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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

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FORCED MIGRATION, GENDER, SOCIAL CAPITAL AND COPING STRATEGIES IN WESTERN TANZANIA

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FORCED MIGRATION, GENDER, SOCIAL CAPITAL AND COPING STRATEGIES IN WESTERN TANZANIA

Lydia Wakarindi Wambugu

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Public and Development Management.

Johannesburg, 2007

ABSTRACT

This exploratory qualitative research systematically analyses the coping experiences of a group of refugee women from Burundi, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), residing in the western Tanzanian regions of Kigoma and Kagera. The literature reviewed points out that whilst there are still many identified gaps and aspects yet to be documented, it is evident that refugee women are among the social groups most affected by the phenomena of forced migration and displacement. The study explores the kind of coping strategies refugee women adopted under difficult circumstances, and how the women responded to experiences that they frequently described in terms of concrete and material realities.

From the standpoint of social capital as a theoretical tool for analysis, this research attempts to develop an understanding of how refugee women used social capital (social networks) to cope and adapt to new situations as people uprooted and displaced in new environments away from their habitual homes, surroundings and societies. The study focuses on the networks refugee women formed among themselves, which constituted their coping strategies in the attempt to better their lives. The findings of this research suggest that despite the absence of formal counselling, refugee women were able to develop a 'language' through which they verbalised their *problems* and through objectifying them facilitated their solution. A sociological analysis of data from refugee camps in this study of social capital and coping strategies of refugee women discloses significant positive coping strategies by refugee women affected by displacement. Both data and fieldwork observation on coping strategies indicate that an important complementary resource that these women drew upon in facing the problems they encountered in Tanzania was the support of informal social networks,

especially women's groups. Equally important, the majority of respondents socialised with other refugee women who were members of 'merry go round' groups - informal co-operative or peer groups. Interacting with other refugee women, it was proven, brought them solace.

The study reveals that coping strategies by refugee women were embedded in the larger cultural and socio-economic networks that constituted their lives in their home countries prior to displacement. The synthesis of the experiences and coping strategies is contextualised to identify the contribution refugee women make to the overall development in the host country. This study validates the suggestion that aggregated socio-economic activities undertaken by refugee women amount to making ends meet, summed up as coping mechanisms during life in exile.

Key Words: *Forced Migration/Displacement; Refugee Women; Coping Strategies; Social Capital; Human Rights; Tanzania; Burundi; Rwanda; Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC); Qualitative Research Methods.*

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Public and Development Management in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

_____

Lydia Wakarindi Wambugu

_____ day of _____, 2007:

A special dedication to my loving parents, Leah Wangui Wambugu and John Wambugu Gichuki, sister, Anne Wanjiru Wambugu and brother, Patrick Gichuki Wambugu. To Pauline, Collins and Mitchell for all their support and encouragement.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE.....i

ABSTRACT.....ii
DECLARATION.....iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....vii
LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES.....x
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS.....xii
OVERVIEW STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS.....xv
CHAPTER ONE.....1
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND.....1
1. Definition of Key Terms Used in the Study.....2
   a) Refugee.....2
   b) Displacement and forced migration.....7
   c) Coping.....7
   d) Gender.....8
   e) Human Rights.....9
   f) Social capital.....9
2. Problem Statement.....10
3. Aim and Research Question.....10
4. Refugees in Africa - As a Social Group.....11
5. Legal Framework.....13
   a) Obligations of states towards refugees.....13
   b) National, regional, and international legal instruments and laws.....14
   c) United Republic of Tanzania refugee policy and practice.....15
6. Study Site, Target Respondents and Data Collection Strategy.....16
   a) Refugees in western Tanzania.....17
7. Durable Solutions to the Refugee Crisis.....21
   a) Repatriation.....21
   b) Local integration.....26
   c) Resettlement.....29
   d) Summary on durable solutions.....32
CHAPTER TWO.....34
LITERATURE REVIEW – HUMAN RIGHTS AND REFUGEE WOMEN.....34
1. Main Causal Agents of Forced Displacements.....34
   a) Persecution and ethnic clashes.....35
   b) Armed conflict, political turmoil and civil war.....37
   c) Natural environmental disasters.....39
   d) Induced developmental policies and programmes.....39
   e) Summary.....40
2. Refugee Women as a Special Sub-group.....41

3. Socio-Economic Effects of Forced Migration on the Protection of Refugee Women and their Human Rights Implications 42
a) Violence against women 43
b) Family separation 46
c) Disintegration of household structure 47
d) Discrimination against refugee women 49
e) Psycho-social experiences of refugee women 51
f) Women and education 52
g) Physical security 54
h) Women and health 55
i) Destruction of life sustaining mechanisms 57
4. UNHCR Policy and Guidelines on Protection of Refugee Women 58
5. Women, Peace Building and Security in Africa 58
6. Social Capital and Displacement 60
a) Aspects of social capital 61
b) Social capital and gender 65
7. Displacement and Strategies of Coping and Adaptation 65
a) Coping strategies 65
b) Adaptation strategies 67
8. Refugees as a Developmental Resource 68
a) Negative impact of refugees on host communities and countries 71
9. Conclusions 73
CHAPTER THREE 75
METHODOLOGY, RESEARCH DESIGN AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 75
1. Methodology 75
2. Research Design 77
a) Case studies 77
b) Resources of case study 78
3. Theoretical Framework: Social Capital and Strategies of Coping and Adaptation ... 93
a) Social capital 93
b) Measuring social capital 95
c) Disadvantage of social capital 96
4. Strategies of Coping and Adaptation 97
a) Coping strategies 97
5. Variables and Operational Definitions 100
a) Problems 102
b) Meaning making 102
c) Coping 102
d) Social capital 103
e) Contact points 103
6. Conclusions 103
CHAPTER FOUR 104
DATA PRESENTATION – COPING IN WESTERN TANZANIA 104
1. Maria 106

2. Mama Mtoto 112
3. Mama Kitaba 118
4. Mama Blue 124
5. Mama Yellow 130
6. Mama Green 135
7. Nusura 141
8. Mwanafunzi 146
9. Mjuwa 151
10. Mama Brown 156
11. Mama Janet 162
12. Mama A 167
13. Mama B 172
14. Mama Lydia 177
15. Mama Riziki 180
16. Mama Yellow 2 186
17. Mama Masoka 191
CHAPTER FIVE 198
DATA ANALYSIS – SOCIAL CAPITAL AND COPING STRATEGIES 198
1. Major Findings 198
a) Refugee women's coping strategies and development 198
b) Summary of research findings 201
c) Synthesis of findings 208
2. Social capital and coping strategies by refugee women in western Tanzania 210
a) Coping strategies 211
b) Social capital - local initiatives of refugee women 213
c) Correlation between direct coping strategies and social and economic networks of social capital 214
d) Palliative coping strategies 214
e) Cultural networks 215
f) Correlation between palliative coping strategies and cultural networks of social capital 216
3. Conclusions 216
CHAPTER SIX 218
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS - REFUGEE WOMEN COPING STRATEGIES AS A DEVELOPMENTAL RESOURCE 218
1. Conclusions 218
2. Recommendations for Changes to Current Policy and Practice 221
a) Measures to respond to special needs for refugee women 221
b) Access to land for farming and income generation 222
c) Informal co-operatives – 'merry go rounds' or peer groups. 222
d) Camp accessibility and living conditions 223
e) Creating an enabling environment for refugees 224
f) Employment 225
g) Education 226
h) Psychological services 227

i) Victims of torture 228
j) Peace making process 228
k) Burden sharing - Role of international community 229
l) Political will 230
3. Limitations of the Study and Areas for Future Research 231
4. Summary of the Thesis's Contribution to the Field of Refugees, Gender Studies, Human Rights and Social Capital 233
REFERENCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY 236
APPENDIX A 256
INFORMED CONSENT FORM 256
APPENDIX B 257
TAPE-RECORDING CONSENT FORM 257
APPENDIX C 258
INTERVIEW GUIDELINES 258
APPENDIX D 265
MAELEKEZO JUU YA KUULIZA MASWALI 265

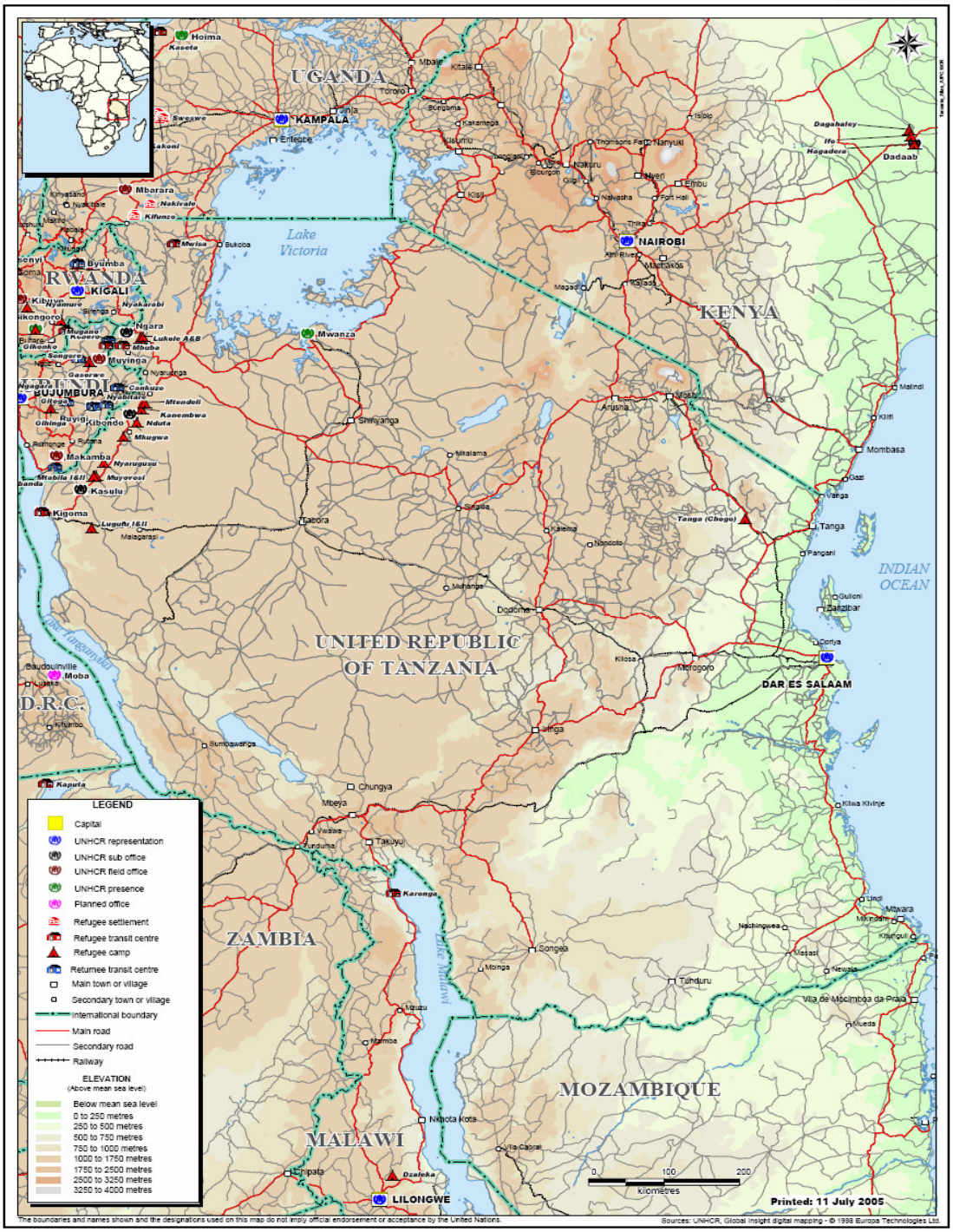
LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

MAP OF TANZANIA xiii
MAP OF WESTERN TANZANIA xiv
TABLE 1.1: NATIONALITY, REGION AND NAME OF CAMPS IN KIGOMA AND KAGERA REGIONS OF WESTERN TANZANIA AS OF JULY 2004 .. 20
TABLE 1.2: COMPARISON BETWEEN RESETTLEMENT AND LOCAL INTEGRATION 31
Figure 1: Four general types or clusters as the main causal agents of displacement. 35
Figure 2: Impact and Effects of Displacement and Forced Migration on Refugee Women 43
TABLE 3.1: SOURCES OF DATA 80
TABLE 3.2: CODING PROCEDURE 85
TABLE 3.3: ILLUSTRATING REFINED THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 95
TABLE 3.4: VARIABLES AND OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS 101
TABLE 4.1: EXAMPLES OF METAPHORS USED BY RESPONDENTS 104
TABLE 4.2: BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF 17 RESPONDENTS 105
TABLE 4.3: MARIA'S BACKGROUND 106
TABLE 4.4: MARIA'S INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION 107
TABLE 4.5 MAMA MTOTO'S BACKGROUND 112
TABLE 4.6: MAMA MTOTO INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION ... 113
TABLE 4.7: MAMA KITABA'S BACKGROUND 119
TABLE 4.8: MAMA KITABA INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION 120
TABLE 4.9: MAMA BLUE'S BACKGROUND 125
TABLE 4.10: MAMA BLUE INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION 125
TABLE 4.11: MAMA YELLOW'S BACKGROUND 130
TABLE 4.12: MAMA YELLOW INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION 131
TABLE 4.13: MAMA GREEN'S BACKGROUND 135

TABLE 4.14: MAMA GREEN INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION... 137
TABLE 4.15: NUSURA'S BACKGROUND..... 141
TABLE 4.16: NUSURA INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION 142
TABLE 4.17: MWANAFUNZI'S BACKGROUND 146
TABLE 4.18: MWANAFUNZI INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION .. 147
TABLE 4.19: MJUWA'S BACKGROUND 151
TABLE 4.20: MJUWA INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION..... 152
TABLE 4.21: MAMA BROWN'S BACKGROUND 157
TABLE 4.22: MAMA BROWN INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION.. 157
TABLE 4.23: MAMA JANET'S BACKGROUND 163
TABLE 4.24: MAMA JANET INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATIONS .. 164
TABLE 4.25: MAMA A'S BACKGROUND..... 168
TABLE 4.26: MAMA A INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS..... 168
TABLE 4.27: MAMA B'S BACKGROUND..... 172
TABLE 4.28: MAMA B INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION..... 173
TABLE 4.29: MAMA LYDIA'S BACKGROUND 177
TABLE 4.30: MAMA LYDIA INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION.... 178
TABLE 4.31: MAMA RIZIKI'S BACKGROUND..... 181
TABLE 4.32: MAMA RIZIKI INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION 181
TABLE 4.33: MAMA YELLOW 2'S BACKGROUND 186
TABLE 4.34: MAMA YELLOW 2 INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION 187
TABLE 4.35: MAMA MASOKA'S BACKGROUND..... 192
TABLE 4.36: MAMA MASOKA INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION. 193
Figure 3: Age of respondents..... 201
Figure 4: Respondents' level of education..... 202
Figure 5: Marital status of respondents 203
TABLE 5.1: NUMBER OF PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY RESPONDENTS 204
TABLE 5.2: MEANING MAKING FRAMEWORK..... 206
TABLE 5.3: NUMBERS OF COPING STRATEGIES ADOPTED BY RESPONDENTS..... 208
Figure 6: Diagram on correlation between social capital and coping strategies..... 211

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

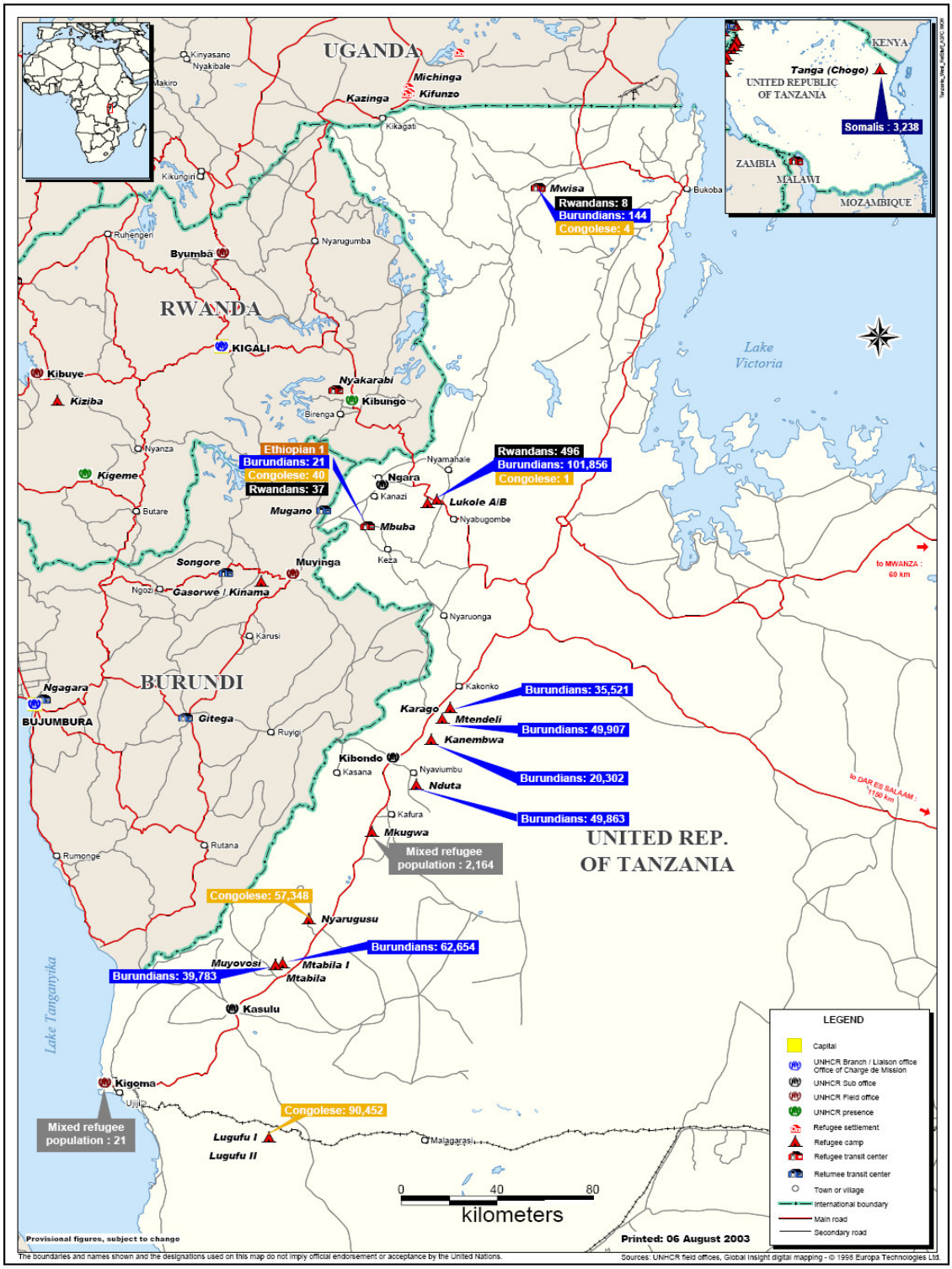
AIDS	**Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome**
AU	**African Union**
DRC	**Democratic Republic of the Congo**
EU	**European Union**
GDP	**Growth Domestic Product**
GOT	**Government of Tanzania**
HIT	**Health Information Team**
HIV	**Human Immunodeficiency Virus**
ICRC	**International Committee of the Red Cross**
IDPs	**Internally Displaced Persons**
MDGs	**Millennium Development Goals**
MHA	**Tanzanian Ministry of Home Affairs**
MPLA	**Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola**
NEPAD	**New Partnership for Africa's Development**
NGOs	**Non-Governmental Organisations**
NIACE	**National Institute of Adult Continuing Education**
OAU	**Organisation of African Unity**
RESOURCE	**The Refugee's Contribution to Europe Project**
UN	**United Nations**
UNAIDS	**Joint United Nations Programme for HIV/AIDS**
UNESCO	**United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation**
UNHCR	**United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees**
UNITA	**Union of Total Independence of Angola**
VRF	**Voluntary Repatriation Form**
WFP	**World Food Programme**
WHO	**World Health Organisation**



MAP OF TANZANIA

United Republic of Tanzania Atlas Map as of July 2005

(Source: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, The UN Refugee Agency)



MAP OF WESTERN TANZANIA

United Republic of Tanzania - Refugee Statistics as of June 2003

(Source: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees - The UN Refugee Agency)

OVERVIEW STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This study follows the guidelines for a written thesis as stipulated by the University of the Witwatersrand. It has six chapters. Chapter One gives the introduction to and background of the study, the problem statement, the aims of the research and the research question. Chapter Two presents the literature review, looking at the various opinions about the nature of displacement, the socio-economic effects of displacement on refugee women and the human rights implications. Chapter Three outlines the methodology, research design and theoretical framework employed by the researcher in the study. Chapter Four deals with data presentation while Chapter Five provides data analysis and a summary of the main findings. The final chapter presents recommendations, developed by the researcher, for change in current Tanzanian policy and practice in relation to refugees.

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

This exploratory qualitative research systematically analyses the coping experiences of a group of refugee women from Burundi, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) residing in the western Tanzanian regions of Kigoma and Kagera. It explores the kind of coping strategies refugee women adopted under difficult circumstances and how they responded to experiences that they frequently described in terms of concrete and material realities.

From the standpoint of social capital as a theoretical tool for analysis, the research seeks to develop an understanding of how refugee women used social capital (social networks) to cope and adapt to new situations as people uprooted and displaced in new environments away from their habitual homes, surroundings and societies. The focus is on the networks refugee women formed among themselves, which constituted their coping strategies in the attempt to better their lives. The findings of the research suggest that despite the absence of formal counselling, refugee women were able to develop a 'language' through which they verbalised their *problems* and through objectifying them facilitated their solution. Data and fieldwork observation on coping strategies indicate that an important complementary resource that these women drew upon in facing the problems they encountered in Tanzania was the support of informal social networks, especially women groups. Equally important, the majority of respondents socialised with other refugee women who were members of 'merry go round' groups - informal co-operative or peer groups. Interacting with other refugee women, it is proven, brought them solace.

Through an analysis of women refugee's experiences and survival strategies, this study contributes to the field of refugee studies and provides possible policy remedies for role players seeking to respond to the global problems of women refugees, particularly those in refugee camp environments such as those pertaining in third world countries like Tanzania.

The following section unpacks definitions of key concepts used in this study. In addition, the section unpacks three human rights instruments that guided this study. These include the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, the 1966 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1969 Organization of Africa Unity (OAU/now African Union – AU) Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa.

1. Definition of Key Terms Used in the Study

a) Refugee

It has been claimed that the term "refugee" is ambiguous and has given rise to protracted controversies (Zolberg, 1989). According to Article 1 (A) (2) of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951, (Geneva Convention) a refugee is a person who:

> *owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail of the protection 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.*

The Convention, which was adopted on 28 July 1951 and entered into force on 22 April 1954, is an internationally agreed and a legally binding treaty for states that have ratified it. Initially its main objective was to address the problems created by the Second World War in Europe. The High Commissioner's mandate was that the refugees' problem

would last as long as the world is gripped with political, economic and social instabilities. In such a condition, the 1951 Geneva Convention was limited to the circumstances of the post war era. It failed to take into account the majority of refugee issues, which grew increasingly complex. As to causes, the definition is further limited to violations of certain human rights, namely civil and political rights, and is in essence geared to the political aspects of the relation between the individual and state. Social, economic and cultural rights as causes of refugee phenomena are not expressly included in the definition; they are only taken into consideration if violations of these rights are based on or related to the civil or political status of the victims (Franco, 1998:29). In other words, the Geneva Convention definition does not clearly reflect the proclaimed interdependence and indivisibility of the various human rights.

Emergence of new refugee situations meant that there was a need for the provision of the 1951 Convention to be made applicable to such new refugees. As a result, a Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees was prepared. After consideration by the General Assembly of the United Nations, it was approved on 18 November 1966, opened for accession on 31 January 1967 and entered into force on 4 October 1967. By accession to the Protocol, States undertake to apply the substantive provisions of the 1951 Convention to all refugees covered by the definitions of the latter, but without limitation of date and geography.[1] Although related to the Convention in this way, the Protocol is

[1] Article 1 relating to General Provision stipulates that:
(1). 'The States parties to the present Protocol undertake to apply articles 2 to 34 inclusive of the Convention to refugees as hereinafter defined.
(2). 'For the purpose of the present Protocol, the term "refugee" shall, except as regards the application of paragraph 3 of this article, mean any person within the definition of Article 1 of the Convention as if the words "As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951..." and the words "...as a result of such events", in article 1A (2) were omitted.
(3). 'The present Protocol shall be applied by the States parties hereto without any geographic limitation, save the existing declarations made by States already Parties to the Convention in accordance with article I B (I) (a) of the Convention, shall unless extended under article I B (2) thereof, apply also under the present Protocol'.

an independent instrument, accession to which is not limited to States parties to the Convention.[2]

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)[3] the Convention and the Protocol are the principal international instruments established for the protection of refugees. The basic character of these instruments has been widely recognised internationally.[4] UNHCR further notes that in view of the above it is important that their provisions[5] are known as widely as possible by refugees and all those concerned with refugee problems. Accession to these instruments has been recommended by the United Nations General Assembly, various regional organizations such as the African Union, Organization of the American States and the Council of Europe. As of 1st March 2006, there were 143 State parties to the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1966 Protocol.[6] The 1984 Cartagena Declaration, which borrows a lot from the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa expanded the mandate of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to include persons who have fled because of war or civil conflict. The 1984 Cartagena Declaration is only applicable in South America.

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[2] See Article 1 (3) above.

[3] UNHCR is the United Nations (UN) agency mandated to provide protection and assistance to refuges and asylum seekers worldwide. It receives funding for refugee programs from the international community, with which it subcontracts governmental, non-governmental, national or international agencies, called "implementing partners". Each implementing partner is responsible for a specific programme or assistance project in their respective areas of expertise, while UNHCR retains the responsibility of the overall coordination and the monitoring of the international funds through its five offices in the region.

[4] Resolution 2198 (xxi) Adopted by the United Nations General Assembly – with an introductory note by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Available from www.unhcr.ch

[5] 'Provisions giving the basic definitions of who is (and who is not) a refugee and who, having been a refugee, has ceased to be one. Further, provisions that define the legal status of refugees and their rights and duties in their country of refuge.'

[6] United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: States Parties to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol. (www.unhcr.org accessed in 30 March 2006).

In the African region the number of African refugees rose to a total of 700,000 in 1969.[7] At the time, even this relatively low figure (compared to current situation) was considered alarming and prompted actions on the part of African states to address problems resulting from the ever-increasing number of refugees.[8] The Organization of Africa Unity (OAU now African Union - AU) has sought to lessen the plight of refugees since its inception in 1963. The OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa was adopted on 10 September 1969 and entered into force on 20th June 1974. As of April 2006, out of 53 countries that were member States of the African Union, 37 had signed the 1969 OAU Convention while 45 had ratified and deposited the instrument with the African Union.[9] The 1969 OAU Convention adopted the 1951 Geneva Convention and expanded it significantly as illustrated by Article 1 (2) to the 1969 OAU/AU Convention. This definition embraces specific African realities including the movements of huge numbers of people in a single exodus (Wilkinson, 1999). It states:

> *The term 'refugee' shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality*

The 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa was the first legal instrument to include the now universally accepted principle of voluntary repatriation (Article V).[10] In addition the 1969 OAU/AU Convention

[7] Refugee, (2006). In Encyclopædia Britannica. Retrieved June 2, 2006, from Encyclopædia Britannica Premium Service: (http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9063038)
[8] Reports from UNHCR indicate that the number of refugees in Africa by the end of 2005 was 3,022,600. Refugees by numbers, 2005 Edition, (UNHCR, 2005)
[9] www.african-union.org accessed in 18 April 2006
[10] It provides that:
1.The essentially voluntary character of repatriation shall be respected in all cases and no refugee shall be repatriated against his will.

provisions of *non-refoulement* further illustrate what is often referred to as 'the traditional hospitality of African Societies'.[11] These provisions provide more protection to refugees than the provision contained in the 1951 Geneva Convention.[12] Article 2 of the 1969 OAU/AU Convention provides that:

1) *Member States of the OAU shall use their best endeavours consistent with their respective legislation to receive refugees and to secure the settlement of those refugees who for well-founded reasons are unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin or nationality.*
2) *No person shall be subjected by a Member State to measures such as rejection at the frontier, return or expulsion which would compel him to return to or to remain in a territory where his life, physical integrity or liberty would be threatened.*

The 1969 OAU Convention is demonstrably an African positive influence in the development of international norms and standards.

Today, the refugee context has changed and refugee issues need to be reconsidered. Emerging issues include displacement due to conflict and political violence. The rights

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2.The country of asylum, in collaboration with the country of origin, shall make adequate arrangements for the safe return of refugees who request repatriation.

3. The country of origin, on receiving back refugees, shall facilitate their re-settlement and grant them the full rights and privileges of nationals of the country, and subject them to the same obligations.

4. Refugees who voluntarily return to their country shall no way be penalized for having left it for any of the reasons giving rise to refugee situations. Whenever necessary, an appeal shall be made through national information media and through the administrative Secretary-General of the OAU, inviting refugees to return home and giving assurance that the new circumstances prevailing in their country of origin will enable them to return without risk and to take up a normal and peaceful life without fear of being distributed or punished, and that the text of such appeal should be given to refugees and clearly explained to them by their country of asylum.

5. Refugees who freely decide to return to their homeland, as a result of such assurances or on their own initiative, shall be given every possible assistance by the country of asylum, the country of origin, voluntary agencies and international and intergovernmental organisations, to facilitate their return.

[11] See discussions later in the chapter on states and 'open door policy' to refugees.

[12] Article 33 on Prohibition of expulsion or return ("refoulement") provides that:

1. No Contracting State shall expel or return ("refouler") a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.

2. The benefit of the present provision may not, however, be claimed by a refugee whom there are reasonable grounds for regarding as a danger to the security of the country in which he is, or who, having been convicted by a final judgment of a particularly serious crime, constitutes a danger to the community of that country.

and protection of women fall under the obligations of 1951 Geneva Convention, its Protocol of 1966 and the 1969 OAU/AU Convention. These instruments will guide this study.[13]

b) Displacement and forced migration

The concept of 'displacement' refers to the act of persons being forced to flee from their original homes or normal permanent residence or settlement suddenly or unexpectedly in large numbers because of armed conflict, external strife, systematic violation of human rights or natural or man-made disasters (Cernea, 1991:188). The concept of 'forced migration' in relation to displacement, on the other hand, can be described as the involuntary movement of people usually a large group, due to external pressure such as induced development pressures. 'Induced development' refers to development stimulated by a deliberate programme typically initiated or approved by government, which uses financial resources to create new infrastructure or other economic assets and thus triggers or accelerates growth and change (Cernea, 1991:188). It is common that some people choose to remain within their local community or at least within the immediate surroundings even in situations of extreme instability. Those who remain within their home country are today regarded as 'internally displaced persons' (IDPs), an important group but not the subject of this study. Factors influencing the decision to stay include availability of resources or an active resistance against migratory pressure, encouraging new forms of collective action.

c) Coping

Coping involves several interrelated concepts, which need to be defined, differentiated and clarified in terms of their possible relations. There are many definitions of coping.

[13] Tanzania acceded to the 1951 Geneva Convention on 12 May 1964, the 1966 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees on 4 September 1968 and the 1969 OAU/AU Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa on 10 of January 1975. (www.unhcr.ch/treaties and www.african-union.com/documents/treaties)

These include Lazarus and Folkman's (1984:282) definition of coping as 'constantly changing cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person'. In other words, coping allows people to use various skills to manage the difficulties they face in life. Social scientists have typically conceived of coping in relation to two functions – namely, material problems and emotional responses. According to Baum, Fleming and Singer (1983), Folkman and Lazarus (1980, 1985) and McCrae (1982), people rely on two forms of coping (emotion focused and problem focused) in managing the demands of stressful encounters. Coping with problems involves efforts on the part of individuals to solve situations they perceive as problematic. Coping with emotions has to do with the efforts individuals make to reduce or avoid the mental stress generated by problematic situations. Coping is thus a process that includes the appraisal of the stressor and one's capacity to deal with it, and the strategies to handle it.

d) Gender

The concept of 'gender' is not well understood. Gender is often confused with sex, which generally refers to biology and anatomy. People are said to be of the male sex or the female sex. By contrast, gender refers to a set of qualities and behaviours expected from a female or male by society. Gender is a social construct that asserts that the expectations and responsibilities of men and women are not always biologically determined. Gender roles are learned and can be affected by factors such as education or economics. They vary widely within and among cultures. While an individual's sex does not change, gender roles are socially determined and can evolve over time. Gender roles and expectations are often identified as factors hindering the equal rights and status of women. For this reason there is a need to understand and address gender relations in times of displacement.

e) Human Rights

Human rights are those basic standards without which people cannot live in dignity. They are minimum standards of legal, civil and political freedom that are granted universally via the United Nations, or regionally through such bodies as the Council of Europe. The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights sets the global standard. Examples of human rights include rights to life, liberty and security of person, and the right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being. The latter includes access to food, clothing, housing, medical care and necessary social services. To violate someone's human rights is to treat that person as though she or he were not a human being. To advocate human rights is to demand that the human dignity of all people be respected.[14]

f) Social capital

Various scholars have attempted to define the term 'social capital'. According to Coleman (1988, 1990), social capital is 'the structure of relations between actors and among actors' that encourages productive activities. These aspects of social structure and organisation act as resources for individuals to use to realise their personal interests. On the other hand, Portes (1998) defines social capital as 'the capacity of individuals to command scarce resources by virtue of their membership in networks, or broader social structures'. He adds that the ability to obtain social capital is not inherent in the individual but instead is 'a property of the individual's set of relationships with others'. Social capital is a product of embeddedness. Powers (1996:221) points out that 'social capital is transmitted through cultural mechanisms like religion, tradition or historical habits.' He notes that the value of the concept lies in the fact that social capital identifies certain aspects of social structure by their function.

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[14] From the Humane Rights Resource Center Available from www.aworldconnected.com/subcategory.php/80.html Accessed on 17 August 2006

This thesis focuses on whether social capital facilitates coping and adaptation in refugee lives, in relation to variables such as sociological, cultural and economic aspects of refugee experiences. This study aims to contribute to the development of practical guidelines on issues that need to be taken into account in identifying, designing and appraising displacement-related policies and projects.

2. Problem Statement

'The refugee experience' is a phrase that has been widely used in the field of refugee studies to denote the human, social, economic and cultural consequences of forced migration.[15] While a range of theories and concepts may have been employed in an attempt to map the impact of forced migration, the use of this term emphasises the centrality of refugees themselves to the attempted analysis. Despite this, there are limited studies in which refugees describe the impacts of displacement for themselves and their survival strategies in what are clearly difficult circumstances. There is an even greater paucity of literature about refugee women. It is therefore important to explore refugee women's stories about the impact of forced migration and the strategies they have adapted to cope in these circumstances. Further, given the range of stressors experienced by refugees, and previous research suggesting that for refugees the material, psycho-social and spiritual aspects of their lives have been ruptured by forced migration, this study seeks to understand the meaning refugee women gave to their experiences as refugees and in the process to develop a coherent analysis of the interpretation of coping by refugee women using social capital as a theoretical tool for analysis.

3. Aim and Research Question

This research systematically analyses the coping experiences of a group of refugee women from Burundi, Rwanda and the DRC residing in camps in the western Tanzania

[15]Asylum Seekers – Third Word Group: Being a Refugee – What does it mean? http://www.movimentgraffitti.org/aseekers/being_a_refugee.php accessed 10 June 2006

regions of Kigoma and Kagera. The study explores the kind of coping strategies refugee women adopted under difficult circumstances and how they responded to these experiences. Rather than diagnosing their problems in exile, the study identifies strategies these women used to "put one foot in front of the other" and what they felt contributed positively to help them create a better life for themselves and their children in refuge. From the standpoint of social capital as a theoretical tool for analysis, this research develops an understanding of how refugee women used social capital (social networks) to cope and adapt to new situations as people uprooted and displaced in new environments away from their habitual homes, surroundings and societies. The study focuses on the networks refugee women formed among themselves, which constituted their coping strategies in the attempt to better their lives. Further, the study explores various ways in which refugee women in the Kigoma and Kagera regions used social networks to assist each other whilst in exile in refugee situations. Through an analysis of women refugee's experiences and survival strategies, this study contributes to the field of refugee studies, and provides possible policy remedies for role players seeking to respond to the global problems of women refugees, particularly those in refugee camps environments such as those pertaining in third world countries like Tanzania.

4. Refugees in Africa - As a Social Group

The refugee problem in Africa is one of the most acute in the world owing to the large numbers of refugees involved, especially during the period between 1960-2000. In 2005 UNHCR noted that out of approximately ten million refugees and asylum seekers in the world, three million were Africans in the continent (UNHCR, 2006).[16] Africa has the second largest number of refugees and asylum seekers after Asia, which hosts nearly 3.5

[16] Statistics as of 1 January 2005, realised in 2006

million refugees and asylum seekers.[17] It should be pointed out however that the human tragedy, the economic and social misery and also the political causative factors and their implications, are not confined to Africa.

Hamrell (1967) notes that the emergence of refugees as a problem in Africa was initially directly connected to the political revolutions that swept over the African continent after the Second World War and resulted in the creation of new independent countries.[18] The increasing number of refugees in the continent is largely as a result of the political instability of many African nations, which has pushed many Africans to take up arms for liberation and self-determination. The continent has continued to produce refugees as a result of post-independence political competition for power.

The end of the Cold War promised a peaceful world where economic growth, good governance and respect for human rights would be among the most important challenges. However, the Post Cold War era track record is not particularly encouraging, with a wide range of armed conflicts occurring mainly in Africa[19] notably Sierra Leone, Sudan, Somali, Rwanda, Burundi, DRC, Congo Republic, Chad, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Senegal, Angola, Uganda, Liberia and Cote d' Ivoire but also in Croatia, Bosnia, Kosovo, the Gulf States and other places. The list goes on to include all the internal armed conflicts since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the vast majority of which were ethnic conflicts. These challenged the international community's capacity to guarantee human security within States. As noted by Bennett (1995:5), the United Nations' ability to fulfill its mandate in preventing conflicts was limited particularly by its internal traits. The

[17] State of the world refugees – Human displacement in the new millennium, (UNHCR, 2006)
[18] Today, there are 54 independent African states
[19] Between 1980-2001 at least 15 African States were engaged in internal civil conflicts or in inter State wars

numbers of refugees and those in refugee-like situations tended to increase as disputes and open conflicts took time to be resolved.

5. Legal Framework

a) Obligations of states towards refugees

The main source of obligation of states towards refugees is the 1951 Geneva Convention. Each of its obligation creating provisions is addressed to "State Parties". Article 35 of the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to co-operation of the national authorities with the United Nations maintains that 'contracting states undertake to co-operate with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, or any other agency of the United Nations, which may succeed it, in the exercise of its functions, and shall in particular facilitate its duty of supervising the application of the provisions of this Convention'. The second duty cites the requirement for the state parties to provide information and statistical data concerning refugees' conditions, implementation of this Convention, and laws, regulations and decrees, which are, or may hereafter be, in force relating to refugees (Article 35 (2)).

Article 7 of the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa relating to co-operation of the national authorities with the Organization of African Unity provides that 'in order to enable the Administrative Secretary- General of the Organization of African Unity to make report to the competent organs of the Organization of African Unity, member states undertake to provide the secretariat in the appropriate form with information and statistical data requested concerning condition of refugees, implementation of this convention and laws, regulations and decrees which are, or may hereafter be, in force relating to refugees'.

b) National, regional, and international legal instruments and laws

The focus of the research is institutions of law that deal with issues of forced migration. The State plays a vital role when people migrate either within or across national borders. In other words, vital questions concerning forced migration are usually governed by States or groups of States, such as the African Union (AU) and the European Union (EU). Institutions created by States are recognised. Their rules and agreements are a contribution to national, regional and international law. International law is extensive in range and covers areas such as transport, navigation in the high seas, drug trafficking and arms controls. International human rights law is a specialised field of international law. It includes issues pertaining to refugees and prisoners and laws governing conflicts. The latter basically define what to do and what not to do in wartime or in times of armed conflict. Sources of international law include custom (legal norms that are not written), treaties, judicial precedent and opinion of leading experts (Article 38 of the Statute of International Court of Justice, 1945).

International bodies are extensions of regional bodies. Their membership is open to any State in the world that meets the criteria set by the instruments that create the bodies. For example, the United Nations (UN) is an institution whose membership is open to all States that adhere to the United Nations Charter (Article 4, United Nations Charter 1945). As the United Nations develops systems to respond to human rights issues so do the regions. This leads to the creation of regional systems such as European, American (South, Central and North America), African, Arab and Asian systems. An example for Africa is the African Union (AU).

National instruments comprise laws, rules and regulations governing populations within a specific State, for instance the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977, the Tanzanian Refugees Act of 1998 and the Refugee Policy of 2003.

c) United Republic of Tanzania refugee policy and practice

Tanzania has signed and ratified international and regional instruments that oblige it to provide protection and assistance to asylum seekers and refugees.

> *The government of Tanzania recognises that its responsibilities and obligations, and the quality and quantity of the measures that it is called upon to deliver pursuant to these obligations are set out in international legal and human rights standards. The government has assumed these obligations both through its accession to the relevant international refugees and human rights instruments and by incorporating a number of basic principles and standards in the municipal laws* (GOT, 2003).[20]

As recognised in the Tanzania National Policy, these obligations are also highlighted in international and regional treaties such as the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, the 1966 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees and the OAU/AU 1969 Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa.

Tanzania is among the countries on the continent that is known for its hospitality and open door policy towards refugees. The 1998 Refugee Act provides that all persons who enter Tanzanian territory wishing to claim refugee status must apply for recognition as a refugee. Section 9 (1) states that:

> *Any person entering or who is within Tanzania, whether lawfully or otherwise and who wishes to remain in Tanzania as a refugee within the meaning of section 4, shall immediately and not later than seven days after entry, unless he shows reasonable cause for delay, present himself or*

[20] Government of Tanzania - United Republic of Tanzania

report to the nearest authorized officer, village executive officer or a justice of peace and apply for recognition as a refugee (GOT, 1998).

Following the procedure described above and upon being recognised as a refugee by the National Eligibility Committee or Ad Hoc Eligibility Commitee, an individual applying for asylum is assigned to reside in one of the 'designated areas'.[21] The maximum penalty for not having an official permit to reside in Tanzania under the 1998 Refugee Act (section 24 (1)) is six months. Further failure to comply with the above would mean that an individual is liable to punishment if he/she fails to show reasons for not doing so. Section 9 (3) states that:

Without prejudice to the provision of this section, no person claiming to be a refugee within the meaning of section 4 shall merely for reasons of his illegal entry be declared a prohibited immigrant, detained or penalized in any other way save that any person who after entering Tanzania or who is within Tanzania fails to comply with subsection (1) of this section shall be guilty of an offence (GOT, 1998).

6. Study Site, Target Respondents and Data Collection Strategy

In order to understand why respondents were drawn from western Tanzania, it is vital to examine briefly the country's history in relation to hosting refugees from within the continent. Respondents were drawn from a sample of refugee women living in Kigoma and Kagera regions in rural Tanzania. The cut off date for data collection was June 2003. Tanzania is a country that has continued to host a high number of rural refugees despite

[21] Section 16 (1) of the Refugee Act of 1998 states that: 'The Minister may, by notice in the Gazette, declare any part of the United Republic of Tanzania to be a designated area'.
(2). 'The Director of the Refugee Services shall appoint a settlement officer to be in charge of such refugee settlement or such reception, transit or residence area for asylum seekers or refugees'
(3). 'Every settlement, reception, shall include the land and building within settlement, reception, transit or residence boundaries or enclosure and also any other land or building belonging or attached thereto and used by the asylum seekers or refugees'
Section 17 (1) of the Refugee Act of 1998 provides that: 'The competent authority in consultation with the Minister or the Director may by order, require any asylum seekers or refugee group or category of refugees to whom this section applies who is within his area to reside within a designated area whether or not such area is within the jurisdiction of competent authority.' (GOT, 1998)

its strained economy. Over the past four decades of her independence, Tanzania has generously played host to thousands of refugees from both neighbouring as well as distant countries. It was home to thousands of members of liberation movements from Southern African countries engaged in the struggle against colonial oppression and apartheid, from the 1960s to the 1990s. The period from the 1960s onwards until the late 1980s is described as the "golden age" of asylum in Africa Rutinwa, (1999) with many states adopting an "open door policy".

It was the belief of Tanzanian government that the refugee problem was temporary and could be considerably reduced after the liberation of all African countries.[22] However, as of July 2004, Tanzania had 426,808 refugees from Rwanda, Burundi, DRC and Somalia.[23] Refugees view this country as 'home away from home' since the majority of them share the same cultures as the host population. For example, Swahili speaking groups from DRC, Rwanda and Burundi may be in a position to communicate in Tanzania. In addition, the geographical location of this country is in proximity to those war-torn countries, thus facilitating easier access to a 'safe-haven' for those seeking refuge.

a) Refugees in western Tanzania

Kigoma and Kagera, regions of western Tanzania continue to be home to an influx of refugees from Burundi, Rwanda and the DRC. The camps are located close to the point of entry for refugees. For instance, since refugees from the DRC travel to Tanzania via Lake Tanganyika, it is easier to settle them in Kigoma. Refugees from Burundi are mostly found along the border of Burundi and Tanzania, while Rwandese refugees can be located in Ngara district, which borders Rwanda. In addition, local communities share a similar culture with the refugees. For example, those close to the border of Burundi and

[22] Tanzania National Refugee Policy of 2003
[23] Monthly statistics from UNHCR sub-office, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 2004

Rwanda share the same language. On average each refugee camp has a population of between thirty- five and fifty thousand persons and is run by a representative from the Refugee Department at the Tanzania Ministry of Home Affairs.[24]

The change of the Burundian political situation in early 1993 caused an influx of refugees into Tanzania. In April 1994, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), with the approval of the Tanzanian Ministry of Home Affairs opened a camp, Mtabila I, to settle refugees. Continued influx necessitated the opening of Muyovosi camp followed by Mtabila II (Extension) in Kasulu District, thus adding to the number of existing camps. Other camps are Nduta, Mtendelli, Kanembwa, Karago and Mkugwa. The latter hosts refugees with security concerns. Refugees with security concerns were those who were born out of mixed marriages, for example from Hutus and Tutsis of Rwanda or beyond (Burundi, DRC), or those who were in mixed marriages. For example, a Hutu from Rwanda married to a Tutsi from Rwanda or beyond (Burundi, DRC).

Burundian refugees constituted the highest number of refugees in western Tanzania. By July 2004, there were 268,902 Burundian refugees, who were accommodated in twelve camps in Kigoma and Kagera.[25]

The history of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), a Belgian colony formerly called Zaire, is rife with internal conflict and turmoil. In late 1996 and early 1997, Congolese refugees began arriving in western Tanzania from the Eastern part of the DRC, where political instability had led to the overthrow of the Mobutu Seseseko regime by Laurent Kabila. Further instability has continued to characterise the DRC following

[24] Field notes from western Tanzania, Wambugu (2003)
[25] Monthly statistics from UNHCR sub-office in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 2004

the death of President Laurent Kabila in January 2001. There has been reported instability, especially in the Bunia region of the Eastern side. There continues to be an influx of refugees from DRC into Tanzania.[26] As of July 2004, there were a total of 152 895 refugees, constituting the second largest group of refugees in western Tanzania. This group was accommodated in six camps, of which three were in Kigoma and the other three in Kagera.[27]

By December 2002, the majority of Rwandese refugees from Lukole A and B in Ngara district had been repatriated back to Rwanda. However, there still remained an estimated 2,000 refugees who claimed to have security reasons for not being willing to return home. They claimed that if they returned, their lives would be in danger. Despite these claims only 30 individuals out of 2,000 who had applied for permission to remain in Tanzania were granted permission to do so. In the interim, UNHCR sought other alternatives for dealing with these cases.[28] However, by 28 May 2003, Rwandese refugees who had chosen to remain in the district of Ngara were forcibly repatriated to Rwanda, a violation of Article 33 of the 1951 Geneva Convention.[29] Rutinwa (1999) points out the growing trend in the African context of states refusing entry to asylum seekers or returning refugees to their countries of origin before the situation is considered safe to return. Evidence from Amnesty International reports confirms that between 1995 and

[26]As of May 2003, when the researcher visited Kibirizi Reception Centre in Kigoma district, which hosts newly arrived Congolese refugees

[27] Monthly statistics from UNHCR sub-office, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania 2004

[28] These may have included discussions with the local government on the possibility of local integration for some refugees, allowing others (those whom the government rejected for local integration) to stay on in Tanzania while UNHCR found host countries to receive them. Further, it may have included negotiations with countries other than Tanzania who were willing to accept this load of refugees in resettlement arrangements. The United States of America, Scandinavian countries, Canada, to some extent and Australia are the major recipients of refugees in resettlement arrangements.

[29] Article 33 on Prohibition of expulsion or return ("refoulement") provides that:

1. No Contracting State shall expel or return ("refouler") a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.

2. The benefit of the present provision may not, however, be claimed by a refugee whom there are reasonable grounds for regarding as a danger to the security of the country in which he is, or who, having been convicted by a final judgment of a particularly serious crime, constitutes a danger to the community of that country.

1996 the government of Tanzania forcibly repatriated scores of Rwandese and Burundian refugees (Amnesty International, 1998).

In May 2003, the Tanzanian government urged the Rwandese refugees to go back and vote/rebuild their country because there was stability in Rwanda. This explains the low numbers of Rwandese refugees in Kigoma and Kagera regions as compared to refugees from Burundi and the DRC. As of June 2004, there were 187 Rwandese refugees accommodated in five camps. This group constituted the lowest number of refugees (UNHCR sub-office Tanzania, 2004).

TABLE 1.1: NATIONALITY, REGION AND NAME OF CAMPS IN KIGOMA AND KAGERA REGIONS OF WESTERN TANZANIA AS OF JULY 2004

NATIONALITY	REGIONS	CAMPS
Burundians	Kigoma Region	Muyovosi Mtabila I Mtabila II Mtendeli Kanembwa Nduta Karago
	Kagera Region	Lukole A Lukole B Mbuba Mwisa Kitali
Congolese	Kigoma Region	Nyarugusu Lugufu I Lugufu II
	Kagera Region	Lukole A Lukole B Mbuba Mwisa
Rwandese	Kagera Region	Lukole A Lukole B Mbuba Mwisa Kitali
Mixed Group (Refugees with security cases)*	Kigoma Region	Mkugwa

(UNHCR sub-Office Dar es Salaam, Monthly statistics, July 2004)

* Refugees with security cases were those who were born out of mixed marriages, (mixed parentage) for example from Hutus and Tutsis of Rwanda or beyond (Burundi, DRC), or those who were in mixed marriages. For example a Hutu from Rwanda marrying a Tutsi from Rwanda or beyond (Burundi, DRC).

7. Durable Solutions to the Refugee Crisis

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), a durable solution is when the reasons that led to the flight of people from their home countries to seek asylum in exile no longer exist and are not in danger of recurrence.[30] Cessation and peaceful resolution of ethnic, political, religious or other forms of conflict form the first steps towards durable solutions. Post-conflict confidence-building measures such as truth and reconciliation, peace education, good governance, and inclusion of all sectors of society in making decisions can also bolster efforts towards achieving durable solutions. The disarmament and deployment of combatants, rehabilitation and reconstruction of war-damaged social infrastructure, reactivation of legal systems geared to facilitate access to land and property and recuperation by returnees are also important features of mechanisms towards durable solutions.

Durable solutions require that root causes of conflicts and intolerances be addressed genuinely. Effective post-conflict peace agreements and tangible support by regional and international communities are also important components of the formula for durable solutions. Lack of trust between belligerents and fragile peace processes are among the factors that thwart efforts towards durable solutions. Durable solutions under the UNHCR framework include the categories of repatriation, local integration and resettlement.

a) Repatriation

Refugee-producing countries, refugee-hosting countries and the UN Refugee Agency have asserted that voluntary repatriation of any refugee caseload remains the best durable solution. Voluntary repatriation occurs when, 'acting without coercion or force from anybody or any authority, a refugee makes an informed decision to return to his or her

[30] UNHCR Durable Solutions (www.unhcr.ch)

home country'.[31] Voluntary repatriation, as opposed to forced repatriation, can be spontaneous, facilitated, promoted and/or organised. Forced repatriation occurs when a hosting country decides, for political, security or other national reasons or interests, to expel or remove refugees by force, by either ordering them to leave or physically removing them. Such repatriation is deemed forced even if the reasons that caused refugees to flee in the first place no longer exist.[32] It is alleged that this was the case in 1996, when the Burundi government forced Rwandese refugees to return to their own country. It is said that the Rwandese who returned from Tanzania between December 1996 and early 1997 were mostly forced to return.[33]

Spontaneous return can be effected for a number of reasons: It can occur when refugees, for their own reasons, decide to return back home, sometimes even when the reasons for which they fled remain. In such a circumstance, refugees deciding to return spontaneously do not inform UNHCR or government officials in host countries. Some spontaneous departees leave without informing family members. Departures are clandestine, often at night, and the departees enter their home countries through unofficial entry points. It is difficult for UNHCR and government authorities to predict spontaneous departures unless the persons concerned declare their departure and arrival at least at exit or entry points respectively.[34] Spontaneous return can also be prompted by lack of government or UNHCR assistance, or delay by UNHCR and other stakeholders to promote or organise repatriation. Spontaneous departure can also be induced by

[31] Partnership: An operations Management Handbook for UNHCR Partners, 2003
[32] For in-depth discussions see UNHCR Handbook on Voluntary Repatriation 1996
[33] Information from interviews conducted by Lydia Wambugu with international aid workers, governments officials, NGOs and refugee communities in Dar es Salaam, and western Tanzania, Kigoma and Kagera regions between April and June 2003
[34] Information from interviews conducted by Lydia Wambugu with international aid workers, governments officials, NGOs and refugee communities in Dar es Salaam, and western Tanzania, Kigoma and Kagera regions between April and June 2003 and further information obtained from UNHCR website (www.unhcr.ch)

negative sentiments against refugees by host communities.[35] For instance thousands of Liberian refugees returned from a camp in Sierra Leone due to what is believed to be pressure by host communities. When refugees decide to return home at a time when it is thought that the situation may be safe for return, UNHCR and countries of asylum may facilitate the return of such refugees.

Facilitation means among other things, the provision of limited assistance (such as basic non-food items), often on humanitarian grounds, for refugees returning to less than 'ideal return conditions' back home.[36] When governments, the international community and UNHCR are convinced that the situation in home country is conducive for return, promoted and/or organised repatriation can be effected. Conducive situations for return are conditions in home country that can assure safe and dignified return of refugees. A conducive climate is when the reasons which caused people to flee no longer exist, where peace agreements are enduring, where basic infrastructures are up and running, where legal systems allow returnees to have access to land and property, including previously owned resources, and where return and reintegration is witnesses and supported by the international community.[37]

Promoted repatriation involves provision of information to refugees on the political, economic, social and other conditions in their home country. This is effected through mass information and other campaigns in refugee locations, and simultaneously through the visual and audio media. Mass information campaigns, including cross border 'go-and-see' visits, are basically confidence-building initiatives, usually at the request of home

35 Field notes by Lydia Wambugu, from interviews with UNHCR and Tanzania Ministry of Home Affairs in Dar es Salaam, Kigoma and Kagera regions of western Tanzania between April – June 2003
36 UNHCR Durable Solutions (www.unhcr.ch)
37 Field notes by Lydia Wambugu, from interviews with UNHCR and Tanzania Ministry of Home Affairs in Dar es Salaam, Kigoma and Kagera regions of western Tanzania between April – June 2003

countries aimed at reassuring their citizens.[38] Refugee representatives are given the opportunity to make fact-finding visits to home countries and then return to camps to 'report' to the rest of the refugee population so that they may make an informed decision to return. For example, mass information campaigns were carried out in 1993-94 for Mozambican refugees in Tanzania and southern African countries. A similar exercise took place in 1997 for Rwandese refugees in Tanzania as well as in 2003 for Sierra Leonean refugees in Liberia and other countries in the Mano River Region (UNHCR, 2004).

i) Organised voluntary repatriation

Organised voluntary repatriation is contemplated once it has been confirmed that the home country is ready to receive its citizens. This type of return is based on a legal framework agreed upon by the parties concerned, that is, home and asylum countries and UNHCR, normally known as Tripartite Agreements.[39] This understanding requires each party to assume a number of obligations that will take all possible measures to facilitate all stages of the process and ensure that refugees return in safety and dignity. For instance, countries of origin are required not to impose restrictions on their citizens and their belongings and to relax immigration and customs regulations. Thus, they ensure that returnees are not harassed by authorities and have access to their property and to basic social services such as education, health, water and sanitation.[40] Asylum countries are required to assist returning refugees by allowing them to return with movable property brought into the country or acquired during their stay; providing certificates of education acquired by refugees; and providing security for convoys from refugee locations to the border. UNHCR, on its part, is responsible for the planning and execution of physical movement of refugees by providing all the necessary gear: logistics,

[38] Field notes by Lydia Wambugu, from interviews with UNHCR and Tanzania Ministry of Home Affairs in Dar es Salaam, Kigoma and Kagera regions of western Tanzania between April – June 2003
[39] UNHCR (www.unhcr.ch)
[40] Partnership: An operations Management Handbook for UNHCR Partners, 2003

medical support and repatriation kits of food and non food items, to be given in the asylum country or upon arrival back home, depending on individual circumstances.[41]

Tripartite Agreements also talk about residual caseloads. These are refugees who might not wish to repatriate during that particular repatriation operation, or who wish to remain because of personal reasons: marriage to asylum country spouses, permanent employment and so on.[42] Before the actual movement, refugees are invited to present themselves to UNHCR for individual interviews about their eventual return, with a view to determine whether the decision to return is really voluntary. A voluntary repatriation form (VRF) is filled out by the applicant. This is an official document required by any refugee returning in this manner until he or she is given a national identity document by the country of origin.[43]

Sending and receiving countries, through UNHCR in both countries, are in constant communication regarding departure of returnee convoys from camps and other refugee locations up to arrival at the final destination in countries of origin. Returnees usually return with all their personal belongings, although at times countries of origin try to impose restrictions on the entry of certain items such as livestock, plants, machinery or certain types of electronic equipment. Such details are negotiated in the Tripartite Agreement. Examples of large-scale successful repatriation operations in Africa include Mozambican refugees from Tanzania, Malawi, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe between 1993 and 1994; Angolans from Zambia from October 2003; following the peace

[41] Field notes by Lydia Wambugu, from interviews with UNHCR and Tanzania Ministry of Home Affairs in Dar es Salaam, Kigoma and Kagera regions of western Tanzania between April – June 2003
[42] Field notes by Lydia Wambugu, from interviews with UNHCR and Tanzania Ministry of Home Affairs in Dar es Salaam, Kigoma and Kagera regions of western Tanzania between April – June 2003
[43] UNHCR Handbook on Voluntary Repatriation 1996

agreement between the ruling MPLA[44] government and UNITA[45] opposition, soon after the death of UNITA leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi, and Ethiopians and Eritreans from Sudan in March 2001.[46]

ii) Challenges of voluntary repatriation

These include improper documentation and registration of refugees, lack of correct refugee profiling by gender, age and levels of education attained; lack of certificates duly translated into local languages for those with skills. In addition, scattered caseloads are difficult to administer and to move when repatriation begins. Further challenges of voluntary repatriation include prevailing condition of roads; agreements by asylum and home countries of origin on border modalities; local marriages between refugees and local populations; and the issue of nationality for those who do not want to return under the repatriation operation.[47]

b) Local integration

Crisp (2004) notes that the notion of 'local integration' is frequently used in the refugee context, yet it lacks any formal definition in international refugee law. Barbara Harrell-Bond (2000) outlines a simple definition of integration that is useful to employ as a guide for the purpose of this discussion: it is 'a situation in which host and refugee communities are able to co-exist, sharing the same resources, both economic and social with no greater mutual conflict than that which exists within the host community'. Local integration refers to the situation in which a refugee remains, settles and integrates into the country of asylum.[48] Depending on the movement of refugees, local integration can

[44] Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
[45] Union of Total Independence of Angola
[46] Information from interviews conducted by Lydia Wambugu with international aid workers, governments officials, NGOs and refugee communities in Dar es Salaam, and western Tanzania, Kigoma and Kagera regions between April and June 2003 and further information obtained from UNHCR website (www.unhcr.ch)
[47] Field notes by Lydia Wambugu, from interviews with UNHCR and Tanzania Ministry of Home Affairs in Dar es Salaam, Kigoma and Kagera regions of western Tanzania between April – June 2003
[48] UNHCR website (www.unhcr.ch)

be acquired in the first or subsequent countries of asylum.[49] Host countries deal with local integration issues based on the number of refugee, their profiles and an indication of whether or not they are mixed with ex-combatants. Local integration is the preferred option for refugees who have stayed in countries of asylum for prolonged periods of time mainly because situations in home countries remain volatile and therefore not conducive for return. In this regard, for instance, many Sudanese were granted local integration in Tanzania. Some 250,000 or so Rwandese refugees who fled into Tanzania in 1959 and 1960s were given blanket local integration status by the host government in 1972.[50] Local integration is normally sought by individual refugees or refugee families who for various reasons cannot return to their home countries, provided such reasons are deemed genuine by host countries and supported by UNHCR. What is noteworthy, however, is that a government's decision to pursue a local integration programme raises complicated questions of implementation. Host governments are reluctant to assign development-earmarked funds to projects involving non-nationals, since the promotion of local integration by donor communities leads to the shift of priorities away from other durable solutions, namely repatriation and resettlement.

i) Challenges of local integration

In the 1960s, when many African peoples were engaged in armed struggles against western colonialism, oppression and apartheid, many independent states offered blanket or prima-facie asylum to those who were fleeing from western domination.[51] Many went on to offer local integration, in the spirit of African Unity and solidarity. Local integration is favoured by UNHCR, and regional organisations such as the African

[49] As a result of insecurity or other life threatening situations, refugees may decide to move to a second or even third country of asylum. Many refugees from the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes for instance, are found not only in the neighbouring countries but as far as Botswana, Madagascar, Malawi, South Africa and Swaziland.

[50] Field notes by Lydia Wambugu, from interviews with UNHCR and Tanzania Ministry of Home Affairs in Dar es Salaam, Kigoma and Kagera regions of western Tanzania between April – June 2003

[51] See earlier discussion on open door policy and the 'golden age' under (6) above.

Union (AU), advocate for it, especially for protracted refugee caseloads. Nevertheless, in reality, over the years, local integration has continued to become more difficult.

The tendency of host countries to discourage local integration is due to a varied number of reasons: actual caseloads; political climate prevailing in the host and asylum countries; local host communities' attitude; and external pressures and influences. Tanzania successfully granted local integration to some 250 000 Rwandese Tutsis who had fled from Rwanda in 1959-60.[52] The granting of blanket local integration was in line with Mwalimu Nyerere's foreign policy, that of total liberation of Africa. One would argue, that by putting into practice one of the three durable solutions, he would have solved the problems of Rwanda as a neighbour, and, therefore, would have more time to concentrate on the liberation of Southern Africa. This he eventually did. Enjoying political stability, endowed with a vast under-populated territory, and with a sympathetic and welcoming population, Tanzania was well placed for local integration.

Other countries have also offered that facility, albeit in smaller numbers and according to a case-by-case approach. Swaziland, both sympathetic and welcoming, was host to thousands of Mozambican and South African refugees in the 1960s to 1970s. Regional and international political evolution has dictated the reaction by states vis-à-vis local integration. Host communities are becoming increasingly intolerant to refugees, sometimes with varying degrees of xenophobia.[53] Political parties in certain countries feel that refugees are 'bought' to vote for opposing parties. Tanzanians must have been surprised when most if not all of the Rwandese who had been granted local integration in

[52] Field notes by Lydia Wambugu, from interviews with UNHCR and Tanzania Ministry of Home Affairs in Dar es Salaam, Kigoma and Kagera regions of western Tanzania between April – June 2003
[53] Resource material on xenophobia in South Africa: Studies on xenophobia and migration policy in South Africa, articles on xenophobia, responses to xenophobia, media education and website on xenophobia in South Africa (Available from http://66.249.93.104/search?q=cache:8qPW-crL9DAJ:www.sahrc.org.za/resources) Accessed 27 June 2006

1972 left proudly and without notice in 1997, to return home to Rwanda, now that the country was under a Tutsi-led régime following the end of the 1994 genocide. Some of the Rwandese had held high positions in all sectors of the economy, including the intelligence services. It is highly unlikely that Tanzania will support mass local integration in the future. States might wish, therefore, to shy away from local integration, particularly with regard to caseloads from neighbouring states, in order to foster good relations. For instance Tanzania was accused by Burundi of supporting rebel groups in refugee camps.[54] Moreover, countries like Angola and the DRC may not be in favour of sharing their mineral resources with foreigners. Recently (into the new millennium) Angola expelled Congolese nationals engaged in mining inside Angola.

c) Resettlement

Resettlement involves the transfer of selected refugees from a state in which they have sought protection to a third state which has agreed to admit them as refugees with permanent residence status. The status provided should ensure protection against *refoulement*[55] and provide a resettled refugee and his/her family or dependents with access to civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights similar to those enjoyed by nationals. It should also carry with it the opportunity to eventually become a naturalised citizen of the resettlement country (UNHCR, 2004).

Resettlement is the best alternative for refugees who cannot return to their home country, who cannot proceed to local integration and whose protection cannot be guaranteed in the country (or countries) of asylum. There are however, other cases suited for resettlement, such as those with specific medical reasons and purposes of family

[54] Tanzania Government, Clarifications on a Number of Allegations and Accusations Made (by Burundi) against Tanzania, posted by the Tanzania High Commissioner in London on Tanzanet on Friday 26 September 1997, at 00:24:15 GMT – In the report on the impact of the presence of refugees in northwestern Tanzania – Centre for the study of forced migration, University of Dar es Salaam.

[55] *Refoulement* means the expulsion of persons who have the right to be recognised as refugees.

reunification.[56] As with local integration, when one is granted resettlement, refugee status ceases. Prolonged civil conflicts or endless political upheavals in countries of origin, or obvious potential political vendetta in home countries are among the factors that make conditions not conducive for return. Africa has many textbook examples: Sudan, Angola (until the beginning of the new millennium), Burundi, Somalia and DRC are some of the countries with prolonged civil or political unrest. Local integration is normally on a one-to-one basis, which results in many applicants being turned down. The best alternative therefore for Somalis, Sudanese, Angolan or Burundian refugees who cannot integrate locally could be resettlement.

More often than not, resettlement countries have been countries outside the continent, usually in the United States of America, Canada, Scandinavia and a number of other European countries. Unlike local integration, resettlement is more acceptable to home and asylum countries as well as to the beneficiaries. While local integration can be given at once to a large group of beneficiaries, resettlement is by individual application from refugees and refugee families. Resettlement countries usually screen applicants for a myriad of factors: communicable diseases, educational background, criminal records and others.[57] For the same arguments highlighted under local integration, African countries do not usually prefer resettlement.

[56] Information from interviews conducted by Lydia Wambugu with international aid workers, governments officials, NGOs and refugee communities in Dar es Salaam, and western Tanzania, Kigoma and Kagera regions between April and June 2003 and UNHCR website (www.unhcr.ch)
[57] Field notes by Lydia Wambugu, from interviews with UNHCR and Tanzania Ministry of Home Affairs in Dar es Salaam, Kigoma and Kagera regions of western Tanzania between April – June 2003.

TABLE 1.2: COMPARISON BETWEEN RESETTLEMENT AND LOCAL INTEGRATION

Traditional resettlement in United States of America and Scandinavian countries	**Local integration in adjoining countries or in the African region**
Have better social and economic infrastructures, therefore better absorption capacities i.e. availability of social services	Poor infrastructures. Poor absorption capacities. Countries cannot meet basic needs of own indigenous populations
Countries usually are richer with high GDP and personal incomes	Developing countries, usually with dwindling economies, many of them poor, with populations living below poverty line (less than US $1.00 a day)
Away from home (from where they fled for fear of persecution etc.) refugees have a greater sense of security. The distance acts as a hindrance against plans or thoughts of launching attacks against home country	• Reintegrated or resettled in a neighbouring state, refugees become easy targets for recruitment by rebel groups in home countries • Refugees can easily form pressure political groups against home country, thereby giving rise to misunderstandings and tension between neighbouring countries, e.g. DRC/Rwanda

Source: Field notes by Lydia Wambugu, from interviews with UNHCR and Tanzania Ministry of Home Affairs in Dar es Salaam, Kigoma and Kagera regions of western Tanzania between April – June 2003

i) Advantages of resettlement for beneficiaries and receiving countries

Resettlement is viewed as the best lasting solution because beneficiaries are usually far from the country of origin. There exist possibilities for starting life afresh. Receiving countries benefit from the technical or skilled input brought by the newcomers, which may include potential to contribute politically and economically. The priority of maintaining security for receiving states gives rise to meticulous screening processes.

ii) Disadvantages of resettlement for beneficiaries and receiving countries

Beneficiaries are removed from natural surroundings and habitat, for instance in the case of a Somali nomad relocated to Sweden. Resettlement also involves separation of larger families, cousins, grandparents and children. There are usually initial difficulties of integration in terms of language, culture, food, and education for children, with

possibilities of xenophobic sentiments from local host communities. With regard to receiving countries there are usually increased social responsibilities, and risk of political activity by beneficiaries, which may erode relations with other countries.

iii) Challenges of resettlement

The number of applicants by African refugees for resettlement overseas has been growing from year to year, against the falling number of places offered by the resettlement countries. This can be explained by the improved life-styles abroad enjoyed by successful beneficiaries, such as opportunities for education, employment and other social entitlements. This is the reason why resettlement is the preferred solution for many refugees, particularly urban caseloads and those who have been exposed to other cultures either though education or travel. The gap between the 'demand and supply' of resettlement in the United States of America or Europe has led in some cases to corrupt practices by officials involved in the screening process. A well documented case involved UNHCR officials in the sub-office in Nairobi, where they demanded up to 3 000 American dollars from an individual refugee in 2001 for their resettlement case to be considered.[58] The number of resettlement places is bound to decrease further in the light of the on-going war against terrorism and more restrictions on asylum in general, especially in developed countries.

d) Summary on durable solutions

While voluntary repatriation is the only true durable and lasting solution, now that resettlement is becoming increasingly difficult, politicised and with receiving states treating beneficiaries in the way they see fit,[59] there is a need for African states to embrace local integration in the spirit of Africa. In the 1960s, when the continent was fighting against apartheid and colonialism, this unity existed. Unity is needed more today

[58] The scam was documented in various newspaper reports, for instance in the United Kingdom, on 21 February 2001, in both the Guardian and the Somali Watch

[59] Beneficiaries have no option, at times they are used as proxy slaves

than then. Africa must find solutions to its own problems, including the search for durable and lasting solutions for the refugee problem.[60] Africa requires a fresh start that will enable the continent to address its social and economic problems. It is evident that for the continent to come out of its malaise it needs to embrace ideals of democracy, good governance and human rights, and to root out corruption.

The lack of adherence to democracy; lack of good governance and leadership, the breach of human rights, and the many facets of corrupt practices lead to ethnic, political and religious intolerance, inequitable distribution of resources and opportunities and corruption, all of which are rich recipes for war and conflict, resulting in refugee populations and internal displacement. The following chapter reviews literature in relation to causes of displacement and forced migration. It looks at various factors that force people to flee from their home countries and how this affects the status and rights of refugee women.

[60] For instance, this applies to different refugee caseloads, which have been in exile for many years, including Congolese, Burundese and Rwandese in Tanzania

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW – HUMAN RIGHTS AND REFUGEE WOMEN

This chapter reviews literature on social scientific and socio-legal research as well as policy statements about the nature of displacement, with particular focus on displacement caused by armed conflict and war, and how this affects the status and rights of refugee women. Examination of commonalities and differences within the refugee population should start with the causes that account for the processes of social disintegration. Explaining causality is essential for understanding the identity and composition of various displaced populations, their basic immediate and medium term needs and the ways in which they can be assisted. This research has distinguished four general types of clusters as being the source or circumstances that lead to forced migration and displacement. These include persecution and ethnic clashes, armed conflict and political turmoil, natural environmental disasters and induced developmental policies and programmes.[61] The literature reviewed falls into these four clusters. Overall, existing literature establishes that previous research has taken a variety of approaches to appraising displacement and these approaches have generated a wide range of findings. Moreover, the review points to the gaps in existing knowledge, in appraising displacement and coping strategies by refugee women that this study seeks to address.

1. Main Causal Agents of Forced Displacements

The research reviews four general types or clusters of main causal agents of displacement, shown in the diagram below and then discussed in detail. In the rest of this chapter the research examines how these causal agents impact on the status and rights of women.

[61] Other causes of displacement include conservation programmes and construction of military bases. However, these are not the focus of this thesis

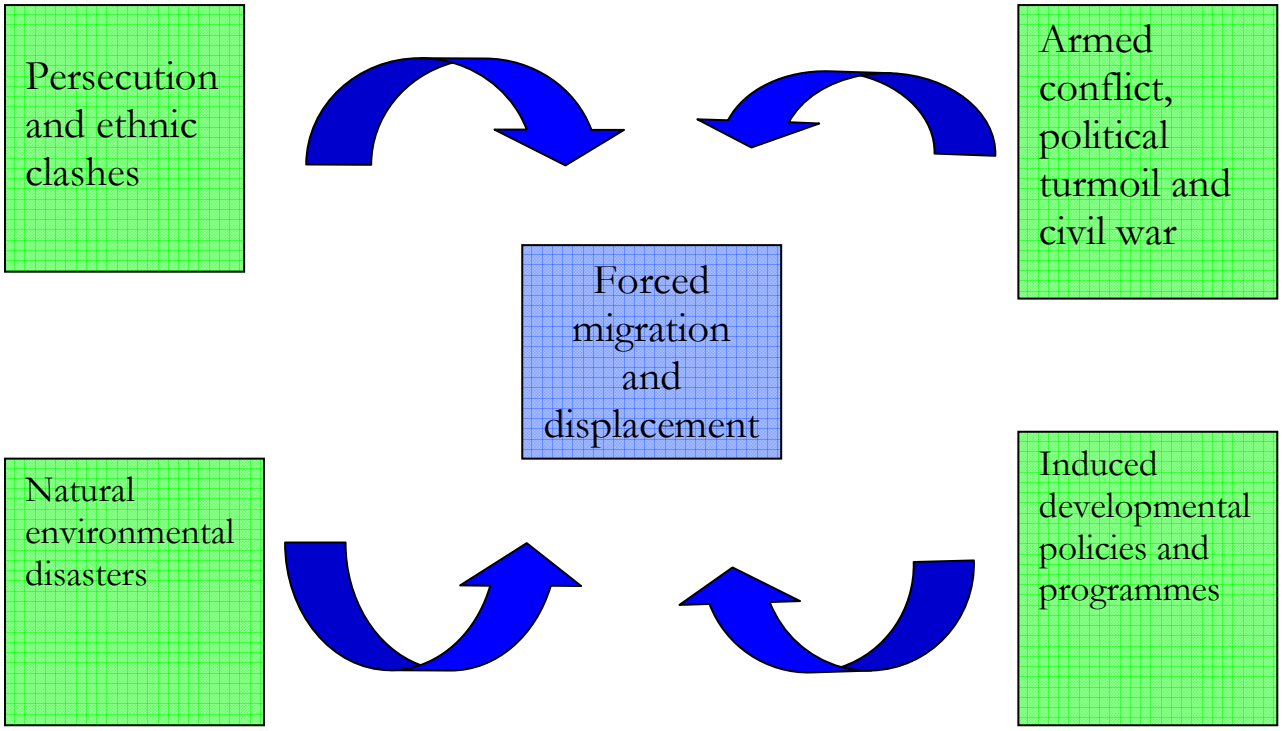

Figure 1: Four general types or clusters as the main causal agents of displacement

a) Persecution and ethnic clashes

Scholars such as Bell (1996:3) assert that the term 'ethnic clashes' can also incorporate the concept of population cleansing, which has been defined as a planned, deliberate removal from a certain territory of 'undesirable' population distinguished by one or more characteristics such as ethnicity, religion, race, class or sexual preference. From this perspective, for any act to qualify as persecution, the above characteristics must serve as the basis for removal. For example in January 1998, in a Catholic church in a trading centre in the Rift Valley of Kenya, about four hundred members of the Kikuyu ethnic group took shelter from attacks by persons belonging to the Pokot and Samburu ethnic groups. As observed by Bennert (1996:4), the latter attacked villages belonging to the Kikuyu and embarked on raping women and killing all who did not flee, contrary to international instruments to which Kenya is a party, such as the 1948 Universal

Declaration of Human Rights. Article 3 of the Declaration provides that: 'Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person'. As such, human rights were violated among the Kikuyu community.

Bennert and Kawatesi (1996:4) notes that had it not become clear that the police stood by and allowed the raiders to destroy homes, it might have seemed a simple case of traditional cattle rustling. However, an orchestrated campaign to drive the Kikuyu out of the Rift Valley and to change the political geography of the region in favour of the then President Arap Moi's own ethnic group and to bolster Moi's chances for re-election as President was a more likely explanation. Noteworthy, the manipulation of real or perceived ethnic antagonisms to bolster contemporary political ambitions is not unique to Kenya. Elsewhere, in the 1980s, armed with sophisticated weaponry, the Baggara tribesmen of western Sudan, for instance, turned traditional cattle raiding against the Dinkas into a geopolitical strategy of the government, resulting in mass displacement of the Dinka people (Bennert and Kawatesi, 1996:4).

Widespread outbreaks of violence occurred in Africa in the 1990s as a result of the conflict pitting the Hutu against the Tutsi in Rwanda. The genocide in Rwanda and conflicts in Burundi and Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) in the 1990s were based on manipulation of ethnicity.[62] Mukesh Kapila, United Nations (UN) Humanitarian Coordinator in Sudan, described the Darfur conflict in March 2004 as "the world's greatest humanitarian crisis". He states:

[62] Although there has been on-going debate as to whether or not the conflicts in Burundi and the DRC are genocidal, only the conflict in Rwanda has been established as genocide as defined in the Genocide Convention of 1948. In addition, descriptions of the genocide may be found in Edward Nyakanvzi, (1998). Genocide: Rwanda and Burundi. Rochester, VT: Schenkman Books and in Gerard Prunier, (1995) The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide

This is ethnic cleansing, this is the world's greatest humanitarian crisis, and I don't know why the world isn't doing more about it. [63]

The ongoing conflict in Somalia is likewise ethnic, or at any rate, sub-ethnic (between clans rather than between tribes). The long-running civil war between northern and southern Sudan that ended with the Peace Agreement of 9 January 2005 further illustrates the above phenomenon.

b) Armed conflict, political turmoil and civil war

According to Zwi and Ugalde (1989:633) there have been an estimated 160 armed conflicts and wars in the 'Third World' since 1945, with 22 million deaths and three times as many people injured. Recent findings and reports on the Darfur conflict by United Nations Fact finding missions and human rights organizations have indicated patterns of systematic and unlawful attacks on civilians in Darfur by a government sponsored militia known as "janjawid" (armed men on horses) or "Arab militia" and by government military forces, including bombardments of civilian and villagers by the Sudanese Air Force (Amnesty International 2004).

McDowell (1996:77) notes that 90% of the population displaced by conflicts is in Third World countries. By 2004 the attacks mentioned above had led to the displacement of at least 12 million persons of which 170,000 took refuge across the border into Chad, Uganda, Ethiopia and Kenya.[64] Population flights from armed conflict situations are often chaotic, and can lead to the separation of families. The physical constitution of the elderly and the young is often irreparably damaged in the first weeks of displacement and accumulated family savings are likely to be exhausted. This situation perpetuates violation

[63] Mukesh Kapila, quoted in Mass rape atrocity in Sudan, BBC, 19 March 2004, in Amnesty International Report on Sudan, 2004

[64] Refugee. Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. Available from http:en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Refugee Accessed on 16 June 2006

of family rights as recognised in Article 1 of the Declaration on the Family Rights, 1994, which states:

> *The family is the fundamental element of society. It is a community of people, of functions, of rights and duties, and an emotional educative, cultural, civic economic and social reality. A natural framework for the development and well being of all its members, it is a privileged area of exchanges, communication and solidarity between generations. It must be respected to receive protection and support and have access to necessary rights and services to exercise entirely its functions and responsibilities. The unity and natural community of the family must be respected.*

The majority of contemporary armed conflicts are not fought on formal battlefields but in the homes and agricultural fields of ordinary civilians. Whether people are directly attacked or not, the threat of personal violence constrains them from pursuing their normal social, economic and cultural activities. Armed conflict distorts, profoundly alters and sometimes redefines social relations. It is destructive to all groups of people. Children, adults and the old suffer alike. Armed conflict threatens the physical and social integrity of communities and calls into question their ability to survive. Health and educational services that are key to family and community survival and development are deeply eroded or destroyed in contemporary warfare.

When there is collective breakdown of social relationships, confidence in the institutions of society disappears. Post-conflict reintegration and development becomes far more complicated than mere rebuilding of the physical infrastructure. Wars and other conflicts leading to displacement result in numerous difficulties for the affected women. In a society where displacement has taken place and people return to their homes, women are confronted with particular challenges. Acknowledging the importance of this topic, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees observed in 1991 that relatively little had been

documented on the specific issues facing women returning to their homes after years of exile.[65] More than a decade later, that statement still holds true. There is even now a dearth of research on coping and adaptation of female returnees and other women in war-torn societies.

c) Natural environmental disasters

Environmental degradation, whether natural or human-induced, brings with it the risk of undermining people's livelihoods to such an extent that they are forced to migrate. Myers and Kent (1995:18) describe environmental refugees as persons who no longer gain a secure livelihood in their traditional homelands because of what are primarily environmental factors of unusual scope. Land degradation, water scarcity, floods, severe or prolonged droughts and the threat of famine are powerful factors that force people to move, *sometimes en masse*, to become displaced within the country or just outside the border (depending on the location of the disaster, although such people should not be confused with refugees or economic migrants who chose to move into other countries in search for greener pastures) As observed by Westling (1992:201), the drought in the Sahel region in the mid seventies drove more than two million people out of Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Niger. Desertification has uprooted one sixth of the populations of Mali and Burkina Faso. Many of these people have ended up in cities and towns, quadrupling Sahel's urban population in a short period of time. The effect of floods in Mozambique and drought and famine in Ethiopia in 2002 and 1984 respectively speaks to the above.

d) Induced developmental policies and programmes

Cernea (1991:188) asserts that 'induced development' refers to development stimulated by a deliberate programme, typically initiated by government, which uses public financial

[65] Mrs. Sadako Ogata speeches in 1991 on assistance to refugees, returnees and displaced persons. Information obtained from UNHCR website (www.unhcr.ch)

resources to create new infrastructure or other economic assets, thus triggering or accelerating growth and change. The World Bank estimates that one to two million people are displaced every year as a direct consequence of development projects (Cernea, 1990:320). For instance, in Sri Lanka, the Mahaweli Development Project, Sri Lanka's largest development project, has caused displacement of some 500 000 persons. Scudder (1993:135) notes that this number could be added to the many who have been evicted from their homes and lands in connection with other major development and infrastructure projects in Sri Lanka. In Ghana thousands of people were displaced as a result of the Akosombo dam project between 1961 and 1965.[66]

Community organisation is destroyed when populations are displaced for a considerable period. Leadership patterns and mechanisms for resolving disputes and property rights in home areas change drastically especially in an atmosphere of lawlessness. It is impossible for refugees to return to previous patterns of community life or socio-economic framework after mass displacement. Social behaviour and social institutional codes that held society together also no longer exist. This leads to violation of community rights as provided for under Article V of the Declaration of the Principle of International Cultural Co-operation, 1966, which states: 'Cultural co-operation is a right and a duty for all people and all nations, which should share with one another their knowledge and skills'.

e) Summary

During forcible displacement, women and children are usually disproportionately affected. As a result of their gender women suffer not only as members of a community in crisis but also as women within that community. For this reason there is a need to understand and address gender relations in times of war, armed conflict or political

[66] Wikipedia: The free encyclopedia:- Available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/hydoelectric_dam

violence. In the literature on the four clusters forming the main causal agents of displacement, gender relations have not been addressed except in passing.

2. Refugee Women as a Special Sub-group

McCallum (1991:167) notes that bombing, torture, massacres and rape are tragic characteristics of many of the world's wars, from Liberia to Peru, from Mozambique to El Salvador. Women and children constitute 50% of the refugee population.[67] Human rights organisations, UNHCR and scholars assert that due to their weaker physical constitution, combined with familial responsibilities, refugee women are particularly vulnerable at every stage of their refugee situation from flight to return.[68] Affirming the above, the United Nations Secretary General noted:

> *The differential impact of armed conflict and specific vulnerabilities of women can be seen in all phases of displacement.* (UN Secretary-General, Koffi Annan, October 2002)[69]

Women as a group share the problems experienced by all refugees, that is, they need protection against forced return to their countries of origin, and security against armed attacks and other forms of violence. Refugee women lack protection against unjustified and unduly prolonged detention, sexual and physical abuse, including sexual exploitation and discrimination. They need a legal status that allows them to realise their social and economic rights, including access to such basic items as food, shelter and clothing.[70] In addition to these basic needs, shared with all other refugees, refugee women and girls have particular needs that reflect their gender and age, especially issues pertaining to

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[67] Contrary to earlier contentions, UNHCR currently confirms that women refugees and girls make up 50% of the refugee population, dispelling previously held assumptions that over 80% of most refugee population is female. www.unhcr.ch - Refugee Women accessed 28 June 2006

[68] Human Rights Watch (1995), Forbes (1992)

[69] Quoted in Displaced Women and Girls at Risk: Risk Factors, Protection Solutions and Resource Tool. Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, (2006)

[70] Reports from various sources include Human Rights Watch (2005), South African Human Rights Commission Reports (1999), Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, (2006)

reproductive health and child rearing to name but a few. Issues around refugee women's guilt and worry concerning those left behind, and stress in adapting to new cultural environment are among the impacts of displacement.

Refugee women feel the double discrimination of being female and being rejected as 'outsiders' while their deeply held traditions and values may be little understood or respected by the new society in which they find themselves. The lives of many refugee women are characterised by uncertainty about the future, including when, if ever, they will return to their countries of origin.

In addition to being victims of human rights abuses, refugee women are also targeted victims of acts of aggression including those related to xenophobia. This is so especially soon after arrival in a new country and during the period between arrival and acquiring refugee status, as extensively documented in South Africa.[71] Violation of rights of refugee women at this stage may be due to several factors including lack of awareness on the part of officials dealing with the provision of social services and weak economies where the host governments struggle to cater for the needs of their own citizens.

3. Socio-Economic Effects of Forced Migration on the Protection of Refugee Women and their Human Rights Implications

There is a considerable body of research and experiences relating to effects of displacement on refugee women. The following section reviews literature that has addressed the impact of forced migration and displacement and the socio-economic effects on refugee women. The focus here is on the unique hardships women encounter

[71] Resource material on xenophobia in South Africa: Studies on xenophobia and migration policy in South Africa, articles on xenophobia, responses to xenophobia, media education and website on xenophobia in South Africa (Available from http://66.249.93.104/search?q=cache:8qPW-crL9DAJ:www.sahrc.org.za/resources) Accessed 27 June 2006

during flight and whilst living as refugees both in camp or urban situations. This section draws upon the main human rights instruments both international and regional (African) that seek to protect refugees and their effectiveness in dealing with the female refugee population. Overall this section explores the relationship between experiences of displaced women in relation to their rights as women and as refugees. The literature below points out that displacement leads in many cases to lower status, increased marginalisation, and to greater abuse of their human rights.

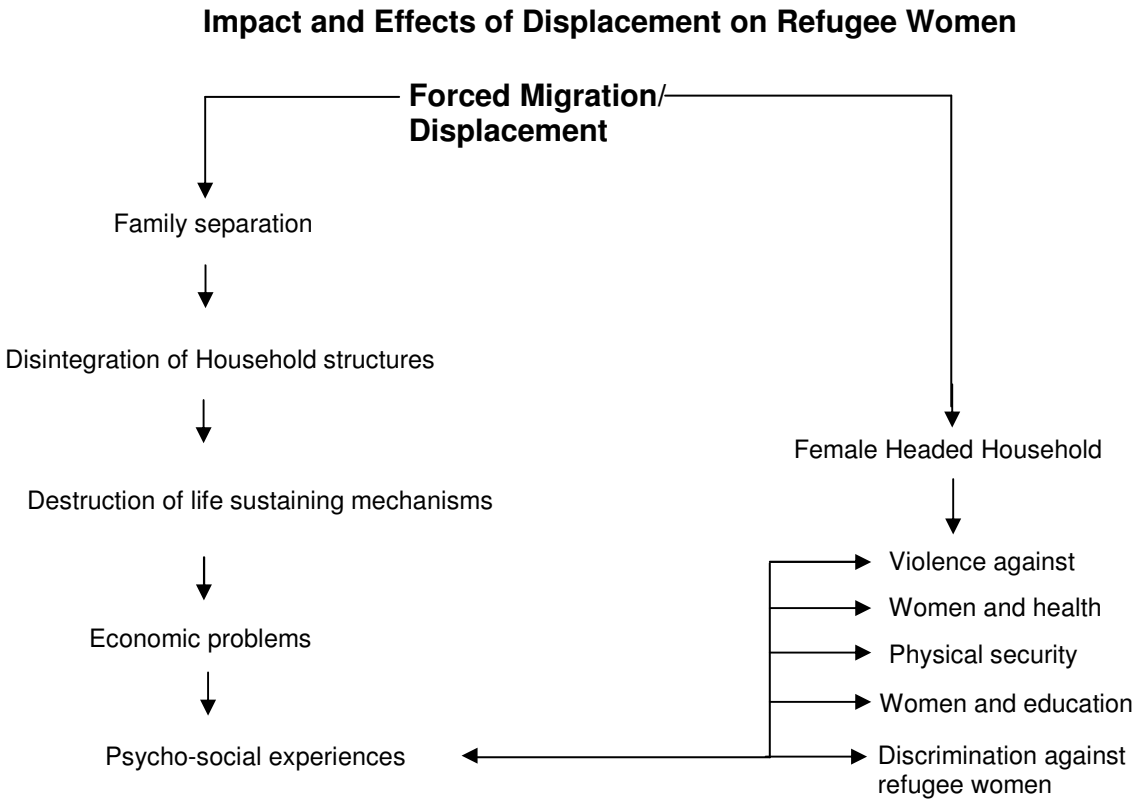

Figure 2: Impact and Effects of Displacement and Forced Migration on Refugee Women

a) Violence against women

The problem of sexual violence is well documented. In asserting that refugee women are more vulnerable to sexual abuse and intimidation at borders and country of asylum than

men, findings from a project by Human Rights Watch revealed that between 1991-1993 hundreds of thousands of Somali women crossed into Kenya to escape political violence and rape, only to face the rape in the camps in which they sought shelter.[72] In West Africa, findings from testimonies of refugee women confirm that refugee women from Sierra Leone who sought safety in Guinea were raped after the government of Guinea incited armed attacks against Sierra Leonean and Liberian refugees (Human Rights Watch, 2000). It is reported that an inflammatory public statement by President Conte on 9 September 2000 accused refugees of harbouring rebels responsible for cross-border attacks into Guinea from Liberia and Sierra Leone, and declared that the refugees 'should go home'. He ordered that all foreigners in Guinea be brought together so as to have them arrested (Human Rights Watch, 2000).

Reacting to the attacks and rape of refugee women in Guinea, Rachael Reilly, Refugee Policy Director at Human Rights Watch said 'Many of these women were raped and sexually assaulted in Sierra Leone, and they fled to Guinea seeking safety, it is unacceptable that they should fall victim to similar atrocities in their place of refuge'.[73]

Male refugees have been reported to be abusive to their women counterparts. Further, police and prison guards in many countries routinely inflict sexual abuse upon female captives. The above is done in order to extract information from them and to intimidate their families and/or social groups and the political movements in which they are associated. The above contravenes women's rights as provided by Article 11 (3) of the African Union Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003) that asserts that:

[72] Human Rights Watch Women's Rights Project 1995:120
[73] Human Rights Watch, 2000

> *State parties undertake to protect asylum seeking women, refugees, returnees and internally displaced persons, against all forms of violence, rape and other forms of sexual exploitation, and to ensure that such acts are considered war crimes, genocide and/or crimes against humanity and that their perpetrators are brought to justice before a competent criminal jurisdiction.*

Various forms of sexual violence are employed as a means of humiliating females and terrorising their communities. In certain circumstances, violence against women is also executed by women in positions of power. Goldblatt and Meintjes (1996) found that in South Africa during apartheid, women practiced institutionalised violence. Prison warders are reported to have inflicted torture on imprisoned women, 'pumping water into women's fallopian tunes and administering electric shocks to women's nipples'.

Referring to rape in wartime, Forbes (1992) cites the extract below:

> *Aycha is 19 and from the Horn of Africa. She arrived in her country of asylum after a two-week trek through the desert. Physically exhausted and suffering from blistering sores, she was directed to a refugee settlement but her ordeal was not yet over. A police officer of the neighbouring town raped Aycha after having threatened to have her sent back to her country of origin if she did not comply. The act of rape was subsequently medically confirmed. Charges have been brought against the policeman and Aycha is receiving care and assistance. (Forbes, 1992:19).*

In most cases, police personnel handling rape cases are men, and women victims do not feel comfortable narrating their ordeals to policemen. Further, personnel may not be appropriately trained and equipped to deal with rape cases. This can be attributed to bad governance within a given State, for instance mismanagement of funds within the police

service. Another fundamental factor is lack of resources in host governments due to dwindling economies.

Women fear their partners' reactions when the partners come to know about their sexual abuse ordeal. The above leads to stigmatisation. Women experience shame and guilt if members of the community discover that they have been raped. Royte (1997:38) found that after the 1994 genocide, Rwanda had between 2 000 and 5 000 children born as a result of rape. Few if any would report on such cases. Mckinley (1996) points out that war widows who were raped were stigmatised and found it hard to remarry. In addition, widows who are rape victims and have children as a result are ostracised.

b) Family separation

Physical and mental security of most women in Africa depends on family networks. Separation of families often occurs during flight, so that family members cannot leave a country together. Even when they can, families may be separated en route. Separation from husbands, children and other family members in the chaos of flight, or widowhood during war, are factors that adversely affect the material, security and physical safety of female refugees. In addition, the loss of a spouse or partner increases the percentage of women who must care for children and the elderly without the assistance of a partner, in women-headed households.[74] The trend is well documented, although comprehensive statistics on female-headed households within this population are lacking.

In conflict situations, people run in all directions. The strongest, mostly men, manage more easily to find their way out of conflict by traveling and hiding in difficult circumstances. Women in general mind the children and are responsible for food, water and other familial chores. In addition they may either be pregnant, lactating or dealing

[74] See paragraph below 2 (c) on disintegration of household structure

with issues of menstruation, thus weaker and more exposed to danger and exploitation directly or indirectly.

c) Disintegration of household structure

The immediate consequence of armed conflict, political violence and ethnic clashes in most communities is the disappearance or incapacity of large numbers of men. Moreover, displacement alters the structure and size of households, increasing significantly the number of female-headed households. Human Rights Watch notes that in Rwanda about 70 per cent of the population was female and that 50 per cent of all households were headed by women from both Hutus and Tutsis ethnic groups following the 1994 genocide (Human Rights Watch, 1996). Women are then obliged to take over male roles in household economics and support systems. Yet, for most women who become sole supporters of their families, the economic opportunities are limited.[75]

These women are traditionally vulnerable to abuse and exploitation and are often forced into unorthodox survival mechanisms, including labour exploitation and prostitution. In documentation from Darfur, Sudan, the phenomenon of a shadow economy is reported to develop around refugee camps, including paid labour in neighboring villages or for humanitarian agencies and trade in nearby markets. It is reported that these are essential sources of income for the inhabitants of the camps. However due to the factor that women heads of households have multiple tasks, these sources of income are out of

[75] Thus, discriminatory practices become widespread, a factor that accelerates the violation of women's rights as provided in Article 13 of the African Union Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003) which states that: 'States parties shall adopt and enforce legislative and other measures to guarantee women equal opportunities in work and career advancement and other economic opportunities. In this respect, they shall:
- promote equality of access to employment;
- promote the rights to equal remuneration for jobs of equal value for women and men.'

reach for them. These forces women and their daughters to adopt sex work as a coping strategy [76] Amnesty International, (2004).

Many women who lose everything and are heads of households for the first time are faced with the difficult responsibility of trying to rebuild their lives while providing food and shelter for themselves and their surviving relatives and school fees for their children. Refugee women from Somalia living in Mayfair, Johannesburg, in South Africa provide a good illustration of this.[77] Lack of access to resources including legal assistance has also led women to experience difficulties in making claims to land, in arguing with officials or in persuading financial institutions of their creditworthiness. Constitutions of many countries do not empower women to inherit land or property. A joint evaluation project[78] of emergency assistance provided to Rwanda in 1996 found that according to the Rwandan legal culture, in the event of a husband's death the wife inherits nothing. Legally a woman cannot own anything, whether livestock, tools, a house or crops. This legal marginalisation of a woman means that women cannot open bank accounts without the permission of the husband, or a male relative if unmarried. This makes it almost impossible for a woman to obtain any bank loans because she controls no assets. Moreover upon marriage and in the absence of a brother, the woman's property acquired from her parents through inheritance becomes the husband's property. In addition, she cannot claim the property if the marriage ends in divorce.

Community structures providing economic support may be restricted to men; hence women may have only passive roles within them. In addition, although women may have

[76] In wartime, social-cultural and economic pressures increase as social norms and family ties come under considerable strain. Lack of formal employment opportunities, absence of capital to start business, and the need to secure housing and income in overcrowded conditions, lead to many women, especially younger women, adopting sex work as a coping strategy

[77] Mail and Guardian, March 3-9, 2000

[78] Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda, (1996). The international response to conflict and genocide, lessons from the Rwanda experience. Copenhagen: Steering Committee of the Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda

increased economic responsibilities, this is not necessarily matched by increased power in decision-making and resource allocation. This gives rise to violation of women's rights under Article 11 (1) of Part III of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979 which provides that:

> *State parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of employment in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights in particular: (a) The right to work as an inalienable right of all human beings.*

The violation mentioned above is partly due to lack of domestication of the instruments that safeguard the rights of women by host governments. Nonetheless, some host governments have taken steps towards addressing this issue by, among other things, implementing the relevant human rights instruments following numerous advocacy and lobbying efforts by non-state actors dealing with women's issues.

Turshen and Twagiramariya (1998) use case studies from Chad, Rwanda, Sudan and Mozambique to demonstrate how war, genocide and conflicts contribute to significant changes in gender roles following which women's economic role and their power within households are increased significantly. In affirming the above, these scholars note that war destroys the traditional patriarchal structures of society that confines and sometimes degrade women in turn opening up and creating new beginnings.

d) Discrimination against refugee women

Scholars such as El Bushar and Piza Lopez (1994) are of the opinion that women are made vulnerable by the complex web of discrimination practices and male-oriented institutions in society. These range from the primary socialisation process, which discriminates against girls in early childhood, to behavioural restriction in adulthood. In some societies, registration and official 'recognition' of women is made through their respective husbands. Therefore, when families are split during flight, women are less

likely to retain any form of documentation. Single women encounter many problems when they attempt to register as refugees, or apply for food/relief ration cards.

Reports by Human Rights Watch on Nepal reveal gender discrimination practices in refugees' camp registration policies and in Nepalese law. It is reported that UNHCR and the government of that country have implemented a registration system based on household cards listed under the name of the male household head. Reports indicate that this practice has failed to ensure that refugee women have independent access to their full entitlement of aid, which is especially critical for women leaving polygamous or abusive households (Human Rights Watch 2003). Also documented is that in Nepal married women are generally listed under their husbands' household card although there are isolated cases of household cards being issued to women. Moreover, adult women who are single, divorced or windowed are often "absorbed" into their fathers' or brothers' household card.[79] According to the reports, the implications of this registration and ration card system were such that Bhutanese refugee women were often unable to obtain ration cards in their own names, thus preventing some women from passing their Bhutanese nationality to their children. If in abusive relationships, the safety of refugee women may be jeopardised.[80]

Establishing refugee status is an additional problem for a woman who may not know the full details of her husband's political activities for which she is being persecuted. In such a case, a woman's application is usually dismissed. It is extremely difficult in many countries for women to claim asylum on grounds of systematic sexual harassment,

[79] Human Rights Watch, 2003
[80] Human Rights Watch, 2003

discrimination or abuse (even when such abuse includes the systematic rape of women as a social group).[81]

The destabilisation of families and communities through mass flight affects women's ability to tap into social networks for support and assistance. This is most marked in more segregated societies, for example in many Islamic communities, where women's interaction within the community is carried out mainly through other women. As noted by Neuhouser (1995), women's social networks tend to be mainly informal, revolving around family and fellow women. Hence, it becomes harder for women to rebuild networks of mutual support in a refugee situation, since tight restrictions on their movement and association continue in the camps and may even increase. As noted by Malou (1997), Sudanese women displaced from the South who sought refuge in Khartoum found the change of environment painful, from 'life in the open to life behind four walls'. Feelings of isolation, helplessness and low self-esteem are particularly associated with women refugees in these situations.

e) Psycho-social experiences of refugee women

Royte (1997:38) observed that in Rwanda after the 1994 genocide, health workers reported that widows were withdrawn and dysfunctional, to a point that they were not capable of properly looking after their children. Further, Layika (1996:40) notes that raped women from Rwanda are reproached for having preferred survival through rape. It is further reported that Rwandan women who survived rape contemplate suicide as they feel guilty for having submitted.

Baker (1983) points out that the period of flight is usually a period of high tension with fears of being discovered, arrested, returned, split up, dispossessed of remaining

[81] See paragraph 2(a) above on violence against women

possessions, and brutalised in a variety of other ways. This high degree of tension, he notes, marks the beginning of the refugee experience, since it can 'continue until pressure mounts to the point where it becomes intolerable'.

Somasundaram (2003) points out psychological problems of women in wars. She observes that following the ethnic conflict in Northern Sri Lanka men left their wives and children behind. However, women did not leave their children or husbands to emigrate or flee the area apart from a few exceptions who migrated to the Middle East in search of jobs as housemaids. Somasundaram (2003) further notes that women were left to face the trauma of war alone. It is reported that they looked after their families single-handedly. There were approximately 19,000 women headed households at the time, which filled in for the absent male in what had been up to 1983 traditional male roles, including riding bicycles, shopping, arguing with authorities, and taking children to schools and temples. Somasundaram (2003) argues that as a result, women were under considerable stress and more vulnerable to breakdown.

Women may be faced with guilt as a result of failing to meet all the demanding duties. These factors contribute to women becoming aggressive since they are faced with a situation that they cannot act upon. In addition to these psychosocial challenges there are the full range of material needs, including shelter and food for themselves and their children, which must also be addressed.

f) Women and education

Displacement reduces levels of resource availability in society as a whole and destroys welfare, including education services. Displaced or refugee women seem to make less use of educational services that at times are available for the whole community. Women often forfeit the chance to receive education due to multiple demands made upon female

households coupled with time-consuming duties such as queuing to collect basic needs like water and food. Programmes suitable to them may not be available, or are scheduled at inconvenient times. In addition, women have to deal with complexities with regard to education for their children. Winterstein and Stone (2004) point out that in South Africa school governing boards routinely fail to inform parents of the criteria for exemptions from school fees, forcing those who are unable, to pay the fees or withdraw their children.

Failure to incorporate women's needs into the educational programmes and lack of provision for childcare facilities reduce chances for women to receive education, a right recognised in both Article 22 of the 1951 Geneva Convention[82] and Article 12 of the African Union Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003) respectively.[83]

Given the fact that women tend to have less education than men do in their countries of origin, lack of educational opportunities in refugee situations may further increase the

[82] Which provides that:
1. 'The Contracting States shall accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education.
2. 'The Contracting States shall accord to refugees treatment as favourable as possible, and, in any event, not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances, with respect to education other than elementary education and, in particular, as regards access to studies, the recognition of foreign school certificates, diplomas and degrees, the remission of fees and charges and the award of scholarships'.

[83] It states that: States parties shall take all appropriate measures to
a) Eliminate all forms of discrimination against women and guarantee equal opportunity and access in the sphere of education and training:
b) Eliminate all stereotypes in textbooks, syllabuses and the media, that perpetuates such discrimination;
c) Protect women especially the girl-child from all forms of abuse, including sexual harassment in schools and other educational institutions and provide for sanctions against the perpetrators of such practices;
d) Provide access to counselling and rehabilitation services to women who suffer abuses and sexual harassment;
e) Integrate gender sensitisation and human rights education at all levels of education curricula including teacher training.
2. States parties shall talk specific positive actions to
a)promote literacy among women;
b) promote education and training for women at all levels and in all disciplines, particularly in the fields of science and technology;
c) promote the enrolment and retention of girls in schools and other training institutions and the organisation of programme for women who leave school prematurely.

gap between male and female educational levels. This hinders the realisation of Education For All Goals 2 and 5 as stipulated by Dakar Framework for Action (UNESCO, 2000).[84] In addition to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)[85] 2 and 3 which call for the elimination of disparities in primary and secondary education by the year 2005 and at all levels by 2015. The Education For All Goals call specifically for gender equality in education by 2015.

g) Physical security

When women become sole providers, their safety becomes critical to the survival of their families. A report from Malange, Angola, quoted an aid worker as saying that up to fifty mothers a week were killed in crossfire or by land-mine accidents: 'the mothers have gone out to the country to get food and have been either killed or blown up by mines' (Shiner, 1994:31). Levels of resource availability in society as a whole are reduced, and can be destroyed by conflict. Women are particularly vulnerable to this reduction in resources and support. Pregnant and nursing mothers experience physical vulnerability while social vulnerability is evident in the disadvantage women experience in accessing the resources of the community.

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[84] Goal 2 is 'to ensure that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality' while Goal 5 is 'to eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality'.

[85] The eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) range from
1. Eradicating extreme poverty and hunger
2. Achieving universal primary education
3. Promoting gender equality and empowering women
4. Reducing child mortality
5. Improving maternal health
6. Combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
7. Ensuring environmental sustainability
8. Developing a global partnership for development.

All these, by the target date of 2015, form a blueprint agreed to by the world's countries and all the world's leading development institutions. They have galvanised unprecedented efforts to meet the needs of the world's poorest. Available from (http:www.un.org/millenniumgoals/) accessed 29 May 2006

Another serious problem following conflict and war is disability. As pointed out by African Rights (1994:41), thousands of anti-personnel mines scattered throughout Somaliland by President Siad Barre's retreating army caused untold suffering. Women and children are the majority of those have lost limbs from land mine injuries, since they often stray off the path (where mines are less likely to be seen), either in search of firewood for cooking, to work on crop production, or rounding up goats and sheep.

References to women being abducted from their children and husbands in northern Uganda describe women being forced into new 'marriages' with their captors (ACORD, 1993:18).[86] Most women accepting sexual relations with soldiers or other men in position of power do this in order to gain protection or escape from rape. In Northern Uganda, it is reported that mothers have adapted to this strategy by marrying their daughters to soldiers at puberty to limit the risk of rape (ACORD, 1993:84*).*

h) Women and health

Mental and physical health of women is considerably affected by displacement. Mental health problems among refugee women are significantly over-represented. This may be due to difficulties associated with their experiences as refugees. The most common diagnosis among refugee women is post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Refugee women who have experienced physical or sexual torture are likely to have mental disorders. As noted by Foster et al (2000:12), 65% of Yugoslavian refugee women developed mental disorders following the war. In addition, depression and anxiety disorders were visible in approximately 58% and 24% of the refugee women (Foster et al, 2000: 11).

[86] This is a violation of women's rights as contained in Article 16 of Part IV of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979. It asserts that:
'States parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in all matters relating to marriage and family relations and in particular shall ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, Article 16 (b), the same right freely to choose a spouse and to enter into marriage only with their free and full consent'.

Military enforcement of marriage and prostitution are variants on the use of rape as a war strategy (Amnesty International, 2004). McGreal (1993:184) notes that long-term repercussions include unwanted pregnancies for girls barely old enough to cope with the demands of motherhood. Refugee women and girls are exposed to the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS as a result of unwelcome marriages. Rejection from husbands does not make it any easier for women living with HIV/AIDS. They lack the marital support that constitutes a right associated with persons living with HIV/AIDS.[87]

Sub-Saharan Africa accounts for just over 60% of all people living with HIV – 25.8 million. An estimated 3.2 million people in the region became newly infected, while 2.4 million adults and children died of AIDS in 2005 (UNAIDS, 2005). The rate of infection for young women between 15-24 years is higher than that of men.[88] The inequalities and disadvantages that characterise the lives of women in Africa drive this exponential rate of increase in the infection of women and girls. Poverty among women often leads to risky behavior. Furthermore women do not have the power or means to negotiate for safer sex or protection from coercion. This situation is fuelling the pandemic with great cost to human lives, to the care for children and to national economies. Despite the effect of their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS, women have been on the forefront of efforts to cope with the pandemic. Women represent 95% of the care providers of those infected and affected by the disease (UNAIDS, 2002).[89]

In countries of asylum lack of or reduced access to health care puts women in dangerous situations that can be life threatening. Previous research conducted in Johannesburg by

[87] Article 1 (14) of the Charter of Rights on AIDS and HIV, 1992 asserts that: 'Persons with HIV or AIDS are entitled to autonomy in decisions regarding marriage and child-bearing although counselling about the consequences of their decisions should be provided'.
[88] In 2005 an estimated 4.6% (4.2-5.5%) of women and 1.7% (1.3-2.2%) of men were living with HIV (UNAIDS, 2005).
[89] UNAIDS website – www.unaids.org/en

Wambugu (2001) revealed that refugee women from Rwanda faced immense difficulties trying to access health care facilities in Johannesburg. They reported of xenophobic attitudes on the part of medical fraternity who refused to attend to vulnerable refugee women. More recent research conducted in South Africa on refugees' access to health care facilities revealed that refugees were denied access to emergency medical care (Belvedere et al, 2003: 145). Validating the above, Bhamjee and Klaaren (2004) point out that lack of distinction made between refugees and other migrants in South Africa, coupled with xenophobia, often means that refugees are denied access to basic health services or that they are charged exorbitant rates applicable to foreigners.

i) Destruction of life sustaining mechanisms

Displacement threatens people's efforts to pursue their normal business and ways of earning a living. Displacement involves widespread physical violence, both against the person and against basic resources and the environment on which people depend for their survival. It leads to resources being squandered in the search for livelihood and security. Working in the fields, searching for food, water or fuel, selling produce by the roadside or attending community occasions is restrained as persons risk being attacked, raped, blown up by land mines or caught in crossfire. Failure to provide protection to civilians by States has accelerated the rate at which human rights are violated. This failure contravenes Article 23 of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights of 1981.[90]

[90] Article 23 provides that:
1. 'All people shall have the right to national and international peace and security. The principles of solidarity and friendly relations implicitly affirmed by the Charter of the United Nations and reaffirmed by the Organisation of African Unity shall govern relations between States.
2. 'For the purpose of strengthening peace, solidarity and friendly relations, States parties to the present Charter shall ensure that:
a) any individual enjoying the right of asylum under Article 12 of the present Charter shall not engage in subversive activities against his country of origin or any other State party to the present Charter,
b) their territories shall not be used as bases for subversive or terrorist activities against the people of any other State party to the present Charter.'

Displacement may also lead to the wide spread 'de-skilling' of the displaced population. Craft persons may lose or sell their tools or may find no use for their skills in new areas, where the markets available for products may be limited. When agricultural activity disappears from the lives of the displaced, the fabric of rural society is affected.[91] Surveys conducted in Mozambique amongst displaced women in 1989, 1991, 1993 and 1994 revealed that women were involved in a wide spectrum of activities prior to displacement, mainly in agriculture and the informal sector (Negrao, 1991); (Republic of Mozambique, 1995b). However, following displacement, women were not in a position to engage in the above.

4. UNHCR Policy and Guidelines on Protection of Refugee Women

Studies conducted to assess the impact and effects of UNHCR policies (1990 Policy and 1991 Guidelines) on women's protection by Women Commission for Refugee Women and Children in 2001[92] identified a gap between policy and practice. According to the findings, the consequences of this gap had been significant and posed threats on the safety and security not only of refugee women but also their families and their communities (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2002). The findings also suggested that the policies had helped raise awareness of vital protection concerns for refugee women and progress made in ensuring their safety.

5. Women, Peace Building and Security in Africa

Addressing gender disparity and specific human rights for women can make them better players in post-conflict and peace building initiatives. Despite numerous direct impacts of war and armed conflicts on women, women are still underrepresented in decision-making fora aimed at preventing, managing and resolving conflict, contrary to Article 10 of the

[91] These factors accelerate the rate at which human rights associated with work are violated. Article 6 of Part III of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966 provides that: 'The States parties to the present Covenant recognize the right to work, which includes the right of everyone to the opportunity to gain his living by work which he freely chooses or accepts, and that States should take appropriate steps to safeguard these rights'.

[92] In Eritrea, Ethiopia, Zambia, Pakistan, Turkey, Canada and the United States of America

African Union Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003).[93] Yet, women have played an effective role in peace building and humanitarian response to conflicts in Africa.

Anderlini (2000) highlights women's involvement in the peace process in Liberia where a women's pressure group called the Liberian Women's Initiative (LWI) was formed in January 1994. It is reported that LWI sprung from Liberian women's joint efforts aimed at speaking out against the war that ravaged that country for fourteen years. Further reporting indicates that women adopted a strategy of taking a unified stance on issues that affected everyone and chose "disarmament before elections" as their primary advocacy point. LWI targeted all parties involved in the peace talks and started a programme to assist in the collection of small arms. As documented, their aim was to attend the regional peace talks and advocate grass roots perspectives directly to the faction leaders. LWI members proved to be influential consultants during the peace making process and also acted as monitors to ensure that promises were kept, although they were never official participants in the talks.

Elsewhere in Chad, it is documented that women listened to all parties in any conflict with compassion and understanding, thus contributing to a non-threatening environment for dialogue. It is reported that women joined forces on the issue of peace and sent a document called the France Ville Appeal to all parties to the conflict in the country,

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[93] Specifies that
1.'Women have the right to a peaceful existence and the right to participate in the promotion and maintenance of peace.
2. 'States parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the increased participation of women:
b) in the structure and processes for conflict prevention, management and resolution at local, national, regional, continental and international levels;
c) in the local, national, regional, continental and international decision making structures to ensure physical, psychological, social and legal protection of asylum seekers, refugees, returnees and displaced persons, in particular women;
e) in all aspects of planning, formulation and implementation of post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation.'

asking government and rebel troops to lay down their arms. According to reports, this initiative succeeded in influencing discussions in the France Ville negotiations (African Union Commission, 2004).

Findings from Burundi indicate that in the late 1990s, women launched a number of initiatives through the media in the form of messages of peace and reconciliation, as well as organising awareness-raising demonstrations. Reports reveal that sometimes at the risk of their own lives, women provided support to refugees, taking care of abandoned orphans and ensuring that their neighbours' homes and belonging were not looted. Further, women formed a platform for dialogue and consensus building and succeeded in participating in the Arusha Peace negotiations (African Union Commission, 2004).

In Sierra Leone, reports by Femmes Africa Solidarite[94] (2000) indicate that the civil war that began in 1992, led to the creation of a women's movement for peace. Reports underscore how massive street demonstrations were organised and messages of peace and reconciliation sent through the media to all sides in the conflict. Women mobilised the international community, obliging the rebels to negotiate and agree to elections. It is documented that Liberian and Malian women embarked upon disarmament campaigns as part of the peace process and helped to collect weapons from ex-combatants. The above references provide examples that refugee women could emulate when strategising on how best to contribute in post-conflict and peace making processes either in exile or as returnees when they repatriate to their countries of origin.

6. Social Capital and Displacement

This section on the link between social capital, coping and displacement enables us to have an understanding of the context in which theories of social capital and coping

[94] An international non-governmental organisation (NGO) working on issues of gender, peace and development in Africa

strategies discussed in chapter three have been developed. Also analysed are the main approaches used in literature on displacement, social capital and coping in order to shed some light on the standpoints of the various theories and concepts discussed later on.

The term 'social capital' was first coined by Hanifan (1916), with reference to the importance of community involvement in a successful schooling system. More recent public and academic debate on its role and significance has been linked to Robert Putnam's book entitled *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Putnam and Leonardi, 1993). In his work, Putnam noted the strong relationship between levels of trust, reciprocity, civic participation and the quality of governance among diverse Italian communities.

Comprehensive definitions of social capital are multidimensional, incorporating different levels and units of analysis. Any attempt to quantify the properties of inherently ambiguous concepts such as 'community', 'network' and 'organisation' is problematic. Woolcock and Narayan (2000:3) point out that 'the basic idea of social capital is that a person's family, friends and associates constitute an important asset, one that can be called on in a crisis, enjoyed for its own sake, and leveraged for gain.' Social capital is also viewed as horizontal associations between people, consisting of social networks and associated norms that have an effect on community productivity and well-being (Specht, 1986). The concept of social capital is of great importance in understanding how refugee women use communal networks to cope with their life in exile, in addition to the resources they possess and use in the process.

a) Aspects of social capital

Bourdieu (1986) asserts that there are three fundamental aspects of social capital. These include economic, social and cultural aspects. He views the economic aspects of capital

as accumulated labour in the form of material possessions of an individual, which is directly convertible into money. The cultural aspects of capital exist in three forms: disposition of the mind and the body, cultural goods, and institutionalised forms. Further, Bourdieu refers to social aspects of social capital as 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources, which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition' (p.241). These and other aspects of social capital are discussed further below.

i) Economic aspect of social capital

One of the defining features of being marginalised is lack of connection with the formal economy, including material and informational resources. Granovetter (1995 in World Bank Resources) argues that all economic behaviour is embedded in networks of social relations. 'Hope Group' provides a good illustration of this. This is a network of refugee women from African states residing in Tshwane, South Africa, who have established self-help projects such as weaving, carving, sewing, cookery, and chicken rearing and in so doing improve their economic well-being. Dasgupta (1988 in World Bank Resources) observes that factors such as giving parties access to more information and enabling them to coordinate activities for their mutual benefit can make economic transactions more efficient.

ii) Social and cultural aspect of social capital

Bubolz (1998 in World Bank Resources) argues that the family as a source of social capital is a 'system in a network of mutually interdependent systems'. He further notes that the family may contribute to social capital available to promote public goods through its interactions with political, economic, cultural, religious and legal systems. Subsequently, Hogan (1998) points out that resources available to families and their networks are increased by social capital generated through interactions between families and other actors within the community.

Displacement tears apart social fabric; communities are dispersed and fragmented, and patterns of social organisation and interpersonal ties and kinship groups become scattered and dismantled. Geiger (1993:68) notes that prior to becoming refugees, refugees had "lives in which there was peace, stability, enough food to eat today and tomorrow, a place in society and a future for themselves and their children". The social capital of refugees disintegrates as they leave behind their original social networks. The tendency is to make new social relations in the host country. If this is not done successfully then the individual is left without social capital and becomes isolated.

Findings from a study to examine and analyse household livelihood strategies in six rural villages in Bosnia-Herzegovina during and after the war in 1989 and 2004 revealed that social capital played an important role in relief access in many situations, and 'being well connected' brought more benefits to a household than 'being vulnerable.' (Stites et al, 2005:66). It is reported that problems in accessing relief aid seemed to be particularly pronounced early in the conflict or when households first arrived at a new location. This may have been as a result of lack of social networks. It is reported that for instance, a woman who was the head of her household during war did not receive any humanitarian assistance during the first year (1993) that she lived in Maglaj. According to the findings, this was due primarily 'to her lack of connections and understanding about how to access food aid', as she explained:

> *I knew that there was humanitarian activity happening, but l simply did not know where or how to access it. At one point l went two and a half months without flour. Things changed in 1994 and l began to receive food aid, including flour, beans, rice, soap, and a limited amount of clothing.* [95] (Stites et al, 2000:66)

[95] Interview with Bosniak woman, age 61, Sevarlije, Doboj, September 9, 2004 - Quoted in Coping with War, Coping with Peace: Livelihood Adaptation in Bosnia Herzegovina 1989-2004, April 2005 (Stites et al, 2000)

Communities and families frequently cope in adverse circumstances by pooling their assets. They employ survival strategies that make optimal use of limited local resources. Social capital among refugees can be critical to short-term as well as long-term survival. Findings from an anthropological study by Hammond (1999) revealed that Tigrean refugees in Sudanese camps stayed together in Sudan and after they were forced to return to Ethiopia. This according to the findings was a strategy of keeping the community together as a social and productive unit while achieving access to more production inputs. Refugees often draw on whatever available resources they have and share these. Research that sought to examine the impact of informal information and communications networks on security in Tanzanian refugee camps revealed that social capital contributes to sharing of information as well as to building of community infrastructure (West and Wambugu, 2003).[96]

Besley, Coate and Loury (1993) note that social capital is used among marginalised people as a way of insuring themselves against shocks such as bad health, inclement weather or government cutbacks, and to pool resources such as food, credit, or childcare. In the event of displacement, refugees use networks of trust and reciprocity as an insurance mechanism that enables them to survive day to day, when individually they cannot feed their children, pay school fees or access formal credit services for their small enterprises. It is reported that successful refugee communities in exile are able to offer new arrivals help with securing informal sources of credit, insurance, child support, language training, and job referrals.

Abrams and Bulmer (1986) point out that kinship ties provide a social safety net during lean times. Following displacement, this would assist refugees to meet material and

[96] See further discussions in: Left to their own devices: The impact of informal information and communication networks on security in Tanzanian camps. West and Wambugu (2003)

financial needs. In refugee situations, these structures facilitate the rate at which refugees are able to integrate into the host community and cope with their new environment. Language barriers can make it difficult to establish new relationships and hence as noted by Bubolz (1996), informal systems such as family, friends and neighbours and semi-formal systems such as cooperatives and clubs are especially important sources of friendship, status, information and services.

b) Social capital and gender

Picciotto (1998 in World Bank Resources) argues that 'the individual's capacity to trust has roots in the mother-child relationship' and that women as the primary caregivers serve a critical role in the early development of social capital in a society. Building onto this argument, Neuhouser (1995) observes that traditionally women are responsible for household welfare and child rearing. Hence women's networks tend to be informal and include more relatives than male networks do. Validating the above, findings from studies in Brazil on social networks of women revealed that these were vital for women to obtain income and other necessities (Norris, 1985 in World Bank Resources). Gender discrimination as noted earlier in this chapter can result in depleted social capital.[97]

7. Displacement and Strategies of Coping and Adaptation

a) Coping strategies

In all societies, individuals and communities have different strategies they adopt to survive in times of crisis. It is documented that food aid only meets 10% of needs in emergency situations, with most food needs being met through local coping strategies (WHO, 2000).[98] Thus most people affected by conflict survive by their own efforts rather than as a result of outside interventions or aid. The role of informal social networks in provision of scarce goods and services, in particular during stress periods, has been

[97] See discussions in Chapter 2:6b
[98] World Health Organisation

recognised as safety net and informal insurance in many countries. Denzau and Irwin (1992) demonstrate the relevance of informal social networks for surviving disaster, accessing information, influencing social-economic status, psychological and emotional well being and obtaining material support in the west. Dershem and Gzirishvili (1998) highlight economic role of social networks as sources of surviving disasters. Scholars such as Aryeetey and Gockel (1991) and Nagarayan, Meyer and Graham (1999) demonstrate how social networks provide access to information and balance reciprocity in Africa, using case studies from Ethiopia and Ghana.

Further, the argument above is supported by Bennet (1976:846 in Kibreah, 1993:358) who asserts that historically, all communities have resources for dealing with difficulties, illness, and distress. These scholars observe that communities normally deploy their own adaptive strategies in the face of man-made or natural disasters and 'the majority of coping mechanisms are based on precedents'. However, displacement may fragment coping mechanisms, as observed by Van Damme (1995), who provides an example from the population from the Great Lakes Regions population, which is the focus of this study. [99]

i) Gender and coping

The focus on gender in the coping process is important because women and men play different but interdependent roles in the process of coping. Social relations, institutional rules and cultural norms, within and outside the household, determine their coping mechanisms. Davies (1996) observes that in situations of emergency some coping strategies may not be sustainable and women in particular are prone to adopt negative

[99] The population, made up mostly of subsistence farmers and nomadic herders, are being systematically undermined by protracted conflict

strategies such as prostitution because of limited options.[100] This, he observes, raises the danger that uncritical support of coping strategies may reinforce gender inequalities.

b) Adaptation strategies

Studies of adaptation of refugees reveal little consensus among social scientists. Literature is derived from several disciplines, making for a variety in input. Because of its multiple facets, adaptation has been viewed from various perspectives and measured in various ways (e.g. changes in economic and social conditions and attitudes). Adaptation refers to a long-term process in which the individual acquires a lasting feeling of ease with the new situation. Adaptation is the outcome of the joint process of coping efforts and utilisation of available protective factors/resources. Different strategies are proposed to lead to varieties of adaptation. Adjustment, reaction and withdrawal are three strategies that have been identified for an individual (Berry, 1976).

i) Collective strategies of adaptation

Collective strategies are a major force in immigrant adaptation. It can be said that ethnic solidarity provides refugees with invaluable social, economic and informational resources. Ethnic collectivism remains most influential and effective at the local level and is a vital resource for refugees. Various forms of immigrant collectivism observed in refugees (political, religious or entrepreneurial), although beneficial, lack power and resources to solve many of the problem refugees "find most pressing". These problems may for instance be associated with repatriation and asylum seeking.

ii) Social structure in adaptation

The larger social structures, ranging from the world system to the availability of jobs and housing in communities of exile or resettlement, are a central factor in influencing refugees' adaptation. The displacement of refugee populations from certain nations and their resettlement in others can only be understood in terms of the economic and

[100] See discussions on 2(c) above on disintegration of household structure

political relations among the world's nations. Similarly, refugees' patterns of economic incorporation are not only a product of the broader social and economic process that shapes the given country of asylum, but also of their own skills, community networks and resources. These affect the availability of jobs and determine with whom refugees must compete for employment.

8. Refugees as a Developmental Resource

The economic and social impact of forcibly displaced populations on the countries that shelter them can be enormous, with both negative and positive implications. In most cases, social and economic rights of refugees are not guaranteed, since most host country policies deny employment to foreigners in general and to refugees in particular. Considering the desperate needs of refugees, this approach not only violates the rights of refugees and perpetuates the cycles of poverty that breed conflicts, but it also denies the host country the tremendous human resources that the refugee population can provide if encouraged appropriately. Skills developed in exile can also prove to be a source of stability when conditions allow refugees to return to their country of origin. Dramatic increases in the flow of refugees therefore can bring major economic, social, and cultural consequences for both the host population(s) and for refugees themselves.

Research conducted in Uganda in 2003 sought to investigate the lives of self-settled refugees in Kampala. The research highlighted the contribution made by refugees to the economic development of host countries and the fight against chronic poverty. Further findings from this research revealed that an estimated 15 000 refugees from war torn Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia resided in Ugandan towns and cities without assistance from UNHCR and were unable to fully utilise their entrepreneurial skills and technical qualifications (Macchiavello, 2003). According to the research, most of these refugees were educated –

70% of those interviewed had either finished or had been in the process of secondary education prior to flight and 30% had a college or university qualification. It is reported that many were academics, researchers, engineers, teachers and musicians, however employers freely exploited refugee workers since there existed no national laws protecting refugee employees.

Findings from research conducted on asylum seekers' skills and qualifications in March 2001 by the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE)[101] in England and Wales revealed that refugees had high levels of education, skills and qualifications. Further findings from research conducted by the London Skills Commission disclosed that refugees were often skilled in the very sectors that were understaffed, which included engineering and teaching as well as construction and health. It is reported that in response to the above findings, the National Health Services in the United Kingdom planned to recruit and retain more health care professionals from the refugee population, estimating that there was a need for 45 000 extra health professionals over a period of five years to meet London's rising demand for services. Similarly, a construction skills programme responded to the expected need for 10 000 construction staff, ranging from qualified engineers to bricklayers, to deliver London's key building projects.

Moreover, the above studies suggested that refugees had higher than average educational, skills and qualification levels, and high levels of motivation, and that the majority were young males of working age. Research findings point out that given these characteristics, it was likely that refugees had a great deal to offer to their host country if initial obstacles such as stereotype and language barriers could be overcome.

[101] NIACE is a non-governmental organisation based in the United Kingdom that is working for more and different adult learners

The Refugees' Contribution to Europe Project (RESOURCE)[102] sought to analyse practices and policies affecting refugees' participation in the European labour market through desk research and interviews with employed refugees in fourteen countries. The research particularly focuses on how refugees' skills, qualifications and working experience were being used in sectors of the labour market that were experiencing skills shortages, such as health and social care, information technology (IT) and engineering. The respondents were asked about their avenues to employment and how they had overcome difficulties.

As documented, most of the respondents came from Africa and the Middle East but also from the borders of Europe, Asia and Latin America (Jonker, 2002).[103] It is reported that almost all respondents interviewed were educated and working before they arrived in their host country. Of those interviewed, 76% had studied at a higher professional or academic level. Of these, 63% had completed their studies and 14% were still studying. Further, four-fifths of those interviewed had been using their skills in their countries of origin before arriving in the EU. Thirty-three per cent of these were working in health, 14% in engineering and 5% in IT. In addition, in the host countries, 260 refugees (88%) were in paid employment at the time of the interview.

Findings from the research indicate that refugees' skills, competence and personality were the most important factors that helped them find suitable employment. Further, the research above noted that many refugee professionals are unemployed or under-employed in Europe, so that the above situation does not necessarily represent the usual situation of refugees in Europe.

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[102] Is a joint initiative of fourteen refugee agencies in all European Union (EU) member states, except Denmark

[103] Berend Jonker is a project manager at Education Action International, London. The results of the RESOURCE project are presented in 14 country reports www.education-action.org/media/Resource_projectdoc)

Findings from a project by the Austrian Board of Psychotherapy, which set up a pilot training programme for doctors and psychologists from Bosnia-Herzegovina who had been forced to flee the country during the war in Yugoslavia in 1992-1995, indicate that all participants were able to use their skills in counselling, support, and mediation between Austrian healthcare providers and Bosnian refugees (Berlin, Gill and Eversley, 1997:315). Clients reported that they were relieved to be able to talk to care givers from their own group who offered understanding and a common language. In addition, the project revealed that one of the most important experiences for the doctors was the first contact with a large number of seriously traumatised refugees, who had had no prior contact with counselling or medical and psychological treatment, and were mainly survivors of war atrocities and concentration camps.[104]

a) Negative impact of refugees on host communities and countries

Massive influxes of refugees often burden an already depleted economy of the host country. For example, despite successive refugee crises during the 1990s from the Great Lakes Region, the Tanzanian government and the people continued to be generous towards refugees. However, in the context of preparations for Tanzania national election in October 2000, the issue of the protracted refugee presence was lending weight to a new government policy that gave serious reconsideration to local integration, especially for refugees from Burundi.[105] Further, the presence of large numbers of refugee in camps and internally displaced persons (IDP) hosting areas can have negative effects on local environments.

Many African governments and their populations view refugees as a big burden imposed on them. Host populations accuse refugees for environment degradation, deterioration of security, damage to infrastructure and retardation of economic development, as noted

[104] Berlin, Gill and Eversley, 1997:315
[105] United Republic of Tanzania Country Operations Plan – Planning Year 2002

in the case of Tanzania. In contrast, results from a study conducted by the Centre for the Study of Forced Migration, University of Dar es Salaam, which set to examine the impact of the presence of refugees in north-western Tanzania, revealed that there had been positive impacts of the intervention by refugee or refugee related agencies programmes. These resulted in development that benefited local community in sectors such as social services - education, health, water services facilities, improved infrastructure and radio services among others.[106] Further, in the Kagera region, the 400 000 Rwandese refugees who were residents of the Benaco camps in 1994-1996 undertook intensive farming and were able to produce food enough not only to supplement the WFP ration but also to sell to the local communities.

On another note, where xenophobia is openly manifested against fellow black African foreigners, for instance in South Africa, asylum seekers and refugees are seen as the cause of many of the economic and social problems of the country, including unemployment, crime and even the spread of HIV/AIDS. Critical research and analysis as well as police reports have proven this to the contrary.[107] Whilst a few asylum seekers and refugees might be involved in pretty crime, most planned armed robberies that result in deaths and serious injury are perpetuated by organised indigenous networks.

Further, large spontaneous and unregulated migrant flows can have a significant impact on national and international stability and security, hindering States' ability to exercise effective control over their borders, and creating tensions between origin, transit and

[106] Similar findings as those of refugee contributions in Uganda, European Union, London and Austria
[107] Resource material on xenophobia in South Africa: Studies on xenophobia and migration policy in South Africa, articles on xenophobia, responses to xenophobia, media education and website on xenophobia in South Africa http://66.249.93.104/search?q=cache:8qPW-crL9DAJ:www.sahrc.org.za/resources accessed 27 June 2006

destination countries and within local host communities.[108] Recent international terrorist activity[109] and the illicit circulation of small arms and light weapons have turned the focus on individual migrants and the potential for public order to be compromised by individuals whose intent is to undermine the security and stability of States and societies.

9. Conclusions

This chapter was devoted to a review of literature on social scientific and socio-legal research as well as policy statements on forced migration and displacement. It distinguished four general clusters as being the source or circumstances that lead to these phenomena. These are persecution and ethnic clashes, armed conflict and political turmoil, natural environmental disasters and induced developmental policies and programmes. The review also sketches the diverse ways in which the lives and social relations of refugee women become distorted, even redefined, and the strategies and innovations they adapt to cope with life in exile.

The literature suggests that the complex and multifaceted challenges accompanying forced migration and displacement play out even more profoundly among refugee women. Whilst there are still many identified gaps and aspects yet to be documented, it is evident that refugee women are among the social groups most affected by the phenomena of forced migration and displacement.

The literature points out that there is an undeniable link between violations of one aspect of rights and another, ranging from civil and political rights (first generation) to economic, social and cultural rights (second generation) and third generation rights such

[108] Illustrated by the example of President Conte's inflammatory public statements accusing refugees of harboring rebels from Liberia and Sierra Leone in Guinea, see page 44 of this document

[109] Ranging from the concurrent attacks on the American Embassy in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in August 7 1998 to the September 11 2001 attacks on the Twin Towers - World Trade Centre in New York City in the USA; 11 March 2004 Madrid train bombings in Spain and the London explosions on the 7th and 15 July 2005 respectively, widely covered by local and international media

as the rights to development and to a healthy and clean environment. The contribution of the study is its new approach of looking at this phenomenon from the standpoint of social capital as a theoretical tool for the analysis.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY, RESEARCH DESIGN AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. Methodology

In the following chapter, the research design of this study is first discussed. The gathering of the empirical material and the methods for its analysis are also described. In closing, the evaluation of the research design is presented.

This study takes the form of exploratory qualitative research aimed at systematic analysis of refugee women's experiences. Qualitative research methods were developed in the social sciences to enable researchers to study social and cultural phenomena. Qualitative research methods are dynamic and complex and are contested sites of multiple methodology and research practices. There is no standard approach to defining qualitative research among qualitative researchers. For instance, according to Kirk and Miller (1986), qualitative research is an empirical, socially located phenomenon, defined by its own history. It is not a residual grab bag comprising all things that are not quantitative. Qualitative research contains several techniques, such as grounded theory, ethnography, life history, and conversational analysis. It is therefore not a single entity but an umbrella term, which encompasses enormous variety (Silverman, 1993).

On the other hand, Marshall and Rossman (1989) list six different qualitative research traditions, including ethnography, cognitive anthropology and symbolic interactionism. Yin (1988) has identified six sources of evidence that work well in qualitative research settings: documentation, physical artefacts, interviews, direct observations, participant observation and archival records. In this research various types of data collection techniques were thus applied. These include documentary analysis, narratives or story

telling, field notes and meetings, observation and visits, participant observation and interviews. The different types of empirical material were collected in order to ensure methodological triangulation (Denzin, 1984). According to Yin (1988), the use of multiple sources of evidence can help a researcher to overcome potential problems regarding validity and reliability of the study. The purpose of the multiple sources and forms of empirical data was also to get a broad and thorough understanding of how refugee women adapted social capital as a tool in coping with their lives in exile.

Qualitative research methods are designed to help researchers understand people and the social and cultural contexts within which they live. Kaplan and Maxwell (1994) argue that the goal of understanding a phenomenon from the point of view of the participants and its particular social and institutional context is largely lost when textual data are quantified. Building into this argument, the motivation for doing qualitative research as opposed to quantitative research in this study was derived from the problem statement as discussed in Chapter One, that while a range of theories and concepts may have been employed in an attempt to map the impact of forced migration, the use of this term emphasises the centrality of refugees themselves to the attempted analysis. Despite this, there are limited studies in which refugees describe the impacts of displacement in their own words and their survival strategies in what are clearly difficult circumstances. There is an even greater paucity of literature about refugee women. It is therefore important to explore refugee women's stories about the impact of forced migration and the strategies they have adopted to cope in these circumstances. The use of qualitative research methods in this research is therefore from the standpoint of the need to hear voices of refugee women as they describe experiences of their lives in exile.

2. Research Design

a) Case studies

This study adopts comparative case study as a research method and a unit of analysis. It focuses on a group of refugee women from Burundi, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) living in western Tanzania's Kigoma and Kagera regions. Although there are numerous definitions, Yin (2002) defines the scope of a case study as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context. Myers (1997) points out that the term 'case study' has multiple meanings. He notes that it can be used to describe a unit of analysis, for instance a case study of a particular organisation, or to describe a research method. A feature of case studies as a unit of analysis is that it entails spending time within a given social structure. Roberts (2000) points out that the comments and conclusions that emerge are based solely on the researcher's experiences in that setting.

Eisenhardt (1989:534) observes that case study as a research strategy focuses on understanding the dynamics present within single settings. Evidently the case study research method was particularly well-suited to this study on social capital and coping strategies by refugee women. This is due to the fact that the focus of the study was on the networks that refugee women formed among themselves. These networks constituted their coping strategies as they attempted to better their lives. Macionis and Plummer, (1998:48 in Roberts, 2000) observe that cultural anthropologists use the term 'fieldwork' to refer to case studies methods used to study communities in other societies. Anthropologists refer to case studies as 'ethnographies' while sociologists use the term 'case studies'.

b) Resources of case study

i) Respondents

Respondents were identified through a sample of convenience, which used snowballing as a strategy for identifying participants. A sample is a finite part of a statistical population whose properties are studied to gain information about the whole (Webster, 1985). When referring to people, a sample can be defined as a set of respondents (people) selected from a larger population n for the purpose of a survey. A sample of convenience involves the selection of the most accessible subjects. There is an element of convenience sampling in many qualitative studies, but a more thoughtful approach to selection of a sample is usually justified (Marshall, 1996).

Given the limitation of the snowballing strategy, seventeen refugee women from Burundi, DRC and Rwanda from rural Tanzania were selected.[110] The notion of 'rural' refugees in this context refers to refugees who are currently in a rural setting. The researcher made contact with organisations dealing with refugee issues in Tanzania, to facilitate identification of respondents. The researcher also established contacts with refugee women through participating in social events within the refugee communities. Data was gathered from respondents residing at the Kagera and Kigoma regions in western Tanzania. The initial plan was to include between twenty and twenty-five respondents. The actual size of the sample reflects data saturation. Specifically, after analysing ten of the transcribed interviews, the researcher realised that earlier respondents had communicated the same information about their refugee experiences as later respondents were providing. Further, the researcher interviewed only two respondents from the Rwandese refugee community, since the majority of them were not willing to speak to 'strangers'. They had been issued with directives from their host

[110] See under 'Limitations of the study' Ch. 2:b:xiii for further explanations.

government to return to their country of origin and some were repatriated at the time that the researcher was gathering her data.[111]

ii) Procedure

Pilot study

A pilot is a test run of something to see how it works prior to undertaking the main research. A pilot study usually entails collection and analysis of a small amount of data. Pilot studies provide the opportunity to discover any hitches or problems with the methodology, particularly with interviews, as was the case in this study. Pilot interviews in this study had suggested that it might be difficult to tape-record information given by the respondents because they were legitimately concerned about what might be done with the information gathered. Further, the pilot study enables one to estimate the duration or time frame of the interview. This is essential since it assists the researcher to plan his/her overall research time frame.

[111] As discussed in detail in Chapter One

TABLE 3.1: SOURCES OF DATA

	DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS	NARRATIVES	OBSERVATION AND VISITS	INTERVIEWS	FIELD NOTES AND MEETINGS
DESCRIPTION	Legal instruments - These are legal documents binding state parties to provide protection and assistance to refugees and asylum seekers	Stories told by refugee women in the Kigoma and Kagera regions as part of the experiences of coping with their lives in exile	Participant observation is a method by which researchers systematically observe people while joining in their activities.	An interview is a series of questions a researcher addresses personally to respondents	Field notes were notes taken during interviews, narratives and observations. They served as supplementary data.
EXAMPLES	1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees also referred to as the 1951 Geneva Convention 1966 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees 1969 OAU/ AU Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa The United Republic of Tanzania Refugee Act of 1998 United Republic of Tanzania Refugee Policy of 2003	'I fled my country of origin as a result of ethnic discrimination and hatred. This has caused the killers to place low value on people's lives, forcing them to flee. Many people lose their lives. They are killed if they do not escape.'	For example in this study the researcher engaged with refugees during joint market days, food distribution days, at health centres and in the camps/villages were refugees resided.	'Can you tell me about what it's like to be a refugee woman in Tanzania? 'Can you tell me about a problem or a difficult situation that you have encountered here in Tanzania?' Do you receive any assistance from any refugee or any other organisations?	During meetings, instead of asking questions, the researcher was a silent observer Examples include during interviews, observation and participant observation within refugee community and organisations dealing with refugee issues in western Tanzania and Dar es Salaam

iii) Interviews

An interview is a series of questions a researcher addresses personally to respondents Macionis and Plummer, (1998:44 in Roberts, 2000).[112] An interview may be structured or unstructured. Where the interview is structured the researcher asks clearly defined questions. In unstructured interviews, the researcher allows some questions to be led by

[112] Roberts, A. (2000) ABC - The ABC Study Guide. University education in plain English alphabetically indexed. http://www.mdx.ac.uk/www/study/glossary.htm accessed 25 July 2006

the responses of the respondents. In this study, respondents were interviewed by means of a semi-structured interview (see Appendix C), designed to elicit the respondent's experiences as a refugee. The pre-planned questions used in the interview situation were open-ended (Yin 1989). The purpose of this strategy was to ensure that the data was as extensive as possible. The interview guideline was in English and Kiswahili (see Appendices C and D). Kiswahili is a second language among the majority of communities from Eastern Africa and the Great Lakes region and the researcher spoke both English and Kiswahili during the interviews. The use of both languages reflects the researcher's concern for the refugee women who could not speak in English, and her attempt within her linguistic abilities to communicate in a language in which the respondents felt at ease and in which they could easily express themselves.

iv) Narratives and story telling

Narrative is defined by the Oxford Advanced English Dictionary as 'spoken or written account of events or story for example a gripping narrative about the war.' There are many kinds of narrative, from oral narrative through to historical narrative. There is agreement with the fundamental premise that people convey the meanings of their everyday life though the use of narratives. In this study, respondents used stories to describe their refugee experiences in the country of asylum. They communicated these in response to the interviewer's questions. Coffey and Atkinson, (1996:57) point out that by using narratives in the analysis of qualitative data, it is possible to consider both how respondents tell their experiences and why they remember and tell what they do. This is useful in the stories told by refugee women on how they coped with their lives in exile and how refugee women perceived coping.

Tape-recording

Using a tape recorder during unstructured interviews ensures that the researcher captures all information. However, it is important to note that there is a need for the researcher to

have established rapport with the respondents and to ascertain that the tape-recording does not affect the relationship between the researcher and the respondent hence jeopardizing the whole interview exercise. As noted above, pilot interviews in this study had suggested that it might be difficult to tape-record information. Most respondents were initially hesitant to allow the use of a tape recorder. The respondents were legitimately concerned about what might be done with the information gathered. This concern was confirmed in the actual study. However once trust was established, they agreed to the taping of the discussions. Thus, a tape recorder was used to record the second interview with each respondent.

v) Field notes and meetings

In situations where respondents did not agree to have their first interview tape-recorded, the researcher took notes during the interview session and recorded the information immediately after the interview. In addition, notes were always taken during the interviews in case there were problems in recording and transcribing. Further, the researcher took notes during observation, field visits and where she engaged in participant observation. Part of the data collecting technique also consisted of meetings at which the researcher, instead of asking questions, was only a silent observer. This was particularly during meetings between local leaders from the refugee communities and representatives from service-providing agencies such as UNHCR, MHA and NGOs dealing with refugee issues in western Tanzania. Thus, multiple sources of evidence were used in the empirical analysis of this study. These field notes served as supplementary data in the analysis of social capital and coping among refugee women.

vi) Observation and field visits

With regard to observation and visits the researcher collects data by observation when he/she makes a visit to a site appropriate to his/her research. Roberts, (2000) notes that these methods require the researcher to plan questions as it is not always convenient or

acceptable to make notes as a researcher goes along. He further notes that a useful technique is to write a report of what one has heard and seen immediately afterwards In this study, the researcher made observations in refugee camps and within other structures related to the issue of refugees in Tanzania. Specifically, these included Tanzanian Ministry of Home Affairs offices (MHA) both in Dar es Salaam and every MHA office in the refugee camps of western Tanzania regions of Kigoma and Kagera.. This was partly due to the fact that the requirements of conducting research within the camps entailed obtaining clearance and a research permit from the MHA headquarters in Dar es Salaam. Other offices visited included UNHCR, NGOs and faith-based institutions dealing with issues of refugees. The former were based both in Dar es Salaam and western Tanzania. In this study the researcher also recorded her observations at the time of the interview and at other times when she participated in activities with the refugee population.

Participant observation

This is a method by which researchers systematically observe people while joining in their activities. The method was used in this study when the researcher engaged with the refugee community during joint market days and food distribution days. The former is a bi-weekly market shared with the local Tanzanians while the latter is a bi-weekly food distribution day, which takes place in a designated venue within the camps referred to as the food distribution centre. The researcher also visited health centers and villages within the camps. WFP is usually in charge of this exercise in conjunction with UNHCR and its implementing partners.

vii) Documentary analysis

This entails using secondary data for research. It implies that rather than collecting primary data the researcher refers to either published or unpublished documents such as text books, journal articles, working papers or reports that are already in existence in the

area under study (Roberts, 2000). This research adapted documentary analysis qualitative methods. In so doing the researcher systematically and objectively located, evaluated and synthesized literature specifically from international, regional and national legal and human right instruments such as Conventions, Protocols, Constitutions, Acts of Laws and Policy documents. The above facilitated establishment of facts and drawing of conclusions concerning the rights of women as discussed in detail in chapter two.

viii) Data analysis

In qualitative research methods, data is usually in the form of words from transcripts, observations and documents. In qualitative research, the researcher captures data, and discovers meaning from it through becoming immersed in it. In addition, qualitative research analysis proceeds by extracting themes or generalisations from evidence. It organises data to present a coherent, consistent picture.

Content analysis

Content analysis is an accepted method of textual investigation. It involves establishing categories and then counting the numbers of times those categories are used in a particular item or text, for instance a newspaper report (Silverman, 1993). Content analysis is a technique that was used in this research for gathering and analyzing the content of the texts. The content here refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes or any messages communicated by the respondents as they describe their experiences and networks.

Content analysis pays particular attention to the reliability of its measures, ensuring that different researchers use them in the same way, and to the validity of its findings through precise counts of word use. However, its theoretical basis is unclear and its conclusions can often be trite. Given the exploratory nature of this research, content analysis was an important resource for coding the stories gathered for the purpose of developing an

understanding of refugee women's networking and coping 'in their own words'. The text is anything written, visual or spoken that serves as a medium for communication (Neuman, 1997).

ix) Coding

TABLE 3.2: CODING PROCEDURE

PROCEDURE	DESCRIPTION
STEP 1	Taped interviews transcribed by the researcher
STEP 2	Taped interviews transcribed by a second party who spoke Kiswahili
STEP 3	Taped interviews translated by the researcher
STEP 4	Taped interviews translated by a second party who spoke Kiswahili
STEP 5	Developing of a coding frame - concepts and categories derived from theory and empirically from the data.
STEP 6	To assess reliability, the researcher and a second coder coded one interviewee's (Maria's) transcript Results of Step 5 were as follows: Problems - of the 13 items coded in the category of problems there were 12 agreements (92.43%) between the two coders and only one (7.6%) disagreement. Meaning-making - concerning the meaning-making category (five items) the two coders agreed on every item. Coping strategies with regard to coping strategies (16 items) there were 15 agreements (93.7%) and one disagreement. Social capital - there was 100% agreement between the coders with regard to items coded in the categories of social capital. Contact points - there was 100% agreement between the coders with regard to items coded in the categories of contact points.
STEP 7	Above exercise assisted the researcher to develop a final coding frame.

Coding is used to organise qualitative data. In this research, taped interviews were transcribed and translated by the researcher with the assistance of a second party,[113] who spoke Kiswahili and who checked the researcher's translated transcripts for errors. Data analysis was then done in English, using the translated transcripts. Seidel and Kelle (1995:52) observe that coding empirical material serves as a link between the raw

[113] A doctoral researcher at University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, who spoke both English and Kiswahili

material, for instance the interview transcripts, and the researcher's theoretical concept as illustrated by the coding frame below. Concepts and categories in the coding system used in data analysis were derived from theory and empirically from the data. Once developed, the coding system was given to a second coder,[114] to validate it, ensuring that a second coder could use the coding frame and come up with similar results.

To assess reliability, the researcher and the second coder coded one interviewee's (Maria's) transcript.[115] Of the 13 items coded in the category of *problems* there were 12 agreements (92.43%) between the two coders and only one (7.6%) disagreement. Concerning the *meaning-making* category (five items) the two coders agreed on every item, whereas with regard to *coping strategies* (16 items) there were 15 agreements (93.7%) and one disagreement. Further, there was 100% agreement between the coders with regard to items coded in the categories of *social capital* and contact points. This exercise assisted the researcher to develop a final coding frame as illustrated below.

x) Coding frame

Definition of concepts

1. **C1: PROBLEMS**: Refers to a situation encountered in daily living that is experienced as subjectively difficult by the respondent. Specifically the respondent notes/states that she has difficulties in dealing with or understanding the situation or event.
2. **C2: MEANING MAKING**: Refers to proximal causes/reasons and interpretations identified by the respondent in an attempt to communicate her understanding of what has happened and why it has happened.

[114] A doctoral researcher at University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, who spoke both English and Kiswahili

[115] All names used in this text are pseudonyms selected by the respondents to ensure anonymity and protect their identities

3. **C3: COPING**: Refers to efforts to master problems or conditions of challenge, threat or harm or where a routine or automatic response is not readily available (Lazarus, 1975).
4. **C4: SOCIAL CAPITAL:** Refers to the horizontal associations between people, consisting of social networks and associated norms that have an effect on community productivity and well-being (Specht, 1986).
5. **C5: CONTACT POINTS**: Refer to mechanisms, channels or venues that a respondent frequented often for the purpose of socialising and gathering information (Wambugu, 2003)

C1: PROBLEMS include

- Material, for example:
  - Food
  - Clothes
  - Housing
  - Medical and maternity care
  - Education
  - Death and diseases
  - Lack of non-food items (blankets, soap, jerry can, cooking pots)
  - Child malnutrition
- Emotional and psychological
- Work related and labour exploitation
- Home and family related
- Community based
- Nationality
- Ethnic discrimination
- Restriction of movement and Immigration problems
- Money
- Assistance from service providers
- Gender related

- War
- Rape
- Living Conditions in Camps
- Insecurity
- Sexual harassment
- Prostitution and prostitution labelling
- Political discrimination
- Wife battering
- Polygamy
- Co-habiting
- Drunkenness
- Attack while gathering firewood
- Lack of ready markets for women's self-help development projects
- Shift in gender roles
- Rumour mongering
- HIV/AIDS, STDS and unwanted pregnancies
- Forcible Repatriation

C2: MEANING MAKING includes:

- Proximal Cause/Reason for Leaving Country of Origin
  - Description of effect or outcome present in text
  - Use of causal term, e.g. because, therefore, hence, as a result of

- Interpretations
  - Embedded in a broader or more complex social context
  - Often includes feelings as well as cognition

C3: COPING includes:

- Direct actions, which are behaviours such as fight or flight, designed to alter troubled relationships with one's social or physical environment. They also includes planned future action.
- Palliative modes, which refer to thoughts or actions whose goal is to relieve the emotional impact of stress (bodily or psychological) disturbances.

Combined direct actions and palliative modes

C4: SOCIAL NETWORKS include:

- Social, 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources, which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition' (Bourdieu, 1986).
  Social networks include women:
  - assisting each other in gathering firewood
  - walking in groups while fetching firewood to combat rape and attacks
  - meeting and socialising at water wells while washing clothes
  - meeting and socialising at health centre while seeking medical care
  - meeting and socialising at joint markets during market day
  - meeting at farming initiative for Burundian refugees
  - assisting in thatching house in absence of male support
  - assisting in construction of houses and pit latrines in absence of male support
  - fetching water together
  - women's groups taking care of children of sick mothers
  - women's groups visiting sick mothers in hospital and taking them food
  - unpaid volunteer work with NGOs working in the camps
- Cultural networks exist in the form of cultural goods Bourdieu, (1986).
  Cultural networks include:
  - Sharing food rations in times of need, for instance, following childbirth, during funerals and weddings
  - Orphans project where women provide moral support, food and routine home visits
  - Women fetching firewood and water during funerals for the affected family
  - Women providing primary education for refugee children in the camps
  - Visiting disabled people, feeding them and assisting in household chores
  - Singing traditional songs and hymns during funeral, births and weddings

- "Economic networks" refer to economic behaviour embedded in networks of social relations thus facilitating group to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable (Knack and Keefer, 1997).

  Economic networks include women:

  - Running restaurants within refugees' camps
  - Weaving projects
  - Sewing projects
  - Vegetable projects
  - Informal co-operative societies (Merry go round) for food ration
  - Commercial thatching of leaking roofs
  - Commercial construction of houses and pit latrines
  - Sewing children's clothes for sale
  - Trading food rations in joint markets
  - Income generating activities where women knit sweaters for sale locally
  - Paid employment within NGOs working in the camp

C5: CONTACT POINTS include:

- Formal, referring to formal sources and locations that respondents accessed for purposes of social, cultural and economic activities

  Formal contact includes:

  - Information received from radios
  - International aid workers (UNHCR, WFP)
  - Officials working with Ministry of Home Affairs, Tanzanian government
  - Officials from non-governmental organisations (NGOs) working in the camps
  - Faith-based institutions, for exaple churches
  - Posters
  - Women leaders who went door-to-door passing on information
  - Health centres officials (health information team (HIT))
  - Refugee community leaders

- Tracing facilities, an initiative of the international committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)
- Formal gathering at food distribution point during food distribution days

- Informal, referring to the informal sources and locations that respondents accessed for purposes of social, cultural and economic activities.
  Informal contacts include:
  - Visiting refugees from a neighbouring camp;
  - New arrivals;
  - Returning refugees who had sneaked/officially travelled out of the camps;
  - Informal gatherings during funerals;
  - Informal gatherings during weddings;
  - Informal gatherings following births;
  - Informal gathering at the health centres;
  - Informal gathering during joint market days (refugees and Tanzanian locals);
  - Informal gatherings at farming initiatives;
  - Relationships with members of the local Tanzanian community;
  - Rumour mongering and gossiping;
  - Informal gatherings at water wells;
  - Informal gatherings at food distribution points during food distribution days.

xi) Time frame

The researcher visited the respondents twice for interviews of one to two hours each. There were two reasons for this: one lengthy interview would have exhausted the participants; second, the first interview was a means for the researcher to establish rapport with the respondent. The researcher had hoped to conduct the second interview shortly after the first interview; once she had reviewed the data gathered. However, some of the respondents rescheduled their interview appointments with the researcher more

than once. In addition the majority of those who had husbands wanted to consult them with regard to participating in the tape-recorded sessions. This decision-making process was slow. For this reason there was often a lag of days between interviews, and data collection took ten weeks to complete.

xii) Ethical issues

The researcher exercised care and ethical consideration in identifying and establishing contacts with the respondents. She assured participants that their anonymity would be respected. Each respondent was asked to sign an informed consent form clarifying these guarantees and outlining the purposes of this research. Informants granted permission for recording interviews by signing a second consent form. (See Appendix A and B respectively.) Thus, the decision to be interviewed reflected voluntary participation by the respondents. The researcher made every effort to ensure that the research experience would not put anyone in jeopardy. She was prepared to provide information of support services available to her respondents if these were requested or considered necessary. Pseudonyms identified by respondents were assigned to guarantee confidentiality.

xiii) Limitations of the study

Since this was an exploratory study, only a small portion of the refugee population was interviewed. The sampling design, snowballing, did not target a representative sample. One respondent was asked to recommend another suitable respondent for the study. However, to ensure that respondents did not come from one specific social group such as a family or clan, the researcher sought assistance from organisations working with refugees with regard to identification. Furthermore, the researcher used observation and available statistics of refugees in the given location to identify participants.[116]

[116] The researcher acknowledges that some 'clans' are quite large and diversified

xiv) Research implications and policy formulation

This study contributes to the development of practical guidance on issues that need to taken into account in identifying, designing and appraising displacement related policies and projects. The findings would be useful to host governments having large urban and rural refugee populations, the UNHCR, other intergovernmental organisations and voluntary agencies, as well as to representatives of refugees and, where applicable, social and political movements. The conclusions would assist in the coordination of efforts and creation of strategies to deal with problems facing refugee women and the entire refugee population. The results of the study may also contribute to better policies for accommodating refugees from psychosocial and human rights perspectives.

3. Theoretical Framework: Social Capital and Strategies of Coping and Adaptation

The following section presents a refined theoretical framework of the study. It takes into account the central theoretical constructs of this study, which is social capital as a tool in coping. These constructs were first presented in Chapter two.

a) Social capital

Social capital theory can be viewed as an emerging body of concepts dealing with the value of social relationships. According to Alder and Kwon (2002) social capital refers to the value of membership in a social group and the benefits individual actors derive from their social relationship. Thus social capital can be seen as the benefits derived from social structures like social relationships and networks among people. Social capital theory analyses production, investment, and return with relation to the value or resources embedded in social structures and networks rather than in individuals. Social capital is thus about accessing and making use of resources possessed by others through a network of social ties.

For the purpose of this thesis, the definition of social capital that will be used is that put forth by Specht (1986), which views social capital as horizontal associations between people, consisting of social networks and associated norms that have an effect on community productivity and well-being.

The table below illustrates the outcome of the theoretical elaboration of the elements of social capital from the perspective of refugee women. The definition of each element as well as the relevant concepts and theories from literature on social capital illustrate the outcome of the theoretical elaboration of the elements of social capital from the refugee woman perspective; the definition of each elements as well as the relevant concepts and theories from social capital and coping literature.

TABLE 3.3: ILLUSTRATING REFINED THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

SOCIAL CAPITAL NETWORKS Based on the three aspects identified in literature review	**DESCRIPTION** Based on literature review and theoretical framework	**EXAMPLES** Based on data gathered from western Tanzania among refugee women in Kigoma and Kagera regions
CULTURAL	Cultural networks exist in the form of cultural goods (Bourdieu, 1986)	Sharing food rations in times of need, for instance, following childbirth, during funerals and weddings Orphans project where women provide moral support, food and routine home visits Women fetching firewood and water during funerals for the affected family Women providing primary education for refugee children in the camps Visiting disabled people, feeding them and assisting in household chores Singing traditional songs and hymns during funeral, births and weddings
ECONOMIC	Economic networks refer to economic behaviour embedded in networks of social relations thus facilitating group to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable (Knack and Keefer 1997)	Running restaurants within refugees' camps Weaving projects Sewing projects Vegetable projects Informal co-operative societies (Merry go round) for food ration Commercial thatching of leaking roofs Commercial construction of houses and pit latrines Sewing children's clothes for sale Trading food rations in joint markets Income generating activities where women knit sweaters for sale locally Paid employment within NGOs working in the camp
SOCIAL	Social networks are the aggregate of the actual or potential resources, which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition' (Bourdieu, 1986).	Assisting each other in gathering firewood Walking in groups while fetching firewood to combat rape and attacks Meeting and socialising at water wells while watching clothes Meeting and socialising at health centre while seeking medical care Meeting and socialising at joint markets during market day Meeting at farming initiative for Burundian refugees Assisting in thatching house in absence of male support Assisting in construction of houses and pit latrines in absence of male support Fetching water together Women's groups taking care of children of sick mothers Women's groups visiting sick mothers in hospital and taking them food Unpaid volunteer work with NGOs working in the camps

b) Measuring social capital

It seems clear from the literature that there is no one type of network formation that necessarily strengthens a community's social capital in reliable ways. It is argued that all networks operate against the background of a community's socio-economic, political and cultural history. Although social capital is generally perceived as a community characteristic, it is usually measured by asking questions of individuals and aggregating their replies. In economic literature, as noted by scholars such as Knack and Keefer

(1997) and Narayan and Pritchett (1997), most large surveys use an aggregate household index of social capital based on the sum of the responses of individuals to several key questions. These include an assessment of membership in formal or informal groups, the quality of individual membership and/or the vitality of the group as a whole (how often these groups meet) and questions regarding trust, reciprocity and/or cooperation. This is considered problematic because collective social capital cannot simply be the sum of individual social capital. Literature in relation to measurement of social capital suggests that there is a need to measure the quality of social capital not merely the quantity.

c) Disadvantage of social capital

Several authors have attempted to highlight the unconstructive aspects of social capital. According to Portes and Landholt (1996), in isolated and parochial communities social capital can hinder economic and social development. Davies (2001) suggests that the concept of social capital has been heavily criticised for being ethnocentric and gender blind. Further, Sixsmith et al (2001) suggest that much of the existing work on social capital has been based on secondary analyses of data sets not primarily established for social capital. Woolcock (2001) observes that social capital lacks empirical specificity, and neglects considerations of power. Collier (1998) asserts that the same social ties that enable community members to work together can exclude outsiders. Thus, social networks that provide people access to markets through reputation and repeated transactions can exclude new entrants.

Findings from a study of urban India conducted by Varshney (1998) revealed that communities with a lot of social capital, particularly if organised along ethnic lines or religious lines, can be harmful to each other and to society. These findings suggest that although inter-ethnic social capital could help to solve ethnic tensions peacefully, intra-ethnic social capital can in some cases lead to ethnic violence.

Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) make reference to collective demands from American Vietnamese youth and former military officers who organised themselves into so-called 'security services' reportedly restricting the activities of Vietnamese entrepreneurs in California. He notes that enforceable group norms are not necessarily good for community members and members who do not comply risk been ousted from the community.

4. Strategies of Coping and Adaptation

a) Coping strategies

Coping involves several interrelated concepts, which need to be defined, differentiated and clarified in terms of their possible relations. The term 'coping' is mainly used in the field of psychology, and a distinction is drawn there between coping with problems and coping with emotions. Coping with problems involves efforts on the part of individuals to solve situations they perceive as problematic. Coping with emotions has to do with the efforts individuals make to reduce or avoid the mental stress generated by problematic situations that they are not always in a position to alter. Research into coping strategies, however, derives from the assumption that people are active agents who have a certain freedom of choice and action (Giddens, 1984; Long, 1992), and that no matter how limited its scope sometimes might be, human conduct is never completely prescribed by the circumstances. More generally, Roberts (1991:135) is of the opinion that focus on coping strategies emphasises the freedom of choice people always have within the social, economic and political conditions with which they are confronted:

> *Attributing strategies to people, whether as individuals, as households, or as interest groups, signals that despite the importance of structural constraints choice is possible, and that the exercise of choice can result in alternative outcomes.*

There are many definitions of coping. These include Lazarus and Folkman's (1984:282) definition of coping as 'constantly changing cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person'. In other words, coping allows people to use various skills to manage the difficulties they face in life. Coping is thus a process that includes appraisal of the stressor and one's capacity to deal with it, and strategies to handle it.

Coping strategies can be viewed as a series of strategic acts based on a conscious assessment of alternative plans of action. Coping is spoken of as necessary when individuals face a drastic change in life or other problems that defy familiar ways of behaving. Examples include refugees living in host countries because of displacement. This experience requires the adoption of new behaviours in adjusting to the new environment, and is likely to give rise to uncomfortable emotions such as anxiety, despair, guilt, shame or grief, relief of which is part of the needed adaptation. Coping, therefore, would refer to adaptation under relatively difficult conditions. On the other hand, coping mechanisms can be described as survival strategies. They are also used to control feelings that may threaten to overwhelm individuals.

Social scientists have typically conceived of adaptation and coping in relation to two functions – namely material problems and emotional responses. According to Baum, Fleming and Singer (1983), Folkman and Lazarus (1980, 1985) and McCrae (1982), people rely on two forms of coping (emotion focused and problem focused) in managing the demands of stressful encounters. Psychologists have found that coping consists of behavioural and cognitive efforts to manage specific internal and/or external demands that are appraised as exceeding or taxing the resources of the person. These cognitive and behavioural efforts are constantly dynamic and are a function of continuous

appraisals and reappraisals of the person-environment relationship, which is also dynamic. Some of the dynamics in this relationship result, in part, from changes in the environment that are independent of the person. They result also from coping processes directed at altering the distressing situation (problem-focused coping) and/or regulating distress (emotion-focused coping), or from changes in the person that are a result of feedback about what has happened (Monat and Lazarus, 1991).

Scholars such as Pargament (1997) have also identified problem-focused functions of coping. Rook et al (2000) have spoken of coping in terms of self-disclosure to empathic persons. In affirming this, Snel and Staring (2001) assert that seeking a distraction or talking about problems can be useful. It can help control the mental stress generated by the problem.

Milkulincer and Florrian (1996) and Tedeschi and Calhoun (1995) have shed light on the concept of making meaning as a coping strategy. However making meaning is a coping strategy that is least understood. Milkulincer and Florrian (1996) and Tedeschi and Calhoun (1995) have unpacked the concept of making meaning. They assert that the strategy of making meaning entails both a reappraisal and reinterpretation of not only the event but also the context of the event in a person's life. Further they are of the opinion that making meaning is often used in coping with extreme stressors, such as trauma or major losses (Mikulincer and Florian, 1996). In addition they point out that the meaning making process may at times worsen the situation if it results in a negative self-appraisal.

Although initial efforts to classify the coping process have been made, an adequate system for classifying coping processes has yet to be proposed. Despite this, a taxonomy of coping that emphasises two major categories has been suggested by Folkman (1984). Monat and Lazarus (1991) describe two coping strategies: direct actions and palliative

modes. Direct actions are behaviours such as fight or flight, designed to alter a troubled relationship with one's social or physical environment. Palliative modes of coping refer to thoughts or actions whose goal is to relieve the emotional impact of stress (bodily or psychological disturbances). The term 'palliative' is used because these methods do not actually alter the threatening or damaging events but make the person feel better.

Medical anthropologists and cultural psychologists place emphasis on how culture influences people's understanding of and response to distressing events. This perspective is persuasive because recognition is given to the important role of local coping strategies, or as Nordstrom (1997) noted, recognition is given to the many ways in which people engage in 'world-making' after events of armed conflicts.

5. Variables and Operational Definitions

The following variables guided this study:

TABLE 3.4: VARIABLES AND OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

VARIABLES	OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS	INDICATOR
A) PROBLEMS	Situations encountered in daily living that are experienced as subjectively difficult by the respondent.	the respondent notes/states that she has difficulties in dealing with or understanding the situation or event categorised as material, emotional and psychological, work related and community based, among others
B) MEANING MAKING	Proximal causes/reasons and interpretations identified by the respondent in an attempt to communicate her understanding of what has happened and why it has happened	**Reasons for leaving a country of origin** describing effect or outcome present in text (interviews) using a causal term, i.e. 'because', 'therefore', 'hence', 'as a result of'. **Interpretations** embedded in a broader or more complex social context often including feelings as well as cognition.
C) COPING	Efforts to master problems or conditions of challenge, threat or harm or where a routine or automatic response is not readily available	**Direct action and planned future action** Behaviours such as fight or flight, designed to alter troubled relationships with one's social or physical environment. **Palliative modes** Thoughts or actions whose goal is to relieve the emotional impact of stress (bodily or psychological) disturbances **Combination** Direct actions and palliative modes.
D) SOCIAL CAPITAL	The horizontal associations between people consisting of social networks and associated norms that have an effect on community productivity and well being. These are either economic, social or cultural	**Economic networks** Informal co-operative societies (Merry go round) for food ration Commercial thatching of leaking roofs and construction of houses and pit latrines Income generating activities where women knit sweaters for sale locally **Social networks** Assisting each other in gathering firewood Walking in groups while fetching firewood to combat rape and attacks Meeting and socialising at water wells while watching clothes **Cultural networks** Sharing food rations in times of need, for instance, following childbirth, during funerals and weddings Women fetching firewood and water during funerals for the affected family Singing traditional songs and hymns during funeral, births and weddings
E) CONTACT POINTS	Mechanisms, channels or venues that a respondent frequents for the purpose of socialising and gathering information	**Formal points** Official mechanisms channels or venues within the refugee camps such as radios and aid workers **Informal points** Non-official mechanisms Channels or venues with the refugee camps such as rumours and information from informal gatherings

a) Problems

Refers to situations encountered in daily living that are experienced as subjectively difficult by the respondent. Specifically, the respondent notes/states that she has difficulties in dealing with or understanding the situation or event (Collins Concise Dictionary, New-Revised Edition, 1995). Problems are categorised as material, emotional and psychological, work related and community based, among others.

b) Meaning making

Refers to proximal causes/reasons and interpretations identified by the respondent in an attempt to communicate her understanding of what has happened and why (Lykes and Wambugu, 2001). Reasons for leaving a country of origin are categorised as:

- describing effect or outcome present in text (interviews);
- using a causal term, i.e. 'because', 'therefore', 'hence', 'as a result of'.

On the other hand, interpretations are categorised as:

- embedded in a broader or more complex social context; and
- often including feelings as well as cognition.

c) Coping

Refers to efforts to master problems or conditions of challenge, threat or harm or where a routine or automatic response is not readily available (Lazarus, 1975). Coping includes firstly direct action and planned future action, i.e. behaviours such as fight or flight, designed to alter troubled relationships with one's social or physical environment. Secondly, it includes palliative modes, i.e. thoughts or actions whose goal is to relieve the emotional impact of stress (bodily or psychological) disturbances; and thirdly a combination of direct actions and palliative modes.

d) Social capital

Refers to the horizontal associations between people, consisting of social networks and associated norms that have an effect on community productivity and well being Specht, (1986).

e) Contact points

Refer to mechanisms, channels or venues that a respondent frequents for the purpose of socialising and gathering information:

- Formal points include the official mechanisms, channels or venues within the refugee camps; and
- Informal points include the non-official mechanisms, channels or venues with the refugee camps.

6. Conclusions

This chapter presented methodology, research design and theoretical framework employed in this study. After describing the samples as elaborated above, the following chapter on data presentation describes the sample in terms of major demographic variables. Further it presents similarities and differences in relation to the themes of concern to this study. Specifically the focus is on the *problems* the women experienced as refugees and their *responses* to them, and includes a comparison across participants of their *coping strategies* and *social capital.* Data is summarised in tables in the body of the chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR
DATA PRESENTATION – COPING IN WESTERN TANZANIA

This research seeks to understand better the available social capital and coping experiences of a group of refugee women from three countries within the Great Lakes Region of Africa (Burundi, DRC and Rwanda). Data interpretation and presentation involved identification of coping and social capital patterns or a metaphor. Myers (1997) asserts that metaphor is the application of a name or descriptive term or phrase to an object or action to which it is not literally applicable for instance a "window" in Microsoft Windows 95. The metaphor in this study is reflected in the respondent's own words, her problem definition, coping style, and social, economic and cultural networks. In other words metaphors that were used emerged from the data as classifying criteria. Data is summarised in tables in the body of this chapter.

TABLE 4.1: EXAMPLES OF METAPHORS USED BY RESPONDENTS

RESPONDENTS	METAPHOR
Maria	'My problems as a Congolese refugee woman in the camp'
Mama Mtoto	'I would rather die in my country'
Mama Kitaba	'Ethnic hatred in home country'
Mama Blue	'My children's education'
Mama Yellow	'Community leader'
Mama Green	'Lack of male support'
Nusura	'Women in charge in exile':
Mwanafunzi	'Lack of opportunity for young people'
Mjuwa	'Problems with my in-laws'
Mama Brown	'Labour exploitation and sexual harassment'
Mama Janet	'Problem with food ration'
Mama A	'Problems with my career'
Mama B	'Fear of forcible repatriation'
Mama Lydia	'Sickness in exile'
Mama Riziki	'You must sieve information'
Mama Yellow 2	'I am qualified and unemployed'
Mama Masoka	'My problems as a refugee widow'

TABLE 4.2: BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF 17 RESPONDENTS

RESPONDENTS, COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MARITAL STATUS	OCCUPATION IN HOME COUNTRY AND IN COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	RELIGION
1. MARIA DRC: Languages spoken include French, Kiswahili, Lingala	39	Tertiary	Married with children	Nurse NGO Worker (paid)	Muslim
2. MAMA MTOTO Burundi: Languages spoken include Kirundi and Kiswahili	40	Primary	Married with children	Farmer unemployed	Christian
3. MAMA KITABA Burundi :Languages spoken include Kirundi and Kiswahili	44	Primary	Married with children Mixed marriage	Farmer, Women 's Group Leader	Christian
4. MAMA BLUE Burundi: Languages spoken include Kirundi, Kiswahili and French	40	Secondary	Widow with children	Businesswoman unemployed	Christian
5.MAMA YELLOW Burundi: Languages spoken include Kirundi, Kiswahili and French	40	Tertiary	Married with children	Civil servant Community Leader	Christian
6. MAMA GREEN Burundi: Languages spoken include Kirundi, French and Kiswahili	31	Secondary	With children Separated from spouse	unemployed	Christian
7. NUSURA DRC: Languages spoken include French, Lingala and Kiswahili	38	Tertiary	Widow with children	Civil servant unemployed	Muslim
8.MWANAFUNZI DRC: Languages spoken include French, Lingala and Kiswahili	22	Secondary	Single	Student NGO worker (volunteer unpaid)	Christian
9. MJUWA Burundi: Languages spoken include Kirundi, French and Kiswahili	40	Secondary	Widow without children, initially in a mixed marriage	Businesswoman unemployed	Christian
10.MAMA BROWN Burundi: Languages spoken include Kirundi and Kiswahili	29	Primary	Married with children	unemployed casual labourer	Christian
11. MAMA JANET DRC: Languages spoken include French, Lingala and Kiswahili	26	Secondary	Single	Student Food Distribution Centre Volunteer unpaid	Christian
12. MAMA A Rwanda: Languages spoken include French, Kinyrwanda and Kiswahili	42	Tertiary	Married with children	Midwife	Christian
13. MAMA B Rwanda: Languages spoken include Kinyarwanda French and Kiswahili	39	Tertiary	Married with children	Primary school teacher unemployed	Christian
14.MAMA LYDIA DRC: Languages spoken include Lingala and Kiswahili	20	Primary	Married, with no children	unemployed	Christian
15. MAMA RIZIKI DRC:Languages spoken include Lingala and Kiswahili	20	Secondary	Married with 3 children	unemployed	Christian
16.MAMA YELLOW 2 DRC: Languages spoken include French, Lingala and Kiswahili	32	Tertiary	Married with children	Adult literacy teacher Volunteer Food Distribution Centre (unpaid)	Christian
17. MAMA MASOKA DRC: Languages spoken include Lingala and Kiswahili	47	Primary	Widow with children	Farmer and Businesswoman unemployed	Christian

1. Maria

Maria was 39 years old and came from the DRC. She received tertiary education[117] in her country of origin and worked as a nurse. She arrived in Tanzania in 1996 and had been working for a local non-governmental organisation (NGO) since 1998. She was married and had four children. Maria reported to have fled her country of origin due to political instability and insecurity.

TABLE 4.3: MARIA'S BACKGROUND

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MARITAL STATUS	OCCUPATION IN HOME COUNTRY AND IN COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	CAMP OF RESIDENCE IN TANZANIA
DRC: Languages spoken include French, Kiswahili, Lingala	39	Tertiary	Married with children	Nurse NGO Worker (paid)	Nyarugusu Congolese Refugees

With regard to problems she encountered during her refugee experience in Tanzania, of the total number of 13 items coded in the category of *problems*, Maria reported to have experienced four (30.76%) material *problems*. These *problems*, although minimal, were significant. They included decrease in food ration, inadequate housing, lack of non-food items such as jerry cans/water containers and blankets, and lack of clothing. Educational facilities for her children were inadequate and she lacked finances to support her children's education and related expenses. Further, Maria reported to have encountered nine other *problems* (69.23%), including restriction of movement from the designated area of residence, lack of assistance from service providers, attack while gathering firewood, unsatisfactory living conditions in the camps and war. Maria enumerated gender *problems*, which included wife battering and polygamy; these problems were compounded with emotional problems. What is noteworthy is that other respondents, like Maria, reported problems related to gender, from the same locality (camp location) and beyond.

[117] First degree according to tertiary education system in the DRC

TABLE 4.4: MARIA'S INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

	CATEGORIES				
RESPONDENT	**PROBLEMS** Material Other	**MEANING MAKING** Cause Interpretations	**COPING STRATEGIES** Direct Actions Palliative Modes Combined Direct & Palliative	**SOCIAL CAPITAL** Social Cultural Economic	**CONTACT POINTS** Formal Informal
Maria	4 (30.76%) 9 (69.23 %)	2 (40%) 3 (60%)	11(68.75%) 5 (31.25%)	6 (37.5%) 5 (31.5%) 5 (31.5%)	4 (33.33%) 8 (66.66%)
TOTAL	13	5	16	16	12

Maria reported that she had fled her country of origin due to political instability and insecurity, which she said had its foundation in long-standing historical ethnic hatred. Her explanation of the way she made *meaning* of her refugee experiences suggests that she analysed them within a political, historical and ethnic framework that enabled her to *make meaning* of them for herself. Further, she seemed able to sustain a focus on resolving immediate and material *problems* she encountered. One wonders whether the large number as well as the diversity of *problems* described, including practical challenges of everyday life as well as challenges to her self-understanding as a woman and a Congolese, reflect another dimension of her coping.

'My problems as a Congolese refugee woman in the camp': Maria focused her *problems* around general daily difficulties she encountered as a refugee woman in Nyarugusu refugee camp in Kigoma district. She said that the problems she faced were the same as those of other refugee women within the population of Kigoma. However, what is noteworthy is the pattern of problems that Maria constructed by the way she reported her problems. This could result from the way the researcher structured and administered the research questions.

Maria described how she joined efforts with 14 to 16 other refugee women, in an attempt to identify an approach for assisting each other. According to Maria, these included socio-cultural and economic approaches. These comprised the 16 items coded in the category of *social capital*. Maria reported that some of these approaches were practices in which refugee women had engaged in their home countries before displacement. Culturally, for instance, Maria as a Congolese woman described that she engaged in certain practices during funerals, marriages and after a child was born. She reported that at these times Congolese women traditionally gathered and provided whatever support was deemed necessary. During funerals, for example, according to Maria, women assembled at the deceased home and assisted in cooking and attending to household chores. In addition, they sang traditional mourning songs and hymns. Furthermore, women also acquired the role of a mother in the given homestead and took over duties of the deceased (if the deceased was female).

Maria reported that the above exercise went on until after the funeral. She further reported that during weddings, women would engage in activities associated with the ceremony such as preparing the bride for the wedding day and advising her concerning her role and responsibility as a wife and eventually a mother. Issues relating to personal hygiene after delivering a baby were also discussed in addition to methods of care for the newborn. These statements represented five (31.5%) cultural networks that Maria adopted while in exile.

Economic aspects of *social capital* (five, 31.5%) that Maria adopted while in exile were highlighted when Maria described how, together with other refugee women, she mobilised efforts and composed informal cooperative societies. These Maria referred to as 'merry go rounds', a terminology used by other respondents below. Here she reported

that each member of the group would contribute a certain amount of her food ration, which was issued once every fortnight in the refugee camps. In most cases, these included a medium cup of flour and a cup of oil. The total amount of the food ration contribution from all members of the 'merry go round' would be given to one member of the group. At the following meeting, the total amount of the food ration would go to a different member of the group. The opportunity to receive the total amount of the food ration would rotate, ensuring that each member of the group received the total amount of the food ration at one point.

Maria reported that upon receipt of her food portion she would sell it at the local market during joint market days (a time when the market was frequented by members of the local community and refugees) for about 3,000 Tanzanian shillings (US$3.3)[118] or exchange it for food and non-food items. The sales from the food ration enabled her to purchase clothes and other items not distributed by social providers. Maria reported that the most vital were sanitary napkins, which were rarely distributed to refugee women by the social providers. Further to this, Maria reported having acquired medication for herself and her children when medication was not available in the health centres within the camps. In addition, the money she got from the sales facilitated her attendance at social events such as weddings and funerals within the refugee population. What is noteworthy is that despite the decrease in food rations, the 'merry go rounds' were still sustainable.

The normal food ration consisted of 350 g of maize meal per person per day, 80 g of pulses per person per day, 40 g of soya per person per day, 20 g of vegetable oil per person per day, 10 g of salt per person per day, 250 g of soap per person per month. The

[118] Exchange rate at the time of data collection, April – May 2003

food ration had been cut down by the time the researcher was collecting data to 250g of maize meal per person per day, 60 g of pulses per person per day, 30 g of soya per person per day, 10g of vegetable oil per person per day and 125 g of soap per person per month. Despite this difficulty, Maria reported that women still managed to organise themselves into the 'merry go rounds' groups and assist each other with food rations.

On the social front, Maria reported six (37.5%) of the total number as social networks in the category of *social capital* adopted in Tanzania. She reported that women came together and assisted each other in gathering firewood. Women would assist one member of the group to gather a bigger load of firewood than she would have gathered by herself. Furthermore, women walked in groups to avoid attacks and rape while in the forests. Subsequently Maria reported that her peer group usually comprised women in the 'merry go round' initiative and those that assisted each other during funerals, weddings and childbirths. She reported that she would meet with these women during joint market[119] days, at the health centres and at the water wells located within the camps, mostly following food distribution days, when women would embark on washing after receiving their share of soap as part of the non-food items during the food distribution day. Here Maria reported that women would discuss their problems and daily challenges as women and as refugees and how they would together overcome these dilemmas.

With regard to *coping strategies* of the 16 items coded in this category, Maria sustained more direct actions (eleven, 68.75% of the total number) and less palliative modes (five, 31.25%) in relation to her constant *problems* in Tanzania. Despite her experience, Maria tries to frame her problems within a discourse that permits her to attempt a direct response, that is, to meet material need. This can further be illustrated by the fact that

[119] Bi-weekly market shared with the local Tanzanians

Maria adopted five economic networks and six social networks, thus amounting to a sum total of 11 networks, an equivalent number to her direct *coping strategies*. The significance of the correlation between these networks and direct *coping strategies* reflected by the ratio of (11:11) is that they are both designed to tackle problems encountered in a troubled environment, in addition to being adaptive.

Maria also adopted five cultural networks and five palliative modes, reflected here by the ratio of (5:5). The significance of the correlation between cultural networks and palliative *coping strategies* can be attributed to the fact that the theory of palliative *coping strategies* contribute to adaptation but leave the problems intact. Moreover, this suggests her attachment to a traditional, cultural and gender ideal of a woman as mother and spouse. Additionally, Maria reported equal frequency of cultural and economic networks, a factor that can be attributed to the relationship between the discourse mentioned above and that of a socio-economic framework that enables her to *make meaning* of them for herself. What is noteworthy is that Maria does not mention her husband as a source of income or support in her description of her life in Tanzania, a trend that we shall see emerging with other respondents below.

With regard to contact points, Maria reported to have socialised within the 12 points, including formal and informal sources. Maria reported that these were sources from which she received information and met with her friends and other members of the refugee population. She described four (33.33%) items in talking about her formal sources. These included 'official' sources such as meeting venues and interactions such as the health centre at times when she sought health services, information received from radios, service providers and faith-based organisations. Informal sources included the casual meeting points and interactions such as the market, word of mouth, messages

from new arrivals, gatherings at funerals and weddings, informal gatherings at the health centres (refugees meeting within the health centre premises for the purpose of socialising and not medical attention), following births, during joint market days at water wells and from informal[120] gatherings at distribution points during food allocation days. These comprised eight (66.66%) of the items Maria described as informal points. It is evident that Maria frequented informal sources more often than formal ones. This can be attributed to the high rate of social networks and the fact that social networks do not require tangible resources such as capital to begin a self-help project, or a portion of food ration to contribute to merry go rounds but rather familiar relations. This is evident from her description of what constituted the social and cultural networks that she adopted in exile.

2. Mama Mtoto

Mama Mtoto was 40 years old and came from Burundi. She received primary education and was a peasant farmer in Burundi. She was married and had seven children. She was unemployed in Tanzania, where she arrived in 1994, around the same time as Maria.

TABLE 4.5 MAMA MTOTO'S BACKGROUND

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN	*Age*	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MARITAL STATUS	OCCUPATION IN HOME COUNTRY AND IN COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	CAMP OF RESIDENCE IN TANZANIA
Burundi: Languages spoken include Kirundi and Kiswahili	40	Primary	Married with children	Farmer unemployed	Mtabila 1 Burundian Refugees

With regard to problems she encountered in her refugee experience in Tanzania, of the 14 items coded in the category of *problems*, she enumerated five material *problems* (35.71% of the total number). These included decrease in food ration, lack of non-food items,

[120] Refugee gatherings at the food distribution point for purpose of socialising or casual meetings

insufficient clothing and inadequate housing. In addition Mama Mtoto reported nine other *problems* (64.28%), including restriction of movement from the designated area of residence, gender problems, lack of assistance from service providers, war, insecurity, problems with living conditions in the camps, issues with regard to her nationality and ethnic discrimination.

TABLE 4.6: MAMA MTOTO INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

	CATEGORIES				
RESPONDENT	**PROBLEMS** Material Other	**MEANING MAKING** Cause Interpretations	**COPING STRATEGIES** Direct Actions Palliative Modes Combined Direct & Palliative	**SOCIAL CAPITAL** Social Cultural Economic	**CONTACT POINTS** Formal Informal
MAMA MTOTO	5 (35.71%) 9 (64.28%)	2(40%) 3(60%)	13 (72.22%) 5 (27.77%)	7 (38.88%) 5 (27.77%) 6 (33.33%)	5 (31.25%) 11 (68.75%)
TOTAL	14	5	18	18	16

Mama Mtoto gave two reasons to explain why she left Burundi. These were the only explanations or causal statements that she offered in her entire interview (two, 40%). She said she left Burundi because of war and political discrimination. Her explanations of the way she made meaning of her refugee experiences suggest that she analyses them within a political, historical and ethnic framework that enables her to *make meaning* of them for herself. Further, she seems able to sustain a focus on resolving immediate and material *problems* she encounters.

'I would rather die in my country': Mama Mtoto was among Burundian refugees who contemplated walking back to their country of origin (and others did actually walk back), following a decrease in food ration, a problem that affected most of the refugees at the time of data collection. Although this was viewed as voluntary repatriation, UNHCR did

not advise the refugees of the prevailing situation back in Burundi. Refugees such as Mama Mtoto would have been returning at their own discretion back to their country of origin, which is not prohibited by refugee laws. According to Mama Mtoto, the situation with regard to decrease in the food ration was out of control and she reported that instead of dying of starvation in a refugee camp in Tanzania she preferred dying in Burundi as a war casualty. Proximity of the Burundian border to the refugee camps along Tanzania facilitated refugees in walking back home.

Mama Mtoto reported gendered *problems*, including wife battering and being attacked while gathering firewood in the forest. It is imperative to note that Mama Mtoto reported to have experienced similar gendered problems to those of other respondents below, despite their incompatible backgrounds in terms of nationalities and camp of residence in Tanzania.

With regard to *social capital* Mama Mtoto reported to have joined a women's group, which comprised 14 members. These members assisted one another during funerals, during the time following childbirths and at weddings. Mama Mtoto described how back in Burundi women would come together and assist each other at the time of funerals, childbirths and weddings. However, according to Mama Mtoto it was easy then, back in the country of origin, since women had access to resources, unlike when they are in exile. Mama Mtoto nonetheless reported that while in exile in refugee camps in Tanzania, following food distribution days, women would take a share of their food ration which comprised a medium size cup of oil or flour and donate it to families who were either mourning, caring for newborn babies or having wedding ceremonies.

In addition, Mama Mtoto reported that members of the peer group offered assistance in fetching firewood during the ceremonies mentioned above. She reported that together with other members of her group they would gather firewood for the deceased household or a homestead where a new child had been born or in the event of a wedding. In addition, according to Mama Mtoto, this group was engaged in a project that was caring for HIV orphans within the camps by providing the orphans with moral support, food and routine home visits. Mama Mtoto reported that the above were duties that traditionally women undertake in their country of origin, a notion that was reported earlier by another respondent, Maria. It is interesting to note that Mama Mtoto and Maria came from different backgrounds in terms of nationality but shared the same view on the above. Thus, we once again observe the transfer of traditional coping mechanism and social capital from country of origin to country of exile. The fact that coping strategies and social networks of refugees are transferred and not transformed facilitates the rate at which refugee women cope with their lives in exile. These statements from Mama Mtoto represented five (27.77% of the total number) of the cultural aspects coded in the category of *social capital.*

In addition, Mama Mtoto elaborated on her association with members of her peer group. She described her meetings with them during food distribution days, where they would gather to collect their food and non-food rations once in every two weeks. These were followed by added social engagements when women met at the water wells within the camps to wash clothes after receiving soap, usually the day after food distribution. Other 'meeting' venues included health centres as the women sought medical facilities for themselves and their children.

Here Mama Mtoto reported that some members of the peer group would come to the health centre even though they were not seeking medical attention. The aim was to be able to connect with other women. Mama Mtoto further reported that before the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) gave orders restricting refugees with regard to leaving designated areas of residence/camps; she would meet with her women friends at farming initiatives outside the camps. Mama Mtoto reported that she sought employment outside the camp within the local community farms as a casual labourer. This job, according to Mama Mtoto, blended well with her occupation before displacement. Firstly, Burundians were traditionally peasant farmers and secondly she used to engage in farming as a source of income back in her country of origin. These statements represented seven (38.88%) of social networks offered in her interviews. Thus, following orders from MHA with regard to restriction of movement from the designated area of residence, Mama Mtoto's efforts to link up with other Burundian refugee women and women from the local Tanzanian community in farming initiatives outside the camps, in addition to having a source of income, were curtailed. These meetings, Mama Mtoto reported, had provided an opportunity for refugee women to meet and discuss their frustrations with both women from the refugee population and women from the local community. These problems included gendered problems mentioned above and other daily challenges facing them as women and as refugees.

Mama Mtoto reported that all was not gloomy given that she engaged in farming within her plot in the camp, an initiative that she had begun initially upon arrival in Tanzania. This initiative was enhanced by the fact that she could not secure employment outside the camps. According to Mama Mtoto, refugees were allocated a plot measuring 15 by 15 metres where they were required to construct a house and a pit latrine. Mama Mtoto reported that she opted to leave a small piece of the plot for growing crops for sale at the

local joint market. Mama Mtoto reported that other Burundian refugee women adopted this farming initiative. These statements represented six (33.33%) economic aspects coded in the category of *social capital*. What is noteworthy is that Mama Mtoto also planted staple food from Burundi. She reported that she would acquire seeds and plants from Burundi from refugees who would sneak out of the camp, travel to Burundi (given that MHA had restricted refugee movement) and eventually back to Tanzania. Proximity between the border of Burundi and locality of camps that hosted refugees from Burundi in Tanzania was a major factor facilitating the cross-border movement. Furthermore, there were concerns by MHA with regard to the increase of crime within refugee-hosted environs. It was believed that there existed frequent movements of rebels between Burundi and Tanzania, who in this case may have been one source that facilitated the transportation of staple foods between Burundi and Tanzania.

With regard to *coping strategies*, Mama Mtoto employed more direct actions (thirteen, 72.22% of the total number) and less palliative modes (five, 27.77%) towards her problems in Tanzania. Moreover, she tries to frame her problems within a discourse that permitted her to attempt a more direct response, that is, with direct *coping strategies*. This is further reflected by the ratio (13:13) of the direct *coping strategies* and the sum thirteen social and economic networks. The correlation between direct *coping strategies* and social and economic networks of *social capital* is that they are both adaptive and seek to modify the problems in the troubled environment. On the other hand, palliative modes and cultural networks, reflected here in a ratio of 5:5, seek to contribute to adaptation but leave the problems intact. Furthermore, this discourse suggests Mama Mtoto's attachment to a traditional, cultural and gender ideal of woman as mother and spouse. The theory of palliative modes does not however offer insight into the constant decrease in the use of palliative strategies. This seems to be true of Mama Mtoto as revealed

through this analysis of her stories. These questions emerge from the analysis of Mama Mtoto's stories and are explored later on in the thesis through the other cases. In addition, like Maria, Mama Mtoto does not mention her husband as a source of income or support in her descriptions of her life in Tanzania.

With regard to contact points, Mama Mtoto reported that she had socialised and gathered information from both informal and formal sources. She described that she sought information from refugees from the neighbouring camps, mostly those who had sneaked outside the camps, at informal gatherings during funerals and weddings, from homesteads following childbirth, at informal gatherings at the health centres, at farming initiatives, from her relationships with the local Tanzanian community, from women gathering at water wells and food distribution points during food distribution days. These descriptive statements represented eleven (68.75%) items coded in the category of informal sources. On the other hand, Mama Mtoto reported that of the official places that she frequented and where she sought information, five (31.25%) included contacts with officials from MHA, refugee community leaders, information received from radios, aid workers working with NGOs and churches. The high rate of informal sources in the case of Mama Mtoto can be attributed to the high rate of social networks formed while in exile in Tanzania. As mentioned, the latter do not require tangible resources such as a portion of food ration, or capital to begin a self-help project but rather familiar exchanges.

3. Mama Kitaba

Mama Kitaba was 44 years old and came from Burundi. She was married and had nine children. She arrived in Tanzania in 1993. She received primary education, was a peasant farmer back in Burundi, and was a leader of a women's organisation in a refugee camp in

Tanzania. She reported that she fled her country of origin because of ethnic discrimination and hatred.

TABLE 4.7: MAMA KITABA'S BACKGROUND

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MARITAL STATUS	OCCUPATION IN HOME COUNTRY AND IN COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	CAMP OF RESIDENCE IN TANZANIA
Burundi Languages spoken include Kirundi and Kiswahili	44	Primary	Married with children Mixed marriage	Farmer, Women's Group Leader	Mkugwa Mixed Marriages & Refugees with Security Concerns (Rwandese, Burundian & Congolese)

Concerning 28 items coded in the category of *problems*, Mama Kitaba reported to have experienced eight (28.57%) material *problems*. Although minimal, these problems were significant and included lack of enough food as a result of a decrease in the food ration, lack of non-food items, problems with regard to clothing and inadequate housing. Subsequently, Mama Kitaba reported other *problems* (twenty, 71.42%). These included insecurity, political discrimination, sexual harassment, camps, home and family related difficulties, restriction of movement from the designated area of residence, lack of assistance from service providers, war, insecurity, shift in gender roles, attack while gathering firewood and lack of ready markets for refugee women self-help projects.

'Ethnic hatred in home country': Mama Kitaba was from the Tutsi ethnic background in Burundi and was married to a man of the Hutu ethnic background.

TABLE 4.8: MAMA KITABA INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

	CATEGORIES				
RESPONDENT	**PROBLEMS** Material Other	**MEANING MAKING** Cause Interpretations	**COPING STRATEGIES** Direct Actions Palliative Modes Combined Direct & Palliative	**SOCIAL CAPITAL** Social Cultural Economic	**CONTACT POINTS** Formal Informal
MAMA KITABA	8 (28.57%) 20 (71.42%)	4 (80%) 1 (20%)	24 (66.66%) 12 (33.33%)	12 (33.33%) 12 (33.33%) 12 (33.33%)	11 (50%) 11 (50%)
TOTAL	28	5	36	36	22

She is therefore in a mixed marriage. She reported to have encountered death threats in refugee camps because of her ethnic background. Mama Kitaba reported that regardless of this an official from the MHA ordered all refugees residing in Mkugwa camp, which hosts refugees with security concerns, to return to Kanembwa camp, in Kagera region. According to Mama Kitaba, Kanembwa was not safe for refugees who had security concerns (mostly Hutus and Tutsi who were in mixed marriages and those who were born out of mixed marriages).

She further reported that she had been among the refugees who had initially left Kanembwa camp for Mkugwa camp. Mama Kitaba described that because of this problem, she experienced a lot of psychological and emotional suffering. To be subjected to such suffering by virtue of marriage, something that she valued and cared for so much, caused her much agony.

Mama Kitaba interprets her status as a refugee woman, that is, she makes meaning of her refugee situation, by reference to the ethnic discrimination and hatred in her country of origin. She says that this caused the killers to place low value on people's lives, forcing them to flee and occasioning the loss of many lives of those who did not escape. These

statements were the only direct interpretative comments offered in her entire interview. Mama Kitaba, as with Maria, uses a political, historical, ethnic and social-economic framework to analyse her situation.

Mama Kitaba reported that refugee women from the Hutu and the Tutsi ethnic backgrounds embraced an informal co-operative group in a neighbouring camp, Mkugwa, despite the historical hatred that existed between members of these two ethnic groups. Such was the hatred that rumours had circulated in the camp that members of the Tutsi ethnic group would be killed if they were sighted at Kanembwa camp.

The motivation for Hutu and the Tutsi women to get together at Mkugwa camp could be that despite their historical hatred, they had one thing in common while in exile - either they were in mixed marriages or born out of mixed marriages. Hence, they were all residing in Mkugwa camp, the camp for refugees with security concerns in Kigoma region. These refugees were not put together with others due to the friction between the Hutus and the Tutsis. The women in question, about fifteen in number according to Mama Kitaba, formed what other respondents above termed as 'merry go rounds'. Here Mama Kitaba explained that women came together and provided a portion of their food ration to one member of the group who would eventually trade the food ration or sell it to acquire other necessities not supplied by service providers, such as non-food items. Refugee women would thus purchase items such as clothes and blankets for themselves and their families. These statements reflect twelve (33.33%) of the economic dimensions of the 36 items coded in the category of *social capital*. Mama Kitaba further reported that she engaged in trade with fellow refugees and members of the local Tanzanian community during the joint market day(s).

Mama Kitaba expressed that because the camps were so close to each other and that the plots allocated to refugees were small (15 by 15 metres), the proximity to one another facilitated more interactions and harmonious co-existence. These social interactions were linked to twelve (33.33% of the total number) of the social networks within the items coded in the category of *social capital*. Mama Kitaba reported that she would meet with other refugee women in water wells within the camps. Following food distribution day, when refugees would also receive soap, the women would embark on washing. While washing, there would be interactions between the women, especially about developments/news within the camps and about their difficulties as women and as refugees with security concerns. Mama Kitaba also reported that a lot of gossip prevailed during this time, including discussions as to who was pregnant, whose husband was cheating on them and whose husband had a second wife, who was diagnosed with HIV/AIDS and who had died from HIV/AIDS.

Mama Kitaba, in her description of cultural networks, constituting twelve (33.33%) of the social networks, reported that she engaged in practices that she had embarked upon early in her country of origin. These practices included visiting homesteads where there was a new baby, a wedding or a funeral. During these times, Mama Kitaba said that together with other women from the 'merry go round' group she would assist in household chores such as cleaning and cooking. They would also gather firewood and contribute a portion of their food ration to feed guests or mourners in the given homestead. Women were also expected to engage in traditional songs.

With regard to *coping strategies*, Mama Kitaba sustained more direct actions (twenty four, 66.66% of the total number), and less palliative modes (twelve, 33.33%) concerning her *problems* in Tanzania. Despite the psychological and emotional dimensions to her

problems, Mama Kitaba manages to frame her problems within a discourse that permits her to attempt a more direct response, that is with direct *coping strategies*. Moreover, this discourse suggests her attachment to a traditional, cultural and gender ideal of a woman and spouse. One wonders whether the large number as well as the diversity of *problems* described including the practical challenges of everyday life as well as challenges to her self-understanding as a woman and a Burundian, reflect another dimension of her coping. In addition, she seems able to sustain a focus on resolving the immediate and emotional *problems* she encounters. This is emphasised by the reflected ratio (24:24) of direct *coping strategies* and a sum of 24 social and economic networks. The significance of the correlation of the direct *coping strategies* and the social and economic networks of *social capital* is that they are designed to bring about changes in problems with one's troubled environment.

On the other hand, Mama Kitaba employed twelve palliative modes and twelve cultural networks, reflected here by the ratio of (12:12). The theory described above suggests that palliative *coping strategies* contribute to adaptation but leave the problems intact, in contrast to direct actions, which are adaptive and bring about some changes in the problem. This seems to be true of Mama Kitaba as revealed through this analysis of her stories. Further, this can be demonstrated by the correlation between palliative modes and cultural networks. Perhaps it is noteworthy to highlight Mama Kitaba's adoption of similar numbers/percentages of social, cultural and economic networks, given the immense psychological and emotional dimensions to her problems in Tanzania.

With regard to contact points, Mama Kitaba mentioned that she frequented both formal and informal venues. She conveyed that she had gathered her information from both formal (eleven, 50%) and informal sources (eleven, 50%). The former included

information received from radios, aid workers from the international community (UNHCR, World Food Programme (WFP)), officials from MHA, faith-based organisations, posters from NGOs, women leaders who went door to door within the camps to relay information, health centre officials and tracing facilities which were an initiative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). The informal sources included visiting refugees from neighbouring camps and information from new arrivals. In addition, there were informal gatherings during funerals and weddings, and following childbirth, during joint market days, within the health centres and at farming initiatives. Further informal sources included relationships with the local Tanzanian community and informal gatherings at the food distribution points.

Noteworthy is that Mama Kitaba relied equally on both informal and formal avenues. This can be attributed to the way she adapted equivalent numbers of social capital in Tanzania, given that social, economic and cultural networks each respectively reflected twelve items (33.33%) out of the whole.

It is interesting to note that Mama Kitaba described the issue of ethnicity and how this affected her life in exile by virtue of her marriage to a man of Tutsi ethnic background. Despite this, like Maria and Mama Mtoto, Mama Kitaba does not mention her husband as a source of income or support in her description of her life in Tanzania.

4. Mama Blue

Mama Blue was 40 years old and came from Burundi. She was a widow and had four children. She received secondary education in Burundi, where she was a businesswoman. She arrived in Tanzania in 1999. Mama Blue reported that she fled her country of origin as a result of war, ethnic discrimination and insecurity.

TABLE 4.9: MAMA BLUE'S BACKGROUND

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MARITAL STATUS	OCCUPATION IN HOME COUNTRY AND IN COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	CAMP OF RESIDENCE IN TANZANIA
Burundi: Languages spoken include Kirundi, Kiswahili and French	40	Secondary	Widow with children	Businesswoman Unemployed	Muyovosi Burundian Refugees

With regard to 20 items coded in the category of *problems*, Mama Blue reported that she had experienced eight (40%) as material *problems* in her refugee experience in Tanzania. These problems revolved around decrease in food ration, shortage of non-food items, inadequate housing and lack of clothing. She further reported other *problems* (12,6%). These problems focused around child welfare, specifically the lack of proper structures and mechanisms for schooling, of learning facilities such as desks and stationery, inadequate primary socialisation agents within the refugee camps and difficulties in financing her children's education and other related expenses. In addition, Mama Blue expressed that she encountered problems experienced by other refugees at the time, including restriction of movement from the designated area of residence.

TABLE 4.10: MAMA BLUE INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

	CATEGORIES				
RESPONDENT	**PROBLEMS** Material Other	**MEANING MAKING** Cause Interpretations	**COPING STRATEGIES** Direct Actions Palliative Modes Combined Direct & Palliative	**SOCIAL CAPITAL** Social Cultural Economic	**CONTACT POINTS** Formal Informal
MAMA BLUE	8 (40%) 12 (60%)	3 (50%) 3 (50%)	12 (66.66%) 6 (33.33%)	8 (44.44%) 6 (33.33%) 4 (22.22 %)	5 (35.71%) 9 (64.28%)
TOTAL	20	6	18	18	14

'My children's education': Mama Blue' reported that her children, along with others in the camps, attended schools organised by members of the refugee communities. Teachers were drawn from the respective refugee communities, mainly at the primary level. Mama Blue reported fragmentation in the primary agents of the socialisation process, mainly the family and the school. Thus, according to Mama Blue, knowledge and skills were inadequately transmitted to the refugee children because of the breakdown of the transmission chain. Further, Mama Blue reported lack of structures and mechanisms within the camps through which adolescent refugees could access secondary education. Hence there was breakdown of secondary agents of socialisation.

Mama Blue placed emphasis on the challenges posed by lack of secondary school as a socialisation agent. She reported that knowledge and skills traditionally transmitted to the adolescent girl and boy by parents with the help of teachers now lay entirely in the hands of the parents. This included raising awareness about unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). Mama Blue reported that traditionally, in Burundi, social capital was available through aunts and grandmothers, who would ensure that the girl was equipped with relevant information. However, a refugee's social capital is fragmented, in that families have broken down under the stress of armed conflict. Mama Blue reported that HIV/AIDS was also of great concern, especially concerning teenagers. A lot of effort was still required in sensitising the youth about HIV/AIDS.

Mama Blue commented that although service providers and refugee communities had made efforts towards the realisation of primary education, expenses relating to physical structures, school uniforms and equipments were not catered for. This compounded the continuous struggle by parents to provide related school necessities.

Mama Blue reported also that the majority of girl children were kept out of school in order to assist with household chores. According to Mama Blue, this had an impact upon the ratio of boys to girls in education level, and had serious long-term implications on development. Related difficulties for the adolescent girl child included gender related problems. For instance, some parents were not in a position to provide for sanitary towels. Mama Blue reported that UNHCR seldom provided sanitary towels.

Mama Blue focused on the problems of her failure in her role as a mother. She gives primary significance to her 'children's suffering' in terms of their education and her inadequacy in providing for them. Despite this experience, she attempts to frame her problems within a discourse that permits her to attempt a direct response, that is, to meet material needs. Her *interpretations* of the causes of these experiences suggest that she analyses them with a cultural and socio-economic framework that enables her to *make meaning* of them for herself as a mother. Her emphasis on problems and coping strategies may be due to the salience of her immediate problems at the time of the interview, and/or reflect her changed material and emotional reality in Tanzania without a partner but with children.

With regard to *social capital,* of the 18 items coded in this category, Mama Blue described eight (44.44%) as social networks. Here Mama Blue reported that she joined a group of women from which she drew assistance. These women would assist each other in fetching firewood thus ensuring that one individual had a larger load. By walking in a group to fetch firewood, they also lessened the chance of rape. An attacker would hesitate to attack a group of women. Secondly in the event of the attack, women would join efforts and fight back.

Mama Blue reported further that women from her group would meet at water wells located within the camps. This was usually on the day following food allocation, when soap would have been distributed. As the women engaged in their washing they would talk about their difficulties as women and as refugees and how they would together find solutions to their problems. Other favoured venues included the health centre, joint market day and Burundian farming initiatives. Noteworthy is that Mama Blue reported that women frequented the health centre even when they were not seeking medical attention. Thus, health centres also served as informal gathering and socializing venues for women and the entire refugee population.

On the cultural front, Mama Blue reported that a group of refugee women from her country of origin had taken the initiative of providing guidance and counselling to refugee children. Refugee youth/adolescents would be invited/summoned by one of the women and engaged in talks with regard to reproductive health, personal hygiene, responsibilities and duties within the society and the issue of HIV/AIDS. According to Mama Blue, the youth viewed the women as 'aunties'; thus, they would engage freely in the discussions. Particular interest was placed in the refugee girls, both because they were prone to unwanted pregnancies, and to mould them to be future mothers. Mama Blue reported that the group of women ensured that the youth were aware of their culture while in exile. Teaching included lessons that the youth would have learned in their country of origin. Some of these related to rites of passage, circumcision, ancestral beliefs and practices, mode of dressing and eating habits. Issues with regard to respecting the elders were also addressed. These statements were six (33.33% of the total number), of those coded as cultural aspects of *social capital*.

Concurrently, Mama Blue reported that members of the refugee community had embarked on economic activities to enable them to solicit funds to facilitate their children to have access to a good learning environment. These included four (22.22%) of the items coded as economic aspects of *social capital*. Some of the activities reported included working for local NGOs, weaving and crafting in small self-help projects and informal co-operative initiatives such as 'merry go rounds'.

With regard to *coping strategies*, Mama Blue employed more direct actions (twelve, 66.66% of the total number) and less palliative modes (six, 33.33% of the total number) with regard to her constant material problems in Tanzania. Mama Blue tried to frame her problems within a discourse that permits her to attempt a more direct response, that is to meet material needs. This can be illustrated by the fact that Mama Blue adopted a sum of 12 social and economic networks. These networks are characterised by the aim to amend problems with one's distressed environment just as direct actions of coping strategies do. This is reflected by a ratio of (12:12).

Conversely, the correlation of palliative *coping strategies* and cultural networks of *social capital* reflected in the ratio (6:6) may reflect, on the one hand, an inability to directly address the range and diversity of *problems* identified, given the lack of social services, but also the cultural and interpretative scheme Mama Blue employs to *make meaning* of her experiences as a mother. Moreover, this discourse suggests her attachment to a traditional, cultural and gender ideal of a woman and a mother.

With regard to contact points, Mama Blue described that she acquired her information from refugees visiting from neighbouring camps, returning refugees who might have sneaked out of the camps and relationships with local Tanzanian community. She also

frequented joint market days, farming initiatives, and informal gatherings at water wells and during funerals and weddings and following childbirth. She accumulated information at these venues. The above constituted five informal sources (35.71% of the total) described by Mama Blue. Subsequently she also reported nine formal sources (64.28%), including information received from radios, aid workers from the international community (UNHCR, WFP), health officials who composed the health information team and refugee leaders elected in the camps. Mama Blue's high occurrence of informal sources can be attributed to the higher rate of adopting social networks (eight, 44.44%), compared to cultural networks (six, 33.33%) and economic networks (four, 22.22%). The former do not require tangible resources such as capital to start a self-help project or food rations for the 'merry go round', but rather familiar interactions.

5. Mama Yellow

Mama Yellow was 40 years and came from Burundi. She received tertiary education and worked in government as a civil servant back in her home country. She was married and had three children. She arrived in Tanzania in 1997 and was a community leader within the refugee population. Mama Yellow reported to have fled her country of origin due to ethnic discrimination.

TABLE 4.11: MAMA YELLOW'S BACKGROUND

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN	*Age*	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MARITAL STATUS	OCCUPATION IN HOME COUNTRY AND IN COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	CAMP OF RESIDENCE IN TANZANIA
Burundi: Languages spoken include Kirundi, Kiswahili and French	40	Tertiary	Married With children	Civil servant Community Leader	Mtabila 2 Burundian Refugees

With regard to 34 items coded in the category of *problems* encountered, unlike other respondents, Mama Yellow's problems were focused around the community. She reported eight (23.52%) material *problems* that included decrease in food ration, inadequate education for refugee children, clothing and non-food items, and inadequate housing. Further, Mama Yellow reported twenty-six (76.47%) in the category of other *problems*. These comprised lack of service provision, community based problems, restriction of movement from the designated area of residence, insecurity, lack of ready markets for women's self-help projects, shift in gender roles, rape, work related and labour exploitation, gender related problems, unsatisfactory living conditions in camps, insecurity, prostitution and prostitution labelling, wife battering, polygamy, cohabiting, drunkenness, rumour-mongering, contracting HIV/AIDS and STDs, unwanted pregnancies, attacks while gathering firewood and emotional and psychological problems. Specifically, she described what she called 'trauma' among the refugee women she knows. The trauma, according to Mama Yellow, results from the immense responsibilities refugee women carry and their incapacity to manage these responsibilities. In addition, she attributes this trauma to the shift in gender roles when women have to take up men's roles as heads of households in the absence of the male partner. Furthermore, women had to engage in male-related work such as construction of houses and pit latrines for the family.

TABLE 4.12: MAMA YELLOW INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

	CATEGORIES				
RESPONDENT	**PROBLEMS** Material Other	**MEANING MAKING** Cause Interpretations	**COPING STRATEGIES** Direct Actions Palliative Modes Combined Direct & Palliative	**SOCIAL CAPITAL** Social Cultural Economic	**CONTACT POINTS** Formal Informal
MAMA YELLOW	8 (23.52%) 26 (76.47%)	1 (25%) 3 (75%)	24 (85.71%) 4 (14.28%)	12 (42.85%) 4 (14.28%) 12 (42.85%)	11 (50%) 11 (50%)
TOTAL	34	4	28	28	22

'Community leader': Mama Yellow focused on the experiences of the refugee community. She was a refugee community leader who puts the community's interest first by talking more about the refugee situation in general as opposed to her personal experiences in Tanzania. She highlighted problems encountered by the community including the community's inability to secure alternative means to subsidise the food ration and non-food items that they received from social providers. She reported that non-food items including blankets, plastic sheets and containers for water storage such as jerry cans amongst other things were only given to refugees once, upon their arrival at the camps. Mama Yellow further reported that refugees were not allowed to engage in income-generating activities. At the time of data collection, MHA had issued directives that refugees were not to leave designated areas of residence.

Reasons given by MHA for the above included the fact that there had been an increase in crimes within areas surrounding the refugee living quarters. MHA alleged that rebels had access to refugee camps thus trading in illegal arms. Mama Yellow reported that, despite these restrictions, refugees found their way out of the camps.

For instance, Congolese refugees said that they had gone back to the DRC to 'check on the situation and to fish' via Lake Tanganyika, while Burundian refugees said that they had crossed the border to Burundi to also 'check out the situation' back home. Mama Yellow reported that officials from MHA were aware of the above situation. At one point, the researcher had been invited to attend as an observer a meeting between service providers and refugee communities (represented by elected refugee leaders). At this meeting a senior MHA official jokingly asked why refugee X was not present at the meeting and if he/she had returned from fishing or farming. Other refugees present, including Mama Yellow, responded by saying to the MHA official that in the event that

refugee X was out of the designated area, the MHA official would have full knowledge of this, since he/she was the one who issued permission for refugees leaving the camps. The government official responded with approval.

With regard to *social capital*, Mama Yellow adopted twelve social networks (42.85%) and four cultural networks (14.28%) in her attempt to cope with her experience in Tanzania. In addition, she described twelve (42.85%) of the 28 items coded in the category of *social capital* as economic networks. What is noteworthy is the manner in which Mama Yellow co-ordinated the above.

As a community leader, Mama Yellow played a co-ordinating role. Her role was to ensure that the news of social, economic and cultural activities within the camps reached the people. Mama Yellow thus used platforms such as market days, health centres, health information teams, food distribution days and women's groups to spread the message. For instance, if service providers announced an important message, say immunisation or prevention strategies, Mama Yellow ensured that members of the community received the information through the above networks and that they fully participated in the events. Furthermore, if there were a project that the community would benefit from, for example economically, Mama Yellow would act as the link between the service providers and the members of the community. She was also among the elected refugee leaders who represented the community in meetings with the service providers. The community also communicated to the service providers through Mama Yellow.

With regard to *coping strategies,* Mama Yellow employed twenty-four (85.71% of the total number) direct actions and four (14.28%) palliative modes in response to the large number of problems facing the refugee community. Despite the experiences being

described in more generalised terms, in relation to the group of refugees rather than to an individual (herself), she manages to frame them within a discourse that she can respond to more directly, that is, with direct *coping strategies*. This can further be demonstrated by the manner in which she adopted a sum total of 24 social and economic networks, an equivalent number to that of direct actions of *coping strategies*, thus reflecting a ratio of (24:24). The significance of the correlation between direct *coping strategies* and social and economic networks of *social capital* is that they are both adaptive and are designed to modify problems with one's troubled environment.

As it is reported above, Mama Yellow adopted four cultural networks, a similar number to the palliative *coping strategies* she employed, reflecting a ratio of (4:4). The significance of the correlations between palliative *coping strategies* and cultural networks may reflect, on the one hand, an inability to directly address the range and diversity of *problems* identified, given the lack of social services, but also the cultural and interpretative schema she employed to *make meaning* of her experiences as a community leader. Furthermore, lay people are typically not thought to be well positioned to deal with a community–wide trauma. Mama Yellow's *interpretations* of the causes of these experience suggest that she analysed them with a cultural and socio-economic framework that enabled her to *make meaning* of them for herself as a mother and community leader. Like previous respondents, Mama Yellow did not mention her husband as a source of income or support in her descriptions of her life in Tanzania.

With regard to contact points Mama Yellow explained that she had frequented both formal and informal sources and sourced them for information. The latter (11,50%) included information from new arrivals and refugees visiting from neighbouring camps, informal gatherings during funerals, weddings, and the period following childbirth,

informal gathering at the health centres, at water wells, at food distribution points during food distribution days and at the joint market days. Formal sources (11,50%) that Mama Yellow reported included information received from radios, aid workers from the international community (UNHCR, WFP) officials from MHA, officials from NGOs and faith-based organisations, posters from NGOs, women leaders who went door to door passing information, a health information team from health centres and ICRC tracing facilities. It is evident that Mama Yellow mingled and sought information from both formal and informal sources. This can be attributed to the fact that as a community leader there was a need for her to balance her sources of information so that she would be in a position firstly to make informed discussions and secondly appear not to be biased, thus setting an example to the rest of the refugee community.

6. Mama Green

Mama Green was 31 years old and came from Burundi. She received secondary education in her country of origin, however she was unemployed. She was separated from her spouse and had three children. She arrived in Tanzania in 1997. Mama Green reported that she fled her country of origin because of ethnic discrimination and insecurity. These were the only descriptive statements that she offered as reasons of leaving Burundi in the entire interview.

TABLE 4.13: MAMA GREEN'S BACKGROUND

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN	*Age*	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MARITAL STATUS	OCCUPATION IN HOME COUNTRY AND IN COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	CAMP OF RESIDENCE IN TANZANIA
Burundi: Languages spoken include Kirundi, French and Kiswahili	31	Secondary	With children separated from spouse	unemployed	Muyovosi Burundian Refugees

With regard to problems encountered in her refugee experience in Tanzania, of the 22 items coded in the category of *problems*, Mama Green reported seven (31.81% of the total) material *problems*. These included decrease in food ration, lack of non-food items, lack of clothing, inadequate housing and difficulties in financing her children's education. Mama Green, in addition, reported fifteen (68.18%) in the category of other *problems*. These included problems arising as a result of lack of male support, restriction of movement from designated area of residence, camps, work and labour exploitation, war, insecurity, nationality, insufficient assistance from service providers, gender related difficulties, sexual harassment, prostitution and prostitution labelling, attack while gathering firewood, shift in gender roles, risk of HIV/AIDS, STDs and unwanted pregnancies and lack of ready markets for women's self-help development projects.

Mama Green's concerns revolved around coping with her life in exile in the absence of her spouse. She reported the daily difficulties of having to take over what was previously a man's role. Before displacement, there existed a clear demarcation between feminine and masculine roles. For instance, women concentrated on childbearing and rearing and household chores. Men's roles required physical work such as construction, digging and provision of security. However, following displacement, Mama Green reported that women, including herself, had taken on men' roles, including digging of pit latrines, construction of houses and provision of material and physical security for the family.

According to Mama Green, these problems resulted from separation of spouses during war/displacement, either by death or by the spouses joining rebel groups or armies to fight. Mama Green reported that another emerging phenomenon in the camps was that of men turning to polygamy or having extra-marital affairs. Mama Green reported that the majority of women were being lured into these kinds of relationships under the

impression that by so doing they would boost their chances of access to food rations within the camps. She described another aspect of the unofficial relationships: widows opted for these arrangements in search of both physical and material security, thus women without male partners cohabited with men who were not their husbands.

TABLE 4.14: MAMA GREEN INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

	CATEGORIES				
RESPONDENT	**PROBLEMS** Material Other	**MEANING MAKING** Cause Interpretations	**COPING STRATEGIES** Direct Actions Palliative Modes Combined Direct & Palliative	**SOCIAL CAPITAL** Social Cultural Economic	**CONTACT POINTS** Formal Informal
MAMA GREEN	7 (31.81%) 15 (68.18%)	2(50%) 2(50%)	13 (76.47%) 4 (23.52%)	7 (41.17%) 4 (23.52%) 6 (35.29%)	8 (44.44 %) 10 (55.55%)
TOTAL	22	4	17	17	18

According to Mama Green, the above resulted in tension among women in the camps. The tensions included married women accusing the other women of 'stealing' their husbands and engaging in 'prostitution'. She reported that in some instances married men had abandoned their legal wives and arranged a live-in situation with the 'new bride' within the camps. Mama Green reported that these circumstances resulted in higher risks of contracting HIV/AIDS and unplanned pregnancies. Further to this, Mama Green reported of the increasing hatred amongst 'core-wives', which affected harmonious co-existence among the women in the camps.

'Lack of male support': Mama Green reported that refugee men were not willing to assist women who did not have male partners. Assistance needed, as Mama Green reported, included thatching of leaking roofs and construction of houses and pit latrines.

Mama Green reported that assistance from the majority of men came with conditions, which mainly revolved around asking for sexual favours. If these conditions were not met, the men would not assist. Mama Green reported that she was not willing to have sexual affairs with a man who was not her husband; a view that she alleged was shared by the majority of refugee women. She emphasised that the above was not morally correct; and the women in question risked contacting HIV/AIDS and unwanted pregnancies.

Mama Green further spoke of the way in which women identified means of dealing with their daily difficulties. Specifically, Mama Green reported that she joined a group of twenty five other refugee women with the view to assisting each other in times of need, especially in thatching houses and fixing leaking roofs. Mama Green reported that upon identifying a member who required assistance, the group would assemble at the woman's house and together assist her to construct her house. If the roof were leaking, they would gather reeds and weave them in preparation for thatching the roof. Mama Green reported that they would offer the above services at a fee. These statements reflected six (35.29%) economic networks of the 17 items coded in the category of *social capital.* Noteworthy is the paradigm shift in women's role after displacement and in exile. Women took on what were traditionally men's roles before displacement, i.e. construction of houses and thatching of roofs, while they simultaneously maintained their traditional roles as mother, child bearers, child rearers and caregivers.

Mama Green recounted how she was once attacked while fetching firewood. She reported that many refugee women had encountered rape or attempted rape when collecting firewood. According to Mama Green, most refugee women, including her, never spoke about their ordeals. However, Mama Green reported that the women's group initiative acted as a 'counsellor'. In the group, women who had suffered these

attacks found solace by talking about it and by distracting themselves through engaging with other women. According to Mama Green this usually happened when women shared their difficulties as refugees and as women. These statements referred to seven social networks (41.17% of the total number) coded in the category of *social capital*. Further, Mama Green reported that together with other refugee women they organised themselves in groups when it was time to collect firewood. This way, according to Mama Green, was a means of preventing and combating the attack.

As it is reported here, Mama Green adopted four (23.52%) cultural networks while in Tanzania. She told of how the group jointly assisted each other during funerals, weddings and upon arrival of a newborn child. They would weave baskets from reeds and other items that were traditionally presented at the homestead of the newborn child and given to the mother of the newborn according to her culture. During weddings, they assisted with chores and prepared gifts such as baskets and other woven items. During funerals, apart from providing moral support to the deceased family in accordance to their culture, this group of women also undertook household chores. Tasks included singing traditional mourning songs, and comforting the bereaved.

With regard to *coping strategies*, Mama Green sustained thirteen direct actions (76.47% of the total number) and less palliative modes (four, 23.52% of the total number) in coping with her unvarying problems in Tanzania. Mama Green's focus was manifested by accepting life's challenges, however horrific, and holding them in a way that she could respond to more directly. Further, this can be exemplified by the pattern Mama Green formed with regard to the number of social and economic networks adopted (sum total of 13), an equivalent number to direct *coping strategies* reflected in the ratio of (13:13). The correlation between direct actions of *coping strategies* and social and economic networks of

social capital is that they are both adaptive and seek to modify the problem with one's distressed environment. A major factor that compelled Mama Green to take charge of the situation was her acceptance of being alone without male support. The employment of palliative *coping strategies* may perhaps be interpreted as reflecting the inability to directly address the range and diversity of *problems* identified. Further, as reported above, Mama Green adopted four cultural networks and four palliative modes of *coping strategies* reflected in the ratio of (4:4). The theory described above suggests that palliative *coping strategies* contribute to adaptation but leave the problems intact, a notion that can be ascribed to cultural networks of *social capital,* thus reflecting the correlation between palliative modes of coping strategies and cultural networks. Mama Green's *interpretation of causes of these experiences suggests* that she analyses them within a cultural and social framework that enable her to *make meaning* of them for herself.

With regard to contact points, Mama Green reported that she frequented both formal and informal venues for information and association. She described the formal sources (eight, 44.44%), including formal gatherings at the food distribution centres during food distribution days, leaders from the refugee community, health information team from the health centres, women leaders who passed information door to door, faith-based institutions, an official from MHA, officials from NGOs and aid workers working for the international organisations (UNHCR, WFP). Subsequently Mama Green described informal sources (ten, 55.55%), including information from new arrivals, informal associations at funerals, at weddings and following childbirth, informal gatherings at the health centres, during joint market days, at farming initiatives, through relationships with members of the local Tanzanian community, at informal gathering at water wells and at food distribution points during food allocation days. Mama Green's comparable frequency of formal and informal sources can be attributed to the small variation rate in

the frequency of adopting social (seven, 41.17%) and economic networks (six, 35.29%) the argument being that social networks do not require tangible resources such as a portion of food ration, or capital to begin a self-help project, but rather familiar interactions.

7. Nusura

Nusura was 38 years old and came from the DRC. She received tertiary education and worked as a civil servant in her country of origin. She was a widow with six children, some of whom resided with her in Tanzania, while the others were in war-torn DRC in Lubalo district, residing with relatives. She was unemployed in Tanzania. Nusura reported that she had fled her country of origin because of war.

TABLE 4.15: NUSURA'S BACKGROUND

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN	*Age*	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MARITAL STATUS	OCCUPATION IN HOME COUNTRY AND IN COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	CAMP OF RESIDENCE IN TANZANIA
DRC: Languages spoken include French, Lingala and Kiswahili	38	Tertiary	Widow with children	Civil servant Unemployed	Lugufu 2 Congolese Refugees

With regard to 21 items coded in the category of problems encountered in Tanzania, Nusura reported to have encountered seven (33.33%) material *problems*. These included, among others, decrease in food ration, lack of clothes, inadequate housing, lack of non-food items, difficulties in financing her children's education and other related expenses. Further, Nusura reported fourteen other *problems* (66.66% of the total number), which included child malnutrition, home and family related insecurity, shift in gender roles, unsatisfactory living conditions in camps, lack of assistance from service providers, lack of ready markets for women's self-help groups, gender problems, nationality, restriction of movement from designated area of residence, war, attack while gathering firewood,

exposure to contracting HIV/AID, STDs and unwanted pregnancies. Nusura's talk was focused around being a woman in exile. She viewed her *problems* as resulting from being a refugee woman in an especially difficult situation. As a refugee woman she viewed all the *problems* encountered in exile as affecting her since it was the woman who was 'in charge of the situation' while in exile. In her view, it was the woman who in the refugee situation carried the entire house/family burden from lack of adequate shelter to providing food since, she suggested, women could more easily secure employment than men. However, she reported that women were vulnerable since they were discriminated against while in exile, a factor according to Nusura that generated other gender related *problems*.

TABLE 4.16: NUSURA INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

	CATEGORIES				
RESPONDENT	**PROBLEMS** Material Other	**MEANING MAKING** Cause Interpretations	**COPING STRATEGIES** Direct Actions Palliative Modes Combined Direct & Palliative	**SOCIAL CAPITAL** Social Cultural Economic	**CONTACT POINTS** Formal Informal
NUSURA	7 (33.33%) 14 (66.66%)	1 (33.33%) 2 (66.66%)	14 (73.68%) 5 (26.31%)	8 (42.10%) 5 (26.31%) 6 (31.57%)	9 (50%) 9 (50%)
TOTAL	21	3	19	19	18

'Women in charge in exile': Nusura viewed her refugee experience as reflected in the above statement. She viewed her responsibilities in a particular way in exile, i.e. it was the woman who was 'in charge' of the situation. In the DRC, she would not have been tasked with the responsibility of 'being in charge' of her family but as long as she was in exile, she had no choice. Nusura's perspective was focused on problematising life's challenges and framing them within a discourse that she could respond to more directly. A major factor compelling Nusura to take charge of her current situation was that women in exile were in a better position than men to secure jobs. For instance, since women play the major role in child bearing and rearing in most societies, when displaced

they are in a better position to secure jobs related to household activities than men. Skills that men have learned might not be required in the 'new environment', for example if a man is a farmer and finds himself in a fishing environment, his farming skills may not be of use here. Women in exile still maintain part of their earlier identity as family caretakers. Nusura's *interpretations* of causes of these experiences suggested that she analysed them within a cultural and social framework that enabled her to *make meaning* of them for herself.

With regard to *social capital*, Nusura described how with other refugee women, in an attempt to take charge of the situation in exile, they constituted a peer group comprising 18 members from which they drew economic, social and cultural support. These statements reflected 39 items coded in the category of *social capital*. Nusura reported that in an attempt to combat rape and attacks while fetching firewood, members of the peer group walked together in the bush and forests. Women from this group also assisted each other to gather firewood. For instance, they would assist Nusura to gather a larger load of firewood and on the next visit to the forest/bush; the same would be done for another member. Furthermore, Nusura described how the members of the peer group assisted each other in thatching leaking roofs and in the construction of houses. Nusura reported that once a member was identified as being in need of assistance of constructing or renovating a house or thatching a leaking roof, members of the peer group would join efforts and provide assistance. These descriptive statements denoted eight social networks (42.10% of the total) of *social capital* she adopted while in Tanzania.

On the cultural front, Nusura reported how members of the peer group took up the role of mothers in exile. She described how members of the peer group would take care of children whose mothers were sick. This assistance included feeding, cleaning and

providing motherly guidance to the children. These, according to Nusura, were roles that women, including her, engaged in their country of origin prior to displacement. These constituted five (26.31%) cultural networks Nusura adopted while in Tanzania. In addition to taking care of children of ailing mothers, members of the peer group would visit sick mothers in hospitals within the refugee camps and provide them with food. More significant, according to Nusura, was the message of consolation the ailing women would receive upon learning that their children back home were not alone and suffering but in good hands. According to Nusura, this first acted as a catalyst for quick recovery from the physical illness and second as counselling for their psychological and emotional suffering at their failure as mothers (due to sickness) to provide for their children.

Nusura described how the above peer group engaged in initiatives that assisted them economically. These comprised six (31.57%) of the economic networks that Nusura adopted while in Tanzania. Women in the peer group donated a portion of their fortnightly food rations, usually a cup of flour and oil, to a designated member. Nusura identified with the 'merry go round' initiative reported by the majority of the respondents above. She reported that the 'merry go round' was fundamental in helping her to meet her needs. She described how she would trade her food ration in the local joint market[121] for items that she needed. Alternatively she would sell her portion in the market or trade with other members of her group and the larger refugee population. She would then use the money to purchase items that were rarely offered by the service providers, including clothes, cooking utensils and sanitary towels. Furthermore, Nusura reported that the finances from the sale enabled her to provide for her family with a variety of meals. She mentioned that the food ration consisted of the same type of food, creating monotony. The change in food diet not only brought joy to her family, according to Nusura, but also

[121]Bi-weekly market shared with the local Tanzanians

enhanced her relationship with family members. Nusura attributed this to the appreciation on the part of family members for her efforts in trying to 'improve' their lifestyle in the refugee camps despite the hardships and challenges faced.

In light of the large number of *problems* encountered in Tanzania, Nusura sustained direct actions (14, 66.66%) across her experience in addition to palliative modes, which constituted five (26.31%) items coded in the category of *coping strategies*. One wonders whether her explanations, including practical life challenges of everyday life as well as challenges to her self–understanding as a woman Congolese refugee in Tanzania, reflect another dimension of her coping. Nusura tries to frame her problems within a discourse that permits her to attempt a more direct response, that is, to meet material need. This can be illustrated by the fact that Nusura also adopted a sum total of 14 social and economic networks, an equivalent number as direct actions of *coping strategies*. This is reflected by the ratio (14:14). The correlation between social and economic networks of *social capital* and direct actions of *coping strategies* is that they both are designed to modify problems with one's troubled environment. This is evident from the descriptions offered by Nusura as to what constituted social and economic networks that she adopted. As reported above Nusura employed five palliative modes and adopted five cultural networks reflected in the ratio (5:5). The theory of palliative *coping strategies* described above suggests that palliative *coping strategies* contribute to adaptation but leave the problems intact. Moreover this discourse suggests Nusura's attachment to a traditional, cultural and gender ideal of woman and mother.

With regard to contact points, Nusura reported that she had gathered information at an equal number of formal and informal sources. The formal sources (nine, 50%) included information received from radios, officials from the international community (UNHCR, WFP) and the MHA, faith-based institutions, NGO posters, women leaders who went

door to door with information, formal gatherings at food distribution points, refugee leaders and the health information team, usually comprised of individuals working at the health centres. On the other hand, the informal sources (nine, 50%) as described by Nusura, included new arrivals, visiting refugees from a neighbouring camp, informal gatherings: at food distribution points; at water wells; at health centres; during joint market days and during weddings and funerals. Given the shift in gender roles: in her words 'it's the women in-charge of the situation in exile', Nusura's equal frequency of contact with formal and informal sources can be linked to the search for a state of equilibrium between her two roles as mother and household provider.

8. Mwanafunzi

Mwanafunzi was 22 years old and came from the DRC. Before displacement, she was a secondary school student. She arrived in Tanzania in 2002 where she worked as a community childcare official with an NGO. Mwanafunzi resided in Mkugwa camp, which hosts refugees with security concerns, in particular refugees in mixed marriages and those born out of a mixed marriage, of Tutsi and Hutu ethnic groups. Mwanafunzi was a Congolese of Tutsi origin, a group commonly referred to as the 'Munyamulenge'. This ethnic group has been accused of involvement in the war in the DRC. Mwanafunzi reported that she fled her country of origin due to war and insecurity. These were the only descriptive statements she offered as reasons for leaving her country in the entire interview.

TABLE 4.17: MWANAFUNZI'S BACKGROUND

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MARITAL STATUS	OCCUPATION IN HOME COUNTRY AND IN COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	CAMP OF RESIDENCE IN TANZANIA
DRC: Languages spoken include French, Lingala and Kiswahili	22	Secondary	Single	Student NGO worker (volunteer unpaid)	Mkugwa Mixed Marriages & Refugees with Security Concerns (Rwandese, Burundian & Congolese)

With regard to 13 items coded in the category of *problems,* Mwanafunzi reported to have encountered six (46.15%) material *problems*, including inadequate housing, decrease in food ration, and lack of clothing and non-food items. Mwanafunzi further reported seven other *problems* (53.84%), including insecurity, inadequate assistance from service providers for young refugees to further their education, lack of employment opportunities, issues with regard to nationality, ethnic discrimination, war and gender related problems.

TABLE 4.18: MWANAFUNZI INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

	CATEGORIES				
RESPONDENT	**PROBLEMS** Material Other	**MEANING MAKING** Cause Interpretations	**COPING STRATEGIES** Direct Actions Palliative Modes Combined Direct & Palliative	**SOCIAL CAPITAL** Social Cultural Economic	**CONTACT POINTS** Formal Informal
MWANAFUNZI	6 (46.15 %) 7 (53.84 %)	2(50%) 2(50%)	12 (70.58%) 5 (29.41%)	7 (41.17%) 5 (29.41%) 5 (29.41%)	2(28.57%) 5 (71.42%)
TOTAL	13	4	17	17	7

'Lack of opportunity for young people': Mwanafunzi reported that upon arrival in 'safety' in Tanzania she expected to continue with her education but to her surprise there were no structures and mechanisms in place for displaced adolescents to continue with their education. She had hoped to complete her secondary education and then tertiary education eventually embarking on a career, dreams that now seem far-fetched. Mwanafunzi reported that her job as a community childcare official enabled her to make ends meet, but added that she still hoped that someday she would be able to complete her secondary education and embark on further studies.

During the interview, Mwanafunzi enquired about the DRC Peace Talks from Sun-City to Pretoria. She said that she had lost faith in the peace negotiations, because following a cease-fire agreement in the year 2003, 'hell broke lose' in Bunia town in the Eastern part of DRC and many people were massacred. She spoke further about her hopes of being granted resettlement. Since she had lost faith in the peace process, she was hoping that one day she would get resettled in Europe, where she envisaged that she might realise her dream by going back to school and embarking on the so much deserved education. Mwanafunzi was of the view that refugees residing in Europe had a different experience from those in Africa. They had access to better social services in terms of a good welfare system, which took care of necessities such as health, food, and education. Mwanafunzi reported that the resettlement system in Tanzania was corrupt. She was of the opinion that only refugees who had money or influence from outside stood a chance for resettlement, for instance, those whose relatives were already resettled in Europe or those who had relatives in the diaspora. Mwanafunzi said that the kin of these refugees usually paid bribes to the officials concerned so that the officials would 'facilitate' the process. Mwanafunzi reported that the resettlement cartel involved officials from the government, the Ministry of Home Affairs and those who worked for UNHCR both at the sub-branch office in Dar es Salaam and at the field level.

With regard to *social capital*, of the 17 items coded in this category, Mwanafunzi conveyed that she had adopted seven (41.17%) social networks and five (29.41%) cultural and economic networks, respectively. In talking of the social networks, Mwanafunzi reported that she viewed herself as a young adult who could easily fit in amongst the group of mature women despite the age difference. Mwanafunzi reported that she had joined a group of seventeen women from the DRC in Tanzania from whom she drew comfort and support in times of need. She talked of walking together with the group as they went

to fetch firewood. This practice had a twofold benefit, first as a means to combat attack and rape and second to assist one individual to gather a bigger load of firewood. In talking of cultural networks, Mwanafunzi reported how with members of her group, she would visit a bereaved family and console them with traditional mourning songs. She reported further that the group would also assist with chores such as cooking and washing within the bereaved homestead. Mwanafunzi explained that she had observed these practices with older women while she was growing up, before displacement. Today, she reported, she was in a position to implement these practices. She had managed to get a job in one of the NGOs within the camp. In this way, she was in a position to make ends meet.

Noteworthy is that Mwanafunzi reported that she had been keeping some money aside for her education expenses. She said that she still believed that an opportunity would arise, placing her in a position to continue with her education and eventually embark on a career of her choice. The job in the camp, according to Mwanafunzi, offered her a platform to learn various things - an experience that would be useful for her in future. Mwanafunzi said that she was a member of a 'merry go round' group within her locality in the camp. These descriptive statements referred to five (29.41%) of the economic networks that Mwanafunzi adopted while in Tanzania. Mwanafunzi further reported that it was difficult to get a job within the refugee camp. She attributed this to the numbers of the refugee population, being more than the numbers of job opportunities in the camps. She ascribed it also to lack of required skills. She expressed that new technology such as computers was a foreign to most refugees who had no access to these facilities in the camps. Moreover, given the war-torn background that they hailed from, refugees lacked opportunities to familiarise themselves with many things. What was more essential subsequent to the war was their daily survival and security.

With regard to *coping strategies*, Mwanafunzi employed more direct actions (twelve, 70.58% of the total) and less palliative modes (five, 29.41% of the total number) in line with the amount of frequent problems in Tanzania. Mwanafunzi's explanation of her experiences suggests that she analysed them within a socio-economic framework that enables her to *make meaning* of them for herself. Further, she tried to frame her problems within a discourse that permits her to attempt a more direct response, that is, to meet material need. The 12 social and economic networks that Mwanafunzi adopted demonstrate this. These are equivalent to the number of direct actions of *coping strategies* employed, reflected in a ratio of (12:12). These networks of *social capital* are more action-orientated in that they aim at addressing problems within one's environment, a notion similar to direct actions of *coping strategies*. In addition, the significance of palliative *coping strategies* may reflect an inability to directly address the range and diversity of *problems* identified, given the lack of social services. The theory of palliative *coping strategies* suggests that they contribute to adaptation but leave the problems intact. This can be demonstrated by the correlation between palliative *coping strategies* and cultural networks, reflected in the ratio (5:5). Noteworthy is that Mwanafunzi, like Maria, reported equal frequency of cultural and economic networks. This can be attributed to her attempt to balance the discourse of the traditional, cultural and gender ideal of a woman, in her association with the women's group and that of the socio-economic framework of acquiring education and embarking on a career.

With regard to contact points, Mwanafunzi reported that she frequented and gathered her information from less formal (two, 28.57%) and more informal sources (five, 71.42%). The former included information received from radios and official relations with persons working for NGOs. The latter included informal gatherings during joint market days, at health centres, and during funerals, as well as relationships with members

of the local Tanzanian community and interaction with new arrivals. The high frequency of informal sources may have contributed to adaptation of numerous social networks since these do not require tangible resources but rather familiar interactions.

9. Mjuwa

Mjuwa was 40 years old and came from Burundi. She was a widow and was a businesswoman in her home country. She had secondary education and was unemployed in Tanzania where she arrived in 1999. She was previously in a mixed marriage, as a Tutsi from Burundi married to a Hutu from Burundi. Mjuwa reported that she had fled Burundi due to insecurity and ethnic discrimination.

With regard to problems encountered in Tanzania, of the 16 items coded in the category of *problems*, Mjuwa enumerated five (31.25%) material *problems*, including decrease in food ration, lack of clothing and non-food items, and inadequate housing. She reported eleven (68.75%) other problems including restriction of movement from the area of residence, inadequate assistance from service providers, difficult living conditions in camps, war, ethnic discrimination, nationality, gender related and emotional and psychological problems, insecurity, home and family related difficulties.

TABLE 4.19: MJUWA'S BACKGROUND

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MARITAL STATUS	OCCUPATION IN HOME COUNTRY AND IN COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	CAMP OF RESIDENCE IN TANZANIA
Burundi: Languages spoken include Kirundi, French and Kiswahili	40	Secondary	Widow without children Initially in a mixed marriage	Businesswoman Unemployed	Mkugwa Mixed Marriages & Refugees with Security Concerns (Rwandese, Burundian & Congolese)

Concerning the latter, she reported that the difficulties revolved around isolation by her in-laws, who resided in Europe. Mjuwa attributed the isolation to the fact that her husband was dead. She reported that before her husbands' death, her in-laws were 'not as bad' as they were now. Mjuwa reported that at one stage, she received letters from her in-laws in Europe but the correspondence had now ceased.

'Problems with my in-laws': Mjuwa attributed her husband's death to ethnic discrimination and hatred in her country of origin. She reported that as a widow, she did not desire to go back to Burundi. She conveyed that it would thus be ideal for her to be granted resettlement. Mjuwa reported that she was a Tutsi married to a Hutu. This was the underlying cause of the ill treatment from her in-laws. This ethnic tension prevailed even when her husband was alive, although to a differing degree. Mjuwa emphasised that she did not want to go back to Burundi. She said that following the death of her husband, there was nothing left for her in Burundi. Mjuwa envisaged resettlement in a third country, preferably Europe, as the only way out of her daily challenges.

TABLE 4.20: MJUWA INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

	CATEGORIES				
RESPONDENT	**PROBLEMS** Material Other	**MEANING MAKING** Cause Interpretations	**COPING STRATEGIES** Direct Actions Palliative Modes Combined Direct & Palliative	**SOCIAL CAPITAL** Social Cultural Economic	**CONTACT POINTS** Formal Informal
MJUWA	5 (31.25%) 11 (68.75%)	2(28.57%) 5(71.42%)	11 (73.33%) 4 (26.66%)	7 (46.66%) 4 (26.66%) 4 (26.66%)	4 (36.36%) 7 (63.63%)
TOTAL	16	7	15	15	11

Moreover, Mjuwa shared similar views with Mwanafunzi with regard to corruption in the resettlement procedures. Mjuwa gave a similar account of the 'resettlement cartel'.[122] She claimed that the cartel made the resettlement process a nightmare. She called for concerned powers to intervene so that refugees like her would have a chance to present their resettlement case. Her explanations of the causes of these experiences suggested that she analysed them within a political, historical, ethnic and socio-economic framework that enabled her to *make meaning* of them for herself.

With regard to *social capital* Mjuwa, had joined other refugee women and constituted a woman's group constituting of twenty one members where she obtained social, cultural and economic networks. Of the 15 items coded in the category of *social capital*, Mjuwa reported seven (46.66% of the total) social networks. She described how the peer group provided social support in terms of interactions and sharing of difficulties as women in refugee situation. Mjuwa reported that she met members of her group at water wells, usually after food allocation day, where soap was distributed. They would also meet at health centres when seeking medical attention for themselves or their children.

Noteworthy is that according to Mjuwa, women frequented the health centres even when they were not seeking medical attention. Health centres thus played a vital role as social meeting venues for refugee women. In addition, joint market days provided an opportunity for Mjuwa to meet with women from her group. The joint market days also provided an opportunity to meet and socialise with women from the Tanzanian local community, who were not part of the peer group. Mjuwa also reported that she would walk with other women while they went to fetch firewood, partly to combat and prevent

[122] Networks involving corrupt UNHCR officials (within and beyond Tanzania) dealing with issues of resettlement who demanded bribes from refugees in exchange of refugees' cases to be considered for resettlement in Europe and other developed countries. In some instances, local Tanzania government officials working for the Ministry in charge of refugee affairs were also involved

attacks in the forest, and partly to help one individual to gather a larger load of firewood. The latter was also the case in fetching water, although there were no reports of attacks in this instance, because water wells were situated within the camps.

On economic networks of *social capital*, Mjuwa reported four (26.66%). She spoke of informal co-operative initiatives where members of the group would give a portion of their food ration to one individual. The chance to receive the total amount would rotate. Mjuwa reported that the 'merry go round' provided an opportunity to purchase items not given by the service providers, through sale or bartering at the joint market or within the refugee population. Further Mjuwa reported how she together with members of her group would contribute money from these sales and purchase wool to knit pullovers and socks. These they would sell within the refugee population and at the joint market day. Other items within the self-help projects included weaving baskets and hats for sale.

Culturally, Mjuwa described how the group would contribute food rations to homesteads in the event of funerals, childbirth or weddings. At these times, they would also assist in gathering firewood, fetching water and undertaking household chores. These statements reflected (four, 26.66%) of cultural networks reported by Mjuwa. In addition, the group would sing traditional songs on these occasions, a practice that Mjuwa attributed to her culture. Women would still be expected to do these if they were in their home country. These cultural practices had been transferred from country of origin to exile.

Mjuwa's focused on rejection by her in-laws, and the problems of her refugee life in Tanzania following rejection and framing these within a discourse that she can respond to more directly. As reported here, Mjuwa employed eleven (73.33%) direct actions and four (26.66%) palliative modes in response to the number of psychological and

emotional dynamics to her problems in Tanzania. She seemed able to sustain a focus on resolving difficulties she encountered after the rejection, and challenges she encountered from her fellow countryfolk, as well as challenges brought about by changes in status between her former life as a wife and her current situation as a widow. This was further illustrated by the manner in which Mjuwa adopted a sum of 11 social and economic networks, an equivalent number to direct actions of *coping strategies*. The significance of the correlation between social and economic networks of *social capital* and direct actions of *coping strategies* suggests that they are intended to amend a problem within ones' troubled environment, a similar notion to direct *coping strategies*. This is reflected by the ratio of (11:11).

With regard to palliative modes, Mjuwa reported an equivalent number to that of cultural networks adopted, thus reflecting a ratio of (4:4). The theory described above suggests that palliative *coping strategies* contribute to adaptation but leave the problems intact, in contrast to direct actions, which are adaptive and bring about some changes in the problem. This seems to be true of Mjuwa as revealed through this analysis of her stories. The theory does not however offer insight into the constant decrease in the use of palliative strategies. These questions emerge from this analysis of Mjuwa stories and will be explored through the other cases in this thesis. Moreover, what is noteworthy is that Mjuwa like another respondent Mwanafunzi reported equal frequency of cultural and economic networks. This can be attributed to her attempt to arrive at a state of equilibrium between the discourse of traditional, cultural and gender ideal of woman and within a political, historical, ethnic and socio-economic framework that enables her understand the disharmony with her in-laws.

With regard to contact points, Mjuwa reported that she had sourced for information and frequented both formal and informal locations. In talking of the formal sites, (four, 36.36%) Mjuwa reported that she gathered her information from officials from MHA and the international community (WFP, UNHCR) and information received from radios. Mjuwa described the informal sources (seven, 63.63%) as including gatherings at funerals and weddings and following childbirths. Informal gatherings at the food distribution centre during food distribution day, at joint market days, at health centres and relationships with members of local Tanzanian community also made up part of this category. The high frequency of informal sources may have contributed to adaptation of high social networks, since these do not require tangible resources but rather familiar exchanges.

10. Mama Brown

Mama Brown was 29 years old and came from Burundi. She received primary education and was unemployed back in Burundi. She was married with two children. She was unemployed in Tanzania where she arrived in 1996. Mama Brown reported to have fled Burundi due to insecurity and ethnic discrimination. With regard to the 19 items coded in the category of *problems*, Mama Brown reported to have encountered five material *problems* (26.31%) in Tanzania. These included decrease in food ration, lack of non-food items, and inadequate housing and clothing. She further reported fourteen other *problems (*seven, 3.68%), which included restriction of movement from area of designation, emotional and psychological problems, issues of nationality, lack of money, inadequate assistance from service providers, insecurity, sexual harassment, problems with living conditions in the camps, war, gender related issues, work related and labour exploitation.

TABLE 4.21: MAMA BROWN'S BACKGROUND

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MARITAL STATUS	OCCUPATION IN HOME COUNTRY AND IN COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	CAMP OF RESIDENCE IN TANZANIA
Burundi: Languages spoken include Kirundi and Kiswahili	29	Primary	Married with children	Unemployed casual labourer	Mtabila 1 Burundian Refugees

'Labour exploitation and sexual harassment': Mama Brown reported how restriction of movement from the designated area of residence affected her ability to get casual jobs as a labourer outside the camp. Mama Brown reported that initially she would get hired by members of the local community to work on their 'shamba' (piece of land), where she eked out a living, enabling her to subsidise the food ration offered by service providers in the camp. However, she reported of high rates of exploitation, in that the employers would at times hire her services and pay her very minimal wages or no wages at all. Mama Brown reported that the fact that refugees were 'desperate' exacerbated the rate of exploitation.

TABLE 4.22: MAMA BROWN INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

	CATEGORIES				
RESPONDENT	**PROBLEMS** Material Other	**MEANING MAKING** Cause Interpretations	**COPING STRATEGIES** Direct Actions Palliative Modes Combined Direct & Palliative	**SOCIAL CAPITAL** Social Cultural Economic	**CONTACT POINTS** Formal Informal
MAMA BROWN	5 (26.31%) 14 (73.68%)	2 (40%) 3 (60%)	11 (73.33%) 4 (26.66%)	7 (46.66%) 4 (26.66%) 4 (26.66%)	6 (40%) 9 (60%)
TOTAL	19	5	15	15	15

This, according to Mama Brown, meant that refugees would settle for less or almost nothing in terms of remuneration since they lacked alternative means to subsidise what service providers offered.

Mama Brown reported gender related *problems* associated with the labour exploitation. These were among four (73.68%) in the category of other *problems* that she described. Mama Brown reported that male bosses would make sexual advances to her and if she declined, they would withhold her payment. What was even more worrying was the fact that at times these men would ask for sexual favours in exchange for the opportunity to get hired as a casual labourer. According to Mama Brown, if one declined, her chances of securing a job were limited. Further, Mama Brown reported that these men were not willing to practice safe sex, thus if she gave in to their demands, she would have been exposing herself to unwanted pregnancies and to contracting sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS. Mama Brown also reported fear of repercussions that would emerge if she disclosed her ordeal to her spouse. Mama Brown explained that there existed a high chance that the blame would be shifted to her. She further asserted that this was a major problem affecting most refugee women in the camps. Mama Brown reported that although there existed NGOs who were working closely with refugee women in trying to address these issues, among other things, the NGOs failed to provide alternative means for refugee women to earn a living. Thus, refugee women were not willing to share their dilemma, since after exposing the culprits, they would still have to go back and seek employment from them.

Mama Brown's explanation of her refugee experiences suggests that she analysed them within a socio-economic and cultural framework that enabled her to *make meaning* of them for herself. Further, she seemed able to sustain a focus on resolving immediate and material *problems* she encountered. One wonders whether or not the diversity of *problems* described, including practical challenges of everyday life as well as challenges to her self-understanding as a woman and a Burundian, reflect another dimension of her coping.

With regard to *social capital*, of the 15 items coded in this category Mama Brown reported seven (46.66%) social networks. Here Mama Brown described how she would meet and socialise with women from her peer-group. Mama Brown reported that she would meet with these women at the health centres, during joint market days and at the water wells, mostly following food distribution days, when women would embark on washing. What is interesting to note is the fact that Mama Brown, like another respondent Mjuwa, highlighted the fact that health centres served as a social meeting site. Women would frequent the health centres in order to meet with their friends and not necessarily to seek medical attention. Mama Brown reported that the interaction was vital, given that women would exchange views on their daily difficulties and strategies on how they would overcome them. Here Mama Brown reported that for instance they would walk in a group while fetching firewood as a means of combating attack and rape. Further, the group would help to gather firewood for an individual, and this ensured that an individual had a larger load compared to instances when they were gathering firewood by themselves. This opportunity would rotate within the group and each member would enjoy the opportunity of getting a larger load.

Mama Brown reported that she would meet with her friends from the peer group in the farming initiatives as they sought for employment as casual labourers. Here the opportunity to socialise and learn what was happening within the camps was interrupted when MHA issued directives restricting the movement of refugees beyond the camps. Initially Mama Brown reported that she would meet with refugee women from Burundi and also the local Tanzanian community, although the latter were not part of the peer group. Mama Brown reported that following the restrictions with regard to movements, she started farming in her small piece of plot where she grew vegetables for sale within the refugee community and at the joint market day.

Coming from Burundi meant that Mama Brown was a peasant farmer. Like all refugees, she was allocated a plot measuring 15 by 15 metres. She reported that in an attempt to deal with the issue of labour exploitation, she grew vegetables both for subsistence use and for sale at the local joint-market (market frequented by members of the local community and refugees) in a small portion of her plot. Mama Brown reported that she would trade off her vegetables for items that she did not have or receive from service providers, for instance, fish, clothing and Burundian staple food, which was available within the Burundian refugees population. What is noteworthy is the fact that despite being in exile, refugees would still access goods from their home countries. Mama Brown reported that refugees who crossed the border to go back to Burundi brought in the goods. Furthermore, the free flow of rebels along the border and the harbouring of these in the camps would have facilitated the flow of goods from Burundi, she added. Mama Brown reported that members of her peer group joined efforts and solicited employment as a group. This way, it made it difficult for employers to hold payment back as a result of women declining to have sexual relationships with them. These statements denoted four (26.66%) of the economic networks that Mama Brown adopted while in Tanzania. The teamwork, according to Mama Brown, accelerated the rate of completing the work in the field, and moving to another piece of work.

On the cultural front, in her description about cultural networks, Mama Brown reported to have adopted four (26.66%) cultural networks, a number that reflected those of another respondent from Burundi, namely Mjuwa. Here Mama Brown reported that together with other members of her group, she participated in funerals, weddings and in instances where there was a newly born child. The participation included running the household and singing traditional songs in accordance with the ceremonies, just as they would back in their country of origin.

With regard to *coping strategies*, Mama Brown sustained eleven (73.33%) direct actions and four (26.66%) palliative modes out of the 15 items coded in this category. Moreover, she tries to frame her problems within a discourse that permits her to attempt a more direct response, that is, with direct *coping strategies*. The above can further be illustrated by the manner in which Mama Brown adopted a sum total of 11 social and economic networks of *social capital,* an equivalent number to direct actions of *coping strategies,* thus reflecting a ratio of (11:11). The correlation between these networks and direct actions of *coping strategies* is that they are both designed to bring about changes in problems with one's troubled environment. On the other hand, the theory of palliative *coping strategies* suggests that these contribute to adaptation but leave the problems intact. The correlation between the number of cultural networks and palliative modes reflected here by the ratio of (4:4) as reported to have been adopted and employed by Mama Brown, emphasises the above.

Given the above explanations of the relationship between direct actions of *coping strategies* and social and economic networks, what is noteworthy is that Mama Brown like other three respondents Maria, Mwanafunzi and Mjuwa also reported equal frequency of cultural and economic networks. This can be attributed to Mama Brown's attempt to balance the discourse of traditional, cultural and gender ideal of women as spouse and that of social-economic framework as a casual labourer. What is noteworthy, however is that like other respondents Mama Mtoto, Mama Kitaba, Maria, and others, Mama Brown did not mention her husband as a source of income or support in her descriptions of her life in Tanzania.

With regard to contact points*,* Mama Brown described that she socialised and gathered information in both formal and informal avenues. In talking of the latter, Mama Brown

reported that she sourced information from individuals telling stories in the camps (gossip and rumour mongering), from farming initiatives, from informal gatherings at health centres, at informal gatherings during weddings and funerals, from refugees who had sneaked out of the camp to go back to their home countries, from informal gatherings at the food distribution centres following food distribution days, from relationships with members of the local Tanzanian community and visits to homesteads following childbirth. These constituted nine (60%) of the items coded in this category. Further, Mama Brown reported formal avenues, which reflected six (40%) of the items coded. These included faith-based institutions, women leaders who went door to door passing information, formal gatherings at the food distribution point during food distribution days, refugee community leaders, information received from radios and officials from MHA. It is evident that Mama Brown sought and frequented informal sources more than the formal ones. This can be attributed to the high rate of social networks and the fact that they do not require tangible resources such as capital to begin a self-help project, or a portion of food ration, but rather familiar relations. This is evident from her descriptions of what constituted social and cultural networks that she adopted in exile.

11. Mama Janet

Mama Janet was 26 years and came from the DRC. She was a secondary school student back in her country of origin. She was single and arrived in Tanzania in 1999 where she worked as a volunteer at one of the food distribution points. Mama Janet reported to have fled her country of origin because of war and insecurity. With regard to problems encountered in her refugee experience in Tanzania, 13 items were coded in this category of which five (38.46%) were material *problems*. These included decrease in food ration, lack of non-food items and clothing, and inadequate housing. Further Mama Janet reported to have encountered eight (61.53%) in the category of other *problems*, which

included restriction of movement from area of designation, prostitution, drunkenness, insecurity, inadequate assistance from service providers, political and ethnic discrimination, community based problems, camps and gendered problems.

TABLE 4.23: MAMA JANET'S BACKGROUND

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MARITAL STATUS	OCCUPATION IN HOME COUNTRY AND IN COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	CAMP OF RESIDENCE IN TANZANIA
DRC: Languages spoken include French, Lingala and Kiswahili	26	Secondary	Single	Student Food Distribution Centre Volunteer unpaid	Lugufu 1 Congolese Camp

'Problem with food ration': Mama Janet reported to have come 'face to face' with this problem in her work as a volunteer at one of the food distribution points in a camp that hosted refuges from DRC. She said that she had embarked on this job as a contribution to the refugee community. She further described her desire to understand refugee problems more, specifically the basic needs. Mama Janet told of her main responsibilities, which included weighing food rations and distributing them to group leaders who would then sub-divide the ratios according to family units. According to Mama Janet, this system was adopted to ensure that food distribution was efficient and effective. She reported that the group leaders were officials elected by the community, but that however, the system of allocating food rations to group leaders for further distribution to family units posed two major threats. Firstly, group leaders would be tempted to take the food rations meant for others. The second concern was the inaccuracy of subdivision of food rations by group leaders.

Mama Janet reported her concerns about her failure to offer answers as to why food rations had been reduced. It was expected of her to be able to enlighten the community

on what was transpiring with regard to decrease in food rations. The community viewed her as being close to the organisational powers. Working at the food distribution point meant that the service providers trusted Mama Janet to handle the job without altering the rations or stealing food and selling it to the community. Mama Janet reported lack of clarity with regard to reasons as to why food rations were reduced. However, she knew of various schools of thought. She told of discussions she had heard among refugees and aid workers to the effect that the decrease in food ration might have been as a result of the America-Iraq war, which meant that aid was been channelled elsewhere rather than to African refugee camps. Another school of thought, according to Mama Janet, held that the host government and the international community were exhausted with the burden of protection and assistance to refugees, and were sending a message to the refugee community by reducing the food rations. Further, according to Mama Janet, another school of thought asserted that the host government was using the decrease of the food ration as a strategic means of attracting international aid. It was thought that if the host government reduced food rations for refugees and the media highlighted this; Tanzania would get more aid towards the refugee programme. In the end, the host government would benefit from the aid provided. Mama Janet reported that the problem of the decrease in the food ration exacerbated other problems within the refugee communities such as prostitution, wife battering and polygamy.

TABLE 4.24: MAMA JANET INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATIONS

	CATEGORIES				
RESPONDENT	**PROBLEMS** Material Other	**MEANING MAKING** Cause Interpretations	**COPING STRATEGIES** Direct Actions Palliative Modes Combined Direct & Palliative	**SOCIAL CAPITAL** Social Cultural Economic	**CONTACT POINTS** Formal Informal
MAMA JANET	5 (38.46%) 8 (61.53%)	2 (40%) 3 (60%)	14 (77.77%) 4 (22.22%)	9 (50%) 4 (22.22%) 5 (27.77%)	4 (44.44%) 5 (55.55%)
TOTAL	13	5	18	18	9

She reported that women and young girls were compelled to engage in prostitution within the camp in order to make ends meet. According to Mama Janet, prostitution was more prevalent since refugees lacked monetary sources. This situation contributed to another problem where men would trade the limited food rations available for their family in order to have access to mistresses and alcohol. This resulted in wife battering in circumstances where the wife would protest over this behaviour. Polygamy, both formal and informal (where a man moved into a woman's house and cohabitated with her) was also a problem resulting from the decrease in food rations. Single women, widows and women who were not living with male partners/husbands in the camps ended up cohabitating with men in order to secure a source of extra food. Mama Janet's *interpretations* of these experiences suggest that she analyses them within a political and socio-economic framework that enables her to *make meaning* of them for herself and the community she served.

With regard to *social capital*, Mama Janet described 18 networks. In talking of the economic networks that constituted five (27.77%) of these, Mama Janet referred mainly to the informal co-operative groups called 'merry-go-rounds'. Here she described how members of the group benefited from the sale of food rations that they would get from the rest of the members of the group. Further Mama Janet described self-help projects where, together with other women, she would knit pullovers, hats and socks and sell them within the refugee population and at the joint market. In addition, she also weaved baskets, hats and other items for sale. Mama Janet discussed her job as a volunteer in the camp when talking about her economic networks. As reported here, Mama Janet described nine (50%) social networks in Tanzania. She described how she allied herself to a group of nineteen women in the camp and engaged in social activities such as assisting each other in gathering firewood and water, walking in a group to combat

attacks and rape in the forest/bush. She reported that she had met and socialised with her friends from the peer group during the joint market days, at the food distribution centres and at the health centre.

In talking about her cultural networks (four, 22.22%), Mama Janet reported how she, together with members of her group, would visit sick women in hospitals within the camps and take food for them. In addition, they would attend to children whose mothers where sick by providing them with food and cleaning for them. Mama Janet reported of an orphan support project that her group had embarked on. Here they took care of orphans by providing a mother figure in the homestead. Further, chores such as cleaning and feeding were also undertaken and more importantly, the women were available for guidance and security when such needs arose.

Like the majority of previous respondents, Mama Janet employed more direct actions (fourteen, 77.77%) and less palliative modes (four, 22.22%) of the 18 items coded in the category of *coping strategies* in relation to her constant problems in Tanzania. Further she tries to frame her problems within a discourse that permits her to attempt a more direct response, that is, to meet material need. This can further be illustrated by the fact that Mama Janet adopted a sum total of 14 social and economic networks, an equivalent number to the direct actions of coping strategies. This is reflected by the ratio (14:14). The correlation between social and economic networks of *social capital* and direct actions of *coping strategies* is that both are designed to modify problems with one's troubled environment. This is evident from the descriptions offered by Mama Janet in terms of what constituted social and economic networks that she adopted. As reported above Mama Janet employed five palliative modes and adopted five cultural networks, thus reflected by the ratio of (5:5). The significance of the correlation between palliative

modes and cultural networks is reflected in the theory of palliative coping *strategies*. It suggests that these both contribute to adaptation but leave the problems intact. Further this may reflect an inability to directly address the range and diversity of *problems* identified. Moreover this discourse suggests Mama Janet's attachment to a traditional, cultural and gender ideal of women.

With regard to contact points*,* Mama Janet reported that she had congregated with others in both formal and informal venues for socialisation and gathering of information. The formal ones, (four, 44.44%) included information received from radios, officials from MHA and international organisations (WFP, UNHCR), the health information team from the health centres, refugee community leaders and formal gatherings at the food distribution points during food distribution day. Further, Mama Janet reported to have socialised in informal venues (five, 55.55 %), including informal gatherings at food distribution points during food distribution days, at weddings and at funerals, at water wells and during join market days. She had gathered information from new arrivals and from returning refugees who had sneaked out of the camps. It is evident that Mama Janet frequented informal avenues more than formal sources. This can be attributed to the high rate of social networks and the fact that these do not require tangible resources but rather familiar relations. This is clear from her descriptions of what constituted social and cultural networks that she adopted in exile.

12. Mama A

Mama A was 42 years old and came from Rwanda. She was married with five children. She received tertiary education and was a midwife back in her country of origin, a career that she continued in Tanzania when she arrived there in 1994. Mama A reported that she had fled her country of origin due to the political instability and insecurity, which she

says has its foundation in the long-standing historical ethnic hatred among the Tutsi and Hutu groups.

TABLE 4.25: MAMA A'S BACKGROUND

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MARITAL STATUS	OCCUPATION IN HOME COUNTRY AND IN COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	CAMP OF RESIDENCE IN TANZANIA
Rwanda: Languages spoken include French, Kinyrwanda and Kiswahili	42	Tertiary	Married with children	Midwife	Lukole B Rwandan & Burundian Refugees

With regard to problems, Mama A enumerated five (83.33%) material *problems*, including decrease in food ration, lack of non-food items and clothing, inadequate housing, and difficulties financing her children's education and related expenses. She also reported other *problems* including work related problems that consisted of decline in demand for her services in Tanzania as compared to pre-displacement. This was the only statement (one, 16.66%) she offered in explaining problems in the category of other *problems*.

TABLE 4.26: MAMA A INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

	CATEGORIES				
RESPONDENT	**PROBLEMS** Material Other	**MEANING MAKING** Cause Interpretations	**COPING STRATEGIES** Direct Actions Palliative Modes Combined Direct & Palliative	**SOCIAL CAPITAL** Social Cultural Economic	**CONTACT POINTS** Formal Informal
MAMA A	5 (83.33%) 1 (16.66%)	2 (40%) 3 (60%)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)	4 (44.44%) 5 (55.55%)
TOTAL	6	5	1	1	9

'Problems with my career': Mama A attributed problems with her career to two reasons. First was the number of Rwandese refugees dwelling in the camps at the time. (It was estimated by UNHCR/MHA that there were 2,000 Rwandese refugees still in

Tanzania at the time of the interview with Mama A.). Second was the uncertainty regarding the fate of refugees from Rwanda in Tanzania. According to Mama A, these two factors impeded the ability of refugees from Rwanda to make long-term plans such as the decision to have a child. According to Mama A, availability of modern health infrastructure was also a hindrance to her profession as a community based mid-wife. She reported that the majority of Rwandese refugee women opted to have their babies delivered in hospitals. This factor reduced her clientele. According to Mama A, HIV/AIDS was another concern for refugee women. They preferred to access hospitals since they were 'guaranteed' availability of modern sterilising equipment. Further to this, refugee women who opted to deliver in hospitals had access to post natal and pre-natal care and most importantly Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission (PMCT) in the event that the mother was HIV positive at the time of delivery.

Mama A reported that the majority of Rwandese refugee women were not in a position to pay for her services, due to lack of employment, decrease in food ration and fear of forcible repatriation to their country of origin. The latter had been of greater concern to the Rwandese refugee community, who were saving whatever funds they had in case they had to depart Tanzania abruptly. Mama A's explanations of the way she made meaning of her refugee experiences[123] suggest that she analyses them within a political, historical and ethnic framework that enables her to *make meaning* of them for herself.

With regard to *social capital*, unlike other respondents, Mama A only adopted one social network (100%). This was the only network she mentioned during her entire interview. Mama A reported that she would meet with other women in the social venues such as the market, health centres and food distribution day. Here they discussed their fate with

[123] By reference to reasons as to why she fled her country of origin

regard to repatriation. Mama A, in her interview, emphasised that the topic of repatriation had dominated discussions in camps occupied by refugees from Rwanda. Thus, in every corner of the camp, refugees were engaging in small groups discussing the unfolding events and their future as refugees in Tanzania. What is noteworthy is the fact that all the Rwandan refugees in the camps in Ngara district were refugees with special cases, including Mama A. They were refugees who remained in Tanzania following repatriation of other fellow refugees before the Rwanda post-genocide elections. One school of thought viewed refugees with special cases as individuals who were afraid of going back to their country of origin since they were suspected of playing a role in the genocide. They feared repercussions upon arrival in their home country.

Uncertainty regarding what awaited the Rwandese refugees in Tanzania would have played an essential role in shaping Mama A's employment of *coping strategies* and adaptation of *social capital.* Given her doubt about her future in Tanzania, she would have focused on what was important at that point in time, that is, being repatriated.

As mentioned by other respondents, cultural networks were practices that respondents engaged in before displacement. Given the prevailing atmosphere, it seems clear that Mama A did not want to engage in practices/activities that reminded her of her country of origin to which she dreaded returning. This would be one explanation as to why Mama A did not report any cultural networks. Moreover, the uncertainty of the future impeded on Mama A's ability to engage in economic activities. As we have seen with other respondents mentioned above, economic networks revolved around informal co-operative societies, self-help projects, unpaid work as a volunteer, paid employment, and commercial construction of houses and fixing of leaking roofs. From Mama A's stories, it is clear that she was not sure if she was going to be in Tanzania the following day. In

light of this, she opted to live each day at a time and not engage in project(s) of which she might not see the results. For example, if she joined a 'merry go round' scheme and gave out a portion of her food ration, she was not guaranteed to be in Tanzania when it was her turn to receive the total contribution from other members of the co-operative. She was also not sure about the self-help project, since she might knit and weave items of which she might not enjoy the profits. The above can account for the fact that Mama A did not report any economic networks. Further, the fact that Mama A was a refugee in the category of 'special case' may have contributed to the manner in which she responded to questions in the interview. She did not offer much regarding her refugee experiences in Tanzania, apart from her work as a mid-wife. One wonders whether Mama A fits into the grouping described by one of the schools of thought mentioned above, with regard to participating in the genocide.

Mama A employed only one direct action (100%) in relation to her problems in Tanzania. She tries to frame her problems within a discourse that permits her to attempt a more direct response, that is, with direct *coping strategies*. This can be illustrated by the number of social networks that she adopted, an equivalent number to direct actions of *coping strategies,* thus reflected by the ratio of (1:1). The correlation between social networks of *social capital* and direct actions of *coping strategies* is that they are designed to modify problems with one troubled environment. In addition, these actions are adaptive and tend to solve the problem. This is evident from the manner Mama A adopted social networks, in that she needed to keep herself updated with regard to the repatriation issue. Moreover, this discourse suggests her attachment to a traditional, cultural and gender ideal of women as mother and spouse. Furthermore, Mama A did not mention her husband as a source of income or support in her description of her life in Tanzania.

With regard to *contact point*, Mama A reported to have mingled and gathered information in both formal and informal contexts. In describing formal venues Mama A reported that she listened to the radio, officials from MHA, those working for international organisations particularly UNHCR, refugee community leaders and information from faith-based institutions. These constituted four (44.44%) of the formal venues. In talking of informal avenues, she described five (55.55%). These included informal gatherings at the food distribution points during food distribution days, informal gathering at health centres, gatherings at water wells, during market days and general rumour mongering and gossip. It is apparent that Mama A frequented informal avenues more. As reported above, these give rise to social networks. This can be attributed to the fact that social networks do not require tangible resources such as capital to begin a self-help project, or portions of food rations as for a 'merry-go-round', but rather familiar relations.

13. Mama B

Mama B was 39 years old and came from Rwanda. She was married with two children. She received tertiary education and was a primary school teacher back in her country of origin. She was unemployed in Tanzania. Mama B reported that she left her country Rwanda due to war and insecurity. These are the only explanations she gave for fleeing her country in the entire interview.

TABLE 4.27: MAMA B'S BACKGROUND

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MARITAL STATUS	OCCUPATION IN HOME COUNTRY AND IN COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	CAMP OF RESIDENCE IN TANZANIA
Rwanda: Languages spoken include Kinyarwanda French and Kiswahili	39	Tertiary	Married with children	Primary school teacher unemployed	Lukole A Rwandans & Burundian Refugees

With regard to problems, of the seven items coded in the category of *problems* Mama B reported six (85.71%) material *problems*, which included decrease in food ration, lack of non-food items such as cooking utensils, clothing, and inadequate housing and difficulties in financing her children education and other related expenses. She also reported one (14.28%) in the category of other *problems*. Although minimal, this problem was significant since it revolved around fear of forcible repatriation to her country of origin.

TABLE 4.28: MAMA B INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

	CATEGORIES				
RESPONDENT	**PROBLEMS** Material Other	**MEANING MAKING** Cause Interpretations	**COPING STRATEGIES** Direct Actions Palliative Modes Combined Direct & Palliative	**SOCIAL CAPITAL** Social Cultural Economic	**CONTACT POINTS** Formal Informal
MAMA B	6 (85.71%) 1 (14.28%)	2 (40%) 3 (60%)	4 (100%)	4 (100%)	6 (54.54%) 5 (45.45%)
TOTAL	7	5	4	4	11

'Fear of forcible repatriation': Mama B reported that if repatriation took place, it would be forced, since she was not willing to return to her country of origin. Mama B did not give information on the length of time she had been in Tanzania. This may be attributed to the fact that she belonged to the category of refugees from Rwanda (refugees with 'special cases') who opted to remain in Tanzania after the majority of their compatriots went back. In her narration of her refugee experiences, Mama B gave general accounts and comments and appeared cautious about the way she presented her experiences in exile. What is noteworthy is how Mama B avoided talking about herself and her family or about issues that would reveal her identity or give links to her past. Mama B reported that she remained in Tanzania because of what she referred to as 'special cases'. This was similar to Mama A's account of her situation, described above. What is noteworthy is

that although Mama B referred to herself a special case, she declined to comment further on this. In the same way, she avoided commenting on issues relating to her refugee experience, particularly those around her ethnicity. This too formed a comparable pattern to that of her counterpart Mama A.

Mama B focused the problem of her refugee experience around her fear of being repatriated to her country of origin. Mama B's fear of being repatriated is associated with immense psychological and emotional dimensions. Mama B was not sure of her immediate future in Tanzania, and so lived and planed for one day at a time.

It is clear from the way Mama B responded to the questions in the interview that she did not wish to offer much information on her life pre and post displacement although, interestingly, she was able to give causes for her displacement. This could be because of the general nature of the answers to this particular question. She reported that she left her country due to war and insecurity, which would be 'convenient answers' in terms of referring to a war-torn situation in any country. These insights do not provide concrete details that would link Mama B with her real identity. Mama B's explanations of the way she made meaning of her refugee experiences suggest that she analysed them within a political, historical and ethnic framework that enabled her to *make meaning* of them for herself, a similar notion to that of another respondent from Rwanda, namely Mama A.

With regard to *social capital*, Mama B adopted four (100% of the total number) social networks in Tanzania. These were the only networks that she reported in her entire interview. Mama B commented that she would meet with refugee women at the health centres and water wells where women gathered for their washing following food-distributing day. Here Mama B reported that she sought to listen to information with

regard to the repatriation proposal. The fact that the Tanzanian government had announced that refugees from Rwanda should go back and vote, since Rwanda was safe, acted as a catalyst within the repatriation process. Thus, Mama B was fully aware that these directives could be executed at any time, any moment. Mama B reported that she also frequented other social places such as markets during market days and the food distribution centres where a larger crowd from the entire refugee population, including men and women, would gather. Here according to Mama B, she was likely to gather more up-to-date versions of information relating to the repatriation situation since certain people owned radios. There one was likely to get information with regard to events unfolding in Rwanda and the position of the host government on various issues including the repatriation exercise.

Mama B did not report about cultural and economic networks adopted in Tanzania. As with another respondent from Rwanda, Mama A, this can be attributed to the fact that Mama B lived for today and not tomorrow. She engaged in short-term plans for her life as a refugee in Tanzania and did not see a necessity for engaging in economic networks that would probably yield fruit after she had left Tanzania. What is interesting to note is that although the economic networks formed within the informal co-operative groups, the 'merry-go-rounds' and the self-help groups did not take a long period to mature, it is apparent that Mama B was not going to take the chance of engaging herself in the informal co-operative societies, given the uncertainty of her stay as a refugee in Tanzania. Furthermore, she did not wish to engage in cultural networks that were likely to remind her of her life in Rwanda, a place she dreaded returning to.

With regard to *coping strategies,* Mama B employed four direct actions (100%) and no palliative modes in coping with her refugee situation in Tanzania. It is interesting to note

that Mama B employed direct actions despite the constant psychological and emotional dimension to her main problem of fear of repatriation. Despite her experience, she manages to frame her problems within a discourse that permits her to attempt a more direct response, that is, with direct *coping strategies*. This can further be illustrated by the fact that Mama B also adopted four social networks, an equivalent number as direct actions of *coping strategies*. This is reflected by the ratio (4:4). The significance of the correlation between social networks of *social capital* and direct actions of *coping strategies* is that both are designed to modify problems with one's troubled environment as illustrated by what constituted Mama B's social networks. What is noteworthy is that Mama B like Mama A did not mention her husband as a source of income or support in her description of her life in Tanzania.

With regard to contact points, like the majority of respondents mentioned above, Mama B described that she frequented both formal and informal avenues. In talking about the informal avenues, Mama B described that she gathered information and congregated within informal gatherings at the health centres, at food distribution points during food distribution days, from gatherings at water wells, and during market days. These constituted six (54.54%) of the items coded in this category. In talking about formal avenues (five, 45.45%) Mama B described that she gathered information from radios, officials working with MHA and for NGOs, refugee community leaders, aid workers working for international organisations such as UNHCR and WFP and faith-based organisations. Further, Mama B frequented informal avenues more than formal sources. This can be attributed to the fact that she only reported social networks, which do not require tangible resources such as capital to begin a self-help project, or a portion of the food ration but rather familiar relations.

14. Mama Lydia

Mama Lydia was 20 years old and came from the DRC. She received primary education in her country of origin and was married with four children. She arrived in Tanzania in 2000. She was unemployed in her country of origin and remained unemployed in Tanzania. Mama Lydia reported to have left her country due to war, political and ethnic discrimination and insecurity. Of the problems encountered in Tanzania, Mama Lydia reported five (62.5%) material *problems*, including lack of sufficient food due to the decrease in food rations, lack of non-food items, and inadequate housing and clothing. In addition, she reported three (37.5%) other *problems*, including illness due to the malaria outbreak, lack of malaria prevention devices such as mosquito nets, restriction of movement from the designated area of residence and leaking houses.

TABLE 4.29: MAMA LYDIA'S BACKGROUND

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MARITAL STATUS	OCCUPATION IN HOME COUNTRY AND IN COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	CAMP OF RESIDENCE IN TANZANIA
DRC: Languages spoken include Lingala and Kiswahili	20	Primary	Married, with no children	Unemployed	Lugufu 2 Congolese Refugees

Sickness in exile': In her account of her problems in Tanzania, Mama Lydia reported her sufferings when she was diagnosed with malaria. She described the difficulties she encountered when attempting to focus on her daily role of household chores and take care of her family while she was ill. According to Mama Lydia, despite her illness, she was still expected to undertake her daily responsibilities, from fetching water and firewood to cleaning and standing in long queues for food rations. **'**Mama Lydia's description of the problems and difficulties as a refugee woman confirms the accounts of another respondent, Nusura, who stated that indeed it is the woman who is in charge of the situation in exile.

With regard to *social capital*, Mama Lydia reported that when a group of women learned about her sickness, they took over her household responsibilities until she recovered. These women fetched firewood and water and undertook other household chores such as cleaning, cooking and feeding her children. Mama Lydia reported of the great wealth of social networks, cooperation and assistance embedded within the group.

TABLE 4.30: MAMA LYDIA INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

	CATEGORIES				
RESPONDENT	**PROBLEMS** Material Other	**MEANING MAKING** Cause Interpretations	**COPING STRATEGIES** Direct Actions Palliative Modes Combined Direct & Palliative	**SOCIAL CAPITAL** Social Cultural Economic	**CONTACT POINTS** Formal Informal
MAMA LYDIA	5 (62.5%) 3 (37.5%)	2 (66.66%) 4 (33.33)	9 (69.23%) 4 (30.76%)	5 (41.66%) 4 (33.33%) 3 (25%)	4 (50%) 4 (50%)
TOTAL	8	6	13	12	8

These statements reflected five (41.66%) of the social networks Mama Lydia reported to have adopted while in Tanzania. She mentioned that in addition to assisting in times of need such as sickness, the women joined in construction of mud houses and thatching of leaking roofs for fellow women refugees who had no male support. This category included widows and women whose husbands had gone to fight or joined rebel groups, or had become separated from their families during flight. Mama Lydia added that the women's group also constructed houses and thatched roofs to other members of the refugee population at a fee. This ensured them a source of income. In addition to the above economic networks (three, 25%) Mama Lydia described a self-help project. Together with friends from the peer group, she would knit pullovers, socks and hats, and stitch clothes, and then sell them during the joint market day and within the refugee population. Mama Lydia reported that members of her group would sell a cup of flour from their food ration in order to purchase the wool needed for the project.

Further to this, according to Mama Lydia, this group of women initiated a project to take care of orphans, in most cases children whose parents had died while in the refugee camps. The programme consisted of providing meals and taking care of chores such as washing clothes. Mama Lydia reported that this group of women also provided basic education to orphans. This ensured that refugee children were provided with primary socialisation despite absence of primary socialisation agents such as families and schools. Mama Lydia highlighted that women would have undertaken these activities in their country of origin. Thus, they were transferring their cultural role of mothers and caregivers from country of origin to country of exile. These statements denoted four (33.33%) of the cultural networks that Mama Lydia adopted while in Tanzania. In addition, Mama Lydia described how she and her women friends from the peer group visited disabled persons within the refugee population and fetched water and firewood for them. They would also take turns in cooking and cleaning for the disabled.

With regard to *coping strategies*, of the 12 items coded in this category, Mama Lydia employed more direct actions (nine, 69.23%) and less palliative (four, 30.76%) towards her problems in Tanzania. One wonders, whether or not her explanations, including practical life challenges of everyday life as well as challenges to her self–understanding as a woman Congolese refugee in Tanzania, reflect another dimension of her coping. Moreover, she tries to frame her problems within a discourse that permits her to attempt a more direct response that is with direct *coping strategies*. This can be illustrated by the fact that Mama Lydia adopted a sum nine social and economic networks. These networks are characterised by the aim to amend problems with one's distressed environment in the same way as direct actions of *coping strategies* thus reflecting a ratio of (9:9). On the other hand, the significance between the correlation of palliative *coping strategies* and cultural

networks of *social capital* reflected by the ratio (4:4) may reflect an inability to directly address the range and diversity of *problems* identified given Mama Lydia's illness. Moreover, this discourse suggests her attachment to a traditional, cultural and gender ideal of a woman and as a spouse. Mama Lydia, like other respondents Maria, Mama Mtoto, Mama Yellow and Nusura, did not mention her husband as a source of income or support during this time of difficulty or in the description of her life in Tanzania.

With regard to contact points, Mama Lydia reported that she had attended and gathered her information from both formal and informal venues. The latter included visiting refugees from neighbouring camps, during joint market days, funerals and informal gatherings at the health centres. These constituted four (50%) of the items coded in this category. In talking about the formal avenues, Mama Lydia reported four (50%). These included information received from radios, tracing facilities (an initiative of the ICRC), faith-based institutions, and officials working for international organisations (UNHCR, WFP). Mama Lydia's attempt to reach a state of equilibrium, given her sickness and her role as a mother, can account for the equal frequency between formal and informal sources reported above.

15. Mama Riziki

Mama Riziki was 32 years old and came from DRC. She was married with three children. She received secondary education and worked as an adult literacy teacher for seven years in her country of origin. She arrived in Tanzania in 1997, where she worked as a volunteer at a food distribution point. Mama Riziki reported to have fled her country of origin due to insecurity, war and political and ethnic discrimination.

With regard to the 12 items coded in the category of problems, Mama Riziki reported having encountered four (33.33%) material *problems*, including lack of sufficient food due

to decrease in food ration, difficulties in financing her children's education and related expenses, inadequate housing and lack of non-food items like cooking pots and clothing.

TABLE 4.31: MAMA RIZIKI'S BACKGROUND

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MARITAL STATUS	OCCUPATION IN HOME COUNTRY AND IN COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	CAMP OF RESIDENCE IN TANZANIA
DRC:Languages spoken include Lingala and Kiswahili	20	Secondary	Married with 3 children	Unemployed	Lugufu 1 Congolese Refugees

Further, Mama Riziki enumerated eight other *problems* (66.66%). These were rumour mongering in the camps, nationality, restriction of movement from the designated area of residence, inadequate assistance from service providers, gender related problems and lack of ready market for women self-help projects.

TABLE 4.32: MAMA RIZIKI INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

	CATEGORIES				
RESPONDENT	**PROBLEMS** Material Other	**MEANING MAKING** Cause Interpretations	**COPING STRATEGIES** Direct Actions Palliative Modes Combined Direct & Palliative	**SOCIAL CAPITAL** Social Cultural Economic	**CONTACT POINTS** Formal Informal
MAMA RIZIKI	4 (33.33%) 8 (66.66%)	4 (51.14%) 3 (42.85%)	6 (66.66%) 3 (33.33%)	3 (33.33%) 3 (33.33%) 3 (33.33%)	6 (66.66%) 3 (33.33%)
TOTAL	12	7	9	9	9

'You must sieve information': Mama Riziki reported that it was necessary to respond cautiously to any information coming from the refugee community. She commented that a lot of information flowing within the camps contained aspects of truth, speculations and rumours. Mama Riziki said that she had encountered problems with the negative flow of information. At one point, she received news that refugees would be forcibly

repatriated to their home countries. Reasons provided (informally) for the supposed repatriation included claims that peace talks back in their countries of origin had materialised; hence, refugees were required to go back home. What was more worrying, however, according to Mama Riziki, was that the rumours asserted that refugees would not be allowed to carry with them to their country of origin anything they had acquired in exile. For example, refugees were not to take such items as bicycles and radios. They were to leave all this behind. Subsequently, following the 'informal' speculations of repatriation, there were media reports that violence had emerged in Bunia region, Eastern side of the DRC. Mama Riziki reported that she was shocked and confused as to how UNHCR and the Tanzanian government would repatriate refugees back to the DRC under the circumstances of conflict in Bunia region. Eventually, it turned out that these were just rumours.

From then, Mama Riziki explained, she had become very cautious about who provided information, why, where and to whom. Her opinion was that due to the high rate of unemployment, compounded with other challenges of everyday life, refugees found themselves idle and ended up engaging in all sorts of behaviours including rumour mongering. Further, Mama Riziki reported that refugees relied on word of mouth as a channel of communication, a source likely to be characterised by distortion of information. Mama Riziki reported that information, both informal and formal, usually came from various sources. First, she observed that radios were a symbol of status. Only a few elite members of the refugee community possessed radios, including the village chairman and other refugee leaders. Other formal sources of information included officials working with social providers, for example various NGOs including health workers. In the event that they had to convey a particular message, the latter would use a mechanism referred to as the Health Information Team (HIT). Other formal sources

included meetings between service providers and refugee leaders. In these instances, service providers would convey a message to the refugee leaders who would further relay the information to the refugee population.

As far as informal sources were concerned, Mama Riziki emphasised that these constituted venues where refugees gathered for the purposes of accessing social services. For example, these included food distribution day, market day, and the health centre and water wells. Mama Riziki reported that it was at the informal meeting points that one had to be careful of the kind of information and its source. She added that refugees would leave the designated area of residence without permission, 'to check out the situation' in their country of origin, and then return to the camp. These refugees would bring all sorts of information. According to Mama Riziki, it was important to sieve the information to determine whether it was reliable or not.

Newly arrived refugees in reception areas also brought information from their home countries. According to Mama Riziki, depending on the length of time they spent at the reception centres awaiting allocation of plots in camps (at times it would take periods up to three months), they would bear witness to the latest happenings in their country of origin. Once allocated plots, the 'newly arrived' gave various versions of stories with regard to the situation in the country of origin. Mama Riziki was of the opinion that depending on the duration of time the 'newly arrived' had spent at the reception centre(s) and the time frame it took them to arrive at the camps, the information was no longer news but history. Events would have changed since the departure of the refugees from their respective home countries.

What is noteworthy with regard to *social capital* that Mama Riziki adopted while in Tanzania is that she highlighted negative aspects of social capital within the refugee population. This can be linked to her talk with regard to rumours circulating within the camps and the need to be cautious with regard to the conveyor of the information and where and what was conveyed. Of the nine items coded in the category of social capital, Mama Riziki adopted three (33.33%) social, three (33.33%) cultural and three (33.33%) economic networks respectively. In her descriptions with regard to the negative aspects of *social capital*, Mama Riziki emphasised that she had to be careful since a lot of gossip prevailed within the networks. She reported for instance, with regard to cultural networks, that there existed a lot of distortion of information. Here she reported that refugee women would gather at a homestead following death, childbirth or weddings, as they would have done in their country of origin. However, in the camps, Mama Riziki reported, rumours were very common. For example, when there was a newborn infant, it was common to hear negative information about the baby. People would spread rumours that the baby was disfigured even though it was highly likely that the people providing the information had not seen the baby and even worse may not even have been to the homestead of the newborn child. Another example was that regarding weddings. Here gossip would prevail that the new bride hailed from a clan that practiced witchcraft back in the country of origin. At funerals, the common gossip was that the deceased had died from HIV/AIDS and had left a list of people he/she had previously had sexual relationships with and thus infected with the AIDS virus.

With regard to economic networks, Mama Riziki reported that women would at times not provide their proportion of food ration as required when it came to their turn. Further, with regard to self-help project, women would knit pullovers and sew clothes and later sell them and pocket the group money or use money meant for the group for

their own benefit. Mama Riziki described the social networks as being the most notorious. This she attributed to the volume of people who frequented the 'meeting' venues. For instance, during food distribution and market days, refugees from various camps would meet. A lot of discussion, interaction and passing of information would take place, some of which were rumours. These included discussions revolving around who engaged in wife battering, polygamy and prostitution.

With regard to *coping strategies*, of the nine items coded in this category Mama Riziki sustained more direct actions (six, 66.66%) and less palliative modes (three, 33.33%). In addition, she tries to frame her problems within a discourse that permits her to attempt a more direct response, that is, with direct *coping strategies*. This is reflected in the ratio 6:6, whereby she adopted a sum six social and economic networks, an equivalent number to the direct actions of *coping strategies* she employed. The significance of the correlation between direct actions and social and economic networks is that they attempt to adopt some form of actions that immediately resolve the problem and they tend to be adaptive. On the other hand, Mama Riziki employed three palliative modes and three cultural networks reflecting a ratio of (3:3). The theory of palliative *coping strategies* suggests that palliative *coping strategies* contribute to adaptation but leave the problems intact, in contrast to direct actions, which are adaptive and bring about some change in the problem. The correlation of palliative *coping strategies* and cultural networks of social capital further illustrate this. This seems true of Mama Riziki, as revealed through this analysis of her stories. Perhaps it is noteworthy to highlight that Mama Riziki resorted to adopting comparable numbers of social, cultural and economic networks given the immense frequency of *interpretations* she made in Tanzania. Moreover, this discourse suggests her attachment to a traditional, cultural and gender ideal of women as mother and spouse.

Similar to a number of other respondents in this research, Mama Riziki did not mention her husband as a source of income or support in her description of her life in Tanzania.

With regard to contact points, Mama Riziki described that she frequented both formal and informal venues. She reported to have gathered information from both formal (nine, 50%) and informal sources (nine, 50%). The former included information received from radios, faith-based institutions and tracing facilities, an initiative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). The latter included new arrivals, visiting refugees from neighbouring camps, joint market days, and informal gatherings at water wells, funerals and health centres. Mama Riziki relied equally on both informal and formal avenues. This can be attributed to the proportionate distribution of how she adopted to social capital in Tanzania, given that social, economic and cultural networks all constituted three (33.33%) respectively. Further, the above would have acted as a safety net given the way Mama Riziki places emphasis on handling information cautiously.

16. Mama Yellow 2

Mama Yellow 2 was 33 years old and came from DRC. She was married and had three children. She received tertiary education and worked as a nurse in her country of origin. She arrived in Tanzania in 1996 where she worked as a leader at one of the food distribution points. She reported that she left her country of origin because of war.

TABLE 4.33: MAMA YELLOW 2'S BACKGROUND

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MARITAL STATUS	OCCUPATION IN HOME COUNTRY AND IN COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	CAMP OF RESIDENCE IN TANZANIA
DRC: Languages spoken include French, Lingala and Kiswahili	32	Tertiary	Married with children	Adult literacy teacher Volunteer Food Distribution Centre (unpaid)	Lugufu 1 Congolese Refugees

With regard to problems encountered in Tanzania, of the 14 items coded in this category, Mama Yellow 2 reported four (28.57% of the total number) as material *problems*. These included a decrease in food rations, inadequate housing and clothing and lack of non-food items such as blankets and cooking utensils. In addition, she reported other *problems* (ten, 71.42%), which included restrictions of movement from the designated area of residence, lack of money, inadequate assistance from service providers, gender related problems, war, difficult living conditions in camps, insecurity, lack of ready markets for women's self-help projects, risk of contracting HIV/AIDS, STDs and unwanted pregnancies, home, family and work related problems. The latter were associated with her being unemployed in Tanzania despite her qualification.

TABLE 4.34: MAMA YELLOW 2 INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

	CATEGORIES				
RESPONDENT	**PROBLEMS** Material Other	**MEANING MAKING** Cause Interpretations	**COPING STRATEGIES** Direct Actions Palliative Modes Combined Direct & Palliative	**SOCIAL CAPITAL** Social Cultural Economic	**CONTACT POINTS** Formal Informal
MAMA YELLOW 2	4 (28.57%) 10 (71.42%)	1 (33.33%) 2 (66.66%)	5 (55.55%) 4 (44.44%)	3 (33.33%) 4 (44.44%) 2 (22.22%)	3 (33.33%) 6 (66.66%)
TOTAL	14	3	9	9	9

'I am qualified and unemployed': Mama Yellow 2 reported that she was a nurse in her home country, a profession in which she had been engaged for a long period. Following displacement, she fled her country of origin and did not carry with her any documentation or proof of her qualification and career. Thus, it was difficult to get a job as a nurse in Tanzania. Mama Yellow 2 reported frustrations related to the lack of opportunity to continue with her professional life. Despite the fact that the hospitals within camps did not have adequate staff, Mama Yellow 2 reported that she could not be

employed even though there were long queues and refugees had to wait for long hours before they would be attended to because the hospitals lacked sufficient capacity to deal with the prevailing situation. In addition, there was the issue of language barrier. Some refugees could not speak French or English, but just their native language, and thus it was difficult for the patient and doctor to communicate. Although some interpreters from the refugee community would volunteer to interpret, this not only violated the patient's privacy but also discouraged the patient from being open about his/her problem, more so if the problem(s) was marital or sexual. Mama Yellow 2 reported that she stood a good chance to bridge this gap, since she was a trained nurse and spoke the native language of the refugee population, a factor that would have motivated her employment in Tanzania.

Mama Yellow 2 reported that she was working at one of the food distribution centres in the camp as a volunteer. She expressed that she felt frustrated, since she was ready to volunteer as a nurse at the hospital in order to make use of her skills. Mama Yellow 2 reported that another compelling factor with regard to refugees not getting employment was that refugees were perceived as helpless people, who could not do anything for themselves and depended on handouts. Mama Yellow 2 asserted that to the contrary, some refugees brought with them skills that would have been useful to the host communities. Some of them were doctors, nurses, teachers, carpenters, plumbers and tailors back in their home countries. Thus, according to Mama Yellow 2, there was a need to make use of their skills. This factor, she added, would go a long way in facilitating employment for refugees.

With regard to the nine items coded in the category of *social capital*, Mama Yellow 2 reported to have adopted two (22.22%) economic networks. These included joining a

'merry go round' initiative where she would benefit from women providing her with their food ration which she would sell or trade within the refugee population and at the joint market. She reported that women organised themselves in groups of up to twenty-one members. They put together oil rations, each contributing a small portion of oil to the amount of one medium cup. They then gave this portion to one member who sold this commodity in the market for up to TShs 3,300 (USD 3.3 at the time of the data collection). They were then able to buy a dress for themselves or provide their families with items not distributed by service providers. The same would be the case with the next member of the group during the next distribution. These were the only statements Mama Yellow 2 gave with regard to the economic networks she adopted while in Tanzania. This can be attributed to the fact that Mama Yellow 2 was disappointed with the employment system in the refugee camps. As a qualified and experienced nurse, she would not *make meaning* of why she would not get a job in the camp, given that there was demand for her job, furthermore voluntary work seemed to be a hitch.

Thus, Mama Yellow 2 was frustrated and seemed to view her qualification as wasted since she was not in a position to make use of her skills. In return, she seemed to react by adopting/identifying less economic networks given that she could get what she desired.

Mama Yellow 2 spoke of her meetings with the friends from the 'merry go round'. These were usually women from her camp, who also met at the water wells following food distribution day, at the health centre, during joint market days and at the food distribution centres. In addition to meeting with women from the refugee population, Mama Yellow 2 reported that she met with other women from the local Tanzanian community, mostly during joint market days and at the health centres. Members of the local Tanzania community had access to the health facilities that were available to the

refugee community. Here Mama Yellow 2 described how she would interact with fellow women and share difficulties and challenges as refugees and as women. In addition, according to Mama Yellow 2, it was a good opportunity to learn what was new and what was happening within the camps. These aspects constituted three (33.33%) of the social networks reported.

Of the four (44.44%) cultural networks that Mama Yellow 2 reported, she highlighted her engagement with members of her 'merry go round' group where she would engage in practices that she was used to in her country of origin. Mama Yellow 2 said that if she were back in her country of origin, she would still engage in these practices. These included participating in events such as funerals, childbirths and weddings. Mama Yellows 2 described how together with her friends they fetched firewood and water for the homestead where one of the above was happening. Further to this, they sang traditional songs and contributed some food from their food ration to assist in feeding those who were mourning or guests at weddings or those who had gathered at a homestead where a baby had been born. Mama Yellow 2 reported that due to inadequate resources in the camps, they contributed what they had and assisted where they would.

With regard to *coping strategies* Mama Yellow 2 sustained direct actions, (five, 55.55%) of the reported nine items, and (four, 44.44%) palliative modes concerning her *problems* in Tanzania. Furthermore she tries to frame her problems within a discourse that permits her to attempt a more direct response, that is, to meet material need. This can be illustrated by the fact that Mama Yellow 2 adopted a sum five social and economic networks. The significance of the correlation between the social and economic networks of *social capital* and direct actions of *coping strategies*, reflected by the ratio of (5:5) is that there are designed to modify problems within one's troubled environment. Conversely,

the significance between the correlation of palliative *coping strategies* and cultural networks of *social capital*, reflected here by the ratio (4:4) may reflect, on the one hand, an inability to directly address the range and diversity of *problems* identified, given the lack of employment, but also the cultural and interpretative schema Mama Yellow 2 utilises to *make meaning* of her experiences as a mother. Her explanation of the way she made meaning of her refugee experiences suggests that she analysed them within a cultural and social-economic framework that enabled her to *make meaning* of them for herself. Mama Yellow 2 did not mention her husband as a source of income or support in her description of her life in Tanzania.

With regard to contact points, Mama Yellow 2 described that she frequented both formal and informal avenues, amounting to three (33.33%) and six (66.66%). In talking about the former, Mama Yellow 2 reported that she socialised with and gathered information from officials working for international organisations such as WFP and UNHCR, faith-based institutions and refugee community leaders. Mama Yellow 2 further reported that she had gathered information from new arrivals, during informal gatherings at funerals and weddings and following the birth of children, through relationships with members of the local Tanzanian community and at informal gatherings at food distribution points during food distribution days. Mama Yellow 2's high occurrence of informal sources can be attributed to the higher rate of adopting social (three, 33.33%) and cultural networks (four, 44.44%) given her frustrations and disappointment with regard to securing a job in Tanzania, which would fall under economic network.

17. Mama Masoka

Mama Masoka was 47 years old and came from the DRC. She received primary school education and was a farmer and businesswoman in her country of origin. She was a widow with eight children. She arrived in Tanzania in 1996, where she was unemployed.

TABLE 4.35: MAMA MASOKA'S BACKGROUND

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN	*Age*	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MARITAL STATUS	OCCUPATION IN HOME COUNTRY AND IN COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	CAMP OF RESIDENCE IN TANZANIA
DRC: Languages spoken include Lingala and Kiswahili	47	Primary	Widow with children	Farmer and Businesswoman Unemployed	Lugufu 1 Congolese Refugees

With regard to the 22 items coded in the category of problems, Mama Masoka enumerated five (22.72%) material *problems*. These included decrease in food ration, inadequate housing, difficulties in financing her children's education and related expenses, lack of clothing and non-food items such as cooking utensils and blankets.

Subsequently, Mama Masoka enumerated other *problems* (17, 77.27% of the total number) which included emotional and psychological problems, related to nationality, insecurity, shift in gender roles, sexual harassment, work related and labour exploitation, home and family related, rumour-mongering, lack of ready markets for women self-help projects, war, gender related, restriction of movement from designated area of residence, money issues, inadequate assistance from service providers, insecurity and conditions at camps.

'My problems as a refugee widow': As a refugee widow in the camps, Mama Masoka reported that in the majority of times, women are recognised by their husband's status, and discriminated against in the absence of male partner. She recalled that before her husband's death, and before displacement, she had enjoyed respect and recognition within the society.

TABLE 4.36: MAMA MASOKA INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

	CATEGORIES				
RESPONDENT	**PROBLEMS** Material Other	**MEANING MAKING** Cause Interpretations	**COPING STRATEGIES** Direct Actions Palliative Modes Combined Direct & Palliative	**SOCIAL CAPITAL** Social Cultural Economic	**CONTACT POINTS** Formal Informal
MAMA MASOKA	5 (22.72%) 17 (77.27%)	2 (40%) 3 (60%)	12 (70.58%) 5 (29.41%)	6 (35.29%) 5 (29.41%) 6 (35.29%)	8 (50%) 8 (50%)
TOTAL	22	5	17	17	16

However, following her husband's death, she encountered discrimination, lack of recognition and particular difficulties with regard to the change in gender roles. In talking about the latter, she communicated that she had taken on new responsibilities. The responsibility of taking care of the household now rested with her as the new head of household. She said that she found this challenging since some tasks required money, which she lacked since she remained unemployed. Further, she reported that other tasks were more associated with the male gender, such as the construction of houses and pit latrines and provision of physical security to the household unit.

With regard to problems revolving around discrimination, Mama Masoka reported that married refugee women in the camps viewed her as a threat. It has been reported above by other respondents that a number of problems and difficulties in the life of refugees in the camps contributed to prostitution, polygamy and wife battering. Thus, Mama Masoka as a widow was at a disadvantaged position. Her fellow refugee women thought she would be interested in their husbands in order to supplement the food rations and gain the presence of a male companion for manual work such as construction of houses and digging of pit latrines. Mama Masoka reported that she was very disappointed with these views and they made her feel frustrated. She reported that this affected her relationship with other refugee women in the camps. She explained that it was particularly difficult

for a woman who had constrained relationships with her fellow women, since the contact was so essential in coping with the life in the camps. She reported that women met at the water wells, in markets, at health centres and when they went to gather firewood in groups, thus, according to Mama Masoka, it became very difficult to be in the company of other women who had negative thoughts about her.

With regard to lack of recognition, Mama Masoka reported that she encountered what she termed as disrespectful advances from men. She reported that men made sexual advances towards her, and at some point would ask her outright to engage in sexual relationships with them. In instances where she sought assistance from a male refugee, the man would only be willing to assist her if she was ready to offer sexual favours in return. Mama Masoka reported that she never at any point in time experienced this when her husband was alive. She reported that men had viewed her as a married woman and they accorded her due respect. However, when men learned she was a widow, she was in her words treated like a 'prostitute'.

With regard to *social capital,* of the 17 items coded in this category, Mama Masoka adopted six (35.29%) social networks. Here she described how she tried her best to constantly engage with other refugee women, thus ensuring that her presence was felt at all social gatherings. She reported that she would frequent the health centre despite the fact that she was not seeking for health care. Other venues that she frequented included market places and food distribution points. According to Mama Masoka, this was some form of damage control and a measure to ensure that she interacted with her fellow refugee women in order to cast off any thoughts with regard to her being a husband snatcher. Mama Masoka reported that she experienced relief when her fellow refugee women warmed up to her at the social gatherings. Furthermore, this was solidified by the

fact that she would join them as they went in a group to fetch firewood for one of them in turns. Mama Masoka described that at one point, the women gathered firewood for her, and that she then knew that all was well and that the thoughts of the husband snatcher were slowly fading away.

In talking about cultural networks, which comprised five, (29.421%), Mama Masoka reported that she joined other women in participating in various events, such as when death occurred in the camps, when a new child was born and when there was a wedding. She reported that she contributed a cup of flour that went to the homestead where one of the above was happening. In addition, she reported that she would participate in gathering firewood for the above events as well as participating in the singing of traditional songs in line with the requirements of the above events.

With regard to the economic networks (six, 35.29%) Mama Masoka emphasised that her approach was still the same. She claimed to have been very active when it came to commercial construction of houses and fixing of leaking roofs. In these instances, Mama Masoka had a chance to demonstrate clearly that she was in a position to do the manual jobs for herself despite the absence of a husband or male partner. Mama Masoka reported that in this event, she was extra active and her strategy was successful in winning back trust among the refugee women. Mama Masoka reported that she gave her fellow refugee women the impression that she would actually do these male oriented jobs by herself. She did not need to snatch anybody's man to assist her this kind of work.

In this way, Mama Masoka was killing two birds with one stone. First, she was working towards winning the trust of her fellow refugee women and winning back her reputation. Secondly, she was trying to make ends meets, particularly within the economic networks

which were based more on income generating activities. Further to this, Mama Masoka reported of informal co-operative societies, popularly referred to as the 'merry go round' within the refugee population. In these, members contributed food rations towards an initiative of assisting one another. The designated individual would sell or trade the food ration for commodities that she did not have. Moreover, the 'merry go round' facilitated change in the life of refugee women in that they were then in a position to get clothes and other non-food items for themselves and their families, thus bringing back the sense of belonging and self-esteem that had been ruptured by displacement.

Mama Masoka sustained more direct actions (twelve, 70.58% of the total number) and less palliative (five, 29.41%) *coping strategies* in relation to her constant problems in Tanzania. Despite her experience, she managed to frame her problems within a discourse that permits her to attempt a more direct response, that is, with direct *coping strategies*. Furthermore, this can be exemplified by the pattern Mama Masoka formed with regard to the number of social and economic networks adopted (total of 12), an equivalent number to direct actions, thus reflecting a ratio of (12:12). The significance of the correlation between direct actions of *coping strategies* and social and economic networks of *social capital* is that they are both adaptive and seek to modify the problem with one's distressed environment. One of the major factors that compelled Mama Masoka not to be complacent with her current situation and to take charge of the situation was the fact she had come into terms of being alone without male support, in the same way as another respondent above, Mama Green. The employment of palliative *coping strategies* may perhaps be interpreted as reflecting the inability to directly address the range and diversity of *problems* identified, given the fact that she was a widow. In addition, as reported above, Mama Masoka adopted five cultural networks and five palliative modes, thus reflecting a ratio of (5:5). The theory described above suggests that palliative *coping*

strategies contribute to adaptation but leave the problems intact. Mama Masoka's *interpretations* of causes of these experiences suggest that she analysed them within a cultural and social-economic framework through which she 'made meaning' for herself. Moreover, this discourse suggests her attachment to a traditional, cultural and gender ideal of women and mother.

With regard to contact points, Mama Masoka reported to have frequented both formal and informal meeting places. She reported of a recurrence of eight (50%) of the respective avenues. In talking about the formal circumstances, Mama Masoka reported to have gathered information from radios, officials who worked for international organisations (UNHCR, WFP), MHA officials, faith-based institutions, women leaders who went door to door providing information, from health information team working for the health centres, from refugee community leaders, and from formal gatherings at the food distribution points during food distribution days. Informal avenues, as reported by Mama Masoka, included information from new arrivals, attendance at weddings and informal gatherings at funerals, informal gatherings at health centres and, during joint market days, relationships with members of the local Tanzanian community, informal gatherings at water wells and also at food distribution points during food distribution days. The equal frequency of formal and informal avenues can be attributed to the equal number of social and economic networks providing a means for Mama Masoka to reach a state of equilibrium in her role as a mother and head of household.

In the following chapter a summary of the major findings and a comparison of them along dimensions of particular interest to this study is presented. The synthesis of all the experiences and coping strategies is also contextualised to identity the contribution refugee women make to overall development in the host country.

CHAPTER FIVE
DATA ANALYSIS – SOCIAL CAPITAL AND COPING STRATEGIES

Although chapter four has presented description and interpretation of the case studies, this chapter focuses specifically on the overall analysis of the data and draws out major findings that pull together the case studies.

Yin (1989) asserts that analysing qualitative data is about examining, categorising, tabulating and recombining the empirical evidence to address the initial propositions of the study. Eskola and Suoranta (1998) point out that the purpose of analysing qualitative material is to make the material clearer and more distinct, without losing the scope of information that it includes. According to Stake (1995), analysing case material is about giving meanings to the first impressions of the empirical material as well as to the final compilation. Yin (1989) points out two main strategies or alternatives in case study analysis: either to rely on theoretical propositions derived from literature or to develop a case description. The case description strategy is about following the theoretical propositions that lead to the case study. In a case study, the analysis is typically an integral part of the whole study aiming at making sense of the issue under study. In a qualitative case study, the analysis is about making sense of the object of study, and thus it is closely intertwined with the planning of the case study as well as with the gathering and interpreting of the empirical material (Stake 1995).

1. Major Findings

a) Refugee women's coping strategies and development

The evidence in this study confirms that aggregated socio-economic activities undertaken by refugee women amount to means of making ends meet, summed up as coping

mechanisms during life in exile. All refugees living in camps in western Tanzania reported that the food rations were generally insufficient to meet food needs due to occasional WFP food pipeline shortage. In addition, the non-food items refugees required such as blankets, mats, lanterns, jerry cans, water containers and cooking utensils were infrequently provided. As a result, refugees look for alternative ways to supplement what agencies provide.

As described in the research question, this study sought to explore social networks among refugee women in western Tanzania. In addition, it investigated ways that refugee women are able to help each other. The study reveals that one strategy that refugee women adopt to supplement what is provided by agencies is through membership of informal co-operative societies (merry-go-round/peer group) whereby refugee women acquire food rations from fellow women in larger quantities depending on the number of members in the merry-go-round. Refugee women trade or sell part of the food rations and in turn use the money to obtain items that are not provided by agencies, both food and non-food. Other strategies include sales from vegetable projects, commercial thatching of leaking roofs and construction of houses and pit latrines, sewing children's clothes for sale, running restaurants within refugees' camps, weaving projects and knitting sweaters for sale locally.

Some refugees also have small gardens on their plots, but poor soil conditions and small plot sizes limit benefits from gardening activities. As a result, some refugees engage in informal wage labour in nearby Tanzanian farms. In general, Burundians engage in agriculture and source informal labour within Tanzanian farms while Congolese refugees have an orientation towards trade and supplement their food rations by engaging in petty trade within the camp and at bi-weekly markets shared with the local Tanzanians (joint

market). Furthermore, findings of this study indicate that refugee women from the three groups, Congolese, Burundians and Rwandese engage in all activities mentioned above.

Willems (2003), in her study on social networks among urban refugees in Tanzania, notes of the attempt in 1983 by President Nyerere to replace the Swahili word for refugees, *'wakimbizi'*, with the term '*wageni wa kazi'*.[124] One could argue that perhaps this was Nyerere's strategy to highlight refugees' economic contribution in Tanzania and identify ways of incorporating refugees' labour force into the national economic structures and mechanisms. The term '*wageni wa kazi'* may be translated as "guest-workers;" implying refugees 'sense of self-sufficiency and economic independence'. Contrary the word *wakimbizi* comes from the verb '*kukimbia'* which means, "to run away from" implying negative connotations such as susceptibility.

Women in particular bear the largest responsibility in devising coping mechanisms and in combating gender-based vulnerability as discussed in detail in this study. Subsequently, this research argues that coping mechanisms that refugee women have adopted in addressing challenges of life whilst in asylum should be officially included/inserted in the host government refugee policies as ways of empowering them to better cater for themselves and their families. Women form the larger part of refugees employed by local host communities as farm labourers and domestic workers including childcare. In these ways, they contribute to the local economy of the host district/country.

The local governments do not index this contribution. In addition, refugees' contribution to the labour force is not considered when calculating the growth domestic product

[124] However this Swahili term for refugees did not hold longer than two years. According to Kasomangala in UNHCR 1999a:9, "it was felt at the annual conference of refugees, that the word was unacceptable because the fact remained that persons who had fled from their respective countries due to war were [still] refugees" As noted by Willems (2003)

(GDP) of Tanzania or other host countries. Such contributions have always gone unannounced, unnoticed and undocumented, contrary to Paragraph 17 of the Tanzania National Refugee Policy (2003).[125]

b) Summary of research findings

In this study, each of the two interviews with the seventeen respondents was analysed, and transcripts from the first and second interviews for each respondent were combined, using the coding frame derived from the theoretical framework described in Chapter three.

ii) Age

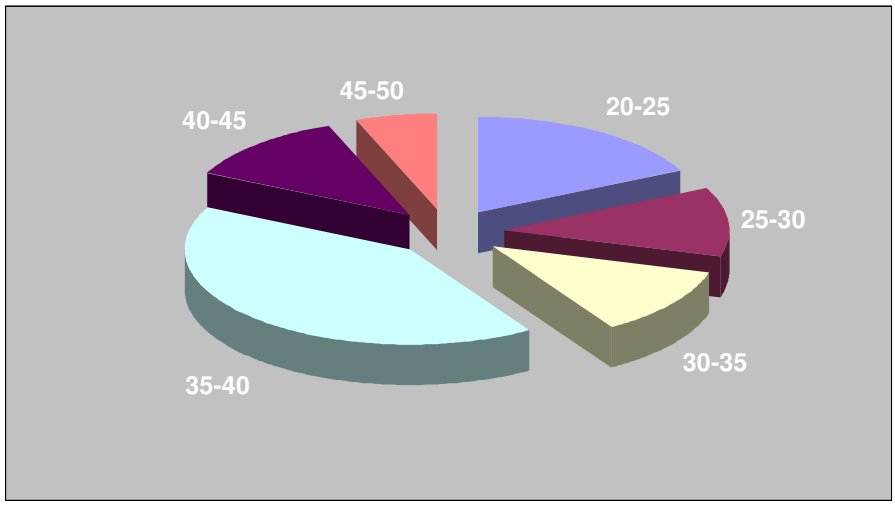

Figure 3: Age of respondents

Aged 20 years each, Mama Lydia and Mama Riziki were the youngest of all respondents. The rest of the respondents in this research were between 22 and 47 years. Most of respondents were between 35-40 years. Mama Masoka was the oldest, aged 47.

[125] Which in part provides that, '...It is worth pointing out that refugees are a human resource, which could be utilized for the improvement of the economy and betterment of life and living standards...'

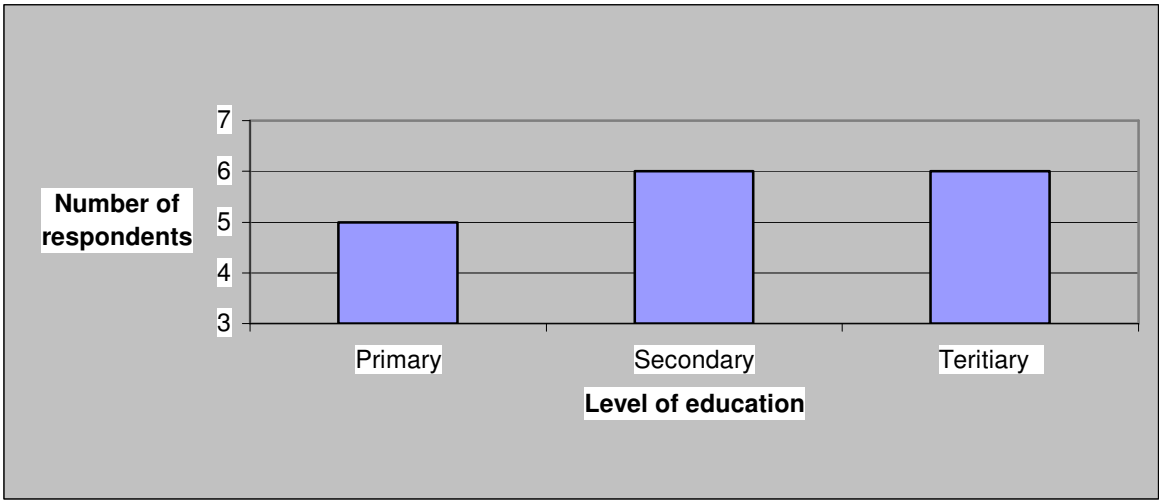

Figure 4: Respondents' level of education

Of the seventeen respondents interviewed, six, namely Maria, Mama Yellow, Nusura, Mama A, Mama B and Mama Yellow 2 had tertiary education. Another six, Mama Blue, Mama Green, Mwanafunzi, Mjuwa, Mama Janet and Mama Riziki had secondary education. The remaining five, Mama Mtoto, Mama Kitaba, Mama Brown, Mama Lydia and Mama Masoka had primary education. In comparison to many refugee populations, particularly those originating from the Great Lakes Region, this is an educated and mature group of women. Despite this, they experienced multiple challenges as refugees and many experienced a sharp decline in their capacities to care for themselves and their families as unemployed in Tanzania. All respondents seemed to have an understanding of the underlying factors that led to the insecurity/war in their countries of origin, seen from the angle of their levels of education.

ii) Marital status

Of the seventeen respondents interviewed, fifteen were mothers, of whom eleven were married. One was separated and three were widows. Two others were single women. One respondent was married but did not have any children while another was a widow

with no children. Moreover, of the married participants, none gave accounts of their husbands as helpful resources for coping with their situations. Mama Kitaba and Mjuwa, the latter a widow and the former married with children, spoke of ethnic differences between themselves and their husbands.

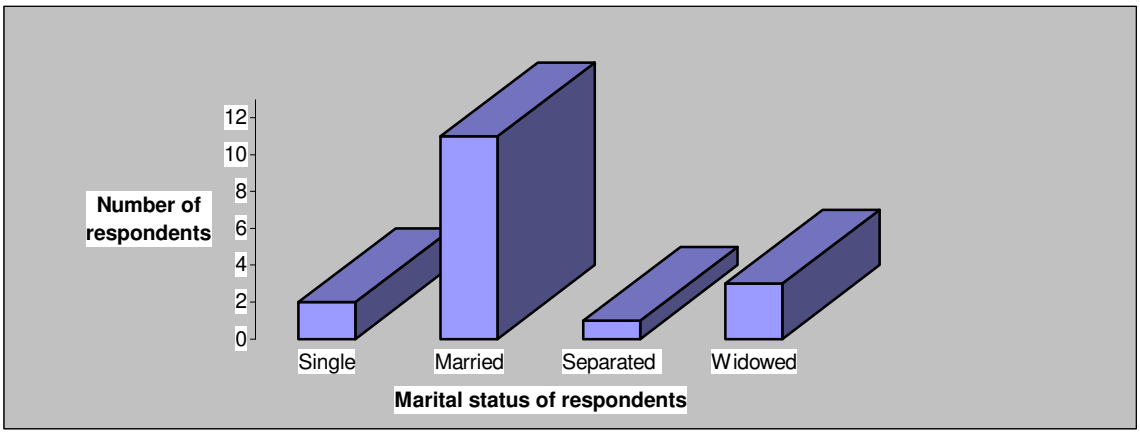

Figure 5: Marital status of respondents

iii) Problems

TABLE 5.1: NUMBER OF PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY RESPONDENTS

RESPONDENTS	*PROBLEMS*		
	MATERIAL	OTHER	TOTAL
Maria	4 (30.76%)	9 (69.23 %)	13
Mama Mtoto	5 (35.71%)	9 (64.28%)	14
Mama Kitaba	8 (28.57%)	20 (71.42%)	28
Mama Blue	8 (40%)	12 (60%)	20
Mama Yellow	8 (23.52%)	26 (76.47%)	34
Mama Green	7 (31.81%)	15 (68.18%)	22
Nusura	7 (33.33%)	14 (66.66%)	21
Mwanafunzi	6 (46.15 %)	7 (53.84 %)	13
Mjuwa	5 (31.25%)	11 (68.75%)	16
Mama Brown	5 (26.31%)	14 (73.68%)	19
Mama Janet	5 (38.46%)	8 (61.53%)	13
Mama A	5 (83.33%)	1 (16.66%)	6
Mama B	6 (85.71%)	1 (14.28%)	7
Mama Lydia	5 (62.5%)	3 (37.5%)	8
Mama Riziki	4 (33.33%)	8 (66.66%)	12
Mama Yellow 2	4 (28.57%)	10 (71.42%)	14
Mama Masoka	5 (22.72%)	17 (77.27%)	22

All seventeen reported a similar pattern of material *problems*. They had also experienced additional problems, coded under the category of other *problems*, due to their varying backgrounds in terms of nationality, educational levels, employment opportunities, marital status and locality of residence in Tanzania. These may be real differences or they may also derive from the researcher's explicit focus on how they were coping with their experiences as refugees in Tanzania at the point of data collection.

iv) Psychological and emotional responses

Fifteen respondents (all except Mama A and Mama B) expressed psychological and emotional *responses* in talking about their experiences in Tanzania. This can be attributed to the fact that the majority of them experienced material *problems* that apparently generated feelings and emotions. However, it is interesting to note that two respondents (Mama A and Mama B), despite having reported *problems* that had immense emotional and psychological dimensions in their experiences, did not report any psychological or emotional *responses*. A possible explanation of these findings is that the *problems* these respondents experienced in Tanzania were so extreme and they were therefore so paralysed in the face of their current situation that they were not in a position to attend to their emotions.

v) Meaning making

Of the seventeen respondents, Mama Blue, Mama Brown, Mama Lydia, Mama Riziki, and Mama Masoka made *meaning* of their situations within a cultural and socio-economic framework. Others including Maria, Mama Mtoto, Mama Kitaba, Mjuwa, Mama A and Mama B, understood their situations within a political, historical and ethnic framework. Mama Janet spoke of political aspects in her experience but also included some aspects of a social and economic framework. Mama Green, Mama Yellow and Nusura made *meaning* of their situation within a cultural and social framework. Mama Yellow 2 and Mwanafunzi made *meaning* of their situation within a socio-economic framework.

TABLE 5.2: MEANING MAKING FRAMEWORK

	CULTURAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK	POLITICAL HISTORICAL AND ETHNIC FRAMEWORK	POLITICAL ASPECTS OF A SOCIAL-ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK	CULTURAL AND SOCIAL FRAMEWORK	SOCIO-ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK
RESPONDENTS					
Mama Blue Mama Brown Mama Lydia Mama Riziki Mama Masoka	**X**				
Maria Mama Mtoto Mama Kitaba Mjuwa Mama A Mama B		**X**			
Mama Janet			**X**		
Mama Green Mama Yellow Nusura				**X**	
Mama Yellow 2 Mwanafunzi					**X**

As is evident from this summary, the respondents differed in the ways in which they understood and *interpreted* the multiple challenges they were facing as women refugees. It is notable that although the popular discourse surrounding the displacement in Burundi, Rwanda and DRC prioritises genocidal acts, slightly above one third of this small sample made specific reference to these issues in talking about their lives.

vi) Psychological services

Of the seventeen refugee women who participated in this research, none claimed to have sought formal psychological services or counselling to deal with their experiences. However, the majority of them reported that interaction with members of their 'merry go rounds' and other women in their daily encounters was therapeutic. Moreover, all respondents employed more direct *coping strategies*, suggesting that despite the absence of formal counselling, respondents developed a language through which they verbalised their *problems* and through objectifying them facilitated their solution as discussed below on the correlation between social capital/networks and coping strategies.

vii) Coping strategies

All seventeen respondents in this research employed more direct actions than palliative c*oping strategies*. Overall, Mama Kitaba employed the highest number of direct *coping strategies,* twenty four, and twelve palliative ones, alongside a high number of problems reported: twenty-eight. Mama Yellow employed equally high direct *coping strategies* and reported the highest number of problems: thirty-four.

Three respondents, Maria, Mjuwa and Mama Brown, reported equivalent numbers of eleven direct *coping strategies*, while two, Mama Mtoto and Mama Green, each reported thirteen. Two others, Mama Blue and Mwanafunzi, reported twelve, while another two Nusura and Mama Janet, reported fourteen direct *coping strategies*. Conversely, seven respondents, Mama Yellow, Mama Green, Mjuwa, Mama Brown, Mama Janet, Mama Lydia and Mama Yellow 2 reported an equivalent number of four palliative *coping strategies*. Two did not report having employed any palliative *coping strategies*. These were Mama A and Mama B. Four others: Maria, Mama Mtoto, Mama Yellow and Mama Green, reported five palliative *coping strategies* respectively.

It is evident from the above paragraph that all the respondents employed more direct than palliative *coping strategies*. The high usage of direct *coping strategies* can be attributed to respondents' ability to respond directly to experiences that were frequently described in terms of concrete, material realities lending themselves to solutions. This is particularly notable in their descriptions of situations where, despite the challenges, the problems described could be resolved, in contrast to the ethnic and political genocidal practices in Burundi, Rwanda and the DRC that gave rise to their flight.

TABLE 5.3: NUMBERS OF COPING STRATEGIES ADOPTED BY RESPONDENTS

RESPONDENTS	*COPING STRATEGIES*		
	DIRECT	**PALLIATIVE**	**TOTAL**
Maria	11(68.75%)	5 (31.25%)	16
Mama Mtoto	13 (72.22%)	5 (27.77%)	18
Mama Kitaba	24 (66.66%)	12 (33.33%)	36
Mama Blue	12 (66.66%)	6 (33.33%)	18
Mama Yellow	24 (85.71%)	4 (14.28%)	28
Mama Green	13 (76.47%)	4 (23.52%)	17
Nusura	14 (73.68%)	5 (26.31%)	19
Mwanafunzi	12 (70.58%)	5 (29.41%)	17
Mjuwa	11 (73.33%)	4 (26.66%)	15
Mama Brown	11 (73.33%)	4 (26.66%)	15
Mama Janet	14 (77.77%)	4 (22.22%)	18
Mama A	1 (100%)	-	1
Mama B	4 (100%)	-	4
Mama Lydia	9 (69.23%)	4 (30.76%)	13
Mama Riziki	6 (66.66%)	3 (33.33%)	9
Mama Yellow 2	5 (55.55%)	4 (44.44%)	9
Mama Masoka	12 (70.58%)	5 (29.41%)	17

It is noteworthy that although respondents did not have access to formal psychological services, they formulated resources for coping with their refugee situation specifically by adapting social, cultural and economic networks as described in detail in chapter four. This aspect is dealt with in detail under number 3 below.

c) Synthesis of findings

All seventeen respondents reported difficulties with regard to restriction of movement outside or beyond the allowed circulation areas, inadequate food supplies, poor living conditions in camps and inadequate social assistance from service providers. However, it is important to note that refugees are permitted to move freely, usually within a radius of

4 kilometres from the camps (rule of practice). At the time of data collections,[126] the government of Tanzania had issued directives restricting movement of refugees from the designated areas of residence. Reasons provided by the government include increase in rates of insecurity in refugee-designated areas. With regard to food rations (as provided by WFP on the basis of a Memorandum of Understating with UNHCR) refugees are provided with a basic balanced diet, which assures an individual of 2100kcal per day. However by the time of data collection, the food ratio had been reduced.[127] The issue of reduction in food ration is not unique to the period of 2003. In 2000, UNHCR documented severe food shortages for refugees in all major crisis zones in Africa including Tanzania.[128]

Of the seventeen respondents, six had been economically stable in their countries of origin, in large part because they had achieved tertiary education. Lack of employment[129] is closely associated with lack of financial resources, available to host governments and service providers. This is an issue that seemed to be the central *problem* among all the seventeen respondents. Employment offers possibilities to refugees, especially women to supplement their capacities to cater for themselves and their children. However refugee employment depends not only on job availability within the camps (usually provided by

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126 April-June 2003

127 The normal food ration consisted of 350 g of maize meal per person per day, 80 g of pulses per person per day, 40 g of soya per person per day, 20 g of vegetable oil per person per day, 10 g of salt per person per day, 250 g of soap per person per month. The food ration had been cut down by the time the researcher was collecting data (April-June 2003) to 250g of maize meal per person per day, 60 g of pulses per person per day, 30 g of soya per person per day, 10g of vegetable oil per person per day and 125 g of soap per person per month.

128 Quoted in afrol News 18.08.2000 – independent news agency dedicated exclusively to Africa. Available from http://www.afrol.com/News/afr008_food_refugees.htm accessed 4 July 2006

129 Contrary to Paragraph 17 of the Tanzania National Refugee Policy of 2003 which stipulates that 'The government acknowledges that adequate protection of refugees requires the attainment of a degree of self-sufficiency. Furthermore, allowing refugees to use their skills or develop new ones while in exile will facilitate meaningful reintegration in their countries of origin when they are able to return. In this regard this policy takes into account the National Employment Policy, which is multi-sectoral in nature, because employment issues are the concern of everybody, and calls for the participation of many stakeholders besides the government. It is worth pointing out that refugees are a human resource, which could be utilized for the improvement of the economy and betterment of life and living standards. The employment policy however, takes a look at the national employment growth potentials and reveals that the labour market is generally in crisis and faces many challenges'.

organisations providing various services - UNHCR Implementing Partners) but also on the levels of education and skills.

It was clear in the study that this small group of refugee women prioritised their current life situations rather than their past in their countries of origin. Material needs were highlighted above all others in their storytelling. Despite contact with service providers, they described the assistance as inadequate. Finally, these refugees reported multiple experiences of uncertainty in camps as well as after return home. In the face of these challenges, all seventeen respondents employed less palliative and more direct *coping* strategies.

As noted above, although respondents did not have access to formal psychological services, they formulated resources for coping with their refugee situation specifically by adapting activities structured within social, cultural and economic networks as described in detail in chapter four above. In the following section, the researcher links the researcher question, theoretical framework and literature review as she describes the correlation between social capital and coping strategies as adapted by refugee women in western Tanzania.

2. Social capital and coping strategies by refugee women in western Tanzania

This section unpacks the correlation between social capital and coping strategies as adapted by refugee women in camps in Kigoma and Kagera region in western Tanzania. The section demonstrates undeniable link between direct coping strategies and social and economic networks of social capital as applied by the respondents in this study. In addition, the linkage between palliative coping strategies and cultural networks is exemplified.

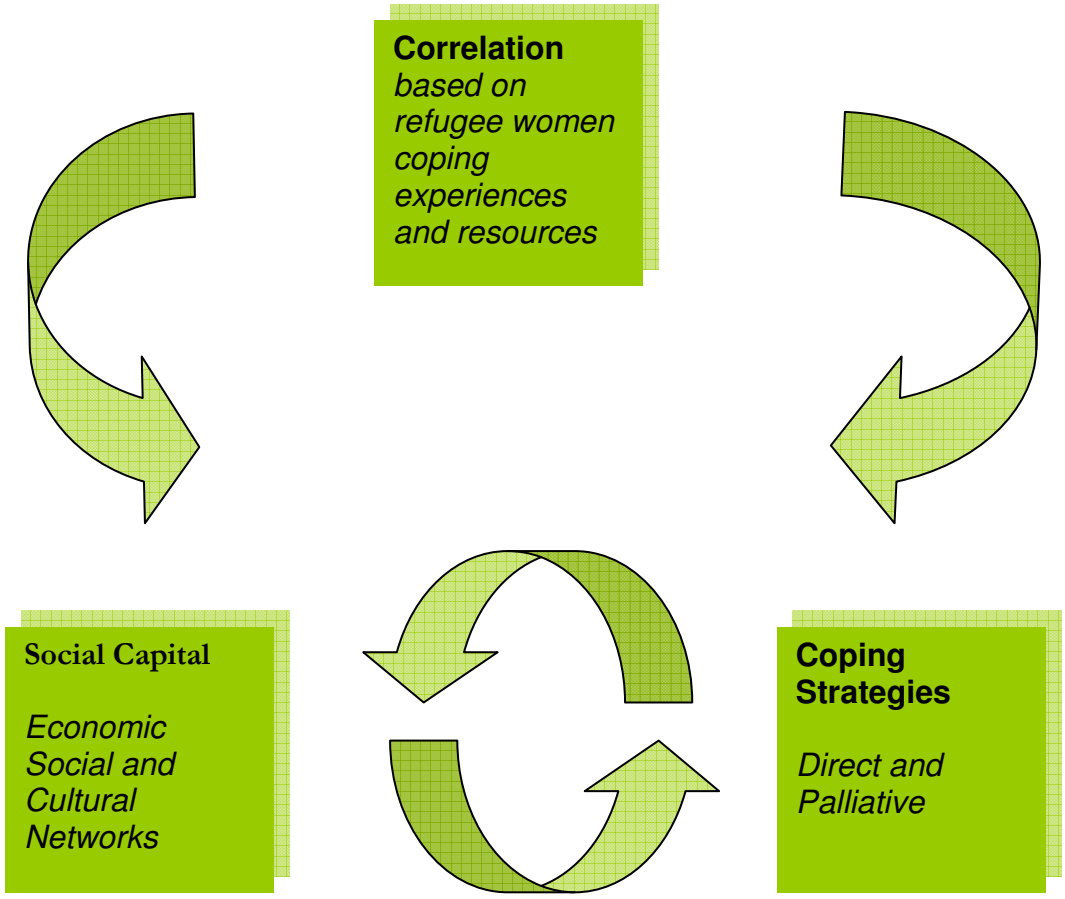

Figure 6: Diagram on correlation between social capital and coping strategies

a) Coping strategies

i) Direct coping strategies

All seventeen respondents in this study adapted more direct coping strategies compared to palliative coping strategies as discussed in detail in chapter 4. Theoretical framework and the literature review employed in this study suggest that direct coping strategies are direct actions defined as behaviours such as fight or flight. Authors such as Baum, Fleming and Singer (1983), Folkman and Lazarus (1980, 1985) and McCrae (1982) argue that this behaviour is designed to alter troubled relationships with one's social or physical environment. Further they note that the behaviour include planned future action. In addition direct coping strategies are adaptive and seek to modify problems in the troubled environment and are more action-orientated in that they aim at addressing

problems within one's environment. As noted earlier in the literature review, during and following forcible displacement, women are usually disproportionately affected. Women as a group share the problems experienced by all refugees since they are outside their country of origin and unwilling to avail of the protection of that country, (Article 1 (A) (2) of the 1951 Geneva Convention). Because of their gender, women suffer not only as members of a community in crisis but also as women within that community.[130] Refugee women feel the double discrimination of being female and being refugees - 'outsiders'. They need a legal status that allows them to realize their social and economic rights, including access to such basic items as food, shelter and clothing.[131]

One would therefore argue that, by adapting more direct coping strategies, refugee women in this study identified realistic approaches in which they would deal with their current problems in Tanzania. These approaches were characterised by respondents' ability to respond directly to experiences that were frequently described in terms of concrete, material realities lending themselves to solutions. Furthermore, problems that women experienced revolved around socio-economic needs, which called for tangible solutions that were easily applicable to the situations in which refugee women found themselves. In so doing refugee women interviewed in this research resorted to local initiatives that comprised of social and economic networks that were structured around women peer groups that the research refers to as merry-go round or informal co-operative groups.

[130] Literature review in Chapter 2:1(e)
[131] Reports from various sources include Human Rights Watch (2005), South African Human Rights Commission Reports (1999) and Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (2006)

b) Social capital - local initiatives of refugee women

Specht (1986) defines social capital as the horizontal associations between people, consisting of social networks and associated norms that have an effect on community productivity and well-being.

i) Economic networks

Knack and Keefer (1997) define economic networks as "economic behaviour embedded in networks of social relations thus facilitating a group to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable". In western Tanzania through their social relations within merry-go round/informal co-operative groups, respondents employed economic behaviour that facilitated them to prosper economically given their situation as refugee women in camps. This economic behaviour included running restaurants within refugees' camps, weaving projects, sewing projects, vegetable projects, selling of food ration, commercial thatching of leaking roofs, commercial construction of houses and pit latrines, sewing children's clothes for sale, trading food rations in joint markets, and income generating activities where women knit sweaters for sale locally. Respondents reported that back in their countries of origin, women were involved in networks that benefited them economically, thus the above practice was not foreign or new.

ii) Social networks

Bourdieu (1986) defines social networks as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources, which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition". In western Tanzania by virtue of their membership in merry-go rounds or informal cooperative groups, refugee women were able to tap into the resources that the network possessed. These included assisting each other in gathering firewood, walking in groups while fetching firewood to combat rape and attacks, meeting and socialising at water wells while washing clothes, health centre while seeking medical care, during joint markets and

farming initiative for Burundian refugees. These as discussed in Chapter 4 provided respondents with an opportunity and platform to discuss about their problems as women and as refugees residing in western Tanzania. In addition women assisted each other in thatching houses in the absence of male support, in construction of houses and pit latrines in absence of male support, fetching water together, women's groups taking care of care of children of sick mothers. Respondents reported that back in their countries of origin, women gathered in social venues to socialise and discuss issues affecting them as women.

c) Correlation between direct coping strategies and social and economic networks of social capital

The significance of the correlation between direct coping strategies and social and economic networks is that they are both designed to tackle and alter problems encountered in a troubled environment, in addition to being adaptive and action oriented. This is evident from the explanation of what constituted respondents' social and economic networks. Further, respondents tried to frame their problems within a discourse that permitted them to attempt a more direct response, that is, to meet material needs.

d) Palliative coping strategies

As discussed in chapter four, all seventeen respondents in this study adapted fewer palliative modes than direct coping strategies. The theoretical framework and the literature review employed in this study suggest that palliative modes are thoughts or actions whose goal is to relieve the emotional impact of stress (bodily or psychological) disturbances (Baum, Fleming and Singer, 1983; Folkman and Lazarus 1980, 1985; and McCrae 1982). Monat (1977) argues that the term "palliative" is used because these methods do not actually alter the threatening or damaging events but make the person feel better. Thus, palliative coping strategies contribute to adaptation but leave the

problem intact. Building into this argument this study notes that refugee women in western Tanzania Kigoma and Kagera regions adopted palliative coping strategies in situations where tangible results were not realistic to achieve and were in addition not forthcoming. This may also explain why palliative coping strategies were low in numbers among respondents.

One would therefore argue that given the inadequate service provision as reported in detail in chapter 4 by respondents, refugee women realised the need to identify solutions to their problems. As mentioned above, the majority of problems that women experienced revolved around basic needs and this according to the respondents were not adequately catered for or met by service providers. Following this, the assumption would be that other needs that fell out of the category or scope of basic needs would therefore not be a priority to service providers. These include needs associated with events such as funerals, childbirth, circumcision and weddings. Realising the above, refugee women interviewed in this research resorted to local initiatives that comprised cultural networks. These networks just like the social and economic networks mentioned above were structured around women social groups referred to as merry-go round of informal co-operative groups.

e) Cultural networks

Bourdieu (1986) defines cultural networks as existing in the form of cultural goods. In western Tanzania by virtue of their membership in merry-go rounds or informal cooperative groups, refugee women had a place to fall back to during cultural passage of rites such as childbirths, weddings, funerals, and initiation of girl child to motherhood or adult-hood. Just as activities that constituted social and economic networks respondents reported that cultural networks comprised of activities that refugee women engaged in their countries of origin.

f) Correlation between palliative coping strategies and cultural networks of social capital

The significance of the correlations between palliative coping strategies and cultural networks is that the theory of palliative coping strategies suggests that palliative coping strategies contribute to adaptation but leave the problems unresolved, in contrast to direct actions, which are adaptive and bring about some changes in the problem as it is evident from the respondents explanations of what constituted palliative coping strategies. Subsequently activities associated with cultural habits during funerals contribute to adaptation of the situation but leave the problem unresolved. For instance people gather to console the bereaved, however the departed individual is gone, therefore the bereaved adapt to the prevailing situation that is they learn how to live without the departed person. The consolation, sympathy and empathy demonstrated by others are factors that facilitate the bereaved to adapt to the situation. In this study, the theory of palliative modes does not however offer insight into the constant decrease in the use of palliative strategies. These questions emerge from the analysis of respondents' stories throughout the study. Use of palliative coping strategies by respondents who were married and had children suggests respondents' attachment to a traditional, cultural and gender ideal of a woman as mother and spouse. This included Maria, Mama Mtoto, Mama Blue and Nusura.

3. Conclusions

A sociological analysis of data from refugee camps on this study on social capital and coping strategies by refugee women discloses significant positive coping strategies by refugee women with effect of displacement. Both data and fieldwork observation on coping indicate that an important complementary resource that these women drew upon in facing the problems they encountered in Tanzania was the support of informal social networks, especially women groups. Equally important, the majority of respondents socialised with refugee women who were members of 'merry go round' groups - informal

co-operative or peer groups. Interacting with other refugee women, they reported, had brought them solace.

In the following chapter, the research addresses the implications of above findings for policy and practices vis-à-vis refugees in Tanzania, which could also be emulated by other African countries that are home to large refugee populations.[132]

[132] Including but not limited to Zambia, Kenya, Uganda, South Africa

CHAPTER SIX
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS - REFUGEE WOMEN COPING STRATEGIES AS A DEVELOPMENTAL RESOURCE

1. Conclusions

This exploratory qualitative research systematically analysed the coping experiences of a group of refugee women from Burundi, Rwanda and the DRC residing in the western Tanzanian regions of Kigoma and Kagera. The study explored the kinds of coping strategies refugee women adapted under difficult circumstances and how they responded to experiences that they frequently described in terms of concrete and material realities.

From the standpoint of social capital as a theoretical tool for analysis, this research developed an understanding of how refugee women used social capital (social networks) to cope and adapt to new situations. The findings suggest that despite the absence of formal counselling, refugee women were able to develop a 'language' through which they verbalised their *problems* and through objectifying them facilitated their solution. The study focused on the networks refugee women formed among themselves, which constituted their coping strategies in the attempt to better their lives. Further, the study explored various ways in which refugee women in the Kigoma and Kagera regions used social networks to assist each other whilst in exile in refugee situations. Through an analysis of women refugee experiences and survival strategies, this study contributes to the field of refugee studies and provides possible policy remedies for role players seeking to respond to the global problems of women refugees, particularly those in refugee camps environments such as those pertaining in third world countries like Tanzania.

It is argued that refugee women faced multifaceted experiences of displacement. Literature reviewed in this study sketches the diverse ways in which the lives and social relations of refugee women become distorted, even redefined, and the strategies and innovations they adopted to cope with life in exile. The literature suggests that the complex and multifaceted challenges accompanying forced migration and displacement play out even more profoundly among refugee women. The literature further points out that whilst there are still many identified gaps and aspects yet to be documented, it is evident that refugee women are among the social groups most affected by the phenomena of forced migration and displacement.

The literature points out that there is an undeniable link between violations of one aspect of rights and another, ranging from civil and political rights (first generation) to economic, social and cultural rights (second generation) and third generation rights such as the rights to development and to a healthy and clean environment. The contribution of the study is its new approach of looking at this phenomenon from the standpoint of social capital as a theoretical tool for the analysis.

Data presentation describes the sample in terms of the major demographic variables. Similarities and differences in relation to the themes of concern to this study are presented. Specifically the focus is on the *problems* the women experienced as refugees and their *responses* to them, and includes a comparison across participants of their *coping strategies* and *social capital.* The data interpretation involves identification of coping and social capital patterns or a metaphor. The metaphor in this study is reflected in the respondents' own words, their problem definition, coping style, and social, economic and cultural networks. In other words metaphors that are used emerged from the data as classifying criteria.

A summary of the major findings and a comparison of them along the dimensions of particular interest to this study are presented. A sociological analysis of data from refugee camps in this study of social capital and coping strategies by refugee women disclose significant positive coping strategies by refugee women affected by displacement. Both the data and fieldwork observation on coping strategies indicate that an important complementary resource that these women drew upon in facing the problems they encountered in Tanzania was the support of informal social networks, especially women groups. Equally important, the majority of respondents socialised with other refugee women who were members of 'merry go round' groups - informal co-operative or peer groups. Interacting with other refugee women, it was proven, brought them solace. The study reveals that coping strategies by refugee women were embedded in the larger cultural and socio-economic networks that constituted their lives in their home countries prior to displacement. That is, coping strategies by refugee women were embedded in their social, cultural and economic backgrounds.

The synthesis of the experiences and coping strategies is contextualised to identify the contribution refugee women make to the overall development in the host country. This study validates the suggestion that aggregated socio-economic activities undertaken by refugee women amount to making ends meet, summed up as coping mechanisms during life in exile.

During the 1990s, as numbers of refugees worldwide grew dramatically, and the issue became more complex and politicised, refugees became a significant policy issue at both national and international levels.

In the following section, the research addresses the implications of findings as discussed in Chapter Five for policy and practices vis-à-vis refugees in Tanzania, which could also be emulated by other African countries that offer asylum to large refugee populations.[133] The section makes recommendations as to how policy makers and practitioners can facilitate refugee women to reconstruct their lives or even construct better lives for themselves and their children in exile. In addition, the section highlights the thesis' contribution to the subject matter and suggests areas of future research based on questions that emerge from this study.

2. Recommendations for Changes to Current Policy and Practice

a) Measures to respond to special needs for refugee women

There are many existing services within the Kigoma and Kagera regions. However this research suggests that such measures are inadequate both in quality and quantity. The research therefore recommends that the Tanzanian Government, bearing in mind its socio-economic and political constraints, should, together with the UNHCR, revise the policies and budgetary provisions relating to such services as education, health, food and housing to accommodate refugees.[134] In addition, refugee women should be empowered by being supported in undertaking income-generating projects, which would enable them secure a means of survival and avoid the 'dependency syndrome'. This would facilitate refugee women to realise their rights to self-employment as provided by the 1951

[133] Including but not limited to Zambia, Kenya, Uganda, South Africa

[134] National Refugee Policy of Tanzania (2003) stipulates the following:
Paragraph 28: 'In considering Refugee rights, treatment and the state obligations, the government will be guided by the International Humanitarian principles without compromising National interests. Refugees will be hosted in designated areas whereby the international community will be required to provide material assistance'.
Paragraph 30: 'The government of Tanzania will continue to encourage UNHCR and other responsible agencies to secure curricula and teaching materials from the respective countries of origin. It is emphasized that the nature of education given should focus on repatriation and reintegration in their countries of origin. Special efforts will be made to secure examinations from their countries of origin and corresponding certification'.
Paragraph 31: 'On post primary education emphasis shall be put on vocational training in order to facilitate self-employment upon their return to their countries of origin'.

Geneva Convention and the United Republic of Tanzania National Refugee Policy (2003).[135]

Generally, by empowering women, the entire family is empowered in normal as well as in refugee situations. The government should aim at extending similar measures of empowering its own national women to refugee women in all aspects especially in providing preferential education, employment and health. Since rural refugee women play important roles in agriculture and food production, empowering them in this way means facilitating a better contribution to the national economic and social well-being. This would also decrease their vulnerability.

b) Access to land for farming and income generation

Lack of access to income earning opportunities for refugees in Tanzania exacerbates poor living standards for refugees. Social welfare policies should be revised with special reference to access to land for farming, agriculture being the traditionally dominant income generating activity. Respondents in this research reported that they were allocated plots of land measuring 15 by 15 metres, although the National Refugee Policy of Tanzania (2003) asserts that the maximum plot size that can be allocated per household is 35 x 35 meters. The criteria for land allocation should take into account the size of the family.

c) Informal co-operatives – 'merry go rounds' or peer groups.

In light of the positive evaluation of the role of informal co-operatives have played in the coping mechanisms and social support of refugee women in Western Tanzania, these initiatives could be fully supported financially, to accelerate the good work they have

[135] Article 18 of the 1951 Geneva Convention provides that: 'The Contracting States shall accord to a refugee lawfully in their territory treatment as favourable as possible and, in any event, not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances, as regards the right to engage on his own account in agriculture, industry, handcrafts and commerce and to establish commercial and industrial companies'. Further, Paragraph 32 of the Tanzania National Refugee Policy of 2003 provides that 'Refugee employment shall be regulated by the National Employment Promotion Services Act of 1999, which should be amended to suit both formal and self-employment'.

done and continue doing for refugees. More resources should be diverted to 'merry-go-rounds' in terms of training and capacity building in various management skills for refugee women.[136] In addition, more funding from well-wishers, the international humanitarian community and the local population would be vital in assisting women groups in their work. At local level the National Co-operative Movement in Tanzania could be tasked by the central government to assist refugee co-operatives. With a greater availability of resources, these initiatives would be able to provide refugees with skills and assist them in establishing self-help projects.

d) Camp accessibility and living conditions

The parties concerned should consider rehabilitation of roads leading to refugee camps. For instance, camps that hosted Congolese refugees in Lugufu in Kigoma region were not easily accessible. This problem of accessibility also applies to camps that hosted Congolese, Burundian and Rwandese refugees with 'security cases' in Mkugwa as well as camps for Burundian refugees in Mtendeli in the Kasulu district. In addition, UNHCR should revise its policy in relation to building materials provided to refugees. Plastic sheets should be replaced with decent locally available and affordable building materials. Moreover, non-food items such as cooking utensils and containers to carry and store water should be replaced frequently. Buildings owned by government but unoccupied in Kigoma town, which serve as the major entry point for refugees arriving by boats via Lake Tanganyika, should be turned into refugee receiving 'shelters' for refugees arriving

[136] Paragraph 17 of the Tanzania National Refugee Policy (2003) provides that: 'The government acknowledges that adequate protection of refugees requires the attainment of a degree of self-sufficiency.' Furthermore, allowing refugees to use their skills or develop new ones while in exile will facilitate meaningful reintegration in their countries of origin when they are able to return. In this regard this policy takes into account the National Employment Policy which is multi-sectoral in nature, because employment issues are the concern of everybody and call for the participation of many stakeholders besides the government. It is worth pointing out that refugees are a human resource, which could be utilized for the improvement of the economy and betterment of life and living standards. The employment policy however, takes a look at the national employment growth potentials and reveals that the labour market is generally in crisis and faces many challenges.

in Western Tanzania. The issue of women walking long distances in search of firewood needs to be urgently addressed.

e) Creating an enabling environment for refugees

As noted earlier, refugees bring with them skills into the host country. Some refugees, for example those who are doctors and carpenters, can bring with them skills and professional experiences that may be useful to the host population.[137] Some refugees in the Kigoma and Kagera regions had tremendous skills, for instance, in stitching African fabrics and braiding African hair, skills that are highly appreciated by the locals.[138] The latter would learn from the former, which would contribute to boosting the informal sector and turning refugees into a creditable workforce. Taking into account local internal security concerns, the government of Tanzania should consider formulating structures and mechanisms to facilitate refugees to contribute to the local labour force either through formal or self-employment. These structures should enable refugees to travel from the designated areas of residence to neighbouring villages and towns to either work or trade.

In Zambia, for instance, camp based refugees with skills were given special visas to travel to and live in Lusaka and other towns where they could compete with Zambians in selling their skills and labour. In addition, the above would facilitate creating an enabling environment for nurturing self-reliance and eradicating dependency as proved by the Zambian initiative during the 1990s. Congolese and Angolan refugees residing at the Maheba camp and the surrounding areas were almost self-sufficient in food and were even able to satisfy local markets within their location and beyond. Reports also indicate that sweet potatoes, cassava and other products were sold across the border in Angola

[137] See discussion in Chapter 2:6 and Chapter four
[138] Artists and skilled refugees should be encouraged to register their trade

and the DRC. In addition, the Rwandese refugees who formed the once biggest refugee camp, Benanco, in Western Tanzania, were almost self-sufficient in food after two planting/harvesting seasons in mid 1990s.

For a developing country struggling to meet the socio-economic needs of its own nationals, the task of accommodating so many refugees is understandably daunting. Bearing this in mind, the government of Tanzania needs to create the right kind of economic structures through national economic policies, in addition to establishing conducive legal, governance and institutional arrangements to target and incorporate refugee contribution to the labour force. Within this enabling environment, NGOs, CBOs, international organisations dealing with refugee issues such as (but not limited to) UNHCR, WFP and specialised government agencies and private agents can then focus their efforts and work together in supporting refugee community development activities and assisting refugees to gain greater access to resources and markets. This would go a long way towards creating an environment that would nurture self-reliance and eradicate dependency. Refugees who are self-reliant are more likely to improve their well-being whilst in exile, and rapidly reintegrate within their societies upon voluntary repatriation, which remains the best durable solution to the refugee crisis. Refugee self-reliance in this way contributes to poverty alleviation, one of the MDGs for the Continent.[139]

f) Employment

There should be a campaign, including workshops and seminars, to create awareness, sensitise, and educate local employers and the public on the rights of refugees to work and to self-employment in Tanzania in line with the National Refugee Policy of 2003.[140] Some women refugees interviewed in this research were unemployed and had been

[139] Goal 1, eradicating extreme poverty and hunger
[140] Paragraph 17 and 32 respectively of the National Refugee Policy of 2003

unemployed or informally employed since their arrival in Tanzania. It is in this light that the Tanzanian government should also revise its policy of denying refugees an opportunity to work within the local communities by curtailing their freedom of movement outside the camps. Further, the government of Tanzania should provide work permits for refugees as provided by paragraph 32 of the Refugees Act of 1998.[141] With a source of income through employment, the problems of food and other basic needs could be eliminated.

g) Education

It would be to the interest of all parties involved if refugees were allowed to effectively enjoy their right to education in Tanzania as provided by paragraph 31 of the Tanzania Refugees Act of 1998 and paragraph 16 of the Tanzania National Refugee Policy of 2003 respectively.[142] A campaign to sensitise and create awareness in schools within the local community about the rights of refugee children, youth and adults to an education as stipulated by the refugee policy should be given high priority. Further, the government of Tanzania should fulfill its obligation under Paragraph 30 and 31 of the refugee policy

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[141] Which states that:
1. 'The Director may grant work permit to any refugee who qualifies for the same'.

[142] Paragraph 31 of the Refugees Act, 1998 states that:
1. 'Every refugee child shall be entitled to Primary Education in accordance with the National Education Act 1978 and every refugee adult who desires to participate in adult education shall be entitled to do so in accordance with the Adult Education Act'.
2. 'Every refugee shall be entitled to post primary education in accordance with rules made by the Minister in accordance with subsection (3) of this section'.
3. 'The Minister in consultation with Minister responsible for education as regards secondary education and in consultation with the Minister responsible for higher education other than secondary education shall make rules prescribing-
a) Fees
b) Categories of schools, colleges or universities a refugee student can be enrolled and
c) Prescribing any matter that may need to be regulated for purposes of better and effective implementation of this section'.

Paragraph 16 of the Tanzania National Refugee Policy, 2003; asserts that: 'Education is a powerful tool in the process of adaptation and social integration for refugees. It forms the basis for personal development and through education refugees improve their chances to contribute to society through participation in the labour market and other processes when they go back home. For refugees, who have been uprooted and forced to flee, the process of rebuilding their lives in a new environment must therefore be momentous and as such they need to be facilitated by the easy access to education provision. Considering that refugees will eventually return home and in order to make it easier for them to easily reintegrate in their societies, the government will allow provision of education to refugees in accordance with the curricula used in their countries of origin. As for post primary education, the government will encourage the international community through UNHCR and other agencies to establish special schools and institutions in camps'.

of 2003.[143] In addition, there is a need to introduce and promote education for peace and reconciliation in the educational curricula and within the refugee camps.

Educating host community and refugee children/youth on the rights and obligation of refugees as well as government responsibilities vis-à-vis refugees would certainly help to boost understanding between refugees and their hosts, reduce incidents of sex and gender based violence thereby protecting human rights especially of refugee women and girl children.

h) Psychological services

The findings suggest that those women who had consulted the 'informal' psychological services by talking to their fellow women were better able to articulate the psychological effects of their experiences and to use a wider range of coping resources. The research therefore suggests that such services be supported and provided freely to refugee women by NGOs and others such as religious institutions. Refugee women themselves can be trained to offer these services since they are better placed to understand the culture and the needs of their fellow refugees. The host government should consider tapping into related expertise within the refugee population. Based on previous research in the field of forced migration and refugees it is suggested that counsellors be women, to enable women to talk more freely about their psychological and emotional experiences. Other cultural practices that would be of help in providing counselling should be adopted depending on the cultures of varying groups.

[143] Paragraph 30 of the Refugee Policy of 2003 provides that: 'The government of Tanzania will continue to encourage UNHCR and other responsible agencies to secure curricula and teaching materials from the respective countries of origin. It is emphasized that the nature of education given should focus on repatriation and reintegration in their countries of origin. Special efforts will be made to secure examinations from their countries of origin and corresponding certification'.
Paragraph 31:- 'On post primary education emphasis shall be put on vocational training in order to facilitate self-employment upon their return to their countries of origin'.

i) Victims of torture

Refugee women who have been tortured, sexually assaulted or who are victims of other types of violence need counselling and therapeutic treatment. Women as refugees have gender-specific needs and perspectives that require focused analysis. However, the analytical and operational frameworks of post-conflict situations tend to treat the impacts of conflict as if the same across the population and gender spectra. In so doing, women's special needs are often overlooked. It is important, therefore, that women's voices and approaches be incorporated in these frameworks.

Programmes that can provide counselling services should be formulated and these services rendered free to the affected women. Increasing the rate of female staff is therefore essential within the UN agencies, humanitarian agencies and NGOs in situations where women are in need of counselling and other services in connection with issues associated with sexual violence. Regular contact between female staff and refugee women in camps provides a sense of security and reassurance. This encourages the refugee women to speak out and thus promotes preventative measures by the entire community. HIV/AIDS awareness programmes must be intensified and family planning information and devices must be made available. The local government should cooperate with the World Health Organisation's Division of Emergency and Humanitarian Action to implement these provisions.

j) Peace making process

Acknowledgement is made of the steps that have been taken to incorporate women in the peace process in Burundi, Rwanda and the DRC, and reaffirming the principle of promoting the gender equality as enshrined in the Constitutive Act of the African Union[144] as well as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), relevant

[144] See paragraph (I) on Political Will .

declarations, resolutions and decisions, which underline the commitment of the African States to ensure the full participation of the African women as equal partners in Africa's development. Further, in recalling United Nations Security Council's Resolution 1325 (2000) on the role of women in promoting peace and security, there is need to continue supporting women's participation in conflict prevention and other attempts for a post-conflict peace making process. Women's organisations/networks have in the past acted as early warning beacons. Peace is sustainable only if it is locally driven and locally owned. This requires systematic consultation as well as adequate resources for woman to fully and equally participate in peace making processes.

k) Burden sharing - Role of international community

Armed conflict and war are the main root causes of forced migration in Africa. Wars are funded and supported by external players. Burden sharing should be seriously considered considering that refugee hosting states such as Tanzania, Kenya or Zambia (to name but a few) have never produced large numbers of refugees. On the contrary these countries have received and continue to cater for large refugee caseloads. There is a need for the international community to be reminded of its obligations and responsibilities to care for refugees without geographical discrimination. States have agreed to international treaties, which ensure this protection in the spirit of burden sharing and international co-operation. Sole provision of protection and assistance to refugees by a country like Tanzania with a weak economy is overwhelming. Therefore it remains the shared responsibility of the international community to support the capacity of host states to receive and protect refugees, taking into account domestic concerns ranging from environmental degradation, socio-economic effects on host community, crime and political sentiments.

l) Political will

There is a need for political will within African states and particularly among the leaders to end armed conflicts and wars on the continent. One way forward, which can be achieved in the long run, is embedded in the spirit of the New Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD). NEPAD is a visionary and strategic framework for Africa's renewal. It is designed to address the current challenges facing the African continent. These include issues such as escalating poverty levels, underdevelopment and the continued marginalisation of Africa. One of the major challenges sought to be addressed in the Constitutive Act of the African Union[145] and NEPAD is that of good governance as a basic requirement for peace, security, and sustainable political and socio-economic development. In addition, establishing conditions for sustainable development by ensuring peace and security is one of NEPAD priorities. Whilst African leaders have

[145] The Preamble provides that:
INSPIRED by the noble ideals, which guided the founding fathers of our Continental Organisation and the generations of Pan-Africanists in their determination to promote unity, solidarity, cohesion and cooperation among the peoples of Africa and African States;
CONSIDERING the principles and objectives stated in the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity and the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community;
RECALLING the heroic struggles waged by our peoples and our countries for political independence, human dignity and economic emancipation;
CONSIDERING that since its inception, the Organization of African Unity has played a determining and invaluable role in the liberation of the continent, the affirmation of a common identity and the process of attainment of the unity of our continent and has provided a unique framework for our collective action in Africa and in our relations with the rest of the world;
DETERMINED to take up the multifaceted challenges that confront our continent and peoples in the light of social, economic and political changes taking place in the world;
CONVINCED of the need to accelerate the process of implementing the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community in order to promote the socio-economic development of Africa and to face more effectively the challenges posed by globalization;
GUIDED by our common vision of a united and strong Africa and by the need to build a partnership between governments and all segments of civil society, in particular women, youth and the private sector, in order to strengthen solidarity and cohesion among our peoples;
CONSCIOUS of the fact that the scourge of conflicts in Africa constitutes a major impediment to the socio-economic development of the continent and of need to promote peace, security and stability as a prerequisite for the implementation of our development and integration agenda;
DETERMINED to promote and protect human and peoples' rights, consolidate democratic institutions and culture, and to ensure good governance and the rule of law.
FURTHER DETERMINED to take all necessary measures to strengthen our common institutions and provide them with the necessary powers and resources to enable them discharge their respective mandates effectively;
RECALLING the Declaration, which we adopted at the Fourth Extraordinary Sessions of our Assembly in Sirte, the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on 9.9.99, in which we decided to establish an African Union, in conformity with the ultimate objectives of the Charter of our Continental Organisation and the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community.

committed themselves in various African Union instruments to ending conflict on the continent, this political declaration has not found concrete expression in their actions. Although there are now fewer conflicts on the continent than ten years ago, an examination of all the conflicts indicates that the arms that fuel these conflicts are channelled through one country or other and are still in the possession of many. The NEPAD programme seeks a fresh start for Africa. Should NEPAD succeed in achieving its desired objectives, many people on the continent will enjoy peace, stability and prosperity. The continent will be rid of unnecessary wars. Consequently, there will be no reason for people seek asylum, thus a step forward will be taken in achieving the Millennium Development Goals by 2015. Political will should be exercised both by the state and non-state entities as in the case of Burundi, Somali and Sudan.

3. Limitations of the Study and Areas for Future Research

As mentioned in the introduction to this study, the sample is neither exhaustive nor fully representative. The findings may not, therefore, be generalised to refugees throughout Tanzania or in any other African host country. However the opportunity to engage in more in-depth conversations with a group of women who fled Rwanda, Burundi and the DRC about their experiences and their lives since arriving in Tanzania has been suggestive of a number of important areas for improved policy and practice, as discussed above. Importantly, the study points to several areas for additional research suggested below.

The previous chapter summarised the problems experienced and these women's understandings of, and responses to them. It explored similarities and differences across respondents. The findings suggest that all refugee women were more focused on their current situations than on their past experiences. They also suggest that neither previous educational achievements nor employment experiences offered much help to them in

terms of addressing material needs in Tanzania. Future research might explore more systematically the conditions under which refugee women are more likely to employ a flexible range of coping strategies and the conditions under which they seem to limit themselves to palliative rather than direct coping mechanisms.

Of particular note in this study are a number of issues not mentioned by these women, or mentioned infrequently. For example, very few of the women interviewed made specific mention of their husbands. Although most were married, they neither described these relationships nor indicated how being married affected their experiences in Tanzania or beyond. Future research might explore more consciously similarities and differences between married, single, separated or widowed refugees. Of equal note was the lack of discussion by most of the women interviewed of their ethnic group of origin or of their political orientation and/or participation. Given the nature of the research, focused questions about ethnic background and political participation were not asked. However, most popular and scholarly descriptions of war place considerable emphasis on these factors. The findings from this study suggest that the shift of focus from men to women may have contributed to a reduced importance placed on ideological and cultural issues with more attention to day-to-day survival. These reflections might profitably be explored relative to existing literature in refugee studies and contribute to a more explicit focus on gendered dimensions of forced migration.

Finally, despite the horrors of the past and the ongoing political strife in their countries of origin, most of the seventeen respondents reported that should peace return in their home countries they would not hesitate to go back home. This is a common feature of much anecdotal information about refugees. Yet, most of the small sample interviewed and observed for this study had only been out of their home countries for a few years. It

would be important for policy makers to understand the conditions under which refugees continue to remain committed to returning 'home', and when 'home' is reconfigured and they opt for remaining in their country of refuge. This may differ for refugees with school-age children and those who are childless as well as for those who have managed to establish work and family ties in the country of refuge.

4. Summary of the Thesis's Contribution to the Field of Refugees, Gender Studies, Human Rights and Social Capital

Data and fieldwork observation on coping strategies indicate that an important complementary resource that women interviewed in this study drew upon in facing the problems they encountered in Tanzania was the support of informal social networks, especially women's groups. Equally important, the majority of respondents socialised with other refugee women who were members of 'merry go round' groups - informal co-operative or peer groups. Interacting with other refugee women, it was proven, had brought them solace.

Byrne and Baden (1995) observed that gender sensitive policies in support of coping mechanisms for or by refugee women had proved elusive. More than a decade later, a greater understanding of gender biases in coping is still considered necessary. This study further validates the need to support women's coping in positive ways without undermining men's strategies. This would facilitate reinforcing overall coping capacity in refugee situations and and upon return to countries of origin.

With regard to human rights of refugee women, the study identifies undeniable links and perhaps multiple effects between violations of one aspect of refugee women rights and another ranging from civil and political rights (first generation) to economic, social and cultural rights (second generation) and third generation rights such as rights to

development. Theoretically, the study contributes to more nuanced understating of social capital as a analytical tool in coping and adaptation.

Through an analysis of women refugee's experiences and survival strategies, this study makes a contribution to the field of refugee studies and provides possible policy remedies for role players. In particular, the study contributes to the development of practical guidance on issues that need to be explored and taken into account in identifying, designing and appraising displacement related policies and projects for those seeking to understand and respond to specific or special needs of vulnerable groups among refugee caseloads, particularly women.

The findings would be useful to host governments having large and protracted urban and rural refugee populations; to UNHCR, other intergovernmental organisations and voluntary agencies, as well as to refugee representatives, where applicable, and social and political movements. The conclusions would assist in the coordination of efforts and the creation of strategies to deal with problems facing refugee women and the entire refugee population. The results of the study may also contribute towards the adoption of better policies for accommodating refugees from psychosocial and human rights perspectives. This study can deepen the knowledge and experiences of refugees in their diversity and contribute towards policies for community-based interventions that serve the needs of entire refugee communities and their host environments. The overall findings of the study present further understanding in the field of forced migration, gender and human rights and adds value to the subject matter.

In conclusion, the findings from this exploratory study suggest that these refugee women have remarkable resources in terms of education and skills, but need social conditions

and a context in which they can exercise their capacities and creative energies. As importantly, they need social support and encouragement. In the situations they face as refugees, offering even small opportunities will help them to develop their self-confidence and autonomy and to have a sense of control as suggested by Lewin (1990).

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Field Notes

Researchers field notes from interactions and observations with UNHCR, Dar es Salaam, Kigoma and Kagera region; representatives of local and international NGOs dealing with issues of refugees in western Tanzania; clergy fraternity and local media in Kigoma and Kagera regions; officials from Tanzanian Ministry of Home Affairs and refugees from Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda.

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Berend Jonker is a project manager at Education Action International, London. The results of the RESOURCE project are presented in 14 country reports Available from www.education- action.org/media/Resource_projectdoc

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Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice together with interim arrangements of 1945
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Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 1948
Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951
Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989
Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women of 1967
Declaration of the Family Rights of 1994
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Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment of 1972
Draft Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women of 1993
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966
Protocol 1 to the Geneva Convention of 1949
Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1967
Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948

APPENDIX A

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC & DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT

(P&DM)

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

This document is to confirm my voluntary participation in the Ph.D. research of Lydia Wambugu entitled 'Women in Armed Conflict: Unpacking Social Capital as a Strategic Tool on Coping and Peace Building: A case of western Tanzania'.

It is my understanding that the objective of the dissertation is analysing the coping strategies and social network adopted by the refugee women living in western Tanzania. This research is being supervised by Prof. Guy C.Z. Mhone, professor of Public and Development Management at the University of the Witwatersrand.[146]

My participation will consist of a narration of my experiences in two - three interviews to be held at a place and time convenient to me. Each interview will last approximately one to two hours.

I can use a pseudonym from the beginning of the study to guarantee confidentiality. I will also be free to stop participating at any point in the research if l so desire.

The final document will be available to the community and refugee organisations in order to assist them with improving their services towards refugee women. I also give my consent to Lydia to publish the final results of the research.

I have read the above agreement. I understand what is being asked of me and am willing to participate in this project.

If I have any additional questions about this research I can contact Lydia Wambugu at e-mail address lydiah_w@hotmail.com or Prof Mhone at mhone.g@pdm.wits.ac.za.

Respondent's signature: _____

Researcher's signature: _____

Date: _____

[146] PhD Supervisor by the time of data collection April - June 2003.

APPENDIX B

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC & DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT (P&DM)

TAPE-RECORDING CONSENT FORM

I grant my permission to Lydia W. Wambugu whose research is being conducted as part of the requirements for the Ph.D. degree in Public and Development Management under the supervision of Prof. Guy C. Z. Mhone, professor of Public and Development Management at the University of Witwatersrand,[147] to tape record one to two interview sessions with me.

Respondent's signature: _____

Researcher's signature: _____

Date: _____

[147] PhD supervisor at the time of data collection April – June 2003.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDELINES

Date of Interview: _____

Location: _____

Pseudonym: _____

NOTE

The researcher divided the interview questionnaire into two. The first session comprised questions that the researcher used to establish rapport with the respondents, while the second session comprised questions that were used in the second interview session. These constituted demographic questions and others that focused on the research.

Section One: Background Information

1. Tell me a little bit about yourself _____

- Nationality: _____
- How old are you? _____ Date of Birth: _____Age: __
- What is your level of education? Level of Education Completed:

  Primary: Grade 1-5 ☐ Grade 6-7 ☐

  Secondary: Form 1-4 ☐ Form 5-6☐

  Tertiary: Certificate ☐ Diploma ☐

  University Degree ☐

  - Occupation currently _____ Occupation in home country
  - Estimated annual income (US$) Currently☐ In Home Country☐

2. Tell me a little bit about your family?

- What is your marital status? Married ☐ Single ☐ Divorced ☐Widow Separated☐
- What is your husbands' age? _____
- What is your husbands' level of education? Level of education completed:

  Primary Grade 1-5 ☐ Grade 6-7 ☐

  Secondary: Form 1-4 ☐ Form 5-6 ☐

  Tertiary: Certificate ☐ Diploma ☐

  University Degree ☐
- What is your husbands' occupation? Currently ☐ In Home Country☐
- What is your husbands' estimated annual income? (US$) Currently ☐ In Home Country ☐

- Do you have any children? Yes ☐ No ☐
- Are your children male or female? Male ☐ Female ☐
- What are their date(s) of birth? d/m/y _____ Age: _____
- Do you have any children back in your home country? Yes ☐ No ☐
- Are your children attending school currently? ☐ In what grade are they?

  Primary: Grade 1-5 ☐ Grade 6-7 ☐

  Secondary: Form 1-4 ☐ Form 5-6☐

  Tertiary: Certificate ☐ Diploma ☐

  University Degree ☐
- Where were they attending school back in your home country

  Private ☐ Public ☐
- What grades were they back in your home country?

  Primary: Grade 1-5 ☐ Grade 6-7 ☐

  Secondary: Form 1-4 ☐ Form 5-6☐

  Tertiary: Certificate ☐ Diploma ☐

  University Degree ☐

Section Two: Refugee Experiences and Social Capital[148]

3. How was your life generally back in your home country?

- When did you leave your country? _____
- Why did you leave? _____
- Tell me about your flight? _____
- How did you get to Tanzania? _____

[148] Here questions revolved around social networks:- family and friend connections, neighbourhood connections and participation in the local community and feelings of trust and safety.

- Did you pass through other countries?

  _____

- Which are these countries? _____

4. Do you like living in Tanzania? _____

- What do you find most interesting here? _____

5. Can you tell me about a problem or a difficult situation that you have encountered here in Tanzania? _____

- What was it like? _____
- How did you deal with that situation? _____
- What was the outcome? _____
- Do you receive any assistance from any refugee or any other organisations?

  _____

- Would you like to be repatriated back to your home country? _____
- What life do you consider better for you, before in your country or after in Tanzania? _____

6. Can you tell me about what it's like to be a refugee woman in Tanzania?

- What are your roles/responsibilities as a woman/mother? _____
- What is/are your other activities apart from your occupation and your role as a mother and wife? _____

7. Do you have any relatives/extended family in Tanzania? Tell me about your life with them._____

- Who are they? _____

- Where do these relatives stay? _____
- How often do you visit each other? _____
- Do you have friends from your home country? _____
- How often do you visit each other? _____
- Do you have other relatives back in your home country? _____
- Who are they? _____
- Do you communicate with them and how? _____
- How often do you communicate? _____
- Do they assist you in any way? _____

8. Do you have relatives or friends abroad? _____

- Where are they? _____
- Who are they? _____
- How did you first establish contact with them? _____
- Do you communicate with them and how often? _____
- How do you communicate, by telephone or letters? _____
- Do you receive any kind of assistance from them? _____

9. Are you a member of any organisation, women's or church group? _____

- Do you help out in a local group as a volunteer? _____
- Have you attended a local community event in the past 6 months (e.g. church)?_____
- Are you on a management committee or organising committee for any local group? _____
- Have you ever joined a local community action to deal with a problem affecting the entire community? _____

10. Can you get help from friends when you need it? _____

- If you were caring for a child and needed to go out for a while, would you ask a neighbour for help? _____
- Have you visited a neighbour in the past week? _____
- In the past 6 months, have you done a favour for a sick neighbour? _____
- How many people did you talk to yesterday? _____

11. If you need information do you know where and how to find that information? _____

- What sort of information would you be looking for? _____
- What information do you receive with regard to events about your home country?_____
- Do you depend on your husband or a second party to gain access to information? _____
- Do you think women have separate communication channels than men in the camps? _____

12. If you have a dispute with your neighbours are you willing to seek mediation?

- Do you feel safe walking within the camp after dark?_____
- Do you agree that most people can be trusted? _____
- Does your camp have a reputation for being a safe place?_____
- Does your camp feel like home? _____
- Some say that by helping others, you help yourself in the long run. Do you agree? _____
- If a stranger, someone different, (new arrival) moves into your camp, would they be accepted by the others? _____

Is there something else you would want to say about your experience(s)?

_____

APPENDIX D

MAELEKEZO JUU YA KUULIZA MASWALI

(*INTERVIEW GUIDELINES IN KISWAHILI)*

Tarehe: _____

Unaishi wapi:
Mtaa wako: _____

Jina lako la mtaani: _____

ILANI

Mtafiti aliyagawanya maswali katika mafungu mawili. Fungu la kwanza lilikuwa na maswali ambayo mtafiti alitumia kwa kuanzisha uhusiano baina yake na wahojiwa. Fungu la pili lilikuwa na maswali yaliyotumiwa katika duru ya pili ya mahojiano. Maswali haya yalikuwa hasa juu ya idadi ya watu na mengine yalikuwa ya uhusiano wa karibu zaidi na utafiti wenyewe.

Fungu la kwanza

Hujambo, Mimi ni Lydia Wambugu, na ninafanya utafiti kuhusu wanawake wakibizi. Maelezo utakayonipa yatasaidia katika kutafuta ufumbuzi wa tatizo la wanawake wakibizi

1. Tafadhali nipe, kwa muhtasari, maelezo kuhusu wewe binafsi, kulingana na maswali nitakayokuuliza:

- Umetoka nchi ngani? _____
- Una miaka mingapi? (umri wako) _____ Tarehe ya kuzaliwa____
- Umehitimu kiwango gani cha masomo?
- Shule ya msingi: Darasa la 1-5☐ Darasa la 6-7 ☐

  Shule ya upili: Kituo cha 1-4 ☐ Kituo cha 5-6☐

  Chuo kikuu: Cheti☐ Shahada ya diploma ☐ Shahada ya degree☐
- Una fanya kazi gani hivi sasa? _____
- Unapokea kiasi gani cha mshahara kwa mwaka mzima? (dola za amerikani)

  _____
- Ulikuwa ukifanya kazi gani nchini mwako? _____
- Ulipata kiasi gani cha mshahara kwa mwaka mzima? (dola za amerikani)

  _____

2. Basi nieleze kidogo kuihusu familia yako

- Je, umeolewa? Ndiyo☐ Hapana☐
- Mumeo ana umri gani? _____
- Je, mumeo amehitimu kiwango gani cha masomo?

Shule ya msingi: Darasa la 1-5☐ Darasa la 6-7 ☐

Shule ya upili: Kituo cha 1-4 ☐ Kituo cha 5-6☐

Chuo kikuu: Cheti☐ Shahada ya diploma ☐ Shahada ya degree☐

- Mumeo anafanya kazi gani hivi sasa?_____
- Mumeo anapata kiasi gani cha mshahara kwa mwaka mzima? (dola za amerikani) _____
- Je, mumeo alikuwa akifanya kazi gani nchini mwenu? _____
- Ni kiasi gani cha mshahara ambacho mumeo alikuwa akipata kwa mwaka mzima? (dola za amerikani) _____
- Je, una watoto? Ndiyo☐ Hapana☐
- Watoto wako ni wa kike ama kiume? Kiume☐ Kike ☐
- Nielezee umri wa watoto wako_____Mwaka wa kuzaliwa t/m/m_____
- Je, unao watoto wengine ambao wako nchini mwako? Ndiyo☐ Hapana☐
- Je, watoto wako wanahudhuriya shule ?
- Je, watoto wako darasa la ngapi shuleni mwao? Shule ya msingi:

  Darasa la 1-5☐ Darasa la 6-7 ☐ Shule ya upili: Kituo cha 1-4 ☐

  Kituo cha 5-6☐ Chuo kikuu: Cheti☐ Shahada ya diploma ☐

  Shahada ya degree☐
- Je, watoto wako walisomea shule zipi mulipokuwa nchini mwenu? shule ya kibinafsi ☐ ama shule ya sherekali ☐
- Je, watoto wako walikuwa darasa la ngapi nchini mwenu?

  Shule ya msingi: Darasa la 1-5☐ Darasa la 6-7 ☐

  Shule ya upili: Kituo cha 1-4 ☐ Kituo cha 5-6☐ Chuo kikuu: Cheti☐

  Shahada ya diploma ☐ Shahada ya degree☐

Fungu la Pili: Maisha ya Mkibizi na Uhusiano kakika Jumuiya ya Wakimbizi

3. Nieleze maisha yako yalivyokuwa huko nchini mwako _____

- Ulitoka huko mwaka gani? _____
- Je, ni sababu gani zilizokufanya hata ukimbilie uhamishoni? Je, unaweza kunielezea kuhusu safari yako ya kuondoka huko hadi kufika hapa?

  _____
- Je, ulifikaje hapa Tanzania ?_____
- Je, ulipitia, nchi nyingine kabla ya kuja hapa Tanzania? _____
- Nchi hizi ni zipi? _____

4. Je, ungelipendelea kuendelea kuishi hapa Tanzania? _____
    - Je, ni kitu gani kinachokupendeza zaidi hapa Tanzania? _____

5. Umeshakumbwa na shida ya aina fulani, na je uliikabili vipi na matokeo yake walikuwa ya aina gani? _____

- Je, unapokea msaada wowote kutoka vikundi au kampuni yoyote? _____
- Je, ungelipendelea kurudi nchini mwako? _____
- Je, unaweza kusema ni maisha gani yanayokufaa zaidi: yale ya nyumbani au haya ya uhamoshoni hapa Tanzania? _____

6. Nieleze jukumo lako kama mwanamke au kama mama hapa Tanzania?

_____

- Je, unaweza kunielezea jinsi unavyo jisikia kama mwanamke mkimbizi hapa Tanzania? _____

7. Je, una jamaa zako wengine ama marafiki ambao ni wakimbizi kutoka nchini mwako hapa Tanzania? _____

- Hawa marafiki na jamaa ni akina nani? _____
- Je, watu hawa wanaishi wapi? _____
- Je, unao jamaa wengine ambao wako nchini mwenu? _____
- Hawa jamaa ni akina nani? _____
- Je, wewe una mawasiliano na hawa jamaa? _____
- Unawasiliana nao kwa njia gani? (simu, barua) _____
- Unawasiliana nao hawa jamaa baada ya muda gani? Mara kwa mara? Mara moja kwa wiki? Kwa mwezi? Nieleze _____

8. Je, unao jamii au marafiki wanaoishi nchi za ulaya? _____
   - Wako nchi gani za ulaya? _____
   - Hawa ni akina nani? _____
   - Uliwasiliana nao kwa njia gani hapo mwanzoni? _____
   - Unawasiliana nao kwa njia gani hivi sasa? _____
   - Je wanakusaidia kwa njia yo yote ile? _____

9. Je, wewe ni mwanachama wa kikundi chochote, kiwe ni cha akina mama, cha kidini au cha wakimbizi? _____
   - Je, unajitoleya kusaidiya kwenye kikondi chochote cha jumuiya?- _____
   - Je, umehudhuriya mkutano au cherehe yoyote ile katika jumuiya yako kwa mwezi sita iliyopita?_____
   - Je, wewe ni mwenyekiti au mwekahazina katika kikundi chochote hapa kambini?_____

- Je, umeshawahi kuongana na wakimbizi wengi kwa niya ya kutatuwa tatizo ambalo nilikumba jumuiya yote kwa jumla?_____

10. Je, ukihitaji msaada unaweza kupata msaada kutoka kwa rafiki yako hapa kambini?_____

    - Je, unaweza kumwachia jirani yako mtoto wako ukakibiya tuseme sokoni au ukafuata shuguli nyingine?_____
    - Je, umemtebelea jirani yako wiki hii?_____
    - Je, kwa mwezi sita iliyopita umemtebeleya jirani waliyekuwa akiogowa na ukatenda kitendo cha kimsaidiya kwa njiya yoyote ile?__
    - Je, jana ulizogumza na watu wagapi?_____

11. Je, ukitaka maelezo, tarifa au habari unafahamu sehemu na jinsi ya kupata maelezo hayo?_____

    - Je, mara nyingi wewe hutafuta maelezo au habari za aina ngani?_____
    - Je, unapata maelezo au tarifa zipi kuhusu yanayoendelea nchini mwako?_____
    - Je, unamtengemea mume wako au mtu mwingine utakapo maelezo fulani au tarifa?_____
    - Je, maoni yako ni yapi, wafikiri wanawake wakimbizi wanazo njia zao wenyewe za kupata maelezo, tarifa au habari?_____

12. Je, ukigombana na jirani yako, uko tayari kutatuwa matatizo yenu?_____

- Je, unajisikiya uko salama unapotembea kambini mwenyu baada ya giza kwingia?_____
- Je, unakubali ya kuwa watu wengi niwakuaminika?_____
- Je, kambi yenu inayo sifa ya usalama?_____
- Je, unajisikia uko nyumbani kambini mwako?_____
- Watu wengi wanasema kuwa ikimsaidiya mwenzako, umejisaidiya mwenyewe, je unakubaliana na maoni haya?_____
- Je, mkimbizi mpya akiwasili kambini mwenye, atakaribishwa na atakubaliwa na wakimbizi wengine?_____

Je, kunalo jambo lingine lolote la ziada ambalo ungelipenda kusema au kongeza?_____