Refugee Resettlement and ways Forward

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By

Hassan Haji Ibrahim

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Abstract

New Zealand has hosted refugees since World War II and is currently one of only ten countries in the world with a refugee resettlement programme, yet little is known about the experiences and unique needs of new refugees who are culturally, racially and ethnically extremely different from New Zealand mainstream society. The focus of this research is to provide an overview of the experiences the Afghan and Somali refugees have undergone prior to resettlement in New Zealand and the hindrances to realising their dreams in New Zealand as their country of resettlement.

The structure and aims of the research were guided by Alternative Development theory which focuses on eliminating injustice being done to a particular group on the basis of their race, colour, religion or gender and addressing the priority needs of people to achieve sustainable society. To achieve the research objectives, the research has applied participatory methods (individual in-depth interviews, focus groups with interactive activities and discussion and document review).

The research findings indicate that resettlement is a continuum process in which the new refugees are making effort to move away from situation of under-development to a favourable situation of development worthy of decent human life. The research findings also suggest that refugee resettlement, having links with Alternative Development and Human Rights, goes beyond meeting physical needs of refugees. It also covers the restoration and sustainability of people's capabilities.

Finally, the research presents practical ways to empower refugees and foster opportunities to develop their own livelihoods and integrate with structures and systems of New Zealand society.
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<tr>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
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<td>NZIS</td>
<td>New Zealand Immigration Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nation</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>IRD</td>
<td>Inland Revenue Department</td>
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<td>RMS</td>
<td>Refugee and Migrant Service</td>
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<td>RRS</td>
<td>Refugee Resettlement Support</td>
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<tr>
<td>PEETO</td>
<td>Pasifika Education and Employment Training Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDC</td>
<td>Canterbury Development Co-operation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESOL</td>
<td>English for Speakers of Other Languages</td>
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<td>ECE</td>
<td>Early Childhood Education</td>
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<td>EC</td>
<td>Early Childhood Centre</td>
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<td>SLA</td>
<td>Sustainable Livelihoods Approach</td>
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<td>WINZ</td>
<td>Work and Income New Zealand</td>
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<tr>
<td>CYF</td>
<td>Child Youth and Families</td>
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<td>CPH</td>
<td>Community and Public Health</td>
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<td>TOP</td>
<td>Training Opportunities</td>
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<td>PRA</td>
<td>Participatory Rural Appraisal</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>TBA</td>
<td>Traditional Birth Attendance</td>
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<td>CHCH</td>
<td>Christchurch</td>
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CHAPTER 1:
Introduction

This chapter gives the researcher's personal account and the background to the research area refugee resettlement both in International and National context. The Chapter discusses the theoretical bases and the methodology.

1.1 Researcher's Personal Account

My initiative behind undertaking this thesis was based on my own personal experience as a refugee. This began in 1991 when the civil war broke out in the Somali capital, Mogadishu. My family left for a refuge area out on the Somalia and Ethiopia border, while I weighed up whether I was prepared to abandon everything I had worked for. Despite witnessing many horrific scenes, even people I knew being killed, I was not prepared to leave my home country, and dreaming that the situation would improve drove me to remain in the city.

After many months of heavy artillery shells falling on my house and serious looting and extreme fear, I was forced to abandon my house and my properties that I had been building for my future life. It was a very hard decision to make, leaving this and all my possessions. Then, I had to flee from Mogadishu to Ethiopia, travelling through hostile communities and very hostile Ethiopian forces and finally going to a refugee camp.

Although life in the camp was extremely poor, for me it was safe heaven because there were no artillery shells falling and my children were also safe. So this drove me to have empathy for those who have been in my situation, and sympathy for those who were trying to survive in the first country of refuge based on my own personal experience. This encouraged me to take up development studies as my preferred career.

Coming to the host country i.e. New Zealand, I came with huge expectations and found these hard to achieve so my dreams were shattered in the beginning. The reason for this was I had no prior knowledge about life in New Zealand, then after some time I realised the host community were very open and keen to help but
unfortunately their desire to help me as a refugee was handicapped by their lack of knowledge about my needs, my previous experience and the circumstances that I went through in my home and first country.

Through the eyes of a refugee, they had also expectations that they would recover what they had lost in the war or their home country when they came to New Zealand, and the reason these expectations were not met was because the refugees were not informed of how the system worked, how they could contribute. It turned into conflicting views between the NZ community and the refugees, they were not matching views when the refugees thought they had come to a rich country and they would have everything they wanted. So my aim in starting this thesis was to clear the existing misunderstanding between these two groups, and this is also part of my contribution to the cause for supporting people who are caught in refugee type situations.

