SUDANESE REFUGEE LIVED EXPERIENCES:
IMPACT ON THEIR RESETTLEMENT
OUTCOMES IN NEW ZEALAND

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ABSTRACT

Only twenty or fewer countries in the world, including NZ, provide resettlement opportunities for United Nation High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR)-mandated refugees. Guided by the UNHCR case-referred policy, 250 Sudanese refugees have come to be resettled in New Zealand; mainly from the Kakuma Refugee Camp (KRC) in Kenya. Yet not very much is known about Sudanese refugees' experiences in the KRC and how they have impacted on resettlement outcomes in New Zealand.

This study used a qualitative methodology to document the impact of KRC-lived experiences of 20 Sudanese refugees on their resettlement outcomes in New Zealand.

The study explored four stages of participants' experiences: (1) pre-conflict experiences in South Sudan; (2) their journey to the refugee camp; (3) experiences in the KRC and (4) impact of their experiences on their resettlement in New Zealand.

The picture that emerges is that the refugee camp-lived experience is under-studied and there is a need to understand it in order to develop informed specialist services.

The findings suggest pre-conflict life was good. However, throughout their journey to and years of stay in the KRC, participants faced severe food shortages, water scarcity, concerns for personal safety and poor health conditions. In New Zealand they faced cultural and climate shock, difficulties in learning English, lack of employment struggles, placement in insensitive neighbourhoods, inability to bring in family members, mental health issues and suicide, and an advanced patient-led secular health system; all of which were a challenge for refugees.

Recommendations from this study include: conducting a social and mental health audit in the refugee communities; prioritising family reunification over the UNHCR quota; formulating pathways for skill development and careers; providing specialist budgetary services to help refugees avoid loan scheme traps; and discussing the pros and cons of

resettlement location with refugees before their decision to resettle. In addition, the Ministry of Education needs to support refugee students to focus on academic progression as well as on the social integration in the school system, by seeking refugee community input into schooling of their children in New Zealand schools.

GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS (ABBREVIATIONS)

AAA	American Anthropological Association
AIT	Auckland Institute of Technology
ARC	Auckland Refugee Council
ARU	Australian Refugee Council
AU	African Union
AUC	American University in Cairo
AUS	Australia
AUT	Auckland University of Technology
CCF	Christian Children's Fund
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
DOL	Department of Labour
DIMIA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ERC	Emergency Rescue Committee
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GQS	Global Quota System
GP	General Practitioner
HIAS	Hebrew Immigration Aid Society
HNZC	Housing New Zealand Corporation
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICARA	International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa
ICCI	Inter-Church Commission on Immigration
IDPs	Internally Displaced Peoples
IHSS	Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Services
INZ	Immigration New Zealand
IRA	International Relief Association
IRC	International Rescue Committee
ISP	Integrated Service Programme
KNLPF	Karenni Nationalities People's Liberation Front

MRC	Mangere Reception Centre
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations
NIF	National Islamic Front
NZIS	New Zealand Immigration Service
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ORR	Office of Refugee Resettlement
PRM	Population Refugee and Migration
PTSD	Post-traumatic Stress Disorder
RAP	Resettlement Assistance Programme
RMS	Refugee and Mirant Services
R&P	Reception and Placement
RS	Refugee Services
SAF	Sudan Armed Forces
SUNDS	Sudden Unexpected Nocturnal Death Syndrome
SYB	Statistics Year Book
TV	Television
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Fund
UNHCR	United Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations' International Children's Emergency Funds
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Work Agency
USA	United States of America
USCCB	United States Conference of Catholic Bishops
USCR	United States Committee for Refugee
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organisation

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the researcher's relevant personal experience and provides brief background information about the Sudan's history, ethnography and the south-north conflict; and the research area of refugee issues in the international and national context.

Researcher's Personal Experience

My personal experience as a refugee for many years has had a huge bearing on this study. The refugee life that I have been through was difficult, associated with enduring, unforgettable memories; perhaps forever.

Another motivation behind conducting this study was to create an opportunity to explore how refugee experiences such as mine impact on resettlement outcomes of refugees in general, and for the Sudanese refugees in New Zealand in particular.

The following is a chronological description of my experience from the start of the civil war in South[1] Sudan. The rationale for providing this description is to inform the reader about my personal involvement and the impact of the war on my own life.

The second civil war between the north and south of Sudan started in May 1983 in a southern town call Bor. For the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) to reach rebels in the countryside, they used military aeroplanes to force rebels out of the bushes by dropping heavy bombshells. In September 1993 the SAF dropped many bombshells on my village and cattle camps nearby for several days, inflicting serious infrastructural damage and harm to both humans and livestock. After the shelling, the ground troops of the SAF came in early morning to my village; looting, killing and taking the children, young men and women to serve as slaves.

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[1] "South" and "North" Sudan; and "Southern" and "Northern" Sudan are capitalised here when referring to those regions being administered as a formal, separate states. "southern" and "northern" Sudan are used when referring to those geographical regions of Sudan.

This savage, fierce behaviour of the SAF sent waves of fear through the local population, forcing everyone to run away to seek safety; so I was also forced to abandon my immediate family and the properties I owned.

It was a traumatic experience for me and my family to witness such horrific scenes, especially the disappearance of family members, and killing of relatives and friends. When the war intensified in and around Rumbek town (my home town), the elders of my community advised all young men and women to leave Sudan to seek refuge in the neighbouring countries of Uganda, Ethiopia, Egypt and Kenya.

Although I was traumatised, it was extremely hard abandoning everything I had ever owned and had worked towards for years. I was reluctant to leave home, because I was hoping the salvation would come either through the liberation fighters' victory or through international community pressure on the Government of Sudan (GOS) to bring peace.

Eventually, I had to flee as a fugitive through very hostile communities, which were practising inter-tribal wars funded by the government as a way of weakening the liberation movement and to continue to apply the policy of "divide and rule" by giving weapons to pro-government militia to fight civilians in the south.

When we (I and other people) came closer to the Sudan-Kenya border, in thorny tree-bushes we saw bodies of people recently killed by a border patrol unit of the SAF, who we met later.

Although the soldiers projected friendly faces, still they demanded all our belongings. To get safe passage, I had to give away my few belongings of clothes, a bar of washing soap, a watch and malaria tablets that were very precious to me.

We all gave away all that was in our possession. However an experienced local person told me that there was no guarantee of safety: "These soldiers can change their minds at any time, so behave and keep moving on, and beyond the next bush there is a river — cross it and keep walking to the left to avoid the rebels' key base."

Following his advice, I arrived at a border town called Lokichokio on 26th May 1994. That same day I was airlifted by the Human Rights Watch (Africa) and the Red Cross (with whom I was affiliated) to Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya. In Nairobi, I had to face another predicament, "the crisis of identity". When I arrived in Kenya I had no certificate of identity. I was a fugitive in the eyes of the local law.

I spent seven months in a "confinement-like" situation indoors, under the protection of the Human Rights Watch and the Red Cross to avoid police harassment and the Kenyan Immigration Deportation Unit.

Through UNHCR lawyers and the Kenyan Immigration Department in Nyayu House, I was registered under a category called "Identified Security Case" (ISC), based on a recommendation from Human Rights Watch Africa and the Red Cross.

Fugitive, jobless, poor and lonely as I was, Nairobi was still a paradise. There was no fear of SAF shelling and air bombardment. I felt safety and peace of mind that I had not for many years.

Although I had the peace of mind, I still had the empathy for my fellow countrymen and women who were still in my situation and were still there living in such conditions, and sympathy for those who were yet to beat the odds. My heart went out to those people who lost their loved ones in the process of trying to achieve social and political justice.

In Nairobi I was amazingly pleased to see people young and old enjoying their freedom and life in a civil society. This kind of life is a dream for African Christian Sudanese because of policies of oppression perpetuated by the Arab ruling clique in Sudan.

When I came to Nairobi I was happy to see people exercising their rights freely. I was excited but jealous at same time. As a consequence of such jealousy I joined minds and hands with other Sudanese of the same beliefs and formed the first South Sudanese Civil Society Organisation (SSCSO). The main focus of this new organisation was to advocate for social justice and human rights and to build a strong civil society in Sudan.

The UN agencies in Nairobi have supported the registration of the SSCSO. After the registration, the SSCSO quickly became a source of information about the Sudan. British Broadcasting Cooperation (BBC), Cable News Network (CNN), and other international media broadcasted some of the media conferences held by the SSCSO.

Instantly, the suffering of Sudanese inside Sudan was quickly announced to the world at large, because of the role the SSCSO played as a mouthpiece and a credible source exposing the Sudan's Islamic regime human rights abuses.

The establishment of the SSCSO has contributed greatly to my personal development regarding issues of social justice.

While I was in Nairobi advocating for social justice, categories of refugees of ISCs, "Medical" and "Women at Risk" cases living in Nairobi and Kakuma Refugee Camps were being processed for resettlement opportunities in the US, Australia, and Canada in large numbers and in lesser numbers into northern Europe and New Zealand.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) referred my case to the then New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS) officials for resettlement. I was not the first African Sudanese refugee to have come to New Zealand. A few (one family and three single men) came before me and they were supported by local organisations with a prime role in supporting refugees' resettlement needs.

Like many other refugees who have come to New Zealand, I had huge expectations such as the possibility of a building new house, having a new car or going places for a holiday. However, I quickly realised that some of my expectations such finding a well-paid job, building a home and so on, were unrealistic. The reason, in my view, was that the host society did not have prior knowledge about Sudanese refugees. Therefore I believe this study will contribute greatly to the understanding of the impact of the refugee camp experience on resettlement of Sudanese by the policy-makers and service providers in New Zealand.

Sudan Country Profile

Like most African settlements, before the colonial era Sudan was home to a number of sizable kingdoms and city-states.

Historians claim that humankind has lived in the land of Sudan for at least nine million years along the valley of the Nile, which runs 4,000 miles from the lakes of Central Africa to the Mediterranean. Modern archaeological evidence emerging through excavation in the Rift Valley dates the existence of mankind in this region to ancient times.

Figure 1. Map of Sudan

A collision of continental plates created the longest rift valley in the world, the Nile River, which runs from central Africa through Sudan to the Mediterranean Sea. The term *Sudan* means *the land of black people* and it is situated between the great Sahara in the north and Central Africa's Great Lakes region in the south, the Red Sea in the east and the Atlantic Ocean in the west.

According to O'Fahey (1996), the modern Sudan in its present boundaries (see Figure 1) is a creation of the British colonial rule. It came into existence shortly after the beginning of the twentieth century.

Sconyers (1987) described the modern Sudan as the largest country in Africa. It gained independence on 1st January 1956, after condominium rule by Great Britain and Egypt known as *Anglo-Egyptian* rule in Sudan.

Fanjoy, Ingraham, Khoury & Osman (2005) have described Sudan as a microcosm of the African continent. Its borders encapsulate the centuries of conflicts and mass migration that characterise the histories of the two regions. It straddles Africa and the Middle East.

According to the United Nations Development Programme, UNDP (2004), Sudan is a land naturally separated into three parts, ranging from desert in the north, which covers 30 percent of the landmass, followed by a great semi-arid area of grassland and low mountains in central Sudan, to a region of swamps (the *Sudd*) and rain forest in the south.

The land mass covers an area of 2,505,813 sq km, bordering Egypt in the north, the Red Sea in the northeast, Eritrea and Ethiopia in the east, Kenya, Uganda, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the south, the Central African Republic and Chad in the west, and Libya in the northwest.

According to Grzymski (2004), the Sudan's landscape is mountainous in the northeast, in the centre, in the west and in the southern parts. The highest point is Kinyeti (10,456 ft/3,187 m) in the southeast. However, the most notable geographical landmark in Sudan is the River Nile, which runs 4000 km through to Egypt and to the Mediterranean Sea.

According to Grzymski (2004), the River Nile waters come from two main sources: the Blue Nile, which flows from the Lake Tsana in Ethiopia, fed by more than 60 small rivers and streams; and the White Nile, which originates from Lake Victoria in Central Africa. The two Niles, which are distinctively identified by their water colours (blue and white), meet in Khartoum (the capital of Sudan) and form the River Nile.

Rainfall in Sudan diminishes from south to north. Thus the southern part of the country is characterised by swampland. The central region is occupied by the

rain forest, providing nutrition and water to feed the tall grassland. The central region and the north are increasingly swallowed up by desertification.

Sudan has begun to produce oil in large quantities in recent years. Nevertheless it is still largely a subsistence agricultural economy, cotton being the principal cash crop with huge plantations in the irrigated Al Jezira scheme in the central region of Sudan.

Ethnographically, Sudan consists of two parts (south and north), which differ in ethno-linguistic composition and religious affiliation. In the current conflict, Islam, land and ethnic divisions have contributed equally to the ongoing civil wars in the country.

Sconyers (1987) has also described Sudan as being comprised of two parts. The northern part is home to Arabs and people of Nubian descent: predominantly Islamic; and its people identify more with the Middle East. The Islamic religion is embraced and the Arabic language is the native language and the official medium of instruction in the north.

In the southern part lives an African ethnic group of Nilotic descent (Dinka, Nuer, Anuak, Shilluk and other tribes) that adheres to Christianity and African creeds. Dinka, Nuer, Arabi-Juba and English as well are the common languages used in social settings, commercial transactions and official communication in the south.

North-South Conflict

Historically, Sudan has been unstable for many decades due to longstanding civil wars between the south and north owing to many historical differences, some of which are related to pre- colonial era. Many years ago, before Christ, Arab traders came to Sudan through Egypt from the north and the Red Sea from the east. Their main aim was to find elephant tusk (ivory), slaves, and gold and other minerals, which were in high demand in the Arab peninsula and Europe. It was not easy to have access to these treasures. Arab invaders met a lot of resistance from the Nuba and Funj, who were at the time the inhabitants and rulers of today's Northern Sudan.

According to Deng (1995), "after many years of war between them they signed agreements known as the *Buqat*[2] which allowed both sides to coexist in the north." (p. 9). Arab traders settled among the indigenous population and integrated themselves. Between the 13th and the mid-19th century, Arab traders and settlers gradually gained power over Egypt and parts of central Sudan.

In 1869, the Suez Canal was opened. As a result Sudan became less important to the British and their focus was on how to obtain free access to the Suez Canal. This shift of focus was seized as an opportunity by the Mahdist[3] and in 1880 they successfully staged an Islamic uprising against the British invaders. However, between 1898 and 1899, the combined forces of Britain and Egypt attacked Sudan and reoccupied it for the second time. The two invading forces established a condominium[4] rule over Sudan. Southern populations such as the Nuer, Dinka and Azande resisted the extension of the British-Egyptian condominium rule over Southern Sudan until 1930s. The British acknowledged the south's resistance, although successfully brought the south under their control; they established two separate administrations in the Sudan (the South and the North).

During the British rule in Sudan the teaching of the Arabic language was banned in the South. English became the official language and Christian missionaries' activities were encouraged in the South.

After the Second World War Britain changed its policy towards the Sudan for the third time due to pressure from Egypt and started the process of independence for the whole country including the South which was ruled as separate closed region. As a result, the Republic of the Sudan became independent from Britain in January 1956.

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[2] The first treaty between Nubians and Arabs
[3] Mahdist: is the prophesied redeemer of Islam who will stay on Earth for seven, nine or nineteen years (according to various interpretations) before the Day of Judgement
[4] Condominium rule: is a political territory (state or border area) in or over which two or more sovereign powers formally agree to share equally *dominium* (in the sense of sovereignty) and exercise their rights jointly, without dividing it up into 'national' zones

As the British administration prepared for Sudanese independence between 1931 and 1945/6, it did not have a clear plan on the future of Southern Sudan. The British believed that Southern Sudan could not exist as an independent state on the grounds that it is poor, underdeveloped and uneducated. This belief has, however, since then been proven wrong. After the 1978 discovery of oil in the South in Bentiu, (currently known as the "Unity State"), the Northern Sudanese challenged the argument that the North could not independently survive, if South Sudan was to separate.

Prior to the independence, some other scenarios were discussed including the suggestion that South Sudan should be annexed to the East African British protectorate of Kenya or Uganda. However in the end, Egypt succeeded in persuading the British to give Northern Sudan free hand over the South.

According to Deng (1995), in 1946 the British, without consultation with South Sudanese, decided that the South was to be one state with North Sudan. A committee of British and Egyptians, with only Northern Sudanese as consultants, discussed the steps to self-rule. In the legislative assembly the safeguards were withdrawn. The next step after the establishment of self-government was to establish a Sudanisation committee. They identified 943 civil service positions that the British and the Egyptians had to give up. Only six positions were given to the South and 937 to the North.

The South was informed of this decision during the Juba conference in 1947. The Sudanisation (nationalization) was initiated in the absence of the Southern voice. The outcome of this decision was the formation of a 93 member Assembly to oversee the process of independence and the new constitutional arrangement. The Southern representatives were given 13 seats in that Assembly, and were against the pre-condition of annexation.

The 13 members from the South set several negotiating conditions in order to agree with the annexations such as the introduction of a confederal or federal constitution for the Sudan which allowed each part to enjoy self-rule. On paper, the Northern representatives agreed to the Southern members' demands, but never implemented the agreement promised to the South.

British Army officers in both the South and the North were replaced by mainly Northern Sudanese Army officers. Only a few junior positions were designated to the Southern Sudanese. Consequently the Southern Sudanese Army officers who were in the South disagreed with this poor representation and on August 18th, 1955, they began rebellion against the Northern officers who were stationed in the South. More than 1,000 Northern and Southern Sudanese died in that rebellion. So began the first civil war between the South and the North.

The response of the Sudan government (mainly Arabs) was quick and decisive and more Southern mutineers were arrested, charged with treason and imprisoned or executed. The government in Khartoum issued a decree blaming the Christian Missionaries for preaching Christianity in the South, thereby deepening the differences between Muslims and Christians. According to Alier (1993), the Government officials in Khartoum felt as though missionaries were an obstacle to Islamization and Arabization.

As a counter-action, in 1959 the government in Khartoum introduced an Islamic curriculum and Islamic preachers as well as an Islamic administration in the South. The aim was to replace the system introduced into the South by the western world, particularly by the missionaries and the British. While, the government was perpetuating these policies, the mutiny in the South was developing into a civil war affecting the economy of the whole Sudan. In 1969 in Addis Ababa (capital city of Ethiopia), a pro-Moscow General Nimari took power in a coup d'état and negotiated a peaceful settlement of the conflict with the rebels; finally bringing to an end a 17 year-old civil war and reaching a formal agreement in 1972. In this agreement the South was guaranteed a self-rule within the united Sudan.

As the result of this agreement, the Islamization in the South was stopped, the English language was re-introduced as the official language in the South and the Christian Missionaries were allowed back to South. The agreement granted the legal rights to establish their capital city Juba, and form an autonomous government with executive, judicial and parliamentary powers to make their own laws to govern the region. During the Addis Ababa Agreement period (1972 – 1983), Sudan lived in peace and significant progress in all aspects of life in the

whole country (North and South) was recorded. Schools and universities were opened in the South once again, after a long time with no formal education in the region.

However, in 1983 General Nimari once again dishonoured his own agreement (the Addis Ababa Agreement) and introduced Shar'a Islamic law, and divided the South into three regions. As a result of that, the second civil war between South and North began. This has led to many generations growing up in chaos, and with instability. According to Jambo (2004), the Sudan government in Khartoum has been supporting the conflict among communities in Southern Sudan. The result was the total disruption of social order in the south. The war has affected the economic activities, social order and deterioration of the local institutions, which normally guarantee the creation of social order within the communities.

Figure 2. Photo illustrating the importance of land in the region

Ayoub (2006), in *Land and Conflict in Sudan* states that the most important resource in Sudan is the land, whether exploited for agriculture, cattle-herding or for its underground resources such as oil or water. Inevitably, land ownership has been the key to wealth and power struggles in Sudan. The political and religious conflicts combined have created long periods of instability in the country, resulting in food shortages and indiscriminately oppressing the Sudanese peoples for many decades; shortening life expectancy to 42.6 years and 43.5 years for men and for women respectively, according to the World Health Organisation (WHO) (WHO, 2000). "Since 1947 and for 38 years of its 52 years of independence, Sudan has

been engaged in a destructive clash of identities that has manifested in civil wars and political unrest in the whole country" (Deng, 1995, p. 30).

As a result of the breaching of the Addis Ababa Agreement and imposition of Islamic *Shar'ia* Laws by the Arab-North-led government in Khartoum in 1983 on Christians and African creeds, the war started again in the South and since then, each part (North and South) has had its own agenda and list of claims. The North's ambition was, and still is, to impose Islamic rule and "Arabization" on the South and the rest of the country, and to exploit oil and other natural resources of the South. On the other hand the African Sudanese in the South, the East and the Western Sudan have responded to this hegemony through popular uprisings, engaging in military combat, demanding a federal state for the rest of the country and the right to self-determination for the South through a referendum process supervised by the international community.

Before the Islamic regime took over the power in 1989, Sudan had already been at civil war for 17 years from 1947 to 1972, and at peace from 1972 to 1983, during which time many South Sudanese, who fled the country during the war, returned with the ambition of participating in peace building and contributing to the development of the war-torn country. As maintained by El-Battahani, in *A Complex Web: Politics and Conflict in Sudan* (2006), the protracted armed conflict since 1983 in many parts of the country has killed, wounded and displaced millions of people, especially during the current military regime led by General Omer al-Bashir. This regime is an Islamic dictatorship and was strongly influenced by al-Turabi of the National Islamic Front (N.I.F).

However, under Ja'afer Numairi, President of Sudan from 1969–1985, there has been a constant violation of human rights, with re-division of the regional autonomy into three regions which was a clear violation of Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972. The imposition of an authoritarian version of *Shari'a* Islamic Law (known as the "September Laws") has fuelled-up the war for 22 years (1983 – 2005).

The Southern Sudanese opposition leaders in favour of the regional autonomy within the united Sudan regrouped quickly and formed a formidable

armed force, later called the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) to resist the imposition of such laws.

The resistance movement led by the SPLM/A succeeded in ousting the dictator Ja'afer Numairi in 1985 and Sadiq al-Mahdi took power in 1986. Unfortunately the SPLM/A disagreed with the al-Mahdi Government over the definition of the new Sudan incorporating equality and secular laws in a confederal arrangement within the united Sudan. While SPLM/A and al-Mahdi debated over the definition, Brigadier-General Omer Hassan al-Bashir took over the power in Khartoum through a bloodless coup d'état in June 1989 in collaboration with the National Islamic Front party with the vision of "Islamizing" the government and the nation in an overt attempt to consolidate its command over Sudanese politics.

The fact is that during civil war, and especially during al-Bashir rule, an estimated three million Southern Sudanese civilians lost their lives in the war and as a result of war-related problems. The specific causes of death have varied – victims either have been targeted, or they have fallen into indiscriminate crossfire, or they have been denied access to or use of their assets and displaced by forces, such that they have died of starvation and disease. According to Meyers (2006), the survivors of this ordeal are living with unforgettable and untold stories about their experiences. This has increasingly contributed to total widespread mass suffering in the country and claimed lives of many million civilians.

For the al-Bashir Government, fighting "rebels" assumed the nature of *jihad*, "the Holy War", and it pursued the war in the South to reverse the military advances the SPLA had made in the 1980s and '90s. The formation of the paramilitary Popular Defence Force (PDF) in 1989 has created a new round of violence, especially against the Nuba people, due to discovery of large oil reserves in the area.

According to Prendergast (2002), this devastating civil war has affected an estimated half a million recognised refugees in camps and urban centres in Ethiopia, Kenya and Egypt, as highlighted in the following table extracted from a UNHCR report.

Table 1. Estimated Numbers of Refugees in Camps and Urban Centres as a Result of Civil War

Year	1980	1984	1988	1990	1991	1999	2002
Number of refugees	10,900	180,100	347,200	523,800	195,900	467,700	505,000

Source: UNHCR 2000b, 2003

According to a US Refugee Council report (2002), the war situation in Sudan has forced out many families and communities from different ethnic groups from Sudan to flee the country, seeking refuge in neighbouring countries and beyond, mostly in the United States of America.

Although the country has conducted a census in April 2008, official results are being disputed by the South as inconclusive. Therefore the only figures available are the estimates from the 1990s, when the population was estimated to be 35 million people: "In 1993 census estimates Arab descent constituted 39%, Dinka 17%, whereas Beja, Nuer, Nubian, Fur, Bari, Azande, Moru and Shilluk constituted 44% of the population" (Rolandsen, 2005, p. 97).

Background to the Study: Refugees, the Global Context

The scale of human exodus has never been greater than as it is at the present time. Natural disasters such as floods, drought, desertification and human-created conflicts like wars, famine and developmental projects are to blame.

According to Kane (1995), famine and conflict combined together produce far larger displacement than either would alone naturally. Certainly, the current refugee situation supports Kane's argument, because there are many people who are affected by war and famine more than any other factors.

The effects of war and famine combined have created an enormous socio-political and environmental upheaval in developing nations, increasing the global collective displacement of people.

These massive displacements have produced enormous social and environmental impacts on the displaced people themselves and on the lands in

which they lived (countries of origin) on the one hand, and settlement destinations in which they resettled (be it refugee camps or resettlement countries) on the other.

As a consequence of these displacements, I assume that there is not a country, region or continent that is refugee-free or has never heard of refugees and their problems. The refugee influx and its associated problems are of global concern to many nations and societies in both the *refugee-producing* and *refugee-receiving countries.*

The man-made disasters, which include civil wars, ethnic cleansing, and individuals' persecution by the ruling governments they opposed, have exposed many people to two serious problems:

1. Those of a life-threatening nature in countries of origin (*refugee-producing*), which include war, famine (hunger), disappearance of family members and community leaders who are advocating for dissenting opinions.

2. Post war/camp-experience trauma, identity crisis, lack of acceptance, racial discrimination, isolation, and home-sickness in refugees who are seeking safety in *refugee-receiving* countries.

There are many factors contributing to refugee movements, but fear of persecution mainly due to race, politics and religion remains the main reason that has led millions to flee their usual habitats and seek safety in strange societies – in the short-term in countries of asylum; and presumably in the long-term, in places regarded as "durable" solutions, including resettlement in another country, repatriation, or local integration.

The international response.

According to UNHCR (2004a), in the 1980s and mid-1990s the refugee influx has increased at an alarming rate. Some ten western countries including Australia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States of America started establishing formal refugee

programmes to provide a durable solution to refugee problems, by offering resettlement options to high-needs refugees.

The ten western countries' decisions to engage in offering a durable solution to refugee problems has encouraged the local institutions in the ten above-mentioned countries to provide grassroots support for refugees who are arriving for resettling.

Also, the UNHCR, human rights groups and international community organisations are assisting in refugee resettlement processing in the ten countries.For example, according to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), which is a UNHCR partner organisation, in 2005 and 2007 it assisted over 18,000 Sudanese refugees to return to South Sudan and 3,000 Internal Displaced Peoples (IDPs) to go back to their home areas in the Bor District (South Sudan) in a joint operation (IOM, 2005).

According to Dadjiyanni (2002), emergency-driven institutional reactions to refugees and their problems are in practice reactive programmes which are irregular, unsystematic, isolated, and superficial simply because the decision to resettle people is not a national priority in the countries of resettlement. This argument fits with the view that no one knows where the next refugee group will come from, because factors forcing people to leave their homelands certainly are not understood by the receiving countries.

Understanding of refugee issues.

One of the irregularities supporting Dajiyanni's (2002) argument is that there are no studies on specific refugee groups due to the nature of refugee problems which are unique, unpredictable, uncharacteristic, and non-recurring, which has produced scholarly neglect of refugee research possibilities.

Mason (2007) strongly argues that refugee research is not a ready-made field of study, and is still evolving as a discipline. It is a challenging field in which to conduct research. Mason's (2007) argument has credibility because very often the receiving countries do not know in advance the refugees' ethnicities, and when and where the next refugee groups will be coming from. This uncertainty could

also lead to the poor planning of refugee resettlement, due to the characteristically sporadic arrival of new and diverse peoples into communities in the country of resettlement.

The fact is that the term "refugee" includes children, adults, people with disabilities, old, young, families and individuals who have fled their homeland for the reasons mentioned above.

.
Refugees are mostly mistaken as "economic migrants" (economic migrants are people who leave their home countries at will to seek work and better life in another country) in the countries of resettlement. However, the organisations involved in supporting refugees and migrants have studied each group separately and found out they are different. Cortes (2004) has made a clearer distinction between refugees and migrants for the purpose of educating the refugee service providers in receiving countries.

According to Cortes (2004), while a migrant makes informed choices to leave home and to settle in another country, a refugee is forced to leave home due to a fear of persecution and often a life-threatening fear.

Up until now there has been no reference to what is commonly known as the "economic refugee" in the existing international law. People who leave their home countries seeking a better life in other countries are known as "migrants" and they can safely return home.

Before the Cortes' (2004) study proposing such a clear definition, refugees and migrants were grouped as "overseas-born residents" or citizens. But without considering the different experiences of each category, the receiving societies have insufficient understanding of settlement needs to make informed policy decisions.

The fact is that refugee experiences or any other difficult experiences are less likely to be forgotten. There is a common saying in Sudanese culture, that experiences that people have been through in life certainly would influence their future directions and expectations. And to that end, people from refugee backgrounds who have been in the camps in the first countries of asylum may well

be particularly influenced by their experience, in terms of their future life directions and expectations.

The Sudanese refugee experience.

In the above paragraphs I have argued the existence of collective displacement due to the factors identified. However, the focus in this context is on refugees and refugee problems, specifically on the problems of Sudanese refugees, which will be addressed in the later stages of this study.

The impact of disasters, such as famine and civil war, has caused heavy devastation in Sudan. According to a Food and Agriculture Organisation of United Nations (FAO) (2005) website report on food security in the world, nearly 12 million people, many of whom are refugees from Zimbabwe, Malawi and Sudan, were in need of emergency food assistance.

Being at war and having no food exposes refugees to poor health, serious security risks, and violence as well as many other unfavourable issues leading to building of an unforgettable experience, which could have a negative impact on those refugees. There is no clear evidence in the current literature of the existence of specific studies on the impact of camp experiences on resettlement outcomes of the Sudanese refugees resettling in New Zealand, Canada, USA or Australia. Therefore it is important this study takes place because it will certainly provide empirical evidence of how camp experiences influence refugees' life choices, future directions and expectations in the countries of resettlement.

The Significance of the Study

The unique characteristics of this research include that it is ethno-specific and an unprecedented opportunity for the Sudanese refugees who are resettling in the Auckland region and in the Hutt Valley to share the experiences they have been through while living in Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya. This research provides a full profile of the participants.

The results and recommendations from this research will inform the understanding of Sudanese refugee issues by the policy and decision-makers in

New Zealand in the Ministries of Health, Housing, Education and Social Development Services. Accordingly, they may develop better strategies and approaches to improving education and employment outcomes for refugees.

Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into the following chapters: Introduction, Literature Review, Research Methodology, Research Findings, Discussion and Analysis and Recommendations.

The Introduction Chapter provides the researcher's personal account, and a brief background about Sudan and its north-south conflict. It also describes the research background, the purpose and the research questions.

 The Literature Review Chapter covers topics specific to refugee issues drawn from scholarly articles, agencies' reports, official websites and other relevant sources including the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) website and its annual reports, starting with the refugee definitions, statistics of refugee populations in the global context and refugee experiences in the countries of asylum.

The review also covers the safety of refugees in the camps, while waiting for the UNHCR's durable solutions. The chapter provides a narrative comparison model of resettlement in four countries: New Zealand, United States of America, Canada and Australia. Because this thesis is about Sudanese refugees specifically, it covers a wider view of their experiences in Cairo, Egypt and in Kakuma Refugee Camps in Kenya.

The Methodology Chapter covers the rationale for the use of a qualitative methodology and the selected research design, and provides details about the methods of data collection and analysis of findings.

The final chapters report on the themes emerging from the research findings regarding how the participants felt about their resettlement here in New Zealand, what their expectations were, and what has changed. Those chapters

also discuss the findings and make recommendations and conclusions drawn from the research.

The Rationale for the Study

From 1995 to 2007, New Zealand has accepted 250 Sudanese refugees. Most of these people have resettled in the Hutt Valley in Wellington and the rest have resettled in Auckland region. This study's area of interest is documenting the impact of refugees' experiences on the future directions and choices of people, because I believe that experiences people have been through in their lives certainly influence their future expectations and choices. This belief would resonate with all refugees who are coming from the first country of asylum to resettle in a third country.

Like many other refugee groups who are resettling here in New Zealand, the Sudanese Community is under-studied. I have checked Britain and European sources for specific refugee studies on the Sudanese refugees. There is an apparent lack of literature and information for providers of services for refugees and scholars to guide their decision-making in times of need.

This apparent lack of literature in New Zealand and elsewhere on the Sudanese refugee camp experience certainly supports the rationale for conducting this study. The intention is to document experiences of those Sudanese refugees who came from the "Kakuma Refugee Camp" and how those experiences have impacted on refugees' resettlement outcomes in New Zealand.

According to Pittaway and Bartolomei (2003) there is abundant evidence documented in the literature that many refugees have experienced some form of abuse, rape, oppression, or witnessed extermination, killing, looting and destruction of personal wealth; or have been in slavery, and forced exile. And these experiences have evidently affected many refugees both in the refugee camps and in the countries of resettlement, including New Zealand.

According to Bemak, Chung and Pederson (2003), many refugees are still being affected by their experiences as refugees even though they have already resettled in countries like Australia and New Zealand. The Sudanese refugees are

no different from other refugees who also could have experienced the horrors of leaving their home country, hardship of life in the refugee camps and trauma created by unmet needs and unrealistic expectations in the countries of resettlement.

For example, one South Sudanese said in a complaint to a settlement agency, when he found out that the next-door neighbour was a Sudanese from Northern Sudan. According to Deng (1995), a resettled refugee in Australia said they never shared a neighbourhood together before, even though we they came from the same country. Because they are at war, he argued that the settlement agencies should not to bring the North Sudanese near to his family.

Even though Australia, New Zealand and other countries offer resettlement to all refugees, including refugees from the same country (but of different ethnicities), simple things like sharing the neighbourhood could bring back bad feelings of the past experiences. However, these resurfacing scenes and feelings like the one above are a demonstration of bad and bitter relationships in the country of origin.

Despite the sensitivities such as those highlighted in the example above, all refugees have expectations in their new country. Refugees view resettlement as a second chance to have a better life, bring up children in safety, work to make money, buy a house and enjoy life. Therefore documenting their camp experiences will certainly provide an opportunity to provide information to resettlement support service providers so they can make informed service provision decisions. For example, my own experience resembles horror movies with people bleeding, so information would help my friends avoid inviting me to such movies.

