active networks which increase information flows and enable trade and relocation. These local and trans-national resources often complement assistance provided by humanitarian agencies and the host government. Key aspects of

refugee livelihoods include seeking international protection and humanitarian assistance, subsistence farming, pursuing urban livelihoods, engaging in trade and business, investing in education and skills training, and illegal coping strategies.

### *2.2.1 Seeking International Protection*

In responding to the plight of refugees, UNHCR in collaboration with Governments provides international protection by ensuring their basic human rights, their ability to seek asylum and the principle of *non-refoulement*[2] is observed. Seeking international protection is usually the first step taken by refugees to find safety and to save any remaining assets at the time of flight. International protection also entitles them to benefit from critical live-saving as well as livelihood support programs. Both of these can be interpreted as livelihood strategies or as coping strategies in situations of forced migration. However, crossing to another country in search of international protection does not always guarantee adequate safety and restoration of livelihood. This is especially so in Africa, where some refugee-hosting countries are at the same time refugee-sending countries. Many countries, including Kenya, do not have sufficient resources, political goodwill and relevant legislation to assure refugees of safety, protection and livelihood support. Refugees are often settled along the border in underdeveloped, conflict-ridden and remote areas, where opportunities for earning a living are limited even for the hosting communities. These circumstances undermine the quality of protection and support that can be provided to refugees (De Vriese, 2006:12).

### *2.2.2 Receiving Humanitarian Assistance*

Refugees rely a lot on the humanitarian assistance provided in refugee camps and in other settings. Humanitarian assistance to refugees plays a critical livelihood support function that is often indispensable for the majority of refugees. It also acts as a safety net by enabling refugees to venture out knowing that their household members are entitled to basic support and that if they fail to make ends meet outside the camp, they would return and rely on the essential sustenance in the camp. However, humanitarian assistance given

[2] Non-refoulement is a principle in international law, specifically refugee law that concerns the protection of refugees from being returned to places where their lives or freedoms could be threatened. (1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Non-refoulement)

to refugees is often limited to live-saving support. Little resources and effort are invested in developing sustainable refugee livelihoods. Restrictions on movement, employment, access to land for farming and livestock keeping in camp settings often deny refugees livelihood security and instead keep them dependent on aid. Relief interventions target many parts of the livelihood system, ranging from food, water, shelter and health. Humanitarian aid and assistance in kind are often translated into commodities for trade often creating new regional economies (De Vriese, 2006:12).

### *2.2.3 Subsistence Farming*

Some refugees, based on their home-country experience and local circumstances, turn to subsistence farming or keeping of livestock as a livelihood strategy as well as a coping mechanism. These depend on the availability of and access to land and natural resources. However, many refugee camps are located in arid or semi-arid lands characterized by conflicts and cattle rustling, where neither subsistence farming nor pastoralism is a viable livelihood strategy. When insufficient land is available, many refugees may still engage in agriculture by encroaching on land which they have no right to use. Refugees may also resort to unsustainable farming practices such as indiscriminate land clearance and this can take a toll on the environment by causing deforestation, overuse of arable and grazing land, and increase tensions with hosting communities (De Vriese 2006:15).

### *2.2.4 Pursuing Urban Livelihoods*

Refugees choose to pursue urban life as a livelihood strategy in many countries. Some of them are drawn to the urban areas by their urban backgrounds, by opportunities to trade and utilize their skills in employment and business. They are also attracted by the availability of better social and infrastructural services such as healthcare, better roads and housing, education and vocational training opportunities. With increased globalization, access to internet and other communication facilities for maintaining contacts with relatives, banking and money transfer facilities, and recreational and entertainment facilities are increasingly attracting refugees to urban areas. However, while pursuing these potential opportunities and benefits in urban areas, refugees often encounter a myriad of challenges and problems. These include unsupportive national

laws that do not grant legal status and identification documents to guarantee their access to and enjoyment of urban benefits, harassment by Police and discrimination by citizens (De Vriese 2006; Dube and Koenig, 2005; Horst, 2006; Jacobsen, 2002).

### *2.2.5 Engaging in Trade and Business*

In a study of refugee self-reliance in Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps in 2005, Dube and Koenig observed that refugees engage in income generating activities as a livelihood strategy. They found that refugees engage in small-scale trading and businesses in import and wholesale, non-agricultural production, small-scale retail shops, restaurants. Refugees also engage in employment with UN agencies and NGOs, bicycle taxi and motorized transport, home based production of alcohol, food processing and clothes, and survival activities such as wood fetching, charcoal making, grass cutting (De Vriese, 2006:19).

### *2.2.6 Investing in Education and Skills Training*

Refugees regard education and training as longer-term developmental investments as opposed to emergency life-saving programs. They also view education as the principal means of gaining from their exile the capabilities, knowledge and skills that will enable them overcome poverty, compensate for the 'lost' years in exile, and be prepared to rebuild their country and to integrate upon return. Sudanese and Somali refugees in Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps have for example made considerable sacrifices to contribute resources and provide voluntary teaching or non-teaching labour required in ensuring their children receive education in the camps and beyond (De Vriese 2006:21).

### *2.2.7 Adopting Illegal Coping Strategies*

When left with few options, refugees often fall back on illegal coping strategies. Most prominent of these is commercial sex. Other include illegal collection of natural resources such as firewood, theft of crops, cattle and other assets, selling off vital assets such as domestic items, and relief supplies needed by household members for survival e.g. food rations, plastic sheeting, kitchen sets and blankets. Some refugees resort to crime, violence, taking loans that they are not able to repay. Often the consequences

include arrests by the Police, problems with camp administration and community leadership, suffering severe malnutrition, ill-health and even death (De Vriese 2006:21; Dube and Koenig, 2005; Horst 2006:18; Jacobsen, 2002).

## 2.3 Social Capital within the Context of Forced Migration

Horst (2006:11) argues that social capital is a vital concept for understanding livelihoods. Social networks create social capital that is used for gaining access to other forms of capital. According to Bourdieu (1992), social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. Social capital often builds on shared identity which is constructed on the basis of community and territory. A community that has this sense of strong cohesion can mobilize this social capital for developmental benefits (Lee *et al*, 2005). Social capital has also been conceptualized as the profits and benefits, be it to secure better livelihood or others, which accrue from membership in a group. In this sense, social capital encourages and perpetuates solidarity. The amount of capital built (*read as livelihood benefits)* depends on the quality and quantity of interactions. As a result losing reciprocity networks worsens the poverty, powerlessness, dependency and vulnerability (Cernia, 2000:30).

Social scientists perceive social capital as representing the *intangibles* as distinguished from the natural (land, water, common-property resources, flora, fauna), financial, human (i.e., knowledge, skills) and physical (i.e., roads, markets, clinics, schools, bridges) *capitals/assets* among a social group or community (Chambers and Conway, 1992). These intangible resources promote self-help, economic growth and development. Social capital is said to form out of repeated social interactions between individuals and groups. This helps them develop trust, social norms, and strengthen co-operation and reciprocity (Coleman, 1988). For Putnam, social capital refers to the building and sustaining of social networks, and the trust that can facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit. He locates, or places, social capital in groups and organizations, and often refers

to social capital as the 'glue' that binds people together (Putnam 2000). For Putnam social capital is a resource that communities or groups possess (Lee *et al*, 2005).

Forced migration tears apart the social fabric, disperses and fragments communities, dismantles patterns of organization and interpersonal ties. As a result, life-sustaining informal networks of reciprocal help, local voluntary associations and self-organized mutual service are disrupted (Cernia, 2000:30), even though they are never completely lost, destroyed and discarded as an important means of gaining capital and coping with livelihood shocks (Horst, 2006:11). This is turn occasions significant loss of valuable *social capital,* which is often uncompensated by humanitarian programs. Once dismantled, it is difficult to re-build social networks that mobilized people to act around common interest, meet their livelihood needs and face livelihood shocks and stresses together.

Most often, the glaring impacts of forced migration and displacement are seen to be physical, economic and psychological and interventions are designed to mitigate them. However, a deeper analysis of the affected communities and individuals would always reveal invisible and heavier losses and costs, key among them being the severing or disruption of long-established personal ties in familiar surroundings and having to face new economic and social uncertainties in a strange land (Sowell, 1996 cited in Cernia and McDowell (eds), 2000:30).

### 2.4 The Social Networks of Refugees

Refugee social networks are often formed around family and kinship ties, clans, neighbourhoods and territorially-based identities (Akuei, 2005b; Daley, 2001; Lindley, 2007). In exile, most refugees are socially organized and settled alongside members of their own clan, ethnic group or with those of a similar ethnic or territorial background (Collins, 1996). But these networks also transcend primary ties, as found by Akuei.

> *in most Sudanese communities, kinship and everyday relatedness extend beyond the immediate family following the lines of decent and marriage, and these relations serve a number of important functions and entail different degrees of reciprocity and mutual obligations (Akuei (2005b:8).*

The types of social networks refugees form vary from one refugee situation to another, depending on their social conditions prior to, during flight and in exile. In the case of

refugees from Rwanda and Somalia for example, Collins' work on the *Social Context of Refugees* (1996) found that kin relationships were very important, while in the flight from South Africa, kinship-based social networks were less important. Collins noted that refugees who fled the conflict in Somalia frequently lived in clan-centred settlements, where clans formed the background of social organization before and during the refugee crisis. Access to livelihood resources and assets is often tied to territorially anchored identity (Daley, 2001). In deed, the design of settlement and space organization within Kakuma refugee camp is an obvious reflection of the ethnic, regional and territorial backgrounds of the refugees back in their home countries (*researcher's own field experience*). Daley in Bruijn, Dijk and Foeken (eds) (2001:209) observes that

> *as the period of asylum becomes increasingly extenuated, many refugee communities form trans-national communities and diaspora without losing links to place".*

According to Jacobsen (2002:109), there is growing evidence that communication and ties with relatives and friends living abroad has helped refugees survive the harsh conditions of their displacement. Jacobsen observes that assistance from family and friends abroad can include financial resources, such as remittances, as well as the opportunities and resources that come with social networks, which increase information flows and enable trade and relocation. Remittances are invested in business and for education purposes and all these support or help rebuild livelihoods (Jacobsen, 2002). Akuei (2005b) in a study of Sudan's informal remittance systems points out that Sudanese migrants remit primarily to their kin, but also to friends and community links. Refugees also develop inter-household economic and social networks based on solidarity, which provide them a safety net for mutual aid in coping with livelihood stresses and shocks in camps (Jacobsen, 2002). In a recent study on *"Remittances in Fragile Settings: the Case of Somalia"*, Lindley found that transnational social relations that channel remittances interweave with local social relations in Hargeisa, Somaliland. The study found that many people have immediate family members in the city, in the rural area, and abroad, with different layers of transfer activity between these locations (Lindley, 2007:13).

## 2.5 Refugee Social Networks and Implications for Livelihoods

Surveyed literature reveals a close relationship between refugees' social networks and their livelihoods in camp situations. This body of literature has accumulated following recognition by scholars, UNHCR and NGOs that provision of relief, also called "care and maintenance" assistance to refugees is never sufficient to maintain decent refugee livelihoods. The type of programmes associated with the "care and maintenance" policy is limited, as earlier elaborated, to life-saving assistance. Harrell-Bond and Voutira (2000) observe that care and maintenance programs are never sufficient to allow for the restoration on livelihoods. Resources constraints further worsen the situation, when oftentimes, the UNHCR and NGOs do not receive adequate financial resources to be able to provide assistance that fully meets humanitarian response standards such as of Sphere[3].

Camp refugees often adopt activities and strategies aimed at complementing the aid they receive and to enhance their livelihood opportunities for the future in the country of asylum, if they are locally integrated, at home countries upon repatriation and in another country, if they are resettled. Some of the livelihood strategies adopted by refugees highlighted by De Vriese (2006) include the use of strong social networks; a high degree of mobility; making use of various agricultural, trading and professional skills; gaining education; and dispersing investments" (De Vriese, 2006).

Social networks have always been helpful for refugee livelihoods in camps.

> *Social networks often change during conflict and after flight, but their importance does not decrease. Before, during and after flight, social capital enables people to access resources and make choices they might otherwise not be able to make. Migration, for example, including forced migration, is mostly possible through the assistance of relatives; in terms of financial support, information and contacts (Horst, 2006:12).*

Horst underscores the importance of social networks in camps in the experience of Somali refugees who fled from the Ethiopian Ogaden region in the late 1980s. Also cited

[3] The Sphere Project was launched in 1997 by a group of humanitarian NGOs and the Red Cross and Red Crescent movement. Sphere is based on two core beliefs: first, that all possible steps should be taken to alleviate human suffering arising out of calamity and conflict, and second, that those affected by disaster have a right to life with dignity and therefore a right to assistance. Sphere is three things: a handbook, a broad process of collaboration and an expression of commitment to quality and accountability (http://www.sphereproject.org/).

is the experience of Liberian refugees, who continued to rely on existing social networks in order to survive in Ghanaian settlements where humanitarian aid was cut. Social networks are instrumental not only for camp livelihoods, but also in local, regional and national governance.

Social structures and identity play a critical role in the formation of social networks and in shaping the livelihood strategies employed by refugees (Horst, 2006). Refugee social networks are closely linked to their livelihoods such that for many of them, developing a self-reliant livelihood incorporates the responsibility to take care of and at the same time rely on social networks in different locations. These networks of responsibility link refugees in camps to those in urban areas and in the home country as well as linking regional refugees with members of the wider diaspora (Horst, 2006:12).

Studies have also shown that communication and ties with relatives and friends living abroad has helped refugees survive the harsh conditions of their displacement (Daley, 2001; Van Hear, 2002; Jacobsen, 2002 and UNHCR, 2006). In a study on population displacement and the experience of refugees in East Africa, Daley (2001) found that Burundian refugees arriving in Tanzania relied on kinship ties among themselves and with Tanzanians in adjacent border regions for material support. In a study of trans-national relations in Sri Lanka, Van Hear (2002) noted that people at home and in exile operated in a single social field, or in linked social fields. A single household, Van Hear found, may have members at home in the country of origin, in neighbouring countries of first asylum and in the wider diaspora, in asylum or resettlement. The network created by such dispersal often becomes a conduit for livelihood-enhancing information, ideas and material resources, such as remittances.

In a study of trans-national relations in Sri Lanka, Van Hear (2002) noted that people at home and in exile may operate in a single social field, or at least in linked social fields. A single household, Van Hear found, may have members at home in the country of origin, in neighbouring countries of first asylum and in the wider diaspora, in asylum or resettlement. The network created by such dispersal often becomes a conduit for

livelihood-enhancing information, ideas and material resources, such as remittances. This is seemingly the case with Southern Sudanese in East Africa and in North America, Australia and Europe, and therefore the role played by social networks in improving livelihoods of southern Sudanese refugees in Kenyan camps and following repatriation, in southern Sudan, needs to be researched.

For many refugees, repatriation is often another form of displacement, as it uproots them from established, albeit transitional settlements, livelihoods and social networks to which they may have developed some attachment and a sense of mastery or belonging (Daley, 2001). While repatriation addresses a fundamental problem – displacement from home-country, it does not necessarily help returnees become self-sustaining, as would their local and trans-national social networks. Cernia (2000:30) argues that among the many costs of forced displacement, the heaviest costs are the breakdown of the social fabric; the severing of personal ties, dismantling of patterns of social organization, disruption of life-sustaining informal networks of reciprocal help, dissolution of local voluntary associations and self-organized mutual service. Cernea posits that *"... the loss of reciprocity networks directly worsens the corollaries of poverty – powerlessness, dependency and vulnerability"* (Cernea and McDowell (eds) (2000:30). This implies that the breakdown of social networks poses a great threat to a community's very existence and directly affects their livelihood security and opportunities.

### 2.6 Social Networks and Livelihoods in the Context of Return and Reintegration

Formation of a strong sense of identity among refugees and returnees, and with the population that remained home to fight or carry on with liberation struggles has been shown to be an important form of social networking, which is particularly important for reintegration. Bascom (2005) in a study of reintegration of repatriates to Eritrea from Sudan found that Eritrean refugees maintained a strong sense of collective identity and forged a deep solidarity during conflict. Both refugees and stayees felt that they participated in the liberation struggle of their country, and this was the reason returnees were received by those who had stayed behind. This suggests the critical role and value of these social networks on returnees' reintegration. In other contexts, however, refugees

were accused of cowardice while stayee populations perceived by returnees to be collaborators with the enemy. Bascom's research on the Eritrean reintegration experience also revealed that social networks derived in exile were stronger than those derived in the first eight years after return (Bascom, 2005). This was the case because of lack of "social connection" between returnees and the local population, in which returnees were still referred to as *refugees*. This finding accorded value in understanding the social networks among Southern Sudanese refugees, because if there would be any similarity with the Eritrean case, then existing social networks among refugees will remain useful to them for a number of years to come in Southern Sudan.

Refugees also establish social networks with the host communities as a strategy of meeting their basic needs. However, most refugee hosting countries in Africa have low regard for refugees and locate them in isolated, often insecure and poorly serviced border regions (Daley, 2001). The insecurity that may result from such conditions may discourage effective networks between refugee and host communities (Daley, 2001; Dube and Koenig, 2005; Jacobsen, 2002). Where inhibiting circumstances are less, resultant networks between refugees and hosts always allow both groups to more rapidly improve their livelihoods.

## 2.7 Returnee Social Networks and Implications for Livelihoods

Refugees sustain their social networks and heavily rely on them during return and reintegration in their home countries. Horst (2006) underscores this by noting that return to one's own country at times is only possible with the assistance of relatives. She further observes that the wish to re-establish kinship network is one of the reasons why return is opted for (Holm Pedersen 2003:13 cited in Horst, 2006:12). It is therefore necessary to understand the types and potential implications of returnees' social networks in the various aspects of reintegration that returnees grapple with: re-establishing individuals and households economically by accessing land, livestock, employment, and socially by socializing with their relatives and friends, participating in cultural and community activities, and joining community and civil society associations.

In a paper on *Displacement, Conflict and Socio-cultural Survival in Southern Sudan* Rackley states that in Southern Sudan, family, clan, and tribe are the most concrete institutions of identity. They therefore are essential 'safety nets' in times of crisis. Rackley observes that institutions of identity embody the beliefs, values and symbols and the practices of a given community, and also that institutions of identity serve as the repository of survival strategies to be used in times of crisis *(Rackley Edward, 2007 in http//www.jha.ca/articles/)*. What this indicates is that it is necessary to understand the social and cultural features of the returnees, between the returnees and the communities that stayed behind or returned earlier, and between returnees and their friends and relatives in the diaspora. These connections seem to have a significant impact on individual and household survival and livelihood strategies.

Social networks have proved to be invaluable in the reintegration of returnees in African countries in the past. The experience of Eritrean refugees repatriating from Sudan illustrates the importance of refugee social networks. Eritrean refugees repatriating from Sudan relied extensively on their social networks to overcome the many challenges of returning from exile to little or no support from government and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (Bascom, 2005; Sorensen, 2000). Sorensen, while focusing on a specific locality – Alebu, where returnees had settled, noted that

> *Soon after arriving back in Eritrea, the Alebu returnees re-activated their social networks, including a range of informal associations, enabling them to pursue strategies that accelerated the restoration process (Sorensen (2000:185).*

He argues that the social fabric; social cohesion and spirit of cooperation within Eritrean refugee communities survived, and was perhaps even strengthened under conditions of exile in Sudan.

Surveyed literature on refugees' experience in camps seems to focus on three major strategies; maintaining, developing and making use of social networks, migration, and thirdly, human capital development through education and skills acquisition. Some of these livelihood strategies are aimed at coping with immediate challenges of camp life, others are mainly strategic measures to enhance livelihood security when they return

home or resettle in another country, while others serve both immediate and longer-term livelihood objectives. While mobility and education and skills acquisition aspects of Southern Sudanese in Kenya are much more evident and have attracted more research attention, their social networks have not. Programmes such as Skills for Southern Sudan (*www.unsudanig.org/publications; www.sudantribune.org/publications*) and studies on urban refugees' livelihoods reflect a bias on refugees' financial and human capitals and less focus on their social capital.

## 2.8 Theoretical Framework: The Livelihoods Approach

A livelihood framework is a way of understanding how households derive their livelihoods, and that an easy way of thinking within a livelihood framework is using the household triangle of assets, capabilities and activities. Household members use their capabilities and their assets to carry out activities through which they gain their livelihood. It is the ownership or access to these various assets and capabilities, their mobilization and deployment that enables households to gain and sustain their livelihood. Household strategies are the ways in which households deploy assets and use their capabilities in order to meet households' objectives and are often based on past experience". (De Vriese 2006:3)

### *2.8.1 The Livelihoods Approach*

The crux of the Livelihoods Approach is the identification of individual, household or community's assets and capabilities and an analysis of how they employ them to make a living and to prepare for the future. Assets include stocks of different types of capital that can be used directly or indirectly to generate livelihoods. They are not only natural (i.e., land, water, common-property resources, flora, fauna) and financial, but also social (i.e., community, family, social networks, participation, empowerment), human (i.e., knowledge, skills) and physical (i.e., roads, markets, clinics, schools, bridges). Capabilities are the combined knowledge, skills, state of health and ability to labour or command labour of a household. *Livelihoods* can therefore be used to refer to the means, capabilities, entitlements and assets by which people make a living (Chambers and

Conway, 1992; Carney, 1998). In a paper entitled *"Livelihoods in Conflict"* Jacobsen (2002) defined a livelihood framework that can be used in a refugee context as follows;

> *In communities facing conflict and displacement, livelihoods comprise how people access and mobilize resources enabling them to increase their economic security, thereby reducing the vulnerability created and exacerbated by conflict, and how they pursue goals necessary for their survival and possible return (International Migration Vol. 40(5):99).*

Refugees, just like ordinary citizens in their own communities, are always involved in strategies and efforts to improve their present and future *livelihood* opportunities (De Vriese, 2006). Refugees' strategies and efforts to develop and protect a livelihood, as discussed earlier, include deliberate maintenance and formation of social networks that enable them to exploit opportunities within, around and beyond the refugee camp (Jacobsen, 2002). This helps them to build a stable livelihood in the country of first asylum, in other resettled or migrated countries, or back in their home-country. One would therefore expect that to a large extent, the social networks returnees make use of in establishing their livelihoods during the immediate return period are those they would have sustained in exile - the linkages they had/established with relatives, kin and home-country supporters, hosts and outsiders. In order to understand how these activities operate and are interlinked over time and in the contexts of exile and return, the Livelihoods Approach needs to be adapted to study the implications of the refugees' old and new social networks for their livelihoods in Kakuma camp and in reintegrating into southern Sudan. An actor-oriented approach in the investigation of the nature and types of social networks and their effects and outcomes on livelihoods was also adopted. This is because of the benefits associated with this approach, mainly the ability to enquire, describe and interpret abstract and intangible issues, such as social networks and social capital, from the perspective of the actors themselves. However, researcher biases and interpretations may not be completely excluded in the process of adopting the Livelihoods Approach.

Researchers have extensively utilized the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach to appraise local level development as well as analyse the impacts of policies, institutions, external

shocks and disasters on poor people's livelihoods. Most of their work has however, been on non-refugee communities residing in their habitual residences, as opposed to the victims of forced migration such as refugees and returnees. The later suffer the consequences of displacement and conflict and have to face unfamiliar social, cultural and economic realities in exile. In this study Jacobsen's conceptualization of Refugee Livelihood Approach is applied, because it includes all the key tenets of 'livelihood' and ties them up to the unique circumstances that refugees and returnees often find themselves in. Of necessity, this livelihood approach envisages refugees and returnees struggling to secure any assets spared by the experience of flight, and making the best use of their capabilities in exile to not only restore, but also, to cope with shocks and to improve their livelihood security.

### *2.8.2 The Actor-oriented Approach*

The "actor-oriented approach" as employed side-by-side with the Livelihood Approach in this study represents a framework for data collection, analysis and interpretation that prioritizes the actors' perspectives and biases as opposed to adhering to theoretical premises and assumptions. Because the subject of social networks touches on considerably personal issues about the lives of refugees and returnees, it is important to start any investigation from what they are prepared to share readily, then guided by the Livelihood Approach, direct the investigation as well as the interpretation of findings towards the key components of their livelihoods – assets, strategies, activities, risks and vulnerabilities. This is why the study, using the first research question, initially aims at exploring the respondents' own understanding of and the types and nature of social networks they maintain. An actor-oriented approach to refugee and returnee assistance and reintegration harnesses the resources and opportunities embedded in refugees' and returnees' social networks.

## 2.9 Definition of Concepts

In this research, the concept of *social networks* was used to refer to the linkages, ties and associations maintained and/or established by refugees and returnees among themselves and between them and other groups of people for their mutual benefit. Social networks

often become conduits for information sharing, financial and material resources sharing and assistance, agents of cultural identity and preservation and sources of moral support. By fostering cooperation, solidarity and identity, social networks become important repositories of "social capital" among the actors.

In *The Forms of Capital* (1986) Pierre Bourdieu distinguishes between three forms of capital: economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. He defines social capital as the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. According to Robert Putnam, social capital refers to the collective value of all social networks and the inclinations that arise from these networks to do things for each other. Communication is needed to access and use social capital through exchanging information, to identify problems and solutions and manage conflict.

The concept of *livelihood* was in this study defined as 'the way in which a living is obtained', and in line with Chambers' and Conway's and Ellis' conceptualization of a livelihood as comprising 'the assets (natural, human, financial and social capital), activities and access to these that determine the living gained by the individual or household' (Chambers and Conway, 1992:7; Ellis 2000:10). The attributes of livelihoods, borrowed from Dube and Koenig (2005:5), were considered to include the possession of human capabilities (such as education, skills); access to tangible and intangible assets (active exchange of resources, ideas and support among social networks) and the existence of economic activities such as running a business.

The concept of *reintegration* was used to refer to the process by which returnees re/establish their livelihoods in their home-country by participating in the social, cultural, economic and political life of their community. Successful reintegration was assessed and/or indicated by the degree of self-reliance achieved by returnees.

*Self-reliance* was defined as the social and economic ability of an individual, a household or a community to meet its essential needs (including food, water, shelter, personal

safety, health and education) in a sustainable manner and reduced total reliance on humanitarian assistance.

*Resilience* was understood to be a measure of a household's ability to absorb shocks and stresses. A household with well-diversified assets and livelihood activities can cope better with shocks and stresses than one with a limited asset base and few livelihood resources (Elasha, B.O. *Et al.*, 2005).

*Vulnerability* was defined as the lack of ability to cope with stress or shocks and hence the likelihood of being affected by events that threaten livelihoods and security.

*Household strategies* are the ways in which households deploy assets and use their capabilities in order to meet their objectives.

*Coping mechanisms* are special kinds of strategies employed during difficult times. Coping strategies are the *short-term* responses to a specific shock, such as drought, reduction of ration, insecurity or death of breadwinner. Actions could include switching to cultivation of drought-resistant crops or reliance on external food aid (Elasha, B.O. *Et al.*, 2005).

*Adaptive strategies* are those that entail a long-term change in *behavior patterns* as a result of repeated shock or stresses (Elasha, B.O. *Et al.*, 2005).