1.2 Background

Throughout the history of mankind, the uprooting and displacing of people against their will has been common practice in many parts of the world. During this time people have also been generous in rescuing people when they are caught in crises, either individually or as part of communities. The type of support offered has ranged from provision for physical needs and other basic needs ranging from settlement to gaining dual citizenship. Because war caused by underdevelopment and related factors still remains the major contributing factor in people becoming refugees; the number of refugee persons has increased significantly during the last decade as conflicts have increased in different parts of the world.

The founding mandate of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee (UNHCR) defines refugees as "persons who are outside their country and cannot return because of a well-substantiated fear of persecution as a result of factors related to their race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group" (UNHCR, 2001:1).
New Zealand has been hosting refugees since World War II and is currently one of only ten countries in the world, which have refugee resettlement programmes (New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS, 2001). New Zealand first received refugees in 1944 when a total of 775 Polish children and 82 adults from the war torn countries of Europe came to New Zealand (Walker, 1996). From that time, the number of refugees making their way to New Zealand and their country of origin has corresponded with prevailing global political circumstances as well as reflecting New Zealand's regional and global priorities of the time (NZIS, 2001).

Refugee resettlement is a complex process. Burnett (1998:3) suggests that "Formulating a definition of settlement raises various theoretical issues which have direct policy implications". The complexity of the term is reflected in the existing differing views about the terms 'resettlement' and 'integration'. It is not clear whether settlement refers to a time frame after reception, or after achievement of certain settlement outcomes. This poses the question of when a refugee person ceases to be called a refugee. There are varied views within the resettling countries about applicable indicators to measure resettlement and integration. Some resettling countries, including New Zealand, tend to often use indicators such as access to employment, level of language, health, and family reunification as mechanisms for measuring resettlement.

New Zealand is one of ten countries in the World¹ that accept refugees for resettlement on an annual quota system (UNHCR, 2002). According to the Tripartite NGO report (2001), the current New Zealand immigration trend reveals that the number of refugees making their way to New Zealand is likely to rise over the next few years. While New Zealand has been struggling to adequately address the needs of refugees and to enhance their participation in New Zealand society it can be argued that the achievement has so far been inadequate in terms of meeting the real resettlement needs. The evidence for this is that many of the issues that refugees confront such as language barriers, cultural issues, weather conditions, housing and health coupled with the struggle to adapt to a new culture, still remain unresolved.

¹ The ten countries are Australia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States of America.
The existing demands by refugee groups for greater participation in major consultations affecting resettlement suggests that policy makers, providers and the host society seem to have only a limited understanding about the resettlement needs of refugees because a top-down approach has been applied. This approach leads to policy makers in social development agencies and service providers failing to consider refugees' cultural backgrounds and their past experiences during policy formulation, a failure which it is argued here is likely to be a key contributing factor in resettlement failure. Therefore, the implications arising from individual experiences needs to be considered during the formulation of policies, planning and delivery of social services programs to achieve sustainable resettlement. This forms the underlying preposition for this thesis.

As result of an inherently top-down approach being applied by resettlement agencies, and based on anecdotal experience, it is not clear to refugee communities what their role in the resettlement process is and there seems to be limited understanding about the policies followed by agencies to tackle issues confronting refugees. Also anecdotal evidence suggests that it is not clear to both refugee communities and the resettlement sector, to what extent and how well existing policies are capable of covering the essential requirements of resettlement.

To resolve the existing gaps, this thesis examines how previous experiences of refugees influence current services and how service providers put into consideration the past experiences in the planning and delivery of resettlement services for refugees.

Due to the fact that resettlement/integration is a continuum (Canadian Council for Refugees, 1998), the analysis at the various stages of refugee protection and resettlement are matters that need to be considered and clarified to both the host society and the refugee communities themselves.

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2 See 2000 Tripartite reports (A report for the incoming Coalition Government from the NGO sector. Tripartite consultation is consultation between United Nations, New Zealand Government and Resettlement NGOs)
The research aims to:
- Discuss the factors causing people to become refugees
- Explore the factors governing the actual decision to flee and the challenges surrounding the initial flight from home to the nearest country of refuge and life in refugee camps.
- Identify the needs and services offered to refugees after their initial processing on arrival by the various services in Christchurch, New Zealand.
- Identify the existing gaps in services and provide recommendations, including clarifying the roles and responsibilities of potential stakeholders, to harness and enhance existing programs for refugees.

1.3 Theoretical basis

I have chosen to place my research in the context of development studies using empowerment framework as a tool for analysis. In the next chapter Two the theoretical bases of this research are discussed.

1.4 Methodology

The choice of the research methodology is influenced by the focus of the research, which aims to examine refugee experiences, provide insights into the complexities of life in the less developed home countries, the flight experience and settlement in both first and second countries of refuge.