The Auckland Regional Settlement Strategy (2007) states the government's commitment to fulfilling its international humanitarian obligations and responsibilities under the 1951 UN Convention and the 1969 OAU Convention. However there is no reference in New Zealand's resettlement policy to any studies about refugees' experiences in camps before arriving and what the impact of that could be on their resettlement outcome.

In conducting this study, I found no specific literature on the refugee camp experiences, in New Zealand or elsewhere, which I could refer to. The few studies identified, including Elliot and Gary (2000) and Burnett (1998), have focused only on the pathways and stages post reception in the resettlement country, paying no attention to experiences prior to resettlement.

Liev and Kezo (as cited in Refugee Voices' Literature Review, 2002), have proposed a model of integration, which combines both individual and social factors (social networking, visiting neighbours, participating in community social events). In their argument they have identified three groups of refugees:

1. Those refugees who have the will to resolve resettlement problems. This group have the potential not only to resolve their own problems but have the capacity to contribute to nation building in terms of participating in civic activities.

2. A second group who are negative and hostile towards the host community, because they have expectations that could not be met.

3. A third group, which is termed the "status quo" group that takes resettlement for granted and do not bother to make any efforts to improve their situation.

The integration of the three groups depends on processes and resettlement pathways. Liev and Kezo's argument emphasises the role an individual plays in the resettlement process; however the individual's experiences in the refugee camps would be a mitigating factor in the resettlement outcome if the policy makers were aware about their life in the camps.

The opportunity to interview a small sample of Sudanese refugee families resettling here in New Zealand over a five-year period would potentially influence understanding of the required elements for successful resettlement of refugees.

The Research Question

Living in the refugee camps exposes the refugees to unforgettable memories of hardships due to the nature of refugee camps. As will be discussed in the literature review, factors identified in various studies as influencing memories include: insecurity about personal safety and wellbeing; the camps' location; and strained relationships between refugees themselves and with the locals.

The question is, how did camp experiences impact on the resettlement of Sudanese refugees in New Zealand?

The study methodology uses culturally sensitive approaches to engage Sudanese refugees in the research. Participants agreed to share their own experiences and testimonies of the challenges and difficulties they faced in Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya, while waiting for an involuntary resettlement opportunity in a third country.

The data was collected through semi-structured interviews with five Sudanese families resettled in New Zealand for a period of five years and over, and is centred on these five themes:

1. The security experiences, particularly for individuals, as well as for all refugees, in Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya.

2. Individuals' experiences and the difficulties they faced in Sudan and in Kakuma camp before coming to resettle in New Zealand.

3. Expectations of resettlement in New Zealand.

4. Influence of the camp experiences on resettlement in New Zealand.

5. The impact of refugees' experiences on New Zealand resettlement outcomes.

The data collected was analysed through qualitative thematical analysis methodology, because according to Chamaz (2006), qualitative methodologies are deeply rooted in people's behaviours, experiences, knowledge, and beliefs.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter One covered the background to the study including the researcher's personal account, the research purpose, the research question and the country profile. However, this chapter discusses a number of factors regarding refugee issues in more depth. In particular, it discusses the issues that are relevant to the Sudanese refugee experiences documented in digitised catalogues, journals, scholarly articles, books, UNHCR's annual reports and research findings. The rationale for this review is to discuss the issues surrounding refugees and refugees' problems with emphasis on the experiences and challenges in the refugee-receiving countries, including New Zealand.

Section I: Refugee Definitions and Categories

Refugees are commonly understood as a people who leave their home countries due to factors such as civil wars and internal conflicts, and cross international borders in search of peace and safety. After World War II, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly entrusted the United Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) with two main and closely related functions: to protect refugees and to seek and promote durable solutions to their problems.

Historically, the UNHCR has defined a refugee according to the *UN 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention* Article, I A (2) as:

> Any person who, owing to a 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/her nationality and unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail him/herself of the protection of that country. (UN Convention, 1951)

However, further studies on refugees and refugee problems have found this definition to be describing only the realities many people faced in their home countries that forced them out to seek refuge, or made them unwilling to go back home, and did not include the experiences in the refugee camps in the countries of asylum or in the resettlement countries. Over time the refugee population has increased, and their needs have become more complex, and there have been calls

for a new definition which focuses on regions and origins of refugees and special programmes to address these new realities.

Among the regional bodies which recognised the exclusion of new realities was the 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) *Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa* (referred to as the 1969 OAU Refugee Convention).

This regional body identified that the 1951 Refugee Convention definition did not cover:

- those refugees who are under UN agencies other than UNHCR. For example the Palestinian refugees receiving protection and assistance from the United Nations Relief and Work Agency (UNRWA) and the Darfur refugees in Western Sudan supported by the UN Humanitarian Department;
- other reasons forcing people to flee their homeland such as external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order (OAU, 1969).

The quest to find an inclusive definition has inspired and encouraged scholars such as Hawkins (1972), who recognised that the refugee policy after World War II only categorised refugees under "military personnel" and "civilian refugees"*.* Mupedziswa (2001) for example has included additional definitions, categorising African refugees as "political", "freedom fighters" and "rural refugees" as well. Categorisation of refugees has been necessary in terms of easy processing of their claims and for the development of specialist programmes and services to meet their needs.

New classifications have been developed to address the issues of diversity in the refugee population and complexity of their needs. Among the reasons forcing people to leave home countries, the new studies found that famine and war were the biggest contributing reasons as to why people left their homelands. However, the fear of persecution due mainly to race, political beliefs and religion has also been reported as a factor, according to the UNHCR (2004). The *UNHCR Refugee Policy Development* Section 3.5 classified refugees under the following categories:

- women at risk;
- displaced persons with medical needs;
- family reunification;
- survivors of violence and torture;
- security and protection cases - individuals identified to be at risk (UNHCR Refugee Resettlement Handbook, 2004).

Although the categorisation of refugees has been mentioned by the UNHCR in the WWII aftermath, refugee policy also gained a new meaning during the Cold War in 1960s and 1970s, and during the political turmoil in Central Africa and South America in 1980s and 1990s when the refugee population increased and became ethnically diverse, due to ethnic cleansing and inter-tribal wars pushing many people away from their homelands. According to the UNHCR (2002), "the global refugee population has become increasingly diverse, and currently the organisation is providing protection and assistance to refugees from over 50 different countries" (p. 177). Further regional definitions were developed, including the 1984 *Cartagena Declaration on Refugees (1984)*, which defined refugees as "persons who flee their countries because their lives, safety or freedom have been threatened by generalised violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights or circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order" (p 3). The latter definition is more relevant to the 20th century refugee developments, because it addresses both the "individual persecution" element, and a range of other conditions which have forced people out of their home countries.

The 1969 OAU and the 1984 Cartagena declarations campaigned for the broader evolution of the definition of refugees. However, the practitioners and the UNHCR officials working with refugees on the ground believed that categorising refugees is important in terms of the provision of informed and specific services required by each refugee category.

Having these inclusive definitions has helped build strong relations between the UNHCR and regional and continental organisations with a refugee focus. The IOM, for example, has been entrusted with refugee transport from the camps to the third countries or from the camps to the home countries. According to the UNHCR

(2002), broadening the definition and the classification of refugees under specific categories has helped the UNHCR provide a coordinated approach to processes and promote its three durable solutions of: "voluntary repatriation" to the country-of-origin, in conditions of safety and dignity; "local integration" in the host community (countries of asylum); and "resettlement" in a third country, because the information obtained from each category will be used to help the UNHCR identify the differences and similarities in needs.

Statistics and refugee populations in a global context.

The refugee definitions from both eras (historical and modern) have addressed the fundamental issues of who is a refugee and the factors which forced refugees to leave their homelands. The categorisation of refugees has been a useful tool for regional and continental organisations to assist the UNHCR in finding durable solutions to the refugee problems locally and internationally. However this section is about how many people left "home" due to "well-founded fear" and are unwilling to return because of such fear in a global context.

The UNHCR requires all refugees to be registered individually in the camps or in urban cities in the countries of asylum (UNHCR, 2002). However, there is no guarantee in the accuracy of registration, because it varies considerably depending on the location and operational environment. Refugee registration for data collection occurs mostly in the developed countries. The information provided by the refugees themselves to the camps' officials is mostly inflated because many refugees are transients – they are moving in and out of refugee camps. The effect of this movement is that when individuals with less accurate information resettle in third countries, it very difficult to build a picture of their needs in terms of the actual number of refugees, family members and their whereabouts. According to the *UNHCR Statistic Year Book* (2005), industrialised countries need to know about, and locate the whereabouts of, refugee family members so they can plan on family reunification; knowing how many people they are expecting to come.

According to the UNHCR fieldworkers, inaccuracies in data occur because many refugees either have not understood, are not aware of the need to register with the UNHCR, or are still traumatized by the experiences of escaping danger (UNHCR, 2002). In spite of these factors, refugee registration does take place and

an estimated 11.4 million have been registered as hosted by Asia (55%), Africa (22%), Europe (14%), and Latin America, North America and Oceania (had 5%, 4% and 0.3% respectively) (UNHCR SYB, 2007).

The following Table 2 uses data extracted from *UNHCR SYB 2007* and illustrates the refugee population levels and trends in global context.

Table 2. Refugee Population by UNHCR Regions, end-2007

UNHCR regions	Refugees	People in refugee-like situations	Total refugees end-2007
Central Africa and Great Lakes - 1	1, 100,100	-	1,100,100
East and Horn of Africa	815,200	-	815,200
Southern Africa -	181,200	-	181,200
West Africa -	174,700	-	174,700
Total Africa*	2, 271,200		2, 271,200
Americas	499,900	4 87,600	987,500
Asia and Pacific	2, 674,200	1, 151,000	3, 825,200
Europe	1, 580,500	5,100	585,600
Middle East and North Africa	2, 654,000	67,600	721,600
Total, * Excluding North Africa.	**9, 679,800**	**711,300**	**11,391,100**

Source: UNHCR SYB 2007, p. 25

According to the UNHCR updated 2007 *Sharing Refugee Population Global Trend* report, the year 2005 recorded a decrease in the refugee population:

> Till the end of 2005, the refugee population was estimated to 8.7 million people, the lowest ever recorded since 1980, but suddenly with war in Iraq, which forced out up to 1.5 million Iraqis to seek refuge in the neighbouring countries, the figure stood at 9.9 million at the end of 2006 (excluding 4.4 million Palestinian refugees) the highest in five years. (UNHCR 2006, p. 2)

In conclusion, defining who is a refugee has helped the UNHCR to assess and assist the refugee population in the global context. Therefore, the relationship between the UNHCR and other regional and continental organisations has been critical, in order to address the gaps identified by the fieldworkers. This consistency in working in partnership with regional organisations has resulted in more needs

identification and provision of specialised services. The next sections will explore some of the needs and policies developed to address them.

Problems and policy challenges in asylum countries.

The previous part of this section outlined the definition and current population of refugees in the global context. The following section discusses the problems and challenges brought about by the presence of refugees in the countries of asylum.

There is a common saying in most cultures that "east or west, home is best", so when people run away from their homelands to seek refuge in other countries they hope to stay for a short period of time then return home. In the asylum countries the asylum seekers mostly stay in temporary dwellings made of sticks and plastic sheets. As the time goes by, these camp dwellings have become huge cities of tents and mud huts of permanent settlements. For asylum seekers the goal is to become a recognised refugee.

However, the 1951 Refugee Convention has not defined "asylum seeker" (UN Convention, 1951). Only the subsequent 1967 *Protocols Relating to the Status of Refugees* has defined an asylum seeker as "person or people who enter a country without meeting legal requirements for entry, or residence." This new definition, (which was not addressed in the 1951 Refugee Convention), has improved the legal understanding for people seeking asylum in a second country.

However, the processes of receiving refugees in the countries of asylum encounter many challenges in regard to the changing scope, scale and dynamics of refugees, because the asylum countries must rely upon statistics related to refugees and displaced people that are notoriously inaccurate and manipulated due to the movement of refugees in and out of states (UNHCR, 2000).

The UNHCR commissioned Jeff Crisp in 2000 to conduct a study focussing on patterns of displacement and principles and practices of asylum, including issues of security, rule of law, and integration of the displaced people in refugee-populated areas (Crisp, 2000). The study identified two terms: "the displaced" as someone who left home to escape persecution but remains within the country's borders; and "the refugee" as a person who has crossed an international border.

Both refugee and displaced persons are "homeless" (Crisp, 2000). As the West and Central Africa have been experiencing internal wars and political violence, social and human displacements (categorised as "displaced" and "refugee") are common: "there would appear to be a growing number of situations in which people are repeatedly uprooted, expelled or relocated within cross-state borders, forcing them to live a desperately insecure and nomadic existence" (UNHCR 1997, p. 33).

The fact is that civil wars and internal displacement in African states have been the major causes behind people's leaving their homes and, according to Crisp (2000), "in 1998 alone 280,000 refugees left Sierra Leone, 37,000 refugees left Sudan and 33,000 left Angola. On the other hand 236,000 refugees were repatriated back to Liberia and 195,000 to Sierra Leone" (p. 3).

The movement of refugees in and out of states in big numbers has brought some notable challenges in upholding the principles of refugee protection: "…there is a growing consensus amongst analysts and practitioners that refugee camps in Africa are becoming increasingly dangerous places" (Crisp, 2000, p. 9). In the periods of the 1960s and 1980s many African countries were engaged in the building of new nations; in spite of that they did exceptionally well in upholding the principles and practices of refugee law. They have provided strong support to their African fellows. The period between 1960 and 1980 in Africa was considered the "golden age" because the majority of African countries were generous in supporting refugees, with the exception of a few countries such as Ethiopia which did not act in accordance with the legal standards stipulated in the convention (Rutinwa, 1999).

Crisp's (2000) findings were also in line with other reports by analysts dealing with refugees who agreed that the period from 1960 to 1980 were "the golden-age period"; but with few challenges. According to Rutinwa (1999), African states have subsequently declined to provide a further golden age of support to African refugees and asylum seekers. The African states attribute that approach to growing fears in their own states; so their strategy has been to prepare to host all refugees in a "safe zone", mostly close to the borders of countries of origin.

The challenge presented by the African states is an indication of the hard-line policies some countries have applied in dealing with the UNHCR's-mandated refugees and asylum seekers who may be entering the country illegally. Indeed the question to ask the African governments then and now is why they have been changing from the positive hands-on response in 1960s and 1980s, to offhand negative responses such as returning refugees to their countries of origin (as it was in 1980s and 1990s). As a matter of fact this changed behaviour seems disassociated with the African traditions of charity, communal living and hospitality.

There are some facts in support of the idea that the golden age could have been fostered by ideologies, traditions and international aid policies. For example the notion of Pan-Africanism, the patriotic ideology under the leadership of people like Mo'alimu, Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda, could have influenced the hands-on positive polices towards refugee in the 1960s and 1980s: "refugee policies pursued by the states of Africa during the first 20 years of independence have often been attributed to the continent's "tradition of hospitality" (Crisp, 2000, p. 5). Another factor that could have influenced the hands-on policy in the 1960s to 1980s was that the number of African refugees was only one million compared to almost six million by the early 1990s (SYB, 2006).

However the new offhand policies in the 1990s seem to have been influenced by the call for democracy that advocates for the individual country's interest rather than the communal interest for Africans as one people. It could also be explained in the context of Verbitsky's (2006) two divergent models of refugee policy, which examined sovereignty (statist) approaches versus ones advocating individual rights.

Verbitsky's (2006) first model is the "security" model which explained that sovereign countries used legal measures to control the movement of refugees, because their presence could be a potential security risk to the national security in these countries, and possibly to regional and international security as well. The security model has two dimensions to it. Firstly, the dimensions of a deterrence and control mechanism, which means statist, will put restrictions on people's movements in and out of the borders. This model is not free from public rhetoric which often heightens a sense of concern for national security. The second

dimension is in the foreign policies implementing the resolutions of the UN Security Council solutions, such as the intervention for protection by UN agencies. The second model is about the individual's rights, which advocates for protection and free movement of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants based on individual merits. This model assumes a moral justification based on Human Rights declarations, compared to security models which emphasize the rule of law.

There is no doubt of a potential security risk if countries open up their borders without control. However there are also genuine fears of repercussion for those people holding different opinions which are opposed to the rulers. There are many genuine African refugees trapped in this situation. According to Crisp (2000), the factors behind the high numbers of displaced and asylum-seeking people include the struggle for independence in Africa, provision of international aid policy, and internal conflicts.

The countries of asylum only allow refugees to enter their territories on the condition that they stay in confinement facilities known as "refugee camps", as a gesture of good-will, while leaving their welfare up to the international community through the UNHCR to provide basic food and material for a refugee to survive. This "good-will" gesture is often referred to in the humanitarian community as "burden sharing". As a response to refugee needs, the donor states continue to provide funding through the UNHCR and according to Crisp (2000), "mitigating the impact of the refugee presence, it must be added that such assistance programmes have provided the African refugee-receiving states and its elites with a welcome source of foreign exchange, employment and commercial opportunities" (p. 5).

Another challenge facing the UNHCR and refugees in the countries of asylum is the rule of law in refugee-populated areas, and camp location. In fact refugee camps are often established within the borders of the host countries and close to the countries of origin, exposing refugees to the risk of air bombardments with long range military artillery. While in camps, refugees are exposed to criminal activities such as coercion, intimidation, domestic and sexual violence, forced marriages, forced recruitment into rebel forces, armed robbery and unwarranted arrest imposed by the refugee community leaders collaborating with local security

personnel. According to Crisp (2000), violence and instability in the refugee-populated areas:

> …jeopardizes the welfare of those people which the organization is mandated to protect; because it poses a threat to the lives and livelihood of the local population; because it adds weight to the argument that refugees are the source of insecurity, and that it is therefore legitimate for them to be excluded and/or forcibly repatriated from countries of asylum; and because insecurity in refugee-populated areas, especially when it involves cross-border attacks and incursion, can easily lead to a deterioration of inter-state relations, a widening pattern of armed conflict and additional population displacement. (p.11)

For example, in the Great Lakes region in Africa, internal conflict has been the driving force behind the massive movements of the Rwandan refugees to eastern Congo (DRC) and Burundi refugees' into Tanzania. It is a mandated responsibility of the UNHCR to identify the necessary and possible actions to prevent large-scale refugee movement being perceived as a threat to the local and national security by the host communities (Macrae, 1998). It could be argued, however, that refugees do not pose any threat to their host from the moment they enter into that country, because obviously refugees are escaping the danger from the homeland that they flee.

The UNHCR argues that the refugee receiving countries need to established refugee camps in areas reasonably accessible to the international community, but away from the borders of the countries of origins. According to the UNHCR Executive Committee (2001), asylum seekers should be allocated in safe and secure locations within the countries where they are seeking asylum, far away from the borders of the countries of origin. Although this sounds a reasonably achievable objective, countries like Uganda, Kenya and Rwanda ignored the argument and have proceeded to establish refugee camps in the areas closed to the borders of countries of origins. For example, Kakuma Refugee Camp in northern Kenya is established only 90 kilometres away from the Kenyan and Sudanese border. As the consequence of that, the safety of refugees has been compromised.

Crisp's (2000) findings suggest that the way forward is for the refugee-receiving countries to cooperate closely with the UNHCR and the international community to plan for appropriate sites, both suitable for relocation and big enough

to accommodate any new influxes. The UNHCR and individual refugees are expected to play their essential roles in separating genuine refugees from self-exiled criminals who might have committed theft or corruption; or potential political activists wanting to use the camp as recruiting grounds.

Another challenge facing refugees is creating the support system that prevents refugee settlements being used for subversive purposes, because the fact is that some camps are, or would become, homes for both criminals and genuine refugees; hence they become potential hubs for conflicts and public disorder. Article 2 of the *1951 UN Geneva Convention* states that "every refugee has duties to the country in which she or he finds herself or himself in, which require particularly that she or he conform to its laws and regulations as well as to measures taken for maintenance of public order." For instance, the participation of syndicated groups such as women and youth is vital to ensure transparency in peace building within the camp.

Section II: Refugee Experiences in Asylum

This section focuses specifically on the issues facing refugees and their children, while waiting for the UNHCR to provide suitable durable solutions. These issues include refugees' personal safety, the well-being of children, the problems and policy challenges brought about by the refugee presence in the receiving-countries of asylum, and the experiences refugees were facing that might have impacted on, or influenced, their resettlement outcomes in the countries of resettlement (usually known as the "third countries").

Children's safety in the camps.

According to a UNHCR (2000) report NGO fieldworkers were concerned and recommended to the UNHCR to commission an independent study on children's safety. The UNHCR agreed, and in 2000 commissioned Barbara Harrell-Bond to conduct a study on refugee children's safety in the camps, on the condition that the outcomes of the study would not be implied to represent the UNHCR official view on children's safety in camps. The UNHCR stipulated that the findings would be available as an information tool to those people working with the refugees on the

ground to gain a reasonable understanding of the issues facing refugee children in the camps (Harrell-Bond, 2000).

Harrell-Bond (2000) also explored the origin of refugee camps and who is responsible for the camp establishment; and the issue of whether there is any alternative to camps. The outcome of the study was not conclusive, but it found the refugee camps to be an authoritarian, institutionalised facility (Harrell-Bond, 2000). Such an administration means everything has to go through tedious bureaucracy, making the camps like prisons. The inhabitants are depersonalised and only exist as unnamed numbers. This description implies that camps are not healthy places to live, especially for children and young people, due to many reasons including insecurity and concerns for personal safety: "no-one freely chooses to move into a refugee camp to stay" (Harrell-Bond, 2000, p. 1).

Further evidence contesting children's safety in the camps is to be found in the study conducted by the Centre for Disease Control (CDC) in 2006 in nine refugee camps in Sudan. The study found the prevalence of acute malnutrition of between 20 and 70 percent among the Southern Sudanese children under five years old. This suggests that refugee camps are not getting enough food and are hostile places to grow as a child.

When it comes to the origin of the camp, Harrell-Bond (2000) has found it to be associated with European colonial exploitation of economic resources of Africa, dating to pre-independence Africa. According to that study, refugee camps are mostly diverse in terms of ethnicity. For example, the Kakuma Refugee Camp (KRC) is a home for many people from different countries with different cultures, languages, customs, and beliefs.

Being in refugee camps for many years has uprooted people culturally, depriving them of education and socio-economic development. This deprivation in the camps presents huge implications for the host countries in terms of safety and protection.

Living in hostile refugee camps has subjected people to change their perspectives, in order to adapt to a camp's requirements. There is evidence to

suggest that living conditions in refugee camps have forced refugees to learn new ideas. It is misunderstood with the common saying, "when one door closes, another opens". According to Harrell-Bond (2000), it is as if "being forced out is good for you, because uprooting people creates the conditions which make them more open to learning and accepting new ideas" (p. 2). Similarly the UNHCR report *Analysis of Refugee Protection Capacity Kenya* (2005) found out that being in refugee conditions will not only force a person to adapt, but keeps people under a constant pressure to move, be ruled, regulated and be in transition because they are not accepted by the local population anyway:

> Regional conflicts have had major adverse impact on security and indeed, the economy of Kenya. The number of refugees from the neighbouring states continues to strain available resources and poses a security risk due to proliferation of firearms. It is, therefore, in the national interest that such conflicts are peacefully solved and refugees returned to their countries. (p. 13)

In search of the best ways to address the children's safety in camps at a macro level, some other concepts such as "Ujamaa Village" and modernisation have been examined. Harrell-Bond (2000) viewed the refugee camp through the lens of the "Ujamaa Village", based on earlier studies of Ergas (1980). "Ujamaa" simply means to build a more egalitarian and just society. The assumption is that refugees, who have tribal ties with the local tribes in the countries of asylum, are more easily integrated and need less assistance from the international community; so their children's safety is addressed indirectly when their parents and the community live in peace. The validity of this assumption needs further study.

The Ujamaa concept has encouraged the UNHCR to define settlement as "*a deliberate*" coherent package; an administrative measure whereby a group of refugees is enabled to settle on lands (usually in uninhabited or "depleted or sparsely-populated" areas) with a view to creating new self-supporting rural communities (Harrell-Bond, 2000).

The Ujamaa Village has not been the only option considered. The UNHCR has also looked into another concept called the "agricultural cooperative", which seek to assist refugees' integration through the agricultural settlement approach (Harrell-Bond, 2000). In the refugee resettlement context this means an

opportunity for poor people to raise their incomes; empowering them to develop their own solutions; increasing the security for the refugees; creating opportunities to contribute directly and indirectly to primary education of the children; contributing to gender equality and reducing child mortality. Again the goal was to find solutions at a macro level to address the micro problems (Harrell-Bond, 2000).

At the macro level, the UNHCR was advised by the British Refugee Council (BRC) to give the United Nations Development Fund (UNDP) contract to invest money in local institutions to build capacity of the hosts' infrastructure for the benefit of both refugees and the countries hosting them (BRC, 1984). Although, technically, refugees are hosted in the camps on a temporary basis, there is evidence that many refugees have not been able to go back to their countries of origins for many years according to the BRC (1984). Therefore the development of local systems will benefit refugees and children. For example, Afghani refugees are still in Pakistan, Somalis in Ethiopia, and the Sudanese, Somali and Ethiopian refugees have been in Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps in Kenya for 20 years, because the conditions in the countries of origin are not improving.

The conditions in the refugee camps are not improving either despite the UNHCR strategies and studies, because the funding has not been available. The CARE Organisation (2006) has reported that major funding cuts by the international community have dramatically increased tensions among the 140,000 refugees, the majority of whom are Somalis, living in the Dadaab camps in the North Eastern province of Kenya.

The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan report (2008) described the Jalozai refugee camp on the Pakistan-Afghan border as a remanded "mental health-like facility" with few chances of integrating inhabitants into the host society. This segregation would be unlikely to advance the course of children's safety in any way.

Despite the fact these camps are established in areas of ethnic similarity, there is no reference to who is responsible for camp establishment, or why refugees have to remain in poorly served camps like Kakuma in northern Kenya. The UNHCR (2002) categorically denies any involvement in establishing the

refugee camps in the first place, shifting the responsibility of establishment and development of the policies that confine refugees into camps to the countries where these camps are situated. This leaves the question unanswered of who established the refugee camps, and why.

The argument behind establishing refugee camps is based on security reasons and refugees have always lived in the camps, therefore the argument of refugees being a threat to the hosting states' security is unfounded. Instead, as Harrell-Bond (2000) and others have found: "in fact, it is very well known that congregating refugees in camps can actually create insecurity" (p. 5).

The discussion above addresses children's safety at a macro level. However, the following examples illustrate direct threats to children's safety in the camps. Firstly, typically the camp location and distance from the country of origin expose the refugees and especially the children to enemy attack.

In addition, children in the KRC suffer from lack of good health care. Health services are primitive. Harrell-Bond (2000) found that the number of women requiring caesarean sections was high; suggesting that growing up malnourished may be the reason why so many refugee women from Southern Sudan have pelvises too small to deliver babies normally. Besides that, children's safety is also compromised by domestic violence, alcohol abuse, limited socialisation, depression and anxiety from adults with little or no hope for positive change.

Children's resiliency is most affected by domestic violence, because the families become dysfunctional, depressed and hopeless, with associated ill health and other complexities: "whatever is happening at home, children in the camp are growing up in conditions which do not permit their socialisation according to the values of their own culture" (Harrell-Bond, 2000, p. 7). The table below summarizing the camp impact on children's behaviour was developed from Harrell-Bond report.

Table 3. Camp Impact on Children's Behaviour.

Passive (children in refugee camps)	Active (normal children)
Dependent	Independent
Mendacious	Truthful
Unquestioning	Enquiring

Source: UNHCR (2000)

Also, refugee children born in the KRC are not registered. According to Muia, Liambila, Fariyal, Olenja, Macharia, and Jagwer (2002), in a report made for the Kenyan Population Council, refugee parents in Kakuma Refugee Camp in northern Kenya cannot officially register their newborn babies. This contradicts the provisions of Article 27, of the 1951 *UN Refugee Convention* which states that: "the Contracting States shall issue identity papers to any refugee in their territory who does not possess a valid travel document".

Lack of food and clean water is affecting children's safety and growth. When children are not getting enough food they could go on the streets to beg for food or steal and that is unsafe. According to the Windle Trust Kenya (WTI) (2006) *English Programme in Kenya – Kakuma Refugee Camp*, illiteracy and innumeracy are also issues facing adults as well as children. The people of Africa will only be able to effectively meet the challenges they face when they are equipped with the education and training to solve the problems themselves.

Children are also not safe in the darkness of night in and around the camps. Nightfall means the end of activities for aid workers, except for those officials guarding the camps: "although nocturnal life differs in many respects from social life during the day, it is highly under-researched, and daytime appears to be perceived as the standard for human existence within social and historical studies" (Vogler, 2006, p. 2).

There are no specific studies about the night time in and around the KRC. However Vogler (2006), Roger (2006), and Steger, Brunt & Lodewijk (2003) have conducted the few studies in and around the camps close to Mae Hong Son in Northern Thailand with the Karenni refugee population. Their findings unveiled the

darkness that shrouds the refugee night time from dusk to dawn. According to Meh (cited in Vogler, 2006) one woman contemptuously said she disliked the evening because all the people come back home and most of children cry and shout. She said evenings were noisy, not like early morning when it is quiet.

Crimes such as rape and murder are mostly committed at night. Thwe's study (cited in Vogler, 2006), reporting on the autobiography of a former soldier who was a refugee camp resident, concluded: "The Thai soldiers should protect us but now they are living with us committing these crimes" (p. 16).

Other unexplainable phenomena refugees experienced at night in Thailand include: "Supernatural Powers", the "Sudden Unexpected Nocturnal Death Syndrome" (SUNDS), "Full Moon Spirit Possession" (FMSP), and "Lunar Night Singing" (LNS) referred to as "Crazy Woman". Chambers and Cornway (1991) have explained these inexplicable claims of supernatural existence with the idea that the human activities in this area might have offended *Nats* (local spirit) and other spirits. Chambers and Cornway's (1991) explanation has created doubts in the minds of the people who would normally contest these claims. Western anthropologists have convinced physical and mental health professionals about the significance of the traditional values of cultural and spiritual beliefs as an alternative to western health systems in dealing with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).

In conclusion, the illustrations above have looked into children's safety in camps from macro to micro levels. However, the issues are unresolved. The children's safety as a concern remains unchanged despite the UNHCR-commissioned (and other impending studies') reports and recommendations. Confronting the issues affecting children's safety seems to be beyond the current ability of the UNHCR and associates.

Section III: Sudanese Refugees' Experiences

This section deals with Sudanese experiences in refugee camps. It is important to understand how they have felt about being refugees. Arguably their experiences

could potentially have an impact on their resettlement outcomes in the third countries.

Both North and South Sudan have been at civil war with each other for decades. As a result, much has been lost: many lives, properties, civil liberties and almost everything everyone has worked for. The new episode of this war intensified in 1983 when a number of South Sudanese army officers organised themselves into what later became the strongest liberation movement in modern history. The fact is that many Sudanese were forced to seek refuge in countries such as Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Congo and Egypt.

Refugee experiences differ from country to country due to the fact that in some countries (such as Kenya and Uganda), many refugees live in established refugee camps whereas in Egypt refugees are living in the urban cities of Cairo and Alexandria. The UNHCR (1997) noted that many Sudanese refugees are political and freedom fighter types. The organisation noted this during the development of appropriate and responsive resettlement programmes in 1997.

The following selected examples exhibit the Sudanese refugee experiences in urban settings and refugee camps. These examples are extracted from the UNHCR/NGOs field staff reports; specific research about these Sudanese in Cairo, Egypt and in Kakuma, Kenya; and reports from local and international media.

Sudanese refugees in Cairo – Egypt.

Cairo is located at the crossroads of two major refugee-producing regions, Africa and the Middle East. Also Cairo's proximity to Europe across the Mediterranean Sea provides an uninterrupted flow of asylum seekers in and out, making it a unique and fascinating context for refugee studies in Africa and the Middle East. According to a UNHCR (2005) report, there were at least 30,000 registered Sudanese refugees in Cairo alone.

According to Zohry, in a report prepared for the American University in Cairo (AUC) Forced Migration and Refugee Studies programme (2005), Cairo is currently home to 20,500 recognised refugees from other countries including

Sudan. This makes Cairo the largest recognised urban refugee population in the world. Despite the differences in figures, both the UNHCR (2005) and AUC (2005) agree that Cairo has annually referred approximately 4,000 refugees (out of whom 80% were Sudanese) for resettlement in the United States, Canada, Australia and other smaller refugee-receiving countries, making it the largest regional office in the world referring refugees for resettlement as a durable solution.

According to the AUC (2005), Sudanese and other refugees have experienced difficulty in finding accommodation and schooling for their children; have been living as fugitives while waiting for the refugee status determination by the UNHCR; and endure continuous suffering via the harassment from the Egyptian Immigration Police.

Another experience on a larger scale was that of the Sudanese refugees in Cairo who suffered from the drastic measures taken by the UNHCR upon signing of the peace agreement. The Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) and Government of Sudan (GOS) signed the Sudan Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005. The UNHCR Cairo Office assumed that the signing of the CPA would automatically end the civil war. As a gesture of good faith the UNHCR granted all the Sudanese asylum seekers temporary protection rather than subjecting them to individual Refugee Status Determination (RSD), which is considered the normal way the UNHCR works in other similar situations (Mahmoud, 2005).

The Cairo office action has been seen as an arbitrary or unlawful action, which gave the Egyptian police the legitimacy to arrest people indiscriminately, violating the fundamental laws governing refugee protection. According to the *Refugee Protection Guide of International Refugee Law* (2001) published by the UNHCR (2001), the Egyptian government has the legal responsibility to stop these arbitrary detentions. However, the Egyptian government has no official mechanism through which to engage with the concerns of the refugees.

But despite the size of the Sudanese refugee population in Cairo, there has been little research conducted to explore the impact of their experiences on the resettlement process. The Human Rights Commission (2006) has found that the

Sudanese refugee community in Egypt is a mixture of all tribes of the South, including different professions, but the majority are from the Dinka tribe, the largest tribe in Sudan (and Africa as well); in addition to a considerable number of refugees from other parts of Sudan. It is important to acknowledge the ethnic diversity in the refugee population, because it is a factor in the conflict: "Ethnic identity is used in Sudan to describe the way individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others on the bases of race, religion, ethnic, language and culture" (Deng, 1995, p. 1).