## 2.10 Conclusion

There is a gap in the reviewed literature which suggests a study of social networks of Southern Sudanese refugees in Kenya, given the crucial role the social capital that goes with such networks plays in facilitating livelihoods and reintegration in camps and in home countries, respectively. Besides, this research covered a historical transitional period for Southern Sudan, when refugees from neighbouring countries begun to repatriate to Southern Sudan following the January 2005 CPA. As each refugee caseload is different, the types and usefulness of refugees' and returnees' social networks revealed

in the literature cannot be wholly generalized or expected as given in the unique Southern Sudanese case. This therefore justified the undertaking of the proposed study to unearth the particular types and usefulness of Southern Sudanese refugees' and returnees' social networks in relation to their livelihoods. In the literature, social networks mainly featured in the discussions as one of several household strategies adopted by refugees and returnees to cope with/adapt to humanitarian assistance gaps in refugee camps and in home countries. However, there was not a study focusing on Southern Sudanese refugees and returnees that had set out specifically to explore their social networks and to assess the effects on their livelihoods. There was therefore need to specifically explore the nature of the social networks refugees had maintained and developed while in Kenya, and assess how those networks were practically impacting on their livelihoods in the camp, and in Southern Sudan for those who had repatriated.

The study focused on the "social capital" aspects of the Livelihood Approach. In particular, it isolated social networks as one of the key sources of social capital, and sought to establish their effects and outcomes on the actors' (refugees' and returnees') livelihoods. Social capital constitutes assets such as rights or claims that are derived from membership of a group. This includes the ability to call on friends or kin for help in times of need, support from trade or professional associations and political claims on chiefs or politicians to provide assistance (*Carney, 1998).* A refugee/returnee livelihood approach was therefore analyzed based on the resources, strategies and opportunities accessible to them as individuals and households by virtue of membership of certain social group (s). These groups included primary social relationships- family and kin, ethnic and religious affiliations, regional/territorial associations, refugees-host community networks and refugee/returnee links with co-nationals back in Southern Sudan and in the diaspora.

As discussed under literature review above, refugees strive to strengthen or grow their social capital by networking with their relatives, friends, supporters in their home-countries, in the country of asylum, and with those in the diaspora. These trans-national networks are prized for the potential to provide information, financial and moral support that can improve refugees' livelihoods in asylum, provide financial support for

reintegrating to their home country or help while migrating and establishing in another country. Social networks and the "capital" embodied therein have varying values and benefits on the actors. The benefits may have social, cultural, political and/or economic value, either for the present and/or for the future.

Based on this theoretical framework, it may be deduced that the more numerous, dynamic and quality the types and nature of refugees' and returnees' social networks (*read as social capital*), the better the prospects for reduced risk and vulnerability to livelihood shocks and stresses. Dynamism and potency of social networks/capital is indicated by their richness, activity, and utility in improving livelihood opportunities for the actors and their usefulness in reducing livelihood risks and vulnerabilities of the actors. Thus, the types and characteristics (objectives and benefits) of the formal and informal social networks and voluntary associations among refugees/returnees and between them and their local, home-country and diaspora associates were used to explain the livelihood status, risks, and vulnerabilities of refugees and returnees. This theoretical assumption was not expected to prevail unexceptionally in all contexts and especially in such a unique situation as the Southern Sudanese'. The study however, validated the above assumptions and has provided empirical findings that will hopefully advance theoretical and practical linkages between refugees' and returnees' social capital and their livelihoods. The findings also identify gaps for further research that could help develop the rather underdeveloped *Refugee Livelihood Approach.*

# CHAPTER 3: Methodology

## 3.1 Introduction

Frank Ellis, an important contributor to recent thinking on livelihoods, diversity and vulnerability elaborated the use of a combination of survey and participatory methods in livelihood research. He recommends small-scale sample surveys relating to particular communities and advocates application of various PRA methods (key informants, semi-structured interviews, informal group discussions, focus group discussions, Venn diagrams, etc.) for discovering the mediating processes within which livelihood strategies are adopted (Ellis, 2000; www.chronicpoverty.org/toolbox/Livelihoodsexamples.php). This methodological approach was borrowed in conducting this study.

The researcher adopted a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches, used at different occasions and for different data needs as deemed most suitable. Based on the nature of the subject under investigation – *social networks and livelihoods in the context of conflict*, it was necessary that descriptive and exploratory approaches are employed to appreciate the key issues and to help refine and focus the research questions. This was particularly necessary at the beginning of the study to test the reliability of the data collection tools - interview schedules and questionnaires. After identifying key variables and issues of focus for the study, the researcher designed two survey questionnaires, one for refugees and one for returnees. These were administered to the randomly selected respondent households in Kakuma refugee camp and in Twic East and Duk Counties in Jonglei State, Southern Sudan. Respondents for the interview guides were purposively selected. This was deemed to be a suitable triangulation approach, for clarifying, contextualizing and explaining issues and responses generated from the survey questionnaires.

## 3.2 Research Sites

This study was conducted in two major sites, one targeting Southern Sudanese refugees in Kenya and the other targeting Southern Sudanese returnees in Southern Sudan. Refugee research was conducted at Kakuma Refugee Camp (KRC), located about 900

kilometres northwest of Nairobi and about 140km southeast of the Kenya-Sudan border. Returnee research was conducted at Twic East, Duk and Bor *Counties*[4] in the Jonglei State/Region of Southern Sudan. Kakuma camp was selected because it is where most of the Southern Sudanese refugees in Kenya reside, while Jonglei region was selected because it is where the majority of refugees in Kenya originate and have/are planning to return to.

Kakuma refugee camp measures approximately $26km^2$, a 2 x 13km stretch of arid land located along River Tarach. The camp is stratified in six Zones (1-6) and each zone is further comprised of Blocks, mainly referred to as Groups. Within the Groups, refugees are settled in plots of land averaging about $150m^2$. The refugees are settled by the UNHCR in the Blocks/Groups according to their family, relational and ethnic backgrounds as well as on the basis of nationalities. This is to maintain familial and social ties among refugees, and in this way exercise sensitivity to their psychosocial needs. Parts of the camp are settled on the basis of vulnerability and unique protection needs of the refugees. Because of the above settlement factors, it is possible to identify, though not at 100% accuracy, zones and groups where refugees of a particular ethnicity or nationality are located. The researcher used this organizational aspect of the refugee camp to sample only the zones where Southern Sudanese refugees of Jonglei origin were settled.

Jonglei State of Southern Sudan was seriously devastated by the many years of civil war between the north-led Government of Sudan (GOSS) and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). However, following the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), Jonglei region begun to receive returnees from neighbouring countries, as well as Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) from other parts of Sudan. Twic East, Duk and Bor Counties are some of the main return sites for refugees exiled in Kenya. It is for this reason that these sites were perfect choices for a study linking refugees' and returnees' social networks with the livelihoods in exile and at home.

[4] Counties in Sudan are the equivalent of Districts in Kenya.

### 3.3 Population

When the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) that resolved the war in Southern Sudan was signed, there were over 65,000 Southern Sudanese refugees in Kakuma refugee camp (UNHCR Kakuma; Dube and Koenig, 2005:9). About 13% were aged 0-5 years old, 37% aged 6-17 years old, 26% aged 18-25, 22% aged 26-55 years old and about 2% aged above 55 years old. However, by the end of 2007, when the refugees' data for this study was collected, there were only about 45,300 Sudanese refugees, 47% of them aged under 18 years old (UNHCR 2007 Report for Kenya). This study targeted only adult heads of households, who mainly fall in the age category 18 and above.

In 2007 alone, UNHCR facilitated voluntary repatriation of over 12,000 refugees from Kakuma refugee camp to Southern Sudan (UNHCR 2007 Report for Kenya). Many more Sudanese refugees are believed to have spontaneously repatriated i.e. returned voluntarily. When the researcher was conducting fieldwork in Panyagor, Duk and Bor in March-May 2008, about 15,821 returnees had been received in Twic East County and 1,300 in Duk County according to Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (SRRC) officials and Payam Administrators. UNHCR and SRRC authorities confirmed that most of the returnees received in Twic East and Duk Countries were refugees in Kenya, qualifying them as target population for this study. This population settled in market areas as well as in villages far off from the main roads and market centres. This study focused on the most prominent returnee settlement villages as pointed out by SRRC and NGO officials supporting returnees.

### 3.4 Sampling Techniques and Procedures

Fourty (40) refugee heads of households (male and female-headed) were randomly selected at Kakuma refugee camp to participate in this study. Since the camp is organized territorially based mainly on familial ties, ethnicity and the countries of origin of refugees, the researcher focused on the Zones and Groups (also referred to as Blocks) where there was the greatest concentration of Sudanese of Jonglei origin. The household plots/shelters were initially designed and arranged in a regular pattern. However, years of

population increase, encroachment of access roads inside the Blocks, illegal expansion of plots, effects of re-organization induced by insecurity, soil erosion and flooding had to a considerable extent distorted the orderliness of the household plots. As a result, it was not practically possible to adopt one random sampling technique throughout. This is why the random selection of households for this study was done using a combination of *simple* random sampling and *systematic* random sampling techniques. The household was taken as the unit of analysis since social networks formation and sustenance is oftentimes a household affair. Ten (10) key informants, including refugee and returnee leaders, representatives of key humanitarian and governmental organizations – UNHCR, SRRC and NGOs working directly with refugees and returnees were purposively selected and interviewed. Details and information about returnees in Twic East and Duk Counties were obtained from SRRC, UNHCR and NGO offices responsible for assisting returnees. Fourty (40) returnee households were sampled from four purposively selected villages (Poktap, Panyagor/Kongor, Wangule and Payuel) where significant numbers of returnees from Kenya had settled. To achieve the sample size, simple random sampling technique was applied because the villages are irregularly organized.

### 3.5 Data Collection

The data collected from the sampled households included demographic data (gender, age, educational), the main types and characteristics of social networks and their spatial and thematic characteristics and dimensions. Other data collected included the livelihood assets, strategies and activities of respondents, the shocks experienced and their coping and adaptive strategies, and the implications for social networks on respondents' livelihoods. Separate questionnaires and interview guides for refugees and returnees were used to collect data. The questionnaires were administered to refugee and returnee households with the help of trained Sudanese research assistants. The interview guides were mainly used by the researcher to collect data from key informants, but in Sudan the help of research assistants was used. The questionnaires had structured, semi-structured and unstructured questions, while the interview guide had unstructured or open-ended questions. Two case histories of refugee and returnee households typifying how social networks impacted on their livelihoods were documented.

### 3.6 Data Analysis

Questionnaire-based raw data were transferred into the computer-based Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) to facilitate analysis, while the handwritten records and data obtained from key informant interviews were filed and analyzed in their original form. Data analysis was guided by the theme of *social networks of refugees and returnees: implications for livelihoods in exile and upon return to home-country.* Questionnaire data from structured questions were analyzed using descriptive statistics, whereas responses to unstructured, open-ended questions were analyzed qualitatively by categorizing responses into themes according to study objectives and propositions. Descriptive statistics such as frequencies, percentages and cross tabulations were generated in order to assist the researcher to glean patterns of explanation, association and cause and effect relationships between social networks and livelihoods of refugees and returnees. Data from key informant interviews were also qualitatively analysed using the *content analysis* technique. This technique focused on identifying issues, themes and cause-effect relationships emerging from narrative or textual responses. These were then conceptually related by the researcher to the core research variables – *social networks* (independent) and how they affect *livelihoods* (dependent) of the refugees and returnees. Data were critiqued and interpreted both from the perspective of the actors themselves (actor-oriented approach) as well as from an external and comparative perspective, such as relating and discussing the findings against the findings of similar studies. The findings and conclusions synthesized from the data were used to establish the linkages, effects and impacts of refugees' and returnees' social networks on their livelihoods in the refugee camp and in their home country upon return.

### 3.7 Challenges and Lessons Learnt

There were challenges in accessing complete lists of refugees and returnees and reaching those randomly selected for the study. These necessitated changing sampling techniques to suit field realities in the refugee camp and in villages in Southern Sudan. Logistical, financial and safety challenges were encountered in conducting fieldwork in isolated and insecure villages and refugee camp situations. These were however eased by funding

support from the Volkswagen Foundation in Germany, who sponsored the fieldwork. Conducting fieldwork in Sudan with returnees was also made difficult by the bureaucracy involved in scheduling appointments and securing approvals from Government and UNHCR, NGOs and returnees themselves. However, institutional facilitation and hosting by the LWF eased what would otherwise have been a very daunting fieldwork experience.

The subject of social networks is so close to refugees' and returnees' social and cultural lives. Some of the respondents did not freely share the full depth of the extensiveness of their social networks and the livelihood benefits derived from them. Whereas this challenge had been predicted in the research design, attempts to overcome it were not entirely successful. As had been foreseen, some respondents were reluctant to freely disclose the livelihood benefits they receive from their local and trans-national social networks, perceiving possible reduction in humanitarian aid or other assistance from UN, NGOs and Governments. The researcher and the assistants used in data collection ensured that prior to any interview or session with refugees and returnees, the academic purpose of the study was clarified. It was emphasized that there was no intention of using the findings of the study to adjust or review any humanitarian assistance. One of the reasons why despite this explanation there was still doubt among respondents might be the fact that humanitarian aid has become the single most important source of livelihood for refugees and displaced persons in Kenya, Sudan and Africa in general. Moreover, Kakuma refugee camp and south Sudan have over time attracted a lot of action researches and evaluations commissioned by aid agencies precisely to determine levels of humanitarian aid. Consequently, refugees and returnees had developed 'coping and survival' strategies for ensuring humanitarian aid is maintained at levels favourable for their livelihoods. Under these conditions, it is not an easy task for researchers to control effectively for the effects of respondents' aid dependency syndrome. Communication with non-English speakers among the refugees and returnees presented a communication challenge. Though the researcher made use of fairly competent and trained research assistants proficient in both English and the local dialect, this never completely compensates for the imperative of "getting it from the horses' mouth".

# CHAPTER 4: Effects of Social Networks on Sudanese Refugee Livelihoods in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya

## 4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses findings of research conducted at Kakuma Refugee Camp. An analysis is made of Kenya's refugee policy, with a focus on the *encampment* of refugees, and its implications for refugee livelihoods. The nature and types of social networks found among Sudanese refugees are discussed and their effects on livelihoods identified. The main focus of the chapter is a discussion of the effects of the identified social networks on refugees' livelihoods. Finally, a case study of a widow making use of her social networks to support and head her large household is used to illustrate the effects of social networks on refugee livelihoods.

## 4.2 Demographic Characteristics of the Refugee Respondents

In line with the research design, 40 randomly selected refugee household heads, 28 of them females and 12 males, were interviewed in the survey in addition to ten (10) key informants (3 females). These were residents of zones 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6, which were mainly populated by refugees of Southern Sudanese origin in December 2007 when the survey was conducted. The study targeted only households of Jonglei State origin in all of these zones.

### *4.2.1 Respondents' Residence within Kakuma Refugee Camp*

More respondents were sampled from the zones with most number of blocks/groups populated by Southern Sudanese refugees of Jonglei origin. Though zone 1 had the same number of groups as zone 4 and much less compared to zone 3, it had larger and more populous groups/blocks.

**Table 4.1: Distribution of Interviewed Households in Kakuma Refugee Camp**

| *Zone* | *Number of Groups* | *Respondents* | *Percentage* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 6 | 15 | 37.5 |
| 2 | 2 | 2 | 5.0 |
| 3 | 11 | 10 | 25.0 |
| 4 | 6 | 6 | 15.0 |
| 6 | 3 | 7 | 17.5 |
| **Total** | **28** | **40** | **100** |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

### *4.2.2 Age, Gender of Respondents*

Most of the respondents (70%) were aged 26-55 years old while the remainder were evenly distributed between 18-25 (12.5%) years old and 56+ years old (17.5%). 70% of the respondents were females while 30% were males. This disproportionate gender distribution reflects the fact that refugee women are mainly involved in domestic work rather than a greater female population. Young Sudanese males are known to be more populous than their female counterparts in KRC.

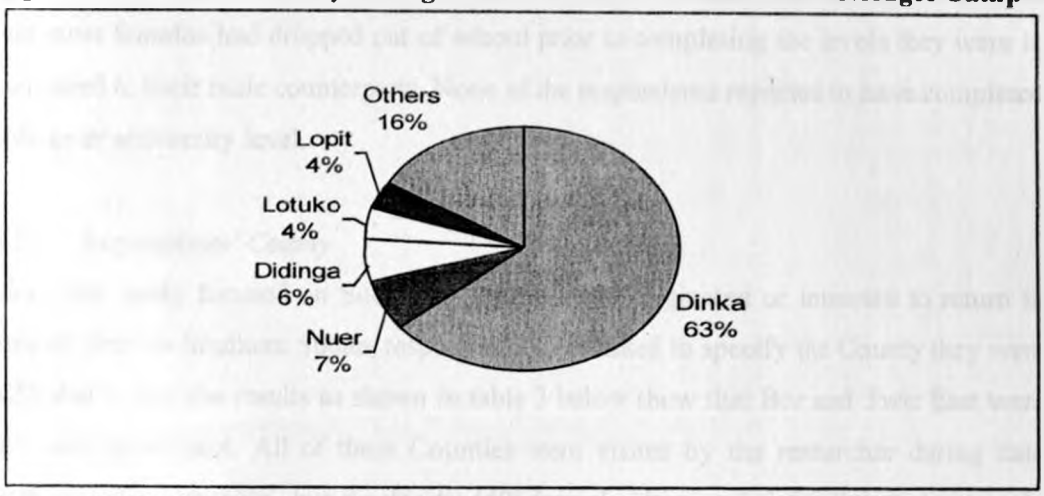
### *4.2.3 Marital Status and Household Sizes*

Majority were married at the time of the survey, while 35% were either widow or widower. Equal proportions of respondents were single, at 7.5%, as the separated and divorced combined. 70% of the respondents were either mother or father in their household, with mothers constituting the majority at 48% of the respondents. The mean household size was 9.9 while the modal household size was 8. Household sizes ranged from a low of size 2 to the highest household size of 53. This is linked to the strategy of pooling together, where several households of relatives, neighbours and friends deliberately chose to consolidate their food rations and other resources in order to cook and eat together. This way, they benefited from economies of scale and reduced the risks and costs associated with smaller household sizes. This livelihood strategy is discussed further below in section 4.4s.

### *4.2.4 Ethnic Distribution of Sudanese Refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp*

Majority of the Southern Sudanese in Kakuma refugee camp are of the Dinka ethnic group originally from Jonglei State. This fact showed clearly in their high numbers among refugees registered for voluntary repatriation in September 2007. This study focused only on the Dinka ethnic group. Due to sensitivities associated with ethnicity in KRC, the researcher did not require respondents to specify further their sub-ethnic and clan affiliation.

**Figure 4.1: Ethnic Diversity among Southern Sudanese in Kakuma Refugee Camp**




*Source: UNHCR Kakuma, 2007*

### *4.2.5 Respondents' Levels of Education*

**Table 4.2: Highest Level of Education Completed by Respondents**

| *Education level* | *Frequency* | *Percentage* |
|---|---|---|
| Never attended school | 21 | 52.5 |
| Lower primary (1-4 years) | 5 | 12.5 |
| Upper primary (5-8 years) | 6 | 15 |
| Secondary | 8 | 20 |
| College or university | 0 | 0 |
| **Total** | **40** | **100** |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

A significantly larger proportion of respondents, all of them women, were illiterate and had never attended school. This result is however not an authentic reflection of the overall educational status of the Sudanese population in Kakuma refugee camp. This is because of the fact that most Sudanese refugees are either young, enrolled school-going-age population or young adults who have recently benefited from education provided in the camp. The researcher attributes this finding to gender discrimination in educational access and the fact that due to domestic and reproductive roles among the Sudanese, women were most likely to be found at homesteads during the day. Of the 5 respondents who said they had completed secondary level, only one was female. Data also showed that more females had dropped out of school prior to completing the levels they were in compared to their male counterparts. None of the respondents reported to have completed college or university level.

### *4.2.6 Respondents' County*

Since this study focused on Sudanese refugees who originated or intended to return to Jonglei State in Southern Sudan, respondents were asked to specify the County they were affiliated to and the results as shown in table 3 below show that Bor and Twic East were the most prominent. All of these Counties were visited by the researcher during data collection for returnees, but the fourty (40) households sampled for the study were in Twic East and Duk Counties alone.

**Table 4.3: Respondents' County of Origin in Jonglei State, Southern Sudan**

| *County* | *Frequency* | *Percentage* |
|---|---|---|
| Bor | 18 | 45 |
| Duk | 4 | 10 |
| Twic East | 18 | 45 |
| **Total** | **40** | **100** |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

### *4.2.7 Length of Stay in Kakuma Refugee camp*

All the respondents had lived in Kakuma refugee camp for at least 3 years at the time of the study. The longest stay in the camp was 16 years, meaning since the camp was opened up in 1992. More than 72% of the respondents had lived in the camp for over 8 years, with the majority of them (32%) having been in the camp for 15 years. This implied that they were relevant for a study seeking to establish effects of social networks on refugee livelihoods in camp settings.

**Table 4.4: Number of Years Lived in Kakuma Refugee Camp**

| *Number of years* | *Frequency* | *Percentage* |
|---|---|---|
| 3-6 | 10 | 25 |
| 7-10 | 11 | 27.5 |
| 11-14 | 3 | 7.5 |
| 15+ | 16 | 40 |
| **Total** | **40** | **100** |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

### *4.2.8 Respondents' Occupation at Kakuma Refugee Camp*

The respondents were asked about their current occupations in the camp, as well as in Sudan before fleeing to Kenya. 70% of them tuned out to be house wives/men, without claim to any specific type of paid work. This finding also correlates strongly with the earlier stated finding that most respondents were females without any education. Of the 30% respondents engaged in paid work, 24% were incentive employees of UNHCR and NGOs working in the camp while a mere 6% were engaged in self-employment. With regards to respondents' occupations and livelihood engagements prior to flight, data showed that up to 42% of them were crop farmers, 8% agro-pastoralists, 5% pure pastoralists and 18% practices a combination of agro-pastoralism, business and employment. 16% of the respondents were children of school-going age in Sudan prior to fleeing to Kenya. This is the segment of the Sudanese population that has gone to school in Kenya and attained post-primary educational qualifications. All the respondents

acknowledged to be beneficiaries of UN/NGO humanitarian assistance but complained that it was not sufficient to cater for their needs.

### 4.3 How Kenya's Encampment Policy Affects Refugee Livelihoods

Kenya Government policy requires refugees to live in Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps, where they are offered international protection in terms of asylum and humanitarian assistance. There are exceptions when refugees are approved to pursue higher education or to seek specialized medical treatment outside of the camp, and only for a specified timeframe. This *encampment* policy requires heterogeneous refugee populations to be confined to camps in remote, poverty-stricken and chronically insecure regions of the country. Consequently UNHCR also requires refugees to live in camps, from where they can receive assistance. UNHCR conducts refugee status determinations only in the camps and gives asylum seekers in Nairobi documents valid for one month, during which time they should go to the camps for screening and registration.

Frequent Police checks on the Kakuma-Lodwar-Kitale-Nairobi road, and in the suburbs of Nairobi and other major towns, discourage free movement of refugees. Refugees without valid travel authorization risk detention at police checkpoints and prosecution for unlawful presence in Kenya. Most refugee arrests and charging relate mainly to illegal entry, lack of proper documents, or violation of the encampment policy. Due to Police corruption however, many arrested refugees end up paying bribes to avoid prosecution further forcing the refugees to oblige to the requirement to stay confined within the boundaries of the camps, where options for improving and diversifying their livelihoods remain scarce. Police brutality and exploitation has led to loss of valuable time and money for many affected refugees who have faced police extortion on the roads and prosecution in courts of law. The loss of such resources affects refugee livelihood perpetuates their powerlessness and vulnerability. However, the Government has recently begun official registration of foreigners and issuance of identity cards, a process that would eventually grant them legal residence and permits to engage in business.

Though Kenya is party to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, it maintains reservations on its clauses providing exemptions for refugees from exceptional and provisional measures, the right to work, labor protection, social security, and administrative assistance (www.refugees.org/countryreports.aspx?id=2005). Kenya has recently passed the Refugee Act (2006), which provides for enhanced Government roles in the management of refugee affairs, including handling refugee status determination (RSD), refugee registration and appeals management, security provision and camp management and administration. However, the new law maintains refugee encampment, a policy position that has and will continue to hinder the possibility of refugees making use of their skills and capacities to engage in business and employment outside of camps, thus limiting chances of rebuilding resilient livelihoods in exile. This is illustrated by a 2005 joint study by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and UNHCR on *Self-reliance and Sustainable Livelihoods for Refugees in Dadaab and Kakuma camps.*

> *The continued Government of Kenya (GoK) "encampment policy" has had an adverse impact on overall economic growth and potential activities for poverty reduction. It has led to the continuance of estimated high poverty levels and a recent rise in the poverty levels ... (Dube and Koenig, 2005:13).*

The Government, UNHCR and NGO partners have programs, albeit under-funded, that promote refugees' working, trading and performing of other economic activities within and around the camps. However, this provision has not effectively transformed refugee livelihoods. Due to extreme poverty and deprivation among the host communities, particularly around Kakuma refugee camp, poor hosts-refugee relations often undercut the positive benefits of UN/NGO programs and of the potential for mutual cooperation and benefit of refugees and host communities. As an example, the Turkana community around Kakuma does not tolerate the refugees owning livestock other than poultry. With regards to employment, NGOs hire a lot of refugees to implement various assistance programs, but they only pay low and tightly regulated incentives rather than salaries. This is because Kenya Government does not provide refugees with work permits[5]. Some of the

[5] In 2006, the refugee workers filed a complaint with the International Labour Organization asking the Government to address their freedom of association, right to join trade unions, and minimum wages (http://www.refugees.org/countryreports.aspx?id=2005).

factors exacerbating the effects of the encampment policy though, are related to the short-term and emergency life-saving nature of most refugee assistance programs, and the effects of frequent funding cuts. Interviews with refugee heads of household in Kakuma refugee camp highlighted how highly qualified and skilled refugees are unable to exploit their human capital to improve their livelihood in the labour market or in unexploited business opportunities outside of the refugee camp.

The situation is even worse with urban refugees, who live in Nairobi and other towns without access to legal protection and material assistance. Urban refugees include both asylum seekers and recognized refugees who illegally escape from camps to seek better prospects in urban areas. They run businesses, engage in small scale trade, live off remittances, or earn money through casual labour in order to survive (Campbell, 2006). Urban refugees are highly vulnerable to police abuse and arrest and cannot access credit or employment in the formal economy. They are also subjected to pervasive xenophobic attitudes from the Kenyan population (Campbell, 2006).

## 4.4 Livelihood Strategies of Sudanese Refugees in Kenya

Sudanese refugees face many challenges on their livelihoods in Kakuma camp. The assistance provided to them is inadequate due to policy, resource-constraints and implementation challenges. They, like other refugees, are therefore compelled to devise livelihood strategies that enable them access supplementary assistance and support in order to safeguard their livelihoods. As earlier defined, livelihood strategies are the ways in which households deploy their diverse array of assets, i.e. financial, social, human, natural and physical assets, and use their capabilities in order to meet their objectives. The strategies adopted and practiced by Sudanese refugees in Kakuma refugee camp are inclined more towards their financial, human and social assets and very minimal reliance on physical and natural assets.