In this research situation, I considered qualitative research the most relevant method to use to gather data that would provide the deepest insight into refugee experiences and resettlement needs in New Zealand. To achieve qualitative information from the key resettlement stakeholders (Refugee communities, Central government, Christchurch City Council, and NGOs in Christchurch), involved the research has applied PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal) techniques:
- Individual in-depth interviews
- Focus groups with interactive activities and discussion
- Document review
PRA methods have been selected because PRA encompasses a growing family of approaches and methods which enable local communities such as refugees to "share, enhance and analyse their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan, act, monitor, and evaluate" (Chambers, 1997:1). Chambers also argues that poor people can improve their quality of life if they are given the opportunity and adequate access to the decision making process (Chambers, 1997).

The choice of qualitative methodology and PRA methods used in this research is greatly influenced by the desire to elicit a broad range of experiences and perspectives from the various stakeholders (refugees, NGOs and central government agencies). For that reason the qualitative research method was felt to facilitate an equitable power relation between the researcher and research participants (see Maykut and Morehouse, 1999). The qualitative method is further relevant to this research situation as it permits participants' fuller expression of their experiences and needs in their own terms (Walsh, 1996).

The method was particularly valuable in the case of this research, given the existing disparity in the participants' experiences and capabilities, which necessitated the research to be conducted by using loosely, structured interviews without requiring a predetermined structure. This gives the researcher the freedom to allow the interviewees to simply talk (Welsh, 1996). Maykut and Morehouse (1999) argue that qualitative research is more concerned with examining people's words and actions in ways which give a clearer image of the situation according to the experience of the participants.

Gender issues were given due consideration during the implementation of the research to ensure the research outcome is gender balanced. The desire to achieve gender balance remained a key-motivating factor in the choice of methodology.

Another advantage which influenced the choice of the qualitative research methodology is its flexibility and openness to change, giving the researcher opportunities to code collected data as well as to regularly revise the data during collection and drafting stages. In qualitative research "the coding is ongoing, changeable" (Davidson and Tolich, 2001: 158)
Data Collection

The collection of relevant data for the research was undertaken through reviews of relevant literature, interviews with participants (communities and agencies) and document and report reviews.

In addition to the questionnaire, notes taken during interviews were also important sources of information. Reviews of relevant literature and the empirical theories on development and migration provided the broader conceptual framework for this research.

The sources of information for this research are from:
- Individual, in-depth interviews
- Focus group interviews
- Review of relevant literature on development and refugee resettlement
- Document review

Selection and access to participants

The process for the fieldwork interviews started with paying initial courtesy calls to the community leaders to seek their support and ask advice about how to conduct the interviews with participants in a culturally sensitive manner.

The respondents were planned to be randomly identified based on gender (50% men and 50% women, age (over 14 years) and length of time in New Zealand (1-6 years) and pre refugee experience. Factors such as appropriateness in terms of quietness and comfort influenced the choice of interview venues. Appendix One gives characteristics of respondents.

Conducting Interviews

The work of Welsh (1996) on how to conduct qualitative research was closely followed during the entire process to maximise the respondents' contributions. Welsh urges researchers conducting qualitative interviews to follow the following sequence:
a) Researcher self-introduction: introduce the research and give explanatory comments about the purpose of the research and seek participants' consent regarding the use of audiotape and note taking.
b) Warm up: ask ice-breaking questions and avoid threatening language.
c) Main body of the interview: ask simple questions and leave (to the last) more complicated ones to the end.
d) Cool off use simple question to ease any emerging tension.
e) Closure remark: Express appreciation

The individual interviews helped to generate information about people's experiences in their home countries, their first country of refuge as well their current needs and concerns. Both the individual respondents and the focus group were asked questions relating to their experience in their home country, their first country, their expectation of New Zealand and their concerns in Christchurch. Questions asked at focus group and individual interviews are in Appendix Two.

Focus group participants provided information concerning previous experiences, existing needs and gaps along with recommendations for further progress. Interviews with government agencies and non-governmental organisations provided useful information regarding current policies, services available for refugees and existing gaps in services. The interview questionnaires for agencies and organisations are in Appendix Three.

The focus group interviews were initiated through the use of key questions (semi-structured) identifying themes relevant to the research topics. Prompts were used to sustain the dialogue and encourage the participants to elaborate on the contents of the topics. Priority was given to establishing a rapport with the participants. Personal questions were avoided during the focus group interviews and were replaced instead by the use of generic questions.