The fact is that the Sudanese refugee population in Cairo is ethnically diverse but those refugees received the same bad treatment from the local Egyptians. They have been harassed by the police, landlords, and other local authorities, while waiting for the UNHCR's durable solutions. Their experiences could have been a significant determinant of refugees' success or the failure in the resettlement countries.

The following selections, extracted from newspapers and reports on refugee issues, are illustrations of the difficulties:

> I expected the Egyptians to treat us from Sudan as brothers like we treat the Egyptians living in Sudan, but they treated us harshly. I also expected UNHCR to be responsible for the refugees who arrived in Egypt from Sudan but no assistance was given to the refugees. They are left to look after themselves without health and educational services which are very basic for any human being, refugees or citizens: Sudanese refugee interviewed by the Australian newspaper. (*The Age,* 16 September, 2001)

To summarise, the Sudanese refugees in Cairo have faced issues of unsatisfactory accommodation, poor health services, lack of education and police harassment. Despite that, a small percentage has found resettlement opportunities in a third country. However, the majority of Sudanese are still in Cairo waiting to be forced to return home regardless of what conditions prevail there. It is appropriate to conclude this section by saying that whatever the experience refugees have been through, it will remain with some people for rest of their lives. The following said by a Dinka male refugee resettled in Canada:

> I was surprised by the racism and bad treatment of cleaning ladies known as "Usheen". The Egyptian lady in the house I worked would say bad things and I would eat the same food as the dogs. Sadly thing was that another cleaner

(Usheen) from Sudanese was killed by her Egyptian employer and nobody did anything about it. (Steger, Brunt & Lodewijk (2003), p. 16)

Sudanese refugee experiences in Kenya.

In contrast to Egypt, Kenya, which itself is an ethnically diverse country (the majority of the Kenyans come from Nilotic, Cushitic and Bantu descent) is hosting a large number of refugees of ethnically diverse community groups from different nationalities, brought together to seek refuge due to internal conflict in their home countries: "Different conflicts in the region brought together people from nine countries and 18 ethnic groups" (Jamal, 2000, p.28). The diversity of the refugees in Kenya is illustrated in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Number of Refugees by Country of Origin in Kenyan Refugee Camps.

Country of origin	Number of refugees
Somalia	154,800
Sudan	163,300
Ethiopia	11,500
Other	3,700
Total	**332,200**

Source: UNHCR (2001)

There are two refugee camps the UNHCR and Kenyan government have established in the towns of Kakuma and Dadaad. These areas are harsh semi-arid areas in Kenya. Obura (2002) has described both areas as geo-politically hostile locations, and they are hosting large numbers of refugees in confinement-like camps. Although Kenya is a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention, and ratified the OAU Convention (1967) and Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), refugees do not enjoy freedoms or rights credited to them by the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1969 OAU Convention.

According to the UNHCR, (2002) refugees are recognised on a *prima facie* basis, therefore they are protected from the "refoulement" but they are deprived of the possibility of integration into the socio-economic system of the country. The term "refoulement" means refugees are protected from being returned to places where their lives or freedoms could be threatened. "Non-refoulement" is the idea

that it is illegal for states to expel or return ("refouler") refugees who have a well-founded fear of persecution:

> When refugees cross a border to escape an ongoing conflict, they are recognised as refugees on a prima facie basis. This temporary protection approach means in essence the recognition by the host state of refugee status on the basis of readily apparent, objective circumstances in the country of origin giving rise to the exodus. Its purpose is to ensure admission to safety, protection from refoulement and basic humanitarian treatment. (UNHCR, 2001, p. 6)

According to a UNHCR (2003) report, the majority of the Sudanese refugees are living in the KRC (one of the biggest camps in the world) in the north of Kenya. The camp was established in 1992 as a response to a flow of approximately 30,000 Sudanese "lost boys" mainly, which refers to the Sudanese boys who were displaced and forced into Ethiopia, then back to Sudan and eventually into the Kakuma Refugee Camp (KRC). The KRC is situated in the Turkana district in the Rift Valley Province, one of the poorest and remotest parts of Kenya (UNHCR, 1999).

According to Bartolomei (2003), the northern part of Kenya has been identified as hot and dry with temperatures reaching 40°C, causing severe drought, floods and famines that affect mankind, animals and plants alike. The part is also vulnerable to instability although there are no organised armed conflicts as such. However, occasionally it is penetrated by armed people from the neighbouring countries of Uganda, Ethiopia and Somalia.

Due to the effects of climate and neglect from the central government in Nairobi, the local population lives in absolute poverty with no access to essential services. Research on conditions of living in this area described that: "the depth of poverty is 26% for Turkana district, one of the highest percentages in Kenya. In other words, monthly income levels are 26% below the monetary poverty line" (Buchanan & Lind, 2005, p. 24).

The research has reported that tens of thousands of refugees have come to live and share the scarce resources of this hostile piece of land. Buchanan and Lind's (2005) research alerted the UNHCR's operating agencies to develop this region so that the local population have access to the services provided to the

refugees, to avoid the criticism that refugees are exploiting the land rather than developing it. Therefore, with permission from the refugees, the Turkana (the local population) have access to the refugees' free education, health services and clean drinking water; still they feel discriminated and left out: "we gave you this land to give us some food" (Jamal, 2002).

Jamal (2002), who is a local scholar, investigated the feelings of local Turkana about the presence of refugees in their district, and agrees with Buchanan & Lind's (2005) findings. Jamal's report states that:

> The refugees bring benefits, but the Turkana are so disadvantaged that such benefits and services only remind them of their underprivileged status. They are unable to take advantage of even the trickle down economic effects of the refugee and international presence in Kakuma.... (Jamal 2002, p. 28)

The Obura report (cited in Jamal, 2002), has identified the irony of the situation in saying: "the host population would like to benefit more in economic and development terms from the presence of the refugees while the refugees would welcome the opportunity of increased trading with the host population" (2002, p. 6).

Turkana thus claim that refugees are using their resources yet their (refugees') standard of living is better than their own. However, refugees for their part constantly suspect Turkana are the source behind various crimes committed in the camp during the nighttimes. The relations between refugees and Turkana in the area keep deteriorating due to the perpetual competition over scarce resources – water and firewood are particularly in high demand.

The pressure put by the refugees on the local resources is truly enormous; particularly in the collection of firewood, which affects Turkana cattle's grazing lands. Continuation of this pressure often leads to fierce inter- fighting between the two groups. For example there was a fight between the Dinka refugees and Turkana in Kakuma III camp over missing cattle. Eight refugees and two Kenyan nationals were killed, many people injured from both sides and services were paralysed in a week-long fight (UNHCR, 2003). According to Aukot (2003), almost 30,000 people were displaced and re-camped into public places (e.g., schools, churches) in Kakuma camps I and II. The refugees themselves have not accepted

the way this dispute was handled: "many refugees criticized the performance of the regular police forces stationed in the Camp" (UNHCR 2003, p, 13).

According to Smolinsak (cited in Aukot, 2003), after the June 2003 clashes between the locals and the refugees, the police forces, aided by the General Service Unit (GSU), managed to calm down the situation. Despite such power-brokering efforts from the security forces, refugees still did not live at ease with the locals. This was the view held by many people in the field of refugee support in the area classifying KRC as: "a situation where neither integration nor assimilation seems possible" (Aukot, 2003, p. 80).

Some other issues raised by the Turkana which are not relevant to refugees are related to employment. Turkana have alleged that employers favour outsiders (foreigners), and non-refugees. The Turkana have argued that all the NGOs are headed by foreigners and they are practicing nepotism, tribalism, and favouritism, stereotyping Turkana as primitives and unqualified. This thinking seems to have been erroneously borrowed by some commentators who ignore how irrelevant the issue is to the refugee protection, and instead have written:

> Although 85% of jobs in the camp are supposedly reserved for the local people, only a few of the Turkana are qualified for better-paid posts. However, those who do have necessary qualifications tend to be highly politicizing something, which has contributed to regular disputes over the issues such as recruitment, dismissal and promotion. (Aukot, 2003, p. 77)

Section IV: Research on Refugee Resettlement

Refugee resettlement is likely to be understood positively when it is viewed from a broader perspective, as an international humanitarian response to a life threatening crisis facing groups, communities and nations in their home countries.

According to SYB (2007) there are 11.4 million mandated refugees in 50 countries worldwide and only twenty or fewer countries in the world, including New Zealand, offering an opportunity to resettle just a fraction of refugees. For two decades New Zealand has been providing a resettlement opportunity for up to 750 refugees under an operation known as Global Quota System (GQS). It has been able to use this GQS in exceptional circumstances to bring refugees to New

Zealand who are facing dangers of a life threatening nature. Verbitsky (2006), in an article "New Zealand Government Policy: Refugee Policy", states: "New Zealand's willingness to accept these refugees has brought it international respect for its humanitarianism" (Verbitsky, 2006, p. 652).

General resettlement factors.

Certainly, there are many issues faced in the resettlement process such as learning a new language, finding employment, understanding the secular health system, family reunification, discrimination and so on; many more than those I have discussed here. The fact is that some of these factors are positive and easy to address in a short time, others are difficult and require a long time to develop the best ways to address them.

To identify these variables many studies have been conducted in the United States, New Zealand, Canada, Australia and other countries. However, the majority of these studies have been largely on the resettlement of refugees from Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia) in the 1980s and 1990s. Fewer studies have been conducted on the African refugees, such as McSpadden and Moussa (1993); Matsuoka and Soresnson (1999); and McSpadden (1999); and the studies on Ethiopian and Eritrean refugees resettling in North America, with Holtzman (2000) and AbuSharaf (2000) addressing the Sudanese refugees resettling in America.

The fact is that some studies on refugee resettlement have viewed resettlement factors in a "generic fashion", assuming that refugees are refugees and they have experienced similar issues, therefore, a "one-size-fits-all" solution would simply fix their problems. For example, in the NZ context the UNHCR-mandated refugees stay at the Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre on arrival for six weeks during which they receive basic information about NZ, have a medical check, get an introduction to the English language and then move to a Housing New Zealand property in resettlement areas (Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington, Christchurch and Napier) (Verbitsky, 2006). Both the UNHCR-mandated refugees and asylum seekers receiving permanent residence have access to resettlement services and programmes.

Verbitsky (2006) acknowledges that the services are scattered and refugees have to negotiate their way through many government and NGO agencies to access the needed services. This is similar to all other refugee resettlement countries. For example, in New Zealand and Australia the UNHCR- mandated refugees have access to State Housing. However in the USA and Canada it is the responsibility of individual refugee to find an affordable house.

Finding affordable housing is not a challenge-free experience, according to Carter and Osborne (2009), reporting on their study "Housing and neighbourhood challenges of refugee resettlement in declining inner city neighbourhoods". They found that refugees face difficulties in searching for affordable housing in low decile areas, because some areas are attractive to other low-income groups particularly aboriginals migrating from reservations and remote communities.

So although the law grants accessibility to resettlement services and programmes, resettlement is not challenge free. Refugees have to go through a number of stages in order to get access to a particular service or programme. Verbitsky (2006) has identified that: "assistance which directly addresses the specific needs of refugees as they attempt to integrate into society is limited, and refugees confront well-documented difficulties in adjusting to life in the host country" (p. 653).

Another major challenge facing all refugees is the discrimination in accessing resettlement services, especially services where there is high demand such as housing, health care, education and employment. Such challenges can be a nightmare for refugees. Carter and Osborne (2009) found out that in the US, "landlords have greater flexibility to discriminate based on a range of characteristics: race, ethnicity, colour, lack of references from the previous landlords, perception of problem tenants and other factors" (p. 322). Discrimination has also been reported to exist in Australia and New Zealand. Verbitsky (2006) confirmed that refugees and new immigrants are facing visible discrimination: "Refugees are one of the three groups – the others being 'Asian' and 'Recent immigrants' – most perceived to experience discrimination in New Zealand" (p. 654).

Although both the Verbitsky (2006) and Carter and Osborne (2009) studies agree on the existence of discrimination, each study viewed it from a different perspective. For Verbitsky the underlining issue is the diversity and varying levels of English language in the refugee community, whereas for Carter and Osborne it is the visibility that often exposes them to discrimination. Obviously, both diversity and visibility are the facts of life in the refugee community; it is unfortunate they become the reasons to discriminate against refugees.

Among other issues facing refugees in New Zealand in broader terms is placement. Placement decision-making is common in New Zealand resettlement policy, but it can be controversial, especially when the goal of government and the settlement support a service has been driven by geographical location rather refugee needs.

In my view, resettling refugees in places traditionally not aware of refugee needs could potentially lead to a backlash from the local community, and this is likely to need more resources to address both refugees' needs and local community needs to understand refugees. According to Grogan (2008), scattering refugees across different communities places high demand not only on resettlement services, but also on the development of cultural competencies in the host community.

Retention of cultural identity in terms of cultural beliefs, traditions and customs is also a resettlement issue, which also has been generically examined in the literature. Earlier studies of this variable includes Berry (1997), who examined cultural issues in resettlement under what he called "acculturation", a term encompassing various aspects of lifestyle in the host society such as diet and family dynamics. Berry (1997) argues that the refugee community put up with a risk of acculturation, because of the transitional nature of resettlement. Things like diet and food change, climate change and lifestyle in the host countries severely affect refugees.

Berry's (1997) argument may not be conclusive, because it requires further studies involving the refugee community to ascertain the scale of the impact of transition on the level of risk in the community, especially for young people.

In *Cultural Identity: Adaptation and Wellbeing of Somali Refugees in New Zealand*, Abdi Bihi (1999) viewed refugee resettlement as involving: restoration of the lost (health, family and getting basic needs met); maintenance of own cultural identity; and transformation. Bihi's (1999) holistic view has left out refugees' lived camp experiences and the impact on their restoration, maintenance of cultural identity and transformation.

Other factors involved in resettlement include family reunion, maintenance of family members left behind, transfer of funds, understanding of the health system in the new countries, community participation and community building; all of which also have a great impact on resettlement outcomes, but they are under studied.

In an attempt to address the family reunification factors, the refugee communities and NGOs in the resettlement countries have been pushing it into the resettlement agenda. However, the UNHCR has never considered it a priority in its policy operations. Although everyone (refugees, refugee-receiving-countries and the UNHCR) agrees on the role that families play in building a cohesive and inclusive society, they differ greatly over the definition of the "family".

There is no generic and agreed to definition of family in the refugee context. In the countries of resettlement, according to DeFrain, Brand and Swanson (2008), family is the place where the vital socialisation and teaching on how to survive and strive in the world begins; however there is still no generic definition. Similarly, Murdock (1949) states: "Family is a social group characterised by common residence, economic cooperation and production" (p. 2). However, in non-western societies, for example in the African context, a network of relationships is considered an integral part of family, including non-blood relations.

Leaving a home country in isolation with no family members around has potential impact on mental health and physical wellbeing. The few studies on the

impact of living without family members which have been conducted on refugees have indicated that the people without family members suffer high rates of mental health disorders. According to the report to the Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Research (1988) on issues affecting immigrants and refugees in Canada, *Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees*: *After the door has been opened* having missing family members is a barrier to finding suitable and professional trades, learning the new language and so on. Here in New Zealand I believe there are an unknown number of refugees living with mental health problems because of the lack of support from family members because they are not here, combined with a feeling of systemic discrimination and so on. I suggest that all these factors compound together and push refugees in this situation to severe mental health instability.

Because they lack family members, many refugees are suffering from mental health issues. According to Wahlbeck (1998), Kurdish refugees arriving in the UK from Turkey hardly ever speak the English language on arrival, and many of them face problems in finding jobs and are forced to work in "sweat shops". These issues are facing refugees everywhere; for example, in New Zealand, refugees are confronted with the lack of New Zealand experience, understanding by employers, New Zealand qualifications, and language fluency; all this compounded with racism (Basnayake, 1999).

It is never easy for refugees to establish new careers without evidence of qualifications. Valtonen (1998) noted that it is very difficult for refugees with university and professional accreditation equivalency to practice. Refugees often find their skills or qualifications not directly transferable and are required to undergo further training in resettlement countries.

It seems to me, what with missing family members combined with unemployment, due lack of local skills and their qualifications unrecognised by the host authorities, that refugees feel indirectly rejected; and all their immediate aspirations such as finding jobs, owning a home, family support/reunification and so on, will be lost in the effort of fighting for recognition of their qualifications and the professional trades they represent. Not meeting expectations of their own

selves could make resettlement a challenge for both host society and for refugees. Beiser (1999) maintains it is in the interest of the host societies to make resettlement as easy as possible; but the risk that refugees or migrants will not become societal liabilities as a result warrants further study.

Being unable to meet their own expectations could lead to loss of motivation, anxiety, depression and other serious mental health illnesses for the refugee. According to Silove (1994), refugees are likely to have experienced a continuous trauma for a long time. Whether Silove is correct or not, the fact is refugees are at risk of high level of post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety and depression. In "Post trauma disorder features in refugees in New Zealand", Aggett (1996) examined PTSD in the refugee community in New Zealand. The research findings suggest that between 20 and 60 percent of refugees have undergone severe PTSD, which appears in the form of somatic pain, sleep disorders and flashbacks of bad memories. Although they may present pseudo-resilience to these challenges, nevertheless they will not by-pass a breaking-point (Aggett, 1996). The Aggett findings suggested that trauma lives with refugees for a long time and although they may appear happy, a simple thing could trigger PTSD symptoms.

Resettlement studies on Sudanese.

Like many other refugees, the Sudanese refugees' experience all the resettlement issues discussed above. It has been difficult for the Sudanese to understand the resettlement issues and the time it takes to integrate into the new societies.

In the refugee literature, there appears to be a widespread assumption that all refugees have had the same experiences, and Sudanese refugee experiences are not exempt from such assumptions. However, consistent with theories of stereotyping, limited and sometimes erroneous information would be acquired about refugees if one relied extensively on these general assumptions.

Jan D. Holtzman's (2000) work, *Nuer Jounerys, Nuer Lives: Sudanese Refugees in Minnesota* was the first study on the Sudanese which tested assumptions. This ethnography of Sudanese Nuer refugees in Minnesota USA

discussed resettlement variables such as adjustment to integration, learned materialism, difficulties with changing gender relations, and employment and labour market participation in the Minnesota context. The study found that two-thirds of Sudanese refugees never had paid jobs in Sudan because they either were self-employed or worked on their own farms; and working in Minnesota was their first experience of working for a pay. Holtzman (2000) has not mentioned other variables such as: family reunification, acculturation, multiculturalism, marginalisation, and their lived experiences in the refugee camps, which could have potential impact on their resettlement in Minnesota.

Holtzman's (2000) study has also not looked at how the Sudanese refugees dealt with the issues of discrimination, assimilation and integration and the impact of those factors on their resettlement into American society. In general terms, all refugees have experienced the effects of discrimination, assimilation and integration, but the most acute issue is discrimination. Elliot (1997) has reported the existence of prejudice against refugees from the host community. Valtonen (1998) has mentioned racism as a factor hindering successful integration in resettlement countries. Earlier studies of McSpadden and Moussa (1993) and Robinson (1993) identified the visibility of black African refugees as the barrier to their integration, which was also echoed in recent findings of Verbitsky's (2006). Yet, there are no specific studies conducted on any particular community to verify these findings of discrimination.

Apart from the resettlement factors of acculturation, integration and assimilation, Sudanese refugees also deal with issues of learning new languages (Canada for example has two official languages: French and English), skill training to find suitable jobs, acclimatisation and adjustment to the neighbourhoods that are ignorant of the newcomers.

Abusharaf (2002), in his work: *Wandering: Sudanese Migrants and Exiles in North America,* a study of Sudanese immigrants in North America, provides insight into the experiences of Sudanese in the unique cultures of the United States and Canada. The study explores the issue of social integration, which is a long process for newcomers that can be measured in relative terms by learning sufficient English language and finding jobs, compared to Holtzman's (2000) study, which is

about the difficulties of adjusting to a new society. These studies ran short of asking the basic question of: "What experiences have these refugees been through in the refugee camps?"

Family reunification.

Family reunification has been referred to in many refugee studies as the most important element for successful resettlement, alongside other elements such as employment, education, and so on. However the definition of a "family" has presented as a major issue in the refugee resettlement process. Generally, many refugees, and in particular the Sudanese individuals, have not been able to bring their family members with them to the country of resettlement due to differences in the definitions of what constitutes "family" .

In the African context, and according to Stoll & Johnson (2007), the family consists not only of blood-related kin, but includes the tribal network that cannot be directly traced back to specific blood relations. For Sudanese, culturally being in a "spider web" of family members is a significantly important element in the maintenance of social and physiological wellbeing of individuals in the society. In Shandy's (2003a) study, "Nuer Christians in America", staying in touch with family members is significantly important for the Sudanese refugees. Shandy states that "Sudanese in US communicate in the same way as everyone else: fax, phone, electronic mail, letters, and photos; videocassette recordings and personal visits" (Shandy, 2003a, p.7).

As a result, the resettlement countries often are discouraged by these hard to understand family webs of relationships at attempting to define "family", because in those countries the "family" definition means the nuclear unit consisting of mother, father and mostly 2 children. However, even if there were some forged agreement between refugees and resettlement countries on the definition of family, the UNHCR do not see the family reunification as the reason for referring refugees for resettlement, despite its commitment to upholding the principle of respect for individual cultures: "[The UNHCR] aims to respect the culturally diverse interpretation of family member" (UNHCR, 2008, p.2).

In current refugee resettlements worldwide there are many individuals who are separated from their families, as is in the case of the Sudanese refugees who are fleeing political strife; but still the meaning of family in their hearts and minds does not change regardless of how long they may be separated from their families. Morally and culturally, in the Sudanese culture any family member who has arrived to safety must look for the means to support the rest of family members left behind and find ways to bring them into the safety. That is why reuniting with family members becomes an immediate priority. Richardson, Stack & Moskos (2004) reporting on the *Longitudinal Study of Immigrants in Australia* (LSIA), found that the Sudanese humanitarian entrants were more likely to apply to sponsor a relative to migrate to Australia, before they thought about what to do for themselves.

In conclusion, resettlement is a process with many variables that could not possibly be captured in one single study. However, it seems the literature has confirmed that to address the demands of resettlement on refugees there is a need to have an informed body of knowledge; especially on refugee pre-resettlement experiences which are currently understudied and require further in-depth analysis.

Section V: Resettlement Provision in Different States

This section explores one of the UNHCR's durable solutions for the refugee problem called "the resettlement". Resettlement is discussed in three parts: the first part reviews the history of resettlement (origin and definition); the second part covers the types of resettlement (local integration and local resettlement); and the third looks at the theories and practices in four countries (Australia, Canada, USA and New Zealand) in terms of resettlement support programmes available for people after arrival.

The origin of resettlement.

Historically, humans have constantly moved places for various reasons seeking opportunities better than before. Many of these movements have resulted in the establishment of permanent settlements and territories leading to the formation of nations and states that we have today. However the movement discussed here is particularly about refugees' movements.

Resettlement as a solution to a problem was initiated and owned by local communities many years ago before the reactions of institutions such as UNHCR and IOM. It was meant to provide resettlement assistance of a specialist nature to the people affected. However, the Refugee Handbook (2002) has reported that resettlement has been in existence in earlier days and distinctions were rarely made between refugees, displaced persons, and immigrants.

The UNHCR (2000) believe that the most recent or "contemporary" refugee resettlement originated in the aftermath of World War II when many thousands of people affected by conflict in Europe were offered refuge in other countries across the globe. The *New York Times* (1933) has reported that Albert Einstein headed the formation of the American Branch of the International Relief Association (IRA). The aim of the IRA was to assist those German-Jewish people suffering from the policies of Hitler. Other assisting organisations have included the Emergency Rescue Committee (ERC), which was formed in 1940 to assist European refugees trapped in Vichy France. The IRC (1995) annual report states that the IRA and the ERC merged under the International Relief and Rescue Committee (IRC). The new IRC initiated emergency relief programmes, established hospitals and children's centres, and started refugee resettlement efforts to assist those affected by World War II in Europe.

Historically, the philosophy and traditionally desired outcomes of the resettlements were for the newly resettled refugees to assimilate into the new society. "Assimilation" in this context means discouraging ethnic diversity from becoming a likely force for social transformation.

In the literature there is no clear distinction between refugees' resettlement and migrants' resettlement, because both are considered new minorities who are

facing the same issues when it comes to integration. According to Castles (2000), emerging minorities like refugees have been forced to detach from their original identity and embrace the social and cultural practices in host societies.

Henderson (2004) echoed Castles' (2000) view that settlement is all about adaptation of the individual minorities into the host society. However, the emerging new thinking of a rights-based approach has led to a shift from "assimilation" to "integration". The latter has gained a powerful momentum following the 2001 International Conference on the Reception and Integration of Resettled Refugees, which focussed on promoting integration. Jose (2005) has defined integration as: "all migrants are able to realise their personal, economic and social potentials in their new host countries" (p. 2).

This definition presents integration as of "dual benefit", because it allows new minorities (refugee and migrant) and the host society to negotiate the best possible ways and means to adapt, cohere and coexist peacefully in forming a multicultural society. Kay & Miles (1988) and Hathaway (1991) have agreed that resettlement around the world was to be a permanent solution, leading to the naturalisation of the newcomers into their host society.

Many studies reviewed here have not separated resettlement and integration of refugees and migrants, despite the fact that migrants and refugees are different in many ways. The simple logic that they are all overseas born citizens means that researchers have, on the whole, not studied them separately. Kay & Miles' (1988), Hathaway's (1991) and Henderson's (2004) arguments have one thing in common: that is, the emphasis on naturalisation into the host society, which means after a period of time new minorities would become citizens of the new countries with socio-economic, cultural and civic rights and duties. On the other hand, resettlement is a process with many faces. Fletcher (1999), in *Migrant Settlement: A review of the literature and its relevance to New Zealand,* reports that resettlement is a process which involves all aspects of life within the social context rather than being purely an adaptation for economic benefits: "[resettlement is] a multi-dimensional process involving all aspects of migrants' and migrants' family life" (p. 8).

Burnett (1998), in his contributing argument to the discussion on resettlement issues in Australia, stated that "settlement is constructed by immigrants' interaction with the various elements of political, economic and social structures of the host society" (p.17). This is a more challenging argument, because it addresses wider aspects of life in the host societies. All these perspectives draw heavily on the aftermath of arrival, in other words on post-settlement or after arrival. Burnett's (1998) view is that although settlement may be a lifelong process, it (settlement) "tends" to focus on short-term goals. According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) 1998 report:

> Integration sets into play complex social relationships that cannot be reduced to estimates of a few select indicators, (for example, employment, sector of activity, income level, place of residence, family situation etc.). In addition, differences between nationals and immigrants with respect to a number of indicators do not necessarily imply inequality between the two groups, nor does a convergence of behavioural patterns necessarily reflect a successful integration process. (p. 162)

Due to the fact that there is no clear reference historically to the origin of refugee resettlement in the African context, concepts of assimilation and integration have not been discussed in the literature. Instead, migration is more often spoken about than refugee resettlement. However Adepoju (1988), in his article published in the *International Migration in Africa South of the Sahara*, argued that:

> In focussing attention primarily on intra-continental migration, a sizeable proportion of international (intercontinental) migration has been ignored, including flows from French-speaking West Africa to France, from English-speaking West and East Africa to the United Kingdom, the USA and Federal Republic of Germany, from Zaire to Belgium, and the former Portuguese colonies to Portugal. ("International Migration Today", p. 17)

What is "Resettlement"?

"Resettlement" is an international term used to address the needs of refugees in the country of asylum (local integration) or in the third country (international integration). Resettlement has evolved from a simple term to a complex concept contributing towards finding durable solutions for refugee problems. It has the capacity to assess the situation of refugee needs, in order to develop programmes and deliver services.

UNCHR definition of resettlement.

The UNHCR *Resettlement Handbook* (2004) defines resettlement as:

> Resettlement involves the selection and transfer of refugees from a State in which they have sought protection to a third State which has agreed to admit them as refugees with permanent residence status. The status provided should ensure protection against refoulement and provides a resettled refugee and his/her family or dependents with access to civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights similar to those enjoyed by the nationals. It should also carry with it the opportunity to eventually become naturalized citizens of the resettlement country. (Chap 1, p.2)

For over half a century, the UNHCR has been using this definition to provide millions of refugees a chance to rebuild new lives for themselves and their families. According to the UNHCR *Resettlement Handbook* (2004) the UNHCR mandate is:

> It shall assume the function of providing international protection, under the auspices of the United Nations to refugees who fall within the scope of the present Statutes and of seeking permanent solutions for problems of refugees by assisting Governments … to facilitate the voluntary repatriation of such refugees or their assimilation within new national communities. (Chap. 1, p. 2)

Although the definition is about international resettlement, also known as "international integration", there are many variables in resettlement including local integration and local resettlement. Resettlement means moving refugees legally from state to state, and as far as the 1951 *UN Refugee Convention* is concerned, refugee claimants have rights to make claims where they wish, subject to a small number of guidelines. Goodwin–Gill (1996) and Barsky (2000) highlight Article 31 *(2)* of the *Convention*, which states that:

> The Contracting States shall not apply to the movement of such refugees, restrictions other than those which are necessary and such restrictions shall only be applied until their status in the country is regularized or they obtain admission into another country. The Contracting States shall allow such refugees a reasonable period and necessary facilities to obtain admission into another country. (*UN Refugee Convention*, 1951, p. 3)

This article comes closest to dealing with the issue of refugee free movement. Goodwin–Gill (1996) and Barsky (2000) argue that the potential threat to life or freedom of the refugees is not only from their country of origin, but could also come from the countries or territories they pass through.

As argued by Goodwin-Gill (1996), Article 31 does appear ambiguous, because it has not set up the boundaries and measures to assess whether it is being adhered to. There is no clear process for determining how long a refugee can remain in a detention centre while the countries are still waiting for identity verifications. This is a challenge for the countries in question in respect of the provisions of the Article 31, regarding whether refugees are entitled to invoke the it (the Article) when their plight has been increased more by the refusal to grant asylum, or by the operation of exclusionary provisions such as those in the safe third country. Goodwin–Gill (1996) and Barsky (2000) discuss the rights stipulated in Article 31; however there is a clear distinction between lodging a claim for refuge and being transferred to another state.

According to the UNHCR (2002), a response to the Article 31 ambiguity about resettlement is critical because it has a complementary role in the system of international protection, offering both protection and durable solutions to those refugees for whom neither voluntary nor local integration is possible. The argument is that the delay in processing refugees' claims will subject them to long-term uncertainty waiting, therefore they will never resettle. According to this view, resettlement has become a concrete expression of a commitment to refugee protection and to the promotion of human rights. It is also a practical manifestation of international responsibility sharing, and this is where New Zealand, Australia and other countries have to take their share of responsibility. However, and according to the UNHCR (2000a), a country can only be considered safe if refugees are effectively protected, especially from deportation, and if they are allowed to stay at least until their application for asylum has been processed:

> The fact that someone has transited from a third country that has been declared safe is by itself an insufficient justification for sending them straight back to that country – unless an international agreement exists stating which country is responsible for processing the specific application. (*Refugees Magazine,* 24 June 1994, p. 40)

Local integration and local resettlement.

Local integration and local resettlement are two different concepts and they represent different meanings in the refugee context. The concept of "local integration" is commonly used in this context, but has no legal definition in refugee international law; therefore as a concept it has created some confusion. However, Crisp's (2004) review of studies on refugee issues defines local integration as "a process, which leads to a durable solution for refugees" (p.1).

Although the two concepts are used especially in regards to border communities, according to Stein (1997) while the UNHCR strongly promotes both local integration and local resettlement, the international community is in favour of repatriation on condition of peace in the home country. According to Crisp (2004), integrated refugees should enjoy the right to employment, possession and disposal of property, free movement, public services, and access to education; and are eligible for permanent residency and naturalisation (citizenship) under the 1951 *UN Convention.*

Like other resettlement elements, integration is a slow process and it could take years before it could be measured by the new residents and the host society. According to the UN Economic and Social Council (1952), integration as a concept is a gradual process by which new residents become active participants in the economic, social, civic, cultural and spiritual affairs of a new homeland. In an early study on integration, "Asylum or Aid? The economic integration of Ethiopian and Eritrean refugees in the Sudan", Kuhlman (cited in Crisp, 2004) states that "integration is a more useful term than assimilation, suggesting that refugees maintain their own identity, yet become part of the host society to the extent that host populations and refugees can live together in an acceptable way" (p. 2). Local settlement, on the other hand, means that refugees are able to find their way into the local community. According to Crisp (2004), local resettlement is "a strategy for dealing with refugee mass movement" (p. 1).

The difference between local integration and local settlement is that in the local settlement context, refugees remain in the country of asylum indefinitely, with the possibility of participating fully in the new society without becoming citizens.

The benefits of this concept are not measurable according to nature of it, still the UNHCR considers it as one of the durable solutions and the 1969 OAU Convention argues that the member states need to do their best to assist those refugees who have left their countries because of well founded fears, and are unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin or nationality.

It seems the concept of local integration is not applicable worldwide. According to Crisp (2004), Africa and Central America are diverse in regard to local integration, whereas the regions of Asia, the Middle East and Eastern Europe prefer voluntary repatriation and resettlement in the third country.

Earlier studies of Rutinwa (1999) and Harrell-Bond (2000) have indicated that the option of integration has been less favoured by the resettlement countries and as a result of that many refugees have found themselves in exclusive confinement facilities known as "refugee camps", where living conditions have prohibited self-reliance; but refugees were still being pressured to repatriate or resettle in third countries.

Refugee resettlement provisions in Australia.

Australia is a state signatory to the 1951 *UN Convention* and 1967 Protocols which are incorporated into the *Migration Act* of 1958 and *Migration Regulations* of 1994. According to the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) (2004, Australia's immigration policy is based on a philosophy of multiculturalism which recognises, accepts, respects and celebrates cultural diversity. Since the end of World War I, approximately 600,000 people have come to Australia as displaced persons or refugees (DIMIA, 2003).

However, given its geographical position, the country did not receive a large number of asylum-seekers until the Vietnam War, when thousands fled to Australia as "boat people" (Kenny and Fiske, 2002, p.2). Refugees enter Australia through its Humanitarian Programme, which is comprised of an offshore and onshore visa process. The "onshore" category is for people who arrive in Australia either illegally or with some other type of visa, such as a tourist visa, and then claim that they are unable to return to their country of origin because of fear of persecution. According to DIMIA (2003), the holders of such visas may be detained for a process check

and may be granted temporary or permanent protection. The "offshore" visas are granted to refugees who are referred by the UNHCR while overseas. The Minister of Immigration determines the ceiling of the humanitarian visas (onshore and offshore) entering Australia (DIMIA, 2004).