### *4.4.1 Receiving Humanitarian Aid*

All the survey respondents (n-40) acknowledged that they receive and benefit from humanitarian aid provided by UNHCR and NGOs. However, all of them said it was not

enough. The assistance provided by UNHCR and NGOs did not cover all essential needs, and for the needs covered, household needs were not fully met. They reported that there were looming gaps in meeting full household needs for food, shelter, healthcare, water and sanitation, fuel wood, utensils, protection and security. Though cereals, pulses, oil and salt were provided by World Food Programme (WFP) and UNHCR, Sudanese refugees complained that the food ration often got depleted before the next distribution cycle, causing them to reduce consumption or go hungry several days before the next distribution. They lamented that the food basket does not include sugar, milk, meat, fish, fruits and vegetables, foods they consider essential for their household wellbeing, apart from being culturally preferred. As a result, one of the coping strategies they adopt is selling off part of the ration in order to purchase milk for babies and children, sugar or fuel wood, among other needs. On the other hand, some household and domestic goods considered essential were not covered or provided at all, or only provided for a select few on an ad hoc basis. These include clothing, kitchen sets, and sanitary wear. The expectation that needs must be fully met and those not provided be provided by UNHCR and NGOs emphasizes the central role that humanitarian aid plays in the livelihood strategies of Sudanese refugees in Kakuma refugee camp. It is no wonder that humanitarian aid was the single most important source of livelihood to all most all of the Sudanese refugees' households interviewed in the study. This state of affairs reflects the scarcity of viable livelihood options available to refugees 'encamped' in an arid, remote and insecure area (Jacobsen, 2002; Dube and Koenig, 2005).

The table below indicates other livelihood strategies employed by refugees besides receiving aid. The strategies are not mutually exclusive. Instead, households reported to practice one or a combination of the strategies at the same or different times, depending on prevailing livelihood circumstances.

**Table 4.5: Strategies for Accessing Missing/Inadequately Provided Goods and Services**

| *Strategy* | *Number of households* | *Percentage* |
|---|---|---|
| Selling/bartering part of aid - food ration | 28 | 70 |
| Help of relatives, friends, neighbours in Kenya | 4 | 10 |
| Remittances from Sudan and abroad | 4 | 10 |
| Help of camp self-help groups & associations | 1 | 2.5 |
| Incentive employment income | 1 | 2.5 |
| Small-scale business proceeds | 1 | 2.5 |
| No strategies or means | 1 | 2.5 |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

### *4.4.2 Selling/bartering Food Ration*

Most households – 70%, often resorted to selling or bartering part of the aid they receive, particularly food, in order to fulfill unmet or inadequately met needs, for reasons already explained in section 4.4.1 above.

### *4.4.3 Relying on Social networks*

A significant 23% of households employed strategies that can be attributed to the broad domain of 'social networks'. These include a combination of seeking help from relatives, friends and neighbours in the camp (10%); relying on remittances from Sudan and other countries (10%), and seeking the help of camp-based self-help groups and associations (3%). Table 4.6 below summarizes the spread of countries in North America, Australia and Europe, where respondents reported to have relatives, and other networks that often sent remittances.

**Table 4.6: Distribution of Respondents' Close Relatives Sending Remittances**

| *Country* | *Frequency (n-30)** | *Percentage* |
|---|---|---|
| U.S.A. | 20 | 67 |
| Australia | 17 | 57 |
| Uganda | 5 | 17 |
| Canada | 1 | 3.3 |
| Ethiopia | 1 | 3.3 |
| Nigeria | 1 | 3.3 |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

* 10 households did not answer the question. This does not automatically imply that they do not have relatives abroad. It could be that they did not feel comfortable disclosing sources of non-UN/NGO support. Households had relatives in more than one country.

Inter-dependence on immediate and distant social networks and associates, primarily the relatives, friends, neighbours and self-help groups, ranked the second most important strategy employed by Sudanese refugees to maintain their livelihood security and to cope with shocks. This was either in form of in-kind material assistance or in the form of trans-national remittances sent on a regular basis or called for at times of distress. This finding corroborates previous studies on refugee livelihoods and emphasizes the critical role played by social capital on refugees' livelihoods. Social networks and the resources and opportunities channeled through them played a significant role as a livelihood strategy for Sudanese refugees. Individuals and household said they were active members of networks of association, assistance and communication that stretch beyond the camp to include Sudan, United States of America (U.S.A), Australia, Canada, and Uganda. Even though only 10% of sampled households acknowledged that they regularly relied on remittances, findings from key informant interviews suggested that majority of Sudanese refugees households benefited directly or indirectly from remittances by relatives, friends and clansmen. Individuals and households also pool together their resources to form larger, more economically viable 'household' units that better withstand the risks and shocks associated with shortfalls in services, food rations, insecurity and unmet needs. For example smaller household units were reported to often exhaust their food rations as well as fuel wood provisions long before the next distribution cycle. However, when they

pooled together, they were able to save and have their food and fuel wood last for a few more days before eventually running out.

Self-help groups and associations served to cushion member households from risks and shocks affecting their livelihoods. These self-help groups fall in three major categories; regional associations, church-based groups, and women groups. Of the 23 households that reported to belong to groups or associations benefiting their households, 10 of them (44%) subscribed to regional associations, another 10 (44%) to church-based associations and 5 (22%) belonged to women self-help and support groups. 17 respondents did not respond as to whether they belonged to any group or association. Based on information obtained from key informants, the researcher hypothesizes that these households might have conveniently avoided the question imagining illegal implications for acknowledging the full extent of their social support structures and capacities. This response had been anticipated at the research design stage, but due to entrenched dependency behaviour and attitudes occasioned by many years of solely depending on relief aid, coupled by interviewing weaknesses on the part of research assistants, the problem could not be overcome.

### *4.4.4 Incentive Employment*

Another livelihood strategy is engaging in incentive employment, which means engagement of refugees by UN/NGOs in jobs for which only a token amount as opposed to a full salary is paid. This small amount is commonly referred to as 'incentive', meant to motivate and appreciate the efforts of the refugee to serve fellow refugees with his/her skills, time and effort. Respondents were asked if they or any member of their household was engaged in incentive work. All the sampled households provided a response, of whom 16 out of 40 i.e. 40% reported to be engaged in paid incentive work while 24 i.e. 60% were not engaged in any incentive work. Over 93% of those engaged in incentive work worked with either the UNHCR or NGOs partnering with UNHCR to provide humanitarian assistance to refugees. Only 1 case was employed with a private enterprise. The low level of involvement in incentive employment is a pointer to the limited educational and skill capacities of most Sudanese refugees. It also places employment as

a livelihood strategy at a lower rank compared to relying on relief assistance and on remittances and social support derived from local, regional and global social networks.

The researcher's observation and information obtained from key informants revealed that there were a number of different informal jobs that refugees engaged in, some of which did not emerge from the sampled households. These included operating bicycle taxi, commonly referred to as 'bodaboda,' working as domestic workers and shop attendants. Many household heads did not identify with any particular job, considering themselves simply as housewife/man. Respondents were asked what their current occupation is and of the 37 who provided a response, 70% said they were housewife/man, 24% UN/NGO worker and 5.4% self-employed.

**Table 4.8: Types of Incentive Jobs done by Refugees in Kakuma Camp**

| *Job Type* | *Frequency** | *Percentage* |
|---|---|---|
| Teaching | 4 | 26.7 |
| Cleaning | 4 | 26.7 |
| Community health worker | 3 | 20.0 |
| Social work | 2 | 13.3 |
| Security | 1 | 6.7 |
| Technician | 1 | 6.7 |
| **Total** | **15** | **100** |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

** One respondent did not disclose the type of incentive work they did.*

*4.4.5 Investing in Education*

One of the most valued and overwhelmingly adopted livelihood strategy among the Sudanese refugees in investing in the education of children and youth. The elders, parents and all organized groups and associations took it as their rightful duty to support, advocate for and promote education. They did this not only as a means to enhancing livelihoods in the camps, but also in preparation for rebuilding and reconstructing the Sudan. Many of the Sudanese youth who aspire to or have resettled to U.S.A, Australia, Canada or migrated to European countries pursue education as a top priority for

themselves as well as for relatives and co-ethnics they left in camps and in Sudan. For many years prior to the signing of the CPA and the start of UNHCR, GOK and GOSS facilitated repatriation, education was a pool factor attracting Sudanese children and youth to seek asylum in Kenya. During the key informant interviews, Sudanese elites (mainly teachers) and leaders in the camp argued that education was the single most important benefit they were in Kenya for. This argument was justified by the fact that despite the harsher conditions they were experiencing – living in an arid and insecure environment where many of their survival needs remained unmet, the Sudanese continued to endure primarily because of accessing what they called 'quality education'. As elaborated further in chapter 5, a lot of the regional, ethnic and clans-based groups and associations formed by Sudanese refugees are primarily concerned with mobilizing resources to support education and for cushioning their members from livelihood shocks and vulnerabilities.

#### *4.4.6 Small-scale Businesses*

As in many refugee camp situations, Sudanese refugees were found to have engaged in small-scale businesses and crafts to enhance their livelihood security. Of the 40 household heads interviewed, 13 (33%) said they and/or their household members run a business or trading activity while (27) 67% did not run any business or trading activity. Two most prominent types of business or trading activities were operating a small retail shop, commonly referred to as 'kiosk', and the weaving and sell of woven products. A significant 25% of households in business reported to be running a kiosk and a similar percentage engaged in weaving business. Three other prominent business and trading activities included tailoring and clothes mending, operating bicycle taxi (bodaboda), operating a small food vending shop (mini restaurant), operating a salon/barber shop and brewing and selling local liquor. Households engaged in one or more of these business and trading activities depending on their skills, experience and access to capital.

**Table 4.9: Small-scale Businesses of Sudanese Refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp**

| *Type of business* | *Frequency* | *Percentage* |
|---|---|---|
| Mini retail shop (kiosk) | 3 | 25 |
| Weaving and sale of products | 3 | 25 |
| Tailoring & clothes mending | 2 | 17 |
| Bicycle taxi (bodaboda) | 1 | 8 |
| Mini restaurants (food kiosk) | 1 | 8 |
| Salon/barber shop | 1 | 8 |
| Selling local brew/liquor | 1 | 8 |
| **Total** | **12** | **99** |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

Business as a livelihood strategy did not feature so strongly among Sudanese refugees compared to their Somali and Ethiopian refugee counterparts living in Kakuma refugee camp. From observation, it was evident that Sudanese refugees were learning and adapting this strategy from refugee communities, for whom business and trading is the most important livelihood strategy. A few other business activities did not feature in the sampled households but were observed and reported by the key informants. This included women groups providing catering services to UN/NGO workshops and training events, handicrafts such as bicycle repair stands, brick-making, operating video viewing shops/shows, mobile phone and battery charging shops and commercial sex work. These business and trading activities were mainly practiced by Sudanese refugee youth, most of them having acquired the skills and experience and from working with the more established Somalis and Ethiopians, or graduates of NGOs vocational skills training, and beneficiaries of income-generating and micro-enterprise programs.

### *4.4.7 Migration*

Migration to urban areas outside of the camp was reported as a strategy often used by Sudanese and other refugees in seeking to improve their livelihoods while Kenya. This strategy was strongly linked to education. It was used mainly as a means to accessing educational opportunities at secondary, middle-level colleges and universities in Nairobi

and other towns in Kenya. Migration was also used as a strategy for living a somewhat independent, unrestrictive life outside of the 'harsh' refugee camp, but without losing their refugee status. This was particularly the case with households who had close and strong social networks in Sudan, U.S.A, Australia, and Canada. These overseas networks were consistent in sending remittances for the upkeep of their relatives living in the suburbs of the city of Nairobi and of other Kenyan urban centres, including Eldoret, Nakuru, Kitale, and Kapenguria. The study found that only 28% of 40 sampled Sudanese refugees households lived with their entire households in the camp. 72% had some of their household members living elsewhere in one place or spread in several places. Of the 30 households interviewed, 53% had their household members in Sudan, 13% in other parts of Kenya while 23% had some of their household members living in a combination of places outside of the camp - parts of Kenya, Sudan, neighbouring country and overseas, as shown in the table below.

**Table 4.10: Distribution of Respondents' Household Members**

| *Place other HH members reside in** | *Frequency* | *Percentage* |
|---|---|---|
| Sudan | 16 | 54 |
| Kenya town/city | 4 | 13 |
| Neighbouring country | 2 | 7 |
| Distant country (overseas) | 1 | 3 |
| Combination of the above | 7 | 23 |
| **Total** | **30** | **100** |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

** Members of respondents households living in above places did not all migrate from or pass through Kakuma refugee camp.*

Many households had been forced to undertake internal migrations or relocations within Kakuma refugee camp due to insecurity and due to the effects of floods on their neighbourhoods. Interviewed households considered this moves as important coping strategies that enabled them to avoid imminent threats and dangers on their shelters, safety and general wellbeing. Almost all households interviewed narrated the fear for loss of life and property, and physical and psychological assault e.g. rape meted by armed

robbers and criminal gangs. Apart from relocating, the refugees reinforced their fences with thick layers of thorny bushes. They also formed vigilante groups to patrol and protect their homesteads from robbers and criminal gangs composed of both refugees and members of the host community.

Resettlement was accorded a very high profile as a livelihood strategy among Sudanese refugees due to the potential benefits of resettling to a third country of asylum, particularly Australia, U.S.A and Canada to a refugee and his/her relatives in the camp and in Sudan. Key informants highlighted that securing resettlement was a highly sought-after durable solution for many refugee youth seeking to transform their lives and feeling lost in between a home-country they have never been for the most part of their lives and a country of asylum they have lived for long but never really belonged. Many of the Sudanese who had previously resettled were famous for sending huge amounts of money to their families and relatives living in the camps, in Kenyan towns and in Sudan. They are also able to afford hefty[6] amounts of money needed to pay mandatory bride price, either in form of cash or converted into herds of cattle, in order to marry the few Sudanese girls that they had grown up together with in the camps.

### *4.4.8 Household Splitting*

Splitting households and having some members take care of livestock and/or land in Sudan was another important livelihood strategy employed by Sudanese refugees in Kenya. It was found that a significant proportion of refugees maintained and sustained livelihood-enhancing linkages and networks with their home country. Of the 40 households interviewed in the camp, 23 of them (58%) acknowledged that they owned or had rights over livestock in Sudan, compared to 42% who did not. Of those with livestock in Sudan, 17% had split their households such that part of them stayed in the refugee camp while the others took care of family livestock in Sudan. A further 4.3% reported that they kept visiting or moving between the refugee camp and Southern Sudan, staying in both places whenever it best suited the livelihood security of their household.

[6] Some of the "Lost Boys" resettled to the U.S.A had set high pride price standards by paying up to Kshs 1.5 million equivalent to about USD 22,500 (fieldwork findings).

This was corroborated by findings from key informant interviews, to the effect that there existed almost predictable patterns of movement between Kakuma refugee camp and Southern Sudan by households with livelihood interests in both places. These interests were always complementary to each other. For example, refugee status in Kakuma assured a household first and foremost education, then food, healthcare and other humanitarian services. It also qualified a household, albeit with very low chances, to the possibility of resettlement, a major livelihood-boosting possibility for any refugee household. Sampled households were asked if they had access to or user rights to land in Sudan, in a bid to understand their livelihood connection with Sudan and their chances of reintegrating if they repatriated. Surprisingly, 83% of them acknowledged that they had access to or user rights to a piece of land in Sudan, against a mere 17% without access or user rights. These 'landed' households used similar strategies as those with livestock in maintaining their claims to the land – splitting households and moving between and staying in Kakuma and in Sudan at alternate times.

### *4.4.9 Repatriation*

Repatriation to Southern Sudan was not only considered a durable solution to the many years of exile, but also, as a livelihood strategy by the youth. This was particularly the case for educated and skilled Sudanese youth and those who had accumulated immense experience working with UN, NGOs and church-based organizations in the refugee camp and other parts of Kenya. Long before the CPA was signed, skilled and experienced Sudanese youth were reported to have been spontaneously repatriating to take up jobs with NGOs in Southern Sudan. The rate of spontaneous return increased further following the start of UNHCR-facilitated repatriation, as most Sudanese refugees opted to return home voluntarily. It was reported that return was motivated by a mixture of factors. These included fulfilling a momentous and long-idealized return to 'mother-land', an urge fanned by stories (for the young) and memories (for the old) of freedom, abundance and cultural stability prior to war and flight. Another motivation for repatriation was the desire to rebuild Southern Sudan and reclaim lost dignity and hope brought about by the long and violent civil war. As discussed further in chapter 5, the researcher's experience with fresh returnees in their local villages and urban centres

revealed that not all the repatriation-motivating factors might hold for long, especially the young educated and skilled Southern Sudanese, who had spent all or almost all of their lives in Kenya, Uganda and other places. This was mainly because of disappointments with their hope for re/building a secure livelihood soon after return. Securing a job capable of enabling one live the desired or hoped-for living standards, fitting into the Southern Sudan society - including getting used to the types of food, dressing and conversational codes acceptable in the community, proved to be significant reintegration challenges for many returnee youths. Many of those interviewed reported that failure to consolidate a desired livelihood is the top most reason that could cause them to either migrate to another part of Sudan or try to return to Kenya/Uganda. Another interesting finding with regards to repatriation was that some of the households interviewed in Kakuma refugee camp said that the negative effects of insecurity and the reduction of essential services pushed them to consider repatriation. It is for these reasons that repatriation could be considered in its own right as a coping and /or livelihood strategy employed by Southern Sudanese refugees in Kenya.

*4.4.10 Kitchen Gardening*

A small proportion of households practiced kitchen gardening and multi-storey gardening (MSG) at water points to boost their household sources of food and income. With only two of the households interviewed employing this strategy, it was obvious that agriculture is not a viable option in the arid conditions characterizing the location of the camp. The fact that growing crops was only possible at water points and homesteads in small-scale, also meant that the contribution of this strategy in enhancing livelihood security of refugee households was rather insignificant. On the other hand, keeping livestock was absolutely not taken up as an option, because of limited grazing land and fear for competition and conflict with the host Turkana community. A UNHCR/ILO study in 2005 observed similarly.

> *The agricultural activities are limited by the arid climate and the limited land available for grazing and other activities. Moreover the refugees are also not allowed to keep livestock as that would clash with the immediate interests of the local host community which has a predominantly livestock rearing tradition (Dube and Koenig, 2005:14).*

***Coping with Livelihood Shocks***

Sampled households were asked to state which shocks affected their households in the past one year and to specify the strategies they used to cope with the shocks. All the 40 sampled households answered this question and reported three major shocks; insecurity (95%), reduction or non-provision of essential aid and services (50%) and ill health of household member (30%). Other minor of shocks were reported by only 15% of the respondents and they included childcare burden, which could still be linked to essential aid reduction/non-provision, divorce, shelter collapse/burnt, school fees burden and death of spouse. The strategies employed by households to cope with above shocks are tabulated in table 4.7 below.

**Table 4.7: Household Strategies for Coping with Shocks**

| *Strategy* | *Frequency* (n-38)* | *Percentage* |
|---|---|---|
| Selling/bartering part of aid e.g. food ration | 25 | 66 |
| Help of relatives, friends, neighbours-Kenya | 14 | 37 |
| Remittances from Sudan and abroad | 2 | 5 |
| Help of self-help groups and associations | 14 | 37 |
| Started a small-scale business | 1 | 2.5 |
| Reinforced fence (due to insecurity) | 10 | 26 |
| Seek UN/NGO help | 3 | 8 |
| Reduced/adjusted consumption | 3 | 8 |
| Resorted to prayers | 2 | 5 |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

** Total was 38 respondents. The strategies are not mutually exclusive as some respondents reported more than one strategy.*

Most refugees who receive support from social networks receive it in form of food (56%), clothing (44%) and cash money (31%) of the 40 sampled households. Other forms of support included educational and household/domestic items which tied at 19% and general help in times of crisis 6%. Most of the refugees (95%) had relatives, friends and

associates with whom they identified with and communicated frequently. 63% of them reported to receive livelihood assistance from relatives in Sudan while 37%, mainly in form of cash money (remittances), support for maintaining traditional and cultural obligations such as bride price payment and receiving, taking care of family land and livestock in Sudan, and keeping them (refugees) informed of happenings in home areas in Sudan. Majority of the sampled households (30) had relatives and other close social networks who they called on for remittances in the U.S.A, Australia, Uganda and Canada. Most refugees (87%) who reported to have relatives abroad had received remittance from them. They used the money received mainly to meet their clothing, healthcare, education, household items and food, in that order of importance. The uses of remittances correlate with refugees' unmet needs and gaps described above.

## 4.5 Nature of Social Networks among Sudanese Refugees in Kenya

### *4.5.1 Relatives, Friendship and Neighbourhood Networks*

Associations of relatives, neighbours and friendly households in the camp were by far the most significant forms of social networking identified. These types of social networks were formed, sustained and strengthened by the fact that the people shared and experienced similar livelihood circumstances as well as cultural and social backgrounds. Ethnic and clan-based affiliations served to bond the refugees together, particularly during difficult times or at the occurrence of a critical incident, such as severe insecurity, drastic reduction of food ration or an attack from another clan or ethnic group or the host community. Relatives, friends and neighbours within the camps offered the most livelihood support to the respondents and by extension to the Sudanese refugees as a whole. Respondents were asked from whom else apart from the UN and NGOs they relied on and received livelihood support. Those who cited relatives, friends and neighbours ranked top at 41% followed by those who said they received no other livelihood support apart from the UN/NGOs at 35%. About 16% of respondents received support from a combination of sources, including the UN/NGOs, relatives, friends and neighbours and self-help associations and groups. Respondents who cited self-help groups and association alone were about 5.4%.

### *4.5.2 Refugee-Host Networks*

None of the respondents reported having any type of mutual association or partnership with members of the host community. Instead, they all emphasized that there existed hostile relations between the Sudanese refugees and Turkana hosts due to rampant armed robberies and violent attacks. The researcher had hypothesized that should there be some form of social networking between the refugees and the hosts, it would include some refugees placing their livestock in the custody of the host community, intermarriage and similar forms of mutual cooperation. However, the survey respondents did not confirm all these. Data obtained from observation and the key informants however revealed that there are isolated cases of mutual cooperation and support. but due to high incidences of insecurity believed by the refugees to be perpetrated by the Turkana hosts in collaboration with refugee criminals, the refugees had over time chosen to keep a distance from the hosts and to over-emphasize insecurity as the definitive factor in their relations with the host community. It was found that a number of intermarriages had occurred between the refugees and the host community, in most cases involving the host community girls and refugee males. This was explained as a consequence of the difficult circumstances, in terms of livelihood opportunities, that the host community was facing. As a survival or coping strategy, desperate girls from the host community were reported to 'get married' to refugees in order to access food, healthcare, water and services that refugees enjoyed while the hosts lacked.

### *4.5.3 Local Social Support Groups and Associations*

Belonging to and participating in the activities of a social support group or association was another form of social networking found among Sudanese refugees. Fifty eight percent of respondents responded affirmatively to the question whether they belonged to any association or group that benefited their household livelihood. Self-help groups have been found to be major sources of critical support to refugees in camp settings (Jacobsen, 2002; Horst 2006; Dube and Koenig 2005). Sudanese refugees were even found to have taken this type of networking to a higher level. They formed, maintained and belonged to various types of self-help groups and associations at the same time and for different complementary objectives.

### *4.5.4 Trans-national/Regional networks*

Three major categories of self-help groups and associations stood out. The most numerous and robust were groups and associations based on region of origin in Sudan, but which had spread throughout the world in places where Sudanese have resettled or migrated. These included youth and students' and youth welfare associations and elders' committees. Some of these associations are formally registered with global membership in places like the U.S.A, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan. This type of networks also often coincided with clan and ethnic affiliations, mainly because in the country of origin - Sudan, territories are often inhabited by same clan or ethnic groups. Trans-national networks and associations, examples cited in table 11 below, assumed a wide array of objectives and undertook multiple activities. Some of the prominent objectives cutting across them included supporting educational and healthcare access for members around the world but especially for the underprivileged back in Sudan, livelihood support for members, building peace and resolving conflicts among members and with other clans/communities, consolidating unity and solidarity and shaping a common political vision not only for their region/clan/ethnic group, but also, for South Sudan as a whole. Other cross-cutting themes of trans-national networks included cultural orientation and promotion among the children and youthful population, maintaining identity and sense of togetherness, entertainment, art and sports development and overall leadership development.

**Table 4.11: Self-help Groups of Sudanese Refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp**

| *Category* | *Group / association* |
|---|---|
| Trans-national, ethnic and clan-based networks | Abek Community Development Association |
| | Adhiok Welfare Association |
| | Ajakeer Association |
| | Angkei Youth Association |
| | Anyidi Youth Association |
| | Ayual Community Development Association |
| | Bahr Ghazal Students Association |
| | Bahr Ghazal Youth & Development Association |
| | Baping Cooperative Association |
| | Bor Court Association |
| | Bor Youth Welfare Association |
| | Cheir Welfare Association |
| | Duk Council Association |
| | Duk Youth Association |
| | Dukeen Welfare Association |
| | Gak Youth Association |
| | Kolmarek Youth Association |
| | Kongor Development Association |
| | Kongor Youth Association |
| | Lualdit Development Agency |
| | Naath Welfare Association |
| | Nubian Youth Association |
| | Paker Students Association |
| | Palieu Youth Association |
| | Twic East Country Association |
| | Wernyol Youth Association |
| Church/faith-based networks | Lual-Ajokbil Church Development Association |
| | Paker Christian Union (PCU) |
| Women support groups | Youth Mama Association |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

Another key feature of trans-national networks found was maintaining and promoting linkage with home-country. The study found that members of various families, clans, ethnic groups and people from same region back in Sudan, maintain relatives and other strong and active networks in Sudan through splitting their households and frequently visiting Sudan in order to safeguard their land and livestock rights and claims. Key informants and some respondents reported that members of the various groups and associations living in the camps met regularly - some annually and some monthly to discuss issues and to elect or appoint new leaders for their groups.

### *4.5.5 Faith-based Networks*

Faith-based networks were found not to be as developed and numerous as the regional and trans-national networks. However, spiritual themes and objectives cut across all the various types of networks. There was found to be a strong and close association between faith-based networks and women support groups. Majority of the members of these types of networks in the camp were women and youthful. Their objectives included supporting Christian spiritual growth of group members through free distribution of Bibles in Dinka language, building schools, health clinics and churches in Sudan, providing educational scholarships to bright students, peace building, leadership development and conflict resolution. The two reported networks were both formed in Kakuma refugee camp, but have since become trans-national with the spread of their members as a result of resettlement and repatriation. They reported to have registered successes in the areas of their focus both in Kakuma refugee camp and in Sudan, including having sponsored secondary school students and having built and equipped libraries and churches in Sudan.

### *4.5.6 Women Support Groups*

Women support groups exist in the refugee camp for socio-economic and spiritual objectives. An association called Youth Mama is the symbol of women networking in Kakuma refugee camp. Formed in 1999, it has representatives from all churches and its objectives and activities include the care for the vulnerable – sick, bereaved and those

without ration. The association functions more like a safety net for the members, rescuing them during times of severe shocks on their livelihoods.

Most of the above social networks were formed in Kenya and in the diaspora where refugees have been resettled, while a few of them trace their formation to South Sudan. However, following the start of repatriation, some of the associations have been discarded while others have been carried on to Southern Sudan, where they are being shaped and modified to suit different needs of returnees and other community members.

As these networks change based on new circumstances, one of the most likely outcome is the emergence of a vibrant civil society. Civil society is often referred to voluntary associations and organizations outside the market and state. These consist of private organizations that are formed and sustained by groups of people acting voluntarily and without seeking personal profit to provide benefits for themselves or for others. It is through civil society, also referred to as the third sector, that individuals are able to establish and maintain relational networks. These voluntary associations connect people with each other, build trust and reciprocity through informal, loosely structured associations, and consolidate society through altruism without obligation. It is this range of activities, services and associations produced by civil society that constitutes the building blocks of social capital *(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/social_capital#column-one#column-one/).*

### 4.6 Effects of Social Networks on Sudanese Refugees' Livelihoods

The range of social networks discussed above exhibited diverse effects on the livelihoods of the refugees. The study found a strong relationship between membership of a social network, a self-help group or association or having close relatives and networks outside of the camp, with more secure and diversified livelihood strategies and activities. Three major types of effects of social networks on refugee livelihoods were found in the study. They included, firstly, functioning as safety nets in times of shocks, secondly, restoring and improving livelihood security and thirdly, facilitating social capital development through identity reinforcement, building solidarity and cohesion. Though in many ways

inter-related, each of these effects are discussed in turn, with a view to demonstrating the far-reaching application and utility of social networks on the lives and livelihoods of Sudanese refugees. Chart 2 below highlights the three types of effects and further breaks them down into constituent components as found in the study.

**Box 4.1: Effects of Social Networks on Refugee Livelihoods in Kakuma Refugee Camp**

**Effects of social networks on refugee livelihoods**

Safety net
- coping mechanism in times of shocks and crises
- safety net for the poor and vulnerable

Restoration and improvement of livelihood security
- remittances and gifts
- education and skills training
- employment info & access
- business culture, ideas and capital
- maintenance of livelihood rights/claims in home-country
- fulfilling traditional obligations

Social capital development
- promoting solidarity, identity and cohesion
- sense of belonging, psychosocial support
- political ideas, patriotism and cooperation
- cultural preservation and promotion
- peace building and conflict resolution
- gender equity promotion, particularly women empowerment
- sports and youth development
- access to information about home-country situation

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

### *4.6.1 Social Protection Effects*

Households which sustained the widest and most potent types of social networks were found to be less vulnerable to livelihood shocks. They called for help during a crisis from their networks and associates. Ordinarily, many relied on their immediate networks and associates such as relatives, friends and neighbours within the camp. However, if the

better their living conditions in the camp. Access to and utilization of gifts from camp-based social networks and remittances from the diaspora i.e. networks based in Sudan, U.S.A., Australia and Canada, played a crucial role in highlighting the effects of social networks on refugee livelihoods. Camp-based social networks provided much needed support in the form of monetary and in-kind, food and non-food gifts. These not only provided the first line of defence in times of crises, but also, the opportunity to develop further and improve present and future livelihood opportunities of refugees. This was particularly exhibited by the extensive and strongly prioritized efforts by refugees to invest on human capital development, particularly on their children's and youth's education and skills training.

Educational support in the form of scholarships, raising tuition fees, building and equipping schools and libraries both in the refugee camp and in Southern Sudan featured strongly in the objectives and activities of most networks, associations and groups. In the camps, the Sudanese refugee community often stated that education was their most valued and sought-after form of assistance. This is because they perceived that the future stability and prosperity of Southern Sudan and of refugee households and individuals as dependent on the quality of education, skills and training they would have acquired. Education was seen to be the main assurance of a secure future livelihood through gainful employment either back in Sudan or in any other country. Education was also valued for its ability to achieve national goals and objectives shared by Sudanese refugees: active participation in the reconstruction and development of South Sudan. Twenty four 24 out of 40 respondents in the survey reported to have acquired some skill or training. Of the 24, 22 of them had acquired the skill or qualification in Kenya as refugees while 2 acquired in Sudan.

The study sought to find out the extent to which camp-based and diaspora social networks had supported or benefited refugees in the acquisition of educational qualifications and training. The study found that refugees in possession of higher academic and professional qualifications had relied mostly on UNHCR and NGOs. However, a significant proportion of the resources and the much-needed inspiration and

psychosocial support needed to pursue higher education and training were provided by immediate family and the members of the educational social networks, to which most Sudanese belonged to and cherished. These social networks also met some material and financial needs of students as they pursued education and training. Social networks also provided information and linkages needed to secure scholarships as well as food, accommodation and transport support for students attending secondary schools, colleges and universities in Nairobi, Eldoret, Lodwar, Kitale, Nakuru and other parts of Kenya far away from Kakuma refugee camp. On the negative side, the influence of some traditional and customary beliefs and practices held by Sudanese refugees were reported to have negatively affected girl's access to and success in education and skills training. The practice of exchanging bride-price in marriage was particularly cited as a major cause of early and arranged marriage, which often resulted in girls dropping out of school. Literacy rates among Sudanese females are much lower than their male counterparts. This is reflected in the very small number of Sudanese females eligible for senior and technical jobs both in the camp and in Sudan. This state of affairs has negative implications on gender equity and to the present and future livelihood security of girls and women, particularly orphans and widows.

Social networks also impacted on refugees' livelihoods through the provision of employment linkages and information within the camps and in Southern Sudan. Respondents involved in some form of employment in the camp were asked if their relatives, friends, neighbours and group/association members played any role in their securing of the job. Sixteen out of 40 were engaged in incentive employment with UN/NGOs and 14 of them (87%) acknowledged receiving the help of their social networks and associates in getting the job. This was mainly through sharing information about vacancies, sometimes deliberately excluding non-group members and competitors in order to maximize chances of a group member securing the job. Groups took the form of clan, ethnic group, regional group or nationality, depending on the nature of the job at hand. Key informants revealed that a lot of skilled Sudanese refugees had been head-hunted or tipped-off for jobs back in Sudan by their clansmen, relatives and friends, ethnic/regional leaders, the NGOs they had affiliation with, which became part of their

social networks, and even GOSS representatives who knew about them. Prominent refugees who had been on special assignment and 'employment' of the SPLM/A despite living in the refugee camp were reported to have been recalled after the peace agreement and offered senior Government jobs. The unfortunate effect of the importance of social networks in accessing jobs and employment is that they could as well facilitate and perpetuate corruption. This could present itself in the form of nepotism, tribalism and other sectarian considerations in sharing of information, recruitment, resources distribution and possibilities for development. Households, clans, ethnic groups, and regions with a relative advantage over others as far senior NGOs, private sector and Government positions are concerned could be using their advantaged positions to unfairly exclude other groups.

As discussed earlier, operating small-scale businesses was one of the livelihood strategies of the refugees in the camp. The study sought to find out how one's social networks affected the decision, ability and prospects of operating a business. This was investigated by analysing the source of the business idea and capital, and whom the business operators consulted and sought help from in times of crises. Of those who operated a small-scale business (33% of 40), 54% of them said they were themselves the source of their business idea while 38% said they got the idea from relatives, friends, neighbours or members of a self-help group they belonged. This indicates the strong influence of one's associates in setting up business in the camp. This effect is even more significant with regards to the source of start-up capital. Of the 13 out of 40 business operators, 69% got start-up capital from relatives, friends and neighbours while 15% got from a self-help group they belonged to. Only 8% mobilized own savings, and another 8% got a loan or grant from the UN/NGOs. Regardless of the source of start-up capital, most business operators consulted and informed their most significant social networks and associates about starting the business and even in its operation. Members of one's self-help groups and social networks were found to be instrumental in the success of refugees' businesses through helping in marketing, being loyal customers themselves, and occasionally providing in-kind labour and grants for running and expanding the business. When faced with a business crisis, operators of small-scale businesses sought most crucial support

first and foremost from household members, relatives, friends and neighbours (55%) and 11% from UN/NGOs. About 33% sought support from a combination of household members, relatives, friends and neighbours, and the UN/NGOs. Business was an adaptive strategy employed by Sudanese refugees in their attempts to better their livelihoods in the camp and beyond.

The above findings point out the positive effects social networks had on this livelihood strategy, but there are also illegal ones. It was mentioned by key informants that due to refugees' previous experience as agro-pastoralists, many of them were neither experienced nor inclined towards business. They lacked sufficient business acumen to be able to compete with businesses run by Ethiopian and Somali refugees. Additionally, due to their strong familial and traditional associations, which demanded constant reciprocity and sharing, many Sudanese refugees found it difficult to operate and grow businesses. These limitations reduced the significance of business as a viable livelihood strategy for Sudanese refugees compared to the Ethiopian and Somali refugees.

Social networks were found to affect refugees' exile and anticipated (future) return livelihoods through their critical role in maintaining and securing rights and claims over livelihood assets. The study found that land and livestock were the most important of livelihood assets. Refugees included in the study reported to have continued asserting their claim and rights over land and livestock in Sudan despite living in exile. A significant 58% of the sampled refugee households reported ownership or user rights to some livestock in Sudan, compared to 42% who reported to have no claims or ownership rights to any livestock in Sudan. Compared to livestock, land rights and claims by refugees were found to be more important and prominent. 83% of the sampled households reported to have access to or ownership rights/claims to some portion of land in Sudan. Refugees' social networks and associates living in Sudan facilitated the protection and maintenance of their land and livestock rights and claims. This was mainly achieved though leaving the land and/or livestock in the custody of a trusted relative or friend. Other less common strategies adopted by refugees, included splitting their

households, visiting Sudan frequently and combining all these strategies as discussed in section 4.4 above.

**Table 4.12: Refugee Strategies for Maintaining Claims/Rights to Livestock in Sudan**

| *Strategy* | *Frequency** | *Percentage* |
|---|---|---|
| Visiting Sudan frequently | 1 | 4.3 |
| Splitting household | 4 | 17.4 |
| Leaving under custody of trusted relative or associate | 17 | 74.0 |
| Combination of the above | 1 | 4.3 |
| **Total** | **23** | **100** |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

** 17 respondents did not respond to this question*

**Table 4.13: Refugee Strategies for Maintaining Claims/Rights to Land in Sudan**

| *Strategy* | *Frequency** | *Percentage* |
|---|---|---|
| Visiting Sudan frequently | 1 | 3.0 |
| Splitting household | 3 | 9.1 |
| Leaving under custody of trusted relative or associate | 28 | 84.9 |
| Protected by clan members | 1 | 3.0 |
| **Total** | **33** | **100** |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

** 7 respondents did not respond to this question*

The findings from tables 11 and 12 above reveal that refugees rely heavily on the connections and links with home-country to protect and maintain their livelihood opportunities. This conforms to findings of previous refugee livelihood studies, which found strong connections, not only with refugees' home-country, but also, with other countries and regions - trans-nationalism (Horst, 2006). Refugees, particularly those who struggle for or perceive hopes for peace and stability in their home-countries strive to maintain key assets, skills, cultural traits and practices that they believe would be critical when the time to return comes. Social networking while in exile often becomes one of the key strategies for achieving these livelihood goals by becoming instrumental bridges

connecting home-countries and the places of asylum. They also function to mitigate losses occasioned by time and distance disconnections between home-country and exile.

Another related effect of social networks on refugee livelihoods is their role in enabling refugees to fulfil traditional obligations despite being far away in exile. The refugees valued continued participation in important traditional and customary rites and practices despite being away from home. These included marriage and bride-price payment, performing funeral and initiation rites. Thirty seven (37) respondents out of the 40 sampled answered affirmatively to the question whether they were able to fulfil cultural and traditional obligations in the refugee camp. Under conditions of exile and displacement, it is anticipated that maintaining and fulfilling all one's cultural and traditional obligations in the same manner as was the case in the home country would be difficult. However, the experience of Sudanese refugees in Kenya shows that it is possible, under certain circumstances, to be able to keep close ties with home-country and to continue to honour traditional obligations even as a refugee. While several factors facilitated this outcome, the role of social networks was highlighted more by the refugees. Social ties of various kinds enabled the refugees' to practice and live their cultural and traditional lives. These ranged from household, familial, clan and ethnic and regional/territorial networks and associations. Splitting of households was one of the strategies adopted, in addition to continuous contact and exchange with relatives, friends and clansmen in Sudan and in the diaspora. The study also found that the rather lax Kenya-Sudan border controls permitted registered refugees to move freely between Kakuma refugee camp and South Sudan. Additionally, Southern Sudanese were accorded *prima facie* refugee status in Kenya during the 1990s up to the period just before the signing of the peace agreement. This made it easy for Sudanese to move to and fro Sudan in pursuit of education, but also, to keep up to date with their cultural and other obligations in South Sudan.

### *4.6.3 Effects on Social Capital Development*

The effects of social networks on the refugees permeated almost all the spheres of their lives. Because the Sudanese refugees continue to value their traditional customs and

communal lifestyles, various forms of social networks, formal and informal, camp-based and trans-national ones, became important institutional arrangements through which individuals, households and families survived and thrived economically, socially, spiritually and culturally. The potential for mobilizing and uniting people embodied in membership of the same networks also spread into politics and spurred feelings of shared identity, nationhood and patriotism. As a result, social networks that were initially primarily concerned with cushioning their members from livelihood shocks and risks in exile progressively assumed reconstruction and development objectives for Southern Sudan. This was found to be the case with regional and territorial types of networks *(see section 4.5 above)* among the refugees in the camp. Most of these were formed by refugees in Kakuma refugee camp with the objective of championing the interests of the Sudanese, particularly of the vulnerable children, elderly and the disabled hailing from the respective regions. Core among the group interests were members' safety and security, intra-communal harmony and assured access to basic livelihood support/aid including food, water, shelter, healthcare and education. These objectives of the social groups and associations formed by the Sudanese refugees served to directly and indirectly provide some form of livelihood security and protection for members. However, the objectives were gradually upgraded and enriched to achieving higher goals. Instead of focusing on the immediate survival needs alone, the groups and associations begun to pursue plans and activities for realizing their longer-term livelihood stability as well as future development and political stability of South Sudan. In this way, social networks affected the refugee community's search and hope for durable solutions. The goals of a peaceful and developed South Sudan infiltrated clan-based, ethnic and regional social networks, which had themselves gradually spread around the world through resettlements and emigrations to the U.S.A, Australia, Canada and Europe. Eventually, members of these trans-national networks and associations embraced raising funds for supporting the education of their members in the camp and in Sudan through provision of scholarships and tuition fees, books, equipping of libraries, construction of schools and health clinics in Sudan, and sending remittances to support the livelihoods of their relatives around the world.

Besides exploiting the potential for mobilizing resources that exists in social networks, Sudanese refugees further utilized their diverse social networks as vehicles for bonding among individuals, households, same clan members and people originating from the same region in Sudan. Through the various groups, the study found that solidarity, identity and cohesion among the refugees was strengthened and nurtured. Members of the associations and groups met regularly, some on monthly basis while others on annual or as-need-be basis. Communication and exchange of ideas and information was continuously maintained among some of the more formalized social groupings. This was done with the help of telephones, mobile phones, postal mails and email over internet. Informal networks relied more on traditional methods of communication and exchange, mainly the postal mails and word-of-mouth conveyance. A highly developed sense of belonging among members of different groups was found to exist. This was valued not only for the livelihood benefits that accrued to members by virtue of belonging, but also, by the psychosocial support, social security and nurturance gained from belonging to and participating in several reciprocity social networks at the same time.

Some social networking groups facilitated nurturance of political development among members. They fostered ideals of cooperation and advocacy for their members and by extension their regions, clans or ethnic groups. Ajakeer Association for example was formed by members of Paker and Ajuong communities in 1992 in Southern Sudan, with the objective of developing young future leaders. Over time, the members of this association have spread all over the world. The association also engaged in mobilizing resources for supporting development in their region and among their people in Sudan. At the time of the study, the association had been involved in providing fishing nets, mosquito nets, supporting schools and healthcare facilities in Sudan.

Cultural preservation and promotion was found to be a significant objective as well as effect of the social groups and associations of Sudanese refugees in Kenya. In settling the refugees within the camp, the GOK, UNHCR and NGOs tried to promote solidarity among refugees based on their family, clan, ethnic group and nationality backgrounds. As a result, people sharing common backgrounds and cultural ideals formed cultural groups

and staged regular performances, particularly during weekends around their homesteads. These served to remind adults and to teach children born in the camps cultural values, dances and other practices of the various clans, ethnic and national communities. Cultural cohesion was found to be intricately connected with aspects of livelihood among Sudanese refugees. This was indicated by extensive reciprocity and sense of obligations to each other exhibited among members of cultural troupes, performance groups and members of the different ethnic groups. Some artists performing with members of their social networks were performing for commercial purposes in various social functions around Kakuma and Lokichoggio. With the assistance of the UNHCR and NGOs, one group had commercially produced musical cassettes and compact disks (CDs).

Related to cultural groups, sports and youth development activities were also formed and found to be functioning around clan, ethnic and nationality groupings and associations. These associations were formed in the refugee camp to promote sports and youth activities that influence positive behaviour and growth. They also served to bond the youth from the same group and to bridge gaps with youths from different groups or identities. More significant to livelihood, sports and youth groups identified and nurtured talents among their members in various sports disciplines. It was reported that a number of youth had graduated to professional level in their disciplines, mainly basketball, soccer and athletics following years of practice and nurturance at the camp. Social networks found included Payuel Sports Association, dominated by Sudanese refugees from the Nyarweng community. Others included Border Stars formed by refugees of Paker and Ajuong communities and Red Scorpion Football Association formed by Dachuee community. These youth associations positively affected refugee livelihoods in a variety of ways, some directly while others indirectly. Besides promoting talent and engaging youth in positive and productive activities, the fora created by these groups were utilized by UN/NGOs for educating the youth about HIV/Aids, adolescent reproductive health, the dangers of drug abuse and peace and conflict resolution. These life skills not only benefited the youth at present but also prepare them for a healthy and potentially more prosperous sporting life.

Many social groups and associations prioritized peace building and conflict resolution as one of their objectives. Due to the long experiences with conflict and instability in their country, many Sudanese communities sought to forge and foster peaceful co-existence and unity among their group members. At the same time, social groups and associations were found to be active in the resolution of disputes among group members. They also intervened in disputes and conflicts involving group members and other refugees and the host community. Sudanese refugees from Twic East County for example had formed a network among themselves through which they settled marriage and other disputes among members. They also assisted each other to fulfil traditional obligations and to advocate for the development of their region back in Sudan. A similar social group existed among Sudanese refugees originally from Duk County. They formed Duk Council Association in 1995 at Kakuma refugee camp to bring together people from Duk and to enhance cooperation and development. At the time of fieldwork, members of this group were reported to have spread in Australia, U.S.A, Canada and Sudan. The network pursued objectives such as unity Sudanese affiliated to Duk County, assisting the vulnerable and supporting educational achievements such as providing scholarships for the members. The most significant effects for these social groups lay in their bonding and uniting effect, an outcome that facilitated cooperation on a wide range of livelihood and developmental goals. The culture of cooperation fostered by the various social groups has been transferred to Southern Sudan, where it is already contributing in the strengthening of the civil society.

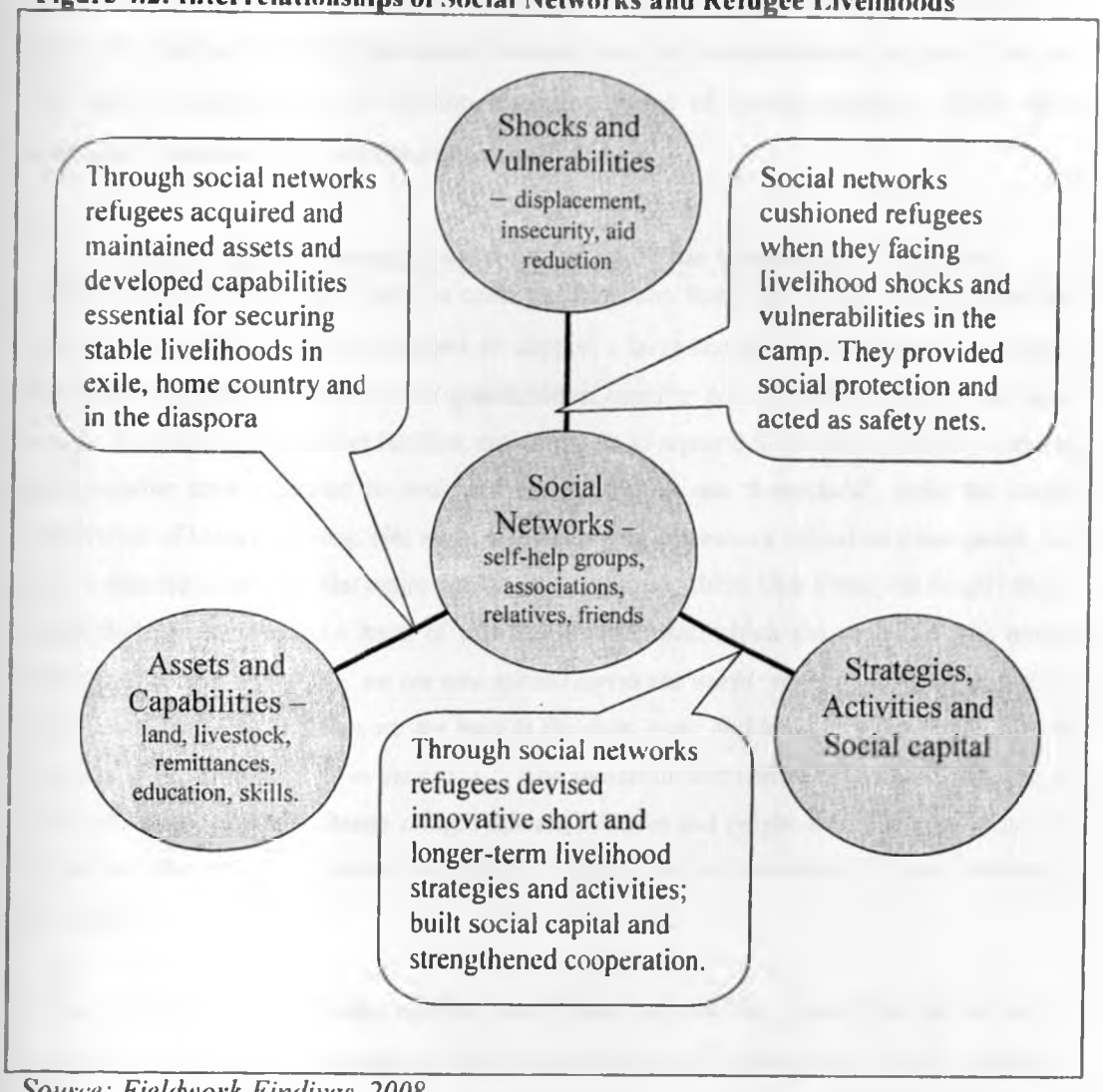
Though much can be attributed to the efforts of UNHCR and NGOs focusing on humanitarian principles and standards, some social networks among the Sudanese were reported to have supported in the promotion of gender equity, child protection and women empowerment. This was mainly through making the education of Southern Sudanese a top community priority. As the highest ranking priority, education was allocated the lion's share of resources mobilized by self-help groups as well as by Sudanese' formal social networks. As the majority of Sudanese living in Kakuma refugee camp were males, they benefited the most compared to girls and women. However, communal efforts supported by the UNHCR and the Lutheran World Federation (LWF)

helped in promoting girls' and women's education in the camp. Community leaders and Women Support Groups of the Sudanese mobilized their members to enrol girls in larger numbers than boys in primary schools. Older women who thirsted for education were also not left out. A school for women learners, almost entirely comprising of Sudanese women was established besides the regular adult education program. Vocational skills training in tailoring, dress-making, typing and embroidery were established to mainly target women and girls drop-outs from formal schools. Despite these positive efforts, some Sudanese cultural and traditional customs and practices were reported to have undermined gender equity and women empowerment initiatives. It was reported that the 'Bench Courts', Sudanese traditional council of elders responsible for arbitration of disputes and resolution of conflicts often ruled unfavourably against the fundamental rights of individuals, particularly of women, widows and children.

Through a diverse variety of formal and informal social networks of the Sudanese, information about Southern Sudan was readily available at the Kakuma Refugee Camp. Similarly everything happening in Kakuma was well known in many areas of Southern Sudan. In fact, it was highlighted strongly by key informants from NGOs and UNHCR that a good number of Sudanese was attracted to Kakuma not by the fear of persecution, which is fundamental for acquisition of refugee status, but rather, by education and the possibility of resettlement to Australia, U.S.A or Europe. Access to useful information is a vital element for protecting and developing a livelihood. The Sudanese used their social networks to facilitate free and fast flow of important livelihood information between their home country and Kenya on the one hand, and between Kenya and the diaspora where the Sudanese have spread over the period of instability in their country.

The chart below summarizes the effects of social networks on various aspects of refugee livelihoods.

**Figure 4.2: Interrelationships of Social Networks and Refugee Livelihoods**




*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

## 4.7 Case Study: Life as Widow in Exile

Traditional African society encouraged communal types of living and sharing of resources especially among relatives and within the ethnic group. However, the combined effects of external cultural influences and changing socio-economic situations are believed to have disintegrated collectivism and replaced it with individualism and a focus on the nuclear family in matters pertaining to social relations and livelihood. The effects of violent conflicts, internal displacements and asylum seeking in exile are generally thought to have further severely disrupted and incapacitated the social networks and

structures in supporting household livelihoods. In view of this, the researcher hopes to highlight using a life story, how exiled communities and households are, against all odds, still able to nurture old or develop modified forms of social networks, which they mobilize to maintain and improve their livelihoods.

**Box 4.2: Mama Akweng's networks support her household's livelihood**

Mama Akweng (not her real name), a calm yet outspoken Sudanese refugee woman, uses her extensive social ties and connections to support a large household comprising of five sons, five grand daughters and many other grandchildren (number not disclosed). They all had been registered differently as nuclear families, entitling them to separate food rations, but they chose to pool together their resources to cook and eat together as one 'household', under the caring supervision of Mama Akweng. Her warm and welcoming demeanour helped set a fast-paced, but also, a detailed interview. Her entire family once lived just within Duk County in Jonglei State, South Sudan. However, as a result of war and displacement, which she expressed with mixed feelings of delight and grief, *"we are now spread across the world: some of my relatives died in Sudan, some still live in Sudan, we are here in the camp, some children are schooling in Nairobi and one of my grandsons is in the U.S.A."*. The separation and spread of families, she said, is similar to many of her Sudanese refugee friends, relatives and neighbours. The separation and spread has brought both positive and negative impacts on the livelihood of Mama Akweng's household.

Living in Kakuma refugee camp enabled some of her sons and her grandchildren to receive an education, which will be important for their future wellbeing. The grandson in U.S.A. frequently sends them money, which they use to supplement the aid received from the international community. They use the money mainly for school fees and other costs for grandchildren schooling outside of the camp, and buying clothes and food items not provided in the camp. Her brothers-in-law in Sudan are responsible for the protection of and custody of family livestock, land and other socio-cultural and political interests attributable to her late husband. She was emphatic that because returnee support offered by UN and NGOs and the Government of South Sudan (GOSS) was short-lived (3 months) and did not cover all basic needs, repatriation without support from relatives would be extremely difficult. Mama Akweng also belongs to informal self-help groups and associations within the Sudanese Episcopal Church. Her sons, grand daughters and grandchildren also belong to regional and students associations. These social groups benefit her household livelihood directly, through the sharing of resources, and indirectly through

enhanced solidarity, reinforcement of common identity and the mechanisms for peaceful resolution of conflicts among members. With the help of these structures, her grandchildren and other Sudanese children are taught Sudanese culture and heritage.

On the negative side, separation and spread of family and household members had caused social dislocation, loss of valued assets, cultural values and social networks built over a long time. It had also led to exposure to difficult and foreign livelihood circumstances that her household had not prepared for. Mama Akweng hoped to return to Sudan but she pegged the time on when it would be for the best interests of her sons and grandchildren rather than her personal needs and aspirations.

## 4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has presented and discussed data showing the effects of social networks on refugee livelihoods. Three major types of effects of social networks on refugee livelihoods were discussed. They are, functioning as safety nets in times of shocks, restoring and improving livelihood security and facilitating social capital development through identity reinforcement, building solidarity and cohesion. Associations of relatives, neighbours and friendly households in the camp emerged as the most significant forms of social networking with regards to refugee livelihoods. Social networks help refugees recover and maintain livelihood assets, build human capital such as education, skills and health; and consolidate social capital through cooperation, cultural preservation and identity reinforcement, most of which is significant for livelihood but is often lost or affected during war and flight. In the camps, social networks supplement gaps in humanitarian aid caused by limited international funding and restrictive Government policies for refugee assistance and protection. Refugees form, maintain and belong to various types of self-help groups and associations with relatives, co-ethnics and people from the same territory in Sudan as themselves. Membership of these diverse social groups was found to be concurrent and meant for achieving complementary livelihood objectives. Most social groups and associations initially started as local, i.e. camp-based self-help groups. However, many have gradually expanded in scope and spatially to cover south Sudan. Some of them, particularly the regional and

ethnic type have even become regional and trans-national, following the pattern of migration and resettlement of Southern Sudanese globally. These networks were formed, sustained and strengthened by the fact that the people shared and experienced similar livelihood circumstances as well as territorial, cultural and social backgrounds.

The study had hypothesized that most social networks are kinship-based. However, the data seems to support the hypothesis only partially. Of the three major categories of self-help groups and associations, the most numerous and robust were groups and associations based on region of origin in Sudan, but which also coincided with clan and ethnic affiliation. To this extent, the kinship element of the hypothesis was confirmed. However, it appeared that kinship was only significant as a characteristic of social networks at the time of formation. Most networks initially formed by kins/relatives in the refugee camp had eventually graduated into clan, ethnic and regional entities as Sudanese populations spread around the world. The second were faith-based networks and third were women support groups and associations. The regional/ethnic/clan networks had spread throughout the world in places where Sudanese have resettled or migrated, and had become trans-national. These types of networks often coincided with clan and ethnic affiliations, mainly because in South Sudan, territories are often inhabited by people from the same clan or ethnic group. Though faith-based networks are not as developed and numerous as the regional and trans-national networks, the significance of their contributions and objectives to refugee livelihoods is equally important. Women support groups and associations were less formal, less known and fewer that regional and faith-based networks. They functioned as safety nets and social protection groups for the members, rescuing them during times of severe shocks on their livelihoods. There was found to be a strong and close association between faith-based networks and women support groups.

# CHAPTER 5: Effects of Social Networks on Returnees' Livelihoods in Jonglei State, Southern Sudan

## 5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses findings of research conducted in Twic East, Duk and Bor Counties of Jonglei State, Southern Sudan. Following a description of the demographic characteristics of the respondents, an analysis of the process, trend and the dynamics of Sudanese repatriation from Kenya since the signing of the CPA in 2005 is provided. The chapter focuses on identifying the nature and types of social networks among the returnees, and discussing their effects on livelihoods. Finally, a case study of a returnee household making use of its social networks is used to illustrate the effects of social networks on returnee livelihoods.

## 5.2 Demographic Characteristics of Returnee Respondents

Thirty nine (39) randomly selected returnee household heads, 10 of them females and 29 males, were interviewed in the survey in addition to ten (10) key informants (2 females). These were residents of Twic East, Duk and Bor Counties of Jonglei State, Southern Sudan, interviewed between March and May 2008. The study targeted returnees who had lived in Jonglei State for more than 3 months since the date of return, thus, only those who returned in 2007 or earlier were included in the study. This decision was considered in the field after the initial discussions with key informants and research assistants. During these discussions, the researcher learnt that excluding fresh returnees would enhance the validity of findings by reducing the influence of a group who might not have a choice but to rely almost entirely on humanitarian aid supplied by UNHCR and NGOs targeting returnees. Additionally, there had been a drastic increase in the rate of return, influenced mainly by a population census throughout Southern Sudan scheduled for mid April 2008. A significant proportion of returnees who had only spent 1-3 months after return were thought to have come in primarily for the census and therefore their commitment to livelihood re-establishment was doubtful.

Seventy two percent of returnee respondents for the survey were from Twic East County while 28% were from Duk County. This was because there were many more returnees from Kenya in Twic East County compared to Duk County. Research findings at Kakuma refugee camp also indicated that over 45% of refugees hailed from Twic East compared to only 10% for Duk County. A total of 6 key informants were interviewed in Jonglei State, 2 of them females. Due to financial, transportation and time constraints, fieldwork in Bor County was only limited to a key informant interview with a UNHCR official responsible for returnee assistance.

**Table 5.1: County of Respondent**

| *County* | *Frequency* | *Percentage* |
|---|---|---|
| Twic East | 28 | 72 |
| Duk County | 11 | 28 |
| **Total** | **39** | **100** |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

### *5.2.1 Gender*

A smaller proportion of returnee respondents were females (26%) compared to that of refugee respondents (74%). This finding seems to suggest that in Southern Sudan, female-headed households are fewer than in Kakuma refugee camp. Another explanation was the fact that in Southern Sudan, more women were found to engage in multiple out-of-the-homestead tasks such as preparing farm-lands, harvesting grass and poles for construction, going out in the market to buy supplies and attending to the livestock in near-by cattle camps.

**Table 5.2: Gender of Returnee Respondents**

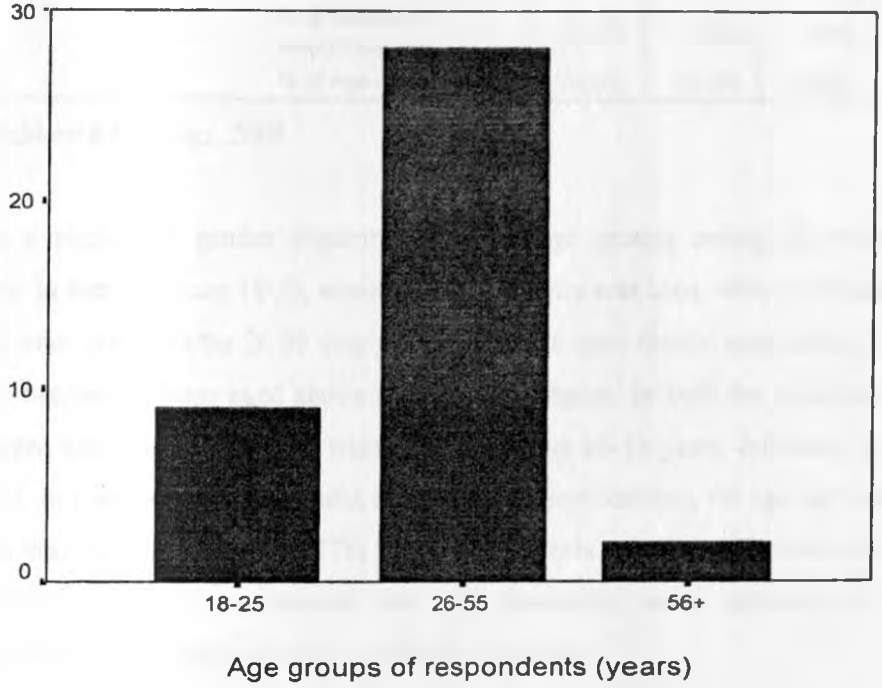
| *Gender* | *Frequency* | *Percentage* |
|---|---|---|
| Female | 10 | 26 |
| Male | 29 | 74 |
| **Total** | **39** | **100** |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

*5.2.2 Age*

Majority, 72%, of the respondents were adults aged between 26 and 55 years old. 18-25 year-olds followed with 23% while age group 56+ was the least with 5% respondents. This age distribution is consistent with the Dinka culture, in which heads of households tend to be predominantly middle-age adults of the male gender. Returnees in this age category were also found to be more experienced, most of them having fled to exile as either teenagers or young adults.

**Figure 5.1: Age distribution of Returnee Respondents**




*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

**Table 5.3: Cross Tabulation of Age and Gender of Returnee Respondents**

Gender of respondent * Age of respondent Crosstabulation

| | | | Age of respondent | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 18-25 | 26-55 | 56+ | |
| Gender of respondent | Female | Count | 4 | 6 | 0 | 10 |
| | | % of Gender of respondent | 40.0% | 60.0% | .0% | 100.0% |
| | | % of Age of respondent | 44.4% | 21.4% | .0% | 25.6% |
| | Male | Count | 5 | 22 | 2 | 29 |
| | | % of Gender of respondent | 17.2% | 75.9% | 6.9% | 100.0% |
| | | % of Age of respondent | 55.6% | 78.6% | 100.0% | 74.4% |
| Total | | Count | 9 | 28 | 2 | 39 |
| | | % of Gender of respondent | 23.1% | 71.8% | 5.1% | 100.0% |
| | | % of Age of respondent | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

There was a significant gender disparity in all the age groups among the returnee respondents. In the age group 18-25, where gender disparity was least, 44% were females while 56% were males. In the 26-55 year age group, 21% were female compared to 79% males. The two respondents aged above 56 were both males. In both the male and the female gender, most respondents fell within the age group 26-55 years, followed by age group 18-25. In terms of social networks and livelihood implications, the age and gender distribution described above, where 77% of the respondents are above 26 years old and 74% of them are males, may indicate that male dominated social networks are the majority and that most households rely on men for livelihood.

### *5.2.3 Marital Status*

Over 54% of the respondents were married with live spouses while 38% were single. Compared to the refugee data, there were many more single respondents among returnees than among the refugees. This was partly explained by the finding that most of the returnees were males in their mid 20s and early 30s in terms of age. Instances of divorce and separation were very minimal.

**Table 5.4: Marital Status of Returnee Respondents**

| *Marital status* | *Frequency* | *Percentage* |
|---|---|---|
| Single | 15 | 38 |
| Married | 21 | 54 |
| Widow/widower | 1 | 3 |
| Separated | 2 | 5 |
| **Total** | **39** | **100** |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

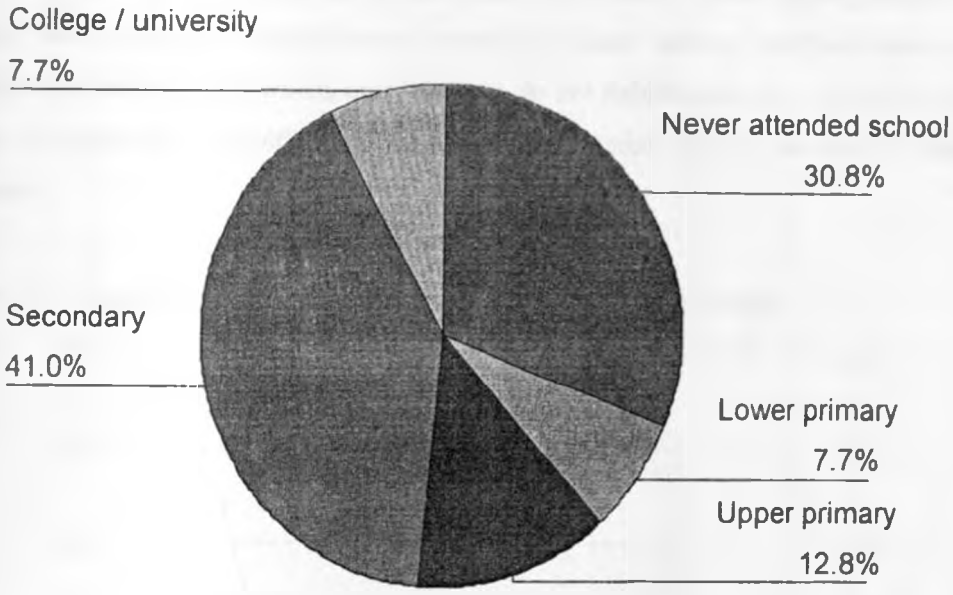
### *5.2.4 Position of Respondent in Household*

Almost half of the respondents interviewed, 47%, were "fathers" while 18% were mothers. Twenty one (21%) of them were single-headed households. About 14% were adult sons and daughters in their households.

### *5.2.5 Education Levels*

The sampled returnee household heads fell in two major categories; *never attended school* at 31% and *completed secondary school* at 41%. Those who completed upper primary followed at 13% while lower primary and college/university tied at 7.7%. This distribution of educational attainment seems to reflect the unique circumstances and experience that Southern Sudanese returnees have encountered after war broke out in Southern Sudan and throughout their lives in exile. The group that has never attended school represents the elderly men and women. The group that has completed secondary education and college/university represents the young adults from Kakuma and other Kenyan towns who returned to South Sudan in search of employment opportunities. There are relatively fewer returnees who reported having completed lower and upper primary education. This group is composed mainly of adults who had schooled in Sudan prior to flight and never got to advance their education in exile. It also includes young adults who went to primary schools in exile but never advanced to secondary level.

**Figure 5.2: Highest Level of Education Completed by Respondents**



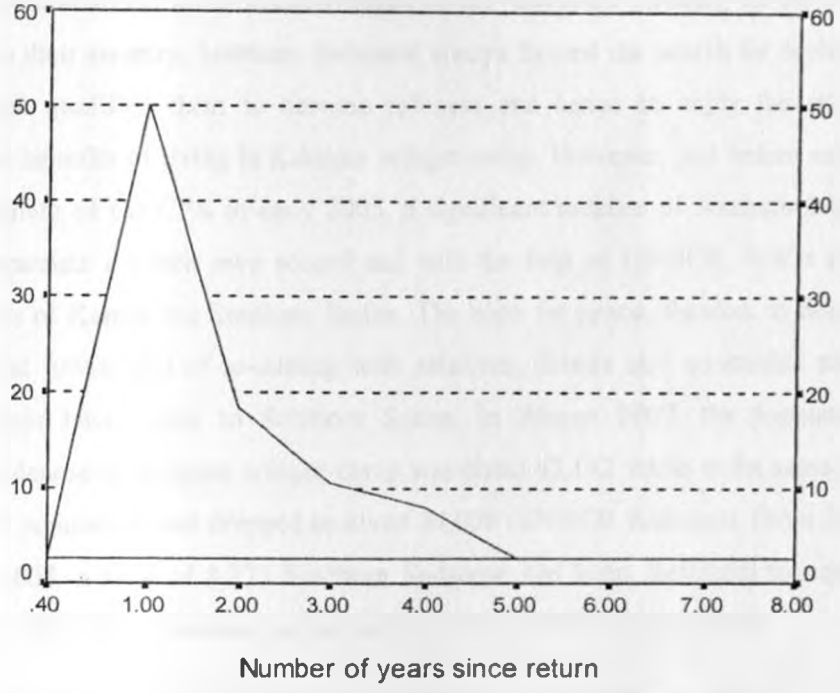

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

*5.2.6 Years Since Return*

Up to 50% of the sampled returnees were less than a year old since they returned, meaning they returned during 2007, while about 90% of sampled returnees reported to have returned less than 4 years before the time of the interview (April 2008). This indicates a strong correlation between most returnees' decision to repatriate with the ceasefire and the eventual signing of the CPA between the former Government of Sudan (GOS) and the SPLM/A in January 2005. Although the refugees were returning home even prior to the CPA, the proportion of the sampled returnees who did so was relatively lower compared to those whose return could be directly linked to the CPA. The length of time returnees had spent since return was considered a significant factor with regards to their livelihoods. The researcher postulate that the longer the period of stay in Southern Sudan after retuning from exile, the higher the chances of having established a stable livelihood indicated by having constructed own shelter, acquired livestock or established

a small-scale business. However, the data showed that fresh returnees reported to have more livestock than older returnees. The same case applied to running of small-scale businesses. Of the 6 respondents who reported to operate a small-scale business, 83% of them had returned two years prior to the time of the study. These findings seem to indicate that immediately upon return, returnees initiate various livelihood-boosting strategies and activities but which, unfortunately, do not stabilize and grow subject to the effects of shocks and the withdrawal of partial humanitarian support provided to fresh returnees.

**Figure 5.3: Number of Years since Return for Sampled Respondents**




*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

### *5.2.7 Mode of Return*

The study sought to find out the mode of return for the sampled returnees; whether they were facilitated to return by the UNHCR and GOK and GOSS, whether they spontaneously returned on their own means, or whether they only informed UNHCR and GOK authorities but did not benefit from any organized process of repatriation. The data showed that 44% returned through the UNHCR-led repatriation following the CPA; 20%

informed UNHCR but did not wait for facilitated repatriation while 36% spontaneously returned, i.e., neither informed nor sought the help of UNHCR and Governments. From discussions with key informants however, it emerged that the largest proportion of returnees fall in the category of spontaneous returnees.

### 5.3 The CPA and Repatriation

Long before the CPA was signed, Southern Sudanese – refugees and non-refugees alike, were moving between Southern Sudan and Kakuma refugee camp and other towns in Kenya in search of asylum, education, visiting relatives and pursuing livelihood opportunities such as resettlement to a Western Country (Sommers, 2005:160). These intentions were however never acknowledged by the 'travellers'. Riding on the war and instability in their country, Southern Sudanese always fronted the search for asylum and safety, which qualified them to become refugees and hence to enjoy the attractive services and benefits of living in Kakuma refugee camp. However, just before and soon after the signing of the CPA in early 2005, a significant number of Southern Sudanese began to repatriate on their own accord and with the help of UNHCR, NGOs and the Governments of Kenya and Southern Sudan. The hope for peace, freedom to determine their political future and of re-uniting with relatives, friends and co-ethnics attracted many refugees back home to Southern Sudan. In August 2007, the population of Southern Sudanese at Kakuma refugee camp was about 43,142 while at the same period in 2008, the population had dropped to about 34,000 (UNHCR Kakuma). From January to August 2008, a total of 8,225 Southern Sudanese had been facilitated to repatriate through the UNHCR-led voluntary repatriation process (LWF records, 2008).

**Table 5.5: Number of Southern Sudanese Repatriates from Kenya, 2005-8**

| Year | Organized | Spontaneous | Self Assisted | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2005 | 131 | 0 | 0 | 131 |
| 2006 | 1,807 | 5,666 | 9 | 7,482 |
| 2007 | 3,659 | 14,416 | 10 | 18,085 |
| 2008 | 8,225 | 0 | 0 | 8,225 |
| **TOTAL** | **13,822** | **20,082** | **19** | **33,923** |

*Source: UNHCR Kakuma Records, September 2008*

### *5.3.1 Number of Returnees to Twic East and Duk Counties*

At the time of carrying out fieldwork in Twic East County of Jonglei State (March-April 2008), officials of the Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (SRRC) had recorded approximately 15,821 returnees during 2007. The numbers were much lower (approximately 2,000 for 2007) in the neighbouring Duk County. Duk County was rapidly growing, mainly populated by returnees according to one of the Payam administrators interviewed. The rate of return had accelerated rapidly from the beginning of 2008. The main reasons cited included the desire among refugees and IDPs to take part in the Sudan population census in April 2008. The beginning of the year was also a suitable time to travel to south Sudan because it falls in the dry season. Many refugees and IDPs were reported to schedule their movements during the dry season. A change of education policy in Kakuma refugee camp was also cited as having contributed to the sharp increase in the number of refugees opting to return to Southern Sudan. The changes restricted enrolment of Sudanese children in primary and secondary schools in the camp, except in candidate classes – class eight in primary and Form Four in secondary schools respectively. The dry season months in the beginning of the year also coincide with the period of land preparation. A number of returnees scheduled their return so that they could be able to cultivate and enhance their food security after the lapse of the 3-month post-return period when relief food is provided by WFP and NGOs to all UNHCR-facilitated returnees.

## 5.4 Livelihood Strategies of Returnees in Jonglei State

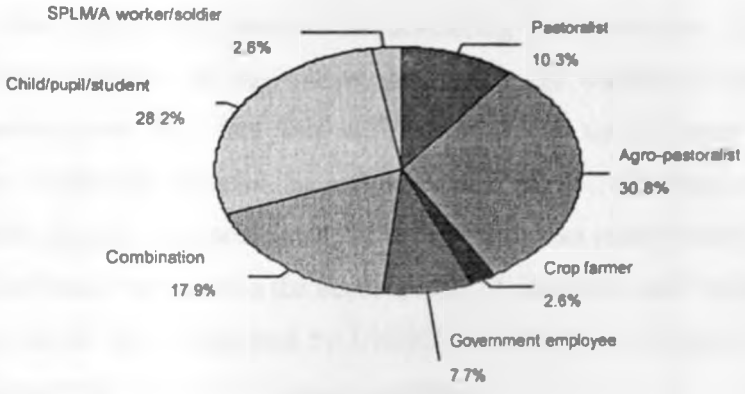
This study found out that returnees were actively engaging in multiple and complementary strategies in trying to re-establish their livelihoods after return. Depending on the age, level of educational attainment, skills, training and experience prior to and during exile, returnees were engaged in employment, small-scale business and trading activities and a combination of crop farming and livestock keeping (agro-pastoralism). These strategies and the various dynamics found are discussed in turn below.

### *5.4.1 Current Occupation*

The vast majority of returnees are not engaged in any specific income-earning occupation. Among the 39 interviewed, 54% reported to be simply staying at home. 28% were employed by the GOSS, 15% were employed or volunteering with UN agencies and NGOs and only 3% reported to be self-employed. These data suggest that most returnees could be vulnerable to livelihood shocks and crises on account of not being gainfully employed. However, it was also found out that almost all returnees whose return was organized by UNHCR and the GOK and GOSS received humanitarian assistance in form of food and basic household items during the first three months. All of those interviewed, without exception, however reported that the assistance was inadequate and short-lived, exposing them to risky and unfamiliar struggles for the basics of survival such as food, shelter, water, healthcare and education.

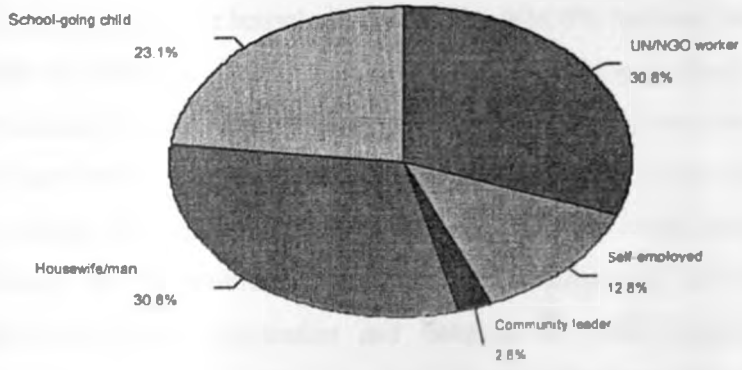
For purposes of understanding the changes on the returnees' livelihood strategies over time, the researcher also sought to know the returnees main occupation prior to exile and during exile. The findings reveal a dominance of 'housewives/men' with no specific occupation through which they supported their livelihoods while in exile and after return from exile. It is noteworthy that returnees did not perceive themselves as housewives/men prior to fleeing to exile. Instead, most of them were agro-pastoralists, a few pure pastoralists, even fewer sole crop farmers and a considerable percentage of them practiced a combination of these. This trend indicates the influence of humanitarian aid on the livelihood strategies and activities of the Sudanese. A significant portion of the returnees were children of school-going age in Sudan prior to fleeing to Kenya. Salaried employment in Government, UN and NGOs were not key livelihood activities of most returnees in Sudan prior to exile. However, these occupations assumed prominence in exile, just like the 'housewife/man' occupation. These occupational variations over time are illustrated in the pie charts below.

**Figure 5.4: Main Occupation in Sudan before Fleeing to Exile**




*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

**Figure 5.5: Main Occupation While in Exile in Kenya**




*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

### *5.4.2 Receiving Humanitarian Aid*

More than half of the interviewed returnees 64% acknowledged receiving humanitarian aid while 36% said they did not receive direct humanitarian aid at the time of the study. Of those who received aid, only 8% thought it was sufficiently catering for their needs while most of them, (92%), felt the aid was inadequate. Food was provided by WFP to

UNHCR/NGO-assisted returnees for the first three months after their return. A basic household package of essential items such as mosquito net, blanket, kitchen set, soap and plastic sheeting was also distributed to the returnees. Additionally, various UN agencies, NGOs and the GOSS were involved in developing social services such as health, education, water supply, and agricultural support for the benefit of both *stayee* and returnee communities. The fact that returnees summed up all these humanitarian assistance as inadequate reflected the low level of coverage, efficiency and quality of these essential services compared to the situation in Kakuma refugee camp. Interviewed returnees often made reference to the better quality of education and healthcare services and the quantity of food distributed by UNHCR and NGOs in Kakuma refugee camp while explaining their difficult livelihood conditions.

### *5.4.3 Assistance from Social Networks and Associates*

Besides relying on humanitarian assistance provided by UN/NGOs, a significant proportion of returnees (84%) received assistance from their relatives, friends and neighbours. About 3% reported receiving assistance from self-help groups or associations to which member (s) of the household belonged, while 8% received assistance from a combination of relatives, friends and neighbours on the one hand, and self-help groups/associations on the other. 5% of the respondents did not receive any assistance from elsewhere apart from the UN/NGOs and GOSS. The most common type of assistance sought by returnees from their social networks and associates included accommodation, shelter construction assistance, food, support to fulfil traditional and cultural obligations/rites, information and linkages for social support and money. Returnees did not report significant problems with access to land, a finding that corroborated the fact that a significant proportion of Southern Sudanese refugees in Kenya were reported to have had access or ownership rights over land back home despite being in exile. However, returnees relied on their stayee relatives, friends and neighbours to get local seeds and faming tools. Most of the returnees reported not having livestock after return, but acknowledged that they were able to rely on their *stayee* relatives, neighbours and friends to access milk for their children. From the diaspora relatives and social networks, the returnees got cash remittances. The returnees used the remittances to

finance their settling, education for children left behind in exile and to purchase personal items such as clothes and household items such as kitchen utensils.

### *5.4.4. Livestock Keeping*

Given that livestock keeping is the mainstay of the Dinka communities of Twic East and Duk Counties, it was anticipated that some returnees, especially the older generations, would endeavour to resume livestock keeping as a key livelihood strategy. The data confirmed this proposition, showing that 44% of the interviewed returnees reported keeping livestock, mainly cattle and the goats and sheep. Most returnees reported owning less than ten cattle, with the majority owning only two. This was way below the average of over ten for those who had been around during the war (stayees) and are fully reliant on cattle for livelihood. Despite the fact that some returnees owned cattle, the livelihood support and benefits derived from the cattle were less compared to the livelihood benefits from social networks, the impact of food aid and humanitarian services provided by UN and NGOs, employment and remittances. The main benefit returnees realized from livestock keeping was access to milk for their children, having the opportunity to sell and use the income to construct shelter, purchase food, educate children or start a small-scale business or trading activity. At the time of the fieldwork, the price of a heifer was about U.S. $ 700. This price was comparatively high compared to cattle prices around Kakuma refugee camp in north-western Kenya, which were about U.S. $ 200. Interviewed returnees thought the price was prohibitively high to enable people without cattle to acquire or for those who had lost them to restock.

### *5.4.5 Crop Farming*

While up to 95% of the returnees interviewed reported access to or ownership of land after return, very few among them acknowledged the contributions of farming to their livelihoods. This was reportedly because of the effects of flooding during the previous crop season (long rainy season May-October 2007). Some of the returnees did not have adequate tools and seed when they needed them for planting during the previous crop season. Minimal land preparation by returnees was observed in the villages visited by the researcher, despite the fact that late March – early April was time for land preparation

prior to the long rainy season of 2008. One returnee family showed the researcher evidence of heavy flooding and the miniature dykes the family had constructed to minimize the negative effects of the floods on the crops. Returnees acknowledged that they tried a combination of crop farming and livestock keeping strategies to meet the family's different food needs.

### *5.4.6 Small-scale Business Enterprises*

Only about 15.4% of the interviewed respondents operated a business or trading enterprise as a livelihood strategy. The rest of the respondents reported that they did not have the skills, interest and/or capital to start-up a business enterprise. The business enterprises run by returnees were mostly of a primary production nature. They included cutting and selling construction poles and grass for thatching shelters, hunting and selling game meat and selling traditional/local brew. These extractive types of business enterprises were run mainly by the less educated returnees. Those with secondary education, some of whom were also employed, operated small-scale retail shops and food restaurants in the market centres and towns. The findings from refugees in Kakuma refugee camp were found to be similar to the findings among returnees in Southern Sudan, in the sense that business is less significant as a livelihood strategy. Traditional socialization and orientation among the Sudanese is mostly inclined toward pastoralism, crop-farming, fishing and a combination of these. Formal employment and running business enterprises, as observed during the fieldwork, seem to be the preserve of the educated and for those who have assimilated business attitudes and skills as a result of interacting with other ethnic and national communities, especially the Ethiopians, Kenyans, Somalis and Ugandans.

### *5.4.7 Seeking Employment*

Employment was found to be a significant livelihood strategy among returnees from Kakuma refugee camp. Asked whether they were engaged in any form of employment, 41% of the respondents answered affirmatively. Most (75%) of the employed worked for the GOSS while a smaller proportion (25%) worked for the UN/NGOs.

**Table 5.6: Types of Employment among Returnees in Twic East and Duk Counties**

| *Type of Job* | *Frequency* | *Percentage* |
|---|---|---|
| Teacher | 7 | 43.8 |
| Social/community development worker | 4 | 25.0 |
| Community health worker | 2 | 12.5 |
| Accounts assistant | 2 | 12.5 |
| Wildlife officer | 1 | 6.2 |
| **Total** | **16** | **100** |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

The finding that teaching was the leading form of employment among the interviewed returnees appeared to concur with findings among the refugees at Kakuma refugee camp, where the proportion of teachers was the greatest at 27%. Discussions with returnee youths in Twic East and Duk Counties indicated that a significant proportion of educated, skilled and trained returnees had spontaneously repatriated to Southern Sudan in order to take up employment opportunities with the GOSS and with the UN/NGOs. The revival of the education sector in Southern Sudan had created a lot of teaching opportunities that were unmatched by the available qualified human resources. Other employment opportunities, particularly social work, community development and community health were significantly prominent mainly within the UN agencies and the international and local NGOs involved in humanitarian and development programs.

### *5.4.8 Household Splitting*

A significant proportion (36%) of returnee households interviewed did not live with all household members in Southern Sudan. They had split, left behind or settled some members elsewhere, including in Kakuma refugee camp and other Kenyan towns, other parts of Sudan, a distant country on resettlement and/or a combination of these. Household splitting was viewed as a livelihood strategy by returnees because it enabled them tap livelihood opportunities from different locations and share them with the members of the household living in several places at the same time.

**Table 5.7: Distribution of Returnee Household Members Outside of Jonglei State**

| *Place* | *Frequency* | *Percentage* |
|---|---|---|
| Kakuma and other Kenyan towns | 4 | 27 |
| Other part of Sudan | 4 | 27 |
| Other country – e.g. U.S.A, Australia, Canada | 2 | 13 |
| Combination of the above | 5 | 33 |
| **Total** | **15** | **100** |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

Pursuing education and training was cited as one of the reasons for household splitting among returnees. Some returnees had left behind their children in Kakuma refugee camp to complete primary or secondary education. Others had relocated their children to other Kenyan towns while they pursued education or training in schools and colleges. The returnees understood this as a livelihood strategy because of the employment opportunities accessible mainly to the educated and skilled Sudanese. Indeed, it was found out that the employees in most of the UN agencies and NGOs working in Twic East, Duk and Bor Counties were returnees from Kenya and Uganda.

### *5.4.9 Migration*

Another livelihood strategy employed by returnees was internal rural to urban and urban to urban migration, particularly among the youthful, educated and skilled returnees. The study found that due to limited employment opportunities in the outlying villages and *Payams* of Twic East and Duk Counties, many of the educated and skilled returnee youth were migrating to nearby and far-off market and town centres such of Panyagor in search of employment and where living conditions almost mirror those they left in exile. Some of them were migrating from the smaller urban centres further south to the larger urban centres of Bor and Juba. Cases of reverse migration to Kenya and Uganda were also mentioned. A few of the households interviewed acknowledged that some returnees had facilitated the return of some of their household members and friends to Kenya or Uganda, for educational reasons but also as alternative 'homes' or settlement, and in search of employment and business opportunities.

## 5.5 Nature of Social Networks among Returnees in Jonglei State

As a result of repatriation, its destabilizing effects on the livelihood-supporting social networks among the refugees were observed in the study. This applied both to those who had repatriated in an organized and facilitated manner by the UN/NGOs and Governments as well as those who had spontaneously returned on their own. This was evidenced in the scantiness of established and widely known social networks among the returnees beyond relatives, friends and neighbourhood networks. Consequently, networks of relatives, friends and neighbours among the returnees, between them and the early returnees and with the stayees were by far the most prominent forms of social networks found. Other forms of social networks among returnees included maintenance and pursuit of Kenyan-based networks, diaspora networks, self-help groups and associations and regional cum ethnic and clan-based networks.

### *5.5.1 Relatives, Friendship and Neighbourhood Networks*

As discussed further in the section below on *effects of social networks on livelihoods*, returnees were found to have established strong linkages with their relatives, friends and neighbours, linkages on which they relied heavily for accessing important livelihood resources such as shelter, food, livestock, land and seed. Returnees made decisions about their destinations in Southern Sudan based on many factors but one of the main factors was proximity to relatives who had either returned earlier or had stayed in Southern Sudan all along during the war. Other considerations included security and safety, preference of their former territory and land, availability of social and public services such as education, health, water, roads and employment opportunities. Networks with relatives, friends and neighbours were found to be instrumental in almost all livelihood aspects of the returnees. In business, most returnees operating small-scale businesses had obtained a grant or loan from a relative as start-up capital. Those in employment also reported to have benefited with information and linkages from their relatives, friends and neighbours. During their first days back in Sudan, returnees had no shelter and had to be accommodated in their relatives' compounds or shelters.

**Table 5.8: Sources of Livelihood besides the UN/NGOs and GOSS**

| *Source of Livelihood Support* | *Frequency* | *Percentage* |
|---|---|---|
| Relatives, friends and neighbours | 32 | 84.2 |
| Self-help group or association | 1 | 2.6 |
| Combination of the above | 3 | 7.9 |
| None | 2 | 5.3 |
| **Total** | **38** | **100** |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

Discussions with UNHCR, SRRC and NGO key informants all underpinned the pivotal role played by relatives in the reintegration of returnees much more compared to the assistance provided by the UN/NGOs and Government.

### *5.5.2 Kenyan-based Networks*

Another key feature of the social networks observed among returnees was their ties with Kenyan-based relatives. While in Kenya for a period of over 15 years, Southern Sudanese had established themselves well not only in Kakuma refugee camp, but also, in Nairobi, Eldoret, Nakuru and other urban places from where children and youth attended schools and institutions of higher learning. Some of the refugees in the camp had split their households, maintaining a presence both in the city/towns and in the refugee camp. Living in the city/towns was mainly possible because of remittances sent by relatives and friends in Australia, U.S.A, Canada, Europe and Sudan. Following their return, some returnee households continued to maintain the presence of some of their members in Kenyan city/towns for different complementary purposes. The most outstanding purposes were the pursuit of education and skills training and acting as 'middlemen' in the transfer of remittances from overseas to their families in Kakuma refugee camp and in Sudan. Besides these two reasons, some Southern Sudanese, particularly families and relatives of prominent SPLM and GOSS officials, had chosen to settle and live in Kenya right from the time of the civil war and even after the signing of the CPA. Returnees were asked if they keenly followed any happening in Kenya and the reasons for the same. 26% of them

responded affirmatively and cited interest in Kenyan education services, programmes and policies at all levels, Kenya's security, political and transport conditions, and level of assistance offered refugees at Kakuma refugee camp, especially food. The returnees reported that they were interested in the above issues about Kenya because of their concern for the welfare of family members, relatives and friends living in the city/towns and in Kakuma refugee camp.

### *5.5.3 Diaspora Networks*

As anticipated in the research design and in conformity with the reviewed literature in this study, returnees affirmed their social networks with diaspora relatives and friends. Returnees had the most networks and ties in the U.S.A. where up to 69% of the sampled households reported to have family member, relative or friend living. Australia and Canada were the next significant diaspora connections returnees reported, with 46% and 15% of them having family member (s), relatives or friends in Australia and Canada, respectively.

**Table 5.9: Diaspora Networks for Returnees**

| *Country* | *Frequency* | *Percentage** |
|---|---|---|
| Australia | 18 | 46 |
| U.S.A | 27 | 69 |
| Canada | 6 | 15 |
| Uganda | 4 | 10 |
| Europe | 2 | 5 |
| South Africa | 1 | 2.5 |
| None | 5 | 13 |

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

** Represents % of sampled households with family, relatives or friends in the stated country. Some households had relatives in more than one country.*

### *5.5.4 Self-help Groups and Associations*

There were very few self-help groups and associations found among returnees compared to refugees in Kakuma refugee camp. This could be explained by the disruption of

localized networks and patterns of association occasioned by the process of repatriation. Returnees had suddenly settled among relatives they had separated with for a long time, up to 15 years for some of them. They had also acquired new neighbours and were gradually nurturing new friendships and associations. Asked if they belonged to any social support group or association benefiting their household livelihood, only 9% of the sampled returnees responded affirmatively, against 91% who said they did not belong to any such groups or associations. Among the self-help groups reported by returnees was the Kongor Youth Association, which had been formed at Kakuma refugee camp also. Others included Duk Women Association, Norwegian People's Aid's (NPA) staff cooperative, and small church-based women groups.

### *5.5.5 Regional, Ethnic and Clan-based Networks*

The wide range of regional and clan-based groups and associations found to exist among the refugees in Kakuma refugee camp were not found to be active among returnees. This was a notable finding, particularly because it was hypothesized that refugees would most likely carry back to Sudan the breadth and wealth of their social networks. Discussions with key informants among the returnees indicated that the experience of exile was uniquely responsible for bringing out many forms of new identities and self-help ideas, initiatives and strategies. However, having returned home, the necessity of reinforced identity was weakened as there was no significant challenge to it. On the other hand, the imperative of restoring and consolidating livelihood after return was pursued mainly through two strategies: with the assistance of smaller societal units – the family, relatives and neighbours in Sudan and in the diaspora and secondly, with the humanitarian support of UN/NGOs and GOSS. The sense of freedom and belonging ushered in by the CPA and fact of having returned home after so many years had kind of attenuated the fervency that characterized the formation of regional, ethnic and clan-based networks in exile. In the place of micro identity and self-help initiatives, the returnees reported struggling with the necessity of consolidating their livelihoods and reintegrating into the new Southern Sudan.

## 5.6 Effects of Social Networks on Returnees' Livelihoods

Social networks were found to serve the returnees in quite similar ways as the refugees. One of their primary effects on returnee livelihoods was found to be the provision of a safety net mechanism that facilitated returnee households to re-orient with life and livelihood challenges in South Sudan. This was mainly offered by the networks of relatives, friends and neighbours of the returnees, and their Kenyan-based and diaspora networks. The support offered by these networks to returnee households can be characterized as a 'safety net'. This is because it was called for and offered as a rescue plan, to help them cope with crises. The support also complemented the efforts of returnee households to re-establish stable livelihoods themselves. Besides offering safety net effects to returnees' livelihoods, social networks also facilitated cultural and traditional reintegration into the community for returnees, some of whom had lost the connection with their original culture, customs and practices.

Social networks also affected returnee households' choice of livelihood strategies and activities. The socio-economic status of the strongest networks of returnee households influenced their livelihood strategies, their access to education and healthcare and general livelihood security. These socio-economic characteristics included educational attainment, possession of skills, training, experience and employment in GOSS or UN/NGOs, and the level of international exposure. This was because of the resourcefulness of such social networks, both materially and in terms of ideas. Another major effect of social networks on returnee livelihoods was strengthening of people's cooperative capacities, reinforcement of unifying identities, adoption of foreign livelihood practices such as business culture, languages and formation of formal civil society organizations.

**Box 5.1: Effects of Social Networks on Returnee Livelihoods**

***Effects of social networks on returnee livelihoods***

*Safety net*

- Coping with the disruptions of return

*Cultural reintegration*

- Fulfilment of traditional obligations and cultural reintegration

*Livelihood effects*

- Shelter and accommodation support
- Restocking support
- Maintenance and protection of land and livestock rights
- Sustained channels for receiving remittances
- Human capital development - education and health care development

*Social capital development*

- Political and social development ideas
- Forging of global and unifying identities
- Foreign cultural assimilation and adoption e.g. business skills

*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

### *5.6.1 Safety Net Effects*

Returnee households reported struggling on their own initiatives and efforts to reintegrate and to become self-reliant. However, because of their unfamiliarity with the livelihood circumstances of Southern Sudan and lack of basic necessities, such as shelter, they had to seek the assistance of their networks and of the GOSS, UN and NGOs. At the time of the fieldwork, some returnees were found staying in their relatives' compounds with temporary shelters. Others were living with relatives in their shelters while they struggled to construct their own.

### *5.6.2 Cultural Reintegration*

Most (92%) of the returnee households interviewed acknowledged receiving support for restoring and maintaining cultural and traditional obligations and rights. This support

enabled returnee households to become culturally functional. It is noteworthy that the line between culture and livelihood is so thin among the Dinka. As one returnee commented, *one cannot possibly attain livelihood security if they operate outside of the Dinka culture*. Returnees therefore took it as a livelihood objective the imperative of quickly and successfully reintegrating culturally. This integration included attending to welcoming and cleansing rituals, recognition and re-unification with relatives, in-laws and members of the clan with whom they separated for long, and obtaining a briefing of the significant cultural and customary happenings during their stay in exile. Some of the returnees were given their entitlement in terms of bride price, which had been claimed in their name while they were away in exile. Others had married while in exile but had not completed the due process according to Dinka customs. They had to get the assistance of their relatives to complete the process and attain cultural compliance. So while social networks facilitated returnees' cultural compliance, they were simultaneously exerting their effects on returnees' livelihood opportunities in the deeply cultural cattle economy of the Dinka community.

### *5.6.3 Effects on Livelihoods*

Returnees' close associates offered them crucial livelihood and settlement support. Provision of shelter stood out as one of the most important livelihood-cum-settlement support reportedly received by about 60% of the interviewed returnees. The fact that returnee households were offered shelter by their relatives, friends and neighbours was a significant livelihood boost, as it enabled them prioritize expenditure and allocate scarce resources to the most pressing and urgent livelihood needs – which were mainly food, clothing, household items such as beddings and kitchen utensils and farming tools. The hosts either allocated returnee households space within the homesteads, where returnees temporarily settled, or fully accommodated them in their own shelters. At the time of the fieldwork the long rainy season, which is usually between May and September, was only a month away. The research sites are known to experience extremely wet and prolonged rainy seasons, as in many other parts of Southern Sudan, necessitating access to or

ownership of reliable shelter. The cost of constructing typical[7] shelters in the research sites was found to be considerably high, particularly for the fresh returnees without or with little money, construction experience and mastery of local conditions that would enable them to purchase or harvest locally available construction materials. The researcher observed that some returnees had carried shelter materials, mainly iron sheets and doors, which they recovered from their former shelters at Kakuma refugee camp. Provision of shelter and accommodation by kins and friends therefore helped to cushion returnees from livelihood shocks and vulnerabilities they would otherwise have been exposed to.

Returnees reported receiving support from local and diaspora networks to restock and to keep cattle. Though 31% of the interviewed returnees acknowledged ownership of cattle, they did not look after the cattle themselves. Instead, they had the cattle in the custody of their relatives, friends and other networks, mainly because they did not have as many cattle and/or they had little or no experience as cattle keepers. About 51% of the interviewed returnees also reported that they were aware fellow returnees had placed their livestock with *stayee* associates or early returnees. Ownership of cattle was found to be very significant for attaining a secure livelihood among the returnees in the outlying villages of Twic East and Duk Counties. The situation was different with the more youthful population of returnees around the market centres and urban areas of the same Counties. Some returnees reported to have acquired cattle through the cultural practice of bride-price payment. This customary practice benefited households both in the event of their own daughter's marriage and in the event of their relatives' daughters' marriage. According to key informants among returnees, very few returnees had purchased cattle from remittances received from networks in Sudan and in the diaspora. This was because of very low supply of cattle in the market against high demand, which had caused a surge in the prices of cattle, to as high as U.S. $ 700 for a heifer, the most sought-after type of cattle.

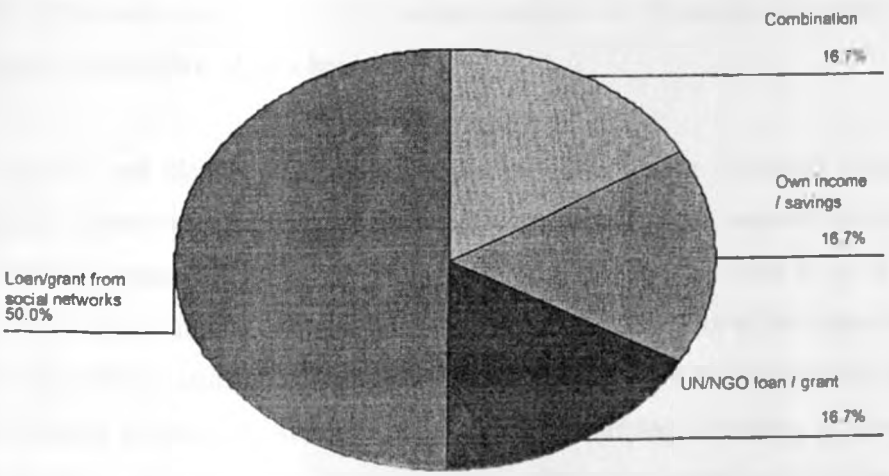
[7] Typical local shelters were round shaped mud-walled and grass thatched structures. The walls and roofs are made of poles and grass harvested from the natural forests or bought from vendors in the market. Piles of construction grass were observed around many households. Some of the shelters were being repaired in preparation for the rainy season.

Close social networks enabled returnees to maintain and protect their land and livestock rights. The two were established to be crucial assets essential for establishing a secure livelihood in most parts of Southern Sudan. 49% of the respondents reported having owned livestock in Sudan while they were still in Kenya. Most of them (38%) had left the livestock in the custody of a close and trusted associate, mostly relatives or friends. Others had kept visiting Sudan, split their households or practiced a combination of all these strategies to maintain their ownership rights. These facts indicate the very crucial role and effects of social networks on returnee livelihoods.

With the help of networks in other parts of Sudan and Kenya, returnees sustained channels for receiving remittances from the Sudan, Kenya and overseas. These remittances helped the returnees to settle and consolidate their livelihoods. Returnees' livelihoods benefited from social networks as sources and conduits of remittances. Respondents were asked if their relatives, friends and other associates had provided them assistance to repatriate or settle. 42% acknowledged having received support inform of money with which to buy food, clothing, household items, pay for education and start up small-scale businesses. Remittances invested in education, skills training and healthcare had the effect of developing human capital for the returnees and their children, some of who were left or sent back to Kenyan institutions. The researcher talked to staff of NGOs at Panyagor in Twic East who had either already sent part of the families/children to school in Kenya, or were in the process of doing so. One of their key reasons for sending family/children to Kenya was to take advantage of the presence of their Sudanese friends and relatives in Kenya to access better quality education and training. The researcher also visited a health centre in Duk County (Payuel), where an association of Sudanese youth originally from Duk but resettled in the U.S.A. had contributed funds for the construction, equipping and day-to-day running of the best health facility in Duk County. This health investment, established by a social network unified by their common place of origin, had immensely improved the quality of life of the local population, most of which was composed of returnees.

Access to employment opportunities for returnees was a valuable opportunity to achieve individual and household livelihood security. The study was also interested in finding out if employed returnees had been assisted to get jobs by their social networks. Only 41% of the sampled returnees reported to be employed, most of them (75%) by GOSS while 25% were employed by the UN/NGOs. Of the employed returnees, 31% acknowledged that their relatives, co-ethnics, friends and neighbours had played some role (s) in enabling them secure employment. These roles included providing information, contacts and linkages, material support and 'pushing' them through to the job. Another livelihood effect of social networks on the livelihoods of returnees was the provision of support to start-up small-scale businesses. While most returnees operating small-scale businesses said they were the source of the business idea themselves, most of them obtained start-up capital in the form of grants or loans from their close associates.

**Figure 5.6: Source of Business Capital**




*Source: Fieldwork Findings, 2008*

### *5.6.4 Social Capital Development Effects*

The study found that strong networks of relatives, friends and neighbours among returnees and between returnees and host or stayee communities formed the foundation

for future cooperation and self-help initiatives. These have far-reaching positive effects on returnees' and hosts' livelihoods. The element of reciprocity was found to be very strong among the returnees and the host or stayee community. Households perceived it as their obligation to support other households either to return past support or in the hope that they too would be supported at a crucial moment in future. The spirit of mutual trust and support revolved mainly around welfare and livelihood issues for smaller and localized networks of relatives, friends and neighbours. However, because of foreign exposure and experience, particularly with regards to participating in formal and registered groups and associations in Kenya and overseas, the researcher envisages a proliferation of formal, global and multi-ethnic networks of Southern Sudanese in the near-future. These would not only address welfare and livelihood concerns of members, but also, extend to address topical societal challenges such as peaceful co-existence, democratization, social and economic development and Sudan's governance and political course. Evolving from micro entities primarily concerned with the livelihood basics of food, shelter and clothing among members of primary groups, social networks gradually transform themselves into strong civil society entities with objectives extending beyond livelihoods and welfare of members.

The regional and clan-based type of networks found among returnees championed livelihoods improvement, education and health care development, peaceful co-existence and solidarity among their members and between their members and those of similar networks as their main objectives. Other objectives of identified social networks included spiritual growth and cultural promotion and preservation. These objectives were reported to be inclining towards the formation of global and unifying identities, as opposed to retaining their original tribal and clan identities. This transformation within the social networks of Southern Sudanese has a positive effect of increasing the possibilities for households to secure their livelihoods by participating and accessing opportunities and resources from wider and more resourceful social networks. Some of the interviewed returnees gave the example of having learnt business skills and culture in Kenya as a result of interacting with enterprising Kenyans and refugees from other countries, particularly Ethiopia and Somalia.

## 5.7 Case Study: *Unstable Livelihood for a Less Networked Household*

The case history below highlights how a significant proportion of returnees are tackling the challenges of consolidating a secure livelihood and restoring or acquiring social networks essential for socio-cultural and economic reintegration.

**Box 5.2: Effects of Fewer Networks on a Female-headed Returnee Household**

Rachael Achut, not her real name, is a mother of five children, four of them below 10 years. Her daughter aged 15 years lives in Eldoret, Kenya with her uncles, Rachael's brothers. Rachael returned from Kakuma refugee camp in the beginning of 2008 through UNHCR-facilitated repatriation. She was a young girl when she and her husband fled to Kenya in 1992, alongside other Sudanese. Unfortunately, her husband passed on at Kakuma in 1995, leading to her inheritance according to Dinka customary practices by an older brother-in-law who was based in Sudan. She got three more children with her brother-in-law, but according to Rachael, he does not take full responsibility to provide and care for the family because he has his own wife and children. Because of the dream of returning home to peace and freedom after the peace agreement, Rachael decided to join her 'new husband'. It is in the brother-in-laws' compound that the researcher talked to Rachael. Her luggage and belongings brought from Kakuma were spread in the open for lack of her own shelter. This worried her a lot because the rainy season was expected within a month at the time of the interview. She said she would have to work hard to construct her own shelter because the brother-in-law was not only stretched by having to provide for his own family, old and weak, but also, a poor man. Rachael and her toddlers were struggling to get the kind of food that the children had got used to while in Kakuma, such as porridge and beans. She went out to cut grass and poles for sale in order to meet household needs for food. She borrowed milk from neighbours and had to work hard to get wood fuel, a task she did not engage in at Kakuma. Rachael had enrolled in the Young Women Education Programme at Kakuma despite being a mother and had completed a primary school course as a result. This enabled her get an incentive employment with an NGO. She hoped she would make use of her experience as a social worker to get a job in Sudan, but this was yet to happen. Rachael complained of

corruption in employment such that only people with well-connected relatives could get jobs with government and NGOs. As to whether she was active in any form of self-help group, Rachael said there were only informal self-help initiatives among relatives, friends and neighbours incorporating both returnees and stayees.

This case study highlights a female-headed household with fewer networks and ties caught in between culturally reintegrating into her community and struggling with how to achieve livelihood stability. The widow is relying on her kinship ties with the elder brother of her late husband. However, the brother-in-law is not able to fully support her because he is old and also struggling livelihood-wise. This case study highlights the plight of a significant proportion of returnee women and children whose husbands died during the war. For many of such female-headed households, relying on social networks, particularly kinship ties, friends and neighbours becomes one of their most important livelihood strategies.

## 5.8 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed and linked the experiences of Southern Sudanese in transiting from protracted camp life in Kenya to repatriation and their efforts to reintegrate and consolidate livelihoods in their homeland, Jonglei State, Southern Sudan. The returnees' most valuable sources of livelihood support were found to be the networks or ties they had maintained or established with their relatives, friends and neighbours. These were supplemented by regional and clan-based networks, some localized within Sudan while others were regional and global. Returnees hold diaspora networks with relatives, friends and co-ethnics in Kenya and Uganda within the region, and overseas in the U.S.A., Australia and Canada. These supported returnees through remittances, supply of new livelihood ideas, strategies and activities such as business, investment in human capital through education, skills and health. Social networks also expanded returnee networks and built their social capital through enhancing their cooperative capacities. Other significant sources of returnee livelihood support, the UN, NGOs and GOSS, provided partial and targeted assistance that neither covered all the essential livelihood needs, nor fully met all the needs in the aspects covered. These findings lead to the conclusion that

the study hypothesis has largely been confirmed, that is, that returnees rely mostly on their social networks to re-establish livelihoods in Southern Sudan.

# CHAPTER 6: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

## 6.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a summary of key research findings. This is followed by a discussion of the extent to which the research questions and objectives have been addressed, and the conclusions of the study. A discussion of how the conceptual linkage between social networks and livelihoods was supported by the findings of the study is then presented. Finally, issues that remain unanswered and for which further research is recommended are presented.

## 6.2 Summary of Research Findings

This study has explored the nature and effects of social networks of refugees and returnees on their livelihoods in an exile camp setting and in home–country areas of return, using the case of Southern Sudanese. Among Southern Sudanese refugees in Kenya, four broad types of social networks were found. The leading and most instrumental on their livelihoods was smaller and localized networks of relatives, friends and neighbours within the refugee camp. As a result of forced displacements, resettlement and migrations, significant numbers of Southern Sudanese have spread across the globe and have formed trans-national, ethnic and clan-based networks. These were found to be benefiting refugee and returnee individuals and households' livelihoods through the transfer of remittances, sharing and nurturing of new ideas and livelihood strategies, supporting human and social capital development and nurturing cooperative capacities. Other forms of social networks found include faith-based groups and associations and women self-help groups, both of which provided livelihood support to refugee and returnee households and individuals. Returnees were found to participate in similar types of social networks as refugees, except that the diversity and vibrancy of trans-national, ethnic and clan-based networks among returnees was less compared to the refugees. Localized networks of relatives, friends and neighbours were most prominent among returnees as well, followed by informal self-help groups and associations.

Social networks affect the livelihoods of Southern Sudanese refugees and returnees in four broad ways: by acting as coping mechanisms; by supporting livelihood restoration and improvement; by facilitating cultural integration, and nurturing social capital development. The study found out that social networks provide the first line of defence for troubled refugee and returnee livelihoods primarily by acting as social protection mechanisms or safety nets in times of severe livelihood shocks. The most vulnerable individuals and households received social protection from their social networks on a more regular basis. Refugees and returnees alike reported that they turned on their associates for help and rescue whenever they experienced livelihood shocks. Additionally, they asked for assistance from their networks to adopt and adapt new coping strategies to enable them maintain and improve their livelihoods. The returnees had the extra challenge of overcoming the livelihood disruptions brought about by the process of repatriation to Southern Sudan. Livelihood 'stability' and patterns hitherto developed and enjoyed for many years, for some up to 16 years, in Kakuma refugee camp had to be abandoned and re-established in Southern Sudan. This was not an easy task for many of the refugees-turned- returnees who had lost ties with networks and traditional livelihood activities in Sudan. After many years of aid-dependency, returnee households were found struggling to revive and re-learn self-reliance strategies as crop farming, pastoralism and hunting and gathering. To do this, they were found to rely on the scanty networks they were able to re-establish upon return, and on those they had established and carried over from living in Kenya – trans-national networks.

One of the most significant effects of social networks on Southern Sudanese refugees and returnees was the restoration, maintenance and improvement of household livelihoods. For the refugees, this took the form of exchange of food and non-food gifts by members of same networks, direct cash remittance from Sudan and overseas to purchase unmet needs and those in short supply, educational, training and health care sponsorship, supply of employment information and linkages for securing jobs. Others included sharing and exchange of business ideas, start-up capital and support in running business. They also included support in maintaining rights and claims over important livelihood assets such as land and livestock in Sudan. The returnees benefited from their social networks

through shelter and accommodation support, acquisition and maintenance of land and livestock, receiving remittances for procuring basic livelihood needs as well as supporting education, training and health care development. For both refugees and returnees, their social networks in Sudan helped them fulfil traditional obligations and to integrate culturally both while in exile and upon return. This was very instrumental for their livelihoods as the linkage between cultural practices and livelihood strategies is so strong among the Southern Sudanese Dinka community – the subject of the study.

An important livelihood effect of social networks was the enhancement of people's cooperative capacities and strengthening bonds and identities that nurture mutual support. This effect has been characterized as social capital development in the study. The experience of being in exile served to bring Southern Sudanese together to protect and promote a shared sense of solidarity, identity and belonging. Apart from providing psycho-social support, solidarity and cohesion naturally extended to entail supporting each other to maintain secure livelihoods in the light of the harsh conditions of encampment and the fact that not all of their needs were provided for by the Governments, UN and NGOs. Through formal and informal groups and associations, the refugees undertook to unite along regional, ethnic and clan lines, and to resolve inter and intra-group disputes and conflicts using formal and traditional mechanisms. Regional/ethnic networks promoted political and development ideas and initiative such as leadership development. These were directed towards improving future livelihoods of network members and the rebuilding of Southern Sudan. For the sake of their children, refugees actively engaged in traditional activities that served to preserve and promote their culture, including the language, values, beliefs and customs and overall heritage. A lot of these social capital-development initiatives were focused on the youth, who also embraced collective sports and entertainment activities. The influence of UN and NGO human rights and humanitarian principles and standards was found to have affected some of the Sudanese refugees' perspectives on gender equity and especially women empowerment. By the initiative of social networks, the youth were embracing human rights and empowerment principles. They were challenging cultural stereotypes about gender roles, and practices such as forced and early marriage, wife battery, and not-

sending girls to school, and leaving leadership roles entirely to men. The bold and transformative character of the Youth Mama association highlighted these effects of social networks on the refugees. The returnees were found to have carried over only a limited scope of these activities into Sudan. One major causative factor was the dispersal occasioned by returning to different villages distant from each other, which weakened the strong bonds established in Kakuma refugee camp. However, returnees carried with them business and agriculture skills learnt in Kakuma camp and in Kenyan colleges. Returnees were also inclined towards global and more unifying associations and identities rather than the micro ethnic and clan-based groups and identities.

## 6.3 Discussion and Conclusions

This study sought to tackle three research questions and hypotheses. The first hypothesis was that *most social networks are kinship based*. The second was that *social networks have improved the livelihoods of Southern Sudanese refugees in Kenya* and the third was that *returnees rely mostly on social networks to re-establish livelihoods in Southern Sudan*.

On whether most social networks are kinship based, the findings suggest that they are. Kinship seemed to be the foundation of most localized social networks. The study found that the most common and robust networks were those of relatives, friends and neighbours. Within the context of Kakuma refugee camp and in Southern Sudan, relatives live in common neighbourhoods and friendships naturally thrive from the kinship ties and spurred even more by proximity to each other. As discussed earlier, territories and regions in Sudan are mostly inhabited by people of one or related ethnic communities. Territories are further internally sub-divided and organized by clan and by blood and marriage ties. In many instances places are referred to by the names of the ethnic groups and clans. This is a major explanation for the proliferation of regional, ethnic and clan-based networks among the Dinka, as detailed in chapter 4 (section 4.5) and 5 (section 5.5) above. Excluding kinship as one of the factors based on which social networks are formed and maintained; very few of the identified social networks could have been

formed and can continue to thrive. The pivotal role played by blood and marriage ties therefore support the conclusion that most social networks are kinship based.

The findings are not conclusive on the proposition that social networks have improved the livelihoods of Southern Sudanese refugees in Kenya and that returnees rely mostly on social networks to re-establish livelihoods in exile. However, extensive evidence gathered from household interviews and from the key informants' interviews underscores the valuable livelihood contributions that refugee and returnee individuals and households receive from their social networks. The refugees were unanimous that humanitarian assistance provided by UNHCR and NGOs was insufficient to cater for their survival needs, let alone their livelihood improvement. Consequently, refugees reported that they are continually striving to complement UNHCR/NGOs support through self-help initiatives with their local and diaspora networks. Though they were involved in other strategies such as incentive employment and selling off part of the aid they received, much of the resources they mobilized for their day-to-day survival and for their longer-term livelihood security were attributed to their social networks. These activities included sponsorship and support for higher education and training. Returnees who repatriated through the UNHCR-facilitated programme received an assistance package to start them off. This included household and shelter kits and food for 3 months. However, this assistance was not enough to propel them to self-reliance status. Additionally, Governments and UNHCR authorities in Kakuma and in Jonglei confirmed that the proportion of returnees who had followed the UNHCR-led repatriation process was far much smaller compared to those who had spontaneously returned. This larger group did not receive the 'repatriation package'. At the time of the study the question was "how are spontaneous returnees coping with livelihood challenges?" They needed shelter and accommodation and food to survive. They also needed to culturally integrate and adapt to the circumstances many of the returnee youth found completely strange. They needed land on which to settle and to cultivate. The strongest and most common answer to these questions, based on interviews with key informants, was reliance of social networks – local and diaspora relatives and friends and neighbours. Physical observations by the

researcher also supported the assertion that returnees mostly relied on their social networks to re-establish livelihoods.

The foregoing discussion affirms the conceptual linkage between social networks and livelihoods, particularly in conflict situations. The findings have revealed the enormous potential and actual support that social networks provide to the livelihoods of forced migrants. The study has shown that in spite of displacement, harsh policies of host governments and a weak aid regime, refugees do not discard their livelihoods. On the contrary, they persistently devise new strategies, key among them being to strengthen self-help, expand the threshold of resourceful ties through resettlement and migration, and maintain instrumental livelihood networks with relatives, friends and other associates in the home-country. Upon repatriation, some of these strategies are transferred back home and adapted to new circumstances as necessary, as shown by the experience of Southern Sudanese returnees in Jonglei State. It is more empowering to the refugees and returnees to understand that among them and between them and their networks, there exist enormous resources, information and ideas for coping with assistance gaps.

### 6.4 Implications for Refugee and Returnee Assistance

Evidence from this study and past refugee repatriations illustrates the importance and value of social networks held by refugees and returnees in improving their livelihoods in exile and in facilitating their reintegration. If these social networks and their significance on livelihoods at the camp and in return areas are not understood and facilitated by Governments, the UN agencies and other local and international organizations, potentially enormous resources and opportunities for effective refugee assistance and successful reintegration of returnees may be lost or inadvertently impeded. The findings of this study imply that Governments, UN/NGOs need to facilitate and support the formation and functioning of organized self-help groups and associations that boost livelihood opportunities for refugees and returnees. However, this has to be done within the bounds of the laws of the respective countries. There can be a thin line between civil and well-meaning self-reliance groups and associations on the one hand, and subversive and clandestine political and military groups that are parties to conflict. In line with

international human rights laws, UNHCR and humanitarian NGOs should remain non-partisan and as far as they can decipher, desist from supporting subversive groupings, regardless of the livelihood benefits they deliver to refugees and returnees. The practical challenge however remains, which is, that bona fide refugees and returnees could belong to clandestine networks and still succeed to disguise it from Governments, UNHCR and NGOs. This is where Governmental security agencies ought to collaborate with protection and assistance agencies in order to isolate the criminal elements. The Kenya Refugee Act (2006) anticipates this situation and defines responsibilities and obligations of refugees in Kenya, stating that their protection is premised on their abiding to the responsibilities and duties defined under the same law.

UNHCR and NGOs could further harness the potential livelihood benefits of social networks by assisting directly affected populations – refugees and returnees, and also the indirectly affected populations – host communities. This study has shown that refugees who arrive and settle first provide a lot of support to those who come later. Again, returnees rely heavily on earlier returnees and on the *stayee* communities for a lot of livelihood support such as shelter, seeds and cultural integration. The implication for this pattern of self-help is that assistance needs to target not only the immediate/direct person of concern, but also, extend to cover those who spontaneously provide important livelihood support and meet a lot of the humanitarian assistance gaps. This support always comprises of both tangible and intangible assistance. Though intentions and programs assisting hosting and stayee communities already exist in most refugee and returnee situations, there is need to overcome fundraising and mandate hurdles that often prevent and reduce the support provided by international agencies and Governments. In Kakuma refugee camp, UNHCR was struggling with the wish to address pertinent needs of the host Turkana community in order to promote harmony and co-existence with refugees, and at the same time, trying to meet compelling refugee needs, which is the primary UNHCR's. This funding and mandate dilemma could be addressed by revitalizing joint UN agencies presence and programmes in regions hosting refugees and returnees. While this was found in Sudan, it was not as strong around Kakuma refugee camp in Turkana District, Kenya.

In view of scarcity of resources and the instrumentality of social networks on household livelihood strategies, there is merit in reviewing methods and criteria for assessing refugee and returnee vulnerability for targeting of self-reliance support. An attempt should be made to assess the extent and resourcefulness of individual and household social networks in supporting self-reliance activities. This would for example consider factors such as active participation in self-help initiatives with potential benefits. These benefits include marketing, sharing and exchange of ideas and experiences with related enterprises. By mapping out patterns of self-help, association and networking among refugees, returnees and hosting communities, it could be possible to enhance prioritization and targeting of scarce training opportunities, materials and tools for IGAs, and grants and loans for small-scale business. It will also be possible to direct support to individuals and households with the potential to succeed and at the same time most deserving of such support.

But caution must be exercised in this delicate exercise! Knowledge of an individual's or household's social networks and the potential resources accessible though them could easily be abused by refugee and returnee leaders and agency social workers. It would be a win-win situation if such information is obtained through participatory community-based assessments, where the affected persons willingly disclose their abilities and resources to their fellows and the social workers, having agreed to share the responsibility to allocate scarce resources such as grants and loans to the most deserving. In any case information about social networks and their resourcefulness need not be used to determine recipients of primary survival assistance such as food, water, health care, shelter, primary education and overall protection. For example, a refugee should not be denied support purely on the basis that they receive remittances from their networks, or because they have rich relatives. This is because the important effects of social networks on livelihoods lie not in their potential but on the actual tangible benefits accruing to the individual or household. One may have potentially resourceful or helpful relatives and associates but if they do not actually help them, then the net effects of such networks on livelihoods are minimal, if any.

Community based social assessment and targeting techniques need to be improved in prioritizing support for shelter and domestic items such as water containers, blankets, mats and kitchen sets. Provision of these supplies to refugees and fresh returnees is hardly regular and sufficient in many refugee and returnee settings. This often necessitates rigorous targeting and prioritization processes on the part of UN/NGOs, and self-help mechanisms on the part of refugees and returnees. Humanitarian agencies should seek a deeper understanding of the role of social networks in individual and household access to these supplies. With such information, it would be possible to target assistance in a manner that does not weaken refugees' own mechanisms of accessing, exchanging and sharing these scarce supplies on their own.

Southern Sudanese refugees who have been living in Kenya since 1992 started to officially repatriate to Southern Sudan following the January 2005 agreement. Their repatriation should not however, be uncritically welcomed as the desired durable solution to a protracted refugee situation. This is because repatriation in itself is 'another form of displacement', which if not well administered, could reverse gains made by refugees and returnees in livelihood consolidation following the initial flight *(see the case study in section 5.7 above)*. Therefore, while undertaking repatriation, efforts must be made to understand the social capital cumulatively acquired by refugees and to facilitate the optimal mobilization and utilization of the same in livelihood reconstruction.

To face camp-based and reintegration challenges, refugees and returnees need more than peace and financial resources, which unfortunately are often over-emphasized. They also need significant human capital i.e. people's knowledge and skills, information and health. But more 'home-grown' and therefore more sustainable, this study has shown that they need highly developed social capital. This includes people's cohesion, social ties of trust and cooperation, through which resources, mutual claims and social support are shared, exchanged and propagated.

## 6.5 Recommendations for Further Research

Further research is recommended on the overall subject of refugee livelihoods in Africa, given the often-limited resources and inadequate support provided by States and international agencies. More specific research is further recommended to understand the tangible and intangible benefits of social networks on the livelihoods of forcibly displaced populations. The livelihood benefits of both formal and informal groups and associations of forced migrants are little studied and documented particularly how and which exile networks and benefits are transferred to countries of origin upon repatriation. The current study attempted to understand how encamped refugees struggle to fulfil needs for goods and services not provided by UNHCR, Governments and NGOs, and how they cope with assistance and protection gaps and shortfalls using their own mechanisms and strategies. While substantial ground has been covered to achieve the objectives, much more intensive studies ought to be done as a follow-up. Such studies would have to target and investigate other ethnic groups of Sudanese refugees such as the Nuer, Didinga and Lotuko and possibly cover key trans-national locations with highest concentrations of Southern Sudanese, such as the U.S.A., Australia, Uganda and Canada. Studies seeking to trace and establish linkages with other regions of Southern Sudan other than Jonglei would offer a comparative perspective to the current study.

Additionally, comparative studies of refugee communities and nationalities across different refugee camps are recommended. For example, Sudanese refugees lived in more than five neighbouring countries at the height of the civil war. It could be interesting to study the kind of social networks they maintained or established in different but comparable settings, and how these in turn affected their livelihoods. Similarly, significant Somali refugees can be found in Kenyan and Ethiopian refugee camps. A comparison of the nature of the social networks they have established in different refugee camps and the impacts on their livelihoods could be instructive to humanitarian programmes, which are likely to continue assisting Somali refugees in the foreseeable future.

## REFERENCES


Akuei, S.R. (2005a). "Sudan Country Study" A part of the Report on *Informal Remittance Systems in Africa, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Countries. ESRC Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS)*, accessed at www.compas.ox.ac.uk on 30/03/2007.

Akuei, S.R (2005b). "Remittances as Unforeseen Burdens: The Livelihoods and Social Obligations of Sudanese Refugees". *Working Paper No. 18, Global Migration Perspectives*, Geneva: Global Commission on Internal Migration (GCIM), accessed at www.gcim.org on 30/03/2007.

Bascom, J (2005). "The Long, 'Last Step'? Reintegration of Repatriates in Eritrea". In *Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol 18 (2):165-180.

Bruijn, M.D, Dijk, R and Foeken, D (eds) (2001). *Mobile Africa: Changing Patterns of Movement in Africa and Beyond.* Boston: Brill.

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L., (1996). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology.* Cambridge.: *Polity*

Campbell E.H., (2006). "Urban Refugees in Nairobi: Problems of Protection, Mechanisms of Survival, and Possibilities for Integration". In *Journal of Refugee Studies 2006 19(3):396-413*

Caney, D. (ed).1998. *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods - what contribution can we make?* DFID.

Cernea, M and McDowell, C. (eds) (2000). *Risks and Reconstruction: Experiences of Resettlers and Refugees.* Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Cernea, M (2000). "Risks, Safeguards and Reconstruction: a model for population Displacement and resettlement". In Cernea. M and McDowell, C. (eds). *Risks and Reconstruction: Experiences of Resettlers and Refugees*. Washington D.C.: The World Bank.

Coleman, J (1988). "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," *American Journal of Sociology*. 94 Supplement :( pp. S95-S-120).

Daley, P (2001). "Population Displacement and the Humanitarian Aid Regime: The experience of Refugees in East Africa". In Bruijn, M.D, Dijk, R and Foeken, D (eds) (2001). *Mobile Africa: Changing Patterns of Movement in Africa and Beyond* P 195-211. Boston: Brill.

De Vriese, M (2006). *Refugee Livelihoods: A Review of Evidence*. Geneva: Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit (EPAU)/2006/04, UNHCR.

Dube, A. and Koenig, A. (2005). *Self-reliance and Sustainable Livelihoods for Refugees in Dadaab and Kakuma camps*. Final report, UNHCR/ILO.

Ellis, F., (2000). *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Grawert, E (2005). "Governance and Social Action in Sudan after the Peace Agreement of January 9, 2005: Local, National and Regional Dimensions". A Research Proposal In http://www.iwim.uni-bremen.de/africa/Sudan.Drittmittel/VW_IWIM_Sudan_CPA_Proposal.pdf

Government of Kenya (2006). *Kenya Refugee Act 2006*. Nairobi.: Government Printer

Horst, C. (2006). "Refugee livelihood: Continuity and Transformations". *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 25 (2):6-22.

Jacobsen, K. (2002). 'Livelihoods in Conflict: The Pursuit of Livelihoods by Refugees and the Impact on the Human Security of Host Communities'. *International Migration* 40(5): 95-123.

Jacobsen, K and Landau, L.B, (2003). "The Dual Imperative in Refugee Research: Some Methodological and Ethical Considerations in Social Science Research in Forced Migration". In *Disasters, 2003, 27(3): 185-206*

Jamal, A (2000). *"Minimum Standards and Essential Needs in a Protracted Refugee Situation: A Review of the UNHCR Programme in Kakuma, Kenya"*. Geneva, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Evaluation and policy analysis unit (EPAU).

Kibreab, G. (2002). "When Refugees Come Home: The Relationship Between Stayees and Returnees in Post-Conflict Eritrea". In *Journal of African Studies*, 2002, 20 (1); 53-80

Lee, J. *et al* (2005). "Networking: Social Capital and Identities in European Rural Development". In *Sociologia Ruralis*, Vol 45 (4), October 2005:269-283

Lindley, A (2007). "Remittances in Fragile Settings: The Somali Case Study". *Households in Conflict Network (HiCN) Working Paper No. 27*, Brighton: IDS Sussex.

Sommers, M (2005). *Islands of Education: Schooling, Civil War and the Southern Sudanese (1983-2004)*. Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning.

Sorensen, C (2000) "Alebu: Eritrean Refugees Return and Restore Their Livelihoods". In Cernea, M and McDowell, C. (eds). *Risks and Reconstruction: Experiences of Resettlers and Refugees*. Washington D.C.: The World Bank.

UNHCR, (2007). "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees". In http://www.unhcr.org/protect/PROTECTION/3b66c2aa10.pdf accessed 15 Jul. 08).

Van Hear, N. (2003a) "From Durable Solutions to Trans-national Relations: Home and Exile among Refugee Diaspora", UNHCR Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, *New Issues in Refugee Research Working Paper No. 83*, www.unhcr.ch.

http://www.unhcr.org/

http:/www.unsudanig.org/publications

http:/www.sudantribune.org/publications

http://cit.aed.org/forecast_sudan_faq.htm

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Questionnaire for Refugee Household Heads

Introduction

Name of interviewer …….. Date of interview: ……

Time started …….. Time finished ……

Questionnaire number: [ ]

**Part I: Introduction and socioeconomic characteristics**

| QUESTION | RESPONSE / CODE |
|---|---|
| 1. Place of interview | [1] Kakuma refugee camp, Kenya *(Specify Zone … … … … Group)*…… |
| 2. Gender of respondent | [1] Female<br>[2] Male [ ] |
| 3. Age (years) | [1] 18-25<br>[2] 26-55<br>[3] 56 + [ ] |
| 4. Marital status | [1] Single<br>[2] Married<br>[3] Widow/widower<br>[4] Separated<br>[5] Divorced [ ] |
| 5. Position in the household | [1] Father<br>[2] Mother<br>[3] Son<br>[4] Daughter [ ]<br>[5] Guardian<br>[6] Other (*specify*) …… |
| 6. Number of household members *(including respondent)* | [ ] |
| 7. Level of formal education completed. | [1] 0 Never attended school<br>[2] 0-4 Lower primary<br>[3] 5-8 Upper primary [ ]<br>[4] 9-12 Secondary<br>[5] 13-17 College or university |
| 8. Number of school years completed | [ ] |
| 9. County of origin in Jonglei state, Sudan | [1] Bor<br>[2] Pibor<br>[3] Panyagor |

| | |
|---|---|
| | [4] Duk<br>[5] Twic East [ ]<br>[6] Akobo<br>[7] Uror<br>[8] Pochalla<br>[9] Ayod<br>[10] Nyirol |

**Part II: Refugee livelihoods**

| | |
|---|---|
| 10. How did you come to Kakuma? | [1] Officially through Kenya-Sudan border<br>[2] Officially through Kenya-Uganda border<br>[3] Unofficially, helped by relative, friend or co-ethnic<br>[4] Other means *(specify)*<br>..... |
| 11. Number of years in Kakuma refugee camp | [ ] |
| 12. Current occupation | [1] UN or NGO worker<br>[2] Self-employed e.g. business person<br>[3] Volunteer or committee member<br>[4] Housewife/man<br>[5] Other (*specify*) ..... |
| 13. Main occupation before fleeing to Kenya | [1] Pastoralist<br>[2] Agro-pastoralist<br>[3] Agriculturalist (crop farmer)<br>[4] Trader/business person<br>[5] Fisher-folk<br>[6] Government employee<br>[7] Corporate worker<br>[8] Combination of the above *(specify)*.....<br>[9] Other *(specify)*..... |

**Humanitarian aid**

| | |
|---|---|
| 14. Do you receive humanitarian assistance from UN, Government & NGOs? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 15. If yes to Q15, does the assistance you receive sufficiently cater for your household needs? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 16. Explain your answer to Q16 above: ..... | |
| 17. Which essential goods and services needed by your household <u>are not/inadequately</u> provided by UN, Government and NGOs? | [1] Sugar<br>[2] Milk<br>[3] Meat<br>[4] Firewood<br>[5] Vegetables |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Circle as many as appropriate* | [6] Clothes<br>[7] Household items e.g. utensils<br>[8] Higher education<br>[9] Business capital<br>[10] Others *(specify)* ..... |
| 18. How does your household access the above goods and services? | [1] Sell part of aid/ration in order to buy<br>[2] Exchange aid/ration for needed goods / services<br>[3] Buy with remittances from family/friends in Sudan<br>[4] Buy with remittances from family/friends in resettled countries<br>[5] Borrow from relatives, co-ethnics, friends and neighbors in the camps<br>[6] Other *specify*<br>..... |
| 19. Apart from the UN, Government and NGOs, from whom else do you receive any support, in cash or in-kind? | [1] Relatives/kins<br>[2] Friends<br>[3] Neighbors<br>[4] Co-ethnics<br>[5] Association or self-help group you belong to<br>[6] Association or self-help group of a HH member<br>[7] Charity organization *specify* (.....)<br>[8] Other (*specify*) ..... |
| 20. Type of assistance received from sources in Q19 above | [1] Food<br>[2] Clothing<br>[3] Educational e.g. scholarship, fees<br>[4] Healthcare<br>[5] Business capital<br>[6] Household items<br>[7] Other *specify* ..... |

**Business and trading activities**

| | |
|---|---|
| 21. What kind of activity (ies) do you or any member of your household engage in to supplement the aid you receive? *Explain*..... | |
| 22. Do you or any member of your household run any business or trading activity? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No<br>[ ] |
| 23. If yes to Q22, specify type of business. | ..... |
| 24. Source of business idea | [1] Own initiative or creativity<br>[2] UN/NGO training or advice<br>[3] Imitated a friend, relative or neighbor<br>[4] Inspired by a self-help group or association<br>[5] Other *specify* ..... |
| 25. Source of business capital | [1] Own income or savings |

| | |
|---|---|
| | [2] UN/NGO loan or grant<br>[3] Loan/grant from friend, relative or neighbor<br>[4] Loan/grant from self-help group or association<br>[5] Other *specify* ..... |
| 26. Whom did you involve or consult at the time of starting the business? | [1] Household members only<br>[2] Relatives<br>[3] Friends<br>[4] Neighbors<br>[5] Co-ethnics<br>[6] UN/NGOs<br>[7] Others *specify* .....<br>*Indicate priority order if more than one* |
| 27. What role (s) did your HH members, relatives, friends, co-ethnics play? | [1] Provided business idea<br>[2] Provided business capital partially or fully<br>[3] Helped in marketing the business<br>[4] Other *(specify)*.....<br>*Indicate priority order if more than one* |
| 28. Do you currently involve or consult your HH members, relatives, friends, co-ethnics, in running your business? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No<br>[ ] |
| 29. If yes to Q 28, what role (s) do they play in support of your business? | [1] Help in marketing<br>[2] They are committed customers<br>[3] Provide free or cheap labour<br>[4] Provide cheap loans<br>[5] Lend money for business expansion<br>[6] Other *(specify)* .....<br>*Indicate priority order if more than one* |
| 30. Has your business faced a major crisis before? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 31. From whom did you seek most crucial support when your business faced a major crisis? | [1] UN/NGOs<br>[2] Household members<br>[3] Members of extended family<br>[4] Friends<br>[5] Neighbors<br>[6] Kins-people and co-ethnics<br>[7] Other *(specify)* .....<br>*Indicate priority order if more than one* |