The interviews and discussions with respondents in individual and focus groups were conducted in a style that encouraged the participants to articulate their experiences regarding the way refugee communities responded to the various constraints they faced during the refugee period, after arrival in New Zealand, and the
mechanisms they used to overcome those constraints. To gain an insightful picture of participants' experiences, case study methods were used where possible, to allow participants to speak for themselves about their experience in their own words, without relying on interpreters.

Interviews with the Afghan respondents were conducted with the help of interpreters. At the outset of the interview, respondents were given a briefing about the purpose of the interview and the process of the research. A research information sheet was provided for each participant. In addition to the assurance of confidentiality as stated on the information sheet, participants were given verbal assurances that the information they gave would be confidential and would only be used for the purpose of the study. Clarification was given to the participants that the research had no relevance to my role as an employee of a government agency.

In addition to the information sheet, those participants from NGOs and government agencies were given consent forms to sign before taking part in any interview. The consent form allowed participants the freedom to withdraw from the process in case they decide to do so at any point.

Each individual interview lasted for 1.5 hours while the duration of focus group interviews approximately 3-4 hours. These time frames include the time allocated to establishing a rapport with the group before starting the interview.

The field data was collected both in the form of notes taken and audiotapes recorded which were later transcribed for analysis. A tape recorder was used only with permission of the respondents. As a researcher, I was very aware of my responsibilities regarding participants' confidentiality prompting me to always ensure the security of data storage.

Data Analysis

The analysis of the data commenced upon the completion of the collection of relevant data. The method of data analysis was "constant comparative method" (Maykut and Morehouse, 1999: 176) which is a non- mathematical procedure and is able to identify topics, themes and patterns in qualitative data.
The process of data analysis involved revision of notes and audio tape recording taken from the field, which are both important and relevant to the research. Kirby and Mckenna (1989 cited in Korac, M, (2001:25) suggest that "To do analysis, the data must be divided into portions that are manageable".

The collected data was then categorised according to themes that emerged from the various interviews. Once the category was established it was easier to cut and paste material under the correct category heading.

**Potential problems**

Women respondents from the Afghan and Somali communities felt intimidated by a male interviewer (because of their cultural background), resulting in there being more women in the focus group interviews than the individual ones.

Sometimes women from these cultures feel judged by what they say and therefore choose not to speak at all in front of a man. Consequently 100% gender balance was not possible in interviews. In the individual interview, an Afghan interpreter was employed as I had been cautioned about the likelihood of women remaining silent in front of an unknown man. Some Somali women appeared to feel ashamed to be honest in front of a man whom they already know.

Although the utmost care was taken to avoid asking questions that could raise painful experiences/issues and re-open old emotional wounds, one woman in the focus group interview broke down in tears upon hearing of the experience undergone by another respondent in the focus group.

The quality of information gathered was most satisfactory. The only problems was the reluctance of participants to share their personal experiences; particularly the women because of shyness or fear. Sometimes people were not willing to divulge their true story e.g. people may have changed their identities so feel the need to conceal some experiences or women who had experienced rape could not share this in the interviews. They could say only that generally women were raped without admitting it had happened to them.
One of the men thought it was inappropriate to question the women without a man from their community present and was also concerned about the type of questions appropriate to ask a woman. The women expressed themselves more effectively in a group setting rather than in private interview.

Time was also a constraint. Most people are very busy necessitating evening visits encroaching on my own personal time. However most people were generous with the time they had.

The agencies were less forthcoming. They seemed unwilling to acknowledge their own shortcomings restricting comment to elaborating on funding shortages and issues related to working with the communities.

To gather more information I had to ask specific questions regarding their policies and how they included refugees in the consultative process.

1.5 Thesis Outline:

Chapter Two begins with a background to the emergence of the 1951 Convention on refugees. The chapter also examines literature on refugees and theoretical considerations of concepts of human rights, social justice, social exclusion, disempowerment, marginalisation, underdevelopment, participation, top-down and bottom-up models of development etc from development theory as they relate to refugees and the resettlement process.

Chapter Three analyses and discusses the issues raised in the interviews and literature review relating to the initial flight from home to the nearest country of refuge and the reasons for leaving the home country, the factors governing the decision to flee and life in refugee camps. Chapter four discusses the resettlement needs of refugees in Christchurch, services available, existing gaps and recommendations to address identified gaps and the responsibilities of various stakeholders.
Chapter five discusses how the research finding informs theoretical discussion of refugee resettlement. It also makes recommendations to address the identified gaps along with suggestions for refugee resettlement best practice to New Zealand policy makers, service providers, host society and the refugee communities.
CHAPTER 2: Origins, Context and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

Chapter one introduced the topic, objectives and methodology of this thesis. This chapter establishes in greater depth the historical context and theoretical framework on which this thesis is based. This chapter provides a review of the literature on 1957 Refugee Convention and theoretical considerations of the concept of human rights, social justice, social exclusion, marginalisation, participation and empowerment theories as they relate to refugee resettlement and the resettlement process.