Programmes and services.

"Programmes and services" encompass a wide range of services provided to new humanitarian refugee entrants to Australia who came through the offshore processing. Some of these services, such as provision for English language education, are relatively new, as DIMIA significantly modified the programmes in 1998. The new model of services was initiated because DIMIA has shifted its focus to providing a more developmental approach to settlement services, which would be "explicit in its aim of respecting refugees' autonomy and not encouraging dependency" (Young, 2003, p. 5).

Overall, the model for resettlement services in Australia has emphasised an integrated approach, which incorporates both mainstream services such as Medicare and specific services such as housing, emergency unemployment benefits, and other resources for humanitarian entrants. According to the DIMIA (2002) Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy (IHSS, 2003a), initial resettlement services have included orientation, initial and long-term accommodation, material goods and health assessment service providers. Government-funded agencies have provided these services and last approximately six months. Support and training have also been made available for sponsors and for service providers, including the voluntary groups.

According to an IHSS (2003) report, the overall purpose of services has been to equip entrants to gain access to mainstream services. After the initial provision of services is completed, entrants are eligible for general settlement services, funded under the Community Settlement Services Scheme. These have included English classes for up 510 hours, interpreting services and community assistance. Humanitarian entrants have also been eligible for mainstream services including financial assistance through a government agency called Centrelink; as well as health insurance and mental health counselling (IHSS, 2003 b)

Refugee resettlement provisions in New Zealand.

After completion of a six week reception at Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre, refugees are moved to resettle in the community in Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington or Christchurch and agencies with a prime role in resettlement services provision begin to address the resettlement needs for each and every individual refugee. These agencies have included NGOs, government departments and Crown entities.

According to Refugee and Migrants' Services, RMS (2000), resettlement of refugees in New Zealand became more organised after World War II when a large majority of the European population was affected by the inter-European conflicts (the Cold War). However, refugees started to resettle here in New Zealand regularly from the late 1970s onwards (RMS, 2000).

For decades after the 1970s, the New Zealand government joined other governments in supporting the UNHCR's comprehensive plan of action, which sought to bring a closure to the enormous outflow of Vietnamese boat people in South East Asia (NZIS, 2001). These groups were included in the quota, following a tripartite meeting (a joint point of contact between the UNHCR, NZ government and NGOs meeting) (2001), because the 1980s saw the start of refugee outflows from the Middle East and Middle Eastern refugee communities of Iraq (Assyrian, Arabs and Kurds).

According to the UNHCR (2002), the New Zealand government introduced a Global Quota System (GQS) in 1987 as a response to changing refugee priorities, with less focus on specific ethnic groups. Introduction of the GQS policy confirms the government's commitment to the international burden of sharing responsibility under the 1951 *UN Refugee Convention* and 1969 *OAU Convention* relating to the status of refugees.

According to the UNHCR (2003), New Zealand, unlike any other country, has not based its acceptance of refugees on their "economic resettlement potentials", but on humanitarian beliefs. The country has consistently reserved many of its quota places for the most vulnerable cases, as identified by the

UNHCR. Refugee categories coming to New Zealand include "Women at Risk", "Medically Disabled" and "Emergency Protection" cases. To address the needs of these categories, in 2004 the government approved the *New Zealand Settlement Strategy*, which established a government framework to achieve positive outcomes for migrants, refugees and their families.

Although the current government's policy agenda balances economic and social policies, a priority is for the development of a strong economy, based on economic transformation, which includes skill building and population gains from immigration. Therefore the government's intention with the framework is to identify appropriate government interventions that can promote good settlement and contribute to community integration.

According to Walker (1996), refugee resettlement in New Zealand has been characterised by a partnership between government and civil society and the first recognised resettlement began with the acceptance of a group of Polish refugee children at the end of World War II. According to the Refugee and Migrants Service (2000), from 1987 to 1997 the quota was set at 800 individuals per year; this was adjusted to the current figure of 750 persons in late 1997 in conjunction with the government's decision to fund the cost of refugee travel to New Zealand.

The ethnic composition of the quota is currently established in line with the UNHCR advice as to priority regions of concern. After the receiving authorities have made the necessary decisions, the selected individuals are notified by the UNHCR and asked to prepare for departure. The New Zealand Immigration Service often sends officials to accompany the refugees in their journey to New Zealand. On arrival, refugees are received and hosted for six weeks in a reception facility known as the Mangere Resettlement Centre in Auckland.

While in Mangere, the refugees will rest for one week during which individual refugees will have voluntary medical checks; for the next five weeks the refugees are encouraged to attend morning sessions on education, cultural induction and orientation to the New Zealand system. Housing tenancy agreements with the Housing Corporation and emergency unemployment benefits

are processed with Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ) in week six and it is in this week refugees leave Mangere:

> Non-government Organisations (NGOs) play an important role in the resettlement process, right away, from reception to settlement in the community. NGOs' role includes advocacy, provision of settlement support and education on civil rights. "It follows that there is a responsibility to ensure the adequate resourcing of resettlement support services that provide for the specialised needs of many vulnerable and traumatised people accepted in the quota programme". (Broom and Chapman, 2000, p. 4)

When refugees leave Mangere, there are a number of services for which they need to access assistance. The initial priority upon arrival in New Zealand is access to affordable and good quality housing. Quota refugees mostly end up resettling in state subsidised Housing New Zealand Corporation (HNZC) homes: "Housing is a basic human need and the adequacy and availability of housing can potentially have an impact on their resettlement experience" (*Refugee Voices*, 2004, p.111).

Refugee resettlement provisions in the USA.

The United States has the largest refugee resettlement programme in the world. Since 1945, (prior to establishment of the UNHCR) the USA has been offering shelter to the refugees from Europe, Cuba, Southeast Asia; as well as people from the Communist countries throughout the Cold War period.

According to the United States Refugee Council, (USRC) (2004), legislation relating to displaced people was first established in 1948 and has since been modified multiple times, culminating in the *Refugee Act* of 1980.

This 1980 Act was prompted by the need to regulate and solidify the growing public-private partnership that had been responsible for resettlement of nearly two million refugees since the end of World War II. The United States Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) (2006) report to the Congress states that the standard government target for the regionally-allocated refugee intake over the last few years has been 50,000 people per year, but the actual arrivals between 1980 and 2004 fluctuated from over 200,000 to only 23,000 annually.

In 2005, according to the US State Department Foreign Committee (2004), the ceiling of 50,000 was the highest with 20,000 resettlement places for Africa, 13,000 for East Asia, 9,500 for Europe and Central Asia, 5,000 for Latin America and the Caribbean and 2,500 for the Near East and South Asia. Another 20,000 places are left unallocated in case of emergency or overflow from one of those regions. The total number of refugees resettled in the USA in 2005 was 70,000 refugees, according to the US Refugee Program (2005).

United States' programmes and services.

The United States Refugee Act 1980 clarified and formalised the programmes of resettlement assistance for new arrivals, and standardised assistance for all refugees resettling in the United States (Kennedy, 1981; Anker, 1984). The ORR has been mandated to manage domestic programming for new arrivals, while the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration (BPRM) in the State Department has remained responsible for managing the overseas processing, cultural orientation and coordination of transportation for refugee applicants.

In 2007 the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services' Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) remained responsible for the final determination of individuals' eligibility for refugee status under US law. Determination of individual eligibility takes place overseas in the country of first asylum, or the country of origin in the case of family reunion. Once refugees arrive in the United States, they are granted the same rights as legal residents. They may apply for permanent resident status after one year and for citizenship after five years. All refugees entering the USA after 1980 have received specific forms of assistance from the vast networks of federal, state and local government agencies, NGOs; as well as private citizens.

The BPRM provides funds to 10 national voluntary agencies ("volgas") including the IRC, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB), the Hebrew Immigration Aid Society (HIAS) and Church World Services as well as six more recent partners, the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services, Episcopal Migration Ministries, the Ethiopian Community Development Council, World Relief Corporation, and the State of Iowa Bureau of Refugee Services and Immigration

Refugee Services of America who provide initial Reception and Placement (R&P) activities in the first 30 days after resettlement (BPRM, 2004).

At the same time, the volgas ensure domestic sponsoring for refugees coming from abroad through their networks of local resettlement agencies in towns and cities across the country. The resettlement agencies use the R&P grants (and any other support they can raise) to provide initial social services upon refugees' arrival, including: airport pick-up; initial housing; basic furnishings, food and clothing; orientation to the refugee's new community; referrals to local Social Security Administration offices and medical centres; job search assistance; enrolment of refugee children in local schools; and links to the longer-term assistance provided by the ORR.

This assistance is distributed through both volgas and the state governments. Also, the ORR funds specific programmes for unaccompanied minor refugees and survivors of torture, and its Matching Grant programme currently distributes nearly $US60 million annually, offering US$2 for every US$1 provided in cash or in kind by the volgas (ORR, 2005).

Refugee resettlement provisions in Canada.

Canada is also a country of immigrants like New Zealand, Australia and the United States of America. The majority of its citizens are immigrants themselves. However Canada has been slow to recognise the need for an ongoing humanitarian dimension to its immigration policy. Due to this slow move, Canada ratified the 1951 *UN Refugee Convention* in 1969, but did not incorporate a comprehensive refugee policy into domestic laws until 1976. However, the Canadian official policy has been closely tied to economic policy and the need for human resources.

Lanphier (1981) identified Canada initially as a migration country, which has been receiving refugees and immigrants since its foundation. However, Canada did not develop a formal response to refugee resettlement until 1976 when it passed the Immigration Act, which allowed Canada to resettle approximately 50,000 refugees from various countries (UNHCR, 2002).

The 1976 *Immigration Act* has identified a particular role for the Canadian government to welcome all refugee classes who are eligible for resettlement, and regarding those who were in refugee-like situations but did not fulfil the requirements of the Convention definition. According to the Canadian government (2004), in 1990 they undertook an extensive review of the *Immigration Act*, which led to the creation of a new *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* in 2002.

A 2006 *Canadian Immigration* report indicated that the *Refugee Protection Act* (2002) has created an expansion of the classes eligible for resettlement in Canada. Over the past five years approximately 40,662 refugees have been resettled under this programme. Now refugees can be granted resettlement to Canada as government-assisted refugees or through private sponsorship. The government-assisted refugees comprise the bulk of the yearly intake at approximately 7,500 per year while between 2,900 and 4,000 privately sponsored refugees are accepted annually. According to the Canadian Embassy in Cairo (2004), the Sudanese refugees in Cairo fill 80 percent of applications received out of an annual target of approximately 1,000 refugees, of which 800 are government-assisted refugees and 200 are privately sponsored.

Canadian programmes and services.

In Canada, government-assisted refugees receive a variety of specialised services geared to facilitating the full and equitable participation of all newcomers in Canadian society.

The *Annual Canadian Report to the Federal Parliament on Immigration* (2008) section (4) has stated that resettlement agencies in the various destination cities have been funded by the federal and provincial governments, to administer the Resettlement Assistance Programme (RAP) in which newcomers are met at the airport and provided with temporary housing for up to 21 days, along with essential household items, cultural orientation and assistance in obtaining permanent housing. The Office of Refugee Assistance, which administers the RAP (2007), indicate that financial assistance is provided for up to one year or until the

individual becomes self-sufficient, and health care is covered until the newcomers are able to apply for Medicare in the province of their residence.

English language training is also available for the first year, though the levels available vary by province. Non-therapeutic counselling and career advising, along with basic information regarding education and living skills are also provided: "After the first year, newcomers fall under the Integrated Service Programme (ISP), which is available to all immigrants and refugees for up to three years after their arrival in Canada" (Office of Refugee Assistance, 2007, p.7).

These services include workshops about issues faced by new immigrants, referrals to other immigrant-serving agencies, and collaboration with community organizations to provide additional services to resettled refugees. As government funding only allows for approximately 13 hours of staff time per individual, services often vary according to agency and depend on the amount of external funding that has been raised.

According to the *UNHCR Resettlement Handbook* (2004), programmes funded by private donations have included increased one-on-one time with caseworkers, computer courses, childcare programmes, parenting programmes and employment training.

Summary of refugee resettlement provisions across countries.

Table 5 below summarises and compares the resettlement provisions for the four countries reviewed in this section.

Table 5. Comparative Summary of Resettlement Provisions in Four States

Resettlement Needs Country	Housing	Health	Education (Adults and Children)	Financial assistance and Employment	Family reunion
New Zealand	State provides affordable homes to every refugee family entering NZ through quota system.	Voluntary medical screening completed during the 6 weeks reception at Mangere Resettlement Centre. A generic Community Services Card provided to low-income families.	Free compulsory education granted for children aged 6 to 19. Adults are also required to attend English Language courses.	Quota Refugees qualify for cash benefit assistance (rent and food ongoing) and a one-off $1200 + establishment grant.	Refugee can bring members through either ballot system or through refugee quota if they are refugees – takes years to happen.
Australia	Refugee entrants from humanitarian programme qualify for state's long-term accommodation.	All medical and health screening completed offshore. A Generic access card to health services, transports.	All children age 6 to 19 are eligible for free education. Adults also are required to attend English language training for up to 510 hrs.	Ongoing large cash assistance and one-off full home establishment are provided. Those who are employable are registered for job search or job training.	Individual resettled refugees can sponsor their relatives, but they would have to pay the cost of travel, and medical screening.

Resettlement Needs	Housing	Health	Education (Adults and Children)	Financial assistance and Employment	Family reunion
Canada	Newcomers picked up from the airport, housed temporarily for up to 21 days, during which they undergo cultural orientation, are provided with essential household items, and assisted to obtain permanent housing.	Heath services are covered until newcomers are able to apply for Medicare in their province of residence.	School-age children enrol at local schools free; English training is also available in the first year of arrival for adults.	Financial assistance provided for up to one year or until individual become self-sufficient. Counselling and career advice, along with basic information regarding education and living skills are also provided.	Mostly through government-assisted programmes, but private sponsors are also available.
USA	R &P grant is used to provide initial services of airport pick-up, initial housing, basic furnishing, food and clothing.	New refugees are assisted to access health care service and medical assistance for up to 8months. Medicaid is available for new refugees for 5 years.	R&P enrol refugee children in local school. English language training and citizenship classes are provided for adults.	Cash assistance is provided for new refugees for up to 8 months. Job counselling is available for the employable.	Largely controlled by the government, but individual affidavit could be considered.

In conclusion, any durable solution concept would become an optional solution to refugee problems when the individual refugees retain their own cultural identity, contribute to economic activities and are able to acquire citizenship in the host country.

Section VI: The New Zealand Refugee Experience

This section provides an overview of the population of refugees that have come to New Zealand, in a chronological sequence since the 1870s using a table to briefly describe their countries of origin, the ethnicities, numbers and dates of their entry to New Zealand. It describes the resettlement services accorded to different refugee categories arriving to New Zealand. The conclusion discusses experiences of refugees in New Zealand in the context of resettlement processes and indicators related to accessibility to housing and education (children and adults).

Difference between refugees and migrants.

Refugees and migrants are normally referred to in their new home countries as "overseas born citizens", or "residents", or "economic refugees"; despite the fact that under the current refugee international law, there is no reference to an "economic refugee". This one-size-fit-all generalisation is hindering the development of specialist settlement services that address the specific needs of each group.

The lack of distinction between refugee groups is also influencing the development of a separate literature focusing on refugees and migrants. However, there are significant differences between the two. In the countries of resettlement, for instance, a migrant makes a deliberate and considered choice to leave home and resettle in another country, with options of regular visits to the family members, and can return home whenever s/he wants to. In contrast, a refugee is forced to leave home due to a fear of persecution and other circumstances which are outside her/his control. Table 6 below shows the key differences between the two groups of refugees and migrants.

Table 6. Comparison of Selected Refugee and Migrant Characteristics

Aspect of comparison	Refugee	Migrant
Preparing for departure	Refugees do not make a deliberate choice to leave their homeland and due to their hurried often secret departure, are unprepared emotionally for departure.	Migrants choose to leave their homeland and have time to prepare emotionally for their departure.
Motivation and readiness for new life	They may be traumatised from previous experiences or about family left behind.	They are motivated and often find out about schools, employment and local situation in the new country.
Financial resources	They are ill-prepared, have limited financial resources and no certainty about being able to return.	Migrants usually emigrate with the family and have the option to return at will.
Education and professional skills	Not all refugees are educated, skilful and professionally trained.	Most of migrants are well educated, skilful and professionals.

Adapted from: http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/NewZealanders/NewZealandPeoples/Refugees/en

The refugee population in New Zealand.

Due to instability in some parts of the world, people from diverse backgrounds have come to New Zealand to seek safety, including young people and their families from Europe, Latin America, Asia, the Middle East, and more recently from African countries like Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, Rwanda, and other countries.

Based on the philosophy of burden sharing, which means wealthy states help developing states by donating resources or allowing people in from such states for resettlement, New Zealand has played an important role in providing a place to call *"a home"* to these people.

Everyone is welcome in theory, but in practice it seems some people have been more welcome than others. According to Beaglehole (2007), some refugees reported that some were made more welcome than others – refugee intakes have been larger when there were clear economic benefits for New Zealand.

The chronology of refugee entry in New Zealand.

According to *Te Ara NZ: Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* (2007), in the period from 1870s – 2003, 1,100 Jewish refugees escaping Hitler were accepted to come to NZ during 1933 to 1939 subject to the *New Zealand Immigration Act* of 1931, which gave discretionary powers to the Immigration Officers to decide who was allowed or not to enter. By 1944, some 800 people, many of whom were orphaned children, left Poland due to political persecution and were resettled in NZ. Also from 1949 to 1952, 5,000 Europeans refugee came to New Zealand but before they arrived a selection mission was sent by NZ Immigration to make sure that criminals were not allowed to come to New Zealand. European refugees were brought to New Zealand on ships provided by the International Refugee Organisation.

In period from 1950s –1970s, the New Zealand government swiftly reacted in support of the Hungarian uprising against the Communist regime backed by the Soviet Union and accepted 1,100 refugees. In 1968, New Zealand again reacted to the Czechoslovakian crisis and accepted 125 refugees, arriving in New Zealand in 1971 after a lengthy process.

These refugees were all white skinned people hence they were expected to bring a positive contribution to New Zealand economy, which explains the positive response from the government of the day. Also there was an opportunity for 200 handicapped refugees to resettle here, making New Zealand the first country in the world to accept people of ill health, old age, or disability; and a large number of dependent children.

According the *Te Ara* (2007) website, the non-white refugee's feelings were that New Zealand is somehow reluctant to quickly accept the non-white refugees for resettlement. They attribute their feelings to the time it took to respond to Chinese refugees affected by the creation of the Communist government in China in the1940s, when New Zealand accepted only 50 Chinese orphans from Hong Kong in 1962. According to the *Te Ara* (2007) website, the first African refugees to arrive in New Zealand, updated reports were that 244 individuals arrived, mainly Indians expelled from Uganda by President Amin in 1972 under his "Africanisation" policy.

The following tables illustrate the number of refugees coming to New Zealand in different periods with reference to ethnicity, and countries of origins.

Table 7. Refugee Population in New Zealand from 1970 – 2008

Ethnicity/ nationality	Time line	Numbers	Observation
Chilean refugees	1976	354	New Zealand allowed only 354 refugees out of thousands of Chileans refugees who fled the military government. This group was the first to be assisted by the newly formed Interchurch Commission on Immigration and Refugee Resettlement (1976).
Jewish from different countries	1974 -91	335 Soviet Jews 507 refugees under the Eastern European quota 292 Poles who fled Poland when it was under martial law, 1981–83	Total of 1134 mostly Jews from the Soviet dominated Eastern Bloc resettled here in New Zealand from 1970s till the end of the Soviet era in Eastern Europe.
Iranians, Iraqis, Kurdish and Assyrians	1970s – 90s	142 Baha'i and 140 Assyrians	Few families fleeing Iran-Iraq war mainly Baha'i and Assyrians settled in New Zealand, between 1979 and 1989, in addition to unknown number of Iraqi soldiers deserting from the Gulf war in 1991.
Indo-Chinese (Cambodians, Laotians and Vietnamese	1975 -94	1,200 Laotians 5,200 Cambodians 4,500 Vietnamese	Between1977 and 1993 almost 11000 refugees were accepted for resettlement in New Zealand, many of whom were "boat people".
Kosovo Bosnian	1988-99	600 individuals	NZ Government acted somehow out of UNHCR's regions of priorities and offered a resettlement option to families from Kosovo many of whom actually left New Zealand.

Ethnicity/ nationality	Time line	Numbers	Observation
Afghanis	2001 - 02	130 minor later joined by 680 individuals from family reunification category	In 2001 about 130 refugees from Afghanistan who had been on board the ship. The Tampa were accepted for settlement after Australian Immigration authorities refused them entry.
Somalis, Ethiopians, Eritrean, Zimbabweans and Sudanese	1992- 08	Around 4800 Africans	Somalis were the first Africans to have come to New Zealand in significant numbers, followed by Ethiopians, Zimbabweans and a few Sudanese, many of whom came under the family reunification scheme and African project which focussed only African refugees.

Adapted from: http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/NewZealanders/NewZealandPeoples/Refugees/en

Table 8. Refugees Entering New Zealand 2003 – 2008

Numbers of Students by Nationality				
Source: Centre for Refugee Education - Jan 2003 – March 2008				
Continent	Nationality	Female	Male	Total
Africa	Algerian	1	4	5
	Burundian	54	53	107
	Congolese	68	82	150
	Djiboutian	14	17	31
	Eritrean	60	88	148
	Ethiopian	73	60	133
	Gabonese	1	0	1
	Kenyan	1	4	5
	Mauritanian	6	4	10
	Rwandan	22	14	36
	Somali	69	70	139
	Sudanese	115	143	258
	Ugandan	3	3	6
	Yemenis	5	2	7
	Zimbabwean		1	1
	Total	492	545	1,037
Asia	Afghan	488	557	1,045
	Bhutanese	19	16	35
	Chinese	7	11	18
	Indian	13		13
	Indonesian	3	2	5
	Laotian	1	1	2
	Myanmarese	397	439	836
	Nepalese	6	10	16
	Pakistanis	1	7	8
	Sri Lankan	6	13	19
	Thai	2	0	2

	Numbers of Students by Nationality *Source:* Centre for Refugee Education - Jan 2003 – March 2008			
	Nationality	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
	Vietnamese - Hmong	2	5	7
	Total	945	1061	2006
Central America	Colombian	19	10	29
	Total	19	10	29
Eastern Europe	Armenian	6	2	8
	Total	6	2	8
Middle East	Algerian		1	1
	Iranian	73	86	159
	Iraqi	296	279	575
	Iraqi (Kuwait)	0	1	1
	Jordanian	1	0	1
	Kurdish Turkish	0	1	1
	Libyan	0	1	1
	Palestinian	6	13	19
	Syrian	3	2	5
	Thai	0	1	1
	Turk	0	1	1
	Turkish	8	4	12
	Total	387	390	777
Grand Total		**1849**	**2008**	**3857**

Source: adapted from AUT Centre for Refugee Education (CRE) (2007)

To summarise, the New Zealand government has agreed to work within the framework of the key agreements of the 1951 UN Refugee Convention and the 1969 OAU Convention. According to NZIS (2002) the refugee quota programme was established in 1987, as a response to an ad hoc reaction to refugees' resettlement, which is illustrated in the chronological summaries above.

According to the *UNHCR Resettlement Handbook* (2004), the New Zealand government has agreed to resettle annually approximately 750 UNHCR-mandated refugees. This number has always included all refugee categories of women at risk, medical cases, family reunification and UNHCR's protection cases. The NZIS (2001) has stated that the Refugee Quota Branch based in Mangere Auckland is administering the immigration policy on refugees; and that the UNHCR-mandated refugees currently entering New Zealand are increasingly from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. This brings the total number of refugees resettling in NZ from 1870–2008 to 20,000 individuals from diverse ethnic and national background into New Zealand's population of four million people.

Refugee categories arriving in New Zealand.

Refugee people arriving in New Zealand are of three categories: UNHCR-mandated refugees, (known as the "quota refugees'" category) who are referred for resettlement in consultation with the receiving countries (UNHCR 2001); the second category of asylum seeker, also known as a "convention refugee"; and a third category of "family reunification", which consists of family members sponsored by permanent residents or New Zealand citizens from refugee backgrounds.

Although the three categories are all refugees by virtue of circumstances, nevertheless each category has different resettlement needs and experiences in NZ. It is worth mentioning that the policies around the third category are not clearly developed; therefore the emphasis will be on the first two categories – UNHCR quota refugees and asylum seekers.

Quota category.

As mentioned previously, NZ has been annually accepting 750 individual refugees for resettlement under the refugee quota category since 1987. From 2005, the NZIS quota for refugee selection has required the Department of Labour (DOL) to consult on the composition of the NZIS (2005) quota with the UNHCR services, the refugee communities in New Zealand, the NGOs and other government agencies with a prime role in resettlement.

The consultation is recommended in conjunction with the intake composition being put forward for approval by the Minister of Immigration, along with the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade. In principle the composition's intent is to build on the existing communities; particularly smaller refugee groups. According to the DOL's *Immigration to New Zealand* report (Section 2.6, 2007), upon arrival all refugees are granted permanent residency under the international humanitarian policy.

The NZIS (2000) has stated that refugees arriving in Mangere undergo a voluntary health check, cultural orientation (induction) for adults and introduction to the New Zealand school routine for the children. For some children, this is the first time they have been in a formal classroom setting in their entire lives.

According to NZIS (2004), after a prescribed waiting period for eligibility, refugees coming to New Zealand under this programme are eligible for a wide range of services and benefits including pocket money (allowances) on arrival and free health checks; and enjoy the same rights as any other NZ citizen or permanent resident in the areas of education (language and training for adults and compulsory education for children); along with access to Community Services Cards, employment, social welfare, State housing and citizenship

After completion of the six-week orientation programme at the Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre, the Refugee Services (RS) makes the final decision as to where a refugee will go after a lengthy consultation with the other agencies on site. The refugees leave the centre to resettle into the local communities in the major regions of Auckland, Hamilton, Napier, Wellington, Hutt Valley and Christchurch. Refugee Services provide resettlement support in collaboration with other local agencies.

Asylum seeker category.

The definition of asylum seekers may vary from country to country. According to the British Home Office (HO) (1999), an asylum seeker is defined as an individual who has lodged the claim to be recognised as refugee; in other words is a person who is seeking permission to legally stay in Britain. Most asylees (British terminology) seek this permission by applying to be recognised as refugees as defined in Article 1A (2) of the 1951 *Refugee Convention*.

In New Zealand, asylum seekers have arrived without proper entry documentation. In pursuant to a security check and identification, asylum seekers are often detained on arrival, to ensure that they are not a threat to national security. According to the NZ Refugee Appeal Authority (2001), people who seek asylum are allowed to live in the community on a conditional bail. They must live in an agreed location and report periodically to the authorities (the police) while they are awaiting the outcome of their application for refugee status.

According to Uprety, Basnet and Rimal (1999) in their study for the Auckland Refugee Council Inc. on *Needs of Asylum-Seekers/Refugees for Early Intervention*,

the following are some of issues the asylum seekers are experiencing in New Zealand including: living in overcrowded conditions and in poor quality accommodation; and facing food shortages because they do not have money to buy their food.

Asylum seekers experience language barriers because many of them are from non-English speaking backgrounds; therefore they are unable to articulate their problems clearly to the authorities. Women and young children have been identified as an at risk group, yet they cannot have access to services except the emergency benefit from Work and Income (WINZ). Long waiting periods to be granted permanent residency status also contribute to mental disturbance. As a result of such conditions many asylum seekers suffer from mental health problems and depression (Uprety, Basnet and Rimal, 1999). Table 9 below illustrates the difference between quota refugees and asylum seekers, in the context of access to services and benefits.

Table 9. Difference between Quota refugees and Asylum Seekers in the Context of Access to Services and Benefits

Services Available	Quota Category	Asylum Category
Accommodation on arrivals	Six weeks at Mangere Resettlement Centre, followed by move to state house	Look for their own accommodation
English language instruction	Receive language instruction at MRCC under auspices of AIT. Continue to be formally and routinely available when they move into the community	Not eligible for formal language training during their first few months in NZ
Introduction to NZ culture	An introductory programme to NZ culture is provided	No introductory programme to NZ culture is provided

Services Available	Quota Category	Asylum Category
Resettlement in NZ	Provided with sponsors to assist with their resettlement in NZ Free meals and daily needs are provided until they move into the community	No assistance provided to address day-to-day living difficulties. Face their alienation; unsupported Hunt for meals on their own
Unemployment benefit	Eligible for the usual unemployment benefit including housing supplements and work permits	No income or work permit until the first immigration interview to formally decide if they have a case to seek official NZ refugee status Eligible for emergency benefit/assistance but no housing supplements
Legal service	Do not need the assistance of lawyer	Cannot afford legal advice, which is usually expensive, for the preparation and presentation of their cases
Access to health services	Have community services card - thus can access health care	Usually takes long time to obtain a Community Services Card, without which accessing a GP is difficult
Health screening	Receive comprehensive health screening	Generally unavailable, although some organizations offer voluntary health screening, e.g. Greenlane Hospital

Resettlement indicators and processes.

The *New Zealand Settlement Strategy* (NZSS) (2004) has outlined a Six Key Goals Strategy aiming to achieve meaningful resettlement outcomes for both refugee and migrant communities that are settling in New Zealand.

The NZSS (2004) has argued that the goal of the resettlement strategy is for refugees and migrants and their families to be able to obtain employment that uses their qualifications and skills and are valued for their contribution to economic transformation and innovation. The strategy argues that new settlers (refugees and migrants) should have access to responsive services and the information available to the wider community, including access to language skills provision to build confidence in using the English language in the NZ context.

New settlers sustain their community identity through developing supportive social networks; enjoying a feeling of safety; expressing their ethnic identity; being accepted by the wider community; and having access to participation in civil, community and social activities. The progress in achieving these goals is regularly monitored through Regional and National Refugee Resettlement Forums, which is a partnership between Refugee Services (RS), the refugee community and government through Strengthening Refugee Voices.

Settlement response through regional and national fora.

The regional fora are "one-day" events in four centres: Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington and Christchurch. By contrast, the national forum is a two-day event to enable international and central government agencies, NGOs and national delegates from the refugee community to meet and discuss the regional fora recommendations and deliberate on appropriate feedback mechanisms.

According to the Ministry of Social Development's publication, (MSD, 2008), *What Government Offers to Support Your Settlement,* a fact sheet recently produced by Government agencies with a prime focus on resettlement, the intention of the fora are to provide an opportunity for "grass-roots" involvement, to identify local problems and come up with local solutions, and feed into the solving of national settlement issues.

Through lengthy discussions, continuous community consultations, submissions based on feedback and informed by recommendations from *Refugee Voices*, along with research conducted by New Zealand Immigration Service NZIS (2002) of the Department of Labour of the New Zealand Government, a division has been established called Settlement Division with a clear mandate and responsibility towards resettlement of refugees and their families. The new division has been mandated to coordinate the settlement strategy implementation to provide a secretariat to better connect with NGOs, refugee communities and to facilitate information sharing between the stakeholders.

Settling in.

The Family and Community Services of the Ministry of Social Development in seven regions administer this programme. It includes accessing state housing provided by Housing New Zealand on a needs basis and takes into account the current housing situation in terms of affordability, adequacy, suitability, accessibility and sustainability. According to Housing New Zealand (2006), in addition to this package other relevant products available to refugees include income related rent, "welcome home" first step and "welcome home" loans

Support for refugee students in schools.

The Ministry of Education's role in the resettlement strategy is to provide additional funding to schools to support English language acquisition, students' emotional needs and school wide integration for students with a refugee background.

Funding is available for: English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) programmes; a Flexible Funding Pool to address non-English language needs, and "Computers In Homes" programmes which are designed to support parents to have digital broadband access. These programmes and funding are managed by the refugee education coordinators (based in four management centres of Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington and Christchurch), as well as supplying *Families Learning Together* booklets and providing Bilingual Assessment Service and Study Support

Centres. All these resources are available to assist refugee students in schools as well as at home.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The primary purpose for this research is to better document the Sudanese refugees' stories of camp-lived experiences in Kakuma[5] in northern Kenya and how they have impacted on their resettlement outcomes in New Zealand.

The Literature Review Chapter discussed the relevant issues for refugees and refugee problems from general to specific perspectives; including a brief illustration of the strengths and the weaknesses of the literature.

This chapter discusses the process of this study. In other words, how best the stories of the Sudanese refugees' camp-lived experience can be captured and the impact of that on resettlement documented in such a way that is ethically and culturally appropriate. Thus this chapter describes the different steps in documenting the Sudanese experiences in refugee camps.

After the completion of the interviews, the data collected was grouped under the emerging headings of welfare, resources and safety. Each of these headings was further devolved into sub-headings using the descriptive themes analysis process. The process of this research started with a decision about the research strategy. This chapter thus discusses the justification for the methodology and the use of one method rather than the other (qualitative or quantitative). It is presented how the choice of methodology was supported by the appropriate literature. After the methodology determination, the next step was finalising the research design, which used a storytelling case study exercise. The data collection was done through semi-structured interviews. The final step involved the participants' selection process, their profiles', details of each participant, and finished with gaining ethics approval from participants.

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[5] Participants' responses are reported verbatim and language has not been modified; extra words are only added in parentheses where otherwise the meaning may not be clear.

Research Strategy

In this first part I discuss the research strategy, starting from the big picture, which is about the different ways of collecting and analysing empirical evidence in social research just to set the scene. My objective is to give general accounts of how the data was collected. In the following step I discuss how I determined the best way to capture the Sudanese refugees' camp-lived experiences, which is the research question.

Historically, in the social research discourse there has been a large and complex amount of debate surrounding the topic of research strategy and the process of how inquiries such as this should proceed. The centre of these arguments is on the methodology. Because of such arguments, two main methodologies (*qualitative* and *quantitative*) have emerged, which are equally important to consider when conducting research. Despite the emergence of the two methodologies, experts believe that different methodologies become popular at different times of social, political, historical, economic, and cultural circumstances in development of discourse.

The philosophical view of the two paradigms of the world is that both methodologies can be used in the social sciences research. The similarities between these methodologies are great, so it is easy to overlook the differences between them.

The main differences are that quantitative methodologies focus on investigating and qualifying the relationships between variables in a sample population, which can be observed and measured. This focus, according to Alderson (2001), is to find numeric answers to questions such as "How much?", "How many?", "How often?", "To what extent?" as well as "Why?" and "What is happening here"? The data collected from this exercise was structured in the form of numbers derived from respondents' responses. Therefore quantitative methodologies focus largely on numerical descriptions and neglects the narrative details, offering less information regarding human behaviour. According to Bryman (2004), a quantitative methodology imposes a deductive approach on the relationship between theory and

research, including positivistic practical norms of the natural scientific model, which embodies social reality as an external objective. Furthermore, in other words quantitative research is about generating statistical trends using large-scale survey research, using tools such as questionnaires or structured interviews processes.

It would justify saying that the quantitative approach offers numbers over words to measure the quality of the subject and this could lead to potential loss of meaning and richness of experiences of the subject under study. Also in my research there was only a small population to choose from; therefore numbers and samples could not have been large.

In contrast, qualitative methodologies use an inductive approach, rejecting the norm of natural scientific models, with the view of social reality as individual property (Bryman 2004). Thus, a *qualitative research* methodology explores attitudes, behaviours and experiences through processes such as semi-structured interviews or focus groups in an attempt to get an insight of the reality experienced by the participants and the resultant outcomes. In this way a qualitative methodology provides the infrastructure for the people to tell their stories which are unique and individualised experiences. As this research typology is about attitudes, behaviours and lived experiences, there is the possibility that fewer people may take part in the research, because the sample population is very small.

Both methodologies in the literature are rich with strengths and weaknesses. In my view the strengths of one method could well be the weakness of the other, and this has influenced my choice of a qualitative methodology to use because I am looking for the best way to capture the experiences in narrative expression rather than in numbers. For example, a quantitative methodology gives great respect to the numeric logic of the test or trial undertaken, adhering to agreed rules and sequences predetermined regardless of emerging data; numerical and statistical analysis and market surveys are perfect examples of this paradigm. This quantitative approach is in contrast to the qualitative methodology. The numeric logic was not appropriate for this study because it is not about how many people participated in the study, but is about their stories and valid lived experiences, regardless of how many people told their story.

The fact is that this research is about documenting the Sudanese (ethno-specific) refugees' lived experiences through storytelling from the time they were living in peaceful South Sudan, (the pre-conflict period) through the time when the system broke down in South Sudan which forced people to seek refuge in the Kakuma Refugee Camp (KRC) in northern Kenya. Also there was only small population and sample to choose from; therefore numbers could not be large.

In Kakuma the Sudanese refugees experienced issues of access to welfare, resources and safety. All these experiences are believed to have had an impact on their resettlement outcomes in New Zealand. Their experiences were shared in the form of narrative, and were interactive and dynamic. My understanding as a researcher of their experiences (besides my personal experiences) was instrumental in the research design process, participants' selection and data collection. For example, a quantitative methodology using numeric logic would not appreciate and document the emotional expressions and body language, conditions of cold or warm and description of food taste and so on. This short analogy persuaded me not to use a quantitative method as an appropriate methodology to engage in this study.

According to Fidel (1993), the characteristics of qualitative methodology are that it is non-controlling, holistic and case oriented. Its processes are open, flexible, diverse and humanistic. These characteristics make the qualitative methodology the best way for exploring human behaviour in depth, because it is the best for investigating complex phenomena such as the impact of refugee camp experiences on resettlement outcomes when very little is known about it. Thus, a qualitative methodology aims at understanding people from their own view; emphasising the individuals' lived experiences, society and culture; and stressing exploratory or descriptive analyses that examine the value, context and setting of places such as the Kakuma Refugee Camp (KRC). According to Fidel (1993), the qualitative approach is supposed to describe how people behave and to understand why they behave in such a way. In this way qualitative research is not determining the cause and effect or testing a theory about human behaviour. Of course understanding human behaviour may be based on "studying the real-life situations as they unfold naturally" (Patton, 1990, p. 40).

Guided by that differentiation as briefly described here, a qualitative methodology was considered as more acceptable for using in this study, because it looks at interpretation of real feelings and this allowed an opportunity to look into the insights and complexities between the lived experiences from the time Sudanese refugees left their home country, their lived experiences in Kakuma Refugee Camps (KRC) and the impact of these experiences on settlement outcomes in the third country (New Zealand).

According to Marshall and Rossman (1999), in using qualitative methodology the researcher will find that human actions are significantly influenced by the settings in which they occur. Thus this study was about the impact of refugees' lived experiences in real-life situations on their resettlement outcomes. Therefore, to uncover the refugee camp complexities I believe that the use of a qualitative methodology was more relevant for this study, because according to Charmaz (2006), qualitative research is deeply rooted in people's behaviours, experiences, knowledge and beliefs. Also, as a researcher I believe using qualitative methodology allowed constructive engagement with participants in the study, and also allowed them to reflect on their experiences by storytelling with expressive involvement such as use of hands to explain a situation, or sadness in facial expression and other human behaviours which could not be quantified.

Research design – case study*.*

Previously in the research strategy I have outlined the steps involved and discussed different types of methodologies' strengths and weaknesses. This section now presents the research design. Generally, social research can be multi-purposed. Although explanation, exploration and description are the most common goals of qualitative research (Babbie, 2007), the focus of this research was description. This research was about a specific refugee group (the Sudanese refugees) willing to share their stories of lived experiences in the KRC, which is a unique situation that can be described through a case study approach. The objective for choosing a case study approach was to allow the investigation to retain the holistic and real-life meaning of events such as seeking refuge in unknown territories.

Storytelling.

After the determination of the choice of methodology, the next task was to engage the respondents to tell their stories without any predetermined or pre-set rules. According to Babbie (2007), in social research, human beings are the appropriate unit of analysis. A qualitative methodology, as discussed above, provides for a broader understanding of a particular phenomenon by focusing on unique cases; but at the same time takes into account all the themes that are involved. This point is in agreement with Johnson's (1975) explanation that "qualitative research affords us an in-depth, detailed, descriptive account of social actions occurring at a specific place and time" (p. 4).

As the Sudanese refugee camp experiences are holistic and realistic human-oriented events I thought it was prudent to conduct it in a storytelling context. According to Diesing (1971), human experiences are not simply a loose or disjointed collection of features, desires, or immediate involuntary responses or variables. And in McKenzie's and Knipe's (2006) view, a qualitative framework of research based on interviews often seeks to penetrate social life beyond appearances and manifest meanings, and storytelling of the refugees' lived experiences are personal and real, and mean so much to the owner who tells them.

To engage people in storytelling of their real-life lived experiences in refugee camps, I asked the respondents to talk about what happened starting from when they were in Sudan and the experiences they had as a refugee. I needed to understand each act, word and gesture in order to establish continuing, fruitful relationships with respondents. Therefore, the small sample selected to participate in this research facilitated and established a close relationship between the respondents and me, which enhanced the validity of fine-grained, in-depth inquiry in naturalistic settings.

Another unique factor in this storytelling was that the participants originated from an oral society and were prepared to narrate their lived experiences verbally and confidently, although they were also literate in their own and other languages as well. This uniqueness has made the storytelling-based case study approach the best way to gain meaningful participation and to understand the meanings and impact of

these lived experiences on their future expectations. In fact storytelling has been used for many years as a tool for communication. Every human culture creates stories (narratives) as a way of communicating essential messages.

Storytelling traditions vary all over the world; yet have many things in common. For example, in the African context, the storytelling and story-taking are deeply rooted in the features of the African oral tradition. Traditionally, in the African context, stories and storytelling are rooted orally in cultures and customs. According to Mbiti (2003), historically most African people did not invent an alphabet for the art of reading and writing. That is why African history has not been kept in written records, but instead has been passed on orally.

In recognition of the importance of voice in the community, Wa Kituku (2004) explains that voice was the vehicle by which knowledge was passed on from one generation to another. According to Wa Kituku, in the African context the voice has unified families, clans, and community. Enforcement of customs has depended on voice. When a person died for example, his or her voice was no longer to be heard; so it was as if a whole family had been destroyed. To hear someone's voice is important in African societies.

Storytelling plays a primary role in conveying culture, experience, values and beliefs in African society in general and in Dinka society in particular. It is the medium through which knowledge, wisdom, feelings and attitudes are passed on to the next generation. According to Obiechina (1993), the written African proverbs and stories draw upon the collective wisdom of oral peoples, expressing their structures of meaning, thoughts and expression and thus serving important social and ethical purposes.

In my personal experiences I have found that some of the stories my grandmother told me orally exist in other cultures, but in written form — for example, the story of the *Little Red Chicken* my grandmother used to tell my sibling and me at night. I found this story exists in written form. Modern African novelist Chinua Achebe (1958) re-introduced oral stories such as narratives, proverbs, song-tales, and myths into written literature for the consumption of other societies. But for many

African societies, these stories such as *Things Fall Apart* and *Lkemefuna's song* have been composed and narrated in folktale and passed on verbally.

wa Ngugi Thiong'o (1986) has argued that in contrast to written literature, African "orature" (which means oral literature) is orally composed and transmitted verbally and communally performed more often through active dance and music as an integral part of learning and communication.

Storytelling in Sudanese culture in general, and particularly in Dinka culture, is deeply rooted in the society's way of life. Storytelling has also been used to educate young people to understand their culture. Storytelling plays a great role in reporting the abuse the Southern Sudanese Christians have been through during their slavery in Northern Sudan. The Dinka people have been composing stories and songs about slavery and wars orally and passed them on to different generations through drawing, carvings of images, and music. The laws and regulations that guide marriages, inheritance, compensations for the loss of property, dowry paid for marriages and wealth sharing in society are taught orally and learnt by heart.

According to Bok (2003), storytelling in Sudanese society brings great joy to people:

> …ours is an oral tradition. My people told stories about the raids and slaves–they sang about slavery. But they did not write books or newspaper stories about their suffering. And they certainly did not file reports to international human rights organizations. (p. 249)

Oratory and storytelling in Dinka society are essentially a communal participatory experience for child development. It is through oratory all matters of concern to the society are discussed and resolved. Even though it is changing nowadays, the Dinka people are always proud of passing on their traditional heritage and information verbally to their children.

Storytelling has featured in qualitative settings, according to Holloway and Wheeler (1996) and Streubert and Carpenter (1999) in their work with nurse scientists who could not describe drugs' side effects in numeric terms. As discussed above, a storytelling case study is the best way I have found to capture the Sudanese refugees lived experiences in camp. I have also identified the fact that storytelling as data collection method is relevant to the respondents' culture,

because all participants, as I mentioned earlier, originated from an oral society. The next task was to find the best way to get these stories.

Data collection methods.

After the development of the research strategy, research design, and participants' selection, the next task was how to collect the data. There are two types of interviews, *structured and semi-structured,* that has been identified in the literature, which could be used to collect social research data.

I thought the semi-structured interview was the best because it presents an opportunity to draw upon the images of their lived experiences. This is in line with Maykut and Morehouse (1999), whose argument is that as a qualitative methodology is more concerned with examining participants' words and actions, it will give a clearer images of the situations lived according to particular experiences.

Similarly, Frederickson (1996) also uses semi-structured interviewing processes to describe family functioning and interpersonal relationships through the perceptions of women of Vietnamese partners in the New Zealand context. The findings describe the image of what happened during the Vietnam War and how it has impacted on the interpersonal relationships between the war and non-war generations within one family.

Mittman (2001) describes qualitative research methods as a valuable tool used to give the voice to those whose views are rarely heard. This is suitable for the Sudanese refugees who left South Sudan expecting to find an easy, peaceful life in refugee camps but have found different realities.

Based on such rich illustrations, a qualitative methodology has proved to be more flexible and it gives the researcher an opportunity to use various methods of data analysis such as coding the collected data, organising them into themes and regularly revising them before writing the final report. A qualitative methodology is about lived realities and meanings: "a representative of reality from one particular point of view in contrast to quantitative understanding of reality as truth …a social and physical reality which exists independently of our experiences of it" (Avis, 1995, p. 1206).

Although this case study is on one refugee community, the "Sudanese Community", nevertheless it encompasses different key stages — from pre-conflict in Sudan to the conflict itself; to seeking refuge in neighbouring countries; life in a refugee camp and resettlement in New Zealand. The respondents were encouraged to describe these stages as much as they could remember.

In this case study the questions are intended to capture and describe the real-life meaning of experiences lived by the Sudanese refugees from their pre-conflict life in South Sudan, through to conflict in South Sudan, to the life in Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya and finally to resettlement in New Zealand. These experiences have been grouped in themes and sub-themes as the units of analysis.

Both Stake (1995) and Yin (2003) have based their approaches to case studies on a constructivist paradigm which claims that truth is relative and is dependent on one's perspective. Based on such a constructivist approach therefore, this study is an attempt to re-construct the events which have happened in the past, to find out their impact on the present time. Such an approach provides an opportunity for participants to share what happened to them from their perspective.

One advantage of a storytelling case study approach which I also considered valid is the one that has been identified by Crabtree and Miller (1999), who have argued that the constructive case study approach creates a close collaboration, leading to trust, between the researcher and the respondents as they tell their stories.

The final outcome report will have multiple audiences. The report will be available to academics, policymakers, parishioners, community leaders and professionals with an interest or prime role in refugee resettlement in New Zealand and elsewhere. The next step was the selection of who was to participate in the research criterion of selection and fulfilling participants' rights and obligations.

Participants' Selection Process

There are approximately two hundred and fifty adult Sudanese refugees in New Zealand. This study selected five families with an average of five members in a

family to participate in this research, who have been resettled in the Hutt Valley (Lower Hutt and Upper Hutt) and in the greater Auckland region (see details of each family respondent's profile in Table 10).

The participants came from South Sudan, but arrived in New Zealand at different times from 1995, and came mainly from one refugee camp, the "Kakuma Refugee Camp (KRC)" in northern Kenya (refer to description of this camp in previous chapters).

When I announced that I was doing a study on the impact of the KRC-lived experiences in the Sudanese Community at a meeting in Auckland in 2008, the feedback was instant and positive. The announcement was received with pride and enthusiasm. Everyone in the meeting room was happy and had wanting to support me. I explained that it was not possible for everyone to participate in this study due to budget limitations and time frame to complete the study. Therefore I informed the community in this meeting that I only needed five families from Wellington and Auckland. I left the problem of who was to participate in the study for the community leaders to advise on.

In this meeting it was unanimously agreed by the people present, that two families would be selected from Auckland and three from the Hutt Valley in Wellington. However, the three Hutt Valley families were selected by the community leader based on his understanding of them and the interest they pledged in promoting community activities locally. For the protection of the participants' identity, the community leader signed a confidentiality form because he knew these families.

There was no preset selection criterion. However, the five families selected happened to be active participants in the community. The Sudanese refugee community in New Zealand is very small, so I know these families in my various capacities as the first leader and founder of the Sudanese Community in New Zealand. I had teamed up with the leader of other smaller refugee communities in New Zealand to advocate an increase in the number of refugees from the smaller communities to the Refugee Resettlement Branch in Immigration New Zealand. Ideally, more people could have participated in this study. However, given the fact that this was a small research project with limited resources in terms of budget and

time I decided to limit participation to only five families, which is approximately 20% of the adult Sudanese population.

Also, I had professional contacts with these families as a bilingual resource person and as a counsellor working with schools where children of the families resettling in Auckland were attending schooling; and in my current role in the Ministry of Education as the person in charge of refugee and migrant education.

Another reason, which I believe contributed to the selection of these five families, was the trust and personal relationships that have developed between these individuals and me over the years in the course of sharing experiences as a former refugee and a community member.

The Sudanese community saw this research as a moment of pride, because one of their own was conducting an important study that explored their camp-lived experiences for the first time in New Zealand and perhaps in the context of wider refugee studies. The community participants believed that this would bring new understandings to current resettlement practices, which have not been well informed about refugee camp-lived experiences, and have been considered by many refugee communities as missing in the development of resettlement policies and programmes in New Zealand.

As a result of this lack of understanding, the agencies (government and NGOs) with prime roles in policy development and programme implementation do not have a "best practice" manual to guide them to address issues surrounding resettlement needs. Certainly the community members strongly believed conducting research in this area would significantly bridge the knowledge gap on the impact of lived experiences in refugee camps on the resettlement outcomes for refugees in general.

Although the selection was procedurally according to ethics guidelines, nevertheless the principle of respect and mutual understanding was overarching every step in the selection process.

The selected families met the criteria for selection of: being in New Zealand over five years and were aware of their right to participate or not; having a good level

of understanding of simple spoken English; were willing to participate in this research; agreeing to voice recording; being aware of being able to choose their own interview time, and signing the interview consent form (see Appendices 2 and 3 for the Consent Form and Participant Information Sheet) which granted them the right to exit out from this research at any time.

Those individuals who may not have acquired enough understanding of written English language, but were willing to participate, had options to use their Sudanese language/s if they needed to understand particular question/s. They were all interviewed individually after they signed the consent form.

The focus was on people eighteen years old and above who had been in New Zealand for over five years and who were eligible for, or have acquired, citizenship. The reason for choosing the eighteen years and over criterion was that an eighteen year old would have been born in Sudan and at least could remember a story about life in Sudan; and of course much more about the KRC.

The fact is that New Zealand is similar to Sudan; any person aged eighteen and over could well have had a job, or attended schooling, or have had his or her own family based in the Sudanese culture and traditions.

Gender representation in the selection of participants was considered, given the fact that the majority of refugees resettling in New Zealand are the "women-at-risk" cases known as single mothers. Gender consideration was discussed in the community meeting and it was agreed for both genders to participate equally.

Data Collection

The intention was to conduct a conversational interview. Therefore, I considered the use of a semi-structured format, because it allows interviewees a degree of freedom to explain their experiences.

The objective of using the semi-structured interview technique was to understand the respondents' viewpoint rather than make generalisations about refugee camp experiences from my own perspective as a former refugee. Further, a semi-structured interview provided a loose framework, discretionary content and

conversational flow, which allowed the interviews to be conducted in a fairly open way. These were the features which supported my choice of a semi-structured interview process. Klandermans and Staggenborg (2002) have suggested that a "semi-structured interview process can be used as a streamlined means of obtaining rich detailed data" (p. 93). It does provide a conversational two-way communication, which gives the researcher the freedom to allow the interviewees to simply talk. This flexibility is in contrast to the structured interview process, with pre-established questionnaires, which is commonly used in survey research and opinion polls.

According to Powney and Watts (1987), the strengths of the semi-structured interview are that it brings positive rapport between the interviewer and interviewee, it has a high validity with few pre-set questions, and it does not allow the interviewer to pre-judge what is and what is not important. Its weaknesses, however, are that the depth of qualitative information may be difficult to analyse. For example, there is little structure for deciding what is and what is not relevant, when the researcher should ask the respondent to stop talking and which part of the conversation is to be considered.

The participants in this research were refugees from the Sudan currently living in Auckland and Wellington. The data was collected from five families — two families from Auckland and three families from Wellington.

Interview process.

I had a clear understanding of what I needed to know from the respondents, but the challenge was how to bring that about. I did not anticipate what social discourse I was starting. It took three weeks to come up with a series of draft questions. In the process of refining the correct tone for my questions, I invited a few friends and colleagues working in the refugee sector to my place to have a meal and spent a couple of hours tuning up the questions. They too realised the potential benefit of the study outcomes in the final report. I felt encouraged by their comments and the interest they pledged which gave enough confidence to begin to rehearse the interview procedure a couple of times.

The exercise helped me to come up with the four-part interview questions, which were the primary method of data collection. I had to make sure everything was going as scheduled. Timing was the most important element I had to adhere to; otherwise I would be unable to meet the time-frame which I set out to complete the data collection, which was approximately eight weeks. After the confidence building I began to make the contacts with individuals who had agreed verbally to participate in the research in early May 2008. Prior to that of course I had to apply for ethics approval, and it was granted at the first meeting of the committee.

I explained to the participants that they were required to write their names, addresses and sign the form, which indicated that they agreed to participate in the study. In the form I put the symbols of facial expression, for those who opted to use them, in the beginning of interview as the best use of time in gaining consent.

Yes I agree   No I do not agree

This research data was collected through semi-structured interviews in four parts (see Appendi1). The following is the summary of the content of each part:

- **Part One questions**: Personal details (names, date of birth if applicable, home address, telephone contact), family composition and family size; because normally people had family members left behind and the impact of that has been reported in many consultation forums. Therefore it was appropriate to know if any family members were still in Kakuma. It was important to know education background including level of schooling, as it gave an idea about the background of respondents. Profession and jobs held back home in South Sudan, Kakuma or here in New Zealand indicated their expectations for their life in their resettlement country.

- **Part Two questions**: This part was about the life experiences in the country of origin (South Sudan) during peacetime and in the war. This included life style, things people used to do as part of their lives, their initial reaction when the system of government broke down in South Sudan, the places they thought to go to seek safety, and the journey from home to such places.

- **Part Three questions**: This part was about the life experiences in the country of asylum (Kenya). The questions talked about access to welfare, and resources and personal safety in Kakuma while waiting for the UNHCR's durable solutions.

- **Part Four questions**: In this part respondents were asked about their life experiences and expectations here in New Zealand; mainly to find out the way the Sudanese refugees saw their resettlement outcomes and their expectations in terms of finding jobs, happiness, and building up a good relationship with the wider society in New Zealand.

With the community resettling in two locations (Auckland and Wellington) my next task was to do the interviews in both locations in the timeframe. I started suggesting interview dates and times to the participants living in Wellington first, because they were living in relatively closer distances from each other, which facilitated quick and easy access to the agreed meeting places (preferably their homes). I went to Wellington in July 2008, and spent nine days conducting the interviews, but actually I completed them in five days in total, spread across the nine day period. In Auckland conducting the interviews took six weekends, because people lived at distances far away from each other and it made it difficult to conduct the interviews in a short period of time.

At the start of the interviews I introduced myself officially to the respondent, explained the purpose of the study, gave the full contact of my primary university supervisor, read the questions briefly and then requested them to sign the consent form. After getting the consent form signed, I asked the respondent to give permission to tape record the interview. I gave out the hard copies of question that I was going to ask. The questions were introduced in parts as above.

The interview progress was frequently checked to see if everything was on track. During the interview, three respondents experienced emotional sadness. In the first situation I asked the respondent to take short breaks and encouraged them to drink some water. In the second situation the respondent requested a cup of coffee. In the third situation the interview was stopped for two hours to allow the

respondent to go shopping to get fresh air. In these three situations the interviews resumed and were completed successfully.

The interviews in Wellington were straightforward, because I had easy and quick access to respondents' homes. Many respondents were living at walking distance from each other. All respondents were friendly and hospitable, but as a token of appreciation I brought some tea and coffee, milk and soft drinks. During my stay in Wellington to conduct interviews, three interviews had to be rescheduled because the respondents were called for work at a Wellington supermarket.

I interviewed thirteen people in Wellington. All interviews were conducted in respondents' homes at agreed dates and times. Nine interviews were conducted in the evening. Four females requested their interviews be conducted in the absence of their husbands and they (husbands) agreed to this, in the presence of other adults at home during the interview but not participating in the interview. Each interview lasted for 90 minutes but some did go a little longer due to the fact that some respondents found the interview as an opportunity to share what they had been through.

Auckland interviews were conducted over seven evenings over six weekends in the houses of respondents. One family lived in an isthmus suburb of Auckland and another family lived in the southern part of the city. Despite their having a "family home", nevertheless I had to travel to different locations (houses) to conduct the interviews with young adults who preferred to be interviewed in their rendezvous (common) places.

During the interviews I experienced mixed reactions from participants, especially in Wellington. Some respondents were happy from the start to the finish with warmth and smiles on their faces and ready to talk about everything they had been through. Some participants were willing to talk about everything, but when they revisited the events they became emotional, tears would drop, there were changes in body language and facial expression and they became more determined to tell their stories. In both situations (happy and emotional) there was a lot of body language involved — hands were used to described the events and facial express to prove the point. Some people actually acted out few things in motion to illustrate the point. For example one woman went to her kitchen to bring a bowl (Bakuli) filled

with rice just to demonstrate how much wheat they would give to Turkana in bartering for charcoal for cooking.

While I was conducting interviews in Wellington I was invited to attend two happy occasions. One was a wedding reception for an overseas-arranged marriage, and the other was the fifth birthday and beginning of schooling for a little boy born here in New Zealand. The two occasions were excellent opportunities to meet with people and have some off-record conversations with some people who were interested in what I was doing and I took few notes, which were useful in reporting the research findings. The interviews were recorded using tape-recording (from the sheet I read out the questions, I gave out the hard copy to people to read) and I also made field notes, which were used in the process of data collection.

As mentioned above, some parts of the interview were emotional; therefore I had to apply some careful observation techniques to monitor factors like body language, assess environmental safety (lighting, glass of water, tissue paper, etc.,) and taking breaks when necessary. I also suggested for some people to seek counselling with AUT or with Refugee As Survivors (RAS). It took some time for affected respondents to overcome their emotional feelings and some time for people to get back to normal and continue with the interview.

During the data collection I had conversations with people at different times and different agreed places, including the two occasions in Wellington. The conversations I had with the respondents were very helpful. It made me understand the challenges were the same but different respondents handled these challenges differently.

Respondents' Profile

Many researchers give different titles to subject participants in a study. For example, researchers like Aguinaldo (2004) have used titles such as the "sample" to describe the profile of the participants. Lloyd-Jones (2003), called his participants "subjects", which is a different term from sample but the objective is the same.

Such titles may mean different things in different contexts. However, in the context of this research, people who agreed to take part in this study are referred to as "participants".

I interviewed twenty individuals from five families, thirteen from Wellington and seven from Auckland region. Interviews were conducted in each region separately. Although the participants are from five families, nevertheless they were interviewed as individuals. The participant size is relatively small; it represents one-fifth of the total Sudanese community population in New Zealand (see respondents' details in the table below).

A profile of the individual family members is presented in the passages and table below. The study expected to interview all members of five families, but only twenty individuals indicated their availability for the interviews and this was a major success and evidence of the commitment from the community and proof of their trust and pride in taking part. The following data was obtained from twenty respondents for final analysis.

All members from the five families indicated their willingness to participate in the interview, but due to either work related reasons or some other personal reasons they could not attend the interviews during the period of eight weeks. Those who I interviewed were the ones who were available during the period of interviews. All respondents in this research were born in Sudan. The respondents I interviewed were the main householder and one other adult family member.

The number of female respondents was almost equal to males. Family status indicated that many families were living in married relationships, living with their spouse with one or more children. Their professional status in Sudan included teacher, office secretary, farming and cattle herder, military personnel, and businessman or woman.

Here in New Zealand they were underemployed (not employed in their profession); studying; working as hairdresser, or caregiver in aged care facilities, and casual or on-call in supermarkets. The following table illustrates the pattern of the profiles.

Table 9. Participants' Profiles

Family name	Participants 1st name	Age	Gender	Status	Years in camp	Years in NZ
Isaac	Laat	56	M	Head of family	7	7
	Adong	34	F	wife	7	7
	Alwad	24	F	cousin	7	7
	apok	19	M	son	5	7
	Arek	36	F	wife of uncle	8	7
Akol	Diet	51	M	Head of family	8	7
	Akek	21	F	niece	8	7
	Ajuel	27	F	cousin	8	7
Weljong	Alook	60	M	Head of family	11	6
	Amira	43	F	wife	11	6
	Alwong	24	M	sister	11	6
	Adak	18	F	daughter	11	6
Ajuiet	Rajab	32	F	Head of family	6	6
	Adut	50	F	aunt	6	6
	Jok	26	M	son	6	6
	Aueit	20	F	niece	6	6
Atheik	Kurdit	57	F	Head of family	11	6
	Makoi	37	M	nephew	11	6
	Adeng	28	F	daughter	11	6
	Athot	22	M	son	11	6

The breakdown details showing how long respondents have been living in Kakuma Refugee Camp for more than five years

The majority of participants were of a young age, between eighteen and thirty-five. The participants' population equally represented both genders but there were slightly more female participants. There were two families in the respondent population headed by females, which is not unusual in Sudanese society. It was also observed that family members were not only sons and daughters, but included cousins, nieces and nephews in the typical Sudanese family structure.

Data analysis

Upon the completion of the tasks mentioned above, including the data collection and respondents' profiles, the next step was to transcribe the data and arrange it under

the categories of key stages; then re-arrange it into themes of welfare, resources and personal safety. The data collected was categorised according to the themes and sub-themes. These themes were classified into sub-themes of food, water, health care, education, shelter and personal safety. Although I taped-recorded the interviews I also took notes during the interviews to remind me if a respondent said something or gave an example to stress a point.

In the reporting the research findings, each key stage was described chronologically to give an idea about what each stage meant to individual respondents. Each stage was divided into themes and sub-themes. Each theme described an aspect such as food or water shortage. And sub-themes later became the units of analysis in the discussion section.

The third option, which I considered, was the "descriptive theme analysis", which simply focused on individual subjects and went into great depth and detail in describing them. This approach is also called a case study, which describes the lived experience of different respondents and these themes were organised in sequential order, which fitted each case study.

The key stages were grouped into themes — for example, life in the peaceful home country (Sudan), and the conflict forcing participants to leave the country to the refugee camp in a neighbouring country (Kakuma). These themes were classified into sub-themes of food, water and health care, personal safety, security at night, and finally impact of their experience on expectations and resettlement outcomes in New Zealand. All respondents' responses were tape-recorded.

The process of data analysis also involved transcribing the audiotape recordings taken and revision of field notes. The data collected was categorised according to various interviews and pasted under correct categories. In this research respondents were given artificial names, which will not identify them.

Observation of respondents' behaviour was critical in this research, because their lived experiences in the refugee camp could bring flashbacks of trauma and hardships they have been through before. As I mentioned previously, the society in which these participants came from operates orally most of the time, therefore,

observational techniques – monitoring of body language and eye contact, were applied during the interview process for data collection for this research. Although I am a member of this community, nevertheless people saw me in a different capacity this particular time as a researcher, a leader and someone with influence. The respondents' aim was for me to become part of a community or environment rather than maintaining a detached status. Therefore, each time I had to negotiate my way clearly and maintain a self-awareness about the impact of the research environment and take account of it in the data collection.

> Marshal and Rossman (1999) have argued that:

> Observation is a fundamental and highly important method in all qualitative inquiry: it is used to discover complex interactions in natural social settings. Even in in-depth interview studies, observation plays an important role as the researcher notes the interviewee's body language and affect in addition to her words. (p. 107)

During the interviews, respondents who had emotional experiences were excused from continuing the interview for a short break. I gave out contact addresses of agencies that could help in counselling, budgeting, and housing.

Ethics

Although I was seen to be in a position of authority due to my status in the community, there were no obvious ethical issues encountered. Instead my status was perceived as a strength. Also, prior to actual interviews the community leaders and youth in the community created an awareness of the importance of this research and did an extensive promotional campaign.

Through my own experiences I was aware that some participants' camp-lived experiences could trigger flashbacks and it could lead to minor trauma exposure with a risk to their emotional safety. However, individuals who I thought experienced trauma, I suggested to seek counselling. I had with me in my bag flyers from RAS and AUT counselling services with telephone numbers that people could ring to seek an appointment with appropriate counsellors.

All respondents received before and during the interview an information sheet (see Appendix 3) explaining the purpose of the research. They were asked to sign the consent form (refer to Appendix 2) if they understood both the objective of the

research and their right to opt out at any stage. The consent form explained that participation was voluntary and participants had the choice to exit or refuse to answer any questions they deemed traumatising.

During the data collection process I encountered some culturally unavoidable limitations. Female respondents took advantage of this research as a persuasive opportunity to air their feelings about the abuses culturally deemed appropriate, but some women were afraid to speak in the presence of males, because their husbands abused them too. Although it was discussed beforehand whether women would like to be interviewed in the absence of their spouse, precautions were taken to make sure another adult was present at home during the interview to avoid the risk of being misunderstood by deliberately avoiding males' presence at home during the interviews with the females.

As a matter of precaution supportive resources were provided such as paper tissues, a glass of water, tea and coffee, and talking about other things that were culturally appropriate; and the interview was suspended at times of emotion. If the emotional feelings persisted, participants were advised to seek counselling.

Three respondents were emotionally affected. They dropped tears when they remembered the situation where they had to sell some of their children's belongings in order to buy food during Christmas. In this case the interview was stopped for 30 minutes during which the interviewees were ask if they would like to take tea and talk about other matters. Later we resumed the interview.

Participants were also informed that the interview was tape-recorded with their approval and they would remain anonymous at all times. They were also assured of confidentiality. In addition, participants were informed that the data would be kept by AUT and destroyed after six years. See Appendices 4 for the AUT Ethics Approval for this research.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

After completion of the data collection my next step was to listen to the tape recordings, transcribe them and read them together with the field notes to become familiar with what the participants said. The aim was to identify the factors which were considered to be affecting the wellbeing of the respondents, in particular their experience in the Kakuma Refugee Camp in northern Kenya and how it had impacted on their resettlement in New Zealand.

Before reporting the effects of the lived experiences in refugee camps, I will briefly describe the timeline of key stages leading to refugee resettlement in New Zealand in chronological order from the end of the first civil war in 1972 to 2005 and the signing of the *Comprehensive Peace Agreement* (CPA) ending the 22 year old second civil war between South and North Sudan.

The Timeline of Events

1972 – 1980: The "Addis Ababa Peace Accord" was signed between Anyanya (South Sudan freedom fighters) forces and the government of General Ja'afar Namiari in 1972. This period witnessed a relatively peaceful time during where many of the South Sudanese who fled the country during the war returned, with ambitions to participate in peace building and to contribute to the development of the war torn country.

1980 – 1983: Pre-war period. The government of General Namiari breached the Peace Accord and imposed *Islamic Shar'ia Laws* known as "the September Laws", on Christians and African Creeds, who began to experience the presence of large numbers of the national army from the North. The army were enforcing the new laws and subduing any resistance from the South. Many people were tortured in undisclosed detention centres known as "the ghost houses", or abducted and killed.

1983: Southern Sudanese officers in the national army mutinied against the government forces and formed a new armed struggle movement called the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M). Many people from the South and a few North Sudanese joined this movement and crossed the border to Ethiopia. Consequently many civilians from the South followed the mutineers to Ethiopia to join the SPLA/M.

The following timeline explains the journey leading to resettlement in New Zealand:

1983 – 1995: Seven million South Sudanese civilians left home (South Sudan). Four million crossed the North – South borders and became displaced around the capital, Khartoum; while the rest of the three million crossed international borders to Ethiopia, Uganda, Egypt, Congo and Kenya to seek refuge and ended up in refugee camps.

1990 – 1998: The SPLA/M split into two factions (Nasir and Torrit) due to an internal power struggle. As a result of this factional fighting, thousands of people lost their lives.

1995 to present: Sudanese refugees resettled in New Zealand in small groups in the greater Auckland and Wellington regions.

2000 – 2005: The movement reunited and signed the *Comprehensive Peace Agreement* known as the CPA which ended the twenty two year civil war, the longest in Africa.

2005 – Present: The UNHCR started to promote the voluntary repatriation option for refugees living in refugee camps in Uganda, Egypt and Kenya. Many of them have returned and found their old homes and villages completely destroyed by the war.

The following table describes the key stages and themes of what the semi-structured interview questions covered.

Table 10. Key Stages and Themes Covered in the Interview Schedule

Key Stages	Themes
Stage (A) The pre-conflict life experience in Sudan	1. The life in peaceful Sudan - what were the respondents' lives like before the war?
Stage (B) Journey to refugee camp: Crossing international borders into neighbouring countries	2. Crossing the border to Kakuma Refugee Camp, exploring what participants encountered on their way to seek safety
Stage (C) Experiences in Kakuma Refugee Camp	3. Access to firewood, water, land and building materials 4. Safety – security at nighttimes, relationships between refugees and local Turkana people 5. Welfare – food, shelter, education and health care treatment services
Stage (D) Resettlement in New Zealand	6. How their lived experiences impacted on their expectations of resettlement in New Zealand in terms of: 6:1 welfare 6:2 access to water 6:3 levels of safety

Stage (A): Pre-Conflict

Theme (1) — Life experience in Sudan.

Although not all participants in this research grew up in Sudan, nevertheless their understanding about the life in Sudan before the war was reported as good. Even young people who left Sudan as children commented warmly about pre-war life in Sudan:

> I left Sudan when I was 6 years old - I grew up in Ethiopia but my uncle used to tell us that Sudan was a good country before the war. I believe in what he was saying, because many people in our group always referred to have good lives when they were in Sudan. (Apok)

However, when I asked them to speak about specific personal experiences in Sudan they were particularly diverse in their answers. Some participants said that before the war people were living in class structures according to their income. The professionals (teachers, law enforcement officers, politicians and business men and women) who were earning a high income had had a good life. They had owned homes, farms, and cattle. Arek, a participant who grew up in Sudan said:

> My life before the war in Sudan was good, not too bad, especially because I was working as a teacher and I have got all my family, my parents, my relatives and my friends were closer to me. I was happy that time. I had enough money to live… my life was good that time.

> Weljong, a farmer who owned several farmlands and had a lorry (truck) and a four-wheel drive car, said:

> I had to leave my new four-wheel drive car and farmland with crops growing, because it was rainy season when the war started. I remember the morning we left I was supposed to sign a contract with the Agriculture Bank to give me [a] harvester machine.

A few months before war started some participants had experienced systematic human rights abuses and inhumane treatments from the government army. This army especially targeted politicians, intellectuals and teachers. In many incidences, Sudan respondents experienced or witnessed immediate family members being tortured and killed, or raped. Amira said:

> My life in Sudan was not good. It was a nightmare life. I never knew if I could live or die next day, what you are seeing in the videos is not a lie. That's what I have gone through. I witnessed a lot of sufferings and humiliation. Things were not supposed to be that way. Everything has just gone out of control. It was just war and nothing else.

Aueit, a mother of three children, who arrived in Kakuma when she was 16 years old in 1992, described the happiness people enjoyed before war started in May 1983:

> It was good. I remember we had everything we need, my parents were working and in the end of the month they get money and we were happy… but right up after the breakdown of our regional government things changed so much.

However, when the war started things changed. The regional government could not protect the local people because the Arab army was in control of everything. Auiet said that:

> Women were the most vulnerable people. You as a woman have no control over yourself; some people can dictate things over you. You can be kidnapped; raped and you have no say. I was accused that I have link with the SPLA, which was not true. The Arab army could not even think of how a young girl of 16 years could be spying for rebels; imagine.

The conflict and civil wars in Sudan, particularly between South and North have been raging for many years. Makoi, a male participant, reported that:

> I left Sudan due to civil war between South and North. The conflict is due to Arabisation and unfair distribution of resources and implementation of Shair'a Islamic Laws in Sudan, lots of people got killed because they opposed these laws. My close friends lost their lives and had properties confiscated by the Islamic regime. I considered myself lucky.

Isaac, a male participant, had difficulty remembering much about his life in Sudan before war started. He summarised it by saying:

> My life was full of fear of death from the war. No freedom to express your own ideas; and no freedom to do things freely. It was bad and all what I have had been taken away by Jallaba[6].

The war affected some participants more severely than others. Among participants who were affected severely was Ajuel, a widow, (she wrote her own answers) who lost her husband in the war. During the interview she said:

> I am glad that someone from my own community lastly has the courage to hear my experiences. I thought I was going to die with my stories inside me… I was born in Sudan many years ago see my hair is grey; I am not young. In Sudan before the war I was happy; my husband was working in the […] government. Everything was available to me, my children and to our families. We had good life for many years, but in the Christmas of 1982, things begun to change, everyone was talking, reporting to each other a lot of rumour about what the government in Khartoum was going to do to the southerners. In less than six month[s] (May 1983) the revolution started in my hometown […]. That was it till now no good life.

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[6] Jallaba: Local name for Arab traders

Their socio-economic backgrounds in Sudan played an important part in respondents' lives. Sudanese refugees from the rural backgrounds relied exclusively on cattle herding on the vast savannah of southern Sudan and subsistence farming for consumption and local trade, before becoming refugees. Unlike those from rural backgrounds, refugees from an urban lifestyle sustained their living from employment, trading or a combination of both.

Back home in pre-war South Sudan everyone had something to do to earn money. People did not have international businesses but had something respectable at the local level which met their needs. People had something going on:

> My small farm was the source of my life. During rainy season we saw crops of different types – some will be ready in ninety days and others for six months while long-term ongoing crops like cassava will keep going for years. We all eat and sell from it. No problems here you get money from WINZ but it goes back to pay the bills and my family back home.

Many of the participants in this research project had jobs and were earning good money in Sudan. They had a good life full of happy memories while others had bad and painful memories too. The painful experiences happened a few months before war started which eventually forced them to leave Sudan.

More than half of the participants had been living as refugees for a decade or more. A few of the participants came to the refugee camp as young as six years old; some started to have children in the refugee camp. Therefore, the long-term conflicts in their homeland and in the asylum countries, in addition to the camps' hardships and poverty, impacted negatively on them.

Stage (B): The Journey to the Refugee Camp

Theme (2) – Leaving home.

This part had been clearly remembered by almost every respondent (young and old). In order to keep in the participants' stories in context I will make reference to my own experience in Sudan. The fact is that the war started in May,

during the time when people were busy with the harvest of short-grain crops and also preparing for seasonal festivals. No one knew what was happening. Everyone was happy and busy with his or her own business and duties until they were forced out of towns with just enough time to pick up whatever they could lay hands on. Many respondents thought it would be better to leave the town for the countryside, and wait to see what would happen. Adak said crossing international borders to the neighbouring countries was not the immediate thing on her mind:

> … no one knew that the situation will get worse. I came to my parents' house and got my mother standing outside her small Tukul waiting to hear from people who were coming from town what is happening in town. I took her bags and asked her to leave to the countryside like anyone else is doing.

In my own experience, life in South Sudan was much easier. It was concerned about and focused on local news, and local cultural events. For example, the local fattening festivals – where young people isolate themselves and go on into the fattening camps for three months during which time they create songs, learn them, eat meat and drink milk, and rest during the day and in the evening they go and rehearse their songs through dancing. Atheik, who once participated in a fattening competition, was able to recall:

> … you know, back home everyone was busy with their own things, so we did not really pay any attention to what the Arab government in Khartoum was doing; only the politicians would know but the local people had zero knowledge. I was busy preparing for September fattening festival. It was in April when I really knew that something was wrong, because I saw big army presence in […].

The security situation in South Sudan started to deteriorate in September 1982. The Arab government in Khartoum passed the new law giving the National Security Forces powers to arrest the people whom they suspected to have links with local politics, and to detain the politicians who opposed the forced introduction of Islamic Laws in the whole of Sudan.

Those days in Sudan, in my experience, the punishment of those who opposed the introduction of Islamic Laws regardless of their faith, has brought

about the *well-founded* fear of persecution. Because of that fear, people began to distrust anyone (women or men) in uniform. Well–founded fear forced many people to seek refuge in places they thought would be safe – either in the countryside or in the neighbouring countries. Ajuet, said:

> In the evening we saw army troops dressed in full uniform carrying guns. I was afraid and did not know what it is happening… I took my money from the box and some stuff and came out, and I saw everyone was running, some people were driving cars and many were going by foot. Children were crying; that was very bad.

The war erupted in 1983; the system broke down and all respondents left their homes and everything they had worked for such as: farmlands, homes, shops full of goods, money and other valuable belongings. The departure was chaotic and a complete mess. Adak also said:

> I cannot recall exactly what I was doing that time, but I heard sounds of people and big army trucks moving into town. I came inside our house and try to locate my wooden box where I kept my important things. It was like short notice for me. I had some money in my saving accounts with the Unity Bank, but I couldn't get it out it was already 3pm.

Figure 3. Photo Illustrating the Impact of Lack of Water and Food.

Source: UNHCR 2004

On the way to these supposedly "safe havens", participants encountered hurdles. These hurdles such as thirst have claimed many lives, especially among women, children, elderly and sick people. Ajuel, said:

> In our group we had women, men, and many children. We had no food for several days. People were eating whatever they can… root of trees and wild fruits helped many people. People who had good life at home, especially those who had never experienced hunger, thirst and long walk were seriously sick with malaria and diarrhoea.

The war started when the Arab Government in Khartoum announced the imposition of the Islamic Sharia Laws in Sudan. Because the South Sudanese are

Christian and animists[7] they thought they will not be affected by the Sharia, therefore no one really bothered to be preparing for it.

When asked if anyone knew what it means to be ruled by Islamic Laws, the respondents who were young at the time did not know much about Islam and its rules; only that:

> In our town we had Arabs, they had shops in *suque,* but I did not have closed association with them, so I cannot say that I knew what it would means to have Islamic Laws. Sometimes my relatives who came from Khartoum said that in Islam, the thief punishment is to cut his or her one hand… that was frightening to me anyway. (Ajuel)

The younger participants learned about Sudan more clearly in the refugee camps from their community elders and relatives, where they met different people from different parts of Southern Sudan. Jok, said:

> You know I thought it was only our town that was destroyed. I never knew it was the whole South and all tribes are affected.

The local people in South did not have enough information about the government policies towards their region. Many participants never understood clearly what the government's plans and policies were for the South:

> You see after the re-division of the southern region into three regions everyone was concerned about their future especially those people who were employed by the regional government of the South," Isaac said.

The following stage reports on the experiences that impacted on refugee lives in Kakuma Refugee Camp, in getting basic needs met like adequate water and food, health care services accessibility, and personal safety at night.

Stage (C): Life in Experience in Kakuma Refugee Camp

Theme (3) – Welfare.

Kakuma is a small town in the Turkana District in northern Kenya with a refugee population of over eighty six thousand, of whom eighty percent are refugees from South Sudan. This huge population in itself is a big population to live in such a

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[7] Belief in spiritual beings or agencies

remote area. The Kakuma Refugee Camp was established in the 1990s in an area which is characterized by banditry and insurgency, and violent clashes between the Kenyan army and local armed groups have often been reported.

In the Kakuma Refugee Camp context, welfare services may include the provision of food, firewood, shelter, building materials, education and health care treatment.

Figure 4. A picture taken by the UNHCR (2002) in Kakuma illustrates the pressure on the local resources by the refugees.

The fact is that the presence of refugees in this area brought about insurgency and a complex balance in the population's relationships; therefore the ill feeling came to a head among the refugees themselves; and between them and Turkana as well. Many respondents were in this camp for many years, and some actually grew up there.

Eighty percent of Sudanese refugees who came to New Zealand, including the five families who participated in this research, came from the harsh conditions of Kakuma. Refugees who had been to the Kakuma Refugee Camp experienced the effect of these issues. Food and firewood were always viewed by the Sudanese refugees as inseparable and to get food in Kakuma was a major challenge that all respondents faced. The fact is that the UNHCR distributed food fortnightly. Every household was issued a ration card with names of family members listed in it. The head of the family (or a delegate) would go and claim the food from the UNHCR officials on the day of distribution. All respondents in this project suffered food shortages, which led to frequent lack of food in many homes. Very often many people missed out on food distribution, which was provided by the UNHCR every two weeks. Akek, a female respondent who actually grew up in Kakuma camp, said:

My life in Kakuma was unimaginable; there was nothing that I could say other then asking yourself why did I come to Kakuma? The war lifestyle was still lingering around in Kakuma camp. People get killed every night by the natives (Turkana) because of food. Food was distributed by the UNHCR and the worse experience in Kakuma is about getting the food. Many refugees have to line up to get their ration. My experience is that people are often told that the distribution is over come again in 2 week. I have missed out couples of times and that was very difficult for my children and me. We had no money to buy food and therefore I had to go and asked other people if I can borrow some food (flour and oil) and I promised to give it back when I get my ratio in 2 weeks. That means I am in constant food shortage.

Weljang, a mother of six children, responded to the question of food shortages by discussing when she was sick during the distribution time. She and her six children had no food for one full month. She was forced to sell some of her belongings including her children's clothes. Here is what she said:

I still remember and feel bad when someone asked me about Kakuma. I had malaria for 4 days in the week leading to distribution. My 13 years old son came in the morning to tell me that I should go to get the food, but I could not because I was very sick. I asked my sister if she could help me get my ration, but she was not allowed to get it for me because the UNHCR officer told her that it has to be me not her. So I missed out in that distribution and again in the next distribution I was still feeling sick but I went to the UNHCR compound and told the officer that I cannot take my ration tomorrow because I am sick and I told him that my sister will come and take it for me. He said ok, ok, ok but when tomorrow came I sent my sister he changed his words saying he has never said like that… so I had no food again for 2 weeks.

Figure 5. Photo illustrating the amount of food distributed fortnightly in Kakuma. Source UNHCR (2006)

Everyone I interviewed told me stories of food shortages in Kakuma and this was, and perhaps still is, the major problem facing many refugees in Kakuma. Adowl, a head of a family of five people, also experienced a similar situation in August 1999 when her husband went to Nairobi for an interview. She said:

> My husband went to Nairobi because we got a letter from […] for interview to come to […], which didn't succeed […]. I was seven months pregnant with my number three daughter. I went to the distribution area at five o'clock in the morning so I was like very much in front but after 1 hour the weather changed there was a big dust storm so the UN officers said to everyone that they cannot make distribution today asking everyone to go away, just in few minutes the dust was gone and hot sun came up. Food was not enough and the quality was not good either. For me it was not good to go back to the UNHCR compound, again because it is far away from zone […] where I was living, so I missed out for 2 weeks. We had no food, but because this can happen to anyone it was ok for people to share their ration with those who have missed out.

Missing out on the food distribution had affected everyone I interviewed in this group and perhaps everyone who has been in Kakuma Refugee Camp. All respondents reported that during their long stay in Kakuma Refugee Camp waiting for resettlement opportunities, they have experienced food shortages several times. Missing out for the UNHCR food distribution meant they have to wait for the next distribution in another two weeks:

> You know UNHCR give us food raw not cook, so it our responsibility to cook it and serve to ourselves. One time UNHCR gave corn beef once and we never saw it again but if you go to local Sunday market you will see people selling it at high price. (Adak)

Firewood is just a resource in the real world, but in the refugees' view it was an important part of their welfare and it was a source of violence in Kakuma, which continued to undermine the security of refugee women who depended on firewood to cook their meals. Adak said:

> As we were gathering firewood, often far from the refugee camp, we get harassed by young men. One time my older cousin nearly got into trouble but we told the boys if they do that we will report it back to our relatives.

Although this life sounds good for refugees, it was not. Access to food supplies in Kakuma, for example, was a nightmare. The large refugee population was also perceived by the local Turkana people to be the reason behind food shortages and insecurity in Kakuma. Jok said:

> Turkana people think that UNHCR actually came to help them. To give food, water, health services, education and so on. They do not know that these services are for refugees.

Another important part of welfare services, according to Sudanese refugees, was the health care services. Health promotion in Kakuma was provided by the UNHCR and IRC, while the other health providing organisations dealt with primary, clinical, and preventative health.

The Institute of Child Health in London and the IRC in conjunction with UNHCR in 2001 undertook a micronutrient survey of the impact of food storage on children health and growth. The outcome of this survey was disseminated widely in the camp and the majority of respondents who I interviewed for this research had read the report during their stay in Kakuma in 2001. According to Auiet:

> I read the report made by the IRC [which] suggested that the composition, the amount of general ration, was less. And when you look into the rations given to people one will immediately see the deficiencies in three of six key micronutrients, which are important for people to remain healthy.

Those respondents who had read the survey outcome were convinced that the food shortage severely compromised refugee children's health, growth and well-being. The report found that the general rations were far below the minimum international humanitarian standards in food assistance. Despite the report findings, the UNHCR did nothing to rescue the situation especially for children. The report argued that doing nothing about this situation would certainly produce a number of unwanted conditions. As Adak said:

> In Kakuma there was big increase in mortality and disease, especially among the children, sick people and elderly. It was also the reason behind the increase in security problems among refugees themselves and between refugees and the local people.

Participants in this research viewed access to health services as primitive, because of the lack of facilities such as a medical laboratory and surgery equipment:

> Look let me tell you, there is no doubt that health services are weak. In 2001 there was a survey carried out by IRC many refugees took part in that including me have participated in the survey. We gave them all what we think about the health services but they did nothing; still same old. (Apok)

Participants believed the presence of refugees in the Turkana district created a new health picture, different from what it was traditionally known to be. Many respondents said everything had changed, including the environment and people; and animals' behaviour as well. As a result of such change there were now diseases which were not commonly known to people of the Turkana District such as malaria, typhoid fever and diarrhoea. This population overflow now affected the environmental conditions in this area significantly, compared to the time before the refugees arrived. According to Jok:

> When we came to Kakuma there were nothing, few houses and people moving around no settled communities. We only see Turkana people in the market day, where they come from no one knows. The UNHCR introduced water hand pumps system. UNHCR did not consider digging water ways to drain the unused water, so it created dead water and the mosquito was breeding quickly in these waters causing malaria.

Despite the high rate of malaria, Kakuma camp had few clinics and only one hospital to provide health care for over eighty thousand refugees, in addition to the local populations. Adeng, a respondent with a medical background, said that:

> Medicines are there but the diagnosing of a problem was not done properly because there was no technology to help find out the disease. Doctors prescribed medicines (drugs) to people without knowing what exactly is the problem (the sickness). Unless it is a life-threatening problem then they will refer to waiting list for further check (investigation) in Nairobi. Many as 80 percent of those who are in waiting list to go to Nairobi for medical investigation die before they reach there. My sister in-law died in a place called Lodwar on her way to Nairobi for further medical investigation. She has waited too long for more than two years.

When I asked the participants if any of these NGOs – IRC, UNICEF and others had plans to train the refugees to deliver appropriate services for themselves Makoi replied:

Yes all NGOs had plans to train refugees because it is cheaper in terms of salaries and accommodation, transport and so on. IRC in Kakuma trained me as a pharmacist assistant. After finishing the training I was employed by them and worked for 3 years. It was hard on my family and me because I work long hours, from seven in morning to nine in the night. The health service was short of trained staff always; very few to do the job for many people. We had one pharmacist and few doctors providing medical and health to the entire Kakuma Refugee Camp.

Education is one of the key welfare social services every refugee child needs. It was also mentioned and commented upon by participants but in a lesser way, because the general understanding from refugees about education, and particularly by these respondents, was that education was one of the services supposed to be provided by the UNHCR for refugee children in the camp while waiting for any possible durable solution option. However, the need for education not highly ranked in UNHCR priorities, therefore it did not invest in training teachers within refugee communities and this made it difficult for children and adults in the refugee camp to be engaged in education. Ajuel said:

When we came from Ethiopia in 1995, we thought UNHCR will still provide good primary education for us. In Kakuma we had a lot to deal with, so going to school was not immediate in my mind.

UNHCR has used local materials to build facilities such as classrooms, teachers' offices, and meeting halls. Although there were no well trained teachers or educators, families and communities have used these facilities to teach their own children in their way. Evidently, there were a number of community schools (operating in day and evening classes) managed by individuals who were teachers in their countries of origin. Ajuiet said:

Unicef has funded our community to open schools. It was packed with so many students, but soon other communities also opened their own schools so we had more schools, but there were no properly trained teachers.

For the respondents who shared the testimonies above, education was not their priority, although the majority of participants acknowledged education as a human right and said all school-age children should have access to education.

Despite poor and limited education, some communities in the camp managed to provide children with some sort of schooling and have gained basic literacy:

> My children went to our community school in zone one. There was no good teacher you know…but from time to time Kenyan trained teachers from church mission would come and teacher our children it was good. (Ajuiet)

The children used their gained literacy to help their parents in Kakuma in many ways, including translation and interpreting services, and they continued to help them here in New Zealand.

Theme (4) – Water resource.

Necessary resources in the Kakuma Refugee Camp context include water, land and building materials. The Kakuma area has been reported as the hottest and the most arid part of Kenya and has been largely ignored by both the current Kenyan government and the former British rulers.

The Kakuma Refugee Camp is far away from big towns and cities. It is situated in the semi arid portion of the northwest corner of the republic of Kenya, bordering Sudan. It mostly "rains dust" as one respondent, Adeng, said,:

> I came from southern Sudan town of […] where it rains almost 3 to 5 times in one week, but Kakuma is a desert, it only rains dust and clear sand and there is no running water. No rivers like Sudan we have got the Nile, which has running water, every time we need water we just walk to the river and get it. Now in Kakuma we were struggling to get water to drink not to wash your clothes. Sometime we used not to take shower for one week. I like to look clean and my clothes also looked clean when I was in Sudan, but in Kakuma it was different – dusty, thirst and no good hygiene. There were a lot of flies and bees, insects especially when they see or smell water they will come around in big numbers. They would like to share food with people creating big health [problems] and drew flies by; children had had a very severe diarrhoea many times and I was so scared what will happened to my children if this situation is not changing.

Water shortages also brought many health problems to the camp. Respondents particularly mentioned that the shortage of water directly affected the family daily life in terms of cooking, eating, personal safety, health and well-being

and so on. When I asked respondents to talk about their experiences with water shortages and its associated problems, Arek responded by saying:

> If you ask me what I prefer between water and food, I will take water, because without water you cannot survive in Kakuma. The place is so hot and dusty everyone looks greyish. Young people under 30 years old looked old and weak.

Alwad, a young woman mother of two children, who had bad experiences with water shortages said:

> One day I had no water in my house because the water pump in our zone has been broken by the Turkana man who had a fight with one refugee man, so in the night he came with more Turkana men and broke the water pump which was supplying us with water. I had wanted to cook the dried fish but have no water, and at the same time my brother and his kids came from Sudan that morning to look for resettlement for himself and his children because land mines killed his wife when they were crossing the borders. You see I was in a big problem can do nothing […] really it was a bad situation.

All respondents mentioned that the water shortage presented to them a real problem. Some went many days without a shower or a bath. The water shortage affected everyone in the Kakuma Refugee Camp. All respondents reported that water was one of the major problems that left vivid memories in their minds. The area of north-western Kenya is a semi-arid and sandy so the rain water dries-up quickly:

> My family had three cows and seven goats. In Dinka society boys, it is the responsibilities of the boys to look after their animals – feeding take them to drink, to drink water, and protect them from predators. I have to wake up early every morning to go and get water from the hand pumps and store it in a big sink (basin) made of zinc sheet. (Ajuel)

Respondents who had paid jobs in Kakuma had a better life, because they could buy their essentials from the local market, which was an outlet for both refugees and locals to sell their products: mainly water, firewood, meat, dairy products, vegetables, cloths and other materials. Auiet said:

When I came to Kakuma with my family in 1996 the first thing I did after building the house was to buy a water tank - size 500 gallon. I feed it with water once a month, so we had had enough water to use. For other people it was a big problem especially in hot seasons of the year.

Those respondents who had relatives and friends who were still living in Kakuma reported that the water problem is still a major issue. Said Adak:

Water shortage was and still is a problem till today in the area of north-western Kenya, affecting refugees, local people and their animals alike.

When asked if the Kenyan government and the UNHCR had any plans to solve the water problem in Kakuma, so both refugees and local people could help themselves through farming and other income generating activities, Makoi's response was:

I heard from my relatives who are still there that the UNHCR is digging more water pumps, in Kakuma Refugee Camp and Kakuma town to address the shortage of water, but because of the ill feelings existence between refugees and Turkana people this project has not been supported, so I do not know anything now.

Theme (5): Security and personal safety.

All respondents came to live in Kakuma, which is only 90 km from South Sudan. It was established in 1990, and sprawls over the desert of northern Kenya with a population over eighty six thousand refugees from nine different countries and dozens of different ethnic groups. Refugees are living in zones, groups, and sections based on ethnic and tribal lines.

Figure 6. Illustration depicting safety fears in the refugee camp.

Source: Kakuma Camp News 2006

In response to the question of security and safety in Kakuma, Jok, a participant who I interviewed, said:

Since I came to Kakuma in 1994, everyday there was a problem between refugees and local people. For example in June 2003 more than 10 refugees and local people were killed

in clashes over missing cattle which was thought to have been taken by the Turkana. These clashes have impacted adversely on every refugee in this camp, especially during the distribution of food, water and health services.

Refugees thought sharing the things they got from the UNHCR with the local people would bring harmony and good relations in the Kakuma area as a whole, according to Isaac:

> We the refugee[s] have brought great things to Turkana people. We have transformed their land from dry and dusty place to green and productive. For example we buy the local products like firewood, charcoal, and water; and [on the] other hand the locals use refugee health clinics and hospitals.

Refugees lived in groups in Kakuma. This grouping of people created and encouraged strong cultural and ethnic divides in the camp population. The experience from everyone I interviewed had been that the security and stability of the camp depended on a good understanding between the groups in the neighbourhood. The diversity in cultures, different nationalities, levels of education, religion, customs, and so on, made it very difficult for people to live in harmony:

> Even us, the South Sudanese, we have little differences in the way every ethnic group do their own things. There were few problems between us. Marriages always bring problems; because some tribes pay caws as dowry and some pay money and others items only. So if marriage occur across different ethnic group it is always difficult. It takes long time to come to an agreement. (Makoi)

The Sudanese refugee population in Kakuma Refugee Camp was outnumbered by other nationals, including the local population by eighty percent. Unlike most refugee camps throughout the world, Kakuma's male population outnumbered the female population, and UNHCR and other agencies in the field of refugees are aware of this phenomenon. Juiet responded by saying that:

> In Kakuma males are the majority, especially in Sudanese community, because of the '*the lost boys'*, who came without parents or relatives.

Refugee women in Kakuma have faced a variety of abuses, which are considered culturally appropriate in South Sudanese society. These abuses range from forced marriages and forced inheritance - this means that if the husband dies, a woman is inherited by the husband's brother. Many Muslim women are subjected

to genital mutilation. Some fathers would abduct their teenage daughters for forced marriage arrangements. Many women suffered severe domestic violence and rape. Adeng responded by saying:

> One thing I really do not like is the so-called arrange[d] marriage. I feel girls are mistreated by their parents or relatives who insist to give to males they believe are from good families.

Another aspect of life in Kakuma Refugee Camp that many respondents commented on particularly was the night time. All respondents identified personal safety during night time as a major threat to their lives in Kakuma. Many abuses were committed at night. Although the focus of this research was not about the abuses committed within the cultural context, nevertheless some females reported abusive incidences from their relatives or husbands. Many respondents experienced danger or insecurity at night in Kakuma. In that regard Ajuel commented:

> Everything has to be done in the daylight time. There is no electricity. Many people cannot afford to buy kerosene oil for lighting in the night so by the sunset you have to prepare your bed and go to bed, because you cannot do anything in the dark. The worse place to be in the night time is Kakuma. There is lot of killing, because people are hungry. Everyone is ready to take risk to get whatever he lays his hand on. This is mainly local Turkana men who steal or rob people. They know that refugees will protect their food, water and clothes; therefore they shoot to kill once they get into your house; that's your end time.

Robbery and stealing happened at night, and there were many incidences where people were attacked, looted and even killed. Many families lost their food items to these robbers. Adeng reported:

> Oh we got problem with the night times. After one year in Kakuma a rebel group from Turkana appeared. Turkana take the advantage of darkness in the camp to begin to attack homes; loot and they kill those who resisted. One night they came to our house asking for food. My husband said to them no. But they all cocked their guns ready to shoot at us. So I said to my husband please let them take what they want. They took our food; all of it. Next morning we had no food to eat and from that time we kept our doors closed from six evening.

Many respondents identified food shortages in the area as the reason for hostilities and instability in camp at night. Having guns in and around the refugee

camp encouraged the Turkana people to create security problems for refugees. Everyone felt insecure. The Turkana gunmen attacked the camp every night. There was no night without someone losing life, or property. Ajuel said:

> Personally I experienced the Turkana rebels or as known as gunmen, my mother sent me to get kerosene oil from the next door neighbour, the gunmen saw me going out just less than one minute they waited for me and when I came entering home they took away the jerkin of kerosene oil from my hand and ran away with it.

The respondents who were working as teachers, health workers and community leaders had experienced the night's security problems because they worked beyond normal working hours. Isaac, a male pharmacist who escaped death just by mere luck, said:

> I was coming back from my work late evening; I think it was close to seven o'clock. Between where I worked and my house is a walking distance of about 30 minute or less, I know that could mean a big difference especially in the end of the month when people who are working get their monthly pay. I came crossing the zone boundary and in that moment two gunmen appeared in front of me asking me to give them money or they will kill me they do not care. I said I do not have any money with me now because I have not been paid today. They did not believe me. They start searching my pockets but got nothing so they were not sure it they kill me or just in time we heard a gunshot at close distance so we all ran different directions. That is how I escaped death.

Looting, theft and robbery were perpetuated indiscriminately upon refugees by the Turkana. No one was immune from the Turkana gunmen including the ones they were friendly with. Many respondents and their neighbours were looted and some of them were killed. Auiet shared her experiences of one night by saying:

> I heard loud voices from my close neighbour, people saying Ake-moj, which means food. In fact that week was food distribution week everyone got their rations. My neighbours received their food that day and same night the gunmen came asking to be given all the food if not they will kill them all. The lady refused to give it. They just shot her … I heard toom… toom (the gun sound). When I heard that sound, toom, toom I knew they have killed the lady, I ran out screaming but they were gone… very sad night you see.

Although many participants attributed the insecurity incidences to the Turkana people's presence at night with guns, nevertheless there were killings actually committed by refugees themselves. Adak said:

> A man ran away from the war in Southern Sudan sneak in with his gun. I don't know how he was not stop by the Kenyan army in the key base in the border, but anyway he came with it into the refugee camp. His wife and children were already in the camp. One night he had an argument with someone he suspected to have had an affair with his wife, while he was away and with no further to say he shot the guy dead just like that. I was present because I came to greet him because I knew him before in Sudan we are from the same village.

Many participants believed that there was no difference between Kakuma Refugee Camp and South Sudan, because the camp was not as safe as it was supposed to be. Some South Sudanese refugees said they would be prepared to go back to Sudan and live there despite the war because they considered they were in a war zone anyway in the camp. Adeng said:

> The war zone was better than Kakuma, because you know where you are and what it means; now here people are supposed to be secured and safe, but now everyone is afraid. We were stranded not going back to Sudan, not going further to Nairobi or abroad for resettlement, just surrounded by fear.

Because of the security problems at night, two respondents moved homes to the group where they felt safe. The UNHCR made a number of attempts to implement security and protection measures for refugees but never fully succeeded. Consequently, many female refugees persuaded their husbands to seek resettlement in a third country, including New Zealand. This became evident in the testimony of Adeng:

> I nearly left my husband in Kakuma camp, because he refused when I said we move away from where we used to live. He said, we need money to buy Makati (thatch) to build new house and UNHCR is not responsible for people who change places. I said to him if you don't want to leave then I will go to UNHCR's protection area with kids and you remain here. If they kill it will be your own problem. So he accepted it for us to move our stuff to another zone. In fact we moved again from there because someone claimed that space as his so we again but it was ok we are safe.

Moving homes due to insecurity impacted greatly on accommodation stability. During the period of changing and building of new homes people definitely

experienced anxiety and stress issues of where to sleep, and finding cooking, showering and toileting places, in addition to the fact that everyone had to build a fence around their own shelter, dig their own latrine, and so on. It is very important to acknowledge the stress refugees went through in pursuing security and safety.

Stage (D): The Impact of the Kakuma Experience

Theme (6): Resettlement outcomes in New Zealand.

In this study, the impact of the Kakuma experience on outcomes was viewed from the perspective of the respondents' experiences in the above-mentioned stages. The period from 1983 when respondents left Sudan, to the time they arrived in New Zealand, amounted to one thing: "their experiences". At this stage I will report the respondents' views on the correlation between their Kakuma Refugee Camp (KRC) experiences and their resettlement experiences in New Zealand in terms of access to welfare, resources, and safety. This report is woven to explore the link between these experiences and their impact on the resettlement outcomes of Sudanese refugees in New Zealand. Table 11 shows the key impact of camp experiences on resettlement outcomes.

Table 11. Impacts of Refugees' Camp Experiences on Resettlement Outcomes.

The situation faced by the refugees when they arrive in NZ	The impact on refugees in NZ	The impact on Sudanese refugees
Secular health system and medicines	Diseases not treated; ill health; untimely death; family left unsupported and negative resettlement outcome	The health system is confusing; patients missing doctors' appointments, not taking medicines as directed, not treated on time and untimely death
Lack of mental health assessment	Anxiety, depression, self-harm, family violence and abuse, homicide	Suicide, depression, family separation

The situation faced by the refugees when they arrive in NZ	The impact on refugees in NZ	The impact on Sudanese refugees
Unfamiliar with the use of utilities (gas, water tap) and budgeting	Unsafe homes, illiterate community, debts default, legal issues (courts)	At risk of fire, water blast and debts, children's needs not met, children drop out of school, family dysfunction
Study loans qualification	Generations of unemployed, burden on the welfare system	Large loans, unqualified and no employment
Placement and locations	Fragmented, pockets of small communities, difficult to settle	Isolation, insecurity, loneliness, sickness and alienation
Unemployment, less income	Financial refugees, expectation not realised, waste of human resources unproductive community	Financial burden, lack of self development, backlash from family members overseas, guilt

Theme (6.1): Access to welfare.

All people from refugee backgrounds, including the Sudanese refugees, came from countries with undefined social welfare policies. Therefore, they did not have a clear understanding of the New Zealand welfare system. The law in New Zealand grants access to welfare services, and everyone has the right to these social services as long as they meet the regulations set by the New Zealand government. The differences between the health care in Kakuma and New Zealand had a great impact on every respondent. They identified visiting the doctors as a major problem. Their health care system and medical treatment experiences in Kakuma had a great impact on the way they perceived the health system in New Zealand. Many things in New Zealand were reported as being taken for granted, compared to the way it used to be in Kakuma.

Many respondents were happy with their treatment outcomes especially those with illnesses requiring surgery. Adeng described that:

> I got what I was expecting, health services. When I arrived I was treated. I went direct for my treatment… actually the condition has been eliminated so I am happy about it because it was my major objective of coming to New Zealand, but I still feel that I cannot talk openly to anyone here even my sponsors.

Patients have a choice to follow the prescribed treatment or not. People here in New Zealand have access to learn more about their health and illnesses, therefore the choices they make are informed. Whereas in Kakuma Refugee Camp people relied entirely on the medical personnel and whatever the doctor says, it is that people must do. Here in New Zealand it is the opposite. The doctors give patients a choice to take the prescribed medications or not. Consequently many respondents expressed a difficulty in taking responsibility for their medical issues here in New Zealand. Isaac compared his experiences by saying:

> Here things are not difficult, health service is good, but doctors here do not give good medicines, each time I go to see my doctor when I feel sick he just advice me to eat and drink a lot of water and prescribes only Panadol or paracetamol … pain killers only. I really do not know what he thinks.

For example, many refugees who participated in this research project reported having particular issues with visiting doctors for medical check ups where they will be asked to give blood. Adak said:

> When I became pregnant my family doctor asked me to go and do blood test which was ok I went to do the test, but they took a lot of my blood. I was scared and did not know if this is right. They asked me to go back to my family doctor to get the result of the test. The doctor told me that I lack iron and I need to eat good food. In Africa the doctor will give you iron tablets straight away.

In Sudanese culture, mental health — psychosis, depression and trauma — is not dealt with in the way it is here in the New Zealand context. Mental health and well-being were a concern for many respondents. Some suffered in silence from trauma and possibly depression, but they could not tell anyone because they were not used to talking to strangers about their own family issues.

Because of their cultural orientation, people with mental problems such as trauma, anxiety, and psychosis and so on never bothered to seek out mental health specialists (e.g., counsellors, psychologists or psychiatrists). Many respondents mentioned that in Sudan when someone is born with a disability or is disturbed mentally, his or her relatives would seek help from the spirits. They conducted ritual practices. This made it difficult for many Sudanese people to

understand the difference between disability and mental health. Athot, a respondent mother of a child, diagnosed with mental health problems, said:

> My child has been diagnosed with intellectual disability and the doctors are not giving him anything. They asked me to take of him and teach him how to look after himself when he grows up. What kind of doctors are these? Back home in Africa I would have taken him to spirit doctor who will give local herbals medicines and by now he would be ok… I am saving now to take him to Africa.

Adult participants found it harder to take control their health and well-being when it came to New Zealand medical services and doctors. Auiet, an adult patient with diabetes, said:

> I have been diagnosed with diabetes. My family doctor told there is nothing she could do and asked me if I want to take tablets? Even in Kakuma the doctors cannot   tell you there is nothing they can do… this is bad someone could die by heart attack… doctors must try harder to save life.

When it came to human resources utilisation some respondents felt their expertise was being lost. These challenges were faced while trying to fit in with a new way of living, establishing new contacts and relationships within the Sudanese and broader local community, and paying the bills. Alwong said:

> Since I came here I became lazy because I am just staying home. Cannot go to study English because I do not know how to go there although I have been here nearly seven years…in Kakuma I had small shop where I was selling vegetables to those who had paid jobs.

Not finding jobs was impacting greatly on the refugees. All respondents commented on this with great interest, especially those people who had had well paid jobs in Sudan and had some professional training in Kakuma. Makoi, a qualified teacher in Sudan, who is supporting five family members in three places in Africa, said:

> I am not happy here; I cannot realise any of my dreams, to drive good car, build a house, and have money to send to my widowed sister with four children in a displaced camp around Khartoum, my brother family and my in-laws in Kakuma. I cannot visit to brother who came to visit me from Australia many times but I cannot go because I cannot afford it.

Theme (6.2): Safety and placement mismatch

Respondents, especially the younger people, reported that there is no comparison between KRC and New Zealand in terms of physical and personal safety at night. For them, New Zealand was a safer country to live. Despite the physical security in New Zealand, the Sudanese refugees felt unsafe and isolated in New Zealand in terms of culture, language, climate (cold and humidity) and racial discrimination because of resettlement placement patterns in New Zealand. I asked Adak, a young respondent who has been driving between Auckland and Wellington on a regular basis to meet relatives and friends about living in another city away from her relatives. She said this:

> We came to Kakuma in 1990s and I was younger that time… I can vaguely remember Sudan, but all my adolescent memories are all about Kakuma. I have friends with whom I went to school with, play games and had fun with them. So coming to New Zealand was good at first, but now is hard to make new friends not even from within Sudanese community because some of us did not meet before; we just met here.

In Kakuma, the refugees lived in zones, groups and sections. This made it easy for them to share and enjoy each others' presence. It was also useful in terms of education and sharing information. All respondents acknowledged the information sharing, which could lead to building of a strong community and was very important. Makoi's response was:

> You know in Kakuma our group was funded by IRC to train midwives and first aid people and it was easy and simple because the community leaders identify people who can go and get train[ing]. Here is difficult for the agencies to bring people into one place and train to up-skill them.

As discussed in the preceding chapters, New Zealand has been a destination for refugees for a very long time. Over the course of refugee arrivals both government and community organisations have jointly developed post-arrival programmes to address the immediate needs of housing, health, schooling for children and English language education for adults, which is intended to lead to employment.

All respondents complained, however, that there was something missing regarding the placement. Adong responded by saying:

> When I came to Mangere no one asked me about my background, where do I want to live? I have been away from the city difficult life for a very long time. I was hoping that I will go to live in good place where I can have my own place to farm my vegetables and other things, but that did not happen.

The placement was frustrating for the Sudanese refugees. Respondents in this research would have liked to see the philosophy of community building is put into action. Alwong said:

> It cost me money to ring Auckland to speak to people in my language. I feel isolated, lonely and cold. In Kakuma I did have any problem finding someone to talk with…it was good especially when I feel bad someone is there to talk and do the traditional counselling. Now I am not feeling good about being here alone.

The assumption of the New Zealand government and community organisations working in refugee resettlement has been that refugees will resettle quickly, embrace the local culture, and move on to be Kiwis. Similarly, refugees themselves expressed holding the same expectations of quick recovery from the refugee camp experience. Isaac said:

> When I came here some years ago I had one thing in my mind that I will get a job in the field of pharmaceutical company or in the chemist shop at least because the training I had in Kakuma was really good, very intensive and at European level in terms of books.

Not all participants came from the same socio-economic background; some people came from an urban setting and the rest from rural backgrounds. The question of where they would like to live here in New Zealand had mixed responses. Auiet said:

> I love green places and New Zealand is good, is green and nice, but in cities you have no chance of getting a job that pay you good money. In Sudan I had a farm and used to produce food to sell and I was making money. Same in Kakuma I used to go and get water to irrigate my small garden at the back of my house so I used to get my fresh vegetables.

This expectation had not been realised by many refugees at the time of the interviews due to barriers such as: lack of employment and English language skills;

the strange culture; discrimination; the cold and humid climate among other things. I asked Ajuel to comment:

> There are some things to deal with when I came here. I am thinking my own self what to do and how to it … I like to help my family back home to have good house so when I go there to visit them; my children should have at least a decent place to stay…but now that is not happening.

The Sudanese refugee experiences and expectations were not different from other refugees who have arrived before them. These research findings indicated that all respondents felt secured from hunger, and had access to a well developed health care system and personal security in New Zealand but had little trust in the local people (the Kiwis) because of the different culture.

When resettling in a new place it is the refugees themselves who can identify or help to identify the issues and perhaps can suggest solutions. Many participants commented on their desire to get involved in finding solutions to their resettlement issues. Ajuel said:

> Coming to this city was not our choice, only RMS called us one morning and told us that our house (this house) is ready in this city and once we finished the orientation from here we will leave and everything is there waiting for us…now, what, nothing ever ready here as you can see by yourself.

Resettlement in New Zealand was seen as being better than being in Kakuma, where people did not have access to the basic necessities of life. However, the climate in New Zealand is completely different from the climate in Kakuma. Yet some respondents found this a positive change. Jok said:

> Although people complained that New Zealand is cold, but it is the real place to live, then living under temperatures over 40° Celsius and bad security. We are not starving here we got food and water all these things are not in Kakuma. Here we have a chance to increase our knowledge. In my family my husband is to take the lead and get qualifications, I take care of the children after he finished then the children would have grown and go to school, that give me a chance as well to go school to learn more and get to work, then I will be able to get what I need.

Theme (6.3): Access to resources

This research found a link between access to resources (human and material) in Kakuma and New Zealand in terms of material and food welfare. Before I establish that link I have classified the resources into major and minor resources based on efforts and time. Refugees need these resources at different times from arrival to the time they feel at home in their new country. Major resources require more efforts and time, while the minor resources need lesser efforts and time. The major resources include learning the English language which is a pre-requisite for finding employment.

Respondents reported that employment facilitated the maintenance of the family members who are left behind in refugee camps till such time as they arrive in New Zealand. Jok said:

> When I finished my language course I will look for a job seriously, because from the time I started this programme I never sent any money to my mother she has been waiting for so long to come to New Zealand.

On the other hand the minor resources are the basic resources that include knowing how to operate the water tap to drink, showering, and knowing how to operate the gas or a stove to cook meals, or shopping to buy food, knowing bus stops and routes to visit friends or doctors, and so on. Of course the ease with which the refugee people learn to use these basic resources is stunning.

Access to appropriate resources for personal development was reported to be an essential part in the resettlement process. In terms of learning the English language, many respondents both successfully and unsuccessfully attempted to enrol into trade courses, post secondary or university training, but issues of student loan conditions, especially for the married students plus the job market made it harder for many respondents to complete their studies. All respondents had had no experience with student loans and student allowances. They never had been into institutions where a student is required to apply for loans and allowances. Isaac responded to a question on this issue by saying:

I went to Manukau Institute of Technology, MIT, to do English course at the intermediate level. WINZ told me if I enrol they will transfer my case to study link and get student loans and study allowance. Between WINZ and study link I spent one full semester without regular income. You know I have family and bills to pay… how can learn to succeed in this situation…?

Many respondents expressed having difficulty with student loans and they did not know what would happen in the future when they complete their studies and did not find jobs to repay the loans. Jok's reflection on this was:

In this few years I have accumulated huge loans – personal to support my relatives back home and student loans that I took to this do some courses to upskilled myself. Now I have no job and I do not think I will get a job here.

It seems the issues of cultural differences were in respondents' minds as a concern. They believed the mainstream New Zealand culture will never understand how important it is for the Sudanese to keep practising their own culture. Speaking as a Sudanese, togetherness at all times is our way of life; people depend on each other for care and protection. Adeng concluded by saying:

It is really a big problem to meet each other because we are living in different places – different cities, now I know people with whom I can relate and have fun with but they are not here. If I have a problem, I do not know who to talk to.

Family members are a great human resource in any culture or system. Usually, during the interview for resettlement, refugees are asked to list all family members regardless of where they may be. This is to make sure that in the future resettled refugee should be able to bring their relatives to live with them under the family reunification category. Since the refugees arrived in New Zealand, respondents reported it has proved to be a difficult process to bring family members out here. All respondents had family members who are still in Kakuma waiting to come here to be with their relatives. Akol said:

It is going many years now since we came to NZ and no one from Refugee Immigration in Mangere to help me to bring at least my mother. I only came with these children, my sister, my mother and cousins are still in Kakuma. If anything happened to me now here alone where will my children go? No relatives no friends that I can trust to look after them if I die… difficult… I

divide my benefit with my family every week to them alive because Kakuma live as I knew is not good especially my mother.

Family relatives are treasured by all Sudanese cultures. Many respondents were actually sending money to relatives on a regular basis to keep them alive. When I asked Athot about her relative in Kakuma she said:

> I am sending money every month for my family to live. My two nieces are now attending Kenyan school just English and other subjects so when they come here they would not be having problems with schooling in New Zealand.

All respondents commented on how they were happy in Kakuma, even though it is was not good place to live at all, because of their family members being present. Athot was:

> When my husband lost his life in Sudan it was hard for me to live. Life was so boring but when my family from both sides came to Kakuma, my life changed. They talked to me and my kids we understood death can happen anytime and one can regardless of how… they have comforted me so much… since I came here I have gone to Auckland many times to meet with staff at Mangere Refugee Centre. They asked me to fill forms which I did and nothing till… I do not know if they really understand what my family means to me."

Getting family members to New Zealand was a major concern to everyone one I interviewed. Jok, who came here as a single man, said:

> I have lost my appetite and no interest in doing anything because I have made lots [of] visit[s] to Mangere to meet the immigration officer in-charge of my family but they never do anything. I had several interviews with them, filled forms and sent to Canberra in Australia no results, so disappointing… cannot find work cannot study and ultimately I will not settle happily here. I am not earning enough money, all what I get I share it half with my family in Kakuma.

Resettlement broadened the understanding of all respondents in this research. Their expectations were facing the challenge of realities in New Zealand, especially those who came thinking that they would quickly get well paid jobs and live their dream lives. Alwong said:

> It is becoming more difficult everyday to live in New Zealand. So many things are not going well; I cannot manage myself and my family. The laws

are very different, one cannot talk to children as our parents and relatives did in Sudan. In minutes the police will come and one is labelled as bad parent. The worse thing is Child Youth and Family involvement.

Access to resources (major or minor) in both places, Kakuma and New Zealand, was reported to be a different experience. All respondents, especially the young people, found it easy to enrol into a post secondary education, short courses and training. People only needed to make a phone call and a few days later the institution will send a pack including an enrolment from. I asked Adeng what was her experience in terms of access to charcoals and water particularly. She said:

> Oh we did not have any problem to get water. Just open the tap and water comes out no need for hand pumps. This house is Housing New Zealand and we do not pay and money to buy water so this is good. In Kakuma it was terrible to get water. Here in New Zealand we are not using charcoal any more, but I saw it being sold in supermarket. When we first came to this house our support person taught me how to use the gas in cooking. It is easy to use but also dangerous, because if it explodes it will burn the house and possibly everyone living here. So it is easy to use easy to explode.

Summary of Findings

In summary, all respondents narrated their experiences uniquely, giving testimonies of their lived experiences in Sudan, in Kakuma and in New Zealand. They shared their hearts and feelings. The following is a descriptive summary of the findings.

As far as the pre-conflict life in Sudan was concerned the reaction was similar from all respondents. They all spoke warmly about Sudan, especially the respondents who came from Sudan as adults. They reported that they had good lives in pre-conflict Sudan in terms of the things they had; including well paid jobs, businesses owned, and working in the farming industry. They had their family members and friends around at all times; they were living within their cultural knowledge and familiarity. When the system collapsed in South Sudan they left their towns and villages empty handed, with nothing except their own lives. In the

process of seeking safety they faced life-threatening hurdles such as exhaustion, sickness, hunger and fear on their way to unknown territories eventually arriving at the in semi-arid place called Kakuma.

When they arrived at Kakuma, instead of peace, respondents experienced enormous problems concerning safety and how to access basics needs. They reported issues of difficulties in feeding themselves and their children; facing problems including insufficient and un-nourishing meals made of maize seeds and wheat flour distributed by the UNHCR fortnightly. They also had difficulty finding firewood and charcoal to cook. Many respondents reported that they had bartered portions of their food to the Turkana for charcoal or firewood. They shared unforgettable lived experiences in terms of difficulties accessing clean water, health care and treatment, and sanitation, due to the fact that Kakuma geographically is semi-arid, hot and dusty with severe shortage of rains and water. Everyone I interviewed complained about the shortage of water. They remembered the times when they did not have enough water to drink, cook meals, to take a shower and to irrigate their backyard gardens simply because of lack of water.

The health care system and treatment of illness in Africa depends greatly on medical doctors. The concept of a family doctor who knows the family medical history is rare or unheard of, so whatever sickness a person has, the doctor in charge treats the patients holistically. For example, the doctor will ask a patient to explain the history of the illness. Based on the patient's explanation the doctor prescribes the medications and orders the patient to take them on time till finished. Health care and treatment in Kakuma was reported by the respondents as primitive, lacking the basics resources equipments and medications.

Many respondents reported a lack of health care resources and health promotion and education on how to prevent disease and illnesses (for instance how to manage diseases such as diabetes or blood pressure). Many refugees, including relatives of some respondents, died because of lack of good health care and treatment in Kakuma. Because of lack of enough water and the primitive

health care system, many people lost their lives during out breaks of malaria, cholera and diarrhoea in Kakuma.

When it comes to education in Kakuma, refugee children's education is not a relief priority for the UNHCR. Therefore, there was no mandate for the organisation to provide education for refugee children in Kakuma. However in pursuit of a better future the refugee communities have teamed up with other NGOs to establish community based classrooms for their children's primary education. In regard to jobs and training, many refugees have not ended up in Kakuma, continuing what they used to do back home in Sudan, nor have they got into new careers. Only two respondents had basic training in health care provided by the UNHCR agencies. There were no jobs or career training plans for refugees, despite the fact that the UNHCR is promoting three durable solutions of repatriation, local resettlement and resettlement in the third country, all of which require plans and preparation.

Refugees are a great human force for development, regardless of the shape and pattern of what they can do. Money to send to maintain the members left behind is a function of finding employment here in New Zealand. Many adult refugees who came here want to earn an income to support their family here and at home in Africa. Now with no jobs they are disappointed and family members in Africa are feeling forgotten. In the Kakuma Refugee Camp, the UNHCR gave refugees basic food items. No cash was given to anyone but, despite that, refugees were involved in income generating activities, such as gardening inside the house compounds. The produce was sold to retailers and to those who had paid jobs.

Depending on welfare in New Zealand and not knowing the law that regulates other income generating activities had made life here difficult for refugees interviewed. Respondents reported that in this semi-arid dusty Kakuma, they contributed to building a city of corrugated zinc sheets, cardboard, grass, mud and wood. Despite the scarcity in water, they started to plant trees and cultivated

vegetable gardens, irrigated them manually and sold the produce to each other, resulting in the creation of a weekly local market.

In terms of safety, respondents had much to say. Kakuma Refugee Camp is situated 90 kilometres away from the Kenya – Sudan broader. It is under the watchful eyes of the Sudan Army Forces' (SAF) long-range missile artillery. Being under the watchful eyes of the SAF was not the only safety issue they were concerned with. They also reported the incidences of insecurity in Kakuma, especially at night. Nightfall brings nightmares. It is when the insecurity, domestic violence, theft, robbery, and killing occur indiscriminately. Every respondent had experienced at least one or more of these unsafe situations.

When they arrived in New Zealand the refugees found many things different ranging from climate, to strange cultures, to a different language. In terms of development, all respondents indicated that New Zealand had well developed refugee reception plans. They reported they were well received when they arrived at Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre in Auckland. Every respondent upon arrival was provided with essential basic (minor) needs, and all people I interviewed acknowledged that in their responses.

Refugee Services (RS), formerly known as Refugee and Migrant Services (RMS) makes the final decision regarding where people resettle. The smaller refugee communities are not happy with the resettlement allocation decisions and the Sudanese community is one of those smaller communities that are affected by this unilateral decision because it is divided between Auckland and Wellington. Everyone interviewed was informed about where to resettle and with the option of living in a Housing New Zealand Corporation property; and helped to open a bank account and have Work and Income Support transfer money into their accounts.

Similarly, everyone eighteen and over was given a Community Services Card for medical and health care. Respondents reported that after six weeks in Mangere, though, they moved to places where they felt discrimination and endured

cold; and felt lonely and strange. Many respondents reported they were not employed, and were still learning the English language despite being in New Zealand for more than five years. They were also still waiting for family members to join them.

Respondents reported that the New Zealand health care and treatment system is very different from that in Kakuma. They found that the health care system and treatment of illnesses is more advanced in New Zealand compared to Kakuma. The impact was that people here in New Zealand have choices and options of what treatment to take. Respondents reported that they do not understand how the health and treatment system works in New Zealand. The impact was huge, especially in terms of developing resettlement responses in finding a job, getting training and achieving family reunification. All participants expressed their unhappiness with key aspects of making a meaningful resettlement in New Zealand.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

This project is significantly important in exploring the issue of the impact of camp experiences on refugee resettlement outcomes, and the findings have a critical bearing on the success and failure of refugee resettlement outcomes in the countries of resettlement known as the "third countries". The findings of this project could contribute to the building of an informed picture of what is required to achieve a meaningful refugee resettlement in New Zealand.

All respondents reported that they were well received when they arrived at Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre. This is an indication that New Zealand has developed on-arrival programmes at the centre. These programmes are generic onsite services consisting of medical services provided by Auckland District Health Board (ADHB); physiotherapy services provided by Refugees As Survivors (RAS); housing accommodation provided by the Housing New Zealand Corporation (HNZC); social work and support (opening of bank accounts, finding support groups, moving home) provided by Refugee Services; and education orientation for children and adults provided by AUT University.

All these onsite services were developed decades ago and were based on Europeans' experiences, which are not necessarily informed by the experiences of refugees from other side of the world.

Discussion Summary

The findings of this research project have revealed interesting and touching stories of the respondents' lived experiences. My approach to discussing the findings is first to start with respondents' reports, and finish with the impact of these findings.

The stories that respondents have narrated have painted a picture of life in Kakuma Refugee Camp that was one of hardship, fear and insecurity, serious

health problems and other issues. The picture was the opposite of their expectations about the life in the refugee camp. The fact is that when people run away from their home countries due to civil wars and internal conflicts, they would expect to find food, water, health care, personal development, and peace and personal safety; in other words, to find better living conditions. In Kakuma they were confronted with numerous and challenging living conditions. According to respondents' statements reported in the research findings, getting access to basic essential welfare necessities (food, shelter, education and health care) and resources (water firewood, land and building materials), and ensuring personal safety, has never been easy. Refugees have to suffer so much to get food and other basic needs to survive in camp.

The countries of asylum.

These are the countries which received and hosted the refugees temporarily as asylum seekers or as UNHCR-mandated refugees. Most of these countries are found in the developing world due to the nature of politics and human rights abuses that often occur indiscriminately. This has made the developing world the hosts as well as refugee-producing countries.

In Africa, hosting and refugee producing countries are found in the eastern, central and Great Lakes regions. The fact is that a country could play dual roles of producing and hosting refugees. For example, Sudan is a refugee hosting and producing country. For many years these regions have been experiencing instability and unrest, which makes it very difficult for national governments in these regions to provide food and other welfare essentials for their own citizens, let alone providing these to refugees who are considered by the locals as outsiders and food competitors, contributing to the food shortages in the regions.

According to Helen Nyambura in her 2003 article *Kenya Refugees Go Hungry as Africa Aid Needs Mount*: "Aid workers say there is a chronic shortage of food in the camps, where rations meant to last families 15 days are usually finished

within 12 days. Most of the refugee children going to school in the camp turn up for classes hungry" (p.2).

Welfare and protection in asylum.

The countries of asylum have the responsibility to provide the protection for refugees and the lands where refugee camps are established. The camps are often established in border areas of the countries of origin, while the UNHCR's responsibility is to provide welfare essentials, resources to use and personal safety within the camps. Provision of welfare essentials such as food is within the responsibility of the UNHCR and it is accountable to ensure that every refugee has something to eat, somewhere to live, water to drink, health care and can feel safe.

For many years the shortage of food supplies has been an ongoing issue and it has not improved. This is confirmed by the respondents' storytelling and by the most recent survey conducted by the World Food Programme (WFP) in 2009 in Kakuma indicating the existence of high anaemia and malnutrition rates among refugees, and the local population as well, due to food insufficiency.

When it comes to food itself, according to stories from the participants there are a number of issues surrounding its quantity and quality. Refugees reported in the interviews that the ration given by the UNHCR is not enough. It was too little to last for two weeks. It was not fulfilling or nourishing and was of low quality.

Both refugees and NGOs have taken every opportunity they can get to speak out to the UNHCR and its implementing agencies about the quantity and quality of food supplies. Miller and Simmons (1999) have reported that the World Food Program officials have confirmed that both European and African refugees are getting about 2,100 calories a day of raw food rations. But for the Kosovo Albanians in Europe, those calories come in the form of tins of chicken pâté, foil-wrapped cheeses, fresh oranges, and milk. They come, too, in some ready-made meals, and there is even coffee and fruit tart. This contrasts with African rations

where refugees are never, or far less likely, to get cooked food let alone the ready-made meals, and have to make most of their food from scratch – a practice reflecting the simpler lifestyles of the area. Instead of meals, the refugees in Kakuma are given basic grains such as sorghum or wheat.

Everyone I interviewed confirmed that the food was of low quality, but it was better than nothing and they could not live without it. Therefore missing out on food distribution was not an option and not acceptable for refugees in the Kakuma camp. Despite missing out being disastrous, its occurrence remains the major issue everyone I interviewed had experienced. The respondents confirmed in the findings that it was not by choice that some people missed out on food distribution, but that they missed out due to personal circumstances. Also, refugees alleged in an off record conversation, that they missed out on food distribution owing to the UHNCR's staff's intimidating behaviour and the timing of food distribution. All these factors made it impossible for some people interviewed to get their food rations.

As some of the participants noted in off-record conversations, the risk of insufficiency of food created many unfounded rumours and stories alleging that UNHCR officials were deliberately reducing the rations or denying food to some people so they that could sell it in the third or black market. These are allegations that cannot be proved or denied. According to the study respondents, another factor contributing to food shortages, which is backed up by the literature, included the camp size. According to Peterson (2006), Kakuma camp was established two decades ago as a result of the civil war in Sudan and as a way of coping with the influx of Sudanese refugees entering Kenya. The camp has now grown in size from a few tents and has stretched now to miles of shacks, mud huts, and cardboard houses. Subsequently, stretched food shortages are an everyday experience.

Many participants mentioned that there were numerous other factors affecting the food shortages in the camps. These factors included donor fatigue due to endless stories of refugees and refugee problems (i.e., refugee camps

become permanent settlements because the countries of origin are not able to solve their internal problems, so that refugees could return home in a short period of time). Ideally, refugee-warehousing problems should be resolved quickly so that people can go home. However, experience has shown that some refugee problems are never resolved, and people remain refugees for life (for example the Palestinian refugees).

According to the UNHCR (1999) report on the food situation in the world's highly populated refugee camps, donors often prefer to donate to emergency crises and food shortages for short periods of time. This would mean that ongoing refugee needs are becoming a lesser priority for donors and emergency crises step up to the top of the list. According to the 2008 UNHCR report for the World Food Programme (WFP), the UNHCR was pressured by the donor community to divert food consignments, which were supposed to go to Rwandan refugees in Tanzania. Instead, the agency re-routed the food to people affected by famine and droughts in Zimbabwe. This action questions the commitment of the international community to assist refugees and also challenges the rationale and validity of such compromising decisions.

Food quality and cooking resources.

Having highlighted the factors affecting food supply and causes, there comes the question of what kind of food is given to the refugees. All respondents reported that the food was of low quality. The fact is that in any refugee camp worldwide, and particularly in Kakuma, it is the UNHCR responsibility to distribute food items weekly or monthly. But in the Kakuma case it is every fifteen days, depending on the number of people living in a household.

The food items are distributed uncooked (raw) and it is up to the families to turn these items into meals. However according to the findings of this research, making edible meals out of these raw foods was a big challenge for every refugee in Kakuma. Respondents complained that it was harder to get cooking resources, firewood, charcoals, and cooking utensils; and to keep food fresh to eat later

because there were no refrigerators. But the top greatest challenge was getting the firewood or charcoal to make edible meals.

Refugees participating in this study were compelled to barter some portions of these food items to Turkana people for exchange of firewood or charcoal, or sell it in the local market then buy firewood or charcoals with the money.

Kanere, in his article "Insufficient Food Supply Leads to Trade and Bartering" in *Business and Development Health*, quotes a young refugee woman who said:

> In one month, I use money to buy charcoals and kerosene to secure the first cycle of food, but for the second cycle, my mum uses maize meal or wheat flour depending on what is at distribution centres to buy at least two or three basins. (p. 4)

For many years this situation has become a habit. Everyone must go through these ordeals in order to cook their meals. As a result, a service like "home direct sell" has flourished in Kakuma. It is very common to see the local Turkana sellers move through the camp balancing on their bag, large bundles of charcoal and hawking their products shouting "*chool" or "Maka"*.

Selling and bartering happen on a regular basis at Kakuma but lacks the standards of weighing systems. There is no common measurement that everyone agrees to use. Every seller and buyer negotiates their own terms and conditions that suit them. Some buyers and sellers use *Bakuli* (standard bowl equivalent to one and a half kilogram) of wheat flour or maize to exchange for a basin of charcoal.

Disagreements over weighing systems could result in a conflicts and fights. There have been many incidences of fighting over resources such as firewood. According to Bartolomei (2003), the relations between both groups living in this area keep deteriorating due to the perpetual competition for the scarce resources of water and firewood.

Food shortages and issues in the community.

Respondents reported that food shortages were also a reason for the existence of bad relations between refugees and local Turkana people. According to UNHCR (2006), maintaining law and order in and around the Kakuma Refugee Camp has never been without the challenge of ill feelings between refugees and the local population, mostly based around competing for food and other resources.

Despite the animosities and unease in the relationship between refugees and locals, in reality the presence of refugees in the Kakuma area has brought benefits to the Turkana in Kakuma because they now have access to free basic education, health care services and clean water, which are meant for refugees. Many respondents mentioned that they have dealt with Turkana in the local market (selling and buying). But the Turkana still felt discriminated and left out: "we gave you this land to give us food" (Jamal, 2002, p. 28).

Ill feelings are not only occurring in refugee camps like Kakuma, but also in the urban cities like Nairobi and Cairo. For example a Dinka refugee who resettled in Canada once said:

> I was surprised by the racism and bad treatment of cleaning ladies known as 'Usheen' The Egyptian lady in the house where I worked would say bad things and I would eat the same food as the dogs. The sad thing was that another cleaner (Usheen) from Sudan was killed by her Egyptian employer and nobody did anything about it. (Migrant Resource Centre, 2005, p. 16).

Lack of food is also associated with ill health for elderly people and it slows the growth of children. Because the food is lacking the essential nutrients, and according to IRC (2004) food survey reports in the camp children are not well nourished, they are exposed to many health ailments. To have enough food is a human right; and in the human rights instruments it has been pointed out that the call is not simply for adequate food but more broadly for an adequate standard of living. Article 25, paragraph 1 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations, 1948) says:

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing, medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

In the case of Kakuma, it is not the food adequacy that matters, but about getting it in the first place, so other things like quality, distribution sequence, the methods of distribution and so on, are the least for refugees to worry about.

Health care access.

Another factor affecting refugees in Kakuma is access to good and reliable health care and treatment of illnesses. The UNHCR role is to supervise the camp together with several other implementing partners, including the International Rescue Committee (IRC), which provides all health and sanitation services in the camp. Given the negative effects of the adversity over food and violence that refugees often face in their daily lives, it is no surprise that they exhibit considerable health problems (injury, disease, or accidental death). Pearlin, Schieman, Fazio and Meersman (2005) have pointed out that one reason why refugees may experience a greater health risk is because they did not receive the necessary medical treatments or services in their country of origin. Emotional stress is also associated with lack of food, safety worries, and other stresses of daily survival, which has lasting effects on refugees' physical and mental well-being in resettlement.

From the respondents' viewpoint, the health care system and facilities were primitive. Therefore having good health care is a major problem to everyone living in Kakuma Refugee Camp, because there are no life saving facilities developed by the UNHCR and its implementing agencies working in health services provision in Kakuma. The health care system in Kakuma is overloaded with a high population of refugees who keep coming to medical facilities seeking treatment. The fact is that Turkana District, before the arrival of the refugees, was a low malaria transmission area, because it was only populated by a small number of pastoralists

who never spent long in one place. It is semi-arid with few floods. Now with the coming of refugees in large numbers who have settled permanently, the situation has changed. According to Koros (2006), KRC is no longer a low malaria transmission any more - the situation has changed. It has been observed that there is a possibility of continuous transmission of malaria throughout the year.

Another health problem is cholera. Respondents have mentioned they had diarrhoea and vomiting in the camp despite the fact that Kakuma is dry. Still there was a cholera outbreak in 2005.

Safety in the camp at night.

Food shortages, lack of water and a primitive health care system were not the only the problems refugees in the study encountered in their lived experiences in Kakuma. Safety was also reported as an issue. All refugee camps worldwide, by their nature, are closed facilities. The closed nature of the camps has encouraged crime, turning the camps into possible hubs for crimes and criminals. Everyone I interviewed confirmed that many crimes are committed at night. Many respondents reported that all types of abuses, looting, theft, rape and killing were committed at night. Kakuma by nature was dusty in daytime and a place of fear at night. Often family members or friends advised each other not to walk individually at night unless they were in the company of a group and ready to defend themselves when attacked by the Turkana gunmen.

Feeling safe is important for mental well-being. Although refugees are sharing their resources with the Turkana people in terms of food bartering, health care, and education and so on, tensions continue to mount. According to Aukot (2003):

> Turkana living in Kakuma are cattle keepers and their cattle depend on surrounding pasture and water for survival and they claimed that their grazing lands in the areas of Kakuma, Letea, and other areas has already been destroyed by soil erosion caused by the presence of refugees. (p. 76)

My personal experience is that people will attach less value and meanings to other things when they are experiencing insecurity. It has been reported by the respondents that many victims of shooting injuries or killing in Kakuma are not given adequate treatment and due protection from the UNHCR and partner agencies managing the camp. Crimes are committed and the people who committed them still roam free —Turkana people kill refugees at night; next morning they roam free (Jamal, 2002).

Access to education.

The universal drive for refugees is to ensure the access to education for their children (even in the most desperate circumstances for themselves). It is an urgent need, which needs to be recognised. Although education is often not seen as an emergency need (such as providing food, water, safety and health care), the re-establishment of schooling for children is frequently among the most immediate concerns of refugee communities who have suffered displacement, instability and lost of years of education. In every refugee camp there is crying need for education.

As far as respondents' were concerned, the need for education for their children was a common goal among refugee parents regardless of their ethnicity and where they came from. That is why the educated people from refugee communities have used makeshift classrooms and erected blackboards under trees with children copying letters with sticks in the sand. For refugee parents and children, education represents both a return to normality and an expression of hope in the future.

According to Nah Reh, a Karenni refugee and Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) teacher in Thailand (cited in Vogler, 2009):

> Education is very important for refugees – if you are not educated it's like being blind. You don't understand anything. We are very poor people compared to another country, but if we are educated we can decide what is good or bad for us. We can improve ourselves and our community. (p. 4)

The above statement is a reflection of how every refugee parent feels regardless of his or her ethnic background, country of origin, and location of the refugee camps. They hold education in extremely high regard. The UNHCR's (1997) report has indicated that refugee services partner implementing agencies and perhaps the donor community do not consider education as an emergency activity. That is why they never planned to improve it in the first place in refugee camps, and the consequence of that decision is that many refugee children are left with no formal education, which affects their future education outcomes in the countries of resettlement such as New Zealand.

The general finding is that issues facing refugees in the Kakuma camp are interlinked or overlapping — for example, water is a link to food. Water is used for meal-making activities, washing and cleaning and a shortage of it means refugees will face serious problems in terms of health and well-being. Even if refugees had enough water and food, still they would need to cook their meals, and without firewood the water and food are useless. Therefore, firewood is an essential element, which is a link to local Turkana, because they control the area. Refugees have to forge relations with Turkana people through various ways such as bartering food for charcoal. Turkana people envy refugees because of their food; and use all possible means including theft, armed robbery and group attack to get food off refugees.

The findings also indicated that all people who participated in this research (discussed earlier) have experienced food, water and health services shortages; and security and personal safety issues, especially during the night in the Kakuma Refugee Camp. Many people have witnessed horrific scenes uniquely different from their pre-war lives in their countries of origin. The impact of these experiences has a bearing on their resettlement outcomes here in New Zealand as well.

The impact of the camp experiences on health care.

The impact of these experiences, according to the respondents' view, was that refugees were not feeling "at home", because many things did not turn out as

expected. For example, differences in the simple things like doctors' roles in patient treatment in New Zealand as compared to Kakuma. Refugee patients in Kakuma do not have a choice to have or not have medical treatments prescribed by doctors. In contrast, patients in New Zealand have a choice, but refugees do not understand what it means to be in charge of your health care. Although according to respondents, the health care and treatment services were primitive in Kakuma, they understood when the doctors give treatment, it is taken seriously. The impact of this is confusion. Many people who need structured treatment to recover are not seriously following up with their doctors and specialist appointments. There is a need for health care and treatment education to differentiate between the role of self-health-care and the doctor's role in treatment and medical care. There are also different methods of controlling diseases like diabetes, blood pressure, and so on that need to be promoted in the refugee community.

Overseas family support cost.

Another issue impacting on Sudanese refugees in New Zealand in a big way is the cost of waiting for family reunification. Many respondents reported that their major and key concern was family members left behind in the Kakuma Refugee Camp. This created a large chain of complexities in respondents' lives. Some respondents reported that they were not meeting their children's needs here because they shared whatever they earn, be it from WINZ or from their casual jobs — it was divided with their family members back in Kakuma. The family members were panicking, because any delay in money remittance could create mistrust and a backlash from the family members who are completely dependent on this remittance.

The reality is that family members who are left in Kakuma do not understand the new rules and standards of living in New Zealand where people must pay for their consumables — water, food, power, health care and medicines, transport and many new things that need money like school uniforms, stationery, and school lunches — things the family members in Kakuma had never heard of. In off-the-

record conversations I had with the owner of an international money transfer outlet in Auckland, surprisingly the business itself was established especially for helping refugees to send money overseas. The money transfer system is very effective, reliable, quick, and efficient.

Another situation which also arose from another off-the-record conversation with a respondent was where she (a mother of three children in schools in New Zealand) arrived 45 minutes late for the interview because she went to send money to Kenya. The money was to support her cousins, who she enrolled in English school in Kenya, in preparation so that whenever they came here they would have good English that would help them to integrate quickly into New Zealand schooling.

The immediate question anyone could ask is how they can afford to send money overseas to their relatives while they are unemployed and the living cost in New Zealand is rising?

Refugee families or individuals in this situation will not have meaningful resettlement outcomes as long as their attention is evidently divided between themselves and their extended family members still in camps. All they are working for is to maintain their relatives overseas. This is not happening here in New Zealand alone. According to Masumbuko and Nyakato (2002), reporting on the Sudanese refugees working at Logan Airport in Boston, Massachusetts who lost their jobs after the September 11, 2001 tragedy, "the older youths spend their money on paying rent, utility bills, food, an IOM $35/month loan, and remittances to their families or friends in either Kakuma or Sudan" (p. 15).

This is a big post-resettlement problem. Failing to support family members overseas is stressful. Every resettled refugee's earnings are divided between her or his needs, immediate family needs and extended family members' needs. In Sudanese culture, for example, the family is most important. It is an extremely

important value to understand, that the Sudanese hold their relatives dear to their heart.

To support family members, many refugees who are resettling in the western world would have one or two fulltime jobs, in addition to pursuing further education. According to Chanoff (2004), for refugees in America it's an important value to have a job, and they work extremely hard to save money and send it back to their relatives. Most of the "Lost Boys"[8] have family and extended family obligations far beyond what most Americans would know. They know how desperate it can get in the camps, going without food for four or five days, being sick without money, and so they send money back to their friends and relatives regularly. That burden impedes their moving forward towards the goal of meaningful settlement outcomes, because they are not saving much money to buy homes, good cars or go places. They are simply sending it all back.

The situation has been made difficult because only a few get the option of resettlement in the third countries; leaving behind family and extended family members. Meanwhile, many people are seeking asylum and only small percentages have been given refugee status and a fraction only gain resettlement in a Western third country such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand or the United States. Yet it is the few who do resettle that are being looked to for assistance by a disproportionately large number of people. According to Akuei (2005), this results in a predicament that is not easy to resolve because of constraints and other factors discussed above, related to the local setting in the countries where refugees resettle and the importance of meeting one's obligations of being a good person (*raan Muonyjiang apath*), meaning the Dinka person is good (Akuei, 2005). Obviously people could do better if they were employed and earned good money.

Through individuals sending money to family members in the countries of origin or in refugee camps, collectively there has been a huge impact on money

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[8] Lost Boys: the Sudanese boys who left South Sudan during the civil war without their parents or relatives

flow on an international scale. According to Van Hear (2003), one of the most important influences refugees and other migrants can have on their countries of origin is through the remittances they send back to those countries. According to a CIA report (CIA, 2000), in 2000 an estimated total of $100 billion was remitted by refugees and other migrants. This is crucial to the survival of communities in many developing countries, including many that have suffered conflict and produced refugees. These remittances represent a large proportion of world financial cash flow and amount to substantially more than global official development assistance to the developing world. To underline their importance for the developing world, sixty percent of global remittances were thought to go to developing countries (CIA, 2000).

Impact on education.

Difficulty in access to education is another issue respondents have experienced in the Kakuma Refugee Camp. Education is not an emergency priority for the UNHCR and families with school age children have to do all they can to provide primary school education for their children. Families and communities have joined hands and established community based primary school classrooms. Families resettling here in New Zealand came with high expectations that the education system will fill the gap and their children will easily integrate into schools, succeed and get jobs to help family members left behind.

However, I believe that many children from the refugee backgrounds are recording less progress in education because of the different schooling system in New Zealand and the different roles between parents and teachers. According to Ministry of Education ESOL data (2009), many refugee students have exceeded the funding period of 5 years but achieved well below their cohort. Schools are expecting refugee families and communities to be involved in the schooling of their children. The fact is that refugees don't understand this expectation because their education is minimal. Some of them never had formal education. Even if they had, it would have been in a different system, many years ago, and not relevant to the

New Zealand system. This has impacted on families in that the children are not learning, are frustrated, and drop out of school.

The Impact of unemployment on family and mental health.

Generally, in refugee camps unemployment is not the central issue, because people are aware that they are in a process of transition to one of the UNHCR durable solutions options mentioned above. However, it becomes an issue when refugees resettle in third countries. For all refugees, finding a job is a leading step towards a meaningful resettlement outcome. There are many well-documented issues facing all refugees in relation to employment in New Zealand. According to Boyer (1996), DIMIA (1996), Lidgard (1996), Basnayake (1999), Oliver (2000), McGrath (2005) and Butcher (2006), the barriers to employment include: discrimination, lack of English language proficiency, lack of New Zealand work experience, difficulty getting overseas qualifications recognised, lack of social networks and lack of knowledge on how the New Zealand labour market operates. When it all piles into a mountain, it would be impossible for a refugee to realise a positive employment outcome in resettlement.

There are many unidentified mental health cases out there in the refugee community caused by long term unemployment. Some respondents have spoken about unemployment being the major problem because they cannot afford to pay for their consumables without thinking about their family members. Many respondents' dreams are hanging in the balance between getting the right New Zealand qualifications, getting well paid jobs, buying or building homes, buying cars or going places (holidays); and sponsoring family members to come to New Zealand. Failure to realise these dreams has impacted negatively on participants' resettlement outcomes.

There are number of families separated because the male (traditionally considered the head of the family) is unemployed and could not provide for his family. Rees & Pease (2006) noted the correlation between unemployment and family conflict and violence: "women were generally of the view that men who are

not occupied outside the home during the day are more likely to be dissatisfied with their lives and to be violent towards their partners" (p. 32).

Resettlement locations.

Resettlement location was also mentioned to have impacted on respondents. The New Zealand population is predominantly European (Pakeha) and there are places where one can only see Pakeha; and for some reason refugees end up resettling in these places where they will be the only strangers in town. Places such as Nelson, or Lower Hutt, are cold small towns. Some respondents are from rural backgrounds. They do not understand the city life. They would have liked to have been asked or at least have their view taken, about where they would like to be resettled.

Three respondents in this research came from rural farming backgrounds. Even though it was not the same as New Zealand, they could learn to adapt much quicker in a similarly rural setting, compared to learning the city life. This has bred a lack of trust in the refugees interviewed and a feeling of being "over looked and left out" in the decision making on where to resettle. This lack of consultation featured a lot in conversations with the participants. For instance all participants said they have been attending meetings organised by the agencies that are responsible for refugee resettlement in New Zealand as a community or individuals and nothing was mentioned about resettlement locations. They have been consulted but not listened to.

In my personal and professional experience I have found that refugees feel over consulted and the promised feedback has never materialised. I experienced this in discussions with community leaders and some individuals who later became participants.

CHAPTER SIX: RECOMMENDATIONS

In the last two chapters it has become clearer that the question of how camp experiences impacted on the resettlement outcome of the Sudanese refugees in New Zealand holds significant importance in resettlement decision-making in terms of policy development and programme implementation. Impacts of the KRC-lived experiences on the Sudanese refugees' resettlement outcomes in New Zealand are multi-faceted and complex, and there may be no immediate solutions in the short term.

However, in the following paragraphs I have presented what has emerged from this research project as recommendations to address the resettlement needs of the Sudanese refugees in particular; and refugees in New Zealand in general and internationally — i.e., from micro to macro levels. These recommendations have not been written in a conventional way of bullet points or in number sequence. Instead I have presented them in a descriptive format stating the logic behind every recommendation (key recommendations are presented in Table 12 at the end of this chapter), bearing in mind that this research was about lived experiences and feelings through storytelling.

At the micro level the Sudanese refugees who are resettling here in NZ definitely have brought along with them new challenges and opportunities, which necessitate the development of settlement strategies to help them rebuild their lives. To achieve that, this research recommends that the New Zealand government undertake a post-resettlement social and mental health audit in the Sudanese Community to professionally assess the issues surrounding the pre-resettlement (pre-arrival) lived experiences, because knowing the backgrounds and stories of people's lived experiences could help the government and NGOs to understand and identify refugees' resettlement needs.

Identification of family members who are overseas was an issue that everyone I interviewed has complained about. They have reported having family

members overseas (in Kakuma). Family reunification is a significantly important issue for the Sudanese refugees. Therefore, this research recommends that the Refugee Quota Branch identify all family members and their whereabouts; provide realistic information about what can be done; and how soon family reunification can take place here in New Zealand.

When it comes to the family reunification policy aspect, this research recommends that the New Zealand government make family reunification a policy priority for New Zealand over the UNHCR quota priority. Having one family member here in New Zealand with the expectation they will support the whole family in refugee camps could compromise the value of resettlement in the third country as the option that brings positive change in refugee peoples' lives. Every individual I interviewed reported that close family members, be they parents, siblings or significant others, are still living in refugee camps. The research findings presented here verified that the absence of close family members and significant others was contributing negatively to the fulfilment of that "at home feeling" among the respondents.

The Sudanese refugees resettling in New Zealand had been living in the KRC for a long time during which they had neither maintained their old profession nor invested in learning new skills. This, in itself, has become a disincentive for employment, and failure to earn enough money to send to family members overseas has a great impact on their budgetary obligations. This research recommends the establishment of pathways for career and skill development leading to fulltime employment, and a specialist budgetary service to help the Sudanese refugees avoid being pushed by circumstances into falling into easy loan traps which they will never have enough money to repay.

Being in the KRC for such long period has resulted in many Sudanese refugees having severe psychosocial and physical health concerns. In New Zealand, health care and treatment regimes are more secular and this has major implications for Sudanese refugees, because they are coming from a culture of

doctor-led health regimes[9]. Dealing with physical health, mental health and disability and different ways of treatment is confusing for the Sudanese refugees. During the interviews for the data collection process I heard respondents complaining of restlessness, sleepless nights and loss of appetite; and having witnessed or experienced traumatic incidences where he or she or a family member were abused, tortured and exposed to inhumane treatment. Respondents did not know that these are symptoms of different health problems. There has been one suicide case already in this community. To address this concern, this thesis recommends thorough, friendly, culturally informed counselling and mental health and wellbeing promotion services in the community.

This study found that the resettlement location within New Zealand had an impact. The Sudanese refugees would be happy if they were resettled in one region. It would have been beneficial to them. The decision of where refugees resettle should be made in consultation with the Refugee Services and individual refugees who need to be informed about the location they are going to live in and given the option to explore other locations in New Zealand. Their choice of location will enhance "at home feelings". Therefore, this research recommends the resettlement placement decision be a function of the Refugee Quota Branch of Immigration New Zealand in the Department of Labour.

In regards to education, the Sudanese parents, like many other refugee parents, had come to New Zealand with high expectations that their children will attend primary and secondary schools and succeed, to go on to further education. However, the fact is that the New Zealand education system is likely to present a different regime compared to their home or camp education (if they had any). This research recommends that the Ministry of Education develop a refugee and migrant education strategy with clear, measurable outcomes. This strategy should include the establishment of transitioning schools for refugee students to increase exposure to systemised education that will help them gain confidence when they join the mainstream schooling.

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[9] Doctors make decisions for patients.

The Ministry also need to assist schools to develop programmes and processes that will increase the chances of successful schooling and socio-emotional adjustment. Refugee students should spend more time in reception classes with intensive English and science learning programmes. Every school needs to have a welcoming environment and teaching staff who are professionally trained in diversity. Every refugee student who enrols in school should be supported sufficiently to easily integrate into New Zealand schooling and also the government needs to support the retraining of the all former refugee camp-trained teachers and employ them in schools.

Refugees resettling in New Zealand come from all walks of life in terms of faith, ethnicity, culture and language. Some of them come already educated and as professionals; others come from informal education backgrounds; while the significant majority come as young people to start their education and life in New Zealand. This is an indication of how the refugee community is diverse in terms of their socio-economic status, ethnicity, culture, language, faith and beliefs. As well, generally speaking, refugees are faced with a new culture, a different language, unemployment, ignorance, strange neighbourhoods, and loneliness. This is in addition to the fact that the refugee community is diverse even within one country.

According to the Centre for Refugee Education (CRE, 2008) data about the refugee population arriving in New Zealand, it is largely made up of young people and adults aged between 18–35 years old. Instead of engaging those young people in resettlement, integration and production activities they are left to find their way in the system. This research recommends this group should be enrolled in skills and trade courses based on their ability and personal choices.

According to this research (which is supported by Liev and Kezo, 1998) there are three groups. The first group has the will to resolve resettlement issues; the second group prefer the status quo (takes whatever available); while the third group is the group that is hostile to everything resettlement offers. However, all the

three groups have one thing in common: to get "well paid jobs" and "own homes" and "businesses", like some of them had before in their home countries. This research recommends that NZ career services establish a step-by-step case management approach to support exploring individualised career development pathways.

Of course realising the expectations for these groups is difficult, because some of them would have come with no qualifications. Even if they had recognized, competent qualifications, still they are confronted with another notion called "the lack of employment experience" because they do not have the "Kiwi experience". *Refugee Voices* (2002) reports that:

> For most of the individuals spoken to, their main source of income was a government benefit (88 percent). This is not only an unemployment benefit but also includes an emergency benefit, the accommodation supplement, and a disability or sickness benefit. (p. 62)

Grogan's (2008) report echoed the *Refugee Voices* report in terms of participation in the job market. The report indicated that only 29 percent of refugees who have been in New Zealand for five years or more have participated in job search activities, while 79 percent are receiving income support.

Logically it is not possible to gain work experience without practice. Refugees are the victims of the expectation of "Kiwi experience" which in itself is "institutional discrimination" in disguise. This research recommends every refugee with overseas and/or New Zealand qualifications is offered an ongoing work experience in a similar or new profession until they get employment. There will be no extra cost because the participants would normally be receiving the Community Wage from WINZ.

The fact is that resettlement is considered by many refugees as a second chance to rebuild their lives and realise their expectations. This definitely will have great impact on the New Zealand way of life. Nothing will be the same again. For

the overall benefit of New Zealand society this research recommends the need to start debating about the development of a New Zealand multicultural policy that is sensitive to the ethno-specific backgrounds of all citizens.

Starting this process should be a function of the policy and decision makers in the Departments of Internal Affairs and Settlement Division in the Department of Labour supported by the community sector. This will illuminate the misleading assumption of generalised refugee groups being "other" and one-size-fits-all. These stereotypes are not only impeding the development of best resettlement practice synthesis, but are also delaying further research in the field of refugee resettlement in New Zealand.

Refugees experience a variety of severe stressors during their pre-arrival phase. Therefore during their six weeks stay in Mangere Resettlement Centre all refugees receive medical assessment and treatment and the Refugees As Survivors New Zealand (RASNZ) provides on-site voluntary counselling and psychotherapy. According to RASNZ (2009) refugee intake report, RASNZ clinicians saw a total of 60 clients in one intake (five intakes a year, at an average of 150 refugees per intake) for individual psychotherapy, physical therapy and/or psychiatric assessment and treatment during the January intake. This represented approximately 47% of the intake.

According to Lim (2005) the lack of cultural competence in mental health services is a barrier which leads to the drop out of ethnic people with mental health needs after just the first or second consultation visit, leaving them to not complete the treatment of their post-traumatic stress disorders.

The fact is that when sick refugees terminate their mental health treatment halfway it's exposed them to a risk of self harm or to harm to others, and that becomes a crisis. The Somali refugee woman who hijacked the aircraft is a classic example. Therefore this research recommends provision of a long term mental health monitoring programme to all refugee people.

According to the Ministry of Health *Refugee Handbook for Health Professionals* (2001), although severe and prolonged traumatic stress during the pre-migration and migration phases has been shown to have an adverse effect on mental health following resettlement, research with refugees and immigrants more generally indicates that what happens to them after entry to their host country has a more profound impact on their mental health during resettlement. Unfortunately, the provision leaves out sponsored family reunification cases and asylum seekers.

There are no New Zealand studies that I am aware of which examined the immigrant or refugee communities' utilisation of mental health services, despite the prevalence of mental health issues in those communities.

There is no reference in the literature that supports the understanding of "New Zealand Biculturalism" in the refugee community. Many migrants and refugees are concerned about the discourse regarding biculturalism in New Zealand because it seems to exclude migrant and refugee cultures who are non-Pakeha and non-Maori. According to workshop participants in the Human Rights Hui in 2003 (Human Rights Hui, 2003), not all cultures and languages are supported and recognised in Aotearoa New Zealand. Therefore this research recommends extensive knowledge exchange and training, especially on the *"Treaty of Waitangi"* delivered by Maori facilitators through community meetings between refugees and the host societies, because from the refugee perspective, meaningful resettlement is an "at home feeling*"* which requires the adoption of a "give and take" approach. In the long term this will help refugees to refine their cultural identity and reassess conflicting cultural values.

This research also recommends establishment of social networks and encouragement of refugees to join them, which would help discover the existing diversity within the host society. In the long term refugees should then be able to engage in efforts leading to institutional change.

On the economic settlement and integration front, this research recommends creation of not-for-profit financial trusts to help refugees to take medium term no interest loans to assist those refugees with ambitions to create their own financial independence.

As far as political integration for permanent residents and new citizens is concerned, this research recommends that in the short term refugee communities as well as the wider community are educated about democracy, the multiparty system, right to political vote, citizenship duties and obligations. In the long term, civil rights and democracy should be included in the New Zealand education curriculum so every young New Zealander (native, refugees or migrant) understands those issues. The aim would be to encourage long term former refugees to participate in political parties and socio-political movements in their new countries.

At the African level this research recommends reviving the concept of the *Ujamaa* village, which means the "people's village" or "communal village" (referred to in Literature Review Chapter). This concept has been applied before in the 1960s and 1980s in the east African region, under the guidance of the Cooperative Society Movement.

The Ujamaa village concept is an African philosophy. It comprises a "bottom up" participatory community engagement approach, championed by syndicate groups like women, youth, and community leaders. This concept could be used as the template for local resettlement, which is one of the UNHCR's proposed options to solve refugee problems. These local resettlement initiatives advocate for refugees to resettle in the areas where they have ethnic links with the hope of establishing livelihoods in a new population and be integrated into the host economy with some minimal international assistance.

According to Harrell-Bond (2000):

 Instead of hoping refugees will become integrated by means of camps, today's refugees are kept in camps, just surviving on assistance provided by international donors — assistance which is described as 'care and maintenance'. This international aid is completely undependable, erratic and inadequate. (p. 4)

Regarding issues at the international level of refugee resettlement, this research recommends an investigation of the ideas and theories on how to support the resolution of refugee home problems through civil society activities such as grassroots participation in conflict resolution that could be applied to sustained peace and peace building through international funding of developmental projects. The world is rich in these ideas locally and internationally. Peace building is an important task that could be sustained through problem-focussed development in countries and regions threatened by, or emerging from, ongoing, violent conflict.

The final recommendation is that refugee camp experiences impacting on refugee resettlement outcomes need a longitudinal research study about the pre-resettlement experiences if the transition to a smooth and meaningful resettlement is the goal. This has been one of the difficulties this research has recognised.

Table 12 below summarises the key recommendations from this study.

Table 12. The Key Recommendations from the Study

The issue and its effect	Recommendation for the Sudanese in NZ	Recommendation for Refugees in NZ	Recommendation Internationally
Trauma and pre-arrival experiences	Post-resettlement social and mental health audit	Post-resettlement social and mental health audit	Regular assessment in camp
Psychosocial and physical health	Thorough, friendly, culturally informed counselling and mental health wellbeing promotion services in the community		
Family reunification and community building	Takes a priority over UNHCR resettlement policy to find family members whereabouts and bring them to NZ	Increase the number of smaller refugee communities	Accurate family registration
Lack of skills/ employment	Establishment of career and pathways for skills development and training		
Resettlement placement/ location	Consider individual interests, backgrounds and location where community member live	Participate in the placement decision; prepare to resettle in multicultural locations	Not applicable
Qualification and profession	Overseas qualifications from well known institutions are recognised and provide further training if needed. Offer ongoing work experiences leading to employment.		Keep up skilling refugees while in the camps to prepare for positives resettlement experience
New Zealand Biculturalism	Cultural knowledge exchange and training in *Treaty of Waitangi* leading to development of multiculturalism		Start orientation of selected individuals for resettlement in New Zealand prior to their arriving in New Zealand
Economic development and financial independence	Create a non-profit trust funded by the government to support refugees to sponsor family members. No-interest credits to entrepreneurs and small businesses		UNHCR give small loans to people wanting to establish their own businesses in the camp
Peace building activities	Refugee community leaders and activist be trained in peace building initiatives within their own communities		Promote the concept of Ujamaa village and fund peace building and development projects

APPENDICES

Appendix (1) Interview Question

Part ONE: Personal details

1. Name and contact address

2. Gender: Male or Female

3. Date of Birth

4. Date of interview

5. Under which category did you come to NZ Quota, (Family reunification or Sponsored by someone)

6. Education: level of education in Sudan, Kakuma and New Zealand

7. Did you work before? What was your profession in Sudan? Kakuma? And now in NZ?

8. Are you married or single? How many people in your family? Do you have all your family members here with you?

Part Two: Life experience in Sudan and journey to the refugee camp

9. I would like you to talk about your life in South Sudan before the war. Tell me about some of your experiences about your life in your home town or village? Can you remember what people used to do for living?

10. Did you have any paid work or job in Sudan? And what was it? Or did you own a business and what kind of business was it?

11. Tell me about when and why did you leave your home? Where did go first and what were you thinking? How many days (months) you spent on your way to refugee camp? How long (months or years) you have been away from your home (Sudan)?

12. Tell me about your journey to refugee camp (Kakuma in Kenya). How was it? Did you experienced any problems on the way and what kind of problems? Did you or a family of your family felt sick on the way? How did go about finding food and water?

Part Three: life experience in Kakuma Refugee Camp

13. When did come to Kakuma? What did you expect to find in Kakuma? How many year you have been in Kakuma?

14. How was your life as a refugee in Kakuma? Tell me about how do you go about getting your food (type and many times you get it), water (clean), health services (visiting doctors, hospitals) education for yourself and your children?

15. Tell me about night time in Kakuma. What happened during the night in refugee camp? Did you experience any safety issues?

16. Did you face any danger? From whom and how did you manage to get out safely?

17. What about the relationship between refugees and local people (Turkana) could you tell me about it? Did you experience any problems with them? Where, when and how did you resolved it?

18. Tell me about your experience in seeking the process of resettlement to NZ.

19. Do you still have family members in overseas? Where? Do you have any information about how are doing?

Part Four: Life experience New Zealand

20. How did you feel when you heard that you have been accepted to resettle in New Zealand? When did you come to NZ? What did you expect to see or to get in New Zealand when you arrived at Mangere Refugee Reception Centre?

21. Do you miss Kakuma? Are there any differences between New Zealand and Kakuma Refugee Camp? What are they? Talk about them?

22. Do you like to live in City or in rural New Zealand and why? Are you happy in where you are now?

23. Do have food and how do get it? Are there any issues in getting the water? If you are sick where do you go to? When you feel unhappy (sad) and need to talk to someone. Who do like to talk to?

24. Are you or your children studying, working or staying home? What do you like to do in this country (NZ)? What are you doing to achieve what like to do? Who is helping you? Do you see any gaps in the resettlement service provision?

25. Are you in contact with your family members overseas? Do send any money to them and how many times (every week, a month or…) and where do get the money from? How do they feel if you do not send money or talk to them?

Appendix (2) Consent Form

<table>
<tr>
<td rowspan="2">

Consent Form

For structured Interviews with Sudanese refugees in Wellington and Auckland
</td>
<td>

AUT
U N I V E R S I T Y
TE WĀNANGA ARONUI O TAMAKI MAKAU RAU
</td>
</tr>
</table>

Project title:

Sudanese refugee lived experiences impact on their resettlement outcome in New Zealand

Project Supervisor: **Dr Heather Devere; Camille Nakhid; Jane Verbitsky**

Researcher: **Abraham Mamer**

○ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 04.02 2008.

○ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

○ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.

○ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.

○ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.

○ I agree to take part in this research.

○ I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one):

        Yes○   No○

Participant's signature:

....……………………………………………

Participant's name:

....……………………………………………

Participant's Contact Details:

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on _____ AUTEC Reference number AUTEC reference number_____

Date Information Sheet Produced:
04.02.2008

Project Title:

Sudanese refugee lived experiences impact on their resettlement outcome in New Zealand

Dear Sudanese Community Member

Kudual (Hello) my name is Abraham Mamer. As part of my coursework towards completion of a Masters Degree in Social Policy with Auckland University of Technology (AUT), I would like to invite you to participate in research title:

Sudanese refugee lived experiences impact on their resettlement outcome in New Zealand

- What I would like to do today is to provide you with an opportunity to share your experiences in Kakuma Refugee Camp, before you came to New Zealand and how such experiences impacted on your resettlement outcome in here in New Zealand.

- It is necessary to conduct interviews with you, because of the experience you have in this area, therefore your participation is curial to completion of this research.

- What happen in this research is I will have conduct a structured interview with you, but your names will not be mentioned in final reports. The information you give here will be confidential, kept in
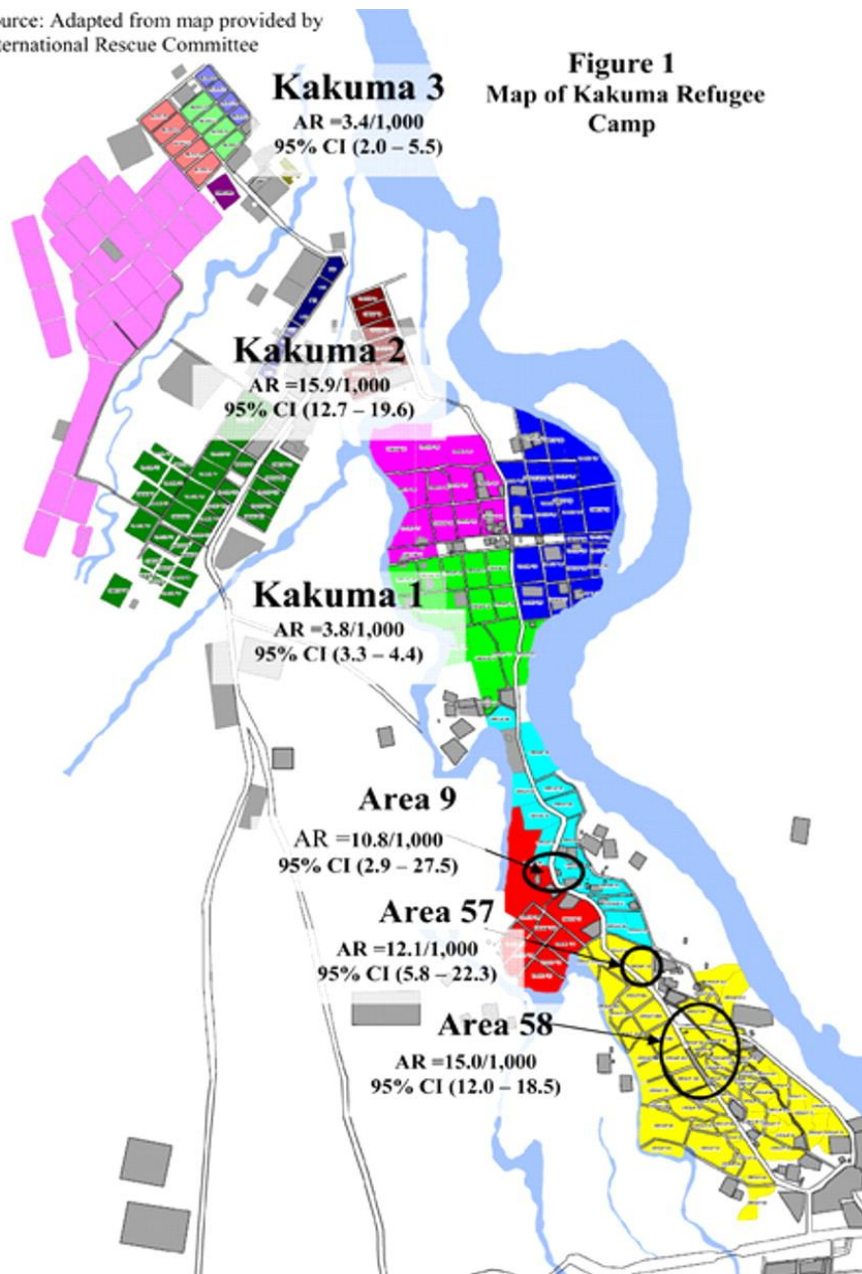
safe place and it will be protected from such remotely likely possibility of being access to people who should see it.

- There is no risk involved all what happen is for you and me, to make time for the interview which could either in your place (home) or in another place you're happy to be. I will bring with me some tea/coffee and soft drinks. The interview will be structured that means I will ask a question and you are welcome to provide an answer if you can.

- There may be no direct benefit to you personally however, the data collected from this research may be used by the settlement services, or inform the policy-decision-making in the government and could be consulted by anyone doing a research in the area of refugee resettlement in New Zealand and overseas.

- According to Treaty of Waitangi Principle of protection the information you give here will be confidential, kept in safe place and it will be protected from such remotely likely possibility of being access to people who should not see it.

- You as a participant there is no cost for you only your time, that is why you are the one nominate the time you are free for me to come and conduct the interview.

- Plenty opportunities you are the one who gives time that suits you must and also it is an opportunity for to talk about your experiences and contribute in identifying gaps in the current resettlement services.

- To participate in this research you need to complete the consent form which I will give you when you any time you want it. Nothing happen to you if you do not want to participate in this research you are free to go any time.

- Yes I will provide the general feedback in a thank you; meeting with community and you will be invited to attend. There will be no names mentioned in particular.

If you have any concern about this research please talk to my Research Supervisor Dr Heather Devere on 09 921 9999 AUT. Email: heather.devere@aut.ac.nz: if you further concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEC, Madeline Banda, *madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz* phone: 09 921 9999 ext 8044.

Appendix (4) Kakuma Refugee Camp

Source: Adapted from map provided by
International Rescue Committee

Figure 1
Map of Kakuma Refugee
Camp

Kakuma 3
AR =3.4/1,000
95% CI (2.0 – 5.5)

Kakuma 2
AR =15.9/1,000
95% CI (12.7 – 19.6)

Kakuma 1
AR =3.8/1,000
95% CI (3.3 – 4.4)

Area 9
AR =10.8/1,000
95% CI (2.9 – 27.5)

Area 57
AR =12.1/1,000
95% CI (5.8 – 22.3)

Area 58
AR =15.0/1,000
95% CI (12.0 – 18.5)

Appendix (5) Map of Sudan

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