**Incentive wage and employment**

| | |
|---|---|
| 32. Are you or any member of your household engaged in any incentive work? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No<br>[ ] |
| 33. If yes to Q33, specify name of employer | [1] UN<br>[2] NGO *specify* .....<br>[3] Private business/company<br>[4] Other *specify* ..... |

| | |
|---|---|
| 34. Type of job | [1] Social worker<br>[2] Cleaner<br>[3] Community health worker<br>[4] Technician<br>[5] Teacher<br>[6] Cook/cleaner<br>[7] Security<br>[8] Other *specify* ..... |
| 35. Did your relatives, co-ethnics, friends or neighbors play any role in your access to above job? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No<br>[ ] |
| 36. If yes what role did your relatives, co-ethnics, friends or neighbors play? | [1] Provided information<br>[2] Provided links and networks<br>[3] Provided material support e.g. accommodation, transport<br>[4] Other *(specify)* .....<br>*Indicate priority order if more than one* |

**Pastoralism and farming**

| | |
|---|---|
| 37. Do you keep any livestock? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 38. Type and number of livestock | |
| 39. Do you keep any poultry? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 40. Type and number of poultry | |
| 41. Have you placed your poultry/livestock in the custody of a friend or associate in the hosting community? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 42. Are you aware if there are refugees who have placed their poultry or livestock with friends, relatives or any other associates in the host community? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 43. Do you own or have rights to any livestock in Sudan? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 44. If yes how do you maintain your claim/rights over the livestock while in exile? | [1] Keep visiting Sudan to check on the livestock<br>[2] Split household, some members in Sudan<br>[3] Left livestock in the custody of a trusted relative friend or neighbor<br>[4] Other *(specify)*..... |

| | |
|---|---|
| 45. Do you have access to or ownership rights over any piece of land in Sudan? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 46. If yes how do you maintain your claim/rights over the land while in exile? | [1] Keep visiting Sudan to check on the livestock<br>[2] Split household, some members in Sudan<br>[3] Left livestock in the custody of a trusted relative friend or neighbor<br>[4] Other *(specify)*..... |

**Human capital**

| | |
|---|---|
| 47. Do you or any member of your household possess any marketable[8] skills or qualifications? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 48. If yes, in what field or profession? | .....<br>.....<br>*Write as many as HH members posses* |
| 49. Place where skill / qualification was acquired | [1] Sudan<br>[2] Kenya<br>[3] Neighboring country *specify* .....<br>[4] Other *specify* .....<br>*Circle more than one if appropriate* |
| 50. Did you acquire the skill / qualification as a refugee or as a free citizen? | [1] Refugee<br>[2] Citizen [ ] |
| 51. If you acquired skill or qualification as a refugee, who supported you? | [1] Self or own household<br>[2] Relatives and co-ethnics<br>[3] Self-help group or association<br>[4] Friends and neighbors<br>[5] UN/NGO<br>[6] Other *specify* .....<br>*Circle more than one if appropriate* |
| 52. What role did your relatives, co-ethnics, friends or neighbors play in your acquisition of skills and qualifications? | [1] Provided inspiration and moral support<br>[2] Provided financial and material support e.g. accommodation, transport<br>[3] Provided links, information for scholarships and other educational aid<br>[4] Other *(specify)*<br>..... |

[8] Professional skills or qualifications

| | |
|---|---|
| 53. Why did you/your household members decide to acquire the skills/qualifications above? | [1] In order to secure future employment and income<br>[2] In order to achieve professional success<br>[3] Simply took up the available opportunity<br>[4] Other *(specify)* ..... |

**Coping mechanisms**

| | |
|---|---|
| 54. Which shocks or problems affected your household's wellbeing in the past one year? | [1] Insecurity<br>[2] Aid reduction e.g. food rations reduction<br>[3] School fees burden<br>[4] Debt repayment burden<br>[5] Ill health<br>[6] Loss of breadwinner<br>[7] Others *(specify)* .....<br>*Circle those mentioned, write new ones* |
| 55. In what ways did the shocks/problems affect your household's wellbeing? ..... | |
| 56. How did your household cope with the shocks/problems? | [1] Migrated to less insecure or less affected area<br>[2] Got help of relatives, neighbors, friends in camp<br>[3] Got remittances from relatives and friends abroad<br>[4] Got help from a local self-help group/association<br>[5] Sold part of aid in order to cover priority needs<br>[6] Reduced consumption<br>[7] Started a business<br>[8] Other *specify* .....<br>.....<br>*Tick those mentioned, write new ones* |

**Part III: Social Networks in Exile**

| | |
|---|---|
| 57. Do you live with all your household members in Kakuma camp? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 58. If not all your household members are with you in Kakuma, where do they live? | [1] Kenya city/town *specify* .....<br>[2] Sudan *circle: - south or north*<br>[3] Neighboring country *specify* .....<br>[4] Far-away country *specify* .....<br>[5] Other *specify* ..... |
| 59. Do you belong to any self-help or social support group or association that benefits your household livelihood? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 60. If yes to Q59 above, name the group (s) or association (s). | ..... .....<br>..... ..... |
| 61. Explain how your household benefits from the association or group? ..... | |
| 62. Are you aware of any social networks e.g. welfare groups, women groups, professional, web (internet) associations | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |

| | |
|---|---|
| among southern Sudanese refugees | |

63. If yes to Q63, complete table:

| a) Name/title of network | b) Main objective | c) How it supports/improves your household's livelihood |
|---|---|---|
| | | |
| | | |

| | |
|---|---|
| 64. In the past one year, have you given any support in cash or in-kind to another refugee household/individual? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |

65. If yes in Q65, what kind of support/items did you give? .....
.....

| | |
|---|---|
| 66. What is your relationship with the recipient (s)? | [1] Relative<br>[2] Friend<br>[3] Neighbor<br>[4] Poor/vulnerable HH/individual<br>[5] Self-help group member<br>[6] Other *specify* ..... |
| 67. Do you expect them to reciprocate at a later time? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 68. In the past one year, have you received any support in cash or in-kind from another refugee household/individual? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |

69. If yes in Q68, what kind of support/items did you receive?
.....
.....
....

| | |
|---|---|
| 70. What is your relationship with the provider (s)? | [1] Relative<br>[2] Friend<br>[3] Neighbor<br>[4] Poor/vulnerable HH/individual<br>[5] Self-help group member<br>[6] Other *specify* ..... |
| 71. Do they expect you to reciprocate at a later time? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |

**Social Networks with southern Sudan**

| | |
|---|---|
| 72. Do you have relatives, friends or associates living in Sudan? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 73. If yes, does your household receive any support – in cash or in-kind from relatives, co-ethnics, friends or associates | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |

| | |
|---|---|
| living in Sudan? | |
| 74. If yes to Q73, what is the type of help/support received?<br><br>[1] Cash (money)<br>[2] Education and training<br>[3] Protection of traditional, cultural obligations and claims<br>[4] Employment information/ securing<br>[5] Urban migration/settling<br>[6] Overseas migration/settling<br>[7] Other *specify* ..... | <br><br>Yes [ ] No [ ]<br>Yes [ ] No [ ]<br><br>Yes [ ] No [ ]<br><br>Yes [ ] No [ ]<br>Yes [ ] No [ ]<br>Yes [ ] No [ ] |
| 75. Do you follow happenings and other developments in your home area in southern Sudan? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |

76. If yes, what kinds of happenings are you mainly interested in and why?

| *Type of happenings interested in* | *Reason(s) for interest* |
|---|---|
| | |
| | |

| | |
|---|---|
| 77. Are you able to fulfill important cultural and traditional obligations *(e.g. bride price payment, funeral rites, initiation ceremonies etc)* despite being in exile? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |

78. If yes to Q77, how do you achieve it? .....
.....

79. If no to Q78, explain why .....
.....

**Diaspora networks**

| | |
|---|---|
| 80. In which countries other than Kenya and Sudan do you have a close relative[9] living there? | [1] African *specify* .....<br>[2] Europe *specify* .....<br>[3] United States of America (U.S.A)<br>[4] Australia<br>[5] Other *specify* ..... |
| 81. How do you keep in touch with your household members in the above places? | [1] Via email and internet (web site)<br>[2] Via telephone and mobile phone<br>[3] Via mail/postal services<br>[4] Through word-of-mouth conveyance |

[9] Members of nuclear family, grand parents, uncles and aunts, first cousins and parents in-law.

| | |
|---|---|
| | [5] Through physical travel and contact<br>[6] Other *(specify)* ..... |
| 82. Have your close relatives living abroad ever assisted you in times of need at the camp? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 83. If yes, what type of assistance did they provide? | [1] Food<br>[2] Clothing<br>[3] Educational e.g. scholarship, fees<br>[4] Healthcare<br>[5] Business capital<br>[6] Household items<br>[7] Other *specify* ..... |
| 84. What kind of support do you expect to receive from them if you decide to repatriate? | .....<br>..... |

**Appendix 2: Interview Schedule for Refugee Key Informants**

Name and title of key informant: .....

Name of interviewer: .....

Venue: ..... Date: .....

Time started: ..... Time finished: .....

1. What are the main livelihood activities and challenges of refugees in Kenya?
2. Which strategies have Southern Sudanese refugees adopted to cope with the challenges of maintaining a livelihood in exile?
3. What are the main unmet needs of refugees in Kakuma refugee camp?
4. What activities do the refugees undertake to fulfil their unmet needs?
5. Which are the most prominent types of self-help groups, associations and social ties that refugees subscribe to?
6. How do the self-help groups, associations and ties benefit refugees' livelihoods?
7. How does the spread of Southern Sudanese in Africa, Europe and America as a result of seeking refuge, resettlement and migration impact on the livelihoods of refugees in Kakuma refugee camp?
8. How significant is the livelihood support accessed by refugees through their formal and informal social networks?

**Appendix 3: Questionnaire for Returnee Household Heads**

Introduction

Name of interviewer …….. Date of interview: ……

Time started …… Time finished ……

Questionnaire number: [ ]

**Part I: Introduction and socioeconomic characteristics**

| QUESTION | RESPONSE / CODE |
|---|---|
| 85. Place of interview | Jonglei State South Sudan; *(Specify County*<br>[1] Bor<br>[2] Pibor<br>[3] Kurfulus<br>[4] Duk<br>[5] Twic East [ ]<br>[6] Akobo<br>[7] Uror<br>[8] Pochalla<br>[9] Ayod<br>[10] Nyirol |
| 86. Gender of respondent | [1] Female<br>[2] Male [ ] |
| 87. Age (years) | [1] 18-25<br>[2] 26-55<br>[3] 56 + [ ] |
| 88. Marital status | [1] Single<br>[2] Married<br>[3] Widow/widower<br>[4] Separated<br>[5] Divorced [ ] |
| 89. Position in the household | [1] Father<br>[2] Mother<br>[3] Son<br>[4] Daughter [ ]<br>[5] Guardian<br>[6] Other (*specify*) …… |
| 90. Number of household members *(including respondent)* | [ ] |
| 91. Level of formal education completed by respondent. | [1] Never attended school<br>[2] 0-4 Lower primary<br>[3] 5-8 Upper primary [ ] |

| | |
|---|---|
| | [4] 9-12 Secondary<br>[5] 13-17 College or university |
| 92. Number of school years completed | [ ] |
| 93. Returnee from which place? | [1] Kakuma refugee camp I *(specify Zone ... ... ...& Group)* ... ... ...<br>[2] Dadaab refugee camp<br>[3] Kenyan town/city *(specify)* .....<br>[4] Other place *(specify)* .....<br>[ ] |
| 94. Length of stay in Kenya (years) | [ ] |
| 95. Number of years since return | [ ] |
| 96. How did you return to South Sudan? | [1] Facilitated repatriation by UNHCR/GOSS/GOK<br>[2] Self-assisted repatriation (i.e. informed authorities)<br>[3] Spontaneous repatriation i.e. unofficially<br>[4] Other means<br>*(specify)*.....<br>[ ] |

**Part II: Returnee livelihood**

| | |
|---|---|
| 97. Current occupation | [1] UN or NGO worker<br>[2] Self-employed e.g. business person<br>[3] Volunteer or committee member<br>[4] Housewife/man<br>[5] Other (*specify)*<br>.....<br>[ ] |
| 98. Main occupation while in exile in Kenya | [1] UN or NGO worker<br>[2] Self-employed e.g. business person<br>[3] Volunteer or committee member<br>[4] Housewife/man<br>[5] Other (*specify)*<br>.....<br>[ ] |
| 99. Main occupation in Sudan before fleeing to Kenya | [1] Pastoralist<br>[2] Agro-pastoralist<br>[3] Agriculturalist (crop farmer)<br>[4] Trader/business person<br>[5] Fisher-folk<br>[6] Government employee [ ]<br>[7] Corporate worker<br>[8] Combination of the above<br>*(specify)*.....<br>[9] Other *(specify)*..... |

**Humanitarian aid**

| | |
|---|---|
| 100. Do you receive humanitarian assistance from UN, Government, NGOs, and Churches? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 101. If yes to Q16, does the assistance you receive sufficiently cater for your household needs? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 102. Explain your answer to Q17 above:<br>.....<br>.....<br>..... | |
| 103. Which essential goods and services needed by your household <u>are not/inadequately</u> provided by UN, Government, Churches and NGOs?<br><br>*(Circle as many as appropriate, indicate order of priority)* | [1] Sugar<br>[2] Milk<br>[3] Meat<br>[4] Firewood<br>[5] Vegetables<br>[6] Clothes<br>[7] Household items e.g. utensils<br>[8] Higher education<br>[9] Business capital<br>[10] Others *(specify)* ..... |
| 104. How does your household access the above goods and services?<br><br>*(Circle as many as appropriate, indicate order of priority)* | [1] Sell part of aid/ration in order to buy<br>[2] Exchange aid/ration for needed goods / services<br>[3] Buy with remittances from family/friends in Sudan<br>[4] Buy with remittances from family/friends in resettled countries<br>[5] Borrow from relatives, co-ethnics, friends and neighbours in the camps<br>[6] Other<br>*specify*..... |
| 105. Apart from the UN, Government, Churches and NGOs, from whom else do you receive any support, in cash or in-kind?<br><br>*(Circle as many as appropriate, indicate order of priority)* | [1] Relatives/kins<br>[2] Friends<br>[3] Neighbours<br>[4] Co-ethnics<br>[5] Association or self-help group you belong to<br>[6] Association or self-help group of a HH member<br>[7] Charity organization *specify* (.....)<br>[8] Other (*specify*) ..... |
| 106. Type of assistance received from sources in Q21 above<br><br>*(Circle as many as appropriate, indicate* | [1] Food<br>[2] Clothing<br>[3] Educational e.g. scholarship, fees<br>[4] Healthcare |

| | |
|---|---|
| *order of priority)* | [5] Business capital<br>[6] Household items<br>[7] Other *specify* ..... |

**Business and trading activities**

| | |
|---|---|
| 107. Do you or any member of your household run any business or trading activity? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No<br>[ ] |
| 108. If yes to specify type of business. | ..... |
| 109. Source of business idea | [1] Own initiative or creativity<br>[2] UN/NGO training or advice<br>[3] Imitated a friend, relative or neighbour<br>[4] Inspired by a self-help group or association<br>[5] Other *specify* ..... |
| 110. Source of business capital<br><br>*(Circle as many as appropriate, indicate order of priority)* | [1] Own income or savings<br>[2] UN/NGO loan or grant<br>[3] Loan/grant from friend, relative or neighbour<br>[4] Loan/grant from self-help group or association<br>[5] Other *specify* ..... |
| 111. Who did you/HH member involve or consult at the time of starting the business?<br><br>*Indicate priority order if more than one response* | [1] Household members only<br>[2] Relatives<br>[3] Friends<br>[4] Neighbours<br>[5] Co-ethnics<br>[6] UN/NGOs<br>[7] Others *specify* ..... |
| 112. What role (s) did your HH members, relatives, friends, co-ethnics play fir the start of the business?<br>*Indicate priority order if more than one* | [1] Provided business idea<br>[2] Provided business capital partially or fully<br>[3] Helped in marketing the business<br>[4] Other *(specify)*..... |
| 113. Do you currently involve or consult your HH members, relatives, friends, co-ethnics, in running the business? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No<br>[ ] |
| 114. If yes, what role (s) do they currently play in support of your business?<br><br>*Indicate priority order if more than one response* | [1] Help in marketing<br>[2] They are committed customers<br>[3] Provide free or cheap labour<br>[4] Provide cheap loans<br>[5] Lend money for business expansion<br>[6] Other *(specify)* ..... |
| 115. Has your business faced a major crisis before? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 116. From whom did you seek | [1] UN/NGOs |

| | |
|---|---|
| most crucial support when your business faced a major crisis?<br><br>*Indicate priority order if more than one* | [2] Household members<br>[3] Members of extended family<br>[4] Friends<br>[5] Neighbours<br>[6] Kins-people and co-ethnics<br>[7] Other *(specify)* …… |

**Employment**

| | |
|---|---|
| 117. Are you or any member of your household engaged in any employment? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 118. If yes, specify name of employer | [1] UN<br>[2] NGO *specify* ……..<br>[3] Private business/company<br>[4] Other *specify* ……..<br>[ ] |
| 119. Type of job | [1] Social worker<br>[2] Cleaner<br>[3] Community health worker<br>[4] Technician<br>[5] Teacher<br>[6] Cook/cleaner<br>[7] Security<br>[8] Other *specify* ……..<br>[ ] |
| 120. Did your relatives, co-ethnics, friends or neighbours play any role in your access to above job? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No<br>[ ] |
| 121. If yes what role did your relatives, co-ethnics, friends or neighbours play?<br><br>*Indicate priority order if more than one response* | [1] Provided information<br>[2] Provided crucial links and networks<br>[3] Provided material support e.g. accommodation, transport, storage…<br>[4] Other (*specify)* …… |

**Pastoralism and farming**

| | |
|---|---|
| 122. Do you keep any livestock? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 123. Type and number of livestock<br>*Do not insist to get number!* | Type……..<br>Number [ ] |
| 124. Do you keep any poultry? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 125. Type and number of poultry<br>*Do not insist to get number!* | Type……..<br>Number [ ] |
| 126. Have you placed your | [1] Yes |

| | |
|---|---|
| poultry/livestock in the custody of a friend or associate in the stayee[10] community? | [2] No [ ] |
| 127. Are you aware if there are returnees who have placed their poultry or livestock with friends, relatives or any other associates in the stayee community? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 128. Did you own or have rights to any livestock while in exile? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 129. If yes how did you maintain your claim/rights over the livestock while in exile?<br><br>*Indicate priority order if more than one response* | [1] Kept visiting Sudan to check on the livestock<br>[2] Split household, some members in Sudan<br>[3] Left livestock in the custody of a trusted relative friend or neighbour<br>[4] Other *(specify)*..... |
| 130. Do you have access or ownership rights over any piece of land? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 131. Did you have access or ownership rights to land while in exile? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 132. If yes how did you maintain your claim/right over the land while in exile?<br><br>*Indicate priority order if more than one response* | [1] Kept visiting Sudan to check on the land<br>[2] Split household, some members in Sudan<br>[3] Left land in the custody of a trusted relative friend or neighbour<br>[4] Other *(specify)*..... |

**Human capital**

| | |
|---|---|
| 133. Do you or any member of your household possess any professional skills or qualifications? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 134. If yes, in what field or profession?<br><br>*Write as many as HH members posses* | .....<br>.....<br>..... |
| 135. Place where skill / qualification was acquired | [1] Sudan<br>[2] Kenya |

[10] Those who stayed behind in South Sudan during the war and conflict

| | |
|---|---|
| *Circle more than one if appropriate* | [3] Neighbouring country *specify* .....<br>[4] Other *specify* ..... |
| 136. Did you acquire the skill / qualification as a refugee or as a free citizen? | [1] Refugee<br>[2] Citizen [ ] |
| 137. If you acquired skill or qualification as a refugee, who supported you?<br><br>*Circle more than one if appropriate* | [1] Self or own household<br>[2] Relatives and co-ethnics<br>[3] Self-help group or association<br>[4] Friends and neighbours<br>[5] UN/NGO<br>[6] Other *specify* ..... |
| 138. What role did your relatives, co-ethnics, friends or neighbours play in your acquisition of skills and qualifications?<br><br>*Circle more than one if appropriate, indicate priority order* | [1] Provided inspiration and moral support<br>[2] Provided financial and material support e.g. accommodation, transport<br>[3] Provided links, information for scholarships and other educational aid<br>[4] Other *(specify)*<br>..... |

**Coping mechanisms**

| | |
|---|---|
| 139. Which shocks or problems affected your household's wellbeing in the past one year or since your return?<br><br>*Circle those mentioned, write new ones* | [1] Insecurity<br>[2] Aid reduction e.g. food rations reduction<br>[3] School fees burden<br>[4] Debt repayment burden<br>[5] Ill health<br>[6] Loss of breadwinner<br>[7] Others *(specify)* ..... |
| 140. In what ways did the shocks/problems affect your household's wellbeing?<br>.....<br>.....<br>..... | |
| 141. How did your household cope with the shocks/problems?<br><br>*Tick those mentioned, write new ones* | [1] Migrated to less insecure or less affected area<br>[2] Got help of relatives, neighbours, friends in camp<br>[3] Got remittances from relatives and friends abroad<br>[4] Got help from a local self-help group/association<br>[5] Sold part of aid in order to cover priority needs<br>[6] Reduced consumption<br>[7] Started a business<br>[8] Other *specify* .....<br>..... |

**Part III: Returnees Social Networks**

| | |
|---|---|
| 142. Do you live together with all your household members? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 143. If not living with some of | [1] Kakuma refugee camp |

| | |
|---|---|
| your household members, where do they live? | [2] Kenya city/town *specify* .....<br>[3] Sudan city/town *specify* .....<br>[4] Neighbouring country *specify* .....<br>[5] Far-away country *specify* .....<br>[6] Other *specify* ..... |
| 144. Do you belong to any self-help or social support group or association that supports your household livelihood? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |

145. If yes, complete table:

| a) Name/title of network | b) Main objective | c) How it supports/improves your household's livelihood |
|---|---|---|
| | | |
| | | |

*Write on blank paper if space is insufficient*

| | |
|---|---|
| 146. Aware of any social networks e.g. welfare groups, women groups, professional, web (internet) associations among returnees from Kenya? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |

147. If yes, fill in the table:

| a) Name/title of network | b) Main objective | c) How it supports/improves member household livelihood |
|---|---|---|
| | | |
| | | |

*Write on blank paper if space is insufficient*

| | |
|---|---|
| 148. In the past one year, have you given any support in cash or in-kind to another returnee household/individual? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |

149. If yes, what kind of support/items did you give? .....
.....

| | |
|---|---|
| 150. What is your relationship with those you assisted?<br><br>*Circle more than one if appropriate, indicate priority* | [1] Relative<br>[2] Friend<br>[3] Neighbour<br>[4] Poor/vulnerable HH/individual<br>[5] Self-help group member<br>[6] Other *specify* ..... |
| 151. Do you expect the recipients to reciprocate at a later time? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |

| | |
|---|---|
| 152. In the past one year, have you received any support in cash or in-kind from another returnee household / individual? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 153. If yes, what kind of support/items did you receive? ..... | |
| 154. What is your relationship with the provider (s)?<br><br>*Circle more than one if appropriate, indicate priority* | [1] Relative<br>[2] Friend<br>[3] Neighbour<br>[4] Poor/vulnerable HH/individual<br>[5] Self-help group member<br>[6] Other *specify* ..... |
| 155. Do they expect you to reciprocate at a later time? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |

**Social Networks within Southern Sudan**

| | |
|---|---|
| 156. Do you have relatives, friends or associates in Southern Sudan? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 157. If yes, does your household receive any support – in cash or in-kind from relatives, co-ethnics, friends or associates living in Sudan? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 158. If yes, what is the type of help/support received?<br>i. Cash (money)<br>ii. Education and training<br>iii. Protection of traditional, cultural obligations and claims<br>iv. Employment information/ securing<br>v. Urban migration/settling<br>vi. Overseas migration/settling<br>vii. Other *specify* ..... | <br><br>Yes [ ] No [ ]<br>Yes [ ] No [ ]<br><br>Yes [ ] No [ ]<br><br>Yes [ ] No [ ]<br>Yes [ ] No [ ]<br>Yes [ ] No [ ] |
| 159. Do you have interest or follow happenings in the place of your exile? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |

160. If yes, fill table:

| *Type of happenings interested in* | *Reason(s) for interest* |
|---|---|
| | |
| | |

*Write on extra paper if space is insufficient*

**Diaspora networks**

| | |
|---|---|
| 161. In which countries other than Kenya and Sudan do you have a close relative[11] living there? | [1] Africa *specify* .....<br>[2] Europe *specify* .....<br>[3] United States of America (U.S.A)<br>[4] Australia<br>[5] Other *specify* ..... |
| 162. How do you keep in touch with your household members in the above places?<br><br>*Show priority order if more than one response* | [1] Via email and internet (web site)<br>[2] Via telephone and mobile phone<br>[3] Via mail/postal services<br>[4] Through word-of-mouth conveyance<br>[5] Through physical travel and contact<br>[6] Other *(specify)* ..... |
| 163. Did your close relatives living abroad assist you in repatriation? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 164. If yes, what type of assistance did they provide?<br><br>*Show priority order if more than one response* | [1] Food<br>[2] Clothing<br>[3] Educational e.g. scholarship, fees<br>[4] Healthcare<br>[5] Business capital<br>[6] Household items<br>[7] Other *specify* ..... |
| 165. Have your close relatives living abroad assist you to reintegrate? | [1] Yes<br>[2] No [ ] |
| 166. If yes, what type of assistance have they provided you?<br><br>*Show priority order if more than one response* | [1] Food<br>[2] Clothing<br>[3] Educational e.g. scholarship, fees<br>[4] Healthcare<br>[5] Business capital<br>[6] Household items<br>[7] Other *specify* ..... |

[11] These are members of nuclear family, grand parents, uncles and aunts, first cousins and parents in-law - people one cannot marry.

**Appendix 4: Interview Schedule for Returnee Key Informants**

Name and title of key informant:.....

Name of interviewer: .....

Venue: ..... Date: .....

Time started: ..... Time finished: .....

1. What are the main livelihood activities and challenges of returnees from Kenya?
2. Which strategies have the returnees from Kenya adopted to cope with the challenges of rebuilding livelihood in Sudan?
3. What are the main unmet needs of returnees?
4. What activities do the returnees undertake to fulfil their unmet needs?
5. Which are the most prominent types of self-help groups, associations and social ties that returnees from Kenya subscribe to?
6. How do the self-help groups, associations and ties benefit returnees' livelihoods?
7. How does the spread of Southern Sudanese in Africa, Europe and America as a result of seeking refuge, resettlement and migration impact on the livelihoods of those returning from exile?
8. How significant is the livelihood support accessed by returnees through their formal and informal social networks?