The process of establishing an international body creating guidelines for protecting refugees started in the early 20th century during the era of the League of Nations and prior to the establishment of the present United Nations. However, it was July 28th 1951 when the UN special conference agreed about the convention relating to the status of refugees (UNHCR, 1990). The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, defines refugees as "Persons who are outside their country because of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a political social group or political opinion" (UNHCR, 1990: 1)

Since its establishment, the convention has remained the key instrument applied internationally for defining who is a refugee and the kind of legal protection, and social rights that the refugee person should receive from the states which are signatories to the convention. The convention also explains certain responsibilities that refugees have towards their host country and states specific categories of people who don't qualify for protection under the convention; for example, war criminals and other people who have committed a serious non-political crime, outside the country of refuge, prior to admission to the country as a refugee (UNHCR, 2002).

To be legally accepted as a refugee under the convention, a refugee person is required to provide proof of well-founded fear of persecution. It is this definition that is currently used by some countries when dealing with people claiming refugee status.

The scope of the document was originally confined to protecting mainly European refugees but has since expanded and become an international instrument for
the protection of refugees world-wide following the 1967 convention, and after the spread of displaced people throughout the world. As well as protecting refugees, the convention became the means for granting other important rights to refugees, such as "freedom and movement, the right to work, education and accessibility to travel documents" (UNHCR, 2002).

Forced migration or refugee situation has been taking place since World War II, which expanded the scope of the document. Besides war, it is argued that sustained economic policies imposed on Third World countries have brought about political unrest and ethnic conflicts. While there are many development-related factors that cause refugee situations, the structural adjustment policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank can be argued to be a significant contributing factor.

This idea is also supported by Turshen, (1998 cited in Boyd, 2000: 5) who argues that:

The policies of the international financial institutions, notably the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank which have weakened African states and helped create power vacuums, have contributed to the rise of conflict. By imposing financial austerity and structural adjustment programs that shackle the state as provider, the international financial institutions have undermined the ability of legitimate African states to govern and respond to people's needs.

2.2 Exploring the Links between Refugee Resettlement and Development Discourse

Development discourse and refugees are also interrelated as refugees are considered by some writers to be the consequence of inappropriate development and, in particular, the widening gap between rich and poor people and developed and developing countries of the world which have become a central cause of creating refugees.
It can be argued that differences in income, living standards, economic and political power in many developing countries has lead to the exclusion of certain groups from the development which has caused conflicts and refugees (Cernea and McDowell, 2001). Also the work of Black (2000) found that current refugees are the result of tribal or ethnic hatred which are consequences of underdevelopment related factors, such as poverty driven environmental degradation, conflicts over limited resources and unequal distribution of national wealth.

Given the existing links between development discourse and refugees, I suggest that effective resettlement requires government agencies and specialist service providers to develop a cohesive resettlement strategy that is built on a strong foundation of development practice which recognises and takes into account all the growth that the development field has made in the last fifty years.

The reason is that resettlement can be sustainable when the refugee groups are in a position to realise self-reliance. Self-reliance is less likely to be practical in an environment in which refugees are living in state of marginalization and disempowerment and where they cannot enjoy equitable access to local resources.

Also one of the growing themes in development thinking is addressing the priority needs of people and achievement of sustainable societies. That is why sustainable development theory stresses development such as resettlement programs to be framed in ways that allow sustainable living. Also Overton & Scheyvens (1999) argue that "unjust societies are not sustainable societies, because they rest on the exploitation or subordination of one group in society by another" which is why sustainable development are less likely to be achieved in a society where injustice is done to a particular groups on the grounds of their race, colour, religion or gender.
2.3.1 Models of Development:

Given the problems associated with distribution of resources under modernisation, the focus of development in the last decade, particularly the emerging of an alternative development, basic needs approach, shifted to ensuring human wellbeing as a matter of human rights leading to the birth of rights-based approach. The rights-based approach focuses on participation, empowerment, accountability and non-discriminatory development. Human wellbeing occupied the front line in development studies when it became evident that "greater populations in the world lacked both fundamental goods and opportunities" (Elliot, 2002:45).

According to Storey (2000) alternative development is a development approach seeking the same development outcome with mainstream development, but suggests a different approach based on greater emphasis on participation and people-centred development. In the words of Brohman (1996:324) the existing links between an alternative development approach to development lies in "creating development appropriate to the needs and interest of the popular majority in Third World countries". In other words a people-centred development approach is a flexible development method, tailored to meet the needs of marginalised groups such as refugees.

2.3.2 Rights Based Development Approach

Despite human rights and development discourse emerging at almost the same time, development view of human rights in the 1940s and 1950s was solely centred around the right to civil rights and politics (Elliot, 20002). The UN (2001) strongly suggests that poverty and inequality be regarded, not only as economic and social problems, but also as human right issues. According to the UN (2001:5) "the right to participate in, contribute to and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development was proclaimed in the declaration on the right to development in 1969 and reaffirmed as a universal human right at the World conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993". Also, human rights have already become explicitly part of the international approach for development, for example, the fourth Lome Convention (Koenig, 2000) produced a framework for EU aid to developing countries. Resettlement has connection with both development and human rights discourses,
which also have interdependence, indicating refugee resettlement links with Human Rights.

As discussed earlier, the study of resettlement and migration indicates that social injustice, social exclusions, marginalisation and disempowerment, which are generated by processes of under-development, create forced migration. This idea is supported by some academics. For example, (Cernea, 2000:3) argues that refugee resettlement and the restoration of refugee livelihoods are "domains affirming human rights, extending social justice, and promoting inclusion instead of exclusion" and are concepts influencing policies for development and poverty alleviation.

In 1950s, the handling of refugee matters was based on a temporary solution before being repatriated or integrated. Boyd (2000:4) argues that there was an attempt in the work done by the UNHCR office when it was established in 1951 to reduce programs and material assistance to "facilitate the voluntary repatriation of such refugees or their assimilation within national communities". The idea was to avoid countries taking up direct responsibility for the material welfare of the refugees.

In spite of the protection of refugees being regarded as an issue of human rights by resettling countries, a right- based approached has not yet been widely practised in resettlement while current resettlement programs appear to me to be conducted with the emphasis primarily on meeting the physical needs of refugees. Applying a rights-based development approach to refugee resettlement is likely to improve the effectiveness of resettlement by empowering refugee groups. Also, the range of services offered to refugees sits well within the different aspects of Human Rights, which is why resettlement has to be considered as a part of international approaches for development and therefore operated according to the principles and norms of human rights.

Issues related to egalitarian development, democracy, participation, ethics and human rights occupy an important place in development theory and have become primary areas of concerns for development institutions such as the United Nations and World Bank (Elliot, 2002). The table 2.1 below illustrates the multidimensional and interdependence between human rights and development.
Table 2.1. The multidimensional and interdependence nature of human rights and human development.

- Political freedom (in the form of free speech and election) helps to promote economic security. Social opportunities (in the form of education and health facilities) facilitate economic participation. Economic facilities (in the form of participation in trade and production) can help to generate personal abundance as well as public resources for facilities. Freedom of different kinds can strengthen one another (Sen, 1999).

- Civil and social education will help people understand their rights and increase their choices and income earning capacity. At the same time, developing and implementing equal opportunity laws will empower people to gain more equitable access to productive resources. (UNDP, 1998:10)

- The level of ill health experienced by most of the world's people threatens their country's economic and political viability and this in turn affects economic and political interests of all other countries. (Brundland, 2003:3)

- A fundamental human freedom from wants. Poverty is a human rights violation, and freedom from poverty is an integral and alienable right. (UN Declaration on the Right to Development, 1986)

- Every step taken towards reducing poverty and achieving broadband economic growth is a step towards conflict resolution. (Annan, 2000:45)

Sources: (Elliot, 2002:48)

2.3.3 Social Exclusion

From linguistic perspectives, social exclusion indicates the existence of two groups of unequal power, one perceived to be socially included and the other excluded from accessing certain resources that the first group have access to. Muffels and Fouarge, (2000:3) define social exclusion as

Exclusion from the participation in all kinds of institutional, social, cultural and political ties in society and exclusion from the access to the societal resources available to the average or modal citizen, defined in
terms of income, health, housing, social contacts, education and paid work.

In the refugee context, the term also indicates the absence of social integration of refugees with the mainstream or receiving society.

The works of Muffels, and Fouarge (2000:9) have attempted to simplify the dominant understanding of social exclusion by explaining that social exclusion at the micro or individual level is mostly thought to be a process of gradual retreat from the average lifestyle caused by disrupting events or shocks as result of sustained experience of inadequate living standards. They argue that it is a concept that covers broader issues beyond absence of cash income. It also involves a lack of amenities in the house, lack of permanent employment, poor health, bad housing, lack of social contacts and insufficient education.

De Haan (1999:7) argues that

The disadvantages faced by the excluded may be, and often, are interrelated. For example, people belonging to minorities or school drop outs may have a great risk of being unemployed or employed in precarious jobs and hence be low paid, less educated, recipient of social assistance, have little political power and fewer social contacts.

**Indicators for measuring social exclusion:**

The work of Kronauer (1997:38F cited in Petra, 2001:12) found six dimensions, which are central to the social exclusion approach. These are: "exclusion from the labour market, economic exclusion, cultural exclusion, exclusion by social isolation, spatial exclusion and institutional exclusion". Table 2.2 below gives an overview of indicators of some exclusion areas. The application of these indicators suits well in the analysis of the refugee resettlement continuum to determine the insufficient living conditions of refugees during the resettlement phase.
### Table 2.2. The Dimensions and Indicators of Social Exclusion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Indicators</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Distributional/material</strong></td>
<td><strong>Labour market performance</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard of living</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Educational status</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Income poverty</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Housing conditions</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Residential area</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Long term unemployment) more than 12 months)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inadequate standard of living, last decile of proportional deprivation index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No vocational training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Below % of mean equivalent household income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less than one room per person (without kitchen) no bath or toilet in apartment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bad living conditions in the neighbourhood + feeling of insecurity in residential area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Relational/Participatory</strong></td>
<td><strong>Social relationship</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Politics</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anomie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anxiety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No close friend + limited possibilities to contact other people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pessimism concerning political influence + no interest in politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feeling lonely / life is too complicated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Depression / frightened thoughts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Long term perspective</strong></td>
<td><strong>Development of living condition</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Permanent bad living conditions during last five years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>Social exclusion risks in objective and subjective terms</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accumulated indices (total, distributional, relational) dissatisfaction with possibilities of taking part in social life/ feeling left out of society</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Adapted from Peters, 2001:14)
Dominant Approaches to Social Exclusion:

Unequal distribution of resources, social injustice and social exclusion that are consequences of underdevelopment have become a concern for alternative development discourse. In the following discussion, these concerns are identified also applying to refugees. Refugees often come from a situation of exclusion and experience social exclusion in their new life. The primary focus of the discussion on exclusion is centred on the relationship between the marginalised individual refugee and society and the dynamics of that relationship.

Concerns for equitable resources distribution lead to a discussion on social exclusion which gained much attention because of its concern with the inability of marginalised groups to effectively participate in economic, social and cultural life and so reduce their alienation and distance from mainstream society (Dufey 1995)

This discussion on exclusion has been in the academic debate since the 1960s and 1970s although it has become an issue of broader discussion in Europe in the late 1980s (Petra, 2001). The term exclusion is also used interchangeably with marginalisation, which implies the exclusion of certain groups, such as refugees, from accessing certain resources such as paid work, appropriate housing and social participation which are central to refugee resettlement. De Haan (2000) argues that the concept is better suited to, and applied in the framework of debates concerning a multicultural society.

Poverty and Social Exclusion

The term poverty is another term central to development and often used in the debates about refugees as a causal factor and a concern for refugee resettlement. According to the Third United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, (2001:7) poverty is defined as "a human condition characterised by the sustained or chronic deprivation of the resources, capabilities, choices, security and power necessary for the enjoyment of an adequate standard of living and other fundamental civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights".

Poverty alleviation has been central to the programs of bilateral and multilateral agencies in recent decades. For example, the European Union have
developed better conceptualisation of poverty and hold the view that "The poor shall be taken to mean person, families and groups of persons whose resources (material, cultural and social) are so limited as to exclude them from the minimum acceptable way of life in the member state where the person lives" (Hagenaar, De Vos and Zaidi 1994:4 cited in Muffels and Fouarge, 2000:8).

I am particularly in favour of the EU definition and consider it as appropriate for the refugee situation because it is multi dimensional and combines a variety of resources.

Refugees are considered marginalised in the hosting societies because they often differ from the host society in several ways, which exclude them from mainstream society.

- They may have come from a traditional society or agrarian rural area rather than an urban industrialised area, with different traditions, and political structures
- They may practice a different religion and culture, which prevents some refugees from accessing important resources, e.g. Muslims are forbidden to take out interest-bearing loans and culturally important food products may be difficult to obtain.
- They may look different through different skin colour, features, hair, type and style of dress.
- Refugees take up similar low social status jobs and live in low decile areas.
- They speak a different language, which prevents them from accessing information about local resources including employment opportunities.

2.3.4 Participation and Empowerment

Theories of participation and empowerment in development discourse have a central place in resettlement. Moreover, anecdotal evidence shows that there is a growing consensus within resettling NGOs (Non Governmental Organisations) and government agencies that resettlement cannot be effective and sustainable in the absence of refugees' participation in the resettlement process.
Participation

Participation is a development concept whose definition and ideas have evolved over the last decades. The origin of this concept can be traced back to the 1950s and 1960s when various NGOs started to adopt popular participation in development projects and programs (Karl, 2000). The concept developed further in 1970s and 1980s as a result of the failure of mainstream development projects and the frustration with modernisation paradigm of development in which "people were identified as missing elements in the development efforts" (Karl 2000:3).

Participation as a concept has evolved over the previous decades and is reflected in the way the term for participants has changed from 'the rural poor, beneficiaries' or 'users' to the most recent terms such as 'stakeholders' and partners (Rudqvist and Wood Berger 1996 cited in Karl, 2000).

The term participation itself has different meaning for different people. I am more encouraged by the definition of the World Bank's Learning Group on Participatory Development that defines participation as "a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which effects them" (World Bank, 1996:x1)

In the refugee context, participation in the resettlement process can be a process for empowering individuals and refugee communities, giving them needed skills to penetrate certain layers of hindrances to self-reliance. My argument is also supported by Clayton el al's (1998 cited in Karl, 2000:4) definition of participation as "an instrument to break poor people's exclusion and lack of access to and control over resources needed to sustain and improve their lives". Clayton insists that participation is a means to empower people to take charge over their lives. Kumar (2002) argues that participation is considered as an active process where the participants take initiatives and actions, which are inspired, by their own thinking and discussions over which they have control.

These differing meanings of participation indicate its significance to the development process. Kumar (2002:23) argues that "the way participation is defined largely depends on the context and background in which participation is applied".
The work of Pretty (1995 cited in Kumar, 2002: 24-25) found seven types of participation as listed below:

- **Passive participation:** People participate by being told what is going to happen or has already happened. It is a unilateral announcement by an administration or project manager without listening to people's responses. The information being shared belongs to only external professionals.

- **Participation in information giving:** People participate by answering questions posed by extractive researchers using questionnaire surveys or similar approaches. People do not have the opportunity to influence proceedings as the findings of the research are neither shared nor checked for accuracy.

- **Participation by consultation:** People participate by being consulted, and external people listen to views. The external professionals define both problems and solutions, and may modify these in the light of people's responses. Such consultative process does not concede any share in the decision-making and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views.

- **Participation for material incentives:** People participate by contributing resources in the form of labour, food for work, cash or other material incentive.

- **Functional participation:** people get involved through formation of groups to meet predetermined project objectives which might entail certain programs designed and decided by outsiders without the consultation and input of the target people.

- **Interactive participation:** People team together in the initial analysis, formulation of action plans, and formation or empowering local organisations. Participation is considered as a right and not the only the means to achieve project goals.

- **Self-mobilisation:** People participate by developing their own initiatives free from outside institutions to change systems. People contact external group for support for resources and technical advice but retain control over the uses of resources.

As shown in Figure 2.1 participation can be regarded as a spectrum with passive participation in the beginning end and self-mobilisation in the other end. The term passive participation refers to a situation where the primary stakeholder or beneficiaries are less privileged to make input in the different cycles of the programs because their input is controlled by those who are in charge of the development
programs/projects. In other words peoples' roles are less visible or almost absent. On the other end of the spectrum is self-mobilisation, which implies a situation in which the people involved are more in command of the process.

**Figure 2.1: The Variety of participation**

![Diagram showing the variety of participation]

1. Passive Participation
2. Participation in information giving
3. Participation by consultation
4. Participation for material incentive
5. Functional participation
6. Interactive Participation
7. Self Mobilisation

Sources: Kumar (2002 based on Pretty, 1995)

Participation has an important role to play in refugee resettlement and it is my view, as a former refugee, that raising the participation and empowerment of refugees would add more value to enhancing the capabilities of refugees. It is also worth noting that refugees have come from countries where participation and empowerment were severely hindered by cultural beliefs, political structures and inequality within groups such as clan and gender.

The need for enhanced participation of refugees in the resettlement process has been voiced in past discussions, such as tripartite meetings and forums. Based on my personal observations, current models of resettlement are not based on the empowerment approach because the system largely relies on leaders who are mostly men and chosen according to their level of English and ability to interact with the receiving society. Such an approach fails to create opportunities for raising the motivation and participation of grassroots refugee groups.

Refugees are not homogenous, hence the use of community leaders as the only representatives of their communities may result in inadequate representation as the leaders may not have effective mechanisms for disseminating information,
resulting in alienation of certain vulnerable groups (women, elders and youth) from the process.

According to my personal experience, the ability of refugees (individuals and groups) to effectively participate in resettlement can be hindered by domination imposed upon other fellow refugees on the basis of gender, class and clan.

**Empowerment**

While refugees may need to be empowered to have confidence to participate, participating is a priority for refugee resettlement because it is a tool for empowering them. As they move up the participation spectrum (Pretty, 1995) from passive to interactive, finally they reach self-mobