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SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
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SELF-SETTLEMENT: AN ALTERNATIVE TO REFUGEE CAMPS

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Self-Settlement: An Alternative to Refugee Camps

A Thesis submitted by
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To the Department of Political Science
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In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Has been approved by

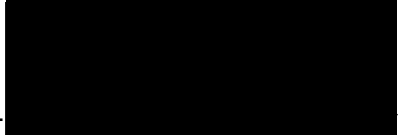
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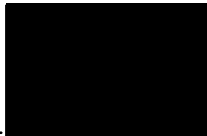
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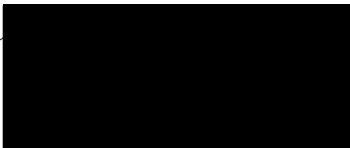
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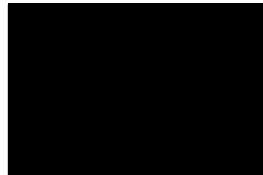
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To my parents

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

Refugees are one of the most significant concerns of our time. Millions of people have been forced to flee their homelands for reason of war and individual persecution. Today most refugees are found in the rural areas of the south where the countries that are hosting them are least able to cope with the economic challenge they entail (UNHCR 1997). According to Campbell, “most refugees are from developing areas and over 90 percent of them will stay in developing countries either by resettling in their first country of asylum or repatriating to their homeland” (Campbell 1993: 157).

The Rwanda exodus has become the reference point for most discussions of the problems of the host country in settling refugees, but in fact, Rwanda is an extraordinary case (Prunier 1999; Eriksson et al. 1996). Normally, refugees do not leave their country by the hundreds of thousands in a matter of days; rather they arrive in the host country over an extended period of time, depending on the proximity of the border (e.g. Angolan refugees in Zambia and Sierra-Leonean refugees in Guinea). In addition, assistance programs are not usually established until after a considerable lapse of time and after many of the refugees have settled themselves amongst their hosts (usually in rural villages) (e.g. Harrell-Bond 1986; 1994a; Chambers 1986). Unfortunately, the international media has been known to focus only on “...visual and

‘newsworthy’ conditions such as recent arrivals and emergency problems that are true of only a minority of African refugees” (Hansen 1992:100).

1.1.1 Refugee experience

Citizens expect that their government guarantee the needs necessary for their survival: "physical security, vital subsistence and liberty of political participation and physical movement" (Shacknove 1985). When citizens are left without their basic needs for survival in addition to being placed in fear of persecution, they respond by fleeing their countries, attempting to restore their basic human needs (ibid). The "harrowing" experience of flight is what awaits them (Harrell-Bond 1986, Colson 1991; 1999, Ager 1999, UNHCR 1997).

Ager defines the expression ‘refugee experience’ as those human effects _ “personal, social, economic, cultural and political” _ of forced migration (Ager 1999:2). Many refugees arrive in the country of first asylum malnourished and ill from the journey (Findley 1999:7). Yet, the end of flight does not necessarily mean the end of danger (Amnesty 1997: 22). Refugees flee their home countries out of fear for their lives only to find the same fear dominating every move they make from then on (Findley 1999:6).

Indeed, refugees may well experience "the worst humanity has to offer: psychological traumas of war and conflict, death of family members, witness to unbearable cruelty and inhumanity, suffering and injury, rape and sexual abuse, loss of hope and all sense of dignity" (Findley 1999:9). Colson states that the experience of uprooting could have different causes, could happen to different cultures with different circumstances, “impressing new labels and new institutional orders”, and could result in different consequences. Nevertheless, she asserts that human beings are

affected by and respond to the experience of uprooting in much the same way: the human one (Colson 1991; 1999).

1.1.2 Refugee Regime

The arrival of large numbers of refugees in a host country usually mobilises a response by the international humanitarian organisations, in particular, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The standard response today is to establish camps in which refugees are expected to live in order to receive assistance (Harrell-Bond and Voutira 1995, Black 1998). In fact, in the minds of the public, refugees are viewed as being almost synonymous with camps (Harrell-Bond and Voutira 1995). "The word refugee invokes the masses of men, women and children, pot-bellied and gaunt, stumbling vainly from camp to inhospitable camp, unseen, ignored and often uncared for" (Shawcross 1979:3 as quoted by Marilyn Lacey 1987).

1.1.3 Camps

Refugees are expected to remain in camps where they are visible and can be counted in order to attract international aid (Harrell-Bond, Voutira and Leopold 1992). Their right to freedom of movement thus compromised, they are deprived of access to networks of social and economic support, preventing their integration and rendering them dependent on international assistance.

In reality, however, most refugees do not live in camps and do not receive the assistance that is funded by international sources (Harrell-Bond 1990b; 1994a, Ager 1999). Such refugees are described as "spontaneously settled" and in some countries they are said to number as many as 60-70% of all refugees (Kok 1989, Harrell-Bond 1994a). In fact even though these refugees will not be assisted outside camps, they

still resist moving to settlements where they would receive aid. Hansen suggests that this is because some people value at least their autonomy over material assistance (Hansen 1982). Harrell-Bond (1986), on the other hand, suggests that refugees who live outside camps might not be a separate group of people distinct from those living in the camps. Instead, refugees may deliberately split their families between the self-settled areas and the camps, taking advantage of the resources available in both as a method of coping with the hardships of displacement.

Limited research has been conducted to document how the very large proportions of refugees worldwide that do not live in camps survive without international assistance. The second edition of the *Handbook for Emergencies* recommends that when refugees are already self-settled, “they should not be brought together unless there are compelling reasons for breaking their present settlement patterns” (UNHCR 2000: 44). In reality this is not the case (for example, the Angolan refugees in Zambia). In addition, the Handbook does not comment on how (or even if) self-settled refugees should be assisted. Case studies, however, suggest that self-settled refugees survive and even prosper with the help of the local community; moreover they may even promote the development of the area that they settle in (Hansen 1982, Kok 1989, Harrell-Bond 1994a).

1.2 Dilemma

UNHCR’s position on the camp—non-camp dichotomy is that there has been no substantiation of the assumptions that conditions outside camps are preferable. UNHCR (2000b) argues there is no proof that it is safer to stay outside camps and in

addition self-settled refugees could be subject to a “range of security and economic problems ranging from threats by resentful local people, to attacks by rebel groups and forced recruitment into those groups. Self-settled refugees can be at risk of being rounded up by host authorities and relocated or forced into camps” (109).

Regardless of the many studies which have shown the detrimental effects of camp life. Camps do have few advantages but these tend to be related to the delivery of aid, and registration of refugees. For the already dependent refugees (i.e. elderly and children, and the sick), camps may in fact provide them with the medical and educational facilities that are unavailable to the locals. UNHCR (2000b) ironically argues “camps are not inherently dangerous or destabilising places nor is self-settlement always the best option for refugees” (109). Although UNHCR’s *Handbook for Emergencies* (1982; 2000a) itself argues against camps advising that camps should be as “un-camp like” as possible, the recognition that camps ‘seem here to stay’ (1982: vi) instinctively dismisses any possibility that the advantages provided by camps could be granted refugees through a different approach (Harrell-Bond 2002).

Why is an alternative to camps dismissed? If the empirical evidence isn’t enough to prove that there is an alternative, shouldn’t there be a demand for more research in order to find out?

Kuhlman emphasizes that if “the policy does not actually work” (1994: 48) then not only does it harm the refugees but it also wastes a lot of aid money that can be channelled more productively. Empirical evidence has shown that camps are failing. Therefore, alternatives must be searched for.

1.3 Purpose of the thesis

The purpose of this thesis is to determine whether allowing African refugees to self-settle in rural areas of the host country could be a viable alternative to placing them in camps. By examining the evidence available in the literature about both camps and self-settlements in Zambia, Sudan, Uganda, Tanzania and Guinea, this research will attempt to form a comparison between the situation of refugees in camps and in self-settlements in these countries with regards to meeting human needs. Through determining which of these two types of settlement better meets human needs, it can be ascertained whether self-settlement can be a possible alternative to encampment.

1.4 Justification

From UNHCR's arguments in section 1.2, it is clear that there needs to be more specific comparisons between camps and self-settlements and more research in this area would be very important.

There has been no study to date that brings together all the findings about self-settlements in a systematic comparison with the findings on camps. In addition, there has been no study that compares the two types of settlements concerning human need satisfaction. A study such as this could contribute to the research that would enable the long-awaited resolution to the situation of refugees who are placed in camps.

Moreover, by comparing the two types of settlements with respect to the basic needs satisfaction this study will also contribute to the research that argues that the provision of aid according to emergency standards is futile in protracted situations.

1.5 Methodology

According to UNHCR's Emergency Handbook (2000) an appropriate response is one which provides both protection and material aid in a way that meets actual refugee needs. Therefore, to compare the current response to a possible alternative, the extent to which each meets refugee human needs or increases opportunities for meeting those needs shall be examined.

In the interests of this study though, many scholars have already proved camps inefficient and so this will not be our main concern. The interest here is with self-settlements in so far as they compare to camps in satisfying human needs.

The assumption is that the evidence available on self-settlements will clearly show that they have been more effective in satisfying human needs. If this is the case then the study will have answered successfully whether self-settlements are a viable alternative to refugee camps. It is up to scholars to undertake more research in this area in order to substantiate these findings and the international refugee regime to make the necessary change in its policy that is long overdue.

As clarified, to achieve the aim of this thesis, it is essential to determine which of these solutions (encampment or self-settlement) better serves to provide for refugee needs. By using a theory of human needs, a comparison can be made between camps and self-settlement to show which of these set-ups better provides for refugee basic human needs.

1.5.1 Theory of human need

For a theory of needs to be applicable to the many different refugee situations, it is essential that it is a theory of human needs that supports the notion of universal basic human needs. Therefore, the theory chosen for this research does just that.

Doyal and Gough propose a *Theory of Universal Basic Human Need* (Doyal and Gough, 1991). They claim that every human being's ultimate goal is to participate in a way of life that they have chosen for themselves. For this to be possible, the universal needs of physical health and autonomy must be satisfied. In turn these universal needs can only be satisfied if several intermediate needs are met:

“nutritional food and clean water, protective housing, a non-hazardous work environment, a non-hazardous physical environment, appropriate health care, security in childhood, significant primary relationships, physical security, economic security, appropriate education, safe birth control and child-bearing” (157-158). This clear set of basic and intermediate needs proposed provides a basis for comparing the two situations: camps and self-settlement. In addition the very practical method of measuring need-satisfaction that is proposed by this theory would help to decide whether camps or self-settlements are better suited to meet those needs.

1.5.2 Hypothesis and Research Questions

Thesis question: Does an alternative to encampment exist in the form of self-settlement?

To answer this key question, several research questions should be answered:

- What are the needs that should be provided in any long-term refugee response in order to enable the refugees to survive and prosper?
- To what extent is each of the basic needs met in camps and in self-settlements?
- Finally, in which situation, that of refugee camps or that of self-settlement are refugee basic needs more successfully met?

In finding some answers to these questions, one hopes to find an answer for the main research question and thus shed some light as to the possibilities of finding a viable alternative to what seems to be an inhumane policy.

1.5.3 Material

A vast amount of literature on settlement policy (especially camps) is available and debates surrounding refugee camps are substantial enough to make generalizations. (eg. Crisp and Jacobsen 1998; Richard Black 1998a, 1998b; Harrell-Bond 1994b, 1999, 2000; Voutira and Harrell-Bond 2000).

There are formal documents from governmental or non-governmental organizations concerning refugee policies and these will be used to document the formal side of the arguments (eg. UNHCR's *Handbook for Emergencies*, Evaluation Reports of the UNHCR Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit).

There are a few sources that compare self-settled refugees with refugees in camps. (Harrell-Bond's work on the encamped and self-settled refugees of the Sudan; Hansen on Angolans in Zambia, Malkki on Burundians in Tanzania; Van Damme on Sierra Leoneans in Guinea; Ayok Chol and Mbago on Burundians in Tanzania and Kuhlman on Ethiopian and Eritreans in Sudan).

A significant amount of literature tackles the subject of refugees as a source of development rather than a burden, which could be helpful in identifying patterns of relationships between locals and refugees that would allow them to co-exist in a peaceful and prosperous environment (eg. Harrell-Bond 1990; Gorman 1987; Weighill 1997; Zetter 1992,1999; Kibreab 1987, 1989, 1990, 1993, 1997).

There are a few unpublished papers on self-settlement cases and a few academic papers on specific self-settlement issues (Freund and Kalumba 1986; Karunakara 2004; Mageed and Ramaga 1987; Maganya 1987; Rose 1987; Yutikasi 1987).

There have also been a few examples cited in the literature of refugee self-settled populations (eg. Van Damme 1995,1999; Van Damme et al. 1998; Hansen 1982; Kok 1989, Harrell-Bond 1986) that have actually been beneficial to the development of the host country but these have hardly been enough to make any kind of general assumptions.

1.6 Limits and Delimits

There are several limitations to the study that need to be addressed. First of all, the absence of field research means that there is no direct gathering of evidence and the study is thus limited to the use of secondary sources. This is not a serious limitation as it is also very useful to analyse the information already gathered by others. At the very least it would show the directions the research has been taking, the advantages and disadvantages of such research and which new ways must be explored.

It is the researcher's own contention, however, that the available literature is sufficient to form a preliminary comparison between the two types of settlements based on the satisfaction of human needs. Self-settled literature is admittedly quite limited nevertheless it is sufficient enough to form some general idea of the nature of self-settlements. This information coupled with the many cases of refugee camps already studied allow for the comparison between the two types of policies.

Indeed, the availability of literature on camps is very impressive. Attempting to group all the camps in Africa is complicated and larger than any one study. Therefore, to enable the comparison between the situation in camps and the situation in self-settlements, this study will choose camp cases first and foremost from the

countries where studies on self-settlements have been undertaken (Zambia, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Guinea). In addition to other camp cases, the study will make use of Kakuma camp as a yardstick for measuring the achievements of assistance. This is because Kakuma has been evaluated to be a ‘successful case’ where it is claimed minimum standards of assistance targeted by the aid organisations have been achieved. In other words, Kakuma camp is the best possible scenario achieved by organised assistance.

Any generalisations made by this study are not to deny that there are exceptions. It cannot be expected that all cases of camps or self-settlements for that matter are alike. Yet, there are enough common characteristics between all camps (like all self-settlements) to provide insights into the general situation in any camp (or any self-settlement).

As far as what this study does not intend to address, first of all, it does not intend to tackle refugees in urban areas simply because the scope of the study—which is already stretched in order to address most of the issues surrounding rural settlement—would be overwhelmed. Second of all, it is the deficiencies in the provision of relief for refugees while away from home, rather than the problems and prospects of return, which provide the main focus for this study.

1.7 Organization of the thesis

In this introduction, a brief overview has been given highlighting the dilemma that this thesis will deal with. The lack of research in this area has been identified and the purpose of this thesis has been defined.

In chapter two, relevant issues pertaining to the rural settlement of refugees are presented, incorporated in a literature review. The focus has been on refugee policy-making and all the issues significant to placing refugees in camps and the existence of alternatives.

Chapter three, the theoretical framework, outlines the methods used in the thesis. This chapter describes the Theory of Human Need, which is used as a framework for the comparison between camps and self-settlements. It also describes the research procedures, the chosen cases and the steps that define whether the research was successful.

Chapter four highlights the needs of refugees forming a comparison between the situation in camps and self-settlements with regards to those needs. The chapter is divided into two parts, the first part examines the evidence in the literature pertaining to needs related to physical health while the second part exhibits evidence in the literature related to personal autonomy.

Chapter five is a summary of the findings of this study and its analyses and conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND

Africa is plagued with episodes of conflict that so far have lead, according to Crisp (2000), 12.7 million people seeking refuge away from their homes of which 3.2 million have crossed international borders (ibid). African refugees flee their homelands for complicated reasons, which include “persecution, social upheaval, civil war, wars of liberation, secessionist war and natural disaster, especially drought and famine” (Adepoju 1982:23). The complex nature of these conflicts prolongs refugee situations increasing the strain imposed on the weak economies of the poor African hosts (Crisp 2003, 2000; Hansen 1992; Gorman 1987; Chambers 1986). Hovil (2003) explains that failure to find durable solutions has left refugees increasingly in protracted situations.

According to Crisp (2003), protracted refugee situations stretch more than five years and are found mainly in Africa (Zambia, Tanzania, Sudan, Cote d’Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Algeria, Liberia, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Central African Republic (CAR), Chad, DRC, and Uganda). In these situations, “refugees find themselves trapped in a state of limbo: they cannot go back to their homeland, in most cases because it is not safe for them to do so; they are unable to settle permanently in their country of first asylum, because the host state does not want them to remain indefinitely on its territory; and they do not have the option of moving on, as no third country has agreed to admit them and to provide them with permanent residence

rights” (Crisp 2003:1).¹ Moreover, they are restricted to a life in camps where their freedom is denied, their rights violated and their needs ignored (Jamal 2003).

Crisp (2003) identifies several main characteristics of protracted situations. Refugees are placed in camps, which are usually situated in “very poor, low-priority, insecure, harsh climate, and peripheral areas of the country of first asylum. They are populated mainly by people with special needs: women, children, elderly and handicapped. They do not receive international attention, which usually focuses on high-profile crises and the right to life for refugees in these situations is “bought at the cost of almost every other right” (ibid: 11).

Crisp (2003) points out that many refugees manage to stay outside of camps and receive no assistance. These refugees settle themselves in rural border area villages of the host country (Adepoju 1982). As this research attempts to analyse and compare the conditions of the self-settled refugees with those protracted in the camps, this chapter will attempt to sketch the background necessary for understanding the issues concerning this comparison.

2.1 International Instruments pertaining to refugees

The purpose of international refugee law, according to Crisp (2003), is twofold. “On the one hand, instruments such as the 1951 UN Refugee Convention and the 1969 OAU Refugee Convention were established to protect people who were forced to leave their own country as a result of persecution, armed conflict and human rights violations. On the other hand, such conventions were established and ratified by

¹ Crisp highlights that even though it is only recently that protracted situations have received much attention, awareness of these situations is not new. Barry Stein’s report for the refugee policy group entitled “older refugee settlements” had already brought to people’s attention that most of Africa’s refugees placed in organized settlements had been in limbo for years.

states with the specific intention of protecting their national interests and addressing their own security concerns” (ibid: 11-12). These instruments have been written with such vagueness so that when the protection of refugees clashes with national interests and security concerns, the latter takes precedence. It will become clear as a result of this study that this is a crucial issue that needs to be addressed in a different study.

2.2 *Rights of refugees*

According to Amnesty International “refugees’ basic human rights in a country of asylum include liberty and security of person and protection from discrimination” (Amnesty 1997:36). Other human rights include “the right to work, social security, public education, travel documents and the right to family reunion” (ibid: 36; Hathaway and Dent 1995). Refugees should also have the right to freedom of movement (UNHCR 2000).

Hathaway and Dent (1995) point out that the refugees themselves value some rights more than others like for instance the right not to be returned *non refoulement* which is considered the “cornerstone of refugee law”. *Non refoulement* entitles the refugee not to be forced to go back to the country of origin (Hathaway and Dent 1995). Hathaway and Dent also claim that the right to freedom of movement, the right to employment and the right to social assistance also take priority over other rights (ibid).

The 1951 Refugee Convention definition² of a refugee demarcates those who are entitled to refugee rights from those who are not. The fortunate few who achieve

² The definition of a refugee according to the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees defines a refugee as “any person who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of 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

refugee status through this definition are but a small number of the refugees assisted and protected by UNHCR and the international community (Gorman 1993: 18) keeping in mind even those assisted are but an estimated 40% of all refugees (Harrell-Bond 1994a).

Even so, host governments have not been abiding meticulously by these rights and in some cases have even violated them (Gorman 1993:19). UNHCR itself has stated in its *Handbook for Emergencies*, “in cases of mass influx, and for the reasons of security considerations and the rights of the local population, restrictions may be dictated on these rights of refugees” (2000).

2.3 Refugee Regime

According to Loescher (1994) the refugee regime is responsible for the provision of protection and relief to refugees based on the humanitarian and human rights law established in the international instruments pertaining to refugees (presented in section 2.2). The regime is composed of states and international agencies and institutions (Harrell-Bond, Voutira and Leopold 1992). According to the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1969 OAU Refugee Convention, the primary responsibility for the protection of refugees should lie with host governments (WARIPNET and Human Rights First 2000; Brown and Weschler 1999; Skran 1992). At the same time, these states are supposed to be monitored and assisted by the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees (UNHCR) (Brown and Weschler 2000: 19; Gorman 1993: 19; Loescher 1993, 4). In any case, the protection and assistance of

that country, or who not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it” C(1) A(1).

refugees should be an international responsibility owing to the concept of ‘burden sharing’ and demands an international response that includes states, United Nations agencies such as UNHCR, UNICEF, WFP, WHO, UNDP, and OCHA, and, in different ways, NGOs as well as refugee and host communities (WARIPNET and Human Rights First 2000).

2.4 The current response

The refugee regime has constructed its responses according to its perceptions of how refugees fit into the international system. Aleinikoff (1995) affirms that the international system is still based on states and their sovereignty and consequently all individuals are expected to belong to a state in order to identify under whose responsibility they come. Refugees are, on this basis, perceived to be an exception to the rule; whereby individuals, according to the refugee definition, do not have or do not want to seek the protection of their state (Loescher 1993: 6). They subsequently “represent a failure of the state system; a problem to be solved” (Aleinikoff 1995: 258).

Aleinikoff argues that solutions have recently focused on what he calls a ‘source control bias’ since measures have been taken to direct efforts at the containment of refugees at the source, rather than their protection (Aleinikoff 1995: 258). The numbers, however, show that refugee flows have not been contained; on the contrary, they keep increasing. If they have been able to stop them crossing borders in Africa, the internally displaced numbers have sky rocketed (Crisp 2002; Karunakara 2004). As a result, the need to protect refugees keeps growing and the search for a

solution to the refugee predicament “must go on: both for the benefit of the refugees and the hosts” (Gorman 1987: 8).

Omari suggests that the reason no solution has been found is the perception that refugees are a temporary phenomena rather than a long-term problem (Omari 1967:92). The current response is to set up refugee camps as the initial response to provide what should be “temporary aid” to refugees (Hyndman 2000: Van der Borgh and Philips 1995). Ironically, these camps remain the main form of most aided prolonged situations (Crisp 2003). The next section will make clear why this is the case, as it sheds light on the main actors involved in finding a solution for refugee situations and what influences their policy decisions.

2.5 Actors searching for a solution

Host Governments and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees are the two main actors responsible for responding to refugee situations.

2.5.1 Host governments in Africa

The responses of the host governments to refugee influxes have varied from one to the other, have varied over time and have even varied in response to different refugee groups (Jacobsen 1996). Most governments in Africa however, initially responded with an open door policy but recently have changed their policy to a more restrictive approach (Rutinwa 1999). According to Rutinwa, the reasons behind this are the absence of equal burden sharing, the weak economic capacities of the African countries and the inclination elsewhere in the world to more restrictive policies (ibid).

Hansen (1979a) presents three common ways that governments use to “manage” or avoid the responsibility of refugees: first, ignore them or call them illegal immigrants; second, repatriate them immediately; third, recognise them officially for resettlement. Gorman (1993) explains however, that host countries are usually more willing to accept and host refugees if they are assured that the international community will handle most of the costs.³ Even so, he asserts that if the hosts are faced with the choice between compassion and national/political interest, they will most probably decide on the latter. Barbara Harrell-Bond (2002) claims that UNHCR (in order to further its own political interests in keeping refugees where they can be seen and counted in order to receive aid which we will discuss further in the next section), advises the government that by keeping the refugees in camps, they are guaranteeing international aid and assistance in addition to limiting possible security problems and promoting refugee repatriation. As a result, the most preferred response for the host government becomes the camp (Kibreab 1989).

2.5.2 UNHCR

The office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has been “the international community’s principal mechanism to assist and protect refugees” (Loescher 1993:4). According to the UNHCR’s *Handbook for Emergencies* (2000:12) UNHCR’s responsibilities are dual: it should first “provide international protection to the refugees” and then second, it should “seek permanent solutions to their problems”.

³ For more information on the factors influencing and the sources of pressure on host government policy-decision making and the effects of the refugees on the hosts see Jacobsen 1996.

2.5.2.1 International protection

Attempting to provide international protection in the country of first asylum, UNHCR consumes much of its energy on ensuring that emergency minimum standards are met (1999). According to Van Damme (1995), UNHCR inherently assumes that refugees can receive the best care when they are placed in camps. Nevertheless, “when a person flees for his or her life, a plastic shelter, a jerry can of water and a container of maize-meal provided in a camp far from home may be exactly what that person needs [but] as time goes on, though, those minimum standards that once protected a life will, if unchanged, contrive to stifle it” (Jamal 2000). However, to receive any funds at all, UNHCR is oftentimes limited to concentrating only on life-saving measures (Keen 1992).

Jamal (2000) argues we cannot expect UNHCR to meet the basic human needs of a long-term refugee population. Accordingly, he asserts UNHCR must develop comprehensive plans that would encompass a coordinated response by all actors in finding a solution that would meet all the refugee basic human needs (Jamal 2000).

2.5.2.2 Durable solutions

Durable solutions are defined by UNHCR’s *Emergency Handbook* as helping ‘refugees overcome displacement and achieve a solution whereby national protection is re-established and they will *no longer be refugees*’ (2000: 22). Three such durable and long-term solutions have been recommended by UNHCR: voluntary repatriation, integration and resettlement (Lacey 1987: 20).

The most preferred durable solution is voluntary repatriation (Crisp 2000: UNHCR 1982; 2000). It is perceived to be the most beneficial response to refugee situations (Bakewell 2000). In practice though, it is very difficult to accomplish since

the reasons for flight do not usually cease and the return to the country of origin is itself also loaded with complications as it entails the reintegration of the refugees into society, not to mention the fact that refugees might not want to go home in the first place but can not only be subtly coerced but forced (Amnesty 1997; Lacey 1987; Crisp 2000; Bakewell 2000; Chimni 1999).⁴

The second solution is integration in the country of first asylum and is more relevant to the focus of this research. It is defined by UNHCR to be “the process by which the refugee is assimilated into the social and economic life of a new national community” (Kuhlman 1991:2). According to Crisp (2003) the reason Africa is full of protracted refugee situations is that the international community has put aside the option of local integration for the past 15 years.

The third solution and “*the least preferable*” is resettlement in a third country (second country of asylum) (UNHCR 1982; 2000). Resettlement is only considered when the other two solutions are not feasible (Jacobsen 2001b). Fredriksson (2002) asserts that for resettlement to become a genuine solution, the number of resettlement countries needs to increase as well as the numbers of refugees they are willing to accept.

Failure to find solutions has resulted in protracted situations (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2003: 1). The refugees remain in the host country for many years and refugee camps end up becoming *the* solution. Indeed, “given the resulting continuation of protracted refugee situations and the dwindling assistance, it is imperative that local integration be explored as a durable solution in Africa” (Dryden Peterson and Hovil 2003). Thus, while repatriation may be a final goal, and

⁴ So much emphasis is placed on voluntary repatriation that it almost seems like refugees are pressured into thinking that this is the best solution.

resettlement far from reach, especially in Africa as Hovil (2003) maintains, the case for local integration needs urgently to be reconsidered.

2.6 Local Integration

Integration means that “the migrants maintain their own identity, yet become part of the host society to the extent that host population and refugees can live together in an acceptable way” (Kuhlman 1993). Through integration, the refugees should ideally permanently settle within the host country and UNHCR would then be no longer responsible for providing them with protection and assistance (Stein 1990). UNHCR asserts however that in cases of prolonged conflict where refugees can/will not repatriate, refugees do in fact integrate into the host society (UNHCR 2000).

In theory, integration is expected to take place through a form of local settlement. According to the UNHCR (2000) *Handbook for Emergencies*, refugee settlements in the country of first asylum generally fall into one of three categories. The first, dispersed settlement is where the refugees find accommodation within the host population (i.e. self-settlement). Mass shelter, the second category, is where refugees inhabit abandoned areas of urban cities for a temporary period.⁵ Even though UNHCR asserts that the third category (organized settlements/camps) should only be used as a last resort, they are ironically the most commonly used response.

A question that is crucial to policy-making is how poor African countries should be expected to instigate policies, frameworks and institutions that would permit the inclusion of these vast numbers of refugees (Kibreab 1989). Kibreab argued that they should not have to, and actually suggests spatially segregated sites as

⁵ Mass shelters are not included in this research since they are normally in urban areas, i.e. temporary because UNHCR’s policy has been to encourage refugees to stay in rural areas

the way to bring in international aid. More recent literature, however argues that hosts should not carry the burden of refugees in spatially segregated sites while they can benefit from hosting refugees if assistance structures are set up to promote joint development (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2003:4; Jacobsen 2001a; Kaiser 2001; Crisp 2003; Harrell-Bond 2002).

In the next two sections, a background for both the camp and self-settlement will be sketched in order to give an understanding of the basis behind each of these two types of rural settlement.

2.6.2 Camp

Camps are artificially created sites that are supposed to provide services to the refugees that they accommodate (UNHCR 2000). The mindset behind this assistance is the provision of emergency survival needs for refugees until which time they can be repatriated. In other words, camps only aim to keep refugees alive (Keen 1992).

Two theories exist to explain how camps first became adopted by the international regime as a response to refugee influxes. Van Damme (1995) believes that camps were formally adopted early 1971 when an influx of 10,000,000 refugees fled into Bengal, India from former East Pakistan. UNHCR immediately responded by setting up a thousand camps and after ten months, the root causes of the influx were resolved and the refugees returned home. The situation was handled promptly and because of its temporary nature, was perceived by UNHCR and other organizations as a successful response. This is how encampment became the *initial* response for all refugee influxes. The second theory states that UNHCR adopted a settlement policy in 1970 based on the World Bank's integrated rural agricultural development projects approach. This approach believed that the refugees were beneficial to the host

economy and that these settlement projects were the ideal way to integrate the refugees into the host country (Voutira and Harrell-Bond 2000; Harrell-Bond 2000).

In any case, UNHCR maintains that camps should be a temporary response (Hyndman 2000; Harrell-Bond 1996b). Montclos and Kagwanja argue that camps are perceived to be temporary by the international community as a whole (2000). However, the Bengal case was an exception to the rule. In reality, UNHCR is burdened by having to continuously support camps while the situation in them deteriorates and the refugees are left in limbo (Crisp 2003). Many camps have existed for years and provided enough proof to ascertain that camps are not temporary in nature (Crisp 2003).

In order to rectify the situation of refugees in these prolonged deteriorating camps emergency services are coupled with wage-earning opportunities and attempts at making the refugees self-sufficient through developmental projects such as agricultural and small income-generating projects which in theory should transform the camp into what is called an *organized settlement*.

2.6.2.1 Organised Settlements

In 1985, Lance Clark and Barry Stein conducted probably the most significant study to date on local integration and refugee settlements called *Older refugee settlements in Africa*. This study was updated in 1990 and provides valuable insight into the self-sufficiency elements of refugee settlements. According to Clark and Stein (1990), an ideal settlement would entail two stages; first refugees are assisted in settling on a piece of land and becoming economically self-sufficient and second, the full economic, political, and social integration of the refugee community into the host country which would also entail the handing over of the settlements to the host

government and the full withdrawal of international assistance. However, this vision of a refugee settlement was very far from reality.

Clark and Stein (1990) show that although thirty-two cases of refugee settlements were termed self-sufficient by UNHCR, in fact, twenty-four of the thirty-two settlements received renewed aid and only eleven of the thirty-two termed self-sufficient settlements were formally handed over to the host governments (Clark and Stein, 1985). Many of those eleven also received renewed aid and were either closed down because of forced repatriation and/or were destroyed (*ibid*). Moreover, high rates of malnutrition continue to be experienced in the settlements that were deemed self-sufficient (Harrell-Bond 1986). In other words, the settlements have not achieved self-sufficiency and the need for aid has not stopped (Clark and Stein 1985; Kibreab 1989; Stein 1990).

Over the years, it became apparent to UNHCR that its settlement projects were failing not only to become self-sufficient but also failing to integrate refugees into their host communities (Clark and Stein 1985). Refugees in local settlements were prohibited from leaving designated areas and thus had no opportunity to move freely outside the settlement in search of employment or in the aim of participating socially or culturally in the host community (Kibreab 1989:471). There was also no way for children to apply to secondary or post-secondary educational institutions in the host country (*ibid*). As a result integration did not occur. Kibreab even goes further to suggest that these settlements were created “to constrain any form of integration” (1989:472).

In fact, it has been argued that any organised settlement is generally perceived to be a strategy of containment as well as the only mechanism for delivering aid (Smyser 1992; Harrell-Bond 1996b). Host countries were never encouraged to

accommodate the refugees into their national development projects since the donors were always reluctant to provide long-term assistance to rural settlements (RSP 1991, in Voutira and Harrell-Bond 2000). In addition to the fact that the host governments also knew that if refugees integrated into their own communities, they would have to carry the burden of the refugees on their own from then on (Clark and Stein 1985). Therefore, the host countries insisted that as a condition for granting the refugees asylum, UNHCR had to keep assisting refugees in camps/settlements until they repatriated (ibid). So in essence, aid is, in actual fact, provided to refugees on the basis that they would stay in camps, isolated from the host society, and that the aid would be a 'temporary measure against starvation' (Voutira and Harrell-Bond 2000).

Some argue that the concept of organised settlement should still stand because since there are no solutions available, an organised settlement is better than "interminable dependency" in camps (Yousif 1998: 15). However, Kibreab (1989) emphasizes that only a minority of refugees are in what are supposed to be organised settlements, the overwhelming majority are either in camps depending on international hand-outs or self-settled among the locals without any outside assistance. Malkki suggests that UNHCR does not call such arrangements camps "because the word has bad connotations. They always want to say settlement" (Malkki 1995: 117). Dryden-Peterson and Hovil (2003) argue that in truth "the difference between camps and settlements is nothing but an 'operational myth'". They are both spatially segregated sites where material needs are met (Kibreab 1989: 470).

2.6.2.2 The Camp Remains

The literature on refugee camps can be characterised as mainly divided into two 'schools'. There are those writers who highlight the disadvantages of camps, arguing against this approach to assisting refugees (Black 1998a, 1998b; Chan Kwok

Bun 1991; Clark and Stein 1985; Reynell 1989; Toole and Bhatia 1992; Malkki 1995; Harrell-Bond 1986, 1994, 1995, 2000; Harrell-Bond and Voutira 1995, 1999; Van Damme 1995; Van Der Gaag 1996,1997; Verdirame1999; Yang Mu 1998). On the other hand, there are those who defend camps as the only possible approach and, recognizing their dysfunctional characteristics, are looking for ways to improve them (Crisp and Jacobsen 1998; Crisp 1999a, 1999b, 2000; Jacobsen 1996, 1997, 1999; Jamal 2003).

Camps have been shown to have a number of adverse effects (Harrell-Bond 1994). Fozzard stresses their “liminal” nature where refugees face the psychological stress of being “betwixt and between” destinies out of their control (Fozzard n.d.). The lack of freedom of movement, choice and self-determination is another disadvantage (Bulcha 1987; Harrell-Bond 1994; Jamal 2003). Harrell-Bond asserts, “planned settlements are artificially constructed communities that are implicitly or explicitly anti-participatory” (Harrell-Bond 1985). Moreover, camps not only are a burden on the economy of the host country but are also a main cause of environmental degradation (Harrell-Bond 1994, Whitaker 1999).

When refugees are kept in camps, they are marginalised (Harrell-Bond 2002). Their participation in the host country is negligible (Kuhlman 1993). In addition, the services provided to refugees in camps are usually not available for the locals. This breeds hatred, resentment and insecurity (Harrell-Bond 1985). Not only that, but being isolated in the camps prevents refugees from learning the “language, customs and social and economic skills” that would be necessary for survival in the host country if and when the aid is removed (Harrell-Bond 1994).

In addition, the concentration of large numbers in a confined area means that refugees become susceptible to epidemics (Toole and Bhatia 1992; Harrell-Bond

1994a). In fact, there is a clear link between the size of the camps and increased mortality rates (Van Damme 1995). Camps become 'islands', separated from the local population. Over time, because refugees depend on their immediate surroundings for fuel and building materials, environmental damage may also occur (Jacobsen 1997). Special health and educational services are normally provided for refugees in camps so long as they are funded, are said to be superior to the institutions that serve the local population (e.g. Harrell-Bond 1986, Van Damme 1995; 1998, Goyens et al. 1996). These and other factors, such as providing relief food and other kinds of material aid to refugees, create tensions between them and their hosts and are obstacles to 'integration' (Harrell-Bond 1986: chapter four, Bulcha 1987). However, as international aid is withdrawn, refugees living in camps have been found to become destitute (Clark and Stein 1985, Bulcha 1987). Furthermore, camps often provide a 'breeding ground' for the politicisation of refugees and may encourage violence (Malkki 1995).

The article "Refugee camps reconsidered" by Jeff Crisp and Karen Jacobsen (1998) on the other hand, sums up the second school of thought in the camp debate. They argue that the first persuasion disregards the notion that the locals also have rights, needs and security concerns. They assert that impacts of self-settled refugees have not been studied and thus there is 'little reliable data'. Crisp and Jacobsen also point out that these authors who argue against camps "assume (with no substantiation) that self-settled refugees invariably enjoy better conditions of life than those in organised settlements and that refugees would never choose to settle in a camp if they were given any choice in the matter"(1998: 3).

Crisp and Jacobsen (1998) argue that a camp might actually provide a safer environment from the point of view of the refugee. They assert that in many cases

refugees organise themselves into camp-like settlements even before the arrival of UNHCR. They also assert that those who argue against camps do not recognise the role of host governments in making refugee policies. In most cases, the host governments insist on the establishment of camps to prevent the integration of the refugees into their countries. It is also maintained that refugees are rarely ‘confined’ to the settlements as the first school suggests however they acknowledge that the host government has the legal right to keep refugees in chosen areas or camps (Crisp and Jacobsen 1998). Finally, it is determined that the real focus should be how to “ensure that refugees are able to enjoy safe, secure and dignified conditions of life, whether or not they live in camps” (ibid). In order to do so, they insist that a re-examination of the way camps are managed is needed instead of looking for alternatives (ibid).

Let us examine any advantages to placing refugees in camps. Barbara Harrell-Bond (1986) shows that there are three stages to the settlement programme. At the beginning, the refugees are placed in camps and provided with relief aid. The next stage of aid gives the refugees plots of land and sometimes tools and seeds and primary education is arranged. The last stage entails the withdrawal of aid with the assumption that the refugees have achieved self-sufficiency and integration into the local market (Harrell-Bond 1986). It can be said, therefore, that a camp is successful if and when it completes the third stage (i.e. becomes self-sufficient and receives no more international aid). However, as mentioned earlier, Clark and Stein (1985; 1990) prove that settlements have not been able to achieve self-sufficiency.

Black writes in “Putting Refugees in Camps” that writers of a charity organization found two advantages to creating refugee camps (Black 1998: 5). The first advantage is from the point of view of efficiency and transparency of aid delivery, (an advantage for the aid agencies rather than for the refugees). He then

refutes this claimed advantage by establishing that the Rwandan camps in Zaire are a very good example of how aid can be manipulated and used to fuel conflicts through the very creation of the 'camp' (Black 1998).

Black shows that the second advantage of camps found by this charity organisation is ironically the 'disadvantage of staying outside them' (i.e self-settlement for refugees). It is claimed that refugees have no hope of integration and no access to any aid if they stayed outside the refugee camps (Black 1998: 5). He refutes this claim by arguing that if refugees were left to settle where they wished, then they could choose to settle near aid delivery points. He asserts that self-settlement is not really 'spontaneous' but actually a process of negotiation between the refugees and the locals and sometimes aid organizations (Black 1998: 5).

Jamal (2003) and Keen (1992) determine that camps have advantages for the host country, UNHCR and the refugees. Camps allow the host government to control refugee situations and maintain security, while ensuring that it receives international aid. They allow UNHCR to also receive funds while maintaining that the refugees can be counted and monitored in order to be sure that they all are sent home through their favoured solution "voluntary repatriation". The camps, allow the refugees to feel safe, remain with family and friends or even keep their most in need in the camp to be taken care of.

It has to be said however that camps do more harm than good. In addition, keeping people in refugee camps with emergency services can never be a long-term solution. Inside the camps, "the continued pressure from donor governments and the humanitarian agencies to fabricate inherently inaccurate numbers is responsible for refugees being labelled, herded up, counted and spied on to no real purpose. Worse still, these practices inhibit the survival strategies which refugees could otherwise

deploy to maintain themselves at a better standard of living than international aid can support” (Harrell-bond and Leopold as quoted in Keen 1992: 65). The problem then is not the design and management of the camps as the second school argues, but rather the concept itself (Hyndman 2000: 177). The international community reacts by calling for more aid, asking for increased monitoring and a better understanding of basic refugee needs. They do not question the camp itself (Van Damme 1995). UNHCR unfortunately perceives camps as inevitable and accepts concessions which include restrictions on the refugees and the violation of their rights simply because it does not see an alternative (UNHCR 2000).

Heymann argues that by settling for the camp as a response because there is no other, the “refugee ‘protectors’ indirectly allow refugee rights to be violated” (Heymann 1999 as quoted by Jamal 2000). Verdirame stresses, “human rights can not be respected in refugee camps” (Verdirame, 1999). Jamal believes that if the camp was removed, UNHCR and the refugees could find many possible alternatives that are much better and cheaper than the camp (Jamal 2000).

2.6.3 Self-Settlement

Refugees usually arrive in the country of first asylum in several ‘waves’ over a period of time and gradually settle themselves within the host community (Hansen 1982; Harrell-Bond 1986; Van Damme 1999). Kok (1989) attributes the inevitability of spontaneous settlements to two reasons. First “organized settlements can not possibly accommodate all refugees since they have limited and insufficient funds” and second that organized settlements have “largely failed to achieve their objective of economic self-sufficiency” (Kok 1989).

Most self-settled refugees settle themselves against the will of the host government which would rather they stayed in camps. These refugees have very little

contact with the host authorities or UNHCR for that matter. Self-settled refugee estimates therefore are very “little more than educated guesses” (Bakewell 2000: 358). The 1979 Arusha conference about the situation of refugees in Africa indicated that they are sixty percent of all refugees (Rogge 1985: 123). In general, however, sources do agree that only a small portion of refugees are assisted while the majority have self-settled (Hansen 1981).

Waldron (1989) explains that we know so little about self-settled refugees for several reasons. There is a general lack of interest in how the refugees themselves perceive their situation and what assistance they would appreciate. The term “self-settled” and other terms used to denote unassisted refugees imply that these refugees have already solved their problems and do not need aid and are thus not a priority for study or assistance. In addition, self-settled refugees are reluctant to show themselves for fear of being placed in a camp or being repatriated so they remain out of sight and are difficult to study or assist.

Nevertheless, some researchers have recently turned their attention to studying the self-settled (Chambers 1976; Hansen 1979a, 1979b, 1982, 1990; Mijere 1990; Harrell-Bond 1986; 1990b; Kok 1989; Jacobsen 1997; Van Damme 1995, 1999; Williams 1993; Waldron 1989; Spring 1979; Mbago and Ayok Chol (1990); Kuhlman 1994; Malkki 1995). Several unpublished papers are also available (Mageed and Ramaga 1987; Rose 1987; Maganya 1987; Yutikasi 1987) which analyse specific aspects of self-settlements. While these studies pertaining directly to self-settlements are of limited scope, together they highlight a number of the formal characteristics of self-settlement and provide preliminary evidence that it might well be an alternative to encampment.

Hansen (1981:178) explains the lack of knowledge about self-settlements has lead to two hypotheses: the first is that self-settled refugee are integrated well with the local population and do not need any assistance, the second is negative and sees the consequences of self-settlement to include the abuse of refugees as cheap labour, low wages, rise in food and land costs, which strain the economy and the environment for the locals.

In comparing the refugees in camps to those in self-settlements, Hansen (1981) found that those in camps were receiving more material goods than those in self-settled areas who struggled for years before attaining the standard of living refugees in camps achieve rapidly. Hansen asserts, however, self-settlements carry definite social and psychological advantages and those dominate the economic and other advantages of camps (1981:179).

According to Harrell-Bond (1986), self-settled refugees have not only been shown to be able to cope and manage on their own but have also been shown to make a significant contribution to the economy of their hosts. Van Damme (1999) asserts that this reality was not recognized by the aid agencies. Kok (1989) states that although “mass settlements (whether spontaneous or organized) must inevitably have negative consequences for the hosts, it has been affirmed that organized settlements cost much more than spontaneous ones and that the latter has in fact made ‘positive contributions’”. Harrell-Bond (1986) suggests that these refugees could in fact be more beneficial if some amount of assistance was granted to the host governments for development of the usually underdeveloped areas in which the refugees settle. Indeed, understanding the refugees’ own coping mechanisms is essential and outside assistance should be adapted accordingly (Van Damme 1999).

In fact, studies on self-settled refugees demonstrate that these refugees are far from the so-called 'dependency syndrome' associated with refugees in camps and show that spontaneously settled refugees employ their own mechanisms for coping and surviving, while choosing to stay outside of camps to preserve their autonomy (Kok 1989; Williams 1982; Hansen 1982; Van Damme 1999). Even though, Kok (1989) asserts that the extent of integration into the local community is 'case dependent', and that there are not enough studies to substantiate these findings Harrell-bond (1986) argues these studies show that in the long run, those refugees who remain outside settlements have a better chance of achieving economic independence and peaceful relationships with their hosts.

Rather than try to contribute to these efforts to study self-settlement as such, this thesis will attempt to bring the literature together to consider a comparison between camps and self-settled areas. This comparison is specifically concerned with the satisfaction of refugee basic human needs in each approach. It is a modest attempt to find out whether self-settlement could be considered an alternative to encampment.

Christian Bay is one of many scholars who followed in Maslow's footsteps adopting and adding to Maslow's theory or even creating a completely new list of human needs. In Bay's case, he added a sixth need to Maslow's list and placed it in the fourth position of the hierarchy calling it "perceived freedom" which he defines as the ability of a person to make choices and decisions about one's own life (Bay 1977: 8,11). James C. Davies is another example and he also adopts Maslow's theory at the beginning but later produces his own amended list of only four needs instead of five (Berry 1986: 83).

Fitzgerald (1977) asserts that a problem inherent in theorising about human needs is the tendency to place one's own value judgements or cultural preferences concerning which needs take precedence over others. Howard and Donnelly (1996) point out another problem, that empirical theories like these run into practical difficulties where evidence is only available for a limited number of needs. For example, the higher needs in Maslow's Hierarchy such as "self-esteem" and "self-actualisation" have no "empirical verification" and thus have not been scientifically established to any extent (Fitzgerald 1977: 46). Therefore the problems with need theories are that the theorists place their own value judgements when choosing which needs to be included in their lists and they also list needs that are vague and can never be truly supported or substantiated by data.

For a theory of need to be applicable to the many different refugee situations however, it is essential that it provides a comprehensive empirical list of truly universal needs that are clearly defined and can be scientifically justified and measured. Doyal and Gough (1991) have in fact developed a theory towards this goal. They provide a comprehensive list of universal needs that are not prioritized and not culturally relative. They determine that the satisfiers of these needs as well as how

these needs are prioritized are culturally relative. They also define the needs by showing the negative consequences that affect a human being if these needs are not satisfied. By doing so, they provide a way to measure the extent of satisfaction of these needs in any society. For these reasons Doyal and Gough's Theory of Human Need has been chosen for as the framework for this study and will be presented in more detail in the following section.

3.2 A Theory of Human Need

In Doyal and Gough's *Theory of Human Need*, they claim that every human being's ultimate goal is to participate in a way of life that s/he has chosen for her/himself (Doyal and Gough 1991). To achieve this goal of participation, Doyal and Gough determine that the universal needs of physical health and autonomy must be satisfied.

3.2.1 Basic Human Needs

Physical survival and personal autonomy "are the pre-conditions for any individual action in any culture, they constitute the most basic human needs -those which must be satisfied to some degree before actors can effectively participate in their form of life to achieve any other valued goals" (Doyal and Gough 1991; 54). The Theory of Human Need conceptualises physical survival and personal autonomy in the negative sense showing that a person can not possibly be able to participate or make a choice if s/he were physically or mentally ill whatever her/his cultural background. These two basic needs are then indisputably universal. In the positive sense, however, they are quite difficult to measure empirically and if the theory had

stopped at the determination of basic needs, like most other theories of human need, it would have been greatly lacking when trying to measure need-satisfaction.

Doyal and Gough however assert, “while basic needs for physical health and autonomy are universal, many goods and services required to satisfy these needs are culturally variable” (Doyal and Gough 1991; 155). They call these goods and services “satisfiers”. They also determine that some satisfiers are in fact universal as they have characteristics, which enable them to satisfy basic human needs in any culture. They term these universal satisfier characteristics “intermediate needs”.

3.2.2 Intermediate Needs

Doyal and Gough show that the basic needs of physical health and personal autonomy can only be satisfied if and when several intermediate needs are met and those include: “nutritional food and clean water, protective housing, a non-hazardous work environment, a non-hazardous physical environment, appropriate health care, security in childhood, significant primary relationships, physical security, economic security, appropriate education, safe birth control and child-bearing”. This list of intermediate needs includes those which “universally and positively” contribute to physical health and autonomy as well as including one universal satisfier characteristic, “the satisfaction of which is necessary for the health and autonomy of one half of the human race, women” (Doyal and Gough 1991; 158). In sum, the theory of human need intends to measure need satisfaction in terms of a) basic human needs and b) intermediate needs.

3.2.3 Measuring Need Satisfaction

Doyal and Gough show that instead of talking of minimal levels of basic need-satisfaction, we should talk of optimal levels or opportunities to achieve optimal

levels. The optimum degree of basic need satisfaction was defined by Doyal and Gough at two levels; the first and they call it the participation optimum is when “individuals can choose the activities in which they will take part within their culture, possess the cognitive, emotional and social capacities to do so and have access to the means by which these capacities can be acquired” (1991: 160). The second level, however, which they call the critical optimum, is when “individuals can formulate the aims and beliefs necessary to question their form of life, to participate in a political process directed toward this end/or to join another culture altogether”. The level of physical and mental health would not get any better in the second level, but the cognitive level of understanding would be higher and the opportunities for societal participation would be greater. According to Doyal and Gough, all human beings are entitled to both the participation optimum as well as the critical optimum (ibid).

Optimum, here, does not mean ‘maximum’. Doyal and Gough show that optimum could mean the highest achieved level of need satisfaction or could mean a level better than the highest level achieved. They solve this dilemma of defining optimum by choosing the first option because it provides empirical proof that it is possible to achieve. The operationalisation of need thus entails linking need-satisfaction to the highest levels of physical health and autonomy achieved by any nation.

Doyal and Gough point out that for third world countries comparing them to this highest level would be quite unrealistic; however, they assert that lower standards can be used as strategic goals in the medium term while the highest levels of need satisfaction can remain goals for the long term. How do they decide what these lower standards are? The same way the highest standards are determined; by taking as a reference point the third world country, which has in comparison to the rest of the

third world countries, the highest possible standards of need satisfaction. Now an important point to mention here is that instead of choosing as a reference individual countries with best performance in one or more need-satisfaction levels “Japan for life expectancy for example”, it is stressed that the choice must be of the nation with on average the highest level of need satisfaction overall (161). This would ensure that tradeoffs between different needs would be discounted and the actual achievement of that level feasible.

3.2.4 Refugees in the Theory of Human Need

Doyal and Gough assert that “a belief in the existence of human needs in conjunction with a consistent belief in a moral vision of the good lends strong support for a moral code that the needs of *all people* should be satisfied to the optimum extent”(Doyal and Gough 1991; 111). Does that include refugees (or ‘aliens’ as Doyal and Gough call them)? Yes, the THN insists that refugees like all human beings are entitled to the optimum level of need-satisfaction.

The international community, however often argues “ a refugee by definition, does not enjoy national (state) protection until a durable solution is found for him or her, at which point he or she ceases to be a refugee” (Jamal 2000: 14). In a sense, they argue that the provision of human needs will not be attained unless the person (refugee) becomes a citizen of a state. Until that time, usually refugees are inhumanely left in camps with even the emergency needs failing to be met.

3.3 Hypotheses

It is expected that this research will show that self-settlement is a viable alternative to encampment; that self-settlement is better capable of meeting the needs

of refugees; and that politics are the reason why this solution is not further studied or pursued.

3.4 Research procedures

Several studies have tried to compare self-settlement with encampment by contrasting what UNHCR provides the refugees in camps with what the refugees are able to provide for themselves outside them. This is an unbalanced comparison as UNHCR is flooded with millions of dollars of aid while the refugees outside camps manage with no aid at all. This type of comparison also is culturally biased as it assumes that the provisions UNHCR supplies to refugees are actually what the refugees would *choose* for themselves.⁶ It also assumes that all the money reaches the refugees.

The comparison is admittedly also unbalanced, yet it is crucial to attempt this comparison of refugees in the two situations keeping in mind that the material wealth of refugees in camps is probably in most cases more than that of refugees in self-settlements. The crux of it all is to look beyond this material wealth and understand the type of life the refugees would be leading in both. Do they have a proper fulfillment of their needs? And where can they lead a more dignified life? Using THN it is hoped that what the refugees need to ensure human dignity becomes clear.

According to the THN, the basic human needs of refugees are physical health and personal autonomy. These refugee basic human needs are theoretically met by providing to an extent the optimal level *or opportunities for achieving the optimal level* of intermediate needs. Optimum based on the THN would mean the highest

⁶ Several studies have addressed the cultural appropriateness of the aid. (Food aid, for example, in Hansen 1990; Mijere 1990)

possible level of need-satisfaction achieved in a refugee response. This poses some difficulties. On what basis can a response be called optimal? To date there has been no evaluation of either a camp or a self-settlement on the basis of need-satisfaction. Using an optimal in this case will be difficult. Camps, however, have been evaluated on the basis of meeting minimum standards and there are cases perceived to be ‘successful’ in this regard. One such camp (Kakuma, Kenya) will be used instead as a yardstick to show the level that successful camps have reached as far as human needs are concerned.

This can be accomplished by the systematic comparison of the satisfaction of each intermediate need in each of the refugee settlement types. Through this comparison, it will become clear which response on average is optimal in meeting need satisfaction or in providing opportunities to meet those needs, and will hopefully also shed light on the differences between minimum standards and human needs.

3.5 Sample

The main comparison will be based on secondary sources: academic papers, grey literature and some reports by relief organisations.⁷ A few sources are available studying specific issues and conditions of self-settled refugees in Africa. These latter studies are concentrated however in a few countries: Zambia (Hansen 1982, 1990, 1979a, 1979b; Williams 1993; Mijere 1988; Spring 1979), Sudan (Harrell-Bond 1986, 1990b; Kok 1989; Kuhlman 1994; Mageed and Ramaga 1987) Tanzania (Mbago n.d.; Maganya 1987; Malkki 1995) Guinea (van Damme 1999, 1995, 1998), and Kenya

⁷ However, as mentioned in the introduction any reports by relief organizations about refugee situations and camps will be used with caution as they are primarily written for fundraising and thus “unintentionally” dramatize the refugee problems while also showing the “efficient” and very “successful” policies that they use to deal with these problems.

(Verdirame 1999). Some of the above mentioned studies already compare the two types of settlement. For the interests of comparison in this study, the sources chosen from the vast literature on specific issues or conditions in refugee camps tackle encamped populations mainly in the countries mentioned.

As mentioned in section 3.4 Kakuma Camp has been found to meet minimum standards successfully (Jamal 2000). However, “Kakuma refugee camp after more than 10 years of existence remains almost entirely dependent on international assistance for all aspects of its operations” (Crisp 2003: 10). This camp is a very crucial part of this study since it will highlight some of the main reasons why this study is important. How long will aid keep flowing to Kakuma in order to keep these minimum standards? How are the refugees faring with minimum standards? Are they leading a life of dignity?

Other cases that have been evaluated to be successes will also be used briefly. Meheba, in Zambia for example is perceived to be self-sufficient (Malkki 1995 in Bakewell 2000) which should mean that it requires no more aid. Mishamo in Tanzania as well as Qala en Nahal in Sudan will also be mentioned.

Fig. 1. The Theory of Human Need is a basic diagram of the theory of human need and will be used as a basis for the analysis.

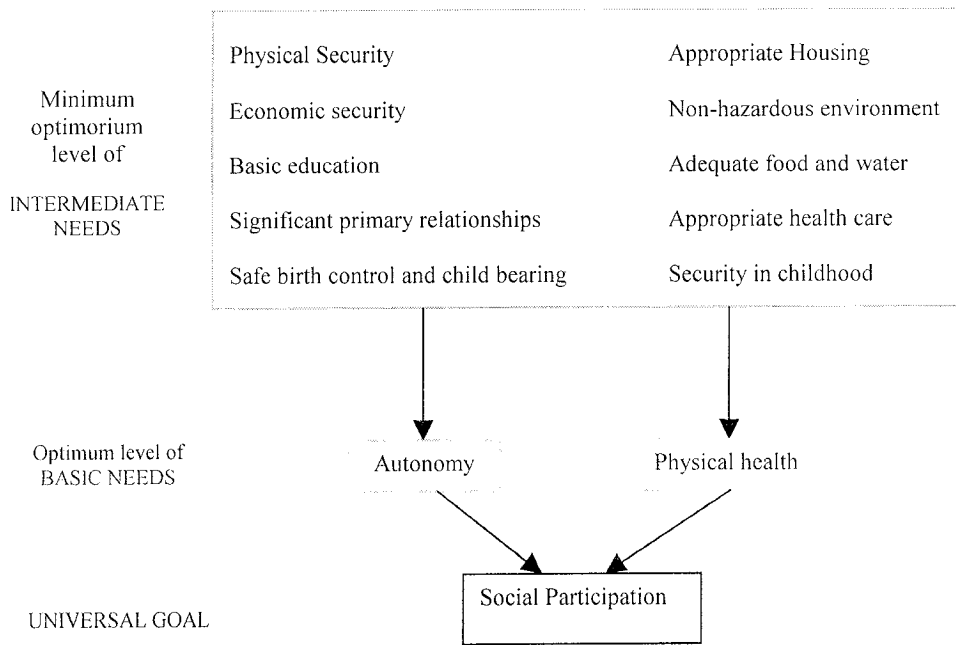


Fig. 1. The Theory of Human need ⁸

The intermediate needs in Fig.1 are in no specific order intentionally to show the equal importance of each and every intermediate need not to mention that they are all interdependent in the end.

⁸ As presented in van Damme (1998)

CHAPTER FOUR

COMPARISON

This chapter is divided into two parts: physical health and personal autonomy. Each part starts with explaining the basic need specific to that part, what it entails and how it can be satisfied then goes on to list each of the intermediate needs that satisfy that particular basic need. Each intermediate need is in turn defined and examples of the satisfaction of that need are cited first in camps then in self-settlements.

4.1 Part 1: Physical Health

What is survival / physical health?

Physical health rather than mere survival is the need. This entails the manual, mental and emotional abilities to complete a range of practical tasks. It does not mean a body that is merely alive but one that is physically healthy. (Doyal and Gough 1991: 56).

Conceptualizing physical health negatively

To meet the basic need of physical health, it is necessary to minimize death, disability and disease. In other words, to ensure physical health, avoidance of serious harm and deprivation is a must.

4.1.1 Intermediate needs of Physical Health

4.1.1.1 NUTRITION

Appropriate nutritional intake is required in order to maintain bodily functions, ensure growth and avoid illness. For the moderately active person the FAO recommends “3000 calories a day for a man and 2200 calories for a woman” (FAO/WHO 1973 quoted in Doyal and Gough 1991:194). Doyal and Gough explain that if a human being lives for some time below this level, that person is chronically malnourished and this leads to the inability to fight off diseases, an overall weakness and inability to get well. In addition, absence of several vitamins or nutrients that fight off specific diseases can also cause these diseases to become prevalent (beri-beri, pellagra and scurvy). Doyal and Gough explain that because calculating calorific intake of people will not determine the nutritional sufficiency, it would be better to measure the satisfaction of this need by measuring the consequences related to food shortage (ibid: 194-195).

Nutrition in Camps

In Kakuma refugee camp, the value of rations distributed to the refugees in 2000 per day was 2100 calories, which both met the WFP/UNHCR minimum standard and exceeded the Kenyan national average intake of 1970 calories.⁹ However, how much of the 2100 calories was actually consumed by refugees can never really be measured. This is because the refugees usually find the content of the

⁹ In 1988 the adequate ration was calculated as 1,900 kilo calories of energy per person per day (keen 1992:6)

food baskets to be insufficient or inappropriate.¹⁰ A large part of this content is also usually used as capital for buying the necessities not provided by the aid agencies.

According to Jamal, “the general ration is ‘grossly deficient’ in vitamins A, B2, C, niacin and iron” (Jamal 2000: 19). Refugees end up thus regularly selling or exchanging a part of their rations for food that they perceive to be more nutritional and/or more appropriate and traditional.¹¹ Trading in their food rations is the only option available to the refugees at Kakuma camp as they have no other means of obtaining food legally; agricultural activities are impossible, refugees are not allowed to raise animals in the camps and they are even forbidden to leave the camp (ibid).

It should also be noted that the funding in Kakuma was cut for kitchen sets necessary to prepare the food provided. This was a part of a decision to prioritise the funding, which gave preference to so-called ‘life-saving’ efforts. The refugees have been deprived of these important items since 1996 (Jamal 2000). To be able to cook part of the food, the refugees were forced to sell another part. Other times, to be able to attain cooked food at all, they had to sell all of their food rations (Jamal 2000: 20). However sometimes, it didn’t matter what the content of the food rations was because the refugees were often collectively deprived of their rations for periods of not less than two weeks as a method of punishment and control (Verdirame 1998:18-19).

Rations are supposed to keep the refugees alive for a long time (Keen 1992: 6-7).¹² Phillips highlights that refugees in Kakuma have indeed remained alive but with malnutrition rates exceeding 17 % (a level only expected of severe nutritional emergencies) for *over six years*. However, this camp remains perceived and portrayed

¹⁰ Evidence put forth by Verdirame (1998) is that many a time the content of the food basket depended on the availability of commodities. One specific time the whole 2100 calories were made up of maize.

¹¹ Sometimes the refugees would sell or exchange their food for other survival items that they deem more necessary, such as a piece of clothing or shoes.

¹² Keen 1992 explains many things need to be taken into consideration when measuring calorific intake a) for active people b) pregnant women, lactating or over worked c) infections or internal parasites increase the need d) possibilities of loss of much of the energy when cooked e) part of food may be used as money. An adequate ration somewhere maybe inadequate another. Supported by Jackson and McGregor (1990).

to be a care-and-maintenance settlement and not a severe nutritional emergency (Philips 2002 as quoted by Crisp 2003).

In other camps, the situation is either similar to or worse than Kakuma. In the few camps where there is a prompt delivery of food rations, nutrition-related diseases such as beri beri, pellagra, and scurvy are still common (Toole 1992; Van Damme 1995). The reasons vary. In Mputa settlement Tanzania, for example, “nutritional standards are poor as a consequence of over-reliance on a basic and unbalanced diet of cassava, maize and bananas” (Armstrong 1988: 64). In cases where the refugees have to grow their own food as well as receive rations, like Mishamo settlement for instance, additional problems have stemmed from the absence of iodine in the soil with the result that more than 60% of refugees are believed to suffer from goitre (Armstrong 1988). In general, Keen’s book *Refugees: Rationing the Right to Life*, provides many examples showing that food rations are seriously inadequate whether for emergencies or for long-term situations where in the latter case he sees no excuse for lack of accurate evaluation of the assistance efforts (1992: 1).

In the rest of the camps where rations are not only inadequate but also scantily delivered, unnecessary deaths occur (Keen 1992: 7). For example, 37,000 metric tonnes of wheat were delivered to Sudan by 1988 but only 15,000 of that amount had reached the refugee camps by 1990 (Woldegabriel 1990). Woldegabriel suggests the reason for this discrepancy is the involvement of many NGOs within the Sudanese border, all placing the blame on each other as none are willing to take responsibility or be accountable (ibid).

Unsatisfactory deliveries have consequences. In Hartisheik A. camp in Ethiopia, for example, Keen points out that because of insufficient deliveries, officials would postpone the distribution until they thought they had enough for all of the

refugees. The result was that the rations which families should have received on a weekly basis were consequently received on a two and three-weeks basis. Moreover, Keen asserts that ration distribution can never be fair since some refugee families have acquired two ration cards while others receive only one (Keen 1992:8).

In addition, the concept of rations in itself is also loaded with problems. In the report of the International symposium on Refugee Nutrition Crisis (1991), it was revealed that refugees treat food rations as an economic asset and not a nutritional one, which led to them bartering or selling part-of or their entire portion. On the other hand, UNHCR's expectations were that the refugees would eat the whole amount and did not take into consideration other variables such as the cooking utensils or even refugee different tastes (7-8). Waldron (1987: 4) supports this:

I feel that the biggest single source of expatriates' resentment of refugees stems from their failure to comprehend that trading donor commodities for other vital goods which are not provided by the international relief effort is also critical to survival. In 1983 there were no meat supplies in the southern Somali camps: Vitamins A and C were not supplied adequately by the 'food basket' ... matches and firewood must be obtained by trade in some camps. Shoes are not supplied. To get these essentials, the refugee must apportion his donor food supplies so that such trade is possible. Thus the refugee, I believe, views donor food as a resource which must be managed and intelligently maximized.

The officials react to the selling of rations by cutting the ration supply on the assumption that if the refugees are selling them, then they are receiving more than they need or even that some have fake ration cards (Waldron 1987; Verdirame and Harrell-Bond 2005). Generally the rations get cut anyway because of the unavoidable reduction in aid (Tania Kaiser 2001). In Ngara, Tanzania, food rations were cut up to 40% in the later half of 2000 while there were virtually no self-reliance projects nor income-generating opportunities (Crisp 2003: 10).

Other times, the reduction occurs because of a belief that the refugees have become self-reliant. In Uganda's refugee camps, for example, when the officials decided that refugees could grow their own food, rations were cut (according to Jones 2002 as quoted by Crisp 2003). In Senegal, food rations for the Mauritanian refugees were cut from 1,955 to 1,700 Kilo calories per person per day by UNHCR with the justification that such an amount would be sufficient to meet the nutritional needs of the refugees (McGregor and Aikman 1991). Some justify food cuts by saying that it made no difference in morbidity rates. In Goma, for example, the aid agency claimed that it was acceptable to cut food rations, because mortality rates according to the medical centres' statistics had not increased. However, these statistics were invalid as it was later shown that only 9.5% of the deceased refugees actually died in medical centres. When those statistics showed 4,330 deaths, the NGO subcontracted to collect the bodies counted 45,535 deaths.¹³

Nutrition in self-settlements

Because aid is usually not delivered until months or years after refugees settle themselves, the first rations are provided by kin, relatives, friends and locals (Kibreab 1990, Williams 1993; McGregor and Aikman 1991). In Zambia, the self-settled refugees mainly attain their food by working in other villagers' fields (Williams 1993). They also continue to receive food gifts from relatives, kin or locals and sometimes resort to selling their possessions in exchange for the food (Williams 1993:142).

In fact, studies on Angolan refugees in Zambia show that the self-settled refugees were able to consume a more culturally appropriate number of meals per day

¹³ This information was provided in the UNHCR/CDC report of July 1994. The bodies were left by the side of the road as the camp was situated on volcanic rocks and it was thus impossible to dig and bury them.

than those in encampments (Hansen 1990:28, Mijere 1990). It can thus be assumed that the refugees were more satisfied with their meals in comparison to their counterparts in camps. Moreover, in Sudan, it was found that self-settled refugees were able to acquire more nutritious food. Moreover, 46.7% of unassisted self-settled refugees in Sudan had had a meal, which contained some protein the day before they were interviewed. (Harrell-bond 1985:13). In addition, as Harrell-Bond (1986) found, these self-settled refugees were in a position to help their relatives in camps when the supplies of rations to these camps were failing.

However, like refugees in camps, the lack of food is one of the very serious problems self-settled refugees have to face. For the Angolans in Zaire, for example, malnutrition was abundant in children and adults (Freund and Kalumba 1986: 307). This was because of the economic situation in Zambia as the Zambian nationals who were being asked by the refugees for support were struggling themselves (Williams 1993).

Lack of food is actually one of the reasons that refugees sometimes voluntarily move to camps in order to receive assistance (Harrell-Bond 1985). Yet, Hansen points out that in Zambia, even the refugees who were “observed to be living a hand-to-mouth existence of bare and difficult subsistence preferred to continue village life and feared being reported to the government” and moved to camps (Hansen 1979b: 370).

4.1.1.2 CLEAN WATER

Complementing nutrition is the need for plenty of harmless clean water as the provision of safe water is necessary to avoid the spreading of infectious diseases that cause death particularly in children. Doyal and Gough (1991:196) explain that the

lack of water represents not only the large amount of illnesses but also the predicament of many women in the third world whose illnesses and weakened health is a direct consequence of the large amounts of water they carry everyday to their families. According to Doyal and Gough (1991), the general consensus about water needs is that quantity takes priority over purity (195). “An ILO study proposes 21 litres per person per day as a desirable target” (ibid: 196).

Water in Camps

UNHCR’s minimum standards necessitate 7 litres/person/day for survival and 15-20 litres/person/day for maintenance (Jamal 2000). The refugees at Kakuma camp are provided with 23 litres/person/day, which is perceived to be a success. It should be noted however, that this figure was during a period where safe water was only accessible to 53 percent of Kenyan nationals. Even though the amount of water provided to Kakuma fulfilled the UNHCR standard, the water points were not evenly distributed and required women (who are responsible for fetching the water) to walk dangerous long distances. In addition, the lack of household water storage facilities only meant that they had to walk those unsafe distances several times a day (Jamal 2000:19).

In general, water in Africa is a scarce commodity and that is why a lot of aid money is directed to water provision (Rogge 1981:203). To make matters worse, camps are usually constructed in desolate areas where water is even more difficult to attain. For example, to provide water for the Ikafe refugee settlement in Uganda wells, as deep as 80 feet, had to be dug (Harrell-Bond 1994b). In Somalia, out of five areas containing refugee camps, four critically lacked water and there was no possibility of creating even the most basic water supply systems because there was just no water at all (Rogge 1981).

In camps where water does in fact exist and pumps and storage systems are constructed, poor maintenance cuts their lifetime in half, as in Sudan for example (Rogge 1981: 203). Camps that do receive a supply of water hardly attain the 7 litres per person per day standard. In Lugufu camp, Tanzania, the water supply is only 6.2-6.7 litres per person per day (Tanzania Refugee situation report 1997). However, in Hartishiek A, in Ethiopia, the refugees were only receiving an average of a quarter of the quantity of water recommended by UNHCR (Keen 1992).

Cleaver (1989) highlights many problems with camp water supplies. First of all, to balance the insufficient number of water points, the encamped refugees tried to use unsafe sources of water to at least wash themselves and their clothes. While Doyal and Gough (1991) argue for quantity over purity, UNHCR reacts by building tall fences around the camps to prevent access to the rivers. Secondly, because there are rarely any suitable water collection containers, a lot of water gets wasted.

Water in self-settlements

There have been unfortunately no accounts in the literature about how self-settled refugees get their water but for this section, it can be assumed that like food, the resources available to the self-settled refugees are the same as those available to the locals.

In Hovil and Werker (2001) one account is available. A self-settled refugee living in Koboko, Uganda is quoted “we can stay together at school and at home and be friends with them. But at the borehole the women will fight, and sometimes even box each other.” The competition over scarce resources inevitably creates tension between the locals and refugees (Hovil and Werker 2001:15)

4.1.1.3 ADEQUATE PROTECTIVE HOUSING

The adequacy of protective housing according to Doyal and Gough is culturally dependent. However, they argue that housing should meet three universal criteria: first, it should offer privacy and reasonable protection from climate, insects and diseases; second, it should provide adequate sanitation; and third, it should not be overcrowded (1991:196-197). If housing does not meet these three criteria then the people living in such housing would be susceptible to both physical and mental illnesses (ibid).

Housing in Camps

In Kakuma, Jamal (2000) points out that even though plastic sheeting is not an a practical solution even in the “medium-term”, UNHCR’s temporary approach means that eight years after their initial influx, refugees in Kakuma are still being provided this plastic sheeting. Both tents and plastic sheeting are costly and generally need to be delivered over considerable distances (Neldner 1979: 398). Neldner (1979) explains that it would be cheaper to encourage refugees to construct traditionally suitable homes. It is my contention that UNHCR continues to provide these temporary means in order to infuse the temporary nature of asylum and prevent the refugees from building homes they would consider to be permanent. In the case of Meheba camp, Zambia, Bakewell (2000) asserts, however, that the standard of housing was better than that in the local villages.

Sanitation in Kakuma meets the minimum standard requirement of 1latrine/20 persons since one latrine was provided for every 15 refugees. Jamal exclaims this is “undignified for persons who have been in one place for several years” (2000:19). In

Mozambican refugee camps in Zimbabwe, as Cleaver 1989 determines, lack of planning led to an uneven distribution of latrines where in some areas each house had a latrine while others had none. There is a lack of adequate latrines and what is worse is the restriction on bush areas, which could provide an alternative. “As a result the sight and smell of human faeces is common in the camps” (Cleaver 1989:6). In Goma and Guinea, the three refugee camps Kibumba, Mubumba and Katale were situated on small areas of volcanic rock which made it impossible to dig latrines or bury the dead (Van Damme 1995).

As far as overcrowding is concerned, minimum standards are just about satisfied with the (approximately) 4.7 square metres/person/shelter given to refugees in Kakuma (Jamal 2000:20).

Housing in self-settlements

The results of Williams’ study of self-settlements showed refugees to be less concerned about shelter than their other needs (1993). Lack of clothing and blankets were the next most frequently cited problems after food. Shelter, however, was not mentioned as a problem by any refugee in the study (Williams 1993: 142-143). Presumably, they built their own satisfactory housing.

In Hansen and Mijere’s studies (1990 and 1990), the scheme-settled refugees had access to blankets while both the self-settled and the locals did not. It is important to note that even though the refugees each received a blanket from UNHCR on arrival at Meheba, many had to sell the blankets to the older refugees in the settlement in order to buy food and other deemed more important goods. The blanket traders in the village travelled to get blankets from the capital and were unsuccessful because blankets are a luxury item in Zambia in general. Blankets, however, are important culturally to Angolans (and other refugees) because they are used to bury the dead.

Like food, Williams (1993) shows that most self-settled refugees (71%) were given shelter by kin, while some 20% were given shelter by the locals and 9% received shelter from friends they knew across the border. Karunakara (2004) also shows that self-settled refugees in Uganda rent their housing from the locals.

It is important to realise that in self-settlements, there is a high dependency ratio because of the numbers of extended family members who join already settled relatives and kin. This is in addition to large numbers of elderly and disabled persons as well as a high percentage of fostered children (Freund and Kalumba 1986: 305).

4.1.1.4 NON-HAZARDOUS WORK ENVIRONMENT

Excessive hours, hazardous environment and excessively repetitive work can impair autonomy, which is seriously harmful (Doyal and Gough 1991: 199-200). According to Doyal and Gough, excessive hours can debilitate people both mentally and physically, a hazardous environment can put people at risk of occupational injury and/or illness and excessively repetitive work can provide a negative sense of self. Doyal and Gough add that the lack of control over one's work causes anxiety, depression and low self-esteem (199-200).

Work environment in Camps

Excessive hours and repetitive work is a characteristic of refugee camp work if there is work to begin with. In Kakuma, for example, even though the refugees do not have any work opportunities, part of the women's role is to fetch water (Jamal 2000). In doing so, as mentioned earlier, the women have to walk great distances and are thus exposed to violence and rape. As there is also no proper storage containers for the

water, the women had to repeat those distances several times a day and were susceptible to attacks more than once a day (Jamal 2000: 19).

Exploitative employment or work for minimal rewards is common in refugee camps (Kaiser 2001 in Crisp 2003). Girls in Kakuma, for example, turn to prostitution in the absence of alternatives. Fathers even sell their daughters (Verdirame and Harrell-Bond 2005). In general sexual exploitation is common in refugee camps (Dick 2002 in Crisp 2003).

Work environment in self-settlements

On the other hand, self-settled refugees live with the locals in their villages and thus are exposed to no more hazards than are the locals. For example the Angolan self-settled refugees in Zambia are employed in villagers' fields and that is their most common form of employment (Williams 1993: 142). Nearer to the border areas with Angola, poor security restricts the access to hunting areas and limits the fish trade (Freud and Kalumba 307).

Refugees outside camps that find livelihoods that they are comfortable with, are denied assistance as they are seen first to be self-reliant and second to not be abiding by camp and assistance rules (Verdirame and Harrell-Bond 2005). For example, Sudanese refugees that had brought cattle with them were isolated from the Ikafa settlement to allow grazing. Many Sudanese from within the camp that had been provided with plots of land for farming, decided to leave the camp and join the others. "It was debated whether these refugees should receive assistance as they did not abide by camp rules" (147).

4.1.1.5 NON-HAZARDOUS PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

“Even in situations of satisfactory provision of water, nutrition, sanitation, housing and occupation, a hazardous environment can still maim and kill” (Doyal and Gough 1991: 200). The existence of pollutants and types of environmental degradation are serious threats to both health and autonomy.

Physical environment in Camps

First of all, camps are usually assigned land that is isolated, remote and inhospitable (Rogge 1981; Reynell 1989; Wilson 1992; Zetter 1992; Kibreab 1993; Callamard 1994). In Tanzania for example, Zairean refugee camp Lugufu is located in a swampy area where land is always wet as a result of heavy rains (Tanzania refugee situation report). Camps in Kenya are located in semi-arid deserts like Kakuma, the Turkana District. These areas are known for their severe temperatures of up to 40-42 degrees coupled with the continual lack of water and sometimes drought for most of the year (Verdirame 1999: 15-16). Ikafe refugee settlement in Uganda, for example, was set up in an area sparsely populated because of a serious lack of water, and in some areas was infested by tse tse flies and scorpions (Harrell-Bond 1994b).

Another aspect of refugee settlements and one of the most important health concerns is overcrowding since it allows infectious diseases to spread rapidly (Lusty 1979: 352). Infectious diseases include “epidemics of measles, cholera, dysentery, and meningitis” (Van Damme 1995). According to Zetter, the majority of camps are overcrowded (Zetter 1998: 49). The Mozambican refugee camps in Zimbabwe have all exceeded their actual holding capacity (Cleaver 1989: 3). Even Kakuma camp which meets minimum standards, houses 65,000 refugees while the limit suggested by

the UNHCR emergency Handbook of 20,000 per camp is already considered to be quite large (Jamal 2000:20).

Physical environment in Self-settlements

There is not much evidence available in the literature about the physical environment of self-settlement. However, it was found that infectious diseases are more common in camps than with the local population (Van Damme 1999). In addition, as long as the refugees are dispersed in local villages and not concentrated in one area, the attacks are fewer if at all.

The physical threat to self-settled refugees is mostly from the host government itself. The self-settled refugees remain hidden from the government as they are in constant fear of being rounded up and placed forcibly in camps (UNHCR 2000b).

4.1.1.6 APPROPRIATE HEALTH CARE

The availability of medicare -preventative, curative and palliative- is necessary for good health (Doyal and Gough 202-204). According to Doyal and Gough (1991), there should be a worldwide emphasis on primary health care which would identify illnesses and treat them at an early stage while educating people about the means to prevent diseases.

Health care in Camps

In Kakuma, emergency indicators are said to be under control. However, the temporary mind-set of UNHCR strikes again and the structures of the health care facilities are not permanent. The costs are high on the long run (Jamal 2000: 21). Even though a permanent facility is urgently needed locally and Jamal suggests UNHCR

could be able to draw international aid for such a project, that would make the refugee presence profitable to the locals, there has been no such effort (Jamal 2000:21).

Verdirame even provides several cases where the need to keep the refugees monitored and accounted for at all times may have resulted in UNHCR's insistence on keeping certain severe cases in Kakuma camp instead of sending them to a local hospital where they could have received proper medical care (Veriderame 1999:14).

In general, "there is an all too common link between refugee ill-health and camps" (van der Borgh and Philips -writers for Médecins sans frontières- quoted by Black 1998). The Mozambican refugee camps in Zimbabwe, can serve as a good case in point as it illustrates what happens -or some variation of it- in most refugee cases. In these camps the lack of trained medical staff, adequate equipment and place constrained appropriate health care services. The results were so that measles, malnutrition, acute respiratory infections and diarrhoea were all causing deaths while diseases of the eye, diseases of the skin, sexually transmitted diseases, pellagra, tuberculosis, bilharzia and leprosy created misery (Cleaver 1989: 3-4).

However, any medical assistance would be greatly appreciated in these poor underdeveloped areas in Africa since the medical services provided to the camps sometimes even exceed the standards provided to the locals. In Meheba camp, for example, the health care services were better than those available to the Zambian villages (Bakewell 2000). Also in Tanzania, even though there was a higher level of child birth complications as well as sleeping sickness, both the preventative and the curative medical service in the camps were able to decrease both death and illness rates in comparison with the rest of Tanzania (Armstrong 1988).

Health care in self-settlements

Organized settlements' reputation for disease and death is one of the reasons self-settled refugees choose to stay away from them according to Hansen's interviews with Angolan self-settled refugees (Hansen 1982; 1981). In fact, the lack of medical facilities made some refugees move to camps (Harrell-Bond 1985: 11).

Hansen (1979a) points out that the self-settled refugees in Zambia were capable of making use of local medical facilities. But although they had access to the public clinics, the lack of registration cards meant that they had difficulties in obtaining medical services (Freund and Kalumba 1986: 307).

Nevertheless there are some diseases that are more common in camps than in self-settlements according to Van Damme (1995). "It is mainly in camps that avitaminosis such as beri beri, pellagra, and scurvy are still widespread because of increased transmission through overcrowding, epidemics of measles, cholera, dysentery and meningitis become major killers in camps, more than in other situations. The bigger the camps the more pronounced these effects become" (Van Damme 1995:361).

Medecins sans Frontieres found that in Malawi, the refugees in camps were more severely affected by the pellagra epidemic than those self-settled (McGregor and Aikman 1991: 3). Van Damme also states that there is evidence in Goma and Guinea that self-settled refugees fared better than those in camps and were less affected by the cholera (1995: 360). A solution that is commended is that the refugees in Guinea had free access to clinics and hospitals while UNHCR paid for the refugee visits the same amount the locals would have paid. That way, instead of wasting funds on setting up new structures, the money went into reinforcing the existing centres in order to absorb the load. This health care system became the best in the country yet when UNHCR

found difficulty keeping count of the refugees, it convinced the government to change the situation and keep refugees in camps (Van Damme 1995).

Van damme's study on health care for self-settled refugees in Guinea observed that the limited impact of epidemics there was due to 'the dispersion and the general situation of the refugees... more than the effectiveness of epidemic control measures'

4.1.1.7 SAFE BIRTH CONTROL AND CHILD BEARING

Many of the diseases that affect women are related to their reproductive organs and their ability to bear children (Doyal and Gough 1991:217). The choice itself to become a mother is important for a woman's autonomy (ibid).

Forced migration places women at a higher risk of getting pregnant without their consent because of their susceptibility to rape (Karunakara 2004: 105). It also places them at a higher risk of infections during the pregnancy and could place the foetus itself at risk (Wulf 1994 in Karunakara 2004:106).

Reproductive health in camps

According to the inter-agency field manual "Reproductive health in refugee situations" (UNHCR 1999), the minimum initial services package includes as well as collection or estimation of statistical information, the prevention and management of the consequences of sexual and gender-based violence, prevent HIV transmission, prevent excess neonatal and maternal morbidity and mortality, plan for the provision of comprehensive RH services and identify an organisation to take out these responsibilities (18).

In Kakuma, a national NGO (The National Council of Churches of Kenya) (NCKK) manages reproductive health. Jamal shows that giving this sector to a local

NGO means that the care will be given to the refugees for as long as it takes and there is no threat of them leaving. Due to its specialised activities, this NGO is able to attract outside funding for its cause. Their birth control activities are seen as a way of protecting children and preventing war as the more value parents place on their child, the more they will take care of them (Jamal 2000:21).

A case study of Rwandan refugees in a report from the women's commission for refugee women and children points out that "most of the women do not give birth in the camp hospitals... we learnt that this is because Rwandan women prefer the squatting position and in the hospital not only must they lie down but their family members are not allowed to be present (Walker 1995: 10).

Reproductive Health in Self-settlements

There is no evidence available in the literature about reproductive health in self-settlements.

4.2 Part 2: Personal Autonomy

What is autonomy?

Minimal autonomy “is to have the ability to make informed choices about what should be done and how to go about doing it” (Doyal and Gough 1991:53). Doyal and Gough (1991) explains that this entails the capability of forming one’s own opinions and beliefs, deciding on certain goals and planning the paths to achieving these goals. It also includes the ability to assess the success or failure of the achievements. It also entails being both responsible for and being held responsible for ones actions. In sum, Doyal and Gough state that autonomy is basically being in control of both one’s thoughts and one’s actions (ibid).

Conceptualising autonomy negatively

As we have mentioned earlier, to meet the basic need of autonomy, it is necessary to minimize mental illness, cognitive deprivation and restricted opportunity to participate in social activities (Doyal and Gough 1991: 172).

Doyal and Gough explain that autonomy has then three components

- 1) Mental health (psychological capacity)
- 2) Learning and cognitive skills (understanding)
- 3) Participation in socially meaningful activities (opportunities)

4.2.1 Emotional components of personal autonomy

4.2.1.1 SECURITY IN CHILDHOOD

Doyal and Gough consider security in childhood to be a central component of personal autonomy. It is in childhood that most of a person’s personality takes shape

and this is when s/he either learns mastery or helplessness. Doyal and Gough assert that for autonomy to grow in an individual it is necessary that s/he is given at least the minimal amount of “security, stimulation, recognition and responsibility” (1991:207). Two things contribute to the satisfaction of these factors: a familiar environment and the input of significant others in one’s life (ibid).

In the case of refugees, it must be noted that the experience of refugees is, in itself, de-socialising (Hansen 1981). Therefore, although an adult, the refugee is person is socially reduced to the level of a child that needs re-socialisation (Hansen 1981). In essence, then the needs of children are also the needs of refugees.

Childhood security in Camps

The camp environment is not familiar to the refugee and encompasses none of the traditional roles, organisations and authorities (Kibreab 1990: 11). According to Hyndman, people don’t form communities in camps as they would do if they were settled independently (Hyndman 2000). In addition, the adult refugees in camps suffer from insecurity and restricted opportunities, which distresses the children.

Refugee children are very often separated from their families during the flight. After arrival, it is common that families are split up within a camp or between one or more camps (Wilson 1992). Many refugee children end up being cared for by someone other than their own parent. Being cared for and raised by relatives, kin and even friends of the family is common for African children (Bakewell 2003). However, when in a camp, every child has to be reported, registered and the necessary fostering agreements made according to the administrative system placed by UNHCR. This entitles the foster family extra assistance for each child registered and children many a time get accepted by a family only for the extra aid that would be granted them. As Bakewell (2003) suggests, this system undermines traditional child-care mechanisms.

The administrative structure in camps, according to Ager is often one that fosters dependency, which is an environment in which children's development is curtailed (Ager 1992).

Childhood security in Self-settlements

Self-settlements on the other hand offer a different picture. Karunakara (2004) suggests that there could be a larger amount of orphan children living without assistance in self-settlements than the amount in camps.

Refugees usually self-settle in areas that are familiar and enable them to continue as much as possible their original life employing their traditional coping mechanisms, local resources, knowledge and existing social relationships (Kibreab 1990:11, Hansen 1981: Colson and Scudder as quoted by Williams 1993). As Hansen asserts

The village world is a known one; the problems and processes of absorption and re-establishment are familiar from personal and popular experience. Further risk and uncertainty are minimised if the refugees can manage to continue in that known environment. At the same time, village life minimises desocialisation and maximises the transfer of maintenance of previous rank, status and prestige. Although material wealth is greatly reduced in flight, the refugee continues to live in a place where his or her experience, skills and acquired knowledge may be put to use (Hansen 1981: 192).

When children find themselves in a village atmosphere with kin, relatives, friends of the family or even community leaders, there is a familiarity that provides the child with a sense of security and support. They have a better chance of re-establishing their original way of life (De Wolf 1995: 20).

4.2.1.2 SIGNIFICANT PRIMARY RELATIONSHIPS

Primary relationships are defined by the theory of human need to be a network of individual reinforcers who provide an educative and emotionally secure environment (Doyal and Gough 1991:207). The indicator here is thus the ability *to choose* the networks and to rely on them when in need (210).

For refugees it has to be pointed out that many of the people who supported and surrounded the individual or group are dead or left behind –“stripping away emotional attachments, role relationships, and networks of kinships and association”. (Hansen 1979b)

Significant primary relationships in Camps

The reconstruction of social life is prevented when refugees are forced into camps (Harrell-Bond 1996). The refugees live in “...continued traumatising, anxiety about forced repatriation and uncertainties regarding resettlement, which make psychosocial healing impossible” (Hauff and Vaglum 1995 quoted in Karunakara 2004: 9).

Harrell-Bond stresses the importance of mobility, which is necessary if the refugees are to find relatives or groups they wish to stay with (1994b: ii). Freedom and mobility are very rare commodities in camps. Refugees are usually not only separated from the locals, but also from each other because for administrative reasons UNHCR allocates plots of land to refugees according to their time of arrival.¹⁴ What also needs to be noted is that in most camps, the staff -which usually includes

¹⁴ This means parts of the same family could be located in different parts of the camp according to the time they arrived or in different camps altogether (Wilson 1992). As reuniting takes time, they can be years before they are able to be with each other.

international as well as local workers- is also separated from the refugees “for security reasons” (IKAFE is one example in Van der Gaag 1996: 9, and camps in Kenya in Hyndman 2000; Verdirame and Harrell-Bond 2005).

This separation from the locals and the staff is problematic for the maintenance and creation of significant primary relationships (example: Guinea in Van Damme 1999). Even when refugees are of the same ethnic origin as the locals, the physical separation enforced by refugee encampment means that no real relationships could form between them (Mageed and Ramaga 1987:4). Mageed and Ramaga explain that this is because the isolation of refugees in camps makes them feel like a minority in a larger society; they feel ostracised. Camps thus, reinforce ideas of temporary refuge and maintain the refugee’s sense of outsider identity (1987: 5-6).

Unfortunately, actions meant to be supportive do not actually support unless the refugees perceived them as such. For instance, the aid agencies’ many attempts to provide community services within camps quite often fail as the refugees do not perceive these acts as supportive (Bakewell 2003). “The only thing they expect from the workers is to provide goods, and judge the workers according to the amount of goods they receive... They will thus not appreciate any attempts to force them to become autonomous and rely on themselves, and take it as an attempt to save on money” (2003:6).

What is also important is the encamped refugee relationship with the aid organisation responsible for the aid in the camp. Merx (2000) states that this relationship takes the shape of the relationship between father and child. In Africa, this means complete and blind obedience and trust on the part of the child. UNHCR has the last word on any decision the refugees need to make (Harrell-Bond 1985).

This alien form of administration imposes its own rules on the refugee community often giving traditional female roles to the men or vice versa creating hostility and resentment (Walker 1995).

Significant primary relationships in Self-settlements

Self-settled refugees usually gravitate towards areas that people of the same ethnicity inhabit. In this way they usually settle with kin or friends and relatives who have already settled in the rural areas of the host country. These self-settled refugees form communities, which create support systems that enable more recent refugees to settle easily. The people are familiar and so is their environment (Williams 1993; Hansen 1990; Harrell-Bond 1986).

Refugees perceive support and help as two different things. Williams' study on Angolan refugees in Zambia shows that self-settled refugees gave different answers to the questions *who gave you the assistance you needed when you first arrived?* and *who supported you the most when you first arrived?* (1993:142-144).

There is a conception that there needs to be kin in the country of first asylum in order for self-settled refugees to receive assistance. However, Williams' study (1993) points out that although older refugees did rely mainly on kin, more recent refugees received assistance from village headmen, church members, and locals. The self-settled refugees were found to have many relationships with relatives and people they already knew before flight and also with locals or other refugees they got to know after they settled. This is due according to Williams (1993) to their freedom of movement, which allowed them to form long-term social relationships.

“Chain migrations” is also discussed by Williams where migration of people to a site where previously known individuals had already migrated. Networks were created which include relatives, neighbours, friends, and others (Williams 1993).

Although Spring (1979) concerns herself with the divorce patterns of the refugees and the assimilation patterns of women and men, Williams shows that spouses to the Angolans were not considered part of the supportive network as is custom in the West (Williams 1993: 148).

Being able to have significant relationships specifically with the locals is important for the refugees. In the long run, it has been found that the self-settled refugees are capable of forming peaceful ties if nothing else with the locals because they are living among them (i.e. dealing and communicating with them on a daily basis) (Mageed and Ramaga 1987:3; Harrell-Bond 1985:3). Freund and Kalumba point out that 79% of the self-settled refugees they interviewed indicated that they had no difficulties being accepted by their hosts. In fact, 23% of refugee men had married Zambian women and 17% of refugee women had married Zambian men (1986: 307).

4.2.1.3 ECONOMIC SECURITY

Economic security is the sense of control over those assets (means of production) that provide a basis from which other needs can be satisfied (Doyal and Gough 1991:210). This control allows the person to channel efforts into establishing a chosen future. If not, then the person becomes dependent on securing any form of wage labour which places an overwhelming threat of unemployment (ibid).

Economic Security in the Camps

Because camps are a model of the planners' idea of what is good for others, refugees are left out of the decision making process (Kibreab 1990). Not only do outsiders make the decisions, but refugee traditional roles are also taken over by aid

workers and locals. For example, rural refugees in Africa normally either grow their own food or at least choose it themselves and to be deprived of this unarguably takes away from their sense of security associated with their ability to provide for themselves (ibid). Even in the 'successful' Kakuma camp in Kenya, the severe climate gives little possibility of agriculture while the refugees are forbidden to keep cattle. Both factors leave the encamped refugees totally dependent on aid (Veriderame 15-16).

Indeed, Black (1998) stresses camp insecurity has a lot to do with withdrawal of aid because refugees depend mainly on rations regardless of any small income-generating projects that they may have access to. Not to mention, that rations are often used as a means of controlling (punishing or rewarding) the refugees (Verdirame 1998).

According to Rogge, suitable land that can be made available to the refugees is very difficult to find in Africa (Rogge 1981, Kibreab 1989).¹⁵ In addition, Kibreab describes how land given to refugees is used without being allowed to lie fallow, which also decreases the yield (1989: 486). In Sudan, some camps are situated in areas that have very little rainfall, which makes crop failure frequent (Karunakara 2004). Other areas experiences poor produce as the soil lacked nutrients while being heavily infested by weeds as a result of the over-cultivation. (Kibreab quoted by Crisp 2003). As Yousif concurs, in Sudan, because refugees are allocated very small plots of land, the continuous cultivation causes the soil to deplete which results in poor yields (Yousif 1998: 15). In Uganda, the Oruchinga camp for Rwandan refugees is a similar case, the soil is infertile due to the smallness of the plots of land and lack of necessary equipment (Jones 2002 as quoted in Crisp 2003).

¹⁵ Even though land was available in Zambia and 75% of refugees interviewed were given land, poor soil resulted in poor yields, 56% said food supply insufficient to their needs (Rogge 1981).

However, even in areas where land has been plentiful and agricultural settlements are said to have reached self-sufficiency, the refugees are still not economically secure. Rogge (1981) maintains that land tenure is insecure in settlements, demarcation is imprecise and the refugees are not assigned individual plots. A further complication is how encamped refugees do not perceive the land they are given to be theirs (ibid). Overall thus, the successes of any income-generating attempts are minimal which keeps the refugees dependent on rations (Rogge 1981).

Refugees are aware of this dependency and most choose not to stay in camps. Some even choose to go back and face the perils of their country of origin from which they fled rather than stay dependent on rations in a camp.¹⁶ One refugee was quoted saying

At least in Somalia, we still try to do something with our lives, although it is not easy because of the fighting. But I prefer Somalia to Kakuma, where there is nothing one can do. If something goes wrong in Somalia, I will die in my country. If I have to choose my death, I prefer to be shot dead in Somalia than to starve to death in Kakuma (Veriderame 1999: 13).

Although refugees living in the settlements were given land to cultivate, only 27% of those surveyed (including dependents) were able to sell any of their crops, while 64% needed to resort to other forms of work (Hovil and Werker 2001:16).

Other economic constraints are explained by Werker (2002), who lists; the isolation geographically, inadequate market size, the elevated costs of transportation, insufficient information, unfortunate terms of trade and taxes within the settlement itself. A simple example is in Tanzania where although the refugee income reached half or two thirds of the income of locals, because of the isolation of the camps and the restrictions on refugee movements, refugees were unable to increase this income

¹⁶ Push factor used by UNHCR to compel refugees to repatriate is to cut food aid and make staying in the camps unbearable. According to Veriderame, this has already been documented by Human rights Watch in 'Uncertain refuge: International Failures to Protect Refugees' April 1997.

by selling their crops in the markets from which Tanzanian locals usually earned half of their average income (Armstrong 1988). Armstrong asserts refugee well being in organised settlements or camps is both unstable and insecure (ibid).

Economic Security in the Self-settlements

It is worth noting that Africa is the only continent where the peasant class owns its own means of production and is independent of other social classes (Hyden quoted by Kibreab 1990:15). By choosing to self-settle, rural refugees in Africa attempt thus to maintain their independence and ability to control their own means of production. Because the self-settled refugees' fate lies in their own hands, they are able to make decisions, which help them retain their traditions and continue to some extent their former way of life (Kibreab 1990).

According to Hansen (1981: 188), for all refugees, it is a "true hand to mouth existence" when they first arrive in the country of first asylum. He determines that around five years are needed before refugees are capable of acquiring a standard of living considered normal by the locals (Hansen 1981: 188). Hansen adds that those with certain disadvantages like for example the old, are only capable (even after five or more years) of attaining a poor or below-normal standard (ibid).

Ayok Chol and Mbago show that from the results of the surveys they conducted with self-settled refugees, the most serious problem that refugees experienced on first arriving in Tanzania was employment (1990:310). In both Zambia and Guinea, the local leaders gave refugees the support in acquiring land in order to build houses and farm (Bakewell 2000: Van Damme 1999). However according to Rogge (1981), insecurity of land tenure is also a problem for the self-settled. In Zaire, for example, some refugees were forced to repatriate as the government took over their land or business to push them into moving into camps

(Rogge 1981: 208). Hansen (1981) describes the many ways these self-settled refugees were capable of earning a living in Zambia as long as they remained hidden from the government. The refugees mostly gained work on local farms, which earned them enough for their daily subsistence diet. They also gathered food items (caterpillars, termites, honey) and construction materials from the bush. Refugee women brewed beers and helped other women process food while some men were hired out to carry goods for fish traders and peddlers in addition to working as artisans. (Hansen 1981: 187-188).

In Guinea, according to Van Damme (1999), agricultural activities were unavailable and the self-sufficiency of refugees thus depended on their integration into the host community. Their livelihood was intertwined with that of the host as “they shared the lives of the Guineans, worked on their farms and participated fully in the rural subsistence economy” (Van Damme 1999:51). Because the refugees self-settle they dispersed themselves in order to take advantage of economic opportunities. Those in camps, however, suffered from population density and isolation from the host society, which impeded their economic integration. “They often moved out of the camps to live in a more integrated way” (Van Damme 1999: 51-52).

Hansen (1990) asserts that village refugees and locals were much more self-reliant in staple food production than those in Meheba scheme. He adds, 70% of self-settled refugee men were totally self-reliant in subsistence compared to 29% in camps (Hansen 1990: 25). In the Sudan, Kuhlman asserts that the organised settlements failed to achieve the same standard of living that the non-assisted refugees achieved (Kuhlman 1994: 297).

A crucial factor in this independence is the refugees’ ability to move in search of different opportunities of employment (Kibreab 1990). Choosing to self-settle

many a time is based on prior knowledge of the area and what resources are available for the refugees to use (ibid). For example, the Ugandans who self-settled in Sudan chose the area because they were aware of the triangular border trade between Uganda, Zaire and Sudan and predicted many economic opportunities (Mageed and Ramaga 1987).

Hansen points out that even though income is not as stable or not as evenly distributed in self-settlements in Zambia as it is in some camps (1990:21), no matter what their standard of living, the refugees still viewed those who settled themselves in the villages as having been more successful (Hansen 1979b). Armstrong suggests that even though the self-settled refugees do not benefit from any assistance and do not have many of the privileges refugees in settlements do, however they benefit from having control over their means of production and thus their future (Armstrong 1988: 66).

4.2.1.4 PHYSICAL SECURITY

Physical security is the protection against any form of violence (Doyal and Gough 1991: 212). Doyal and Gough explain that the violence can be caused by an individual or by an agency of the state, but the definition is very specific that it needs not more qualification.

Physical security in camps

Black 1998 points out that the camps increase insecurity just by the mere fact that refugees are forced to live in them (cited in Bakewell 2001:4). In Kakuma, Kenya, “incidents involving death and serious injury take place on a daily basis’ and

‘outbreaks of violence and unrest occur without warning’ (Crisp 2000 in Crisp 2003). According to the studies on both Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps, the roots of such violence is the entrapment of exiled populations (Crisp 2000 in Crisp 2003).

Crisp 2000 shows that there is a consensus amongst analysts and practitioners that refugee camps are, in fact, dangerous places (9). Threats to physical security in refugee camps are summarized to include “direct military attacks or bombardment, caught in the cross-fire or armed conflict, armed raids by rebel groups or enemy forces, ethnic or political (factional) conflict between refugees or between refugees and locals, violent crime inside or outside settlement, abuse or intimidation by camp authorities or refugee leaders” (Jacobsen 1999:11) and can take the form of either military attacks or non-military violence such as intimidation, coercion and crime (Crisp 2000).

For security reasons, it is recommended in article 2 (6) of the OAU convention that camps/settlements are placed (a reasonable distance) away from the country’s border and are small enough to ensure that they are properly managed and law and order are maintained (Rutinwa 1999:16-17). However, practically speaking this is rarely the case. Camps are usually set up as close to the border as possible to facilitate refugee return and diminish their infiltration into the country. Harrell-Bond maintains that all the refugee camps in Uganda were located closer to the border than the 50 kilometers preferred (1994b: 11).

Refugees in camps are thus concentrated in isolated areas near the border where they are easily targeted by the same enemy they fled from. In May 1999, Sierra Leonean refugees in Tassin refugee camp in Guinea were attacked by Sierra Leonean

forces. This was one of several attacks targeting refugee camps since March of the same year (Human Rights Watch Press: 1999).¹⁷

Militias have also been known to abuse refugee camps by posing as refugees. The aid provided in the camp allows the fighters to rest and recuperate, recruit soldiers and plan and launch attacks (Barber 1997). Rwandan refugee camps in the Great Lakes region are good examples of how refugees placed in camps run the risk of becoming targets of militia (UNHCR 1997; Prunier 1999; Goodwin-Gill 1996; Terry 2002).

As well as placing militias with the refugees in the camps, the aid agencies may also not realise that they are placing warring sides of a conflict together like for example the mostly Somali camps in Kenya. The significant amount of rapes in these camps were found to have occurred based on clan hostilities as the male members of one clan would target the females of another (Musse 1994).

Maintaining order in the camps has also led some camp police to use excessive force (Verdirame and Harrell-Bond 2005). One UNHCR officer in a refugee camp in Kenya, was seen beating a refugee because she did not understand that he wanted them to sit down while they waited for plastic sheeting. This officer said “beating refugees with sticks is not in UNHCR policy, but sometimes we have to do it”, a colleague of his explained that “Somali women need this because they don’t understand like men” (Walkup 1997a: 83-4 quoted in Verdirame and Harrell-Bond 2005)

For refugees in Mongola, Magburu and Maaji settlements under the Self Reliance strategy in Adjumani, Northern Uganda, the greatest problem is insecurity. This is because the refugees are all grouped in one place, which makes rebel attacks

¹⁷ This attack was the fifth one on refugee camps in the Forecariah area of Guinea where Tassin camp was situated, however several other attacks were reported in the Gueckedou area which houses 350,000 Sierra Leoneans in refugee camps.

easy. They attack one area at the same time and loot, and destroy as much as they can. Many resort to sleeping in the bushes rather than in the houses for fear of rebel attacks (Hovil 2001).

According to Rutinwa (1999), the concentration of such a great amount of people in a chaotic situation (i.e. settlements) inevitably leads to security problems. “This insecurity leaks onto the outside of the camps as the locals are also affected by the criminal activities of the refugees” (ibid: 17). Harrell-Bond found that aid divides the locals and the refugees rather than promote their peaceful coexistence because it fuels resentment and hatred (Harrell-Bond 1985).

In addition, the encamped refugees become loyal to those who provide aid (i.e. UNHCR) and denounce the local police and authority. Harrell-Bond thinks this means that they actually forgot who their host is (1985:19) but it is my contention that they might just be trying to manipulate the system because they feel they have no stake in it.

Physical security in self-settlements

Yet another reason refugees choose to self-settle rather than move to organised settlements is their fear of forced repatriation: a fear of returning to the violence in their countries of origin (Hansen 1981: 189).

By settling in self-settlements the refugees try to ensure that their fate is in their hands not in UNHCR's or the host country's and therefore try to maximize on their physical security (Kibreab 1990:14). Whether they relocate, repatriate, integrate, the decision is theirs and is considered by the refugees to be maximizing their physical security and autonomy (ibid).

Approximately more than 20% of refugees in self-settlements did not register in a camp because they were afraid of camps. While over 70% didn't register in

camps because they were satisfied with their condition as they were. (Harrell-Bond 13)

In Uganda, Many self-settled in Moyo explained they had left settlements because of the insecurity they had felt there (Hovil 2002: 19). Yet self-settled refugees also expressed fear of insecurity and attack and moved to a different area because of this fear (20). In Arua district, “among the refugees living in the settlements, 43% did not feel safe, whereas only 24% of the self-settled did not feel safe” (Hovil and Werker 2001: 7). Hovil and werker point out that there were those in Arua and in Adjumani districts who did not feel secure either in self-settlements or in camps and those were the young boys who feared recruitment by the armed forces (ibid). In Imvepi settlement it was complained that the camp authority itself is a threat as sometimes they would turn to violence if the refugees complained about the rations (ibid: 13).

4.2.2 Cognitive components of personal autonomy

4.2.2.1 EDUCATION

“Learning plays a dual role in enhancing autonomy. First it provides the linguistic and practical skills and the appropriate knowledge to enable individuals to participate successfully within their own culture. Second it can release individuals from the confines of that culture and provide them with the conceptual wherewithal to evaluate it in the light of the knowledge about the other cultural practices which have emerged on our planet” (Doyal and Gough 1991:188). The first role is the one, which concerns this thesis.

Education in Camps

Jamal (2000) writes that in Kakuma, Kenya the refugee population's priority essential need, along with income generation is education and vocational training. "Education is valued highly by refugees as it affords respectability and often propels the educated to a position of being a spokesperson for the community" (Karunakara 2004:77).

Although the refugees value education so much, there could be external reasons affecting refugee attendance, like for example the lack of proper clothes or washing supplies (Harrell-Bond 2000).

According to Karunakara (2004) schools are set up for refugees long after the refugee camps are established. Primary education is provided in most camps (ibid). In Zambia, for example, there were better educational opportunities for refugees in the camps, which made encamped refugees more literate than the self-settled (Hansen 1990, Bakewell 2000).

Education in Self-settlements

Lack of education encouraged some self-settled refugees to move to camps in Sudan (Harrell-Bond 1985:11). However Karunakara (2004) asserts that refugees move out of the camps as soon as their children finish school.

Indeed education is very important to them and usually the self-settled have to compete with the locals for the same educational facilities, which unfortunately are already lacking (Rose 1987).

There are usually some constraints to self-settled refugees gaining access to the local schools. Freund and Kalumba stated that although self-settled refugees in

Zambia had access to the local schools, for some households this was held back because they did not have registration cards (1986: 307, Hansen 1979a).

There are examples however of self-settled refugees that have been able to mobilise themselves in a way as to create their own schools; the primary and secondary schools in Koboko, Sudan and the Lutaya self-help school outside Yei town in Uganda as Karunakara 2004 shows.

Even if the self-settled refugees do not get access to the local schooling system, in some cases, the refugees are organised enough to create their own school. Mageed and Ramaga explain that refugees who self-settle are more motivated to learn the language of the host country while those in camps are not (1987:6). It is also noteworthy to say that one local was cited to have said he hoped the refugees stayed in the villages because they increased the population and “governments will only bring things like schools and clinics to an area if it holds lots of people and they won’t bother if the people have gone”(Bakewell 2000).

4.2.3 Social components of personal autonomy

4.2.3.1 PARTICIPATION

Human autonomy also entails the opportunity to participate in a socially meaningful activity (Doyal and Gough 1991). According to Doyal and Gough (1991) threats to autonomy are twofold, first is role deprivation and second is role stress which means that two or more conflicting social roles inhibit successful participation in any one of them (185). “Many disadvantaged groups throughout the world face an unenviable choice between no work and excessive hours of work, both of which inhibit broader forms of participation” (187).

Participation opportunities in Camps

According to Kibreab camps do not create an environment which entails any of the traditional roles familiar to refugees, or the organisations and authorities that the refugee expects (Kibreab 1990: 11).

It is important here to discuss how camps are often likened to prisons (and hospitals) or what have been termed “total institutions” (Waldron 1987). Doyal and Gough explain that “prisoners by definition have their autonomy curtailed however creative and healthy they may be in all other respects” (185), which therefore confers refugees have no autonomy no matter how healthy and creative their life may be inside the camp.

Waldron explains that the “handling of any human needs by the bureaucratic organisation of whole blocks of people –whether or not this is a necessary or effective means of social organisation in the circumstances—can be taken... as the key fact of total institutions” (Goffman 1969 in Waldron 1987). Sources describing the stay in camps have proven that camps do in fact resemble total institutions in many respects and the refugees do resemble prisoners or patients (Malkki 1995: Bakewell 2000: Waldron 1987).

Participation opportunities in Self-settlements

In general, refugees maximize the opportunities that they are able to find. They switch roles and divide themselves in ways that will enable them to gain best. “If refugees can find better ways to sustain themselves than what the aid regime can offer, they will pursue those opportunities even if it means that their entitlement to aid may be jeopardized” (Dick 2002).

There is no clear evidence of role deprivation and role stress in self-settlements described in the literature however, in one example, Bakewell (2000) points out that refugees who self-settled in Zambia, were able to play full roles in the society and some even held leadership positions (363).

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this thesis was to answer the question *does an alternative to encampment exist in the form of self-settlement?* The introduction presents the research problem, research questions as well as the research methods.

By identifying the relevant issues in Chapter II, it can be deduced that policy responses to refugee situations have been shaped on the basis of two preconceived notions; first, that refugee situations are temporary, and second, that the refugee response should be set up in such away as to attract the most amount of international aid.

UNHCR and host governments, the main actors involved in refugee policy decision-making, were both found to be influenced by the international aid that is directed towards refugee situations, and consequently led to prefer the refugee camp. For UNHCR, the camp allows refugees to remain visible in order to attract international aid, while the host government also wants them to remain visible in order to ensure that the international community shares its burden. The camp is also a method of control as UNHCR needs to monitor the refugees at all times in order to present adequate numbers to donors, while the host government wants to monitor and isolate the refugees in order to limit infiltration into the country and possible security violations.

Even though, scholars and practitioners have brought forward the negative consequences of setting up refugee camps and even though many have campaigned against it, it is still the solution to refugee influxes.¹⁸ Some scholars have argued that refugees should be kept in camps initially for security reasons as well as the distribution of aid, however, the protracted refugee camp situations throughout Africa only show that camps have not been temporary, once the camps have been set up, they are relied on and kept for years. The detriments of refugee encampment have been laid out in section 2.6.2.2 however it is worth highlighting a few here. Camps are not “‘normal’ places” (UNHCR 1995: 235) but rather what Hyndman (2000) calls a “noncommunity of the excluded” where the subordination and isolation of refugees takes place as well as restrictions on their participation in any normal community life (Hyndman 2000: 138). Both administrative practices and structure of the camp instill spatial and social segregation (Hyndman 2000). “Encampment has been a failure” (Yousif 1998: 17) and the proof is all the numbers of refugees and all the years they spend in exile remaining refugees. Van Damme (1995) establishes that the negative aspects of camps outweigh their potential benefits and he proposes that self-settlement could be an alternative to the encampment policy.

In order to create a comparison between camps and self-settlements to determine if there is in fact an alternative to camps, Doyal and Gough’s theory of human need (1991) was chosen for this study as it provides a framework for systematically comparing two different populations with respect to how human needs are being provided while accounting for cultural differences. As well as providing a list of universal needs, Doyal and Gough provide a means of measuring their satisfaction. By defining these needs negatively, Doyal and Gough show that it is

¹⁸ “The goal is to make refugee camps unnecessary” (Ogata 1999 in Harrell-Bond and Verdirame 2005) “A refugee camp—no matter how well it is run—is no place to spend a childhood” (High Commissioner Ruud Lubbers 2002 in Harrell-Bond and Verdirame 2005: 336-337)

possible to determine if a need is not satisfied through measuring the harm that is caused by the lack of satisfaction of that need.

According to the theory of human need outlined in Chapter III, the basic human needs that should be provided refugees are physical health and autonomy, which in turn should be provided through several intermediate needs. These needs are universal and can be applied to all refugees however, how the refugees prioritise these needs is relative. It should be noted then that the response needed for refugee influxes must provide assistance while allowing the refugees the *choice* of how to satisfy their needs and thus grant them full control over their own lives.

A comparison is undertaken in Chapter IV to highlight the differences in need satisfaction between camps and self-settlements. The lack of evidence in the literature about self-settlements created difficulties in undertaking this comparison. Most of the evidence used in the comparison focused on self-settlements and camps in Guinea, Sudan, Uganda, Tanzania and Zambia. However, in general there is a lack of evidence and this thesis does not claim to provide a clear-cut comparison between the two settlement situations. It only claims to provide insight into the possibilities of finding alternatives to camps.

This study has shown that aid in camps is directed towards satisfying refugee needs for physical health (shelter, food, water, clothing and health care) hence the relevance of “successful” minimum standards in Kakuma camp to only part one of the comparison (section 4.1). In self-settlements on the other hand, the refugees most often have to rely on themselves or their hosts to satisfy these same needs.

Nutrition

It has been found that even though refugees in camps receive more calories than those in self-settlements, studies have proven that refugees do not consume all the food given to them by the aid agencies either because it can not be cooked, it is not culturally appropriate or that the refugees have more pressing needs to which they sell part or even all of their rations. The camp set up does not allow the refugees to acquire more appropriate or more nutritious food. Studies have also shown that food rations given to refugees have been used as methods of control and punishment. Rations, ultimately, are only meant to keep refugees alive and after a few years of living on rations, high malnutrition rates become inevitable. Even though self-settled refugees do not necessarily receive the same amount of calories, self-settled refugees were found to be consuming more culturally appropriate food that is more nutritious.

Clean Water

The areas on which camps are constructed are almost always remote, isolated areas with very little access to water. Even with boreholes being constructed, most camps do not reach a significant percentage of the minimum standard amount that is already lacking. Some camps are located in areas where water is unattainable. On the other hand, self-settled refugees settle themselves in areas that are already populated by the locals with resources already available. The competition over the resources with the locals is a very serious problem since without any aid targeted at the self-settled, the locals become resentful to the presence of refugees, and the self-settled refugees face nearly the same difficulties that the encamped refugees face in acquiring clean water.

Protective housing

Refugees in camps live under plastic sheeting provided by the aid agencies as a means of temporary protection. The plastic sheeting is then repeatedly changed because the refugees normally stay in camps for decades. Sanitation is also poor in refugee camps. Self-settled refugees on the other hand are given shelter by kin, relatives, friends or even locals and are sometimes helped to rent already existing houses. The shelter thus available to self-settled refugees is of a more permanent structure.

Non-hazardous work environment

In the case of camps, refugees are either faced with no work available or excessive work hours. The exploitation of refugees in refugee camps is also common. Refugees, who self-settle, however, usually find work with local employers. This does not rule out exploitation but it does mean that they are not isolated in areas where the work environment could be hazardous.

Non-hazardous physical environment

It is not surprising that camps by definition are physically hazardous owing to their normal overcrowded nature, their vulnerability to epidemic and infectious diseases, poor sanitation etc. In addition, camps are normally set up in isolated areas, sometimes these areas are infested with snakes, scorpions, or tse-tse flies and mostly areas that are uninhabitable, dangerous, and remote. On the other hand, self-settled refugees stay in areas that they choose for themselves and usually it is with the locals so they are not exposed to any more hazards than the locals.

Health care

Money is spent on refugee health care in camps, refugees are provided with some sort of medical facilities, however this does not mean that they receive adequate health care. Health care, in general, is lacking in refugee camps, it is not apparent whether self-settled refugees in general are able to gain access to healthcare services. There are exceptions of course where the host government allows the self-settled refugees access to public medical facilities but what the general situation is remains to be seen.

Safe birth control and child bearing

Since there are not many examples of such care in the literature, it is clear that this is a need that is neglected. There is no evidence available on how this need is being satisfied in self-settled situations and the evidence available on camps is minor.

Security in childhood

Children are secure when they are in a familiar environment. A refugee camp is not an environment that is normal or familiar for any human being child or adult. The insecurity and dependency that adults feel in camps inevitably are passed on to the children as they grow up. Many of the adults living in camps today have been there since they were children and during those years their personalities have been shaped around the circumstances in the camps. On the other hand, in self-settlements the children live in villages with the locals. They learn to deal with the locals and help themselves rather than wait for the aid organisation to help them. They are surrounded with adults that have a certain control over their lives and this allows them to feel a certain security that is unavailable to those in camps.

Physical security

In general, camps are usually situated near the border even though the UN constantly advises against this. They then become targets for militias and violent attacks. The local villages in which refugees self-settle on the other hand are also close to the borders but in this case the refugees are not all gathered in one place, they are dispersed and thus are less likely to be subject to directed attacks.

Economic security

Whether refugees are fairing better economically in camps or in self-settlements is not the issue. In refugee camps, aid organizations, the government, and camp administration are the decision makers behind any projects of refugee productivity. But since their former way of life included ownership of their means of production, it is important for refugees to feel a certain amount of control over their means of production and in refugee camps this is impossible. Self-settled refugees on the other hand, choose the economic activity that they want to participate in and they have a certain amount of control over their production.

Education

In some cases, self-settled refugee students have been able to organise themselves in order to create schools. In general however, refugees usually send their children to the camps in order to benefit from the education system provided by the aid agencies.

Participation

In order to create opportunities for participation, the camp administration and environment needs to change completely. Camps are one form of total institutions where the refugees are deprived of making their own decisions, of their privacy and of a life that they would choose for themselves. All their daily activities are organised for them and they are forced into a dependency cycle from which they cannot escape year after year. The situation for self-settled refugees is very different when it comes to their freedom and the ability to make choices however it is not that different when it comes to participating in society for there have been few rare cases where the host governments has given some sort of identity cards to the refugees for them to be able to access public services and start a new life in the country of asylum

After discussing the comparisons between camps and self-settlement with regards to basic human needs, it is apparent that these needs overlap in several ways and many of them, if not all, are actually dependent on each other. Not one of these needs can be in truth satisfied without the others. It also needs to be said that how much of each need gets satisfied depends ultimately on the person and their own prioritisation of these needs.

It can be concluded therefore that the ideal situation for refugees is to be helped in ways that would allow them to ultimately choose their own destiny and decide what their needs are and how to satisfy them.

The mere fact that it was possible in this study to create a general comparison between a situation that receives international funding, administration, planning, management, high-level expertise, with another situation that receives virtually nothing, goes to show that camps are in fact a waste of money, time and effort.

However, this study does not add anything by reiterating that camps are failures. Also acknowledging that there is not enough information about self-settlements to be able to confidently offer it as an alternative. In addition, it is also taken into account that there is a danger of over-romanticising self-settlements as Hovil (2002) points out.

Nevertheless, this study presents findings that are worth exploring and examining further. At least, it must be realised that there is a dismissal of any alternative to camps. There were no substantive studies about camps when they were adopted as the optimal solution, and even though the studies have shown that the detrimental effects of staying in camps greatly outweigh any real advantages to the refugees there remains a very political need to hold on to “the camp”. The camp remains to keep the refugees in one place to attract aid and it is the opinion of the author that it is important to explore alternative solutions and find ways through which to also satisfy the political needs behind the policy making.

It has been found that while camps receive aid, the money attempts to meet some of the physical health needs of refugees and some sort of primary education and income generating activities. Using Kakuma as a yardstick, it was shown that the minimum standards targeted by aid agencies are lacking as far as human needs are concerned and what is worse these minimum standards are not met by most camps. In addition, camp administration usually places restrictions on the refugees, which stifle the refugees’ abilities and coping mechanisms that would enable them to attempt to meet these needs themselves. Self-settlement, on the other hand, while not giving a better material situation than camps because of the lack of assistance, provides the refugees with opportunities of taking charge of their lives as best they can, being resourceful and choosing and meeting their own needs.

Self-settlement needs aid. Just because they are not controlled by the aid organisations does not mean they are not entitled to assistance and protection. But as Harrell-Bond (1999) asserts, refugees must be assisted marginally in order to assist themselves fully.

More research is urgently needed in all aspects of self-settled situations and most relevant to this particular thesis is the comparison between the costs of maintaining a refugee camp with the cost of supporting self-settled refugees. Further research on each of the intermediate needs outlined in this research would also be extremely helpful.

Since after camps are set up the refugees end up staying in them for decades with no solutions and deteriorating conditions, this study suggests that instead of ignoring self-settlements, which are home to nearly 60% of all refugees, maybe the international community could stop its urge to immediately set up camps and try to assist the refugees to self-settle. After all, self-settlement is in essence a form of local integration, which is a solution rather than a response. It will of course need a specific plan drawn up by UNHCR to convince the host government of how this could actually lead to more benefit for the host country.¹⁹ This should not be difficult since placing the refugees in camps means “the cost per refugee is more than the gross national product per head of the host country” (Van Damme 1995) and the host government could make use of that money to develop its rural undeveloped areas.

Other suggestions could include a quick study of what is needed in the local area; assistance to reinforce the local facilities such as schools and hospitals; eliminating the threat of forcible repatriation or even imprisonment as illegal aliens; assistance posts created in the local areas for help buying land or whatever income-

¹⁹ There have been many studies, which focus on the benefit of refugees to the development of the host countries.

generating opportunities the refugee has thought of; identity cards or temporary citizenships for the refugees who are in need of assistance and who approach these assistance posts.

It is hoped that this research has fulfilled its aim of showing that there is a possible alternative to refugee camps available in self-settlement; that although one situation is aided while the other is not, they can, in fact, be compared; and that self-settlement is a solution waiting to be understood in order to be harnessed.

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