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THE LEVEL OF REFUGEE PARTICIPATION IN THE PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO MEET THEIR NEEDS: MOZAMBICAN REFUGEES IN MALAWI

By

Tesfatsion Dalellew

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

THE LEVEL OF REFUGEE PARTICIPATION IN THE PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO MEET THEIR NEEDS: MOZAMBICAN REFUGEES IN MALAWI

By

Tesfatsion Dalellew

Host governments, international, bilateral and non-governmental agencies endeavor to meet the short- and long-term problems of refugees. Increased participation by refugees in programs designed to meet their needs has often been forwarded as an effective solution to project implementation problems. Participation advocates point to its potential for improving the technical effectiveness of service delivery; others stress its importance for enhancing local control, self-sufficiency, self-determination and political freedom.

This research investigated the extent of refugee participation in the programs designed to meet their needs. It is a study of Mozambican refugees in Malawi. Employing the cycle of program development phases—needs assessment, planning, implementation and evaluation, and informed by the literature on development and participation, two sample groups were used to collect the data—refugees and agency personnel.

Major findings include: (1) Though often essential to the identification of real needs and related problem solving, the needs assessment in Malawi generally excludes refugee participation. (2) Participatory planning is advocated as an ideal approach to development. However, refugees and agency personnel perceived no refugee participation in programs meant to assist them. (3) There is some evidence that, during the implementation phase of refugee programs, refugees have some participation. However, the participation is in the form of manual labor. (4) Evaluation helps to clarify goals and improve outcomes, as well as challenge the "taken for granted" assumptions underlying a program. However, similar to other program phases, there was no refugee participation in evidence. (5) While refugee participation is a questionable goal in the eyes of the host government, the non-governmental agencies have clearly-stated policies that encourage refugee participation. However, these policies need to be diffused to project level at the field.

The study suggests that strategic decentralization is critical for participatory program development. People organize best around problems they consider most important. In assessing needs and in planning development initiatives, community participation is essential for

effective local response. Local commitment of labor, time, material, and money to project is both an evidence of participation and a necessary condition for breaking patterns of development paternalism.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated

to the

Poor, Powerless, Unjustly Pushed and Displaced,

whose agony tears my heart.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

One does not undertake an endeavor of this nature without considerable help from Almighty God, friends, associates and professors. In this study, any attempt to thank in print all such individuals would be a futile task. Suffice it to say that I am very grateful to all who assisted in the completion of this project.

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Menna and Mahlet. I can only promise to reciprocate it, so long as the Lord gives me life and strength.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

One of the problems with refugeeism is that it has little hope of vanishing in the foreseeable future (Wani, 1983). This human tragedy can be traced to antiquity but, in its long history, a durable solution has not been devised (Holborn, 1956). Social and political scientists, educators, and development specialists, as well as private agencies and host governments, still search for a lasting solution to refugee problems. The transitory nature of refugee status has forced governments and agencies to consider resettlement and/or repatriation as the primary objective(s) (Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues [ICIHI], 1986). All those who grapple with the problem continue asking the question of how to provide long-term, sustainable programs that will increase the probability of refugee integration, especially when neither resettlement nor repatriation is possible. In this case, integration would mean creating:

> . . . a situation in which host and refugee communities are able to coexist, sharing the same resources---both economic and social---with no greater mutual conflict than that which exists within the host community (Harrell-Bond, 1986, p. 7).

Host governments, as well as international and voluntary agencies, are the major support systems for attempting to bring about temporary and long-lasting solutions to the issue of refugee survival. Although much is being done for refugees in the area of relief, the issue that still needs closer examination is the extent to which refugees participate in the projects that are designed to alleviate their unique problems. As Cuny (1987) asserts:

> . . . most agencies overlook or neglect to include participation as a goal. Some passively avoid the matter; others actively avoid it; and most simply don't recognize the opportunities that are available nor how to exploit them (p. 3).

Studies in the field of adult education and development have shown that active participation is a critical key for adult development and growth (Knox, 1986, p. 35). Freire and his "conscientization" (1985), Knowles' learning contracts (1980, 1984), Brookfield's critical thinking (1987), Bryant and White's participation for sustainable development (1982), and Uphoff, Cohen and Goldsmith's

(1979) comprehensive definition of participation for development programs all support the need for adult involvement.

Harrell-Bond (1986, p. 4) provides us with a definition of participation within the refugee context: "Participation is about empowering the poor to take control of their own lives, about being able to involve themselves effectively in decision making." Clark (1985, p. 22) outlines the causes for "refugee dependency syndrome" in much the same way:

> . . . [an] unfortunate reality for the prospects for refugee self-reliance is that the main assistance policies and approaches typically take shape during the emergency relief phase . . . . [Development agencies] have been reluctant to become involved in part because they mistakenly think that refugee assistance is overwhelmingly relief work.

A sense of "personal and societal impotence" is the standard by which many agencies view the refugee. Clark comments:

> A further unfortunate reality for the prospects for refugee self-reliance is that the main assistance policies and approaches typically take shape during the emergency relief phase. Relief operations focus heavily on handing things out. Many of those doing the handing out are Westerners who received a heavy dose in their home countries of the stereotype of refugees as dazed childlike victims (1985, p. 22).

He critically analyzes the need for agencies to emphasize programs that end dependency, and to encourage refugee

self-reliance and participation. For Clark, the issue is
the need for development-oriented programs that:

> . . . look at ways that refugees can have their
> real needs most effectively met and can become
> full players in partnership with those already in
> place (1985, p. 22).

Wani (1983, p. 193), in reporting the results of his
dissertation research on refugees in the Sudan, recommends
that ". . . the refugee should become involved as a full
participant and must interact with the management."

Refugee participation is often overlooked by agency
personnel. The refugee is one of three main stakeholders
who directly impacts the inception and evolution of
programs. Other stakeholders are the host government and
the service-providing agencies. In addition to impacting
the programs, these interest groups have a certain degree
of influence upon each other. The policies of the host
government influence the nature and limitations of agency
programs. What the refugees can or are willing to do can
impact agency outcomes and government policies.

The UNHCR Handbook (1982) argues that refugees are the
single most important source in meeting their own needs,
and they have definite ideas about how best this may be
done. Therefore, the Handbook concludes that their views
should be taken into account and they should be involved in
drawing up plans (p. 173). The plan must strengthen the
refugees' own resources and self-sufficiency. Creating

dependency, through the well-intentioned provision of outside assistance that may be either inappropriate or unnecessary, must also be avoided.

When a development-oriented philosophy is inherent in refugee programs design for self-reliance and participation, full partnership by all stakeholders will increase the chances for a successful outcome. Clark (1985) suggests that agency contracts specifically promise participation, ". . . including refugee input into initial needs assessment and project design, as well as in project implementation and in project monitoring and evaluation" (p. 22). He also emphasizes the need for sharing information among agency personnel, the importance of fostering written research findings about what works and what does not, and the need for providing models for needs identification, participation and evaluation.

The Refugee in Perspective

According to Stein (1981b), refugees are not pulled out. Rather, they are pushed out. Often they travel long distances and into different environments and cultures. They are physically dazed, malnourished and frustrated. The change of environment and difficulties involved in adjusting to the change, coupled with the host government's lack of preparation, makes designing and implementing beneficial refugee programs a complex process.

The participatory approach enables individuals to exercise some control over the changes in their lives.

Kettner, Daley and Nichols (1985) suggest that empowerment through participation provides the client group with ample ongoing opportunity to be involved in the various phases of the change process. As such, refugee participation in the relief process, rehabilitation and development is considered essential by all who are concerned with issues of providing long-term, sustainable, refugee programs. The belief that people have a right to control their lives is widely held. Where refugees live as passive recipients, they lack such control. Also, from a practical standpoint, refugee participation is essential because it can help make an assistance program work better and achieve the goal of self-sufficiency.

Cuny (1987) reports that most agencies overlook or neglect including participation as a goal. However, the UNHCR and several other agencies see participation as a means to achieve self-sufficiency within refugee constraints. Reports from some refugee settlements indicate refugee participation also contributed to the high standards of the settlement planning programs (Rogge, 1985).

Although much is being done for refugees in the area of relief and rehabilitation, the issue that needs closer examination is the extent to which refugees participate in the projects designed to alleviate their unique problems. Such an examination should focus not only on the general terms of participation but, more specifically, on certain

important aspects, such as needs assessment, planning, implementation and evaluation of projects for refugees.

The 1951 United Nations Convention and the 1967 Protocol, subscribed to by over 100 nations, provides a clear definition of a refugee as a person who:

> . . . owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; 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 (UNHCR, 1979, p. 11).

Rogge (1985) assures us that "the refugee problem . . . is not a new phenomenon" (p. 7); others, such as Gordenker (1987), state that, "migration has always formed part of human life" (p. 12). Throughout history, people have left their homes for many different reasons: material, spiritual, natural and man-made calamities, such as drought and war. All of these, along with many more factors, force people out of their home country to become refugees.

Most assuredly, the role of politics in the process of refugee production cannot be overlooked. Gordenker (1987, p. 13) states that:

> Flight for political reasons is nothing new. Threatened princes and defeated pretenders of old sought shelter in neighbouring courts, and, frequently under code of royal courtesy, got what they wanted.

Although the problem of refugee migration can be traced to antiquity, and various reasons can be listed, massive movements of people have been experienced during and since the First and Second World Wars. The diaspora of the Palestinians, which began after the formation of the State of Israel in 1948, and the Southeast Asian asylum in the United States, which began after the Vietnam War, are major examples of international conflicts that have resulted in a worldwide emergence of refugees.

The case of Ethiopians fleeing to the Sudan and Somalia; the Sudanese to Ethiopia; the Burundians to Tanzania; the Ugandans to the Sudan and Kenya; the Guatemalans and El Salvadorans in Mexico and Honduras; the Mozambicans to Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe; and even the Afghans scattered in Pakistan, are all examples of local conflicts that have produced refugees in masses:

> The last 50 years have witnessed major changes in both the number and the location of the world's uprooted people. Until the mid-1940's, the majority were to be found in Europe, mainly victims of fascist persecution and the Second World War (ICIHI, 1986, p. 9).

Millions of refugees are on the move around the globe today. As the world becomes more internationalized, refugee migration has great impact on neighboring and distant nations.

The Contemporary Refugee

Gordenker (1987) says that the "contemporary understanding of the refugee, whatever the antecedents, rests on a deliberate conceptual exclusion and a search for a precision" (p. 12). The report of the ICIHI makes it clearer by saying "Millions of people throughout the world are obliged to move against their will" (ICIHI, 1986, p. 1). If such an observation can be refuted, it would have reduced the number of refugees a great deal. A large proportion of dislocated persons lives in intolerable conditions of insecurity and poverty. However, those who migrate for known economic reasons are not included in the UNHCR mandate; although this point still remains open for argument, anything that threatens human lives should be mandated without discrimination.

Nonetheless, the 1951 UN Convention and the 1967 Protocol were given a broader spectrum in 1969 by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) when it recognized:

> . . . that in the developing countries, many people are forced to leave their own country for reasons other than persecution . . . . the term 'refugee' shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order . . . is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence (ICIHI, 1986, p. 20).

In many other parts of the world, refugees covered by the OAU's extended definition are now the norm.

E. F. Kunz (1973) describes the refugee as ". . . a distinct social type" and points out that the essential difference between refugees and voluntary migrants lies in their motivation:

> It is the reluctance to uproot oneself, and the absence of positive original motivation to settle elsewhere, which characterizes all refugee decisions and distinguishes the refugee from the voluntary migrant (p. 130).

The key distinction between a migrant and a refugee is that a refugee is a person who is literally forced to leave or lose his or her life. On the other hand, a migrant is one who is attracted by different factors which might offer better living conditions. Olson (1978) illustrates four key distinctions between refugees and migrants:

1. Refugees tend to travel in large groups, and consequently overwhelm the customary assistance channels that deal with individual migrants.

2. Many refugees are forced to leave behind money and other valuables and cannot buy things they need.

3. Many refugees are ill-equipped to move from one location to another and establish a new life. Because refugees are forced to leave, there is no selection process (e.g., migrants having skills that make them employable in the new location).

4. Refugees are forced into the new location whether or not they are well suited to establish a new life there.

The Refugee in Africa

> The refugees in Africa are not special people who
> have been uprooted. They are special because they
> have been uprooted (Kennedy, 1987, p. 6).

The European scramble for African colonies, which started in the 19th Century, began to crumble in 1957 when Ghana became independent. However, the following 30 years have revealed a constant struggle for the internal control of many African countries. Civil wars were rampant and regional conflicts were typical. The current refugee population of 3,574,910 (Winter, 1987, p. 31) illustrates the striking truth of an old African saying, "When two elephants fight, the grass gets hurt." Fighting for power or material control between two parties makes the powerless worse than trampled grass. Out of desperation, anguish, fear, and frustration, physically able people decide to flee, leaving everything--family, property, country of origin--behind. They decide to abandon their dignity and former aspirations. In its report, the Comité International Mouvement auprès des Evacués (CIMADE) states:

> Wars for national freedom broke out everywhere.
> In Algeria in 1954, and at the same period in the
> Cameroons. Guinea Bissau, Angola, Mozambique,
> Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa, and the Western
> Sahara followed in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s,
> each new outburst again bringing in its wake
> thousands of refugees (1986, p. 15).

The coming of political independence was not accompanied by economic development or fruits of freedom.

The colonial legacy, and the fact of underdevelopment, conspired against the new governments. Olson (1978) observes:

> The 1960s and 1970s have been times of great
> unrest in Africa. Much of Africa became indepen-
> dent in the 1960s, and with independence came
> increased inter-tribal hostilities, resulting in
> large numbers of people leaving the newly founded
> countries to move to other countries to take up
> residence with ethnic kinspeople (pp. 28-29).

This is only half the truth. For refugees whose lives are threatened, the choices are narrow. Kin or no kin, the primary option is to find refuge where haunting dangers are minimized, and where life can begin again with renewed interest and investment.

The Need for Effective Development-Oriented Programming

When an emergency of man-made or natural calamity strikes a region or a nation, it is only natural to respond with immediate relief assistance for those who are endangered. This includes the distribution of food, clothing, and medical supplies, and the establishment of temporary shelter. National and international agencies have been conditioned to mobilize relief efforts in anticipation of disaster. However, providing relief assistance, which continues to be the only form of meeting refugee needs, holds an inherent danger: The "hand-out" nature of relief encourages dependency and helplessness. Even though relief is meant to overcome the distressed condition of recipients, it has a propensity for lasting

longer than needed. Gordenker (1987) states that, " . . . prior planning for the extension of relief to people forced into movement . . . would extend the available time for setting out programs and mounting them" (p. 170). With such anticipation, not only the relief needs of the affected are met, but programs for terminating relief assistance and/or rehabilitation can be instituted over time to include transformation activities.

Although asylum areas provide an immediate haven of refuge for refugees, perhaps the greater problem is the issue of providing the type of development assistance that will assist them in moving toward self-sufficiency and normalcy, either in their receiving nation or upon return to their homeland. The programs/projects being offered that provide development opportunities to the refugees have been designed with a specific plan in mind--one which may or may not have included a comprehensive plan for refugee participation. Program development is complicated by the deceptive nature of the refugee problem in that it portrays itself as though it is a temporary condition. Stein (1987a), reporting on the Sudan experience, states:

> The refugees' view of their exile as temporary [is] often shared by the host government, who, expecting repatriation, [give] little thought to site selection . . . and [see] no reason to invest heavily in infrastructure for temporarily resident aliens (p. 7).

Due to this perception, host governments and agencies provide relief assistance in most cases with the hope that repatriation would be possible in a short while. Stein (1981a) observes:

> . . . the result of this perception is incompleteness, things left undone, failure to evaluate programs, to prepare for the next wave of refugees, to experiment with alternative strategies, to develop coordination, to undertake research and to learn from the past (pp. 320-321).

Self-sufficiency programs are difficult to implement because of continual fluctuations in new arrivals, all in need of immediate relief assistance. Agencies vacillate between relief for new refugees, and development for those who have been there for some time, trying to decide which one to address first. However, Gorman (1986) emphasizes that:

> . . . massive amounts of immediate relief do little to address the long-term development needs of Africa in general or the burdens borne by refugee-receiving countries in particular. Indeed, unless these long-term, infrastructural needs are addressed . . . [problems] in these countries will only grow more difficult to cope with in the future (p. 296).

One assumption is that projects that include refugee participation in program planning somehow contribute to overall development. Clark (1985) has challenged agencies to find an answer to a key question: "How can the assistance system be re-designed to maximize refugee self-reliance and participation?" UNHCR official policy

supports participation, as do the policies of many non-governmental organizations (NGOs). However, a major issue involves translating policy into systematic changes at the field level so that participation becomes the norm. Clark (1985) offers six policy stances that were developed as a result of his many discussions with field staff:

1. Write refugee participation into agency contracts;

2. Alter the mix of skills among agency staff;

3. Increase information available to refugees about the local system;

4. Meet the special information needs of refugee leaders;

5. Exchange ideas about refugee participation methodologies; and

6. Improve needs assessment (pp. 22-23).

In an even more expansive perspective, the 18th Ordinary Session of the OAU Coordinating Committee on Assistance to Refugees was convened to secure international attention to the need for effective refugee programs. In its conference report, the Malawian government stated that:

> The Government intends to use [a] forum to publicise its case for need for further international assistance, to learn from other Governments how they are handling refugee situations in their countries, and explore ways and means of bringing about lasting solutions to the refugee situation in southern Africa (OAU, 1989a, p. 22).

The Malawian government has also impressed upon the international agency community the need " . . . to extend support to on-going development programmes in the affected areas so that the economy can effectively serve the refugees and local populations" (p. 22). We may be able to assume that refugees will benefit more from the programs offered by the agencies if their identified needs are being met and if they are afforded the opportunity to be involved in their own development through participation.

Development planners need to closely examine the existing programs available to the refugee population and to discern whether or not programs actually meet refugee needs. Two agencies that have had extensive involvement in the international assistance arena--the UNHCR and World Vision International (WVI)--have expressed concern regarding the scarcity of sustainable development programs in asylum areas. They specifically cite the case in Malawi as particularly pressing because of the refugee influx and the need to provide programs that alleviate the tremendous burden undertaken by the Malawian government. Both agencies have field offices in Malawi, and are currently involved in several projects with the Malawian government that will provide development opportunities for Mozambicans as they are integrated into the indigenous population.

Participation and Motivation in Adult Learning

If one views adult learning as self-directed learning--"sustained, highly deliberate efforts to learn a

knowledge or a skill" (Tough, 1979, p. 11), "then all persons are involved in such activity" (Cross, 1981, p. 51). The variables involved in the decision to participate in learning are many. Houle (1961) conducted several in-depth interviews with adult learners and concluded that learners are goal-oriented, activity-oriented, and learning-oriented. Harvey (1978), extrapolating Tough's learner typology, discovered that almost every learner has more than one reason for engaging in learning. Although pragmatic reasons predominate, learning has a certain pattern of awareness, puzzlement, and curiosity. Even though extensive time may be involved, adult learners enjoy learning. All of these variables involve a high degree of participation on the part of the adult in assessing his/her high need to know, deciding upon the learning mode that best suits the learner's individual style, and evaluating learning for successful attainment.

Burgess (1971) used Houle's three learning orientations and identified seven factors for participation. These include the desire to: 1) know; 2) reach personal goals; 3) reach social goals; 4) reach religious goals; 5) escape; 6) take part in social activities; and 7) comply with formal requirements. Cross (1981, p. 94) concluded:

> There is a steady increase in the proportion of persons taking courses for personal and recreational reasons—a category that includes preparations for community development, personal and family interests and social and recreational interest.

Therefore, if we analyze individual, organizational and community development models, many of which are utilized when considering the impact of education on national development, we repeatedly discover several dominant characteristics. The underlying philosophical framework for adult motivation and development rests on several important assumptions. They are:

* Participants assess their own needs.

* Facilitators and participants decide upon the resources and type of learning activities that are needed to meet the needs identified.

* Participants evaluate whether or not the need has been met.

* Facilitators empower participants by providing opportunities for them to become facilitators for others.

* Development activities can meet a variety of needs from personal to professional (Dalellew & Martinez, 1988, pp. 28-31).

Bryant and White (1982, p. 205) succinctly state that: "Development as a process of increasing people's capacity to determine their future means that people need to be included in the process--they need to participate."

Sustainable Development for Refugees Through Participation

The question of the relationship between participation and social/human development has been analyzed since the days of Aristotle. According to him, participation in state affairs as a citizen was essential to the development of the human personality. Although he agreed that

participation did not necessarily lead to human happiness and the "good life," Aristotle argued that " . . . its denial contributed to ignorance and selfishness" (cited in Uphoff, Cohen & Goldsmith, 1979, p. 214). Since Aristotle, development theorists have asked "Which comes first--development or participation?" Development theory has undergone several changes in how it defines the role of participation. However, many have found and defined the juxtaposition of participation in the scope of development programming.

In discussing the meaning of development, Bryant and White (1982) argue that it involves _being_ and _doing_. Any program energy expended on behalf of an individual or community can "be" and "do." In every opportunity to bring about significant change in people's lives, efforts must be made to enable a community to say: "We did it." Underdevelopment, on the other hand, is in part created when people are not involved and are thereby reduced to inactivity and apathy. This environment is like a slow-burning acid which eats away at human dignity:

> Underdevelopment is shocking; the squalor, disease, unnecessary death, and hopelessness of it all! . . . . The prevalent emotion of underdevelopment is a sense of personal and societal impotence in the face of disease and death, of confusion and ignorance as one gropes to understand change, of servility towards men whose decisions govern the course of events, of hopelessness before hunger and natural catastrophe (Goulet, 1971, p. 23).

According to Uphoff (1986b), Korten (1984), and Bryant and White (1982), the learning process does not organize activities into sequenced stages. This is because planning, implementation, and evaluation are viewed as overlapping. Additionally, in any learning process--and especially in adult learning--the intended beneficiaries are expected to collaborate a great deal with professionals regarding planning, implementation, and evaluation activities. From needs assessment to final evaluation and, eventually, to the empowerment of the people to carry on the work originally designed, the level of involvement is the most critical factor in determining the effectiveness of program results.

As a strategy for empowering (Kindervatter, 1977; Knowles, 1984; Brookfield, 1986), participatory approaches enable people to exercise some control over the change in their lives. However, the extent of such control may vary according to the degree and kind of participation involved. For Knowles, participation of the learner is essential:

> Every individual tends to feel committed to a decision (or an activity) to the extent that he/she has participated in making it or planning it (1980, p. 42).

Nelson (1979) discusses three forms of participation: horizontal, vertical, and participation in the administrative process. In horizontal participation,

"partisan or political behavior--voting, campaigning, interest group activities, lobbying" (p. 206) involve people in a collective effort to influence policy. Vertical participation (p. 206):

> . . . is when in any occasion members of the public develop particular relations with elites or officials, relations that are mutually beneficial.

The third form of participation is in the administrative process. While this can overlap with either of the other two forms, Bryant and White (1982, pp. 206-207) state that:

> It may take the form of interest group activity to shape administrative decisions, or of a particular exchange between patron and client; but usually it is more inclusive than either of these forms.

Three central concepts are: involvement, empowerment, and sustainable development. Each level of participation provides a basis for subsequent levels. Community control and sustainability are the outcomes. Figure 1.01 portrays the concept of participation for sustainable development.

Involvement

Participation is a process whereby community people take the initiative to shape their own future and "better their lives by taking responsibility over their needs and asserting themselves as subjects of their own history" (Mulwa, 1987a, p. 107). It is assumed that, as a base, community people get together and reach consensus concerning common needs. Furthermore, they assess their

```
         ~                        Program Outcome
        ~ ~                            / \
       ~ ~ ~                            |
      ~ ~ ~ ~                           |
      SUSTAINABLE                       |
      DEVELOPMENT                        |
      ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~             Locus of Control
      + + + + + + +                   / \
       +  EMPOWERMENT  +                |
      + + + + + + + + +                 |
      . . . . . . . . . . .             |
       . . . INVOLVEMENT . . .          |
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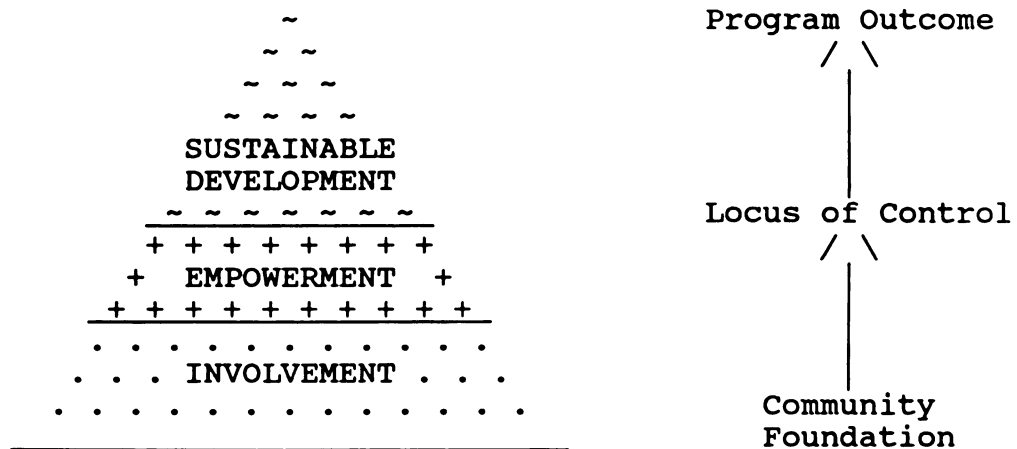
Figure 1.01 Participation Model for Sustainable Development

capacity to mobilize resources to meet their identified
needs.   " . . . capacity includes a concern for people's
self-esteem, their ability to invest themselves in caring
about and shaping their own future" (Bryant & White, 1982,
p. 15).

Empowerment

Through such a decision making process, community
people gain power to mobilize local resources in kind or in
cash. Then, they place demands on their government to
provide technical and material assistance. In so doing,
the people manage their own affairs. Through this process,
their leadership experience grows and, with this exercise,
the locus of control rests in the hands of the community.
They determine their own destiny. Once a community
organizes itself and begins to make its own decisions, it
acquires political leverage. Thus, needs are identified,
resources are assessed, and solutions are evaluated and
implemented.

Sustainable Development

The final stage is to evaluate the program for its desired change. At this stage, there are three questions: 1) Were the decisions appropriate to the context? 2) Did the decisions affect the whole environment? 3) Will the present production decisions allow us to sustain ourselves over time? (Bryant and White, 1982, p. 17) From Figure 1.01, we learn that, when a community comes together in search of solutions to identify problems and when they implement their solutions, they are empowered. Furthermore, when the evaluation process continues, weak points are corrected and the solution is strengthened. This contributes to sustainable development.

Research Purpose and Setting

The purpose of this study is to investigate refugee participation in the needs assessment, planning, implementation, evaluation and overall design of projects to meet their needs. The research focuses on Mozambican refugees who have sought refuge in Malawi. The large influx of these refugees in a relatively short period of time has attracted the world's attention. South Africa's persistent destabilization strategies have impacted both Mozambique and Malawi, causing social disturbances, economic stress, and the loss of human life. This research focuses on displaced Mozambicans and seeks to determine the level and extent of their participation in projects designed to alleviate their immediate and long-term needs.

The agencies targeted for study include the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and World Vision International (WVI)--one agency having a U. N. mandate and the other a voluntary organization.

Malawi is an excellent setting in which to research the issue of refugee participation. First, the Malawi government is cooperative and helpful. Second, key agencies are present and active. Third, no previous studies on refugee participation have been done in southern Africa. Finally, and most important, the asylum areas are accessible for research.

Research Questions

Research Question 1

1.1   As perceived by the refugees, what is the extent of their overall participation in the programs designed to meet their needs?

1.2   As perceived by the refugees, what is the extent of their participation in the needs assessment, planning, implementation and evaluation phases?

Research Question 2

As perceived by refugees, does participation vary by camp, duration of stay in camp, and occupation?

Research Question 3

3.1   As perceived by agency/governmental personnel, what is the extent of overall refugee participation in the programs designed to meet their needs?

3.2   As perceived by agency/governmental personnel, what is the extent of refugee participation in the needs assessment, planning, implementation and evaluation phases?

Research Question 4

As perceived by agency/governmental personnel, does refugee participation vary by organization and position?

Research Question 5

As perceived by refugees, what are the constraints that hinder their involvement in programs designed to meet their needs?

Research Question 6

Do the host government and agencies have written policies that call for, and encourage, refugee participation in programs designed to meet refugee needs?

Research Assumptions

The following assumptions undergird this research:

1. Refugees, as adult members of their society, want to participate in programs that are designed to meet their needs.

2. Their involvement in needs assessment, program design, implementation and evaluation can meaningfully influence program success.

3.   Participation empowers refugees in the decision making process on issues that affect the well-being of their lives.

4.   Refugees know better than outsiders about their needs and realities and can provide insights into designing and implementing effective development-oriented programs.

5.   Participation fosters commitment, thereby encouraging ownership for sustainable development, community growth, and democratic governance.

6.   Where agencies and host governments have policies that include and provide an environment in which participation is encouraged, successful programs and refugee integration can be expected.

Importance of the Study

Refugee camps are scattered throughout the world. Most specifically, the ones in southern Africa reflect a future for the refugees that is tenuous, at best. While people are there waiting for asylum or repatriation, several programs are made available that provide opportunities with the expectation of training for eventual self-sufficiency. However, these programs may well have been designed by the agency with little refugee participation in program assessment, design, implementation, and evaluation. It is critically important for refugee assistance agencies and host governments to be aware of the importance of refugee participation.

This research intends to contribute in the following ways:

1. Provide a model by which agencies and host governments can understand the necessity and practicality of refugee participation in needs assessment, program design, implementation, and evaluation, while giving an impetus to encouraging development-oriented approaches for their programs; and

2. Add to the knowledge base of refugee issues and problems, with the hope of contributing to a long-term solution for the future of the world's disenfranchised.

Definition of Terms

Agency Constituency: Any person employed by the refugee assistance agency UNHCR and WVI and who works with projects that develop, implement, and evaluate programs for the refugee population.

Agency Projects: An activity which has been identified and sponsored by the agency constituency as a way to address refugee needs and has stated outcome objectives.

Asylum Area: An area within a country which has been designated as a refugee asylum area/camp by UNHCR and the host government.

Host Government: The recognized government which administers all services for individuals within its political boundaries.

<u>Participation</u>: Refugee involvement in agency and/or host government sponsored projects in the areas of needs assessment, program design, program implementation and/or program evaluation. It is:

> . . . the process of activities which people undertake voluntarily in order to satisfy their own interests and their own needs . . . comprising involvement in: a) decisionmaking with respect to setting goals and formulating development policies; b) contributing to the development efforts; and, c) sharing equitably in the benefits derived therefrom (UN Secretariat, 1976, p. 3).

<u>Refugee</u>: Any person who has been given political and/or religious asylum in areas sanctioned by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

<u>Southern Africa</u>: Refugee host countries which surround South Africa and have been subjected to South African destabilization policies in defense of apartheid. They are: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe.

Overview of the Research

The general purpose of Chapter I was to introduce the rationale and background for this study. Chapter II provides a theoretical foundation on which the study is built. It examines the existing knowledge base on participation in community development, and surveys the available literature on refugee participation. With regard to participation, the questions of "why," "what," "how," and "who" are addressed.

Chapter III is a case description, and is divided into two parts. Part I provides a broad explanation about the background to the problem of Mozambican refugees in Malawi, and the role of South Africa's destabilization strategy in the refugee flight. Part II further contextualizes the study by providing an overview of the role of private voluntary organizations (PVOs) in development, the situation in Malawi, and general information about the agencies working with refugees in Malawi.

The study methodology is reported in Chapter IV. It includes the research questions, design of the study, population, sample selection, and instrumentation used. Chapter V includes an analysis of data and findings of the study.

Based on the findings and analysis, the final chapter (Chapter VI) includes the research conclusions, practical implications for refugee participation, and proposes recommendations for further study.

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CHAPTER II

PRECEDENT LITERATURE

"A refugee is a person who votes with his feet."

Lenin

Introduction

As suggested in the previous chapter, refugee participation in programs designed to meet their needs is of critical importance to both beneficiaries and donors. A clear definition of the concept of refugeeism and the categorization of refugees by types could form the basis for analyzing the various dimensions of refugee participation, and help to formulate programs that contribute to refugee self-reliance. The literature for this study is divided into the following major headings: (1) definition of "refugee," (2) types of refugees, (3) the African refugee, (4) participation, (5) participation objectives, and (6) impediments to refugee participation.

Definition of a Refugee

Webster's New World Dictionary (Second Edition) (1984, p. 1194) defines a refugee as "a person who flees from his home or country to seek refuge elsewhere, as in a time of

war, political or religious persecution." The 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees addressed the status of refugees. The convention focused on those people who fled their country as a result of fear of persecution. A refugee was defined as a person who:

> . . . as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country . . . . (UNHCR, 1979, p. 11).

This definition is intended primarily for the protection of individual refugees, who are not responsible for the events that led to their exodus. Refugees are not isolated individuals, but victims of circumstances beyond their control.

The definition was broadened by a 1967 Protocol to extend refugee status to persons who became refugees after January 1, 1951. Subsequent to this, the declaration on territorial asylum adopted by the General Assembly on December 14, 1967, ". . . laid down broad humanitarian and moral principles upon which states might rely in seeking to unify their practices relating to asylum" (United Nations,

1969, p. 759; United Nations General Assembly, 1984, p. 48).

While the UN instrument remains in force, prevailing conditions on each continent forced regional organizations, such as the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to establish their own respective definitions of refugees.

Bearing in mind the varied causes which generated African refugeeism, the OAU member states defined "refugee" this way:

> 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 (OAU, 1969, p. 2).

Because the OAU's extended definition befits the situation in Africa, it will be adopted in this study. This definition includes those who seek asylum as a result of:

> external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part of or the whole of 'their' country (OAU, 1969, p. 3).

The Underlying Causes of Refugeeism

In what he termed a "typology of conflict," Shurke (1983) identified the following causes:

1. independence struggles (e.g., Algeria and Angola);

2. ethnic conflict with autonomous and separatist dimensions (e.g., Biafra in Nigeria, and Eritrea and the Ogaden in Ethiopia and Somalia, respectively);

3. internal ethnic conflict unrelated to separatists or autonomous struggles (e.g., China in Vietnam, and the Tutsi-Hutu in Burundi);

4. class conflict (e.g., Cuba and Kampuchea);

5. inter-elite power struggles (e.g., some Latin American countries);

6. state terrorism (e.g., countries in the Latin America southern cone, and Uganda under Idi Amin); and

7. international wars (e.g., World War II, and the compounding of internal struggles with external intervention, as in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Afghanistan).

Mozambique, Ethiopia and Angola also fit into this last category because foreign interventions of material and ammunition sustain wars.

Rogge (1985) has attributed African refugeeism problems to six different causes:

1. conflict due to secessionist tendencies;

2. anti-colonial or independence wars;

3. irredentism;

4. inter-ethnic hostilities;

5. political repression; and

6. religious persecution.

He further emphasizes "that many of the continents' refugee migrations are due to several of these causes acting in concert (p. 7).

Types of Refugees

After 1945, many new nations were created in Africa and Asia. Associated with that movement has come a large increase in the number of refugees. In the past four decades, most countries have been impacted by refugeeism by either producing or receiving refugees.

Refugees Created by War

War refugees are those rendered homeless by conflict, which allows little chance for voluntary movement. A war situation creates two kinds of movements. Those who move within the national boundary are termed "internally displaced persons." In contrast, those who cross international boundaries are referred to as "refugees." Upon arrival at their destination in a host country, they usually appear fatigued, malnourished, dehydrated, and inadequately clothed. Confusion, fear and anger rule their lives. They also appear terrorized by the scenes associated with their need to flee (e.g., relatives and friends murdered, homes burned, and property looted):

> External refugees are those who, during or shortly after the time of conflict, migrate to a new homeland or are relocated by the authorities beyond the boundaries of their state. They, too, undergo great misfortunes and share many of the experiences of the internal refugees (Keller 1975, p. 6).

One who crosses an international boundary and enters another country "may possess a nationality or be stateless at the time when he becomes a refugee" (Madsen, 1966, p. 77). Internally displaced persons, on the other hand, have the rights and privileges of citizenship, as long as the government in power is capable of providing them or if it is in the state/regime's interest to do so (Ferris, 1985).

Economic Refugees

The UNHCR Handbook explains that, if an individual moves for economic reasons, "he is an economic migrant and not a refugee" (1982, p. 62). The Handbook continues:

> The distinction between an economic migrant and a refugee is, however, sometimes blurred in the same way as the distinction between economic and political measures in an applicant's country of origin . . . [so that] what appears at first sight to be primarily an economic motive for departure may in reality also involve political elements (p. 63).

The threat on the life of an individual for economic reasons can be construed as political. For example, if one cannot afford to pay taxes and the possibility of being jailed becomes a real threat, the flight is dually caused by economic and political reasons. This makes the matter more complicated.

According to Schultheis, the basic cause is the defective structure of the present world system. It has become an obstacle to the growth of "institutions which

could solve global conflicts, protect human rights which
are threatened by governments and promote international
cooperation" (1983, p. 25). The OAU definition of the term
"refugee" has enumerated some of the major factors that
lead to forced migration of people from their country of
origin in Africa. The United Nations and host countries
try to find a durable solution in the form of settlement,
resettlement or repatriation:

> The major components of durable solution for
> refugees are three: settlement in the asylum
> country, resettlement to a third country or the
> most preferred is the voluntary repatriation to
> the country of origin (Stein, 1988, p. 49).

Refugees as Threatened Minorities

Another group of refugees are those who, as a result of
a new government or new policies, are in conflict because
of their political association or religious beliefs. These
individuals face a hostile environment because they are
categorized by some element of their identity:

> A person who comes spontaneously to the territory
> of a state and asks for protection has the right
> to tell his story and to make his claim, the right
> to be judged on the merits of his case, and the
> right to be protected, if he is a refugee
> according to the definition incorporated in the
> 1951 convention and its protocol (Stein, 1988,
> p. 44).

However, there are other factors that influence the
decision one way or the other: the interviewee's eloquence
while presenting his/her case, the mood of the interviewer,

and the new environment in which the refugees find themselves.

The African Refugee

According to Stein (1981a, p. 6):

> It is not easy to categorize the causes of refugee movements in Africa. Some movements have multiple causes; some states persecute refugees for more than one reason either simultaneously, separately, or at different points in time; many countries simultaneously cause and harbor refugees; and there is great overlap between the categories. Understanding the cause of a refugee exodus can be important because different causes will affect the number and type of refugees and the possible solution to the problem. Without attempting to be exhaustive and remembering that the boundaries of the group are fuzzy rather than distinct it is worthwhile to note some divisions.

The majority of African refugees come from rural areas. They usually migrate because of internal conflicts. Most of these refugees do not have the skills needed to survive in urban life. Thus, they settle in rural areas where they are relatively comfortable. Generally, their only option in the nature of things is to remain in rural locations:

> Refugees today come overwhelmingly from the rural areas of the poorer developing countries and find refuge in rural areas of other low income countries (Stein, 1988, p. 49).

The U. S. Committee for Refugees places today's estimated world refugee population at between 13 and 15 million. Africa accounts for one-third of that total, although it has only one-tenth of the world population. For

this reason, Africa has been called "a continent of refugees" (Melander & Nobel, 1981, p. 11).

Kibreab (1987) puts in historical perspective the large, African, refugee population. He states that, in 1964, the refugee population was estimated to be 400,000. One year later, that number jumped to 535,000 and, two years later, there was a 17% increase. According to the U. S. Committee for Refugees, the refugee population in 1989 was:

World = 15,093,900; and

Africa= 4,524,800.

As the nature of African refugees is unusual and the causal factors are many, the OAU's 1969 Convention befits the situation. It covers mass migrations brought on by colonialism and the ensuing wars of national liberation, apartheid, and other minority regimes. "Although mass migration of peoples was perhaps not originally envisaged as coming within the scope of the definition, it is certainly accepted now" (Naldi, 1989, p. 89).

Another important aspect about African refugees is that, in most cases, people move in masses. They cross the border on foot and settle just across the border. This creates a difficult situation for the host government because settlements are frequently created in remote areas (Naldi, 1989; Rogge, 1985).

The exclusion of "economic refugees" from the UN and other definitions of refugee status has been criticized. In cases where governments use oppression as a tool of warfare,

the line of distinction between the political and economic refugee may break down. Furthermore, where two factions are fighting, it is not just the politics or economics, but the whole environment which is affected. To those who flee, the line of distinction thins further. All that matters to them is moving to a place of relative peace.

Participation

"I hear and I forget,
I see and I remember,
I do and I understand."

Chinese Proverb

(cited in <u>Training: A Process of Empowerment</u> (1989)

As Langton (1978, p. 13) asserts, "participation means different things to different people." There is no one universal definition of participation. According to <u>Webster's College Dictionary</u>, the word is derived from the Latin word:

<u>participare</u> (<u>pars</u>) = part + <u>capare</u> = take.
Thus, participation means to take part. However, arguments and ambiguities abound in response to the question: <u>Who</u> takes part in <u>what</u>, <u>when</u>, <u>how</u>, <u>where</u>, and <u>for what</u> <u>purpose(s)</u>? (Brinkerhoff, 1980, p. 50; Oakley & Marsden, 1984, p. 19).

From the economic point of view, Mellor (1976, pp. 12-13) defines participation as primarily ". . . sharing in the benefits of economic growth." From the perspective of community development, Batten (1965, p. 10) views

participation as " . . . the process by which a community's felt needs are elicited and responded to". Politicians, such as Huntington and Nelson (1976, pp. 165-166), see participation from a range of perspectives. For example, there is "individual nonpolitical action, individual political action, collective nonpolitical action and collective political action." Brinkerhoff (1980, p. 53) states that "political participation emphasizes its role in the process of managing demands placed on Least Developed Country (LDC) governments." Montgomery and Esman (1971, p. 359) define participation as ". . . exerting influence on administrative behavior and the outputs of office action."

According to the UN, participation is defined as:

> active and meaningful involvement of the masses of
> people at different levels, a) in the decision
> making process of resources to achieve them and b)
> in the voluntary execution of resulting programs
> and projects (UNRISD, 1966, p. 8).

Montgomery and Esman (1971, p. 359) suggest four important administrative issues that have participation implications:

> The measure of effective participation is the
> degree to which administrative decisions relating
> to effectiveness, efficiency, equity and stability
> are actually influenced by parties other than the
> professional civil servants involved.

At times, participation is defined as merely a means of contributing to the status quo. On the other hand, participation is sometimes defined as people being involved

in the decisions that affect their lives as they seek
solutions, and then implement and evaluate them. This
active form of involvement calls for direct participation
which is:

> . . . the most easily identifiable and involves
> physical interaction between those persons in whom
> society has vested the authority to make decisions
> and the people affected by those decisions (UN,
> 1975, p. 6).

It is generally accepted by the international community
that participation in development is a fundamental human
right. Growth with equity for all members of the
community, particularly the poor, is achieved only through
this approach to development. Given this perspective,
McKone (1987, p. 14) defines participation as:

> . . . a process by which people are awakened or
> sensitized to their role in identifying their own
> needs, setting priorities for action and taking a
> full part in the decision-making process on
> development issues which affect their lives.

Depending on the purpose of participation, each school
of thought arrives at its own definition and emphasis. The
World Bank defines community participation as:

> An active process by which beneficiary/client
> groups influence the direction and execution of a
> development project with a view to enhancing their
> well being in terms of income, personal growth,
> self-reliance or other values they cherish (Paul,
> 1987, p. 2).

There are four implications of this definition:

1) The context of participation is the development program.

2) The center of the definition is people--as beneficiaries--and the importance of their involvement in the process.

3) The needs and preferences of people can be ascertained and their contribution can be in place.

4) As a process, community participation refers to a sense of sharing in the benefits derived from the project.

From a conceptual perspective, it is useful to distinguish among the objectives, intensity and instruments of community participation. Quoting from the USAID policy paper, Korten (1980, p. 481) states that community participation:

> . . . involves effective popular participation by the poor . . . in decision making so that their needs, desires, capacities and indigenous institutions are recognized, understood, and given major weight.

Participation Objectives in Community Development

Within the context of community development, the participation process can serve the objectives of empowerment, capacity building, effectiveness, and efficiency.

Empowerment

Development can lead to equitable power sharing and create upward mobility for people, particularly the poor. Empowerment is obtained by increasing the levels of local administrative capacity in such key functions as problem diagnosis, reflection, planning/decision-making, implementation and evaluation. Development agency workers can facilitate empowerment through educative strategies that lead to increasing the level of social consciousness (Bryant & White, 1982; Chambers, 1983; Kindervatter, 1977; Paul, 1982):

> Empowerment has thus become one of the key strategies of people-centered development. Because social change is always a political process, political power is essential for increasing the leverage of the poor to escape the poverty trap (Dickinson, 1988, p. 86).

Participation through empowerment provides the client group with ample, ongoing opportunity to be involved in the various phases of the change process. Kettner, Daley and Nichols (1985, p. 10), state: "This involvement ensures that the change agent is accountable to informed clients". Empowerment as a concept is self-determination and self-direction for individuals as well as groups in an independent society. However, empowerment is not without its share of problems. Freire (1973, p. 36) is quick to recognize that:

> One of the gravest obstacles to the achievement of
> liberation is that oppressive reality absorbs
> those within it and thereby acts to submerge men's
> consciousness. Functionally, oppression is
> domesticating. To no longer be prey to its force,
> one must emerge from it and turn upon it. This
> can be done only by means of the praxsis:
> reflection and action upon the world in order to
> transform it.

Empowering the community shifts the locus of power to the people (beneficiaries). This may threaten the central administration. For that reason, they may find power sharing inconceivable. Gran (1983, pp. 274-289) declared the powerless are not in a position to handle large-scale projects to the expectation of the donors. For this reason, they may become utterly dependent on outside expertise. This is not for lack of interest or commitment. Rather, their powerlessness and inability to meet the demands cause them to fall into the trap of dependency.

The World Vision International (WVI) Board of Directors' Policy Manual (1987a, p. 9) states:

> The powerless are either ignorant of the law,
> without legal advice, or immobilized by the law.
> They are without legal advice, and unaware of the
> services and help intended to help them. They
> have no recourse to deal with the laws written to
> their disadvantage. Powerlessness is also
> expressed in lack of community organization and an
> inability to work together.

Therefore, a major task for community leaders and development professionals is to integrate the rural poor into the participatory development process. For leadership

to establish the needed working policy by which development workers will mobilize and strategize the rural poor takes commitment, time, energy, know how and resources. According to Rondinelli (1983, p. 128), working plans and administrators who are willing to make those plans work require:

> . . . planners and administrators to view social problem-solving as an incremental process of social interaction, trial and error, successive approximation and social learning. Such an approach requires an institutional context quite different from that of Weberian bureaucracies.

Chaos results when developing individuals are given power without first building capability. Sometimes this happens when the elite want to justify their assumption that the poor cannot manage power. The elite allow the poor to make decisions in certain projects without properly equipping them. Then the elite echo and magnify the resulting failure in order to rationalize their assumption. If development means increasing an individual's capacity to make correct choices about the future, to gain a greater sense of personal efficacy, and to be better able to express needs properly, it is unrealistic to expect individuals to develop such capabilities on their own.

Gran (1983, p. 15) correctly asserts: "Existing large organizations are dominated by the elites in any society and therefore are biased against the interest of the

poor." He continues: "while organization is a major weapon of the strong against the weak, it is also often the only weapon of the weak against the strong." Where the proper link is created between government organizations and communities, sustainable development is possible. Without the necessary linkage, it is not enough and unfair to encourage groups to help themselves outside of governmental organizations:

> A social learning approach offers the potential
> for improving development program implementation
> by empowering communities for active
> participation in development programs and
> simultaneously linking those communities to the
> political and administrative structures of the
> larger society. Thus the development effort is
> not solely that of organizing client communities
> as an end in itself, but rather is the empowering
> of persons and communities for effective
> participation in the broader political and
> economic community (Thomas, 1985, p. 19).

When the community is organized in such a manner, room is provided for action-reflection and action. As the development process continues, community members become more informed as individual and community progress is made. Some development proponents believe in organizing a community and leaving it after the initial organization. They do so under the assumption that growth will continue after organization. Such an assumption is misleading because individual and community development take time. Furthermore, there must be a long-term change in society's nature and its relationships. This allows time for trust

to develop among all those who hold a stake in development.   Proper interaction between project designers/managers and beneficiaries nurtures and raises the intensity level, and may produce a higher commitment from the community.

Capacity Building

As a process, community development requires peoples' participation in a project. When the project beneficiaries share in management, they are provided with learning opportunities. Additionally, their capacity is enhanced, as they increase their level of understanding concerning what does and does not work.   In turn, this increases project sustainability.   Bryant and White (1982, p. 24) note:

> Administrative incapacity is an inability to respond to needs conveyed by citizens. It is characterized by swollen bureaucracies encumbered with formalistic procedures that delay rather than expedite service delivery and program implementation. Administrative capacity, on the other hand, is rather like good housekeeping; when it is really good, it is also unobtrusive, enhances environment, and facilitates getting on with the job.

When the capacity of beneficiaries is developed, their interest and competence level is also enhanced.

Effectiveness and Efficiency

With community participation, effectiveness becomes an issue.   Effectiveness refers to the degree to which a given objective is achieved. On the other hand, project planning

and implementation may become more efficient because of appropriate beneficiary input. Advocates of the school of centralized management contend that, with community participation, time is lost and, hence, efficiency and/or effectiveness levels are sacrificed. However, Paul (1987, p. 4) demonstrates the advantages of community participation:

> CP could be used to promote agreement, cooperation and interaction among beneficiaries, and between them and the implementing agency of the project so that delays are reduced, a smoother flow of project services is achieved and overall costs are minimized (Paul, 1987, p. 4).

In their analysis of UNRISD research and their understanding of participation, Oakley and Marsden (1984, p. 26) note three distinct characteristics:

- Sharing of power and scarce resources;
- Deliberate effort by social groups to control their own destinies and improve their living conditions;
- Opening up opportunities "from below."

Refugee Participation

The foregoing discussion provides the foundation by which to focus on refugee participation, which is at issue in this study. In search of relevant materials for this study, the researcher utilized an ERIC search in the libraries of Michigan State University and the University of Michigan. Trips were also made to the offices of the U. S. Refugee Policy Group, Washington, D. C.; UNHCR

headquarters, Geneva, Switzerland; the World Council of Churches (WCC) offices, Geneva; and All Africa Council of Churches (AACC), in Nairobi, Kenya. Other offices contacted by phone and letter were: the United Nations Refugee Work Agency (UNRWA) offices in Vienna, Austria, and in the Gaza Strip; the University of Upsaala, Sweden; and the Refugee Participation Network (RPN), Oxford, U. K.

According to one of the U. N. definitions, "participation is an influence on the decision-making process at all levels of social activity and social institutions" (Pearse & Steifel, 1979, p. 8). For the purpose of this study, <u>refugee participation is an organized effort to exert control over the resources and regulatory institutions associated with their situations</u>. In the context of this discussion, the critical elements are <u>self-sufficiency</u> and <u>reducing the dependency syndrome</u>. Weeda states:

> The lack of solutions, the limited success of projects and the growing feelings of frustration give rise to 'blaming the victim,' implying that refugees are to blame for lack of self-sufficiency because they are dependent and selfish people (1987, p. 24).

In 1984, the <u>UNHCR Handbook</u> on (pp. 2, 3) declared:

> Dependency begins when the refugees try to develop behavior they perceive as expected of them as clients in order to continue the flow of rewards or aid. This form of self-estrangement contributes to the refugee sense of powerlessness.

The UNHCR sees participation as a means to escape this dilemma and achieve self-sufficiency.

In Africa, most of the refugee population is illiterate and comprised of subsistence farmers, with skills and experience in such areas as small farming and cattle raising. As with most refugees in the world, African refugees are assisted through centrally-provided and controlled relief programs. The maintenance program consists of food, clothing, medicine and education. In the relief mode of operation, there are two groups of actors: givers and receivers. Because the locus of control is within its domain, the giver operates from a power base. The giver controls the commodities on which the receiver's survival depends, including both the time that commodities are dispensed and the quantity that is dispensed:

> This devaluation of the worth of the recipients of a relief program has alarming consequences. Not only are people treated as things, but the interest of the aid program are put above the interests of the people (DeWaal, 1988, p. 7).

Denial of refugee participation is executed in the name of program efficiency. International agencies conceive programs at their headquarters thousands of miles from the refugees. These agencies often assume that all refugees need to survive are commodities. They do not consider whether refugees can administer programs made available to them.

The following episode illustrates this. At a visit to Muloza, a Malawian refugee camp, the former High Commissioner for Refugees, Jean Pierre Hocke, conversed with a Mozambican refugee:

> Refugee: "Why can't we be allowed to distribute rations?"
>
> Hocke: "Which way did you come to arrive here?
>
> Refugee: (Pointing to the direction from which he came.) "That way!"
>
> Hocke: "If you don't like it, you can go back the same way you came."

(cited by a refugee and camp administrator in a 1989 interview)

According to Weeda (1987, p. 26), "The notion of refugee participation, in principle supported by the UNHCR policy system, is not fully diffused to the field level." However, the above situation puts even the principle in question. As a means of empowerment, the issue of refugee participation as an end in itself, is hardly touched upon in the UNHCR context. The principles of participation upheld as a policy in the handbook do not find their way into the field. One of the reasons for this is that:

> The government agency dealing with the refugee problem is staffed at all levels, including the camps, by government officials or those linked loyally or otherwise to the government (Weeda, 1987, p. 27).

In the name of "security," host governments control all aspects of refugee programs. Agencies have little or no

say in it, and participation is controlled and guided by the ruling party or government. Discussing his Somali experience, Weeda (1987, p. 27) stated: "Initiatives which do not fit the government ideas of development are easily interpreted as opposition and advocates can end up in jail or exile." In the light of this, everything that is done for refugees is done at the discretion of the host government.

In any community-focused program, the ideal process is one in which the community participates fully from the start. According to Kenyon (1983, p. 21), "A basic aim of development activities is to enable a community to describe, predict the solutions, and take action in its own environment." To let the refugees describe their needs, predict the solutions, and administer/manage the resources that are made available to them requires transformed host governments and agencies:

> The assistance programs, mainly implemented by government agencies, hire Somali nationals and refugees screened by the regional or national government, including the national security (Weeda (1987, p. 28).

It is therefore understandable that the official structure of government officials and refugee leaders is perceived by international agencies, as well as refugees, as a close-knit group, protecting its own high interests in the assistance programs (Mister, 1985, p. 18).

One of the hindrances for refugee participation comes from conflicting views about forced migrants:

> Some perceive refugees as insatiably demanding, with high expectations for maintaining their economic status and not losing 'anything' because of their flight and relocation. Further, refugees' demands are seen to generate bitterness and suspicion of the government and assistance agencies (Mazur, 1988, p. 4).

With this kind of attitude and perception, it is naive to expect any meaningful refugee participation to take place. The missing ingredient is trust. Both the aid workers and the refugees lack trust in each other.

Stein (1981b, p. 327) further explains the situation:

> A vicious spiral can set in: refugees are helped because they are helpless; the case worker cannot accede to all who are needy and must shield himself from emotional involvement; the cool attitude of the case worker conveys suspicion to the refugee about his truthfulness; if they won't believe the truth the refugee inflates it; hearing exaggerated stories the case worker becomes suspicious.

This "vicious spiral" encourages refugees to be labeled as helpless; all they need is a handout. As long as host governments and agencies maintain such an attitude toward refugees, their participation in programs will be more rhetoric than reality.

Refugees from traditional societies come with rich experiences, having managed their affairs up to the time of flight. They had homes, families, met responsibilities and paid taxes. When they cross the border and enter another

country, only their possessions are taken away or left behind. Their experiences travel with them and their power of taking initiative remains with them. Prior to commencing their journey, they assessed the situation they were in and they took the initiative to seek refuge in another country. They made that important decision. In contrast to Southeast Asian refugees, who predominantly relocated to permanent asylum in western countries, most African refugees remain in their first asylum country, either settled or awaiting repatriation (Rogge, 1985, p. 72). While specific programs and projects undertaken are clearly discernible for their success, an integrated and cumulative effect is rarely observed. Morss (1984) and Lipton (1986) address the "institutional destruction" which has resulted from donor and project proliferation in African countries. This process has exacerbated the indigenous population's level of jealousy.

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Participation

NGOs are expected to encourage the participation of assistance recipients (Blasfer, 1984, p. 83; Gorman, 1984, p. 41). According to Gorman (1984, p. 57), NGOs are seen as having moved from relief and welfare modes of assistance to supporting self-help initiatives during the last decade.

According to Rogge (1985) and Mazur (1988), experiences in Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi and Mozambique suggest that refugee assistance has contributed to a high degree of

self-sufficiency. Participation of refugees in establishing their own settlements is a factor further contributing to the high standards of planning in recent refugee settlements. Prior to the establishment of Mishamo and Ulyankulu, refugee leaders (such as village chairmen, pastors and teachers) visited the Mishamo site and gathered early information about the area (Rogge, 1985, p. 107). Refugees in the Sudan were settled in rural and urban areas. As in Tanzania, the refugees' involvement in program implementation contributed significantly to program success (Karadawi, 1983; Rogge, 1985).

Although these programs have demonstrated some success, the level of refugee participation did not mature beyond implementation by free labor. Mazur (1988, p. 15) consolidates the observations of Harrell-Bond (1986), Karadawi (1983), and Mason and Brown (1983):

1) Aid agencies and host governments often have conflicting goals which result in the exacerbation of the refugee's situation.

2) Refugees themselves have been ignored throughout the decision-making process in the three phases of relief, rehabilitation and development.

3) The concept of humanitarian assistance and the relief programs designed by aid agencies, as well as the laws and regulations designed by host governments, have contributed to the powerlessness of the refugee recipients.

As Gorman (p. 57) maintains: "NGOs can be guilty as other donors in the top-down creation, articulation and

implementation of programs." Unfortunately, there is little evidence that NGOs are succeeding in their recent commitment to promote self-sustaining development (Calavan, 1984, p. 224; Gorman, 1984, p. 44; Mazur, 1988, p. 10). All stakeholders in refugee affairs--host governments, UNHCR and NGOs--need to unlearn the assumption that they know more about refugee needs than the refugees themselves. Additionally, these stakeholders must begin to consider refugees as partners and actively seek their participation. It degrades a refugee's human dignity to be seen merely as a source of "cheap labor" for construction, upgrading and maintenance projects, while being denied significant involvement in managing one's own affairs. The AACC handbook does not make a provision for refugee participation. However, the principle of refugee self-reliance is referenced more than once. The following statement amply explains this point:

> Certainly, there are refugees who will require long-term assistance due to their vulnerable position, but there also are many who can, and will, find their own ways to independence if they realize the importance of doing so and can count on help along the way (1986, p. 105).

Such an assurance of help to those who want to help themselves is encouraging. However, how that help is planned and administered is not explicit with the principle of participation in the handbook.

According to Grande (1990, p. 15), the Salvadoran refugees in Colomoncagua, just inside the Honduran border, seem to have achieved their quest for empowerment:

> At Colomoncagua, the refugees exhibit none of the symptoms associated with dependency; on the contrary, the refugees are empowered by their experiences in the camp. They are actively involved in the development of their community and see themselves not as victims but rather as agents capable of determining their own future.

Here is a refugee camp that has exemplified transformation through participation. The refugees have taken matters into their own hands and are managing their own affairs. The article further states that:

> All camp activities are administered by democratically run committees. A central coordinating committee oversees and directs the affairs of the entire camp (1990, p. 16).

Over 16 different workshops are operated by the refugees, the product of which are managed by themselves for the benefit of all the refugees. Over 90% of the refugees who arrived at Colomoncagua were illiterate. Yet refugee teachers, using Freirean techniques, were able to lower this rate to less than 20%. These refugees hold literacy in high esteem and see the benefits of it for the entire community. The social fabric, which had been shaken by their flight, now has been reconstructed and reinforced. The author attributes the success of Colomoncagua to the unfailing determination of the refugees with a defined

objective of a peaceful and decent society when they return home. As Grande (1990, p. 17) asserts: "The aid given to the refugees inside a supervised camp led not to dependency, but rather to the emergence of a strengthened, vital and empowered community."

Warnock (1984, p. 27) asserts that: "If a primary goal of [community development] is to empower people to predict, act and have more control over their own situations, then their participation in all phases of the process is essential." The more opportunities that people have to participate in looking at their own reality together, the more likely the planned change process will succeed.

According to Harrell-Bond (1981a), the Saharwi refugees in Algeria are managing their own affairs. While they continued to fight for their political independence against Morocco, they ran a government in exile. They actually run the social, economic and political affairs of their country by providing the leadership and the direction from outside their territory. "Each person in the camps over 16 years of age is a member of one of the five committees: health, education, justice, artisan, and food" (p. 3). The only difference this group has from other refugees is that political freedom is a factor providing the motivation and common bond shared by every person. This serves as a big motivating factor and provides the ground for a united objective. Harrell-Bond (1982c) also reported on the

Ugandan refugees settled in Southern Sudan, where the planners completely:

> . . . ignored traditional patterns; equally, the administrative structure discouraged traditional forms of leadership . . . . Planners also felt that refugees, as a consequence of exile, had lost much of their identification with any form of social organization, and that their social relations were characterized by a lack of trust (p. 1).

It is this kind of assumption on the part of agencies that minimizes refugee participation. In the same report, Harrell-Bond (1982c, p. 5) quotes a refugee:

> . . we should all do the work voluntarily. In fact, this should apply to all sectors of our social development and health centers. Because, in the long run, if the UNHCR will not [be here] to pay and we don't get a penny to pay these people, where shall we be?

Obviously, situations vary from place to place. However, in general, there appears to be more willingness on the part of the refugees to take part in the programs that are made available to them. Even the Ugandan refugees who were terrorized by the war and atrocities, were willing to participate in activities which were planned for them once they reached safety in Southern Sudan. Again, according to Harrell-Bond (1986, p. 271):

> The organization of settlements with election of officers as devised by the UNHCR program officer, aimed to encourage the widest possible participation of the community in directing its own affairs.

From the refugee's point of view, participation can mean political activism with or without jeopardizing their asylum with the host country. If anything, when refugees have significant control over the organizations serving their cause, they benefit from this control. Participation is an instrument to enhance the efficiency of projects or "co-production of services" (Paul, 1987, p. 2).

Impediments to Refugee Participation

In every principle and every program/project, there are constraints. Refugee participation is not immune to this. There are two views on refugee participation: 1) participation as part of the democratic process and 2) what Clark (1987b) calls "guided participation." The first view assumes that the democratic process is inherently good and will work. In the second view, participation is seen as a means to an end. Clark (p. 2) declares: "It is this view of participation which worries host governments, and there is little support among them for increasing meaningful participation." In guided participation, refugees need to be organized. For this reason, host governments are afraid of it. Almost everyone, NGOs and UNHCR included, are supportive of refugee participation, but the principle may be more talk than action. Clark (p. 3) cites a USAID study which found that voluntary agencies were:

> . . . paternalistic, condescending and insensitive
> to the plight of disaster victims. The principal
> reason refugees are not more involved in
> meaningful participatory activities is that relief
> agencies and the international organizations do
> not view themselves as being accountable to the
> refugees but rather to their donors and to the
> host country.

This is a dangerous view. Is not a teacher accountable to the students and a doctor to his or her patients?

The major barrier to refugee participation lies in host government rules and regulations. This is particularly true in Africa because of the scarcity of jobs. The governments establish limitations or restrictions so that jobs are given to host country nationals. UNHCR and other NGOs work under these constraints, and not much effort has been put into reversing the situation. It is also an economic question because refugee participation may encourage competition for scarce jobs and funds. According to Clark (1987b), there are also managerial, administrative, social/cultural, and ideological constraints. Where there are no host government limitations imposed on refugee participation, refugees have demonstrated they have skills to meaningfully participate. The Ugandan and Saharawi refugees cited earlier provide good examples of meaningful participation in trying to manage their own affairs.

Refugee assistance programs are described as tripartite efforts among the host government, UNHCR and the

implementing agency.   Again,   refugees   are excluded.   As

Clark (1987c, p. 14) notes:

> Any   strong   effort   to   introduce   the   refugees
> themselves   as   'fourth players'   therefore involves
> cutting   into   the power and authority of the first
> three.

According   to   Clark,   in   the Meheba refugee camp of Zambia

the   exclusion of refugees from any participation dates back

15   years.   The   existing structure of management does not

make   any   provision   for   meaningful refugee participation.

The   refugee   population   in Zambia consists of Angolans who

arrived   in   the   1960s   and 1970s and spontaneously settled

among   the   host population.   The other group of refugees is

the   Mozambicans,   who   started arriving in 1985.   The point

here   is   that, in all these years, the management structure

functioned   without   taking   into   consideration   the

involvement   of the refugees.   The Tripartite members saw to

it that the "management cake" was carved among themselves:

> The   formal   refugee   representation   system   was
> centered   around   seven   chiefs.   Each represented
> one   'village' (made   up   of   the   residents along
> several   roads in the settlement.   A major function
> of   the   chiefs   was   to   act   as   a   conduit   for
> conveying   information and   directives   from   the
> refugee   officers   to their villagers.   Their input
> into   settlement   management,   and   project
> development   was   sporadic   and   fairly   minimal
> (Clark, 1987c, p. 10).

Both   NGOs   and   the UNHCR create a management structure

which   does not allow refugee participation.   It is also the

keen   interest   of   host   countries   in Africa to create new

jobs for their own people. The large influx of refugees on host governments is self imposed. The principles of social justice and equity are key elements in social planning and have important implications for the formulation of development policies. The way in which policies are formulated and implemented can alleviate or aggravate existing inequalities. The same can be said for the planning and implementation of projects within the refugee context. With all the resources that come into host countries to meet refugee needs, it is only fair to involve them in meaningful implementation.

As Weeda (1987, p. 38) states: ". . . the integration within the refugee context of social planning and its participation component encounters the constraints inherent to UNHCR's planning system." Such plans are based on a short-term time frame and are dependent on financial and technical capabilities which fail to take refugee participation into consideration. The planning process of UNHCR stops short at the implementation level and is therefore considered "non-operational." Plans can only be evaluated if, after implementation, they have reached their target. Otherwise, they are merely documents which have not been translated into action.

Another constraining factor within the refugee situation is the continuing emergence of crisis situations which inevitably takes precedence over long-term policy formulation thereby leaving diminishing funds and manpower

for long-term solutions. During the refugee emergency, agencies recruit without proper scrutiny. This affects the program's entire operating process from planning to evaluation. Weeda (1987, p. 43) states it well:

> Due to inexperience and lack of appropriate briefing before being sent to the field, staff get stuck into bureaucratic duties and concentrate on techniques through which the purpose of planning tends to be lost.

Regulations, instructions and reporting pressure impede innovative activities.

Resistance to change and attitudinal problems of refugees are given as factors which impede their participation and, therefore, contribute to the refugee "dependency syndrome." Both planners and implementers use this as a means of justifying their lack of commitment to refugee participation. Korten (1980, p. 480) states: "The prevailing blueprint approach to development and time bounded projects is itself cited as an important impediment." To allow genuine participation, an organization needs to have a capacity to unlearn and relearn by embracing error, learning with the people, and building new knowledge and institutional capacity through action.

Calavan (1984, pp. 216-249) offers a number of suggestions which would help improve the administrative/ management systems of NGOs in their development efforts.

They are useful to avoid impediments to refugee participation.

Basically, the suggestions underline the importance of building program management upon local capacities; constant interaction between both the lead agency and the local organizations and beneficiaries; allowing the beneficiaries to control services and manage the work; avoiding specific project accomplishments; and not overburdening the system with necessities. Further, emphasis is placed on the traditional, while intertwining modern technologies; culture is not always an impediment to innovation; some beneficiaries are not opposed to change; maneuverability in interactive modes is beneficial. Optimally, in the long run, resource use and technical assistance can do a great deal to nurture local initiatives.

In summary, the message is that local people's participation in the management and control of their resources and functions is essential. New technologies and other resources need to be woven into the local way of doing things, without sacrificing the program objectives. Optimal resource utilization can nurture local initiatives. In the process of capacity building, it is critical to understand the viewpoints of local people and to earn their trust. This works both for the agencies and beneficiaries. In order to maintain the beneficiaries' trust, care should be exercised not to impose unnecessary auditing, inspection and documentation.

Summary

In 1951, the international community, through the UN Convention, defined refugees in a restricted sense that dealt primarily with rights and obligations toward individual refugees fleeing persecution by European-style, centralized governments. This proved inadequate or flawed in dealing with Third World mass flows from protracted conflict or independence struggles. In 1969, the OAU adopted a broader, more comprehensive definition of refugees, one which was more suited to African conditions. The three basic types of refugees are those who are victims of economic hardships, war and political, religious or ethnic conflicts. Africa accounts for 30% of the world's refugee population.

As there are more than one type of refugee, so there are various kinds of participation. Within the refugee context, community participation is essential. Community participation has the following objectives: empowerment, capacity building, and improving individual effectiveness and efficiency. Although a limited amount of research has been conducted on refugee participation, case examples point to higher levels of transformation when refugees participate and assert control over their lives. One of the major advantages of refugee participation is realized when refugees begin to overcome the "dependency syndrome" and focus on self-sufficiency.

There are various impediments to refugee participation. Relief programs are often conceived thousands of miles from where refugees are located. In the name of program efficiency and host government authority, refugees are often denied participation to control their situations. Lack of trust and stereotyping also play a role in lowering refugee participation. Those usually in control (host governments, the UNHCR and NGOs) must learn that refugees are adults, and that they know the most about their own needs.

Due to these impediments, and the fact that little research has been conducted on refugee participation, more work needs to be done in this area.

CHAPTER III

THE REFUGEE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Introduction

South Africa has been following the policy of
apartheid, a policy of rigid racial segregation, since
1948. The goal of apartheid is the separate development
and full control--economically, politically, and
socially--of the nation's multiracial majority--by the
white minority. Hanlon and Omond state that: "The issue
of apartheid, sanctions and jobs involves not only black
South Africa but also Pretoria's neighbouring majority
ruled states" (1987, p. 95).

Due to ideal geographic and economic features, and a
wealth of natural resources, South Africa commands
superiority over its landlocked neighbors. Out of
necessity, southern African nations support the United
Nations' (UN) sanctions' resolution on South Africa. At
the same time, these landlocked Front Line neighbor states
(Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe)
are economically dependent upon Pretoria. This causes an
ambivalent relationship. Surrounding nations have
demonstrated a propensity toward sanctions against South

Africa.   In retaliation, the Pretoria government has
instituted destabilizing policies as a means to counter the
efforts of economic sanctions--to demonstrate to the world
that black-ruled states are in chaos.

The purpose of this chapter is to present the case of
southern Africa.   It will describe how South Africa has
acted against its neighbors, directly and indirectly, and
militarily and economically, to sponsor internal factions.
Within Mozambique, the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR)
has acted as Pretoria's surrogate in Mozambique. Such
externally-sponsored, internally-waged wars have resulted
in the displacement of millions of rural people to
neighboring countries.

Destabilization and Refugee Flight

Destabilization Theory is a mixture of military and
economic strategic leverages to force surrounding
uncooperative nations to support the political and/or
economic policies of a neighboring and, many times, more
powerful nation (Hanlon, 1986). South Africa has engaged
in destabilization practices that have forced thousands of
people from targeted southern African nations to flee. The
mixture of pressures varies from one country to another.
While Angola has been targeted for purely military assault,
Mozambique has had to face both militarily-supported

insurgencies and severe economic reprisals. Zimbabwe's and Lesotho's "inconveniences" have come from economic pressures and military intervention. Malawi, traditional ally of South Africa, ironically lost part of its railway link when Mozambique was intentionally isolated.

In a key paper, South Africa's chief theoretician of destabilization ideology, Geldenhuys (1982, p. 12), stated:

> The destabilizer's primary objective is an avowedly political one. Essentially, he wishes to promote (or force) profound political changes in the target state. They may or may not involve structural changes--in effect toppling the regime in power--but certainly would involve major changes in the target's behavior. . . . At the very least, the destabilizer demands a fundamental shift or reorientation in the target state's policy vis-a-vis the destabilizer.

When Zimbabwe became independent in 1980, Bishop Muzorewa, on whom South Africa had staked its regional policy, was humiliated. The formation of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) further appeared to be isolating South Africa. SADCC members (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Lesotho, Malawi, and Swaziland) sought:

> to liberate our economies from their dependence on the Republic of South Africa, to overcome the imposed economic fragmentation, and to coordinate our effort toward regional and national economic development (Hanlon, 1986, p. 19).

South Africa, which had expected at least Malawi and Swaziland to join its Constellation States (CONSAS), was

shocked and clearly perceived this as a united threat to its existence. It was then that concerted destabilization strategies were employed on the "frontline" nations.

In the World Refugee Survey, Senator Edward Kennedy (1987, p. 5) stated:

> In no other region of the world are refugees more in need than in Africa, and in no area of the continent are refugees more neglected and abused than in southern Africa.

The ICIHI (1986, p. 13) report says that:

> . . . since the late 1970s, South African forces have regularly invaded southern Angola to counter the operations of the Namibian Liberation Movement, SWAPO. At the same time, the rebel Angolan Movement, UNITA, has received support to control territory in the southern and in the central provinces. At least 500,000 people have been displaced by these separate but related conflicts.

The apartheid policy of South Africa has been the greatest threat to regional peace, and a constant irritant in an already precarious situation for those refugees who are living in neighboring southern African countries. As observed by the CIMADE (1986, p. 95) research team:

> The tides of refugees from South Africa and Namibia, which is still illegally controlled by South Africa, move towards Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique and Angola. But these states cannot practice a real policy of reception because of the lack of infrastructure (sanitary, educational, etc.) or of economic means but also because they fear the military reprisals of South Africa, and because they depend upon that country.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) further illustrated the destabilization policies at their International Conference on the Plight of Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons in Southern Africa Region:

> The practice of <u>Apartheid</u> in South Africa . . . and the acts of aggression and destabilization committed by the regime in Pretoria against the Frontline and neighbouring states coupled with the activities of bandit elements operating in particular, in Angola and Mozambique, have contributed to the flight of thousands of people into exile as well as the displacement of millions of others within and outside their countries of origin (1989b, p. 18).

Destabilization is a difficult concept to define. It is even more complicated to attribute it unequivocally to South Africa as its primary foreign policy strategy in southern Africa. Perhaps it can best be defined by extrapolating a destabilization rationale from the words of Geldenhuys (1982, pp. 12-13, 15-16), when he stated:

> . . . hardly any state would ever admit that it was engaged in destabilisation activities against another . . . ; [the] question to consider [is] whether . . . South Africa has reason--as seen from its perspective--to destabilise these states; The destabiliser's primary objective is to promote [or force] profound political changes in the target state; The black states are in effect engaged in a concerted effort to destabilise South Africa . . . . [Their] political and moral support for the so-called liberation movements, and their clamour for sanctions against South Africa and for its international isolation, are perceived by Pretoria as part of a deliberate campaign to destabilise the country.

Geldenhuys further argues his position by offering strategies which encourage the political shrewdness of the concept of destabilization:

> A different technique [for destablilization] is to lend support to (receptive) disaffected groups in the target state, who are committed to oppose or subvert the party in power--whether their objective is to overthrow the regime or to force it to seek a political deal with the opposition; [in] Mozambique, rumour has it that South Africa gives military support to the MNR [Mozambique National Resistance]. There can again be no question as to where South Africa's sympathy lies . . .; . . . Pretoria essentially desires, . . . a friendly co-operative neighbour instead of a Marxist state threatening its security. To achieve these objectives, support for the MNR and the severe manipulation of economic ties are the two obvious means to employ (1982, pp. 14, 20, 24).

He summarizes the political climate of South Africa in terms of the overall acceptability of a national destabilization policy:

> [A] complicating factor is South African legislation, which can make it particularly difficult and at times impossible to acquire official information on South African military activities. Legislation can also be invoked to prohibit publication of information about military operations. This necessarily imposes certain constraints on the present author too; It would . . . be naive to expect South Africa to renounce the destabilisation option for at least as long as black states remain committed to destabilise the Republic (pp. 26, 226).

From the other side of the spectrum in the destabilization controversy, Hanlon explains the critical situation in Southern Africa:

South Africa has:
1. Invaded three capitals (Lesotho, Botswana, Mozambique) and four other countries (Angola, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe);
2. Tried to assassinate two prime ministers (Lesotho and Zimbabwe);
3. Backed dissident groups that have brought chaos to two countries (Angola and Mozambique) and less serious disorder in two others (Lesotho and Zimbabwe);
4. Disrupted the oil supplies of six countries (Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe); and
5. Attacked the railways providing the normal import and export routes of seven countries (Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe) (1986, p. 1).

The continued resistance on the part of the "frontline" states to support the apartheid policy has prompted South Africa to implement destabilization activities against them. Literally thousands of people are being forced from their turbulent nations into refugee camps in border areas of surrounding southern African nations--countries such as Botswana, Malawi, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. The World Refugee Statistics are reported in Table 3.01.

South Africa's systematic destabilization policy has forced refugees into neighboring southern African countries. Also, it has caused neighboring states to expel all South African refugees by making pre-emptive strikes against the African National Congress (ANC) whenever possible, thereby setting up surrogate forces equivalent to the Christian militias in Lebanon.

Table 3.01 Refugees and Displaced Persons in Southern African Frontline Nations (as of March, 1988)

Country	Displaced Persons					Total Displaced
	Angolans	Namibians	Mozambicans	S. Africans	Zimbabweans	
Angola	•	69,000	•	10,000	•	79,000
Botswana	1,300	1,300	•	1,300	1,300	5,200
Lesotho	•	•	•	4,000	•	4,000
Malawi	•	•	452,000	•	•	452,000
Mozambique	•	•	•	•	•	•
Swaziland	•	•	19,800	6,900	•	26,700
Tanzania	•	•	72,000	•	•	72,000
Zambia	97,000	5,500	30,000	3,500	•	136,000
Zimbabwe	•	•	166,000	250	•	166,250
Total	98,300	75,800	739,800	25,950	1,300	941,150

Source: Refugees, UNHCR, No. 55, July-August 1988

Geldenhuys (1983) cautions the southern African Black states that, as long as South Africa fears the deterioration of economic ties, development of military capabilities, and the provision of sanctuary to the ANC, reprisals against Black states will continue to be viewed as a strategy for its own national defense.

The Situation in Malawi

When David Livingstone was said to have "explored [Malawi] between 1859 and 1863," (Rotberg, 1970, p. 20), the former Nyassaland was exposed to British colonial power. However, it formally came under British rule in 1890. It continued until 1964 as a British protectorate. Since 1971, Malawi has kept one-party rule, with Kamizu Banda as its Prime Minister and "Life President" (Pike & Rimmington, 1965, p. 23; Rafael, 1980, p. 94).

Malawi is a small country (population of approximately 8,000,000) located in Southeastern Africa. It is bordered by Tanzania to the north, Zambia on the west, and is embraced by Mozambique on the southwest, southeast, and northeast (cf., Figure 3.01). Geographically, Malawi is dominated by its enormous lake (cf., Figure 3.02). This stretch of water, "measures 355 miles in length by 10-50 miles in width" (Department of Information, 1970, p. 7).

Like other developing nations, Malawi is primarily a land of agrarians. Although other sectors of the economy are increasing in importance, agriculture is still dominant. Other industrial activities are agriculture-
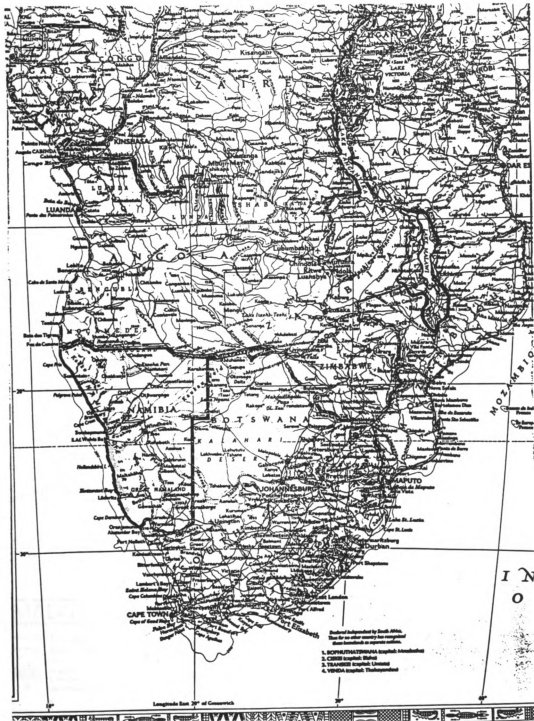
Figure 3.01 Map--Southern Africa
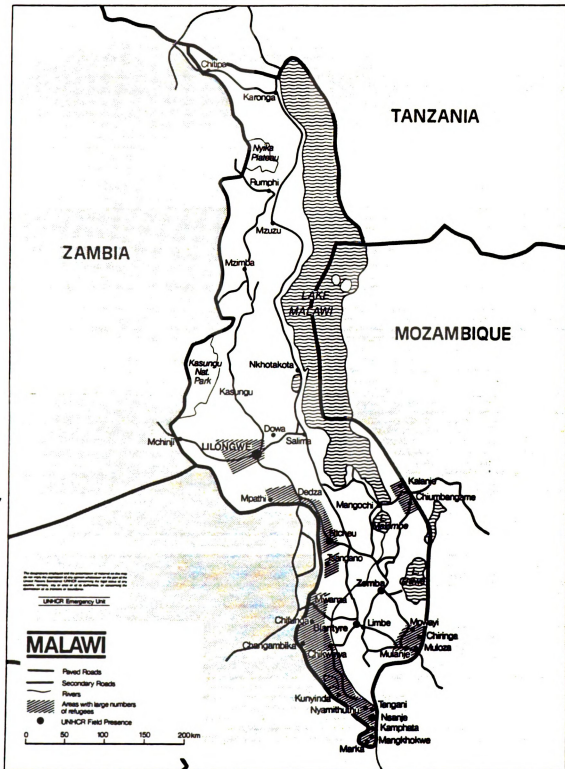
Figure 3.02 Map--Malawi/Mozambique Boundary

related in that they either use agricultural products or supply agricultural inputs. Malawi uses either Mozambique or South Africa for its exports and imports. Due to its landlocked feature, Malawi has always maintained good relations with South Africa, and imports 80% of its goods from that country.

In 1987, Malawi conceded to the U. N. Convention of 1951 and its 1967 protocol when the surge of Mozambican refugees began. Dr. Hasting Kamuzu Banda, President of Malawi, has consistently stated that:

> The people in Mozambique are our people, flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood. When they are in trouble they have every right to find refuge in Malawi. We could not possibly turn them away ("Malawi," 1972, p. 360).

Malawi's doors have also been open physically to Mozambicans. The eastern and southern border demarcations are only footpath-like roads. Refugee camps are spread out between Nsanje in the south and Salima in the north. Mozambicans speak Chichewa, the Malawian language. This has had a positive effect on refugee interaction with the Malawians.

However, Malawi's political relations with South Africa has not enhanced its relationship with Mozambique's FRELIMO government. This is due to South Africa's surrogacy of the RENAMO faction--the main cause of refugees' flight and disruption of normal life in Mozambique. Nonetheless, Malawi continues to host eight village/camps, which are

populated by the 700,000 plus Mozambican refugees. Thus, Malawi risks reprisal, and economically burdens its own society. The refugees comprise almost 10% of Malawi's total population. Currently, they are second only to the Sudan in total refugee population in Africa.

Civil War in Mozambique and Refugee Flight

Reiss (1988, pp. 12-13) states: "A visit to 'liberated' Mozambique--the brutal civil war is now in its 12th year--is a walk into one of the world's true hearts of darkness." In the "heart of darkness" there exists a conflagration that has caused an uprooting of a people and forced them to seek a safe haven where they can squeeze out a meager existence. Hundreds of thousands of Mozambicans are fleeing for their lives. They are seeking refuge in neighboring "frontline" states: Malawi, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. In Malawi alone, an estimated 1,000 Mozambican refugees arrive daily.

Movement between the borders of Mozambique and Malawi has been commonplace for quite some time, and the major influx of refugees began in June, 1986. The number of refugees rose from a fairly stable 70,000 to nearly 227,000 by May, 1986. By the end of 1987, there were an estimated 400,000 displaced Mozambicans in only eight districts. One district, Nsanje, had a total refugee population of 150,000--nearly 50% of the total district population. In June, 1988, The 18th Ordinary Session of the OAU Coordinating Committee on Assistance to Refugees met in

Malawi.   It was stated that there were currently 502,000
Mozambican   refugees   in   Malawi.   In   other   words,
approximately   14% of the country was in refugee status.   By
the end of 1988, the total reached 800,000.

In   April, 1988, Gersony submitted a report to the U. S.
State   Department in which he thoroughly detailed the plight
of   the Mozambicans and the causes of their flight.   In his
report,   Gersony stated that "Over 90% of . . . arrivals
said   that   they   fled   their   home   areas   because   of   the
conflict,   and,   specifically, because of abusive conduct by
the   parties   to the conflict" (p. 14).   The "parties to the
conflict"   are   the   Mozambican   government's Marxist party,
FRELIMO and the RENAMO (also known as the MNR).

Gersony's   1988   findings substantiated the brutality in
Mozambique   and   raised   international   attention   to   the
crisis.   The U. S. Bureau for Refugee Affairs had noticed a
300%   increase   in   the number of Mozambican refugees during
1987   alone.   Malawi was the most stressed with an increase
of   420,000   refugees   in   only   15 months. People are in a
state   of   exhaustion,   shaken, malnourished, and in tatters
(Gersony,   1988).   Gersony   conducted   a   field   visit and
interviewed   nearly   200   refugees   scattered in Mozambique,
Malawi,   Zimbabwe,   Tanzania,   and   even South Africa.   They
came   from   48   different districts in Mozambique--some from
FRELIMO-controlled   areas,   others   from   RENAMO   territory.
Their   accounts provided valuable insights into the "killing
fields   of   Mozambique,"   helping   at   least   to   document

graphically what is going on within the "heart of darkness."

In 1974, Mozambique won its independence from Portuguese colonial rule. FRELIMO, a Marxist-oriented political party, successfully routed the colonists and established a centralized, collectivized, and nationalized government. Between the years of 1975 and 1982, FRELIMO instituted " . . . an absurdly ambitious revolutionary programme [which] helped create the conditions in which sponsored destabilisation has been so brutally effective" ("Mozambique," 1988, p. 3). Because the vast majority of Mozambique is rural, FRELIMO chose Marxist pragmatism over long-held chiefdoms, and began "cleaning house" of all supporters of the previous administration--many of whom were tribal leaders. This rapid-fire policy had an adverse effect on the local power structure, making many distrustful of the central government:

> . . . early FRELIMO policy and its continued inability to manage an over-centralised economy . . . displays all the worst features of Portuguese bureaucracy and East European central planning ("Mozambique," 1988, p. 3).

The field appeared fertile for destabilization. Shortly after the FRELIMO government began making itself unwelcome, by restructuring 400 years of Portuguese colonial autocracy, an opposition party appeared called RENAMO.

From most accounts, RENAMO began in the late 1970s as a Rhodesian-backed, semi-terrorist group whose mission was to

combat left-wing black nationalist movements, such as the ANC and the Marxist FRELIMO. When Rhodesia became Zimbabwe in 1980, South Africa's Military Intelligence Directorate inherited RENAMO. For Pretoria, it was relatively cost-effective--it cost no South African lives, and was an already established means to destabilization. South Africa could press the existing tension in Mozambique and keep Zimbabwe at bay on half of its border territory. A disenfranchised former FRELIMO logistics officer and son of a deposed tribal chief, Afonso Dhlakama, became RENAMO's leader. For the past 12 years, RENAMO has been fighting a brutal guerilla war, the likes of which have been compared to Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge.

In many civil wars, such as the relentless fighting that took place in southeast Asia, it is often difficult to tell who is with the government and who is with the opposition. Many play both sides--one by day, the other by night. Although it has been said that the atrocities in Mozambique are being committed by both sides, Gersony's report of refugee accounts tells us a different story:

> The refugees spoke authoritatively about their ability to distinguish between combatants of the two sides in the conflict. They pointed out personal familiarity with the individuals comprising the Government forces . . . to the heavy casualties often suffered by the Government side in the attacks by insurgent forces on villages . . . . Refugees described marked differences between the two sides in physical appearance, including hair length and style, and face and body adornment (1988, p. 12).

However, Gersony's primary findings clearly delineate the relative actions of both RENAMO and FRELIMO upon the people of Mozambique. Over 90% of refugee arrivals said that they fled their homes ". . . because of the conflict, and, specifically, because of abusive conduct by the parties to the conflict" (p. 14). They suggested there were basically three types of RENAMO operations/actions.

Tax Areas

In rural areas where the population is extremely dispersed, RENAMO routinely visits family farms demanding contributions, such as grain, livestock, clothing, radios, and young women. In order to transport contributions to base camps, local people are obliged to serve as porters, carrying burdens over short distances, and returning to their homes when their service is over. Refusal results in severe beatings. RENAMO appears to be more moderate in this area than in others, maintaining " . . . a level of taxation and abuse insufficient to motivate the population to risk the security dangers, economic perils, and social disruption represented by escape" (Gersony, 1988, p. 17). RENAMO has also been reported to target certain individuals, appearing to have material goods which could link them to Government support, for torture or death.

Control Areas

One in five refugee respondents indicated that they had lived for months or years in areas which were under RENAMO control. Their descriptions of RENAMO activities were

detailed and explicit. Two types of populations reside in Control Areas: <u>naturales</u> (indigenous local people) and those who have been abducted from other areas and involuntarily forced to march there. Both groups are captive and prohibited from leaving. Control Areas are divided into three organizational categories: combatant bases, field areas, and dependent areas.

Combatant Bases

Reserved primarily for temporary or permanent combatant residence, these bases are served by a staff of male captives. They provide food, water, cleaning, and all support services. Women are also provided on request. The refugee respondents indicated that the RENAMO combatants with whom they had contact represented language groups from all over the major areas of Mozambique; people are conscripted through forced recruitment. Many RENAMO combatants were described as ten years old.

Field Areas

These permanent agricultural lands are worked by captives from sunup to sundown, six days a week. The captives are not allowed to benefit from the production of these fields; they are closely supervised and punished frequently. They are primarily older children, and adult men and women. Many are used as porters on long, arduous marches lasting a week or more. They are prohibited from eating: weakness inhibits escape. Although women are not used as porters, reports of forced sex are the norm, and

medical relief workers verify a high level of venereal infection in many of the women who arrive in asylum areas.

Dependent Areas

Those unable to provide a more substantial function--the elderly and very young children--generally populate these areas. There were, however, many reports of brutal beatings of the elderly. The captive population is not remunerated in any way but is given meager rations and allowed to live. On rare occasions, they are permitted to grow food for themselves. Given the wasted physical condition in which the refugees arrive, food deprivation appears to be the standard.

Destruction Areas

All other areas are designated as destruction areas. Usually villages of at least 40 families or government settlements are targeted for RENAMO destruction activities. Consistent patterns and methods of attack were reported by refugees. There is an apparent three-phase approach to targeting an area for destruction. First, villages are subjected to careful intelligence collection by abducting and torturing local residents; many do not return. RENAMO asks for information on Government deployment strategies, village leaders, those with valuable possessions, etc. Second, RENAMO combatants proceed directly to the homes of identified community leaders and abduct them or torture and kill them in front of their families and village members. At this stage, many

villagers are abducted and marched to Control Areas. Some lucky ones manage to escape before capture. The third phase is an actual military attack, generally in the early morning hours. Rarely are villages protected by FRELIMO, and civilians are not allowed to carry firearms. The attacks are on unarmed, defenseless people. In the larger villages, government forces may provide a stronger, and sometimes successful, resistance. The purpose of the attack is to destroy everything, and the village is then burned and left in ruin. Those few who are fortunate enough to escape the attack run and hide in the bush waiting for days until they can flee to a safer area (usually traveling at night).

Although it has been denied by Dhlakama (the leader of RENAMO), Reiss--the only journalist to have interviewed Dhlakama to date--states that:

> . . . Renamo's origins [began] in the late 1970s as a 'pseudo-terrorist' group underwritten by Rhodesian intelligence officers to combat left-wing black nationalism (1988, p. 13).

Dhlakama maintains that he and his forces are fighting to "bring freedom to Mozambique," yet Gersony's interviews with refugees paint a very different picture. Based on the interview data, Gersony refutes Dhlakama's insurgency mission:

> . . . the relationship between Renamo and the civilian population, according to the refugee accounts, revolves almost exclusively around a harsh extraction of labour and food. If these

> reports are accurate, it appears that the only
> reciprocity provided by Renamo for the efforts of
> the civilians is the possibility of remaining
> alive. There are virtually no reports of attempts
> to win the loyalty--or even the neutrality--of the
> villagers. The refugees report virtually no
> effort by Renamo to explain to the civilians the
> purpose of the insurgency, its proposed programme
> or its aspirations. If there is a significant
> sector of the population which is sympathetic to
> this organization, it was not reflected in the
> refugee accounts (1988, p. 42).

There are those who would claim that the destruction and devastation is being committed by a "ragtag group of bandits," without purpose or support from either internal or external factors. However, Gersony has received information that again refutes that assumption:

> That the accounts are so . . . similar by refugees
> who have fled from northern, central and southern
> Mozambique suggests that the violence is
> systematic and coordinated and not a series of
> spontaneous, isolated incidents by undisciplined
> combatants (1988, p. 42).

Table 3.02 illustrates conduct on both sides. This long-term (12 year), systematic, well-coordinated and still-surviving insurgency appears to have little, if any, internal popular support. Yet, it continues to destroy its own country without actually overthrowing the FRELIMO government. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that it must be receiving assistance from an external agency anxious to "change the behavior of the Mozambican government and people" (Gersony, 1988, p. 43). In a recent

article published in <u>Africa Confidential</u>, it is stated that

the aim of South Africa's policy:

> . . . is not to topple the Mozambique Liberation Front
> (FRELIMO) government in Maputo but to keep it in a
> state of tension until such time as the securocrats
> decide what is their bottom line for Mozambique
> ("Mozambique," 1988, pp. 3-5).

Table 3.02   Incidents Attributed to RENAMO and FRELIMO

Incident	Conduct Attributed to		Refugees Reporting Witnessing/ Participating in RENAMO Conduct
	FRELIMO	RENAMO	
Forced Contribution	6%	94%	
Abduction	4%	96%	
Murder	3%	94%	40%
Porter Beatings			60%
Forced Portering			60%
Lived in Control Areas			21%
Rape			15%
Mutilations			5%

Source: Adapted from <u>Summary of Mozambican Refugee Accounts</u>, (Gersony, 1988)

This state of tension is forcing thousands of Mozambicans

to seek refuge in the nearest haven possible. In this

case, that place is Malawi. They are still arriving at a

rate of 30,000 per month. The stress that has been placed

upon Malawi is of grave concern to that government and

international agencies.

However, RENAMO's strange assortment of supporters is

beginning to fade away. Even South Africa has ceased air

drops and the training of combatants. They are choosing other strategies now that destabilization of Mozambique is a certainty. There have been some efforts made to convene the two sides together to reach a settlement. However, so much suffering has been inflicted, and so much blood spilled, that it seems unlikely that an agreement would be possible. "We will fight until we win," were the words quoted by a young combatant training in the hills of Gorongosa (cited in Reiss, 1988, p. 13). What they will win is hard to discern. After the devastation that has been executed upon the Mozambicans, it is questionable whether there will be anyone or anything left to govern.

South Africa's destabilization policy has taken an ironic twist. The one country in all of southern Africa that has remained silent and maintained its diplomatic ties with South Africa is reeling from the effects of destabilization: Malawi cannot be neutral for long.

The Role of the Private Voluntary Organization in Refugee Assistance

Development agencies have been involved in refugee assistance for many years. Various terms have been utilized to describe them: "private voluntary organizations" (PVOs), "non-governmental organizations" (NGOs), "relief and development agencies," and "private aid agencies" (Sommers, 1977). Bolling and Smith (1982, p. 153) have suggested a difference between the roles of the PVO and NGO:

> The NGOs have a recognized status as consultative to the U. N. and are primarily engaged in the study and advice in international issues. The PVOs are oriented more toward action and service.

The goals and objectives of PVOs and NGOs vary widely, although their approaches may appear to be similar. According to Sommers (1977), these objectives range from:

1) helping the less fortunate of the world in their struggle against hunger, ill health, and ignorance (e.g., CARE);

2) coordinating activities in the fields of nutrition, education, with an emphasis on the distribution of relief supplies (e.g., Catholic Relief Services);

3) serving the common interest of U. S. Protestant Orthodox churches in the works of Christian mercy (e.g., Church World Service);

4) giving assistance to desperately needy families, with the emphasis on aid to their children (e.g., Foster Parents' Plan);

5) bringing financial assistance and expertise to bear on the problems of population and hunger, the quality of the environment, and the development of universities (e.g., Rockefeller Foundation);

6) adapting and transmitting technical information and providing solutions to technical problems (e.g., Volunteers in Technical Assistance); and

7)   sharing resources in the Name of Christ and establishing and preserving an identity as free as possible from those nationalistic, cultural, and ideological interests which are contrary to an understanding of faithfulness to Christ (e.g., Central Mennonite Committee).

Many PVOs began as extensions of churches or religious organizations.   Following the end of World War II, governments began working in relief and development assistance.   By the 1960s and 1970s, many agencies shifted from relief-oriented activities to self-help projects:

> Many PVOs reoriented themselves toward development
> work during the 1970s, in contrast to relief.
> This has qualified them to be seen by donors as
> alternative   conduits   for   development
> assistance--particularly for projects directed to
> the poor.   Throughout the 1970s, AID (the United
> States Agency for International Development) has
> had the explicit goal of encouraging PVOs to move
> out of relief and into development (Haveman, 1981,
> p. 50).

Currently, many PVOs are focusing upon sustainable development.   The   concern   for   these   agencies is to end dependency on relief, and to encourage community control.

Korten acknowledges that PVOs have evolved through three phases: from a relief mode in phase one, to a self-help   mode   in   phase two, to a third phase of sustainable development:

> Currently,   segments of the PVO community are again
> engaged in a re-examination of basic strategic
> issues   relating to sustainability, breadth of

impact, and recurrent cost recovery. At the heart of this re-examination is the realization that sustaining the outcomes of self-reliant village development initiative depends on systems of effectively linked local public and private organizations (1986, p. 79).

For the organizational structure of all refugee assistance agencies working in Malawi, see Figure 3.03.

World Vision International

The Background

Ever since its inception after World War II, this organization has demonstrated consistent growth in terms of its resources, and in its contribution to the transformational development of human beings. The nature of its involvement in relief, development, and childcare services has gained it the recognition of governments, international agencies, and other PVOs. The critical role played by World Vision during the plight of southeast Asian and Ethiopian refugees in Somalia has made it one of the leading, contemporary PVOs. To this end, Bolling and Smith state:

In the two most highly dramatized refugee crisis situations in the world in recent years--Southeast Asia and the Horn of Africa--the principal private source of emergency assistance was World Vision, based in Monrovia, California. It is an organization that very much marches to its own drum (1982, p. 176).

Although, due to its involvement with Korean orphans in its early years, it was perceived by some as an organization caring for orphan children, World Vision

HOST GOVERNMENT OPC	----------	UNHCR	

-- USAID	MOH --	-- WFP	SCF --
-- CIDA	MOA --	-- UNICEF	WVI-M --
-- NORAID	MOE --	-- UNESCO	RC --
-- EC	MOCD --	-- UNDP	CCM --
-- ODA	POLICE --	-- OTHERS	OXFAM --
-- OTHERS	MOW --		OTHERS --
	OTHERS --		
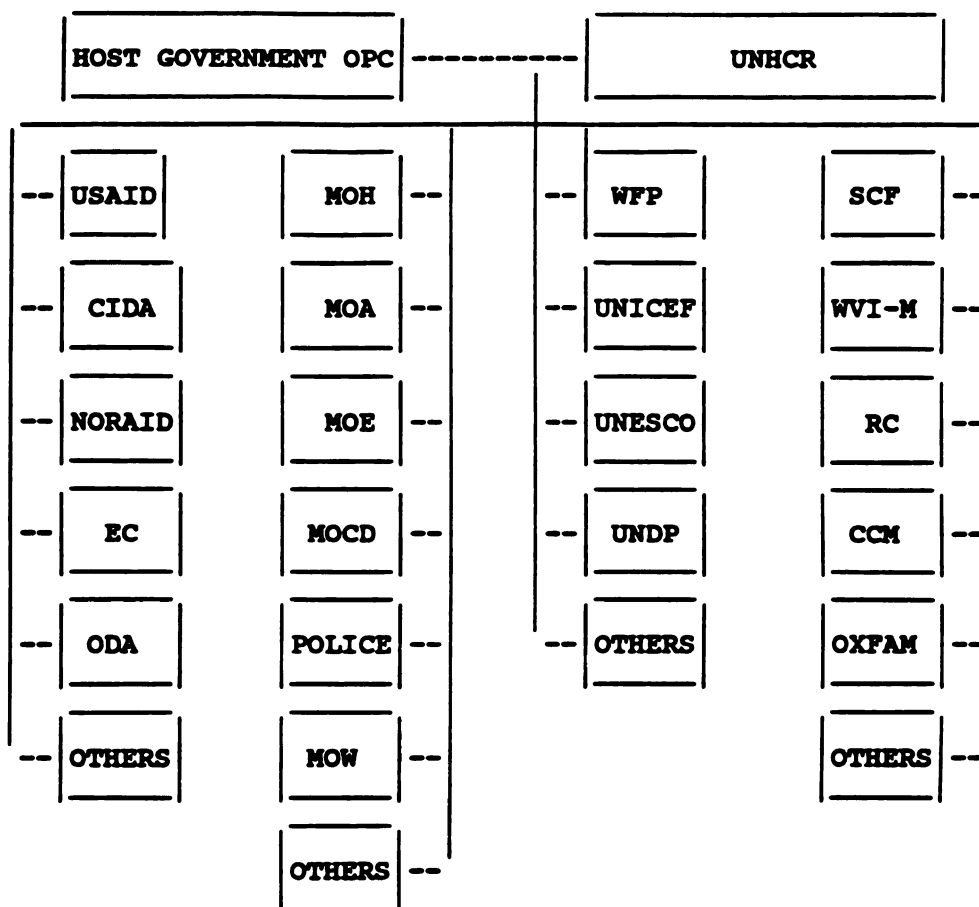
Key:

CCM	=	Christian Council of Malawi
CIDA	=	Canadian International Development Agency
EC	=	European Economic Community
MOA	=	Ministry of Agriculture
MOCD	=	Ministry of Community Development
MOE	=	Ministry of Education
MOH	=	Ministry of Health
MOW	=	Ministry of Works
NORAID	=	Norwegian Agency for International Development
ODA	=	Overseas Development Agency
OPC	=	Office of the President and the Cabinet
RC	=	Red Cross
SCF	=	Save the Children Fund
UNDP	=	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	=	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	=	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	=	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
USAID	=	United States Agency for International Development
WFP	=	World Food Programme
WVI-M	=	World Vision International-Malawi

Figure 3.03 Agencies Responding to Refugees' Needs in Malawi

International (WVI) has come a long way in its own transformation of understanding and interpreting the concepts of human development. Dickinson states that:

> World Vision International has been able to evolve from a humanitarian agency which primarily financed institutional childcare programs, into an agency that is creatively involved in the promotion of transformative social change through community development and other programs (1988, p. 206).

One of the dynamics of WVI is its fast response to relief situations that are man-made or natural calamities. The organization has developed a capacity to be on the scene of a disaster within 24 hours of the occurrence of the problem. WVI then quickly assesses needs and rapidly gets necessary commodities to affected people. As the Board of Directors declared in WVI's internationalization statement:

> We are stirred and driven by unmet needs of countless millions of human beings caught in the toils of poverty, hunger, disease, loneliness and despair. These are God's creatures, formed in His image, yet unable to receive their God-given potential. Our approach to this staggering need is holistic: we decline the unbiblical concept of spiritual over against the physical, the personal over against the social. It is the whole person, in the wholeness of his or her relationship that we want to see redeemed through the one Savior, Jesus Christ Our Lord (1978, p. 1).

Such a commitment is transmitted to, and echoed by, WVI field staff at support offices, as well as at the field and

program office level. The goal is to serve the neediest of the needy.

The internationalization that took place in 1978, drew many autonomous, national organizations into an international partnership. This has further strengthened the organization and raised its material and financial resources a great deal. It has also drawn quality leadership from all over the world to provide the organization with modern, scientific, management skills.

Table 3.03 depicts some of World Vision International's current activities. All the field and program offices are located in the Third World countries where action plans for development, and other programs, are operationalized. The fundraising (Support Offices) are in Australia, Great Britain, Canada, West Germany, New Zealand, and the United States. Furthermore, eight offices are in the process of becoming fundraising or support offices. Every budget year, the Support Offices produce an amount they propose to raise for the year. Field and Program Offices also provide an annual budget with project proposals. The International Office coordinates all these activities and provides periodic training and evaluation services to the Field and Program Office personnel. In addition to this, the International Office coordinates project reports from field operations, and provides the Support Offices with assistance in their fundraising efforts.

Table 3.03   Profile of World Vision International (WVI)

Countries in which World Vision is working: More than 80

FY '90 Budget: Over $181 million (U.S.)
                     $49 million in food GIK (U.S.)

Projects	Estimated Beneficiaries (in millions)
4,933 Aid to Children/ Families	15.3 Million Africa
66 Emergency Relief/ Rehabilitation	5.1 Million Asia/Mid-E
534 Community Development	1.9 Million Lat. America
116 Evangelism and Leadership	.003 Million Europe
5,649 Projects	22.300 Million

Children Assisted in Family and
Community Development Programmes: 970,761

Staff
179 International Offices (including 11 in Geneva/London)
62 Expatriates in Field Assignments
3,628 Full-Time National Field Staff
65 Contract Staff
1,403 Support Offices (15)

5,337 Total Partnership Staff

Source: WVI, 1990 "Fact Sheet"

WVI's Activities and Involvement in Africa

Prior to 1971, WVI activities in Africa were limited to sporadic, scattered projects, sponsored by various churches and other organizations. In 1971, an office was opened in Nairobi, Kenya, with a designated person to direct it. Since then, 10 field offices and three program offices have been established in Africa. The agency has been able to invest millions of dollars in various community development and relief programs throughout the Continent. There are more than 1,000 staff assigned to these field and program offices. Wherever possible, it is the agency's policy to recruit and operate with national staff, together with a few technical staff recruited internationally, to assist the national staff as needs arise.

World Vision's Involvement in Refugee Affairs

Ever since the Southeast Asian refugees ("Boat People") of the mid 1970s, World Vision has responded to refugee needs worldwide. However, such involvement has resulted in occasionally severe criticism, especially in the early years. In responding to the plight of the Salvadoran refugees in Honduras, Caritas International, another agency, leveled a harsh criticism:

> Persistent complaints about the activities of one of the agencies, World Vision, complicated the provision of refugee relief. The complaints centered around collaboration between World Vision and the Honduran and Salvadoran security forces against the refugees (Ferris, 1985, p. 199).

In response to this criticism, World Vision sent two of its officials experienced in Honduran refugee relief work. In their report, the analysts recognized the validity of some of the criticism directed toward World Vision:

> In trying to be apolitical in Honduras, we became frozen around inaction and security. We communicated by our stance that we favored the status quo, that we were not aligned with the defenders of the human rights of the refugees, and therefore, if not for them, against them. In this politicized climate, we were blind to the intensity of the human rights struggle and associated geopolitical issues (World Vision International, 1986b, p. 7).

In its conclusion, the report paints a clear picture. While a number of operational deficiencies were apparent, it states: "We can find no evidence to support the most serious allegations" (p. 8). As a result of this investigation, World Vision decided to withdraw from direct Honduran refugee relief. After February 1, 1982, all remaining funding was channeled through other NGOs. The report further indicated a comprehensive management review was needed. Before the termination of its assistance to Salvadoran refugees in Honduras, World Vision became aware that some refugees were being forced into activities and movements against their will. World Vision President, W. Stanley Mooneyham, sent a telegram to the UNHCR Commissioner, Paul Hartling, in which he expressed his concern (cf., Appendix B). Currently, World Vision is

directly involved in assisting Afghan refugees in Pakistan, and Mozambican refugees in Malawi and Zimbabwe.

World Vision of Malawi

History. World Vision International began providing some kind of assistance to Malawi in the form of funding the Lulwe School for the Blind in the Nsanje District. The project was being coordinated from the Africa Regional Office in Nairobi by the late Moisari Mpaaye Mbene who was the Associate Director of Women in Development for that region, at the time of her death in a car accident.

The project started in 1979 in the absence of an established office in Malawi. In 1981, John Howell, an Australian, was sent to Malawi to establish the World Vision office. However, due to bureaucratic delays, the office was not established until 1982.

There is a Board of Trustees and an Advisory Council with three additional members which make up the Advisory Council. The WVI President and Africa Vice President are ex-officio members of the Advisory Council. Since its inception in 1982, WVI-Malawi's budget has increased from $99,000 (U.S.) to approximately $4.9 million (U.S.) in 1991. The number of projects has also increased to 135.

Focus. Initially, World Vision-Malawi focused on school rehabilitation projects. This was primarily in the southern region of the country, where a whirlwind had caused considerable damage to school buildings. By the time the office was registered and fully established, there

were 15 projects which were funded by WVI in partnership with different agencies. Over the years, WVI-Malawi has invest a great deal of financial and material resources in the development of primary schools in rural areas. This was the most apparent need at the time. Many children were not going to school, either because of a lack of educational facilities or the facilities themselves were in poor condition. Many classes were held under trees or in grass-thatched shelters which leaked heavily during the rainy seasons. Although WVI-Malawi has continued to focus on education, projects have been diversified to include such development components as health, agriculture, water supply, income generation, skills development, etc.

Projects. WVI-Malawi projects can be classified into three major categories: sponsorship, area development and non-sponsorship.

There are more than 70 sponsorship projects run by the Malawi Field Office. The majority of these are community-based development projects geared to develop self reliance in the beneficiary communities. Projects include education, agriculture, afforestation, water supply, direct benefits to sponsored children and skills development. Most of the sponsorship projects are small scale with budgets averaging $25,000 (U.S.).

In a bid to improve the performance of the projects' impact on the communities, WVI-Malawi is moving into an Area Development Programs (ADP) approach. This was

initiated in five areas/communities. It covers larger
areas with more than 20,000 people and sponsored children
of 800 and above. Another important feature of ADP is
that, while the small-scale, community-based development
projects last an average of seven years, the ADPs are
operative for 10 to 15 years, thereby making a definite
impact on the economic status of the assisted area.

Non-sponsorship projects are those funded from sources
other than direct sponsorship of children. Sources include
donations from foundations, individuals, clubs, churches,
governments, etc. In Malawi, the non-sponsorship projects
can be classified into the following categories: church
leadership, women in development projects, small-scale,
community-based development projects, large-scale projects,
relief and urban advance.

The WVI-Malawi structure is comprised of a senior
management team led by the field director and four
divisional heads of finance, operations, technical services
and administration and human resources. Under the senior
management team, there are department managers who
administer special functions in the field office. These
include the areas of accounting, auditing, personnel,
administration, health, training, evaluation and sponsor
relations. Together with the senior management, the
managers make up the "Ministry Review Committee" (MRC).
The MRC meets once every two months to review the entire
field office operation. The management team meets once a

month, apart from ad hoc meetings that deal with emergency matters and policy issues. The total number of WVI-Malawi staff is 135, all of whom are Malawians.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) began operations in 1951 following a resolution by the U. N. General Assembly. From its inception, the UNHCR has provided refugees with such social services as counseling, basic education, assistance in obtaining employment, and rehabilitation. With the recent increase in the number, size, and complexity of refugee situations, the UNHCR has recognized that additional social services are necessary to meet immediate needs and provide lasting solutions.

Background

The UNHCR acts under the authority of the U. N. General Assembly and follows policy directives of the Assembly and its Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) (UNHCR Handbook, 1982). Referring to the dismantled International Refugee Organization (IRO), Gordenker states:

> From the rubble was constructed, slowly and at irregular intervals, the present transnational structure for dealing with refugees which is [the] United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (1987, p. 27).

The establishment of the UNHCR reaffirmed the principle, already adopted in the creation of the IRO, that the international responsibilities for general relief and

refugee protection would be limited in both time and place. Initially, the whole idea of these organizations was to help the European refugees of the Second World War. However, Gordenker states:

> The emergence of unprecedented numbers of refugees in some of the world's poorest countries gave a strong impetus to the rapid growth of transnational networks to assist these people (1987, p. 56).

Forced movements of large-scale populations tend to create much social and political disturbance. Because the networks and magnitude of refugee populations are so great, other U. N. bodies--such as the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), World Health Organization (WHO), U. N. International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), U. N. Development Program (UNDP), and the U. N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)--have been actively involved in responding to refugee needs. One of the roles of the UNHCR is to coordinate NGO activities extended to refugees.

UNHCR Legal and Social Services for Refugees

The UNHCR response to an emergency usually includes legal protection of refugees and material assistance. Although material assistance is very important to the refugees, legal protection remains a primary task. Gordenker sees the fight against non-refoulment (i.e., forced return of refugees and asylum seekers) to their land of origin) as a UNHCR fundamental principle (1987). The

UNHCR uses its networks in attempts to provide legal protection against such expulsion. Clearly, social services are more effective when used in conjunction with other measures to protect and assist refugees. The UNHCR ensures that those responsible for social services, both on its staff and implementing partners, understand how their work relates to a complete program of refugee protection and assistance.

Largely dependent upon voluntary contributions for its financial income, the UNHCR has an administrative structure in country of asylum and in the region where refugee assistance programs are operational: headquarters, regional office, branch office, field office, and sub-office.

Summary

This chapter discussed the research setting and the agencies involved in responding to refugees. In the following chapter, the research methodology is presented.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the following topics: (1) description of the population, (2) research procedures, and (3) the research questions. As outlined in Chapter I, the purpose of this study is to investigate refugee participation in the needs assessment, planning, implementation, and evaluation of projects that are designed to meet their needs. Some of the terms used in this study are defined first.

Definition of Key Terms

<u>Needs assessment</u>: According to Borg and Gall (1983), "a need is usually defined as a discrepancy (or a gap) between an existing set of conditions and a desired set of conditions" (p. 753). Assessment of needs is important for community development because it provides the foundation for developing new programs and for making changes in existing programs. Therefore, it is the intention of this study to see if the refugees are part of the initial needs assessment in the process of program development.

Program Development: Boyle (1981, p. 42) defines this as ". . . essentially a course of action to achieve an effective . . . program." The process of development and planned change requires an identified need, a defined objective and the necessary resources to achieve the objective.

Implementation: In this part of the program development process, plans are used to make the changes indicated by the needs assessment in the most effective and efficient manner with resources that are available.

Evaluation: There are two types of evaluation: formative and summative. Formative evaluation is conducted while a program is in operation, while summative evaluation is used to decide if the program objectives have been met.

The Research Questions

Research Question 1

1.1 As perceived by the refugees, what is the extent of their overall participation in the programs designed to meet their needs?

1.2 As perceived by the refugees, what is the extent of their participation in the needs assessment, planning, implementation and evaluation phases?

Research Question 2

As perceived by refugees, does participation vary by camp, duration of stay in camp, and occupation?

Research Question 3

3.1 As perceived by agency/governmental personnel, what is the extent of overall refugee participation in the programs designed to meet their needs?

3.2 As perceived by agency/governmental personnel, what is the extent of refugee participation in the needs assessment, planning, implementation and evaluation phases?

Research Question 4

As perceived by agency/governmental personnel, does refugee participation vary by organization and position?

Research Question 5

As perceived by refugees, what are the constraints that hinder their involvement in programs designed to meet their needs?

Research Question 6

Do the host government and the agencies have written policies that call for, and encourage, refugee participation in programs designed to meet refugee needs?

The Population

The study's primary population consists of Mozambican refugees in Malawi. However, for the purpose of understanding participation from the personnel perspective, the study required a second population: all personnel who work with the Mozambican refugees.

Refugee Population

Refugees in Malawi constitute the population for this study. They are in the area extending from the southern tip of the country in Nsanje to Lilongwe, the capital city. As the borders of Mozambique stretch the full length of Malawi from east, south and one half way from the west, it is natural for the influx of refugees to escape to the nearest and safest haven. The districts of Malawi that are adjacent to Mozambican borders and host refugees are: Nsanje, Chikwawa, Mwanza, Mulanje, Ntcheu, Machinga, Mangochi, Salima and Lilongwe (cf., Figure 3.02).

This population was chosen based on the following factors:

1. The large influx of those refugees in a relatively short period of time has attracted world attention.

2. Malawi's stable government has created a conducive atmosphere for research.

3. Key refugee agencies are present and active.

4. No previous studies have been conducted regarding refugee participation in Southern Africa.

On an average, each district has seven camps and there are a total of 63 camps. Each camp has between 15,000 and 25,000 refugees. A total of 812,000 refugees populate the camps in seven districts. In terms of families, there are about 160,000 in all the districts.

Agency/Governmental Personnel Population

The personnel population consists of the directors, managers, and the project coordinators who work with the Mozambican refugee programs of the Government of Malawi, UNHCR-Malawi and World Vision International-Malawi. In all, there are three directors, three managers, and 33 coordinators--a total of 39 individuals.

The Sample

Two samples were used in this study: one from the refugee population, and the other from the agency/governmental personnel population. The methods used to select these samples are described below.

Refugee Sample

The researcher could not study the entire Mozambican refugee population in Malawi because of its size. Therefore, sampling the population became a very important task in conducting a manageable and successful study.

Selection of Camps

An essential task involved deciding which of the many hundreds of refugee groups or camps scattered throughout the nine districts were to be sampled. First, all refugee camps were located on a map and checked against a list made

available by the UNHCR Office. Accessibility, travel time, expense, and number of refugees per camp were considered major decision factors.

A lottery method was used to determine which districts would be sampled. The name of each district was written on a piece of paper. Each piece of paper was then folded the same way and thrown into a basket. The names of five districts were drawn by an individual not otherwise involved in this study. Then using purposive sampling due to limited resources and the number of research assistants available, 10 camps were selected in which the interview schedule was administered.

Selection of Families

On an average, each camp has about 3,000 refugee families. From each of the 10 sampled camps, 120 families were chosen in the following manner. First, upon arrival at the assigned camps, each research assistant was given a copy of random numbers. He/she went to the office of the camp administrator, and opened the refugee registration book of that camp. Without looking at the random number list, the research assistant put a finger on a number, and the family with that registration number was taken as the first family in the sample of families. After that, every 100th house was included in the sample until the total reached 120. In the absence of randomly-selected family heads, the household immediately following it was used as a

replacement.   The computation steps involved in this sampling procedure were:

$$\frac{\text{Refugee Families}}{\text{Interval}} + \text{Random Number}$$

Random Number + Refugee Families
(First Refugee Family Sample) +

$$\frac{\text{Total Refugee Families}}{\text{Sampling Interval}} =$$

Second Refugee Family Sample

In the case where the total refugee families number 5,200, and the random number is 28, the next refugee family chosen to be sampled is:

$$\frac{(5,200 + 28)}{120} = 80$$

Thus, 1,200 families were selected.   The head of each family was chosen for inclusion in the sample. The final sample consisted of 1,200 refugees.

Personnel Sample

The sample was drawn from a population of three directors, three managers, and 33 project coordinators who were directly involved in the refugee programs operated by the organizations they represented. All the directors and managers who represented the three agencies/governmental organizations were selected for inclusion in the sample. The selection depended on the individual's knowledge and the extent of his/her involvement in the programs. This sample consisted of 21 personnel.

Research Design

The design of this study is descriptive. Turney and Robb (1971) suggest that descriptive studies allow one to find pertinent information in an effort to determine the current practice or status so that we may develop guidelines for future research. The methodological approach used in this study was primarily quantitative. Qualitative data collected through interviews and personal observations were also used to supplement quantitative data.

Data Collection

Data Collection Instruments

According to Kerlinger (1973, p. 487), the questionnaire has various advantages and, if it is adequately constructed and pretested, it possesses a uniformity of stimulus.

As Tull and Albaum assert (1973, p. 142):

> . . . questionnaires have the advantage of providing the greatest degree of control over the question in the asking and responding process. The person in the household who would be answering the questions can more often be reached through such questionnaires than other means.

With this in mind, two instruments were designed to collect data for this study. The research questions, assumptions, literature, and the input of social scientists and field practitioners were used to construct the data-gathering instruments. These instruments were improved at

the field level to make them more effective. It was necessary to greatly simplify the questions because most refugees could not read or write. These instruments were further checked by former faculty members of Indiana University and The Ohio State University who are currently working with World Vision International. Both individuals agreed that these instruments adequately measured what they were intended to measure. Thus, face validity was established for both the instruments.

The interview method was also used to collect data from agency and governmental personnel. Agency and governmental manuals and other literature were reviewed for information about policies relevant to refugee participation. Gordon (1980, pp. 61-62) notes that research interviews have a number of advantages, including:

1. The interview provides greater opportunity for motivating the respondent to supply accurate and complete information.

2. The interview provides greater opportunity for guiding the respondents in their interpretation of the questions.

3. The interview allows greater flexibility in questioning the respondent. The more exploratory the purpose, the greater the need for flexibility in determining the wording of the question, the sequence of the questions, and direction and amount of probing used.

4. The interview provides greater opportunity to evaluate the validity of the information by observing the respondent's non-verbal manifestations with his or her attitude toward supplying the information.

Interview Schedule (See Appendix A)

An interview schedule was used to collect data from the refugee sample. This instrument had two sections. Section One had five questions about the respondent's demographics, and Section Two had 15 questions relating to the respondent's perceptions about his/her participation at different phases of the refugee program. These 15 questions required "yes" and "no" answers only. The needs assessment, planning, and implementation phases had four questions each, and the evaluation phase had three questions.

This instrument was translated into Chichewa, the primary language of Malawians and a second major language of Mozambicans. The World Vision Malawi management team selected the best available Chichewa-speaking staff members for the translation work. Each question in Chichewa was compared to the English version and necessary adjustments and corrections were made. According to Fielding and Fielding (1986, p. 30):

When no discrepancies between the original and the twice translated text are found, this constitutes a form of triangulation, which simply is convergent

evidence that an 'unbiased' translation has occurred and that the translators are competent.

Later, during the training of the research assistants, each question in English was further discussed against the Chichewa translation. It was discovered that some words in the Chichewa translation reflected double meanings, weakening the chances of acquiring the needed information from the refugees. Such discussion on the translation was found to be useful because it helped clarify ambiguities. Because all of the research assistants spoke fluent English and Chichewa, they were able to discuss and compare the questions in both languages. After the pretest, additional adjustments were made to the Chichewa translation. The final translation was checked by a group of project coordinators to determine if the language effectively communicated to the refugees and elicited the needed information. After the pretest, additional adjustments were made to the Chichewa translation.

Government/Agency Personnel Questionnaire (See Appendix A)

This questionnaire contained two sections. The first section had three questions about the respondent's sex, agency and agency position. The second section contained 12 questions organized under four sections that corresponded to the four phases of programs. Thus, each section had three questions. All the questions were to be answered on a five-point, Likert-type scale.

Pretesting

The Interview Schedule was administered to 12 randomly-selected refugees in the Kunyinda Camp. The results of the pretest were not included in the final data which were gathered from the sampled refugee sample. The pretester read the questions to the 12 refugees individually and wrote down their responses. The pretest demonstrated that some questions were not understood by the respondents, and, therefore, needed to be rephrased. The rephrased questions were reviewed and accepted by the researcher and the research assistants.

Data were gathered from the following agencies or organizations: the Government of Malawi, the UNHCR and World Vision-Malawi. Before distributing the questionnaire to the personnel, the researcher discussed the purpose and content of the questions with the respondents and provided explanations. These explanations were accepted by all respondents. After the discussions, each respondent completed the questionnaire.

Selection and Training of the Research Assistants

To select research assistants, the researcher contacted the Chancellor College of the University of Malawi in Zomba. World Vision-Malawi had used some of the students of this University in the past two years for baseline community surveys. The assistants included three women and nine men. All the research assistants spoke fluent English and Chichewa, and were able to discuss and compare the

questions in both languages. When the selection, negotiation and acceptance processes were completed, a letter confirming their appointment and including the terms of agreement was sent to each of the students selected. The letter also specified training dates, times, and venue.

Table 4.01 shows the number of students from each college, their year in college, and area of study.

Table 4.01   Educational Levels of Research Assistants

Year in College	Number of Assistants	Major
1st	1	Social Science
2nd	1	Engineering
	2	Sociology
3rd	1	Geography
	2	Natural Sciences
4th	2	Sociology
	2	Social Work
	1	Engineering
Total	12	

Training of Research Assistants

Borg and Gall declare (1983, p. 444):

> Before conducting any interviews, the interviewer should become so familiar with the interview guide (wording, format, recording procedures and allowable probes) that he can conduct the interview in a conventional manner without hesitating, backtracking or needing to reread or study the guide.

With this as a guiding principle, a one-day training session was arranged for the 12 research assistants selected from Chancellor College. The researcher conducted the training.

As part of the training, the research assistants participated in role play by taking on the parts of interviewers and interviewees. Using the interview schedule, they did the role play in the presence of their colleagues and the researcher. Borg and Gall (1983, p. 444) speak to this when they assert:

> . . . research on interviewer training suggests that the trainees should conduct practice interviews and should receive corrective feedback until their performance becomes standardized and reaches the desired level of reliability and objectivity.

Role play provided each participant an opportunity to practice the interview, obtain feedback and feel comfortable with the process. Procedural errors were called to their attention. The facilitator and trainees provided feedback in a constructive manner. Culturally appropriate human dynamics were also discussed. These included respect for elders, proper greetings before and after interviews, and the use of clear and courteous language. The participants were also advised to be relaxed and informal during the interview. For example, one technique pertained to making a proper introduction--talking about something else rather than

going directly to the interview. Cultural jokes and/or stories were suggested to help create a relaxed atmosphere. The assistants were also trained to assure respondents that whatever they said would be kept confidential. Furthermore, the research assistants were to reassure the interviewees that their role in the research was both important and voluntary. Finally, the refugees were told that, if they did not feel free to talk, they could stop at any point during the interview.

Questionnaire Administration

Interview Schedule

The total time assigned for refugee interviews was two full weeks, weekends included. Three members of the research team (WVM Head of Technical Services Unit, the Manager of the Relief Program, and the Manager of the Training Department) personally transported the research assistants to their assigned refugee camps. They also introduced the interviewers to the District Commissioners (DC) and the camp administrators. Prior to the research assistants' arrival, these government officials were informed about the purpose of the study, that the interviewers were coming, and that their cooperation was already obtained.

In consultation with the camp administrators and refugee camp chiefs, lodging was arranged for the research assistants. Upon arrival in the camp, the research assistant was introduced to the Camp Administrator who, in

turn, introduced him/her to the village Chief. The camp chief then introduced the refugee respondents. Figure 4.01 depicts the hierarchical structure of refugee administration in Malawi.

As a first step in questionnaire administration, the research assistants who served as interviewers introduced the study to the respondents and also explained that the respondents were at liberty to withdraw their participation in the interview process at any time if they so desired. Following this step, the interviewers read the questions one by one to the respondents and noted their answers.

While the interviews were in progress, the researcher made supervisory trips to the camps to: (1) see if the research assistants had encountered any problems, (2) resolve these problems, and (3) monitor some of the interviews in progress. The visits revealed that, while everything was going well and according to plan, a problem of language had arisen in the Mankhokwe Camp in Nsanje District; some of the refugees were Sena speakers. This was not anticipated by anyone involved, and a second translation was organized "on the spot" because the interview questions were only translated into Chichewa.

Agency/Government Personnel Questionnaire

The researcher personally hand-delivered questionnaires to all 21 respondents included in the agency/government personnel sample. The researcher explained the study's purpose and made it clear to the respondents that they

```
┌──────────────────┐
│        LP        │
└──────────────────┘
         │
┌──────────────────┐
│    Parliament    │
└──────────────────┘
         │
┌──────────────────┐
│       OPC        │
└──────────────────┘
         │
┌──────────────────┐
│        DC        │
└──────────────────┘
         │
┌──────────────────┐
│        CA        │
└──────────────────┘
         │
┌──────────────────┐
│        HC        │───────────┐
└──────────────────┘           │
         │                     │
┌──────────────────┐           │
│      Chief       │───────────┼──────────┐
└──────────────────┘           │          │
         │                     │          │
┌──────────────────┐           │          │
│        IR        │───────────┘      Refugee
└──────────────────┘
```
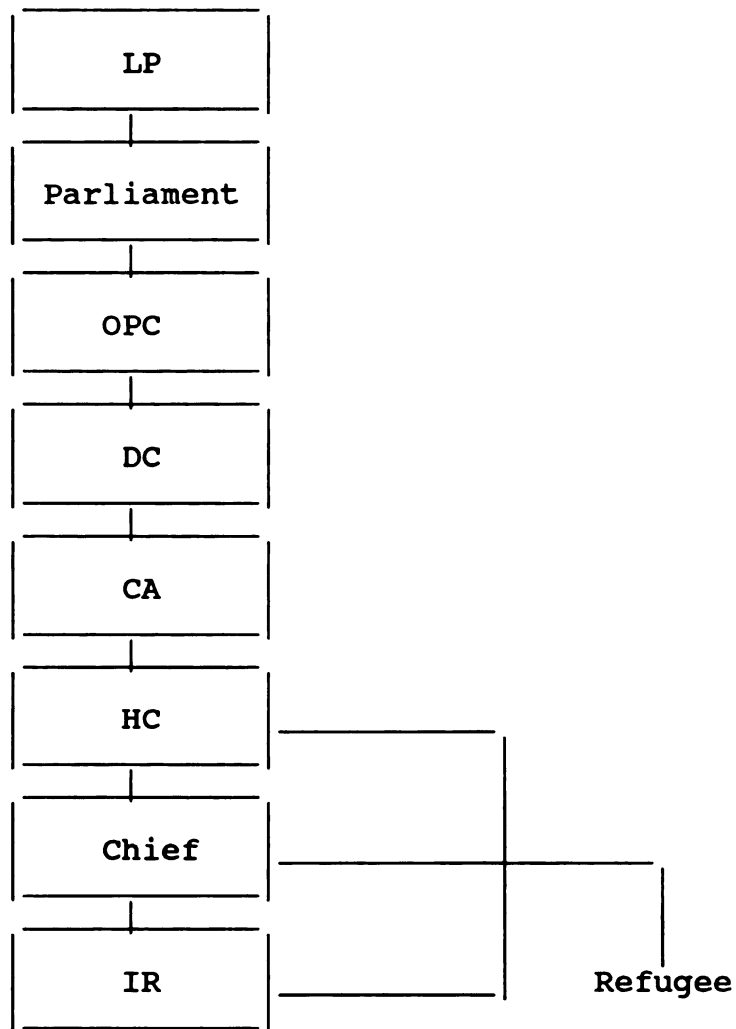
Key:

LP = Life President
OPC = Office of the President and Cabinet
DC = District Commissioner
CA = Camp Administrator
HC = Head Chief
IR = Individual Refugee

Figure 4.01   Descending Hierarchical Structure of Refugee
              Administration in Malawi

could withdraw their participation, if desired, for any reason of their own. Furthermore, the researcher made it clear to them that confidentiality of answers and anonymity would be maintained.

Personal Interviews

The researcher personally interviewed the officials of different organizations. These interviews focused primarily on policy matters relating to refugee participation and included the directors and mangers of the organizations. Interviews were generally held in their offices and at conference centers after donor meetings. Informal meetings were also held during and after lunch.

The researcher did not make notes or use any recording devices during the interviews. However, soon after each interview session, the researcher took time to write down the content of the officer's responses.

Scoring the Data

Scoring Refugee Sample Data

Out of the 1,200 interview schedules given to the interviewers, the researcher received 1,177. The remaining schedules are assumed to have been lost in transit. The interview schedules received from the interviewers were numbered serially.

Scoring Personnel Sample Data

Out of the 21 questionnaires given to this group, 20 were returned to the researcher.

This questionnaire's first section had three general questions which did not require scoring. The second section had 12 questions grouped under the four phases of refugee program development. Scores noted by a respondent against the questions in each group were totaled and divided by 3, the number of questions under each phase, to arrive at phase scores. The phase scores were taken as the raw score of different phases. The maximum and minimum scores possible were 5 and 0, respectively. Participation at the overall level was computed by adding the phase scores and dividing the sum by 4, as all the phases had an equal number of questions and cases. All the computations were done on a computer using the SPSS PC+ statistical program.

Statistical Procedures Used

Refugee sample data were subjected to univariate and bivariate analyses for answering questions 1.1 and 1.2. Along with bivariate analysis, frequencies, Chi-Square statistics, and Phi Coefficients were computed for testing statistical significance and strength of association between variables in every association.

Question 2 was studied using cross-tabulations, contingency coefficients, and frequencies. The purpose of contingency coefficients was to understand the strength of association between variables included in each cross-tabulation.

Questions 3.1 and 3.2 were studied using frequencies, and the one-way analysis of variance procedure.

Questions 4 and 5 were studied using qualitative data collected through interviews and the review of organizational documents. The data were subjected to topic-wise analysis and frequency tabulation.

Summary

In this chapter, the methods and procedures used in conducting and analyzing the data were explained. The study's target population, the research instrument and its validity, translation and pilot testing were described. In addition, data collection procedures and statistical analysis methods were described. The results of the data analysis performed in this study will be reported in Chapter V.

CHAPTER V

DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter presents the study findings. Data analyses were done using the statistical program, SPSS PC+ version 3.0. To begin with, a selected set of characteristics of the sample are given, followed by the major findings of the study.

Characteristics of the Sample

The study had two samples, one from the refugee population and the other from the personnel population.

Refugee Sample

The refugee sample size was 1,200, but 1,177 interview schedules were completed by the interviewers and returned to the researcher. The remaining 23 schedules from Kapesi Camp were presumed to have been lost in transit. Table 5.01 gives the distribution of the refugee sample by camp.

Table 5.01 Distribution of the Refugee Sample by Camp

Camp	Sample	
	Number	Percent
Kabwazi	120	10.2
Dombole	120	10.2
Mankhokwe	120	10.2
Kapalamula	120	10.2
Chigaramowa	120	10.2
Njolomole	120	10.2
Muloza	120	10.2
Kunyenda	120	10.2
Chimbiya	120	10.2
Kapesi	97	8.2
Total	1,177	100.0

The refugee participants in this study had six different vocational orientations. Distribution by vocation is presented in Table 5.02.

Table 5.02   Distribution of the Refugee Sample by Vocation

Vocation	Sample	
	Number	Percent
Farmers	346	29.4
Laborers	43	3.7
Teachers	31	2.6
Health Workers	41	3.5
Handcraft Workers	202	17.2
No Skill	514	43.7
Total	1,177	100.0

Farmers accounted for 29.4% of the sample. When they were still in Mozambique (their home land), each family had about five acres of land and a few cattle. They were considered subsistence farmers, similar to their counterpart farmers in Malawi, the host land. Some of them worked for local farmers on a daily basis in the vicinity of their camps. Their jobs included weeding, plowing, and harvesting, for which they were paid either in kind or in cash.

Laborers, who accounted for 3.7% of the sample, were able bodied and had some skills. Some of them worked as laborers within and outside the camps. Their jobs included: cutting firewood, carrying water, and transporting commercial goods.

Teachers accounted for 2.6% of the sample. They were mostly high school graduates from Mozambique schools, and were engaged as elementary school teachers in refugee schools in camps. Health workers accounted for 3.5% of the sample. These persons included nurses, midwives and clinical work assistants. Some of them translated Portuguese into English and vice versa between the refugee patients and members of Medicine San Frontier (MSF), who were responsible for the medical work in refugee camps. Handcraft workers represented 17.2% of the sample. These workers included tinsmiths, carpenters, weavers, carvers, knitting, matmakers, and basketmakers. Finally, 43.7% of the sample represented refugees with no skills.

Participants included both men and women. A breakdown of the sample by gender is given in Table 5.03. Although men are considered family heads, women were busy gathering firewood, fetching water and going to market. The men did not have much to do. Furthermore, more men were present in Malawian refugee camps than in other refugee situations,

Table 5.03 Distribution of the Refugee Sample by Gender

Gender	Sample	
	Number	Percent
Men	912	77.49
Women	265	22.51
Total	1,177	100.00

primarily because RENAMO terrorized villages indiscriminately. This drove both men and women to look for refuge.

The sample included refugees of different marital statuses. The distribution by marital status is presented in Table 5.04.

Table 5.04 Distribution of the Refugee Sample by Marital Status

	Sample	
Marital Status	Number	Percent
Married	1,134	96.35
Single	23	1.95
Widowed	9	0.76
Separated/Divorced	11	0.94
Total	1,177	100.00

Personnel Sample

Twenty individuals were included in the Personnel Sample. The sample included personnel of the Government of Malawi (GOM), the United Nations High Commission for Refugees-Malawi (UNHCR-M), and World Vision International-Malawi (WVI-M). The distribution of the personnel sample by agency is presented in Table 5.05.

Table 5.05   Distribution of the Personnel Sample by Agency

	Sample	
Agency	Number	Percent
Government of Malawi	7	35.0
UNHCR-M	7	35.0
World Vision-Malawi	6	30.0
Total	20	100.0

As indicated in Table 5.06, the personnel sample included men and women.

Table 5.06   Distribution of the Personnel Sample by Gender

	Sample	
Gender	Number	Percent
Men	16	80.0
Women	4	20.0
Total	20	100.0

There were directors, managers, and project coordinators in the sample. Table 5.07 shows the distribution by position.

Table 5.07   Distribution of the Personnel Sample by
              Position

Position	Sample	
	Number	Percent
Directors	3	15.0
Managers	4	20.0
Coordinators	<u>13</u>	<u>65.0</u>
Total	20	100.0

Presentation of Research Findings

The findings are presented by research question. After the question is stated, relevant data analysis results are presented and interpretations discussed.

Research Question 1.1

As perceived by the refugees, what is the extent of their overall participation in the programs designed to meet their needs?

A value "1" was given to each "yes" response, and a value "2" was given to each "no" response for each of the questions posed.   For each program phase, a respondent's score could take a minimum value equal to the number of questions included in the questionnaire under that phase and a maximum value of twice the number of questions posed.   In this study, these scores are termed Perceived Phase Participation scores.   For needs assessment, planning, and implementation phases, a respondent's

Perceived Phase Participation score could take a minimum value of 4, and a maximum value of 8--there were four questions under each of these phases. For the evaluation phase, which had three questions, the Phase Participation score could take a minimum value of 3 and a maximum value of 6.

When all the four phases are combined, a respondent's Overall Participation score could have a minimum value of 15 and a maximum value of 30. Higher scores occurred when "no" answers were selected more frequently; therefore, higher scores imply lower levels of participation. Finally, an equally calibrated scale consisting of five levels of overall participation from "very high" to "very low" (as shown in Table 5.08) was used for categorizing the Overall Level of Perceived Participation.

Table 5.08 Categorization of Refugee Perceived
          Participation Scores

Level	Intervals of Overall Participation
Very High	15 - 17.99
High	18 - 20.99
Moderate	21 - 23.99
Low	24 - 26.99
Very Low	27 - 30.00

For the entire sample, Phase Participation Scores by program phase are presented in Table 5.09. The Overall

Table 5.09   Refugee Phase Participation Scores

Phase	Number of Questions	Score
Needs Assessment	4	6.89
Planning	4	6.80
Implementation	4	6.79
Evaluation	3	5.66
Overall Participation		26.14

Level of Perceived Participation Score of 26.14 found in Table 5.09 suggests the overall participation as perceived by the refugees was "low."

Research Question 1.2

As perceived by refugees, what is the extent of their participation in the needs assessment, planning, implementation and evaluation phases?

To answer this question, data were subjected to univariate analysis and bivariate cross-tabulations. Along with cross-tabulations, Chi-Square significance and Phi coefficients were computed. The Chi-Square values were used to determine statistical significance of associations between variables. Phi coefficients were used to determine strength of association. Results of these procedures are presented in Tables 5.10 through 5.33.

Participation in the Needs Assessment Phase

In Table 5.10, it can be noted that a majority of the total 1,177 respondents said, "no" to each of the four questions pertaining to the needs assessment phase.

Table 5.10   Percent of Refugees Who Responded "No" to
             Questions in the Needs Assessment Phase

No.	Question	Total N	Respondents Answering "No"	
			Number	Percent
1.	When you first arrived here, did any one of the officials ask you what your needs were?	1,177	777	66.0
2.	Since your arrival, have you ever been asked by any of the officials what your needs were?	1,177	772	65.6
3.	As far as you know, has any one of the refugees been asked what their needs are?	1,177	695	59.0
4.	If you know your needs, have you been talking about them to the officials?	1,177	1,154	98.0

In order to better understand the associations between these questions, question-by-question bivariate cross-tabulations and Chi-Squares were computed. These data are presented in Table 5.11. In Table 5.11, it can be seen that the No-No cell in each of the bivariate associations ranked first. In other words, the modal response in them are in the No-No cells. The Yes-Yes cells ranked the lowest. Thus, these results indicate that there

Table 5.11   Question-by-Question Cross-tabulations for the
             Needs Assessment Phase

Question with Question	Percent in No-No Cell	No-No Cell Rank	Chi-Square	p	Phi
Q1 by Q2	50.0	1	101.72	.0000*	.30
Q1 by Q3	46.2	1	112.34	.0000*	.31
Q1 by Q4	64.5	1	1.06	.3031	.04
Q2 by Q3	51.7	1	358.00	.0000*	.55
Q2 by Q4	63.9	1	3.82	.0505	.06
Q3 by Q4	57.7	1	0.67	.4112	.03

*Significant at alpha 0.05.

is strong evidence for the possibility that a majority of refugees feel they are not participating in the needs assessment phase of refugee programs.

It is seen that the bivariate associations Q1xQ2, Q1xQ3 and Q2xQ3 are statistically significant at 0.05 alpha, and their Phi coefficients are positive (.30, .31, and .55) suggesting moderate to moderately strong associations. However, the bivariate associations Q1xQ4, Q2xQ4, and Q3xQ4 are not statistically significant at .05 alpha. These associations are further examined below using cross-tabulations.

In Table 5.12, the No-No cell is the modal cell with the highest percent (64.5) of responses indicating that a majority of the respondents said they were not

Table 5.12   Cross-tabulation for Question 1 by Question 4
              (Needs Assessment)

		Q4		
	Count Row Percent Column Percent Total Percent	Yes	No	Row Total
Q1	Yes	.5.0 1.3 21.7 .4	395.0 98.8 34.2 33.6	400.0 34.0
	No	18.0 2.3 78.3 1.5	759.0 97.7 65.8 64.5	777.0 66.0
	Column Total	23.0 2.0	1,154.0 98.0	1,177.0 100.0

participating in refugee programs at the needs assessment
phase.   From the top right cell, it can be seen that 395
(98.8%) of the 400 respondents who said "yes" to Question 1
also said "no" to Question 4. Question 1 inquired whether
the refugees were asked about their needs when they first
arrived, whereas Question 4 asked if the refugees were
talking to the officials about their needs during the
course of their stay in the camp. These results indicate
the possibility that refugees at their settlements' entry
points do get opportunities to express their immediate
needs, but subsequently such opportunities become scarce.

In Table 5.13, the No-No cell is the modal cell with
the highest percent (64.9%) of responses in it. But, from

Table 5.13   Cross-tabulation for Question 2 by Question 4
             (Needs Assessment)

	Count Row Percent Column Percent Total Percent	Q4 Yes	 No	 Row Total
Q2	Yes	3.0 .7 13.0 .3	402.0 99.3 34.8 34.2	405.0 34.4
	No	20.0 2.6 87.0 1.7	752.0 97.7 65.2 64.9	772.0 65.6
	Column Total	23.0 2.0	1,154.0 98.0	1,177.0 100.0

the "yes" row of Question 2, it may be seen that 402 (99.3%) of the 405 respondents who said "yes" to Question 2 also said "no" to Question 4. Question 2 inquired if the refugees were ever asked about their needs. The possibility here is that respondents answering, "yes" to this question were referring to their initial expression of needs at the entry points. In other words, their answers to Questions 1 and 2 may refer to one and the same experience. This possibility is further supported by the fact that the number of "yes" responses (395 and 402) to these two questions are almost the same.

In Table 5.14, the No-No cell is the modal cell with the highest percent (57.7%) of No-No responses in it. From

Table 5.14   Cross-tabulation for Question 3 by Question 4
             (Needs Assessment)

Count Row Percent Column Percent Total Percent	Q4 Yes	No	Row Total
Q3			
Yes	7.0 1.5 30.4 .6	475.0 98.5 41.2 40.4	482.0 41.0
No	16.0 2.3 69.6 1.4	679.0 97.7 58.8 57.7	695.0 59.0
Column Total	23.0 2.0	1,154.0 98.0	1,177.0 100.0

the top right cell, it can be noted that 475 (98.5%) of the 482 respondents who said "yes" to Question 3 also said "no" to Question 4. Question 3 inquired if the respondent knew anyone who was asked about his/her needs. The possibility is that respondents answering, "yes" to this question also refer to the refugees' initial expression of needs at the entry points. In other words, their answers to Questions 1 and 3 refer to the same initial experience.

Participation in the Planning Phase

In Table 5.15, it is observed that the percent of "no" responses to the first two questions (51.5 and 56.9 respectively) are lower than those of the last two questions   (81.8   and   90.3,   respectively).

Table 5.15   Percent of Refugees Who Responded "No" to
             Questions in the Planning Phase

			Respondents Answering "No"	
No.	Question	Total N	Number	Percent
5.	Has any one of the officials ever asked you to assist in planning programs to meet your needs?	1,177	606	51.5
6.	Have you ever participated in any planning meeting?	1,177	669	56.9
7.	Did any of the officials discuss future plans with you concerning refugee programs?	1,177	955	81.1
8.	Are you a member of any committee that is related to planning programs for refugees?	1,177	1,063	90.3

To understand these results in more depth, bivariate cross-tabulations were computed. The results of the cross-tabulations are given in Table 5.16. From Table 5.16, it is noted that the No-No cell in each of these bivariate associations ranked first, suggesting that modal responses in them are in the No-No cells. The Yes-Yes cells ranked the lowest. Thus, these results suggest the possibility that a majority of refugees feel that they are not participating in the planning phase of refugee programs.

The bivariate associations Q5xQ7 and Q6xQ8 are statistically significant at 0.05 alpha, but their Phi

Table 5.16   Question-by-Question Cross-tabulations for the
             Planning Phase

Question with Question	Percent in No-No Cell	No-No Cell Rank	Chi-Square	p	Phi
Q5 by Q6	35.9	1	84.47	.0000*	.30
Q5 by Q7	44.9	1	30.10	.0000*	.16
Q5 by Q8	49.4	1	42.85	.0000*	.20
Q6 by Q7	47.4	1	4.88	.0272*	.67
Q6 by Q8	53.4	1	23.72	.0000*	.14
Q7 by Q8	75.2	1	30.71	.0000*	.20

*Significant at alpha 0.05.

coefficients (.16 and .14, respectively) are low, indicating a weak association. These associations are further examined by looking into individual cells of their cross-tabulations.

In Table 5.17, the No-No cell is the modal cell with the highest percent (44.9) of No-No responses in it. In the top right cell, 426 (74.6%) of the 571 respondents who said, "yes" to Question 5 also said, "no" to Question 7. Question 5 asked if the respondent was ever asked by officials to assist them in planning refugee programs. On the other hand, Question 7 asked if the officials ever discussed program planning with them. The 426 respondents who said, "yes" to Question 5 and "no" to Question 7 seem

Table 5.17 Cross-tabulation for Question 5 by Question 7 (Planning)

		Q7		
	Count Row Percent Column Percent Total Percent	Yes	No	Row Total
Q5	Yes	145.0 25.4 65.3 12.3	426.0 74.6 44.6 36.2	571.0 48.5
	No	77.0 12.7 34.7 6.5	529.0 87.2 55.4 44.9	606.0 · 51.5
	Column Total	222.0 18.9	955.0 81.1	1,177.0 100.0

to be highlighting the difference between asking for ideas pertaining to program planning and discussing the same.

In Table 5.18, the No-No cell ranks first among the four cells and the Yes-Yes cell ranks third. From the top right cell, it is observed that 434 respondents said "yes" to Question 6 and "no" to Question 8. These results appear to indicate the possibility that refugees, who take part in some kind of official or unofficial planning meeting, may not get opportunities to become members of official planning committees.

Table 5.18   Cross-tabulation for Question 6 by Question 8
            (Planning)

	Count Row Percent Column Percent Total Percent	Q8		
		Yes	No	Row Total
Q6	Yes	74.0 14.6 64.9 6.3	434.0 85.4 40.8 36.9	508.0 43.2
	No	40.0 6.0 35.1 3.4	629.0 94.0 59.2 53.4	669.0 56.8
	Column Total	114.0 9.7	1,063.0 90.3	1,177.0 100.0

Participation in the Implementation Phase

Table 5.19 indicates that the majority of respondents said "no" to three of the four questions. This suggests the possibility that a majority of the refugees perceive they are not participating in this phase. It is also noted that the 36% of "no" responses to Question 10 is the lowest.

Table 5.19   Percent of Refugees Who Responded "No" to
Questions in the Implementation Phase

| No. | Question | Total N | Respondents Answering "No" | |
			Number	Percent
9.	When you first arrived here, were the refugees asked to be involved in implementing any program for the refugees?	1,177	1,004	85.3
10.	Did you get any opportunity to be involved in handling and delivering relief commodities?	1,177	424	36.0
11.	In your opinion, are the refugees participating in distribution of relief materials and in camp administration?	1,177	740	62.9
12.	Have you ever been employed for any of the refugee programs?	1,177	1,110	94.3

The association between these questions was further examined using bivariate cross-tabulations given in Table 5.20.   In Table 5.20, it is clear that the No-No cells of associations Q9xQ11, Q9xQ12, and Q11xQ12 rank first; Q9xQ10 and Q10xQ12 rank second; and Q10xQ11 rank third. Associations Q9xQ11 and Q10xQ11 are statistically significant at 0.05 alpha, but their Phi coefficients (.08 and .18, respectively) are weak.   The associations Q9xQ10, Q10xQ12, and Q11xQ12 are not statistically significant. The relation Q10xQ11, although statistically significant, ranks third among the four cells.   For these reasons,

associations Q9xQ10, Q10xQ11, Q10xQ12, and Q11xQ12 are further examined by cross-tabulations.

Table 5.20 Question-by-Question Cross-tabulations for the
            Implementation Phase

Question with Question	Percent in No-No Cell	No-No Cell Rank	Chi-Square	p	Phi
Q9 by Q10	30.4	2	29.71	.5957	.02
Q9 by Q11	55.0	1	6.76	.0093*	.08
Q9 by Q12	80.9	1	2.73	.0984	.05
Q10 by Q11	24.4	3	6.27	.0123*	.18
Q10 by Q12	34.3	2	.91	.3407	.03
Q11 by Q12	59.6	1	.89	.3454	.03

*Significant at alpha 0.05.

In Table 5.21, the No-No cell ranks second and the No-Yes cell ranks first. From the lower left cell, it is apparent that, of 753 respondents who said "yes" to Question 10, 85.8% also said "no" to Question 9. Question 10 asked the respondents if they were given any opportunity to be involved in handling and delivering relief commodities, whereas Question 9 asked if they were involved in implementing any program. A large number of "yes" answers to Question 10, and a comparatively smaller number to Question 9, suggests that there is a possibility that refugee participation in program implementation is lower vis-a-vis participation in labor-oriented activities.

Table 5.21   Cross-tabulation for Question 9 by Question 10
(Implementation)

		Q10		
Count Row Percent Column Percent Total Percent		Yes	No	Row Total
	Yes	107.0 61.8 14.2 9.1	66.0 38.2 15.6 5.6	173.0 14.7
Q9				
	No	646.0 64.3 85.8 54.9	358.0 35.7 84.4 30.4	1,004.0 85.3
	Column Total	753.0 64.0	424.0 36.0	1,177.0 100.0

In   Table   5.22, the No-No cell ranks third, the Yes-Yes column   ranks   second,   and   the   Yes-No column ranks first. Here,   again,   the effect of Question 10 is evident.   Out of the   753   respondents   who   said "yes" to Question 10, 60.2% said   "no"   to   Question 11 (which asked respondents if they were   participating   in distribution of relief materials and in   camp   administration).   These   results   suggest   that refugee   participation   is more visible in manual labor than in other aspects of program implementation.

Table 5.22   Cross-tabulation for Question 10 by Question 11
             (Implementation)

		Q11		
Count Row Percent Column Percent Total Percent		Yes	No	Row Total
Q10	Yes	300.0 39.8 68.6 25.5	453.0 60.2 61.2 38.5	753.0 64.0
	No	137.0 32.3 31.4 11.6	287.0 67.7 38.8 24.4	424.0 36.0
	Column Total	437.0 37.1	740.0 62.9	1,177.0 100.0

In Table 5.23, the No-No cell ranks second and the Yes-No cell ranks first, while the Yes-Yes cell ranks third.   Only   a   small   number   (4%)   said   they   were participating   in   refugee   programs.   Out   of   the   753 respondents who said "yes" to Question 10, 93.8% said "no" to Question 12 (which asked the respondents if they had ever been employed in any refugee program). These results suggest that a majority of refugees perceive that they were participating in labor-oriented jobs, but not in the actual implementation of refugee programs.

Table 5.23   Cross-tabulation for Question 10 by Question 12
             (Implementation)

Count Row Percent Column Percent Total Percent	Q12		
	Yes	No	Row Total
Q10 Yes	47.0	706.0	753.0
	6.2	93.8	64.0
	70.1	63.6	
	4.0	60.0	
No	20.0	404.0	424.0
	4.7	95.3	36.0
	29.9	36.4	
	1.7	34.3	
Column Total	67.0	1,110.0	1,177.0
	5.7	94.3	100.0

Table 5.24 indicates that the No-No cell ranks first and the Yes-Yes cell ranks last, suggesting that a majority of respondents in this association perceive that they were not participating in the implementation phase of programs. Out of the 437 respondents who said "yes" to Question 11, 93.4% said "no" to Question 12 (which asked the respondents if they had ever been employed for any of the refugee programs). These results suggest that, even those refugees who perceived that they were participating in distribution of relief materials (and also in some administrative aspects of programs), felt that they were not actually employed in those jobs.

Table 5.24 Cross-tabulation for Question 11 by Question 12
            (Implementation)

		Q12		
	Count Row Percent Column Percent Total Percent	Yes	No	Row Total
		29.0	408.0	437.0
		6.6	93.4	37.1
	Yes	43.3	36.8	
		2.5	34.7	
Q11				
		38.0	702.0	740.0
		5.1	94.9	62.9
	No	56.7	63.2	
		3.2	59.6	
	Column	67.0	1,110.0	1,177.0
	Total	5.7	94.3	100.0

Participation in the Evaluation Phase

In Table 5.25, it can be seen that the majority of respondents gave "no" answers to questions pertaining to refugee participation in the evaluation phase.

Table 5.25   Percent of Refugees Who Responded "No" to
              Questions in the Evaluation Phase

No.	Question	Total N	Respondents Answering "No"	
			Number	Percent
13.	Have you ever been asked by the officials how refugee programs are meeting your needs?	1,177	1,066	90.6
14.	Have you ever been asked how to improve reception and registration procedures?	1,177	1,095	93.0
15.	Do teachers discuss school activities and problems with parents and other adult refugees?	1,177	969	82.3

The association between these questions was further examined using bivariate cross-tabulations given in Table 5.26. All of the associations in Table 5.26 are statistically significant at 0.05 alpha and the No-No cells rank first. These results suggest that a majority of the respondents perceive that they were not participating in refugee programs in the evaluation phase.

Table 5.26   Question-by-Question Cross-tabulations for the
Evaluation Phase

Question with Question	Percent in No-No Cell	No-No Cell Rank	Chi-Square	p	Phi
Q13 by Q14	85.2	1	17.79	.0000*	.13
Q13 by Q15	76.7	1	42.34	.0000*	.20
Q14 by Q15	77.6	1	10.92	.0010*	.10

*Significant at alpha 0.05.

perceived that they were not participating in refugee programs in the evaluation phase.

Research Question 2

As perceived by refugees, does participation vary by camp, duration of stay in camp, and occupation?

As explained under Question 1.1, a variable--Perceived Level of Overall Participation--was computed for each respondent. This variable was then cross-tabulated by profession and by year of entry.

Participation by Occupation

Cross-tabulation results for Overall Level of Perceived Participation by profession are presented in Table 5.27. Few respondents indicated high overall levels of participation. However, perceived participation reported by artisans and professional occupations is slightly higher than that reported by manual labor and unskilled respondents.

Table 5.27 Percentages of Respondents by Levels of Overall Participation and by Profession

Overall Participation	Manual Labor			Artisans and Professionals		
	Farmers	Laborers	Unskilled	Teachers	Health Workers	Handcraft Makers
Very High	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
High	2.1%	2.3%	1.6%	6.4%	7.3%	1.0%
Moderate	5.5%	4.7%	13.0%	38.7%	31.7%	20.3%
Low	24.7%	30.2%	38.1%	48.4%	56.1%	41.1%
Very Low	67.7%	62.8%	47.3%	6.5%	4.9%	37.6%
Total Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Number of Respondents	344	43	514	31	41	202

Participation by Year of Entry

The results of cross-tabulations for Overall Level of Perceived Participation by year of entry are presented in Table 5.28. From the data in this table, it can be seen that the level of overall participation is seen as generally low. However, there are slightly higher levels of perceived participation during the 1984-1986 period vis-a-vis the 1987-1989 period.

Table 5.28   Percentages of Respondents by Levels of Overall Level of Perceived Participation and by Year

Overall Participation	1984-1986			1987-1989		
	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Very High	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
High	2.2%	0.0%	2.5%	2.6%	0.2%	0.0%
Moderate	11.4%	4.2%	18.1%	13.4%	5.2%	0.0%
Low	40.9%	41.5%	41.5%	28.9%	20.2%	27.3%
Very Low	45.5%	54.3%	37.9%	55.1%	74.4%	72.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Number of Respondents	56	118	581	187	231	22

Research Question 3.1

As perceived by the agency/governmental personnel, what is the extent of overall refugee participation in the programs designed to meet their needs?

Research Question 3.2

As perceived by the agency/governmental personnel, what is the extent of refugee participation in the needs assessment, planning, implementation, and evaluation phases?

Scores on each question by each respondent in the personnel sample for each phase were totaled and divided by three to arrive at phase scores. The maximum and minimum phase scores possible were "5" and "0," respectively. Participation at an overall level was computed by adding the means of all the phases and divided the sum by four; each phase had an equal number of questions and cases. The overall participation was categorized using the equally calibrated scale (cf., Table 5.29).

Table 5.29 Categorization of Overall Refugee Participation as Perceived by the Personnel

Level	Intervals of Overall Participation
Very High	0 - 0.99
High	1 - 1.99
Moderate	2 - 2.99
Low	3 - 3.99
Very Low	4 - 5.00

Means and standard deviations were then calculated. The means and standard deviations are presented in Table

5.30.   From Table 5.30, it can be noted that, according to the perception of agency/government personnel, there was limited refugee participation at an overall level with the highest participation coming at the needs assessment and implementation phases.

Table 5.30   Means and Standard Deviations of Refugee
             Participation as Perceived by Agency/Government
             Personnel at All Levels

Participation Level	Means	S.D.	Extent of Participation
Needs Assessment	2.27	0.66	Moderate
Planning	1.43	0.69	Low
Implementation	2.32	0.70	Moderate
Evaluation	1.05	0.72	Low
Overall	1.77	0.47	Low

Research Question 4

As perceived by agency/governmental personnel, does refugee participation vary by organization and position?

To answer this question, phase scores of the sampled personnel were subjected to the one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedure. The organizations included in the study were: 1) the Government of Malawi (GOM), 2) the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees-Malawi (UNHCR-M), and 3) World Vision International-Malawi (WVI-M).

The null hypothesis tested was:

There is no difference in refugee participation as perceived by agency/government personnel by organization and position.

The results of the ANOVA are presented in Tables 5.31 and 5.32.

Table 5.31   Results of ANOVA Between Organizations by Level of Refugee Participation as Perceived by Agency/Government Personnel

Level	F Ratio	Probability of F	GOM-M	UNHCR-M	WVI-M
Needs Assessment	3.34	0.05*	2.43	1.81	2.61
Planning	4.89	0.02*	1.57	0.90	1.89
Implementation	1.07	0.37	2.33	2.05	2.61
Evaluation	3.17	0.07	1.19	0.57	1.44

*Significant at alpha 0.05.

From the Table 5.31, it can be seen that the F-Ratio probabilities for the implementation and evaluation phases (0.37 and 0.07, respectively) are not significant at 0.05 alpha, suggesting that the null hypothesis for these phases cannot be rejected. Therefore, evidence suggests that personnel of different organizations do not differ in terms of their perceptions of the extent of refugee participation in the implementation and evaluation phases. However, the probabilities of F-Ratios for the needs assessment (0.05) and planning (0.02) phases are significant at 0.05 alpha

value, thereby suggesting that the null hypothesis relating to these phases can be rejected. As such, it can be assumed that personnel of different organizations vary in terms of their perceptions of refugee participation in the needs assessment and planning phases.

In all the phases, the level of perceived refugee participation (1.81; 0.90; 2.05; 0.57) as perceived by the personnel of the UNHCR is lowest of the three agencies. Personnel of WVI-M report the highest level of perceived refugee participation (2.61; 1.89; 2.61; 1.44) of the three groups.

Results of the ANOVA between positions of personnel for refugee participation are presented in Table 5.32. The positions included in the analysis are: 1) Director, 2) Program Manager, and 3) Project Coordinator.

Table 5.32 Results of ANOVA Between Positions for
Refugee Participation by Phase as Perceived by
Agency/Government Personnel

Phase	F Ratio	Probability of F	Director	Manager	Coordinator
Needs Assessment	0.14	0.87	2.44	2.17	2.26
Planning	1.06	0.37	1.89	1.58	1.28
Implementation	0.06	0.94	2.44	2.33	2.28
Evaluation	0.52	0.60	1.44	0.92	1.00

From Table 5.32, it may be seen that at all levels the F probabilities are much higher than 0.05 alpha level. Therefore, it may be assumed that personnel do not differ in their perception of refugee participation by position. However, refugee participation in different phases as perceived by the directors is higher than that perceived by either the managers or coordinators.

Research Question 5

As perceived by refugees, what are the constraints that hinder their involvement in programs designed to meet their needs?

Data pertaining to this question were collected through personal interviews. Interviewers recorded in a notebook constraints mentioned by the respondents. Later these were classified according to the following categories:

1. Being a foreigner;

2. Lack of education;

3. Poor health; and

4. Lack of information.

Table 5.33 gives the frequency distribution of the respondents by category of constraint. From this table, it can be seen that more than half (61.85%) of the refugee respondents indicated they were not participating in the programs designed to meet their needs because they were foreigners. The next highest number of respondents (16.82%) indicated their non-participation was thought to be due to lack of information regarding participation

Table 5.33   Frequency Distribution of Refugee Respondents
by Category of Constraint

Constraint	Sample	
	Frequency	Percent
Being a foreigner	728	61.85
Lack of education	147	12.49
Poor health	104	8.84
Lack of information	198	16.82
Total	1,177	100.00

opportunities.   Another 12.49% of the respondents said that
they could not participate because of lack of education.
Finally, poor health was indicated as a constraint by 8.84%
of the respondents.

Research Question 6

Do the host government and the agencies have written
policies that call for, and encourage, refugee
participation in programs designed to meet refugee
needs?

The sources of data used for answering this question
were:

1.   Interviews with government/agency officials; and

2.   The following policy documents:

a.   UNHCR-M Social Services Handbook

b.   World Vision International Policy Book; and the

c.   Refugee Gazette of the Malawian Government.

Interviews were held with the lead persons of each organization involved with the refugee programs.   Each individual was interviewed for 30 to 45 minutes. Interviews were informal and did not include direct note-taking or use of recording machines. Mental notes were made during the interview process, and the information was reconstructed and written down afterwards.

The host government officials were kind enough to receive the researcher on several occasions.   The researcher could also meet some of the government officials after Joint Operations Committee (JOC) meetings, which took place once a month.

Questions were raised with the government/agency officials regarding written policies, if any, which they had followed in their refugee program operations. Such questions were posed on an individual basis. This provided for freedom of discussion. Generally, each respondent was candid in expressing his/her views. In addition to such discussions, the available documents of each organization were examined.

The information collected through interviews, and through a review of official documents, revealed the following:

1. According to <u>government</u> officials, their agency had no written policy with respect to refugee participation. Some of the officials felt that participation was a "luxury" in times of emergency. Such statements meant that the host government did not even consider the need for refugee participation. The government officials' primary concern seemed to be providing relief to the refugees.

2. The UNHCR has a written policy concerning refugee participation in their Social Services Handbook. The handbook clearly states the importance of refugee participation in programs meant to meet their needs.

3. The WVI policy unequivocally states that: "The members of the community shall participate in all research, planning, implementation and evaluation activities to the maximum extent possible" (WVI, 1989, p. 5).

From these findings, it can be seen this policy has not been put into practice by the field offices. Yet, as this researcher was told, it was primarily due to time pressure--not wanting to be slowed down in meeting the deadlines of submitting proposals, reports, and evaluations. However, slightly more refugee participation was indicated by the WVI-M staff, as compared to the UNHCR-M or the GOM personnel. WVI (1989, p. 9) further states:

All members of the community actively participate,
in some way as local situations and traditions

permit, in decisions affecting the future of the community and all share equitably in the benefits of the development process.

To interpret this policy into action, there needs to be a standardized strategy detailing how the field will be held accountable for the implementation of the policy. However, the organization's project information management (PIM) form asks: "What is being contributed by the beneficiaries (labor, cash, materials, etc.)?" While this question attempts to find out the "what" aspect of the communities' participation, it is not clear how the communities participate in the decision-making process of the project as stated in the policy. Any movement of the locus of control from the agency to the communities, or power sharing with the concerned communities, meets with a lack of resource organization and/or mobilization existing within communities.

There is no shortage of discussion concerning refugee participation in various programs designed to meet their needs. However, the focus of these discussions is primarily on strategies for meeting basic needs.

4. World Vision International also has a written policy regarding beneficiary participation. This policy encourages refugee participation at the individual and community levels. The emergency unit and Social Services Section admit that agencies can encourage dependency by seeing the refugees as "helpless" people whose problems

must be solved for them. UNHCR (1984, pp. 2-3) further describes this:

> Dependency begins when the refugees try to develop behavior they perceive as expected of them as clients in order to continue the flow of rewards or aid. This form of self-estrangement contributes to the refugees sense of powerlessness.

Participation as advocated in the Handbook for Social Services (UNHCR, 1984, p. 7) begins with the premise that people have a right to control their own lives, and that those who have become passive recipients of aid lack such control. Participation is seen as a way out of this dilemma.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Many became refugees . . . . They lost everything
. . . were spurned and ill-treated . . . . They
lived as vagrants . . . .

   Hebrews 11:37-38 (J. B. Phillips translation)

Introduction

This study investigated refugee participation in
programs designed to meet their needs. Participation was
viewed both from the refugee's perception as well as that
of the agency/government personnel. This chapter includes
a review of the research purpose and the data collection
methodology; a discussion of the research findings; a
consideration of the findings as they apply to theory and
practice; and, finally, a presentation of the study's
limitations and recommendations.

The Problem

Social and political scientists, educators, development
specialists, as well as private voluntary organizations and
host governments, search for a lasting solution to the
refugee problem.   The question of how to provide long-term
and sustainable programs continues to draw the attention of

all those who respond to refugee needs. The needs of refugees are not limited to food and shelter but, more importantly, involve helping them to see themselves as agents capable of determining their own future (Grande, 1990) and assisting them to regain their identity (Harrell-Bond, 1982a). Cuny (1987) believes that most agencies overlook or neglect to include participation as a goal. Although much is being done for refugees in the area of relief, an area that needs closer examination is the extent to which refugees participate in the programs designed to alleviate their unique problems.

The Study Locale

Malawi is a small nation, located in the Rift Valley Region of Southern Africa. It shares borders with the United Republic of Tanzania to the north, Mozambique to the east and south, and the Republic of Zambia to the west. It has an agrarian economy with a population of eight million. Due to internal conflict within Mozambique, thousands of Mozambicans have fled their country into neighboring countries as refugees. Since 1986, Malawi has been the host to the equivalent of one-tenth of its own population.

The Sample

Two samples were studied in this research: one from the refugee population, and the other from the provider personnel population. In the process of selecting the refugee sample, 10 camps and 1,200 families were picked using a random sampling method. The heads of the sampled 1,200 families were included in the final refugee sample. The personnel sample was selected on the basis of their knowledge and involvement in refugee programs, their availability, and willingness to participate in the study. The personnel sample included 21 staff members of different organizations involved in the Mozambican refugee programs in Malawi.

Methodology

The interview method was used to collect data from the refugee sample. The schedule of interview questions required "yes" or "no" responses. Survey questionnaires were used to collect data from the personnel sample using a Likert-type scale.

Data from both samples were analyzed using SPSS PC+ version 3. Descriptive statistics, including frequencies and standard deviations, were computed in addition to the use of cross-tabulations and one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA). Qualitative data were collected through interviews and the use of documentary analysis.

The Research Questions

Research Question 1

1.1   As perceived by the refugees, what is the extent of their overall participation in the programs designed to meet their needs?

1.2   As perceived by the refugees, what is the extent of their participation in the needs assessment, planning, implementation, and evaluation phases?

Research Question 2

As perceived by refugees, does participation vary by camp, duration of stay in camp, and occupation?

Research Question 3

3.1   As perceived by the agency/governmental personnel, what is the extent of overall refugee participation in programs designed to meet their needs?

3.2   As perceived by the agency/governmental personnel, what is the extent of refugee participation in the needs assessment, planning, implementation, and evaluation phases?

Research Question 4

As perceived by agency/governmental personnel, does refugee participation, vary by organization and position?

Research Question 5

As perceived by refugees, what are the constraints that hinder their involvement in programs designed to meet their needs?

Research Question 6

Do the host government and the agencies have written policies that call for, and encourage, refugee participation in programs designed to meet refugee needs?

Findings and Conclusions

Research Question 1.1

As perceived by the refugees, what is the extent of their overall participation in the programs designed to meet their needs?

In order to detect the pattern of perceptions between the two sample groups (refugees and personnel) in the analysis of findings, the research questions were utilized as a guide for this section. One distinguishing criterion for identifying effective participation of the beneficiaries is when a process is in place by which people are made aware of the opportunities about their role in identifying their own needs, setting priorities for action, and taking a full part in the decision-making process on issues which affect their lives. Research Questions 1.1 and 3.1 asked the refugees and personnel samples, respectively, about the extent of refugee participation in programs designed to meet their needs.

In general, the data provided substantial evidence that refugee participation as perceived by both refugees and agency/government personnel respondents was very limited. Of the equally calibrated score of minimum 30 and maximum 15, the overall level of perceived participation score of 26.14 by refugee respondents (Table 5.09) suggests very low participation of refugees. On the other hand, the data from agency/governmental personnel respondents indicated the overall participation of refugees as low. In Table 5.30, the means and standard deviation demonstrate the extent of overall participation at 1.77 and 0.4 (very high= 0-0.99, and very low=4-5.00). The purpose of these two questions was to investigate the overall perceptions of both sample groups with regard to refugee participation in the programs designed to meet their needs. From these findings, the following can be deduced:

1. Refugees are helped because they are helpless.

2. The official structure of government officials and refugee leaders is perceived by international agencies and refugees themselves as a close-knit group, protecting its own interests in the assistance programs.

3. Government and agencies intentionally avoid the inclusion of the refugees in the programs.

4. The laws and the programs corroborate to perpetuate the powerlessness of the refugees.

5.   Top-down creation of structures, articulation and implementing process impede refugee participation.

Therefore, the following distinguishing characteristics of participation are not in place in refugee camps in Malawi:

1.   Successful development programs have been based on participatory approaches.

2.   Meaningful involvement of the masses of people at different levels is the key to people-centered development.

3.   Empowerment provides the client groups with an ample, ongoing opportunity to be involved in various phases of the change process.

4.   Involvement ensures that the change agent is accountable to informed clients.

With limited mobility and non-participatory activities in the camps, refugees are dependent for their livelihood on what others do for them. Furthermore, participation should not only be measured by a success or failure of projects/programs. It is a process of capacity building through which communities and local organizations learn to function as autonomous units for development.

Research Question 1.2

As perceived by the refugees, what is the extent of their participation in the needs assessment, planning, implementation, and evaluation phases?

Needs Assessment

It was critically important to this research to find out the extent of refugee participation in the needs assessment phase of program design. Programs that are based on clearly defined needs call for effective interventions. As indicated in Table 5.10, the majority of respondents said they were not participating in the needs assessment phase of programs. Mayfield states that, programs " . . . will have no cumulative impact on the village people unless real needs can be identified and then specific steps taken to meet those needs" (1985, p. 133).

The results of the question-by-question cross-tabulations in Table 5.11 show a statistical significance at 0.05 alpha, with respective phi coefficients of .30, .31 and .55, suggesting strong associations. Furthermore, in Table 5.12, the No-No Cell, which is the model cell with the highest percent (64.5%), indicates that a majority of respondents are not participating in the needs assessment phase. It can also be seen from the same table that 98.8% of the 400 respondents who said "yes" to Question 1 also said "no" to Question 4. While the purpose of Question 1 was to find out if refugees were asked about their needs at the entry level, Question 4 inquired if refugees were asked about their needs at any other time during their stay in the camps. These responses clearly portray the following:

1. There is no needs assessment process carried out beyond the time of registration on arrival of the refugees at the camps.

2. Questions asked at the entry level are geared to find out relief-oriented immediate needs, such as shelter, food, and clothing. This was observed by the researcher at the Mankhokwe Camp (personal notes, July 5-7 1989).

3. The follow-up needs assessment could have demonstrated some effort of the providers (government or agencies) to improve the program content in quality or to change direction from relief to development. However, this is not the case in Malawi, as agencies and the host government are busy monitoring what has been ongoing.

Therefore, it can be drawn from these findings that refugees are only asked entry-level questions related to their basic needs at the time of registration. But this does not portray meaningful participation of the refugees in program design. The effectiveness of any program which is not based on felt needs is prone to questions. A felt need is something believed necessary by the individual concerned and can only be expressed by that individual. Information on the magnitude of the problem is essential for assessing the appropriateness of program interventions and the relevance of goals/effects. The only relevance of

relief as a program is that it sustains life and refugee programs in Malawi are typically of that nature.

Evidence collected in the field study of Malawi refugee camps demonstrated the lack of their participation in the programs designed to meet their needs. Although refugees were asked about their basic needs at the time of registration, there has not been a subsequent needs assessment with intended new intervention or to boost the existing programs. As observed in several refugee camps, even the relief bimonthly distributions were carried out by the Malawi Red Cross staff and policed by the Malawi security people to maintain order while the distributions were in progress. Each refugee was issued a card which indicated the quantity and kind of commodities each person was to receive based on the number of persons in the family.

Participation in the Planning Phase

As the purpose of this study is to investigate the extent of refugee participation in the programs that are serving them, four questions were asked to see if respondents had ever been asked to assist in the planning phase of programs (see Table 5.15). From this table, it can be observed that the first two questions of this phase drew 51.5 and 56.9% "no" responses, whereas Questions 7 and 8 received 81.1 and 90.3% "no" responses. Questions 7 and 8 asked if respondents were taking part in any specific planning and if they were members of any committee involved

in planning. The respondents clearly indicated that they were not taking part in the planning phase of programs. Eighty-one point one and 90.3% of the respondents perceived themselves as not participating. The ranking of No-No Cell in Table 5.16 is first.

In general, the data provide strong evidence that there is little refugee participation in the planning phase programs. Plans require effective monitoring, control, and management information. Planning also calls for adequate information sharing between all those that are part of the planning exercise. The strong indication of non-participation by the refugees suggests that plans are deliberately ignored by management for the following reasons mentioned by field staff:

1. The agencies and host government believe that the large refugee influx has created an emergency situation.

2. Agencies and host governments believe that refugees could not contribute to the emergency-planning process.

3. Refugee programs are of a relief nature and those involved in relief delivery do not see the need for refugee involvement.

Prior to arrival of Mozambican refugees, Malawi was not even a signatory to the 1951 UN Convention and 1967 protocol. Agencies began arriving and the host government signed the above document under pressure to enable the

UNHCR to come and assist. Because a reliable source of relief supplies was such a highly-recognized and highly-valued necessity for the host government and for the refugees in Malawi, the opportunity to receive relief resources was a rallying point for the host government, UNHCR, and the agencies. Once the relief supplies (food, medical and some clothes) kept coming, the sustenance of refugee life was in place. One of the accusations made in connection with refugee participation (even in distribution of relief goods) was theft and partiality. These allegations were made by some government offices working in the administration of refugee affairs.

Participation in the Implementation Phase

As the concern of this research was to investigate the extent of refugee participation, questions were asked regarding how refugees themselves perceived participation, as well as how the personnel directly linked to administering refugee affairs. From the total of four questions which were posed to the sampled refugees, 85.3%, 62.9% and 94.3% of the respondents said "no" to any kind of involvement. Thirty-six percent of the respondents said "no" to the question which asked if they were taking part in handling and delivering relief supplies.

In general, the data provide substantial evidence that, while there is potential for including refugee participation, it is not being put into practice. Although the refugees have been organized by village heads, they are

conditioned to do what they are told. They spoke openly of being beaten during the distribution of rations, and being pushed, shoved and having ration cards confiscated for any complaints emanating from the refugees. At almost all camps, this researcher observed rough conduct by those who maintained order at distribution sites. Vulgar language and blasphemous words were very common. The researcher tried to find out from the camp administrators in Kwawa and Dedza why they exercised such roughness and was almost constantly given the answer, "That is the the only way we can maintain order." The organization of refugee administration of the host government in Malawi is control oriented without room for refugee participation. Unless refugees are asked to participate and conditions for such are created, they could not be involved. As the data presented in Table 5.24 clearly suggest that even those who participated in handling relief goods by providing manual labor felt that the extent of their participation was not something meaningful.

Participation in the Evaluation Phase

There are various reasons or purposes for conducting program evaluation. One of the uses of program evaluation is for resource-allocation decisions. The other is to find out the effectiveness and the program against its stated objectives. Another need for evaluation is for accountability to various stakeholders. The data presented

in Tables 5.25 and 5.26 reveals strong evidence that refugees are not participating in program evaluation.

Participation is the process of empowering the beneficiaries to take control of their own affairs; it is about involving them effectively in decision-making. As observed by this researcher and evidenced by the data collected, Malawian refugees are passive recipients of relief delivered by assistance programs designed elsewhere. The absence of refugee participation in program evaluation is an indicator of the following:

1. Agencies do not feel they are accountable to the refugees as stakeholders.

2. Programs cannot be improved upon.

3. Agencies feel self-sufficient refugees' input into the program is not a critical element for its improvement.

4. Donors do not require evaluation as part of the relief program design.

In the light of the above, the findings of this investigation are clear and strong that refugees have no part in the evaluation phase of refugee programs. Whether the program is appropriate and doing what it is expected to accomplish remains unknown. If there are mistakes to be corrected and adjustments to be made with the proper evaluation, it means living with the error. Programs continue that are inappropriate to the particular phase. Therefore, a very serious question is whether refugee

relief program accountability exists. Agencies have to recognize that, although there may be a longer start-up period, refugee involvement in programs addressing their needs can help make projects more effective.

Research Question 2

As perceived by refugees, does participation vary by camp, duration of stay in camp, and their occupation?

The cross-tabulated data in Table 5.27 indicate that there is very little participation difference by camp or by year. However, 38.7%, 31.7% and 20.3% of teachers, health-workers and hand crafters, respectively, have indicated a moderate participation. The majority of respondents indicated low or very low participation in all professional areas. While the teachers indicated to this researcher that they were being paid 80 Malawi Kwachas (US $32) per month, health workers provide free services. Hand-craft workers benefit by selling whatever they make to individuals (refugees or Malawians). Their products range from mats to baskets and woodcarvings. World Vision provides raw materials such as palm leaves, for mat-making and baskets, reed and wood for refugees who have skills in these areas.

After the visit of President Chisano of Mozambique to Malawi in 1988, the previously strained relationship between the two countries has improved considerably. After this official visit, the FRELIMO Government of Mozambique

provided school supplies, such as books in Portuguese, through the Malawi Government to the refugees. Because of the language difference in the two countries, the textbooks for schools in the refugee camps in Malawi have to come from Mozambique. One cannot help but observe some extreme cases where children are unable to attend school due to a lack of clothing. It is not uncommon to see children or adults wearing burlap sacks. Ninety-two point four (92.4) percent of the respondents who indicated low or very low participation are farmers. The following are reasons for this high non-participatory response.

1. Most of the refugees are from a rural, agricultural background.

2. In Malawi, land scarcity is an acute problem even for the 8,000,000 native Malawians.

3. The lands around the refugee camps are either occupied or untillable.

4. Due to the land scaracity mentioned in reason 2, even tillable land is ruled out.

There is an open area of rich land on the Mozambican side of the border from Ntchue to Dedza. The refugees cross over from Malawi and farm on the Mozambican side where they are able to monitor the RENAMO guerilla movements from a distance. Refugees sell to travelers products such as potatoes, carrots, cabbage, tomatoes and beets along the main road from Blantyre to Lilongwe.

Similarly, Table 5.2 clearly indicates that categories of laborers and the unskilled demonstrate a high percentage response of non-participation. Ninety-three (93) and 85.4% of laborers and unskilled respondents said they are not taking part in the programs. The highest percentage of low to very low participation was indicated by manual laborers, whereas artisans and professional responses were in the categories of low to moderate. Furthermore, 78.7% of the hand-craft makers who responded indicate low to very low participation.

In Table 5.28, the overall level of perceived participation of refugees by year of entry was studied. Again, the highest response of non-participation was attributed for the year 1989--100% of the respondents said low to very low participation. While 72.7% perceived very low participation in 1989, 27.3% perceived low participation. In 1986, 79.4% of the respondents said they had not participated, although the precise reason for the differences between these years remains elusive at this time. These findings have clearly established that, in the provision of social services within the refugee camps, participation is not part of the programs. The longer refugees stay in an asylum country, more participation would have been expected to surface. However, the results of these analyses unambiguously confirm there is no refugee participation in the programs designed to meet their needs.

Research Question 3.1

As perceived by the agency/governmental personnel, what is the extent of overall refugee participation in programs designed to meet their needs?

Research Question 3.2

As perceived by the agency/governmental personnel, what is the extent of refugee participation in the needs assessment, planning, implementation, and evaluation phases?

Table 5.29 shows an equally calibrated scale which was used to analyze the data from the agency personnel. As presented in Table 5.30, means and standard deviations were used to analyze the data from agency/governmental personnel. These results indicate quite clearly that the agency/governmental personnel did not indicate strong refugee participation.

Agency/governmental personnel are quite aware of the situations at entry levels where refugees are asked as part of the routine "what they brought and what they need," and the cheap labor provided by the refugees is used to load and unload relief goods. <u>Even this, however, does not correlate with responses from the refugee sample respondents. Contrary to the response received by the laborers, who were not participating in the programs, refugees do not see providing labor as participation</u>.

Research Question 4

As perceived by agency/governmental personnel, does refugee participation vary by organization and position?

Table 5.31 presents the results of the ANOVA. According to the findings, there is no significant difference in terms of different agencies' perception of refugee participation in the implementation and evaluation phases. This can be observed in Table 5.31, the probability of F at 0.05 alpha value is not significant (0.37 and 0.07), whereas the probability of F-ratios for the needs assessment (0.05) and planning (0.02) phases are significant, which suggests that the null hypothesis relating to these two phases can be rejected. This also is in agreement with the perception of the refugee respondents who indicated some involvement particularly in the needs assessment and implementation phases. <u>Therefore, from these findings it can be concluded that actual field experience of facilitating community participation had minor influence, if any, in the programs that are designed to meet the needs of refugees</u>:

1. Although there is no significant variance in the agency/governmental personnel's perception of refugee participation, Table 5.31 presents the UNHCR staff's perception as lowest, whereas WVI-M reported the highest level of perceived refugee participation. The Government of Malawi's

personnel reported somewhere in between. None of the phases drew any significant difference from the personnel respondents in their reporting of refugee participation. Unless the programming exercise, which is the most crucial part of the system, started with an open-minded examination of the objectives and defined the role of beneficiaries, the danger of passive resignation, stifling dependency, and de-energizing fatalism be acknowledged for what it is. The findings from the personnel perceptions, as well as those of the refugees, clearly indicated that refugee participation is not part of the programs that are meant to meet their needs. It is inevitable that this leads to the danger of passive acceptance of what is and complacency toward the future.

2. The second part of research question 4 asked whether there was a difference in perception between the agency/governmental personnel by position. The positions included directors, managers and coordinators. As the findings presented in Table 5.32 show, the results are not at all that different. The "director" category is slightly higher than the "manager" and "coordinator." From Table 5.32, it can be further noted that the F-probabilities are much higher than the 0.05 alpha level. <u>This again clearly</u>

indicates that there is no difference in the perceptions of agency/governmental personnel by position.

Research Question 5

As perceived by refugees, what are the constraints that hinder their involvement in programs designed to meet their needs?

It is assumed that, in any policy development process, there are guiding principles which serve as a foundation. Social justice and equity are principal matters in the formulation process of policies for human development. How policies are developed and implemented can hinder or enhance equalities of tribes, gender, urban/rural groups, etc. How the host governments look at refugees has great bearing on the way projects and programs are implemented. The refugees in Malawi are a case in point.

Data for the above research question were gathered qualitatively, using ethnographic methods through informal observation and discussions with refugees individually, and in groups in different camps. In the duration of stay in Malawi (two-and-a-half months), the researcher spent a great deal of time in various refugee camps talking with refugees, camp administrators, observing the camp situations, relief distributions and overall daily activities of the refugees and taking notes. Initially, it was hard to get direct answers from the refugees because of the suspicions that they had about this researcher being or

coming from the government. However, as time went by, trust was gained after many assurances that the researcher is a stranger to the country and hopeful that study can be to the beneficial to the refugees.

Table 5.33 presents the data of formal response to the question. Sixty-one point eight five (61.85) percent of the respondents said they cannot take part in the programs because they, "have no education" and 16.82% of them responded that they are not participating because of "lack of information" in what or when to participate. Others (8.84%) were in poor health.

Observations

These are "safe answers" as far as their stay in their asylum areas and their relationship with the host government and the UNHCR are concerned. It must be remembered that when a refugee asked the ex-High Commissioner, "Why can't we distribute the relief rations?" he responded, "You can go back the same way you came if you don't like it here." This may not reflect the UNHCR's policy or even the rest of the staff in the field. However, it does not encourage already displaced refugees. In all possible ways, the refugees have been conditioned to believe that they are foreigners and the only way they can participate is by being "good recipients" of what they are given and not ask questions. As the designated representative of the Government, the Malawi Red Cross

(fully staffed by Malawians) manages and administers distribution of relief supplies.

In every camp and all distribution points, there are security people to maintain order and administer discipline in the event of "misbehavior" demonstrated by refugees. The punishments range from confiscation of ration cards for one distribution (two weeks) to two distributions (four weeks). Refugees spoke of being beaten by the security forces, being threatened of being sent back to Mozambique, and having their ration cards withdrawn indefinitely. Because of their displacement, refugees experience inequalities which are often aggravated by different circumstances and they often develop coping mechanisms. Furthermore, they are influenced by the situation within the host country and the reaction of its government to the refugee population which confronts it. Because they are foreigners, refugees are made to believe they cannot even administer the relief goods to their own people.

Once they cross the border and become refugees, people who are used to managing their own affairs, including paying taxes, are not even allowed to take part in the distribution of relief. Instead, they are terrorized and intimidated endlessly. The following is a graphic example. On June 10, 1989, this researcher was in the Kiwawa Camp conversing with one of the "community workers" who had just graduated from high school with no special training for his assignment. It was about 4:00 P.M. and

the researcher saw three women carrying heavy loads of firewood. Interested to know how far they had traveled to fetch the firewood, the researcher asked the community worker to find out. We got up from where we were sitting, started advancing toward the women who, when they noticed us, began veering away. In the meantime, the community worker asked the women where they had found the firewood. The women were paralyzed with fear, thinking that we were government officers who were going to take away their firewood. Later, the community worker told this researcher that it was not an uncommon practice to take away firewood, using the excuse, "they have picked food from the protected areas." The women told us that they left the camp soon after sunrise (approximately 3:00 A.M.).

Regardless of how important participation is for effective intervention programs, refugee participation has a long way to go for it to be part of the program development process. Without a genuine commitment to the promotion and extension of participation on the part of the host government, the UNHCR and others, participation remains a wish. Without such commitment, there is not much that can be done to alleviate the many constraints faced in the process.

Lack of Information

As the data in Table 5.33 demonstrate, 16.82% of the respondents indicated that "lack of information" is an impediment to their participation in various program

aspects.   Agency   and   governmental   workers   have   not
communicated   or   indicated   to the refugees how, or in what
way   they   could   participate.   In other words, the refugees
are   not   encouraged   to   be part of these programs.   On the
contrary,   the disciplinary measures imposed by the security
forces   discouraged   refugees from taking part in any aspect
of the programs.

According   to   the   field   staff of the Malawi Red Cross
and   camp   administrators, refugees are accused of theft and
partiality.   It is said that refugees would attempt to give
more   to   their   relatives and friends and steal for
themselves.   On   the other hand, the refugees say that Red
Cross   staff   and   security men line up non-refugees who are
their   relatives   and   make   them take relief rations.   They
ask,   "What   difference   does   it   make   if   they   stole it,
instead   of   those   in   power?   The   rations are meant for
refugees."

Refugees   must   be   involved   from   the   beginning   in
identifying   the most pressing needs and at different levels
of   the   planning   process.   Refugee   participation,   as
advocated   by   the UNHCR in its policy, needs to be diffused
to   the   field   level   by   creating   the enabling mechanism.
Unless   the   policy   is   translated into action at the field
level   and   operationalized   into   some   kind   of systematic
change, that policy is meaningless.

Therefore,   the refugee dependency syndrome is presented
as   though   it   exists   in   the   minds   of refugees and then

results in "welfare mentality." This puts the blame on the refugees, leaving the role played by assistance systems in creating the problem and perpetuating it. This has been a major obstacle to the development of refugee participation. Relief assistance focuses on handing out and, in most cases, distributing relief supplies is done by non-refugees who are misinformed about the refugees as helpless people. Therefore, it is evident that refugee participation is constrained by organizations, structures and attitudes of governments and the agencies. Unfortunately, these constraints tend to be used as justification not to work toward improving the situation to foster refugee participation.

Research Question 6

Do the host government and the agencies have written policies that call for, and encourage, refugee participation in programs designed to meet refugee needs?

Organizational factors are widely recognized as impediments to, or facilitators of, participation. The stages of organizational development (authoritative, consultative or participatory) can thus be construed as impeding or impelling forces for participation. Agency or governmental policies can be seen as either impeding refugee participation or hindering it and perpetuating dependency. This question speaks to the broad set of concerns pertaining to the need to find out who has what in

terms of policies which would impede refugee participation or enhance it.

First, according to the Government of Malawi, the existence of refugees in that country is only by the kindness of the Life-President, Kamuzu Banda, who has allowed Malawi to become a temporary refuge for Mozambicans. Its own administration is of a top-down nature and ruled by one man, where the parliament is there to serve the president and authenticate whatever he says. One official jokingly inquired: "Why talk about refugee participation who are guests in Malawi while the Malawians themselves have no participation?" (personal notes, July 2, 1989). A Red Cross official said to the researcher: "The refugees are the guests of the Government of Malawi and therefore we take care of them while they are here. They participate when they go back to their own country."

Forced by the ever-increasing refugee influx in 1987, Malawi conceded to the UN Convention of 1951 and the Protocol of 1967. However, Malawi has no policy which allows for refugee participation. Conversely, because refugees have created numerous jobs for Malawians, any discussion of refugee participation in programs addressing their needs is a threat to scarce employment opportunities.

Second, the study revealed that the UNHCR has a written policy requiring refugee participation in the programs designed to meet their needs. The UNHCR Handbook and Social Services Handbook detail the procedures for refugee

participation.   The Social Services Handbook of 1984 begins
with   the   premise that people have a right to control their
own   lives, and those that have become passive recipients of
aid   lack   such   control.   The   UNHCR   sees refugee
participation as a means to self sufficiency within a given
situation.   However,   it   asks   to   be   explicit about the
empowering aspect of participation.   When refugees are
involved in all aspects of program planning from needs
assessment to evaluation,   this allows them to decide what
is best for them and the most culturally appropriate
solution to the problem within the context.

Another problem with the UNHCR's participation policy
is that, since it is not operational, the chances to
interpret the policy into action is not there. In this
regard, the agency cannot be accountable to anyone whether
policy work or not. The operational partner, primarily the
host government, decides what is to be done and how. The
UNHCR only monitors what is being done or not done by the
partner government or agency. Therefore, in principle, the
UNHCR supports refugee participation, but this has not been
diffused to the field which makes the policy theoretical
and not translated into practice.

Third, in 1974, the WVI Board incorporated development
and community participation into the policy manual. The
role of beneficiary communities is clearly stated in the
policy manual as a means to the development process which
is there before the coming of World Vision and will

continue after World Vision. Through participation, communities are seen as having God-given potential to develop themselves. The policy states that, "members of the community shall participate in all research, planning, implementation, and evaluation activities to the maximum extent possible" (see Appendix C). Further examination of documents reveals that the organization's in-house document, the Project Information Management (PIM), asks for the strategy of community participation to be spelled out as part of the project proposal prior to project resumptions.

Final Comments

As a young boy of ten, prior to being sent away to school, this researcher looked after his parents' cattle in the Mishigida community of Durame District, located in Kambaba and Hadiya province of Shoa administrative region in southwestern Ethiopia. It was quite normal for boys to fight each other, but it was rather repulsive to see older and stronger boys mistreating younger, weaker boys. Even while in school in a city far away from Mishigida, where everyone was considered "civilized" by the rurals, the mistreatment and beating of the weak was a norm which was shocking to a young, country boy. Having been taught and accepted that God loves all men and women unconditionally as a basic affirmation on which everything else is built, to see the small being mistreated was totally unpalatable. God's leave means that God gives us our own selves, life,

the earth, the sun, rain, crops, fruit, food and happiness. God's love is faithful and just, and His justice consists in the fidelity and care with which God makes abundant provision for our life, growth and wholeness as men and women.in this world.

Therefore:

1. Whenever an individual is found without the means required to meet human needs, without resources for creative action and participative life in society, injustice is operative.

2. If people do not care and share but seek to dominate and oppress and, where some have plenty of material resources and power while others do not have enough, there is injustice.

3. If there is no justice, the love of God is destroyed and people are impeded from experiencing Him.

4. It is the duty and privilege of all who love God to bring His divine love and justice everywhere possible and to remain loyal to Him and advocate on behalf of the voiceless.

Refugees are the products of circumstances where injustice prevails and overt oppression becomes unbearable. People flee when the situation becomes intolerable in their home country because the big and strong are about to devour them. They cross borders in search of peace, dignity, haven and justice but do they get

what they want? They may not be haunted and their lives are not endangered. However, when they are treated like babies who do not even know their own needs or what is best for them (and some of the people who look after them are not better, except they are not refugees), there may be an external peace but there cannot be internal peace and the dignity of being treated as free adults. One wonders if the relief programs cause more damage in the long run. Refugees escape one type of "big and strong" only to encounter another kind of "big and rich"--the giver, the doer who destroys the innermost by giving.

A grassroots approach to the project-planning process would assume the prevalence of a "genuine" or "active" participation, rather than a "symbolic" and "passive" participation in the decision-making system. Refugees should be allowed as full partners in the process which should be open and understandable to the refugee community. Programs that address the needs of refugees should not be allowed to paternalize the beneficiaries. Rather, as defined in the literature survey, through the participation process, it is a mechanism to promote efficiency, effectiveness, and equity. Project planning must take into consideration the duration of agency involvement and the eventual turnover of responsibility to the refugees. Participation could accelerate the process of liberating their arrested energies and making them

responsible actors in the great challenge of running their own affairs.

Most NGOs operate with a considerable amount of autonomy and enjoy the freedom of working directly with communities. Where this exists, there is a significant amount of freedom to exercise creativity and subsequently to promote and experiment with refugee participation. NGOs usually associate with the poorest of the poor and marginalized. This gives them an extensive amount of experience in capacity building. Therefore, they should be in an advantageous position to know what works and what does not work in allowing participation to the beneficiaries.

In its 40-year history, the UNHCR has grown in size and stature. Initially, the agency was created to care for European refugees and people displaced by war. Most of the assistance also came at that time from Europe. Today, the complexities are great. Refugees are people from all parts of the world and the numbers are not decreasing. The refugee problem is intractable. The UNHCR, as a non-political and non-operational agency, strictly adheres to its mandate. However, it can and should play much more of an advocacy role in the type of programs host governments and NGOs administer. It is the only organization with a mandate from the UN General Assembly to care for refugees.

The challenge to the UNHCR and all NGOs involved in responding to refugee needs is to face the host government and responsibly negotiate for refugee participation. Transformation of human lives should not stop when people are forced to flee. Justice should prevail wherever people who love justice and peace exist. The big and strong should not be allowed to destroy the small and weak.

The following are some lessons learned from the development literature that apply to programs:

1. Despite the special circumstances surrounding refugee situations, NGOs can still work with them in ways that support long-term development. That is, lessons learned about working with other (non-refugee) groups, who have experienced severe changes in their economic base or who have migrated to new environments, are relevant to work with refugees as well.

2. Refugees always have identifiable capacities--skills they brought with them, social structures that remain intact, respected leaders, and "survivor" instincts that motivate people. These provide the basis for development work.

3. Training and education are important elements of developmental programming among refugees. Even if refugee groups cannot achieve physical/material self-reliance, they can move steadily (or readily) toward self-government and active engagement in acquiring "portable" skills that can be taken with them no matter where they go.

4. Systems for active refugee participation in needs assessment planning, implementation and evaluation of refugee programs will ensure reliance on, and support of, refugee capacities.

5. A key factor for refugee programming is the response of the host government. Anderson & Woodrow (1989, p. 70) cite a case which illustrates this:

> In one case, refugees who crossed an international border were allocated land, housing, and tools. Within six months they were a self-reliant community, fully integrated into the local economy and political system.

The goal of participation is self-management. The basic premise is that refugees can contribute positively in all areas of the refugee assistance program. Therefore, it is critical to involve refugees in:

1. the process of needs assessment and identification of resources;

2. planning the course of action;

3. implementing the planned change to bridge the gap; and

4. evaluating the results.

The UNHCR Social Service handbook states that:

> The belief that people have a right to control their own lives is widely shared. Where refugees live as passive recipients of aid, they lack such control (1984, p. 7.1).

Where there is no control, there is hardly human development:

> Empowerment has thus become one of the key strategies of people-centered development. Because social change is always a political process, political power is essential for increasing the leverage of the poor to escape the poverty trap (Dickinson, 1988, p. 86).

Empowering the community shifts the locus of control to the people. This obviously becomes threatening to those in control unless their consciousness level is higher. According to Mayfield (1985, p. 163), "Village participation was a most effective strategy to arouse people's consciousness and aspirations and thereby accelerate the demand for democratic process."

After evaluating numerous PVO projects, Tendler (1982, pp. 21, 24) divided participation into three categories:

a) genuine representative participation where the 'poorest groups are fully represented in decision-making';

b) top-down 'sensitive', where the PVO consults with those to benefit from the project but dominates service delivery decisions; and

c) 'locate elite decision-making' that allows for local tailoring of projects by a limited few.

Tendler further notes that the latter category represents decentralized rather than participatory project management.

Research Limitations

Several factors circumscribed the efforts of this research.

Time

The time dedicated to the field work was inadequate for proper planning and implementation of the research. This

impeded the study considerably in terms of questionnaire development, sample selection, and the actual administration of the translated questionnaire using research assistants. Had there been adequate time, the development of open-ended instrumentation would have helped to obtain better participation and in-depth probing of responses. The time factor also limited the actual administration of the instruments. Spending between 10 days and two weeks per camp with 120 respondents per camp was inadequate for in-depth probing. Further, if the period had been extended, the translation of the questionnaire could have been refined to more adequately garner the qualitative feelings of the respondents. Additional time with the refugees would have strengthened respondent trust of the research assistants which, in turn, could have enhanced the reliability of responses. Time limitations also led to the administration of the questionnaire to a limited number of refugees.

Language

The language spoken by the refugees was Portuguese. However, most of them also spoke the language of the host country, Malawi, which is called Chichewa. In one camp, one ethnic group spoke the Sena language (dialect). Although the instrument was translated into Chichewa, revised three times, and then adjusted again based on the results of the validity test, some necessary information was not collected. This was further impeded by translation

complications between Chichewa and Sena. The translation difficulty was this study's major limitation. Without the translation problem, and with additional interviews, more empirical data collection would have resulted.

Respondent Reticence

There was a sense of reluctance on the part of the refugee respondents to speak freely because of fear. Some indicated that, if they had spoken their minds, they might be sent back to their home country. Occasionally, threats were used against the refugees by the host government police and other officials who worked in refugee camps, such as the camp administrators. While verbal assurance was given by the research assistants that they were not government informants, fear may have influenced the respondents, thereby limiting their openness in responding to the scheduled interviews.

Recommendations

The following recommendations relate to the needs of researchers, practitioners, and agency management and are based on this study's findings.

Recommendations for Further Research

As part of the descriptive research, this study has deduced methodological and theoretical insights based on a literature survey and field research. The participatory development paradigm, as applied to the refugee situation, was explored, established, and some implications for theory

and practice were identified. However, there is a need for additional empirical research:

1. More research is needed to establish that refugee participation is an important element in international development. Case studies of participation in rural development represent the approach for building the knowledge base about participation.

2. Assumptions about refugee participation have to be tested and refined. These include: the shifting of the locus of power to structures which involve more refugee participation, and the process of decision-making based on cultural context.

3. Participation means different things to different people. An in-depth, comparative study is required for greater clarity.

4. As Christensen (1982, p. 1) has pointed out, refugee research predominantly focuses on legal protection issues. Social research on conditions of refugee camps in Africa is particularly nonexistent. Therefore, it is recommended that such research is highly needed, and be carried out to increase the awareness of those involved in the intervention of refugee needs.

Recommendations for Community Development Practitioners

1. As with any community, encouraging refugee participation can be an effective strategy for consciousness-raising, and thereby accelerating the move toward more democratic processes. Generating sustainable

development requires building the refugees' capacity, as well as local host people, to do things on their own. Focusing on both groups of people--refugees and the hosts--not only minimizes the animosity between the two groups (refugees are usually perceived better off than the local people because of the relief food assistance), but also would engage them in collective development efforts, using the resources brought in as a result of refugee influx to that area. Therefore, it is recommended that agencies: (a) expend their energies to include development, rather than concentrating on protracted relief efforts; (b) focus on capacity-building of the people involved; and (c) encourage the host people to participate in development efforts so that if and when the refugees repatriate to their home country, the benefits of development will continue.

2. NGOs do not have the capacity to meet all the material needs of refugees. Material needs can usually be met by host governments, working with international or bilateral aid agencies. Therefore, it is recommended that NGOs focus their response on educational endeavors using adult and non-formal education to help develop skills which can be used after their status as refugees ends.

3. While refugees experience special problems because of their status, the approaches that NGOs can take to work with them should still emphasize and build on the refugee's capacities. Linking work inside refugee camps with

assistance to local populations will result in an expanded developmental impact of the refugee assistance programs.

4. The international assistance community should give more attention to the development of innovative, income-generating schemes for both refugees and refugee-affected populations.

5. For meaningful participation to occur, refugees have to be effectively organized. Therefore, NGOs should pay more attention to the organizational and leadership development issues associated with refugee assistance.

6. Both the UNHCR and WVI-M have clearly stated policies regarding refugee and community participation. This is commendable. However, what is missing is a strategy for interpreting those policies at the field level. It is recommended that they not only develop such strategies, but incorporate them as part of their operating plan for which field workers will be responsible.

7. One of the primary impediments to refugee participation are host government policies. Governments of developing countries wish to protect all the employment opportunities for their own people. The UNHCR is the only organization which has the mandate and can negotiate with host governments on behalf of refugees. It is recommended that the UNHCR make refugee participation a part of its negotiating point at the outset, when new influx of refugees enter a country and when the host government invites it to intervene.

8.   The existing structures in the refugee camps are used mainly for "top-down" communication, i.e., from the host government or its designate (in this case, the camp administrators, Malawi Red Cross staff, and section heads of refugee camps).   The same structure could serve to facilitate two-way communication.   However, one of the impediments voiced by the refugee respondents was the lack of such communication.   Therefore, it is recommended that the host government, NGO staff, and UNHCR develop a mechanism which encourages the refugees to communicate with the officials about their needs.

Recommendations to World Vision-Malawi

The Mozambican refugee population has exceeded more than 10% of the population of Malawi. This has been a burden to the host people and the government of Malawi, as they have had to share scarce resources. The World Vision Field Office in Malawi is the sole representative of the Agency. Therefore, it is recommended that:

1.   The Field Office emphasize the magnitude of the problem to the World Vision partnership, coupled with strategies and a plan of action which would involve more training and skills development of the refugees.

2.   To cope with the lack of high management and leadership experience, the field office must engage in leadership development for the staff who are directly linked to the administration of refugee programs.

3.   Documentation   of   needs assessment, reporting,
evaluating,   and   planning   for refugee   programs with full
participation   of   refugees themselves is a complex problem.
Therefore,   it   is   recommended that the field office should
not   hesitate   to   call   for assistance from the partnership
for more staff development.

4.   As   indicated   in the   findings of this research,
refugees   did   not   perceive   themselves as participating in
the   full   cycle of program development. Yet, the policy of
the   organization   clearly   states   that   it is committed to
work   with   those   beneficiary   communities developing their
God-given   potential.   Therefore, as the only representative
of   the   organization   in   the   country,   the   field   office
leadership   is encouraged to design projects and programs in
which the beneficiaries (refugees) can fully participate.

5.   Although   they   are   not   refugees, the host people
(Chambers   calls   them,   "the   hidden   losers") are not much
better   off   than   the   refugees who benefit from the relief
assistance   programs.   Animosities   can surface, which are
disadvantageous   to   the   refugees. The field office should
be   aware   of   these   undercurrents   and   proactively design
development   programs   that are mutually beneficial to these
groups.

World Vision International Management

1.   The   WVI   Board policy emphasizes the importance of
community   participation   and   the organization's commitment
to   the   poor.   Aspects   of   this   research   should   be

disseminated to the field offices--where the action is--to determine the usefulness and potential contributions to the organization's future activities in the light of its stated policy interpretation into action.

2. The existence of policy is one thing, but to have strategies that define how those policies are interpreted into action is another. The evaluation of projects and processes should include tools for sustainability, which emphasize the participation of beneficiaries as a legitimate mechanism in refugee camps to promote efficiency, effectiveness, and equity. This can be done by supplying the necessary information to field workers who are involved in program design, implementation, and evaluation, and who, in turn, must increase the incentives for inducing participation.

Final Observations

Constraints that Impede Refugee Participation

This study has revealed that "being a foreigner" is perceived to be the first major constraint and "lack of information" is the next major constraint to refugee participation. These findings suggest that those, who are responsible for refugee programs, appear to be ignoring the fact that refugees always have identifiable capacities, leadership structures, and instincts which motivate people (Anderson & Woodrow, 1989). This feeling on the part of the refugees that they "are foreigners" can promote a negative attitude about being involved in any program. A

major contributing factor to this is possibly the behavior of the host government in amassing employment opportunities for their own people, and by treating the refugees with some degree of suspicion for political reasons.

Refugee programs are mostly emergency oriented, which calls for relief response. It is less dignifying to think and behave in a manner that says that refugees are foreigners, helpless, and do not know their needs. This emphasis flows from the conviction that human beings have value and dignity--not just needs and uses--and that the pursuit of justice, equity, and the common good are basic to human existence, although they may appear in different forms in different societies (Dyal, 1979, p. 130).

Organizations and Refugee Participation

In this study, it was noted that refugee participation, according to the perception of UNHCR personnel, is higher than the perception of personnel associated with either the Government of Malawi or World Vision International. UNHCR's personnel look at refugee participation from a distance, as they are not directly involved in refugee programs, whereas World Vision's personnel work directly with the refugees. As a nongovernmental organization (NGO), World Vision is free from most restrictions of the host government and is also in a position to bring resources directly into the programs. The personnel of the Government of Malawi are restricted by the government policies, which may not be in favor of refugee

participation.   This finding suggests that foreign NGOs may be better able to enlist more participation of refugees than local NGOs and the host government. This finding may also be taken to mean that refugee participation can be increased by organizations that have some control over the resources they use in refugee programs.

The study also revealed that the UNHCR and World Vision International have written policy statements requiring refugee participation in their programs. It also appears that the agencies of the Government of Malawi do not have such written statements.   NGOs appear to see the meaning and importance of participation more clearly than government organizations.   Government organizations are perhaps bound by predetermined packages of policies and guidelines, which in some cases could be very "top-down." Another major reason for this could be what Cuny (1987) suggested when he wrote that governments hosting refugees insist that the economic benefits of assistance programs go to their own citizens rather than to the refugees.

The above findings of this study also reinforce the statement by Cuny (1987) that voluntary agencies and the UN system publicly advocate refugee participation as a "desirable goal."   However, in practice, they rarely achieve a degree of meaningful refugee participation, and, in some cases, do not even encourage it.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

(To be answered by the sampled refugees)

_____ Yes   _____ No

NEEDS ASSESSMENT PHASE:

1. When you first arrived here, did
   any one of the officials ask you
   what your needs were?   _____   _____

2. Since your arrival, have you ever
   been asked by any of the officials
   what your needs were?   _____   _____

3. As far as you know, has any one
   of the refugees been asked what
   their needs are?   _____   _____

4. If you know your needs, have you
   been talking about them to the
   officials?   _____   _____

PLANNING PHASE:

5. Has any one of the officials ever
   asked you to assist in planning
   programs to meet your needs?   _____   _____

6. Have you ever participated in any
   planning meeting?   _____   _____

7. Did any of the officials discuss
   future plans with you concerning
   refugee programs?   _____   _____

8. Are you a member of any committee
   that is related to planning
   programs for refugees?   _____   _____

                                                       ____ Yes   ____ No

9. When you first arrived here, were the refugees asked to be involved in implementing any program for the refugees?   ____   ____

10. Did you get any opportunity to be involved in handling and delivering relief commodities?   ____   ____

EVALUATION PHASE:

11. In your opinion, are the refugees participating in distribution of relief materials and in camp administration?   ____   ____

12. Have you ever been employed for any of the refugee programs?   ____   ____

13. Have you ever been asked by the officials how refugee programs are meeting your needs?   ____   ____

14. Have you ever been asked how to improve reception and registration procedures?   ____   ____

15. Do teachers discuss school activities and problems with parents and other adult refugees?   ____   ____

GOVERNMENT/AGENCY PERSONNEL QUESTIONNAIRE

==

How much do you agree with the following statements relating to refugees' participation in programs designed to meet their needs?

Indicate agreement by circling one of the numbers given next to each statement.

S.NO.	STATEMENT	STRONGLY DISAGREE					STRONGLY AGREE

NEEDS ASSESSMENT PHASE:

1.	Refugees tell their needs directly to field workers.	0	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Refugees let their needs be known to field workers through their chiefs or through their elected representatives.	0	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Refugees indicate their needs when agency workers conduct surveys.	0	1	2	3	4	5

PLANNING PHASE:

4.	Refugees' response has always been positive in planning programs for them.	0	1	2	3	4	5
5.	Officials discuss future plans with the refugees.	0	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Refugees participate in planning committee meetings.	0	1	2	3	4	5

S.NO.	STATEMENT	STRONGLY DISAGREE	.	.	.	STRONGLY AGREE	

IMPLEMENTATION PHASE:

7. Refugees have many opportunities to be involved in implementing programs designed to meet their needs. 0 1 2 3 4 5

8. Refugees are very much involved in handling and delivering relief commodities. 0 1 2 3 4 5

9. Refugees with skills are always preferred over the nationals to participate in implementing programs. 0 1 2 3 4 5

EVALUATION PHASE:

10. Organizations frequently involve refugees in their evaluation programs. 0 1 2 3 4 5

11. Refugee comments about the programs are always valued by the organizations. 0 1 2 3 4 5

12. Organization personnel discuss evaluation results with refugees. 0 1 2 3 4 5

APPENDIX B

CORRESPONDENCE

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

December 12, 1990

Tesfatsion Dalellew
Education Administration
420 Erickson Hall

RE: LEVEL OF REFUGEE PARTICIPATION IN PROGRAMS/PROJECT DEVELOPMENT,
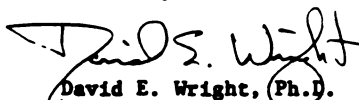   IRB# 88-483

Dear Mr. Dalellew:

The University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects' (UCRIHS) review
of the above referenced project has now been completed. I am pleased to
advise that the rights and welfare of the human subjects appear to be
adequately protected and the Committee, therefore, approved this project at
its meeting on December 3.

You are reminded that UCRIHS approval is valid for one calendar year. If you
plan to continue this project beyond one year, please make provisions for
obtaining appropriate UCRIHS approval one month prior to December 3, 1991.

Any changes in procedures involving human subjects must be reviewed by the
UCRIHS prior to initiation of the change. UCRIHS must also be notified
promptly of any problems (unexpected side effects, complaints, etc.) involving
human subjects during the course of the work.

Thank you for bringing this project to our attention. If we can be of any
future help, please do not hesitate to let us know.

Sincerely,

David E. Wright, Ph.D.
Chair, UCRIHS

DEW/deo

cc: Dr. Howard Hickey

WORLD VISION INTERNATIONAL
TELEX/CABLE MESSAGE

PRIORITY OF MESSAGE:

☒ URGENT   ☐ ROUTINE (within 24 hours)

ACTIVITY CODE LOG NO.	NAME OF SENDER:
WORVIS MRVO	DEPT. NAME:
MONROVIA CA $\frac{25\ NOV}{DA\ MON}$ TLX675341	EXTENSION NO: _____ STOP NO: _____

TO: (Name) and LOCATION: (WV Office or other address)

UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES Poul Hartling

TELEX COPIES TO: (Name/location)

TELEX NUMBER AND ANSWERBACK:

27492 UNHCR CH   (Geneva, Switzerland)

TEXT   (NOTE: about 3 full lines of typing equals 1 minute of transmission time)

I UNDERSTAND FROM LATEST REPORTS OF WV STAFF IN HONDURAS THAT EL
SALVADOR REFUGEES ARE IN PROCESS OF BEING MOVED FROM LA GUARITA TO A
SITE FAR FROM THE BORDER. WE ACKNOWLEDGE THIS MOVE MAY ENHANCE THE
SECURITY OF THESE REFUGEES. NEVERTHELESS, WORLD VISION IS DEEPLY
CONCERNED THAT WITHDRAWAL OF INTERNATIONAL PERSONNEL FROM THE
FRONTIER GREATLY DECREASES THE PROTECTION PREVIOUSLY EXTENDED TO NEW
REFUGEES IN TRANSIT. RECENT HISTORY IS REPLETE WITH EVIDENCE THAT
NEW ARRIVALS WILL BE FORCED BACK TO EL SALVADOR, OR MEET WITH
VIOLENCE OR DEATH. I AM CONFIDENT YOU SHARE THIS CONCERN. I URGE
UNHCR TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION TO ESTABLISH THE CONTINUING PRESENCE OF
INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS. THIS IS AN ESSENTIAL STEP URGENTLY REQUIRED
IN ORDER TO SECURE THE RIGHTS OF THOSE SEEKING REFUGE. WVI HAS TODAY
EXPRESSED SIMILAR CONCERNS IN A LETTER DISPATCHED TO THE GOV'T OF
HONDURAS.

WITH SINCERE REGARDS,

W. STANLEY MOONEYHAM

FROM: (Name)_____

WORVIS MROV

A385 19-1 R948 2 11/30/81 16:33 PL

675341 WORVIS MROV

3A 11/30 14:46 B130 2429-1 A385 6 11/30 15:06 RT AR A002 37
ERN2429 NAL3156 GV00480 DD USAUS GENEVA (HCR) 30 1830

WORLD VISION INTERNATIONAL
919 W. HUNTINGTON DR
MONROVE CA 51016   (TELEX 675 341 WORVIS MROV)

HCR5471 ATTENTION MR W STONALEY MCONEYHAM.
THANKS YOUR CABLE OF 25 NOVEMBER EXPRESSING CONCERN ABOUT SITUATION
REFUGEES IN HONDURAS. WISH ASSURE YOU WE FULLY SHARE YOUR
PREOCCUPATION AND THAT NO EFFORTS ARE SPARED ON OUR PART TO ENSURE
SAFETY AND WELL-BEING OF REFUGEES CURRENTLY IN HONDURAS AND OF
THOSE NEWLY ARRIVING. ACTION IS BEING INITIATED ON FOLLOWING MEASURES
PRIMO REFUGEES CURRENTLY CONFINED TO BORDER AREA WILL BE ALLOWED
TO MOVE FURTHER INLAND TO SAFER SETTLEMENT ZONES. ONE SUCH ZONE
HAS ALREADY BEEN IDENTIFIED AND THE TRANSFER IS UNDER WAY. THROUGH
MATERIAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME, ARE AIMING AT REFUGEES
SELF-SUFFICIENCY. SECUNDO SMALL RECEPTION AND TRANSIT CENTRES
WILL BE ESTABLISHED ALONG BORDER WHERE REFUGEE INFLUX IS TAKING
PLACE TERTIO HONDURAN GOVERNMENT WILL ENHANCE PROTECTION TO REFUGEES
IN BORDER AREA WHERE UNHCR REINFORCING ITS PRESENCE (UNHCR GENEVA)
COL HCR5471 25
111301940
111301944
NNNN+
WORVIS MROV

VIA GRAPHIC SCANNING
T

APPENDIX C

WORLD VISION DEVELOPMENT POLICY -

CONTENT ANALYSIS

WORLD VISION DEVELOPMENT POLICY - CONTENT ANALYSIS

HOW IS PARTICIPATION FACILITATED?

20.2.   **POLICY**:   World Vision's Development Ministry

        20.2.1   **NARRATIVE SUMMARY**

- Work through local partnership agencies, churches or Christian agencies

- Evaluation of the impact of our sojourn with the community (Praise God for positive contribution and repent of failed efforts).

- Respect for local situation--learning from receiving as well as giving.

- Focus on "people in community working together."

- Work through and employ local development facilitators who are Christians.

- WV will subordinate its role to that of the local church and commit ourselves to what the church has to teach us.

- Project plans based on expressed needs of the community.

        20.2.2.0   **STANDING DECISIONS**

        20.2.2.1   **AUDIENCE AND APPROACH**

D) Wherever possible, projects will be done with and through local churches and Christian partner agencies.

E) Projects managed by partners and staff who claim Christ as Lord and whose lives bear witness to His Lordship.

F) **Members** of the community shall participate in **all** research, planning, implementation, and evaluation activities to the maximum extent possible.

20.2.2.2 PLANNING AND REPORTING

A) Project plans shall be based on the expressed needs of the community.

B) Community research summarized in the form of written community descriptions and evaluation baselines.

20.2.2.3 EVALUATION ACTIVITIES

D) 4) an evaluation of the community's readiness to sustain it's own development in the future.

20.2.4 KEY STANDARDS

20.2.4.3

E) STEWARDSHIP
All members of the community have an opportunity to use their gifts and skills in the service of others.

20.2.4.4 PROCESS OF CHANGE CHARACTERIZED BY:

G) Regular Evaluation: Because much of what determines the process of change lies outside the control of either World Vision, our partners or the community, all projects will have a regular, internal evaluation process which allows the community and World Vision to assess progress, identify problems, note changes, in the context and thereby, redirect project plans.

H) Authentic Partnership: Because all human beings and their communities are in need of redemption and transformation in varying ways and to varying degrees, project planning, implementation and evaluation will reflect our conviction that we and those we seek to serve are on a common pilgrimage and that each has resources and gifts from God to contribute to the journey of the other.

K) Ownership: Because development is a process already underway before we came and which will continue after we leave, our involvement in project planning and implementation will affirm and encourage the fullest possible

participation by the community and its members in identifying plans, allocating resources, carrying out activities, and evaluating the results, even if, in our judgment, their decisions are not the ones we would make.

20.2.4.6 The least cost will mean:

A) WV will avoid becoming operational and will seek to supply that which is missing or to remedy that which is hindering the ministry of others.

B) Using materials and methods which match normal standards available to similar people in the country.

C) Mobilizing the resources of families, communities, and government agencies to implement improvements.

E) Keeping reporting systems simple and appropriate, yet translatable to the donor in a meaningful way.

20.2.5 KEY STRATEGIES

20.2.5.2 Definition of roles

A) WV will act in a way which affirms its belief that the community and its leadership is responsible for the community's future and all decisions affecting that future, while recognizing that there are barriers to development which are outside their immediate control.

B) WV will act in way which affirms its belief that the local expression of the church is God's chosen instrument for His work in the world, and represents a sign of the Kingdom of God in the midst of the community. (See the Evangelism Policy and Position Paper).

C) WV will act in a way which affirms its understanding that the partner agency(ies) are authentic partners with us in the task of enabling and empowering the community and the local church.

20.2.5.5 The technical support strategy of WV's development ministry will include:

    A)   The development and use of local technical resource people wherever possible.

    B)   A regular ongoing process of participatory evaluation will be carried out by WV and the community in accordance with the project evaluation policy of WV (See WV's Evaluation Policy).

WHAT KIND OF PARTICIPATION?

20.2.2.0 <u>STANDING DECISIONS</u>

20.2.2.1 <u>Audience and Approach</u>

Members of the community shall participate in all

- research
- planning
- implementation
- evaluation activities (to the maximum extent possible)

20.2.2.2 <u>Planning and Reporting</u>

- project plans shall be based on the expressed needs of the community.

20.2.2.3 <u>Evaluation</u>

A) Criteria

B) Annual project planning

20.2.4 <u>KEY STANDARDS</u>

20.2.4.3 <u>Better Human Future</u>

<u>Decision</u> affecting the future of the community

<u>Benefits</u> - all share equitably in the benefits of the development process.

20.2.4.4 Particular process of change Characterized by

K) <u>Ownership</u>: Because development is a process already underway before we came and which will continue after we leave, our involvement in project planning and implementation will affirm and encourage the fullest possible participation by the community and its members in identifying needs, problems, and opportunities, developing plans, allocating resources, carrying out activities, and evaluating the results, even if, in our judgment, their decisions are not the ones we would make.

WHO PARTICIPATES

20.2.1 <u>Narrative</u>

- Neediest peoples - in a particular country as determined by research concerning; material poverty, spiritual belief and practice, degree of isolation, physical weaknesses, vulnerability to disaster and powerlessness (See Key Standards 20.2.4)

20.2.2.0 <u>Standing Decisions</u>

20.2.2.1 <u>Audience and Approach</u>

- members of the community
- WV projects will meet individual and community needs irrespective of religion, need, ethnicity, caste or tribe.

20.2.4 <u>Key Standards</u>

20.2.4.3 Better Human future described as

A) Development by the people: <u>All</u> members of the community actively participate, in some way as local situations and traditions permit, in decisions affecting the future of the community and all share equitably in the benefits of the development process.

20.2.4.5 Values accompanying the development ministry

F) Increasing participation by all parts
    of the community _especially_ those on
    the periphery.

20.2.5.5   The technical support strategy

A) The development and use of local
    technical resource people wherever
    possible.

FUNDRAISING - MARKETING SUPPORT STRATEGY

Key Objective - most appropriate donors - how determined

20.2.2.0   Standing Decision
20.2.2.1   Audience and Approach

C) Of the many development opportunities which
    exist, WV will tend to select those which
    provide both maximum ministry and marketing
    potential within a 3 to 7 year period.

20.2.2.2   Planning and Reporting

E) Project reports will be collected regularly
    which will cover 1) the accomplishment of
    activities, 2) an accounting for financial
    income and expenditure. 3) a monitoring of key
    evaluation baseline information and 4) the
    needs of support offices to account to donors.
    This information will be gathered on an
    appropriate regular basis for the purpose of
    providing the information necessary for
    project supervision.

D) 5) an assessment of the benefit of the project
    in terms of having met partnership marketing
    needs.

20.2.4.7   The most appropriate donors will be those to
    whom the story of people involved in their own
    development is told accurately and in a way
    which evokes respect along with compassion.

20.2.5.4   The marketing support strategy for WV's
    development ministry will encourage:

A) Support office involvement in the initial
    research and design phases of development
    projects, wherever mutually agreeable.

B) Support office social marketing efforts
directed at educating donors to the importance
of development as an alternative to continuing
relief or social welfare responses.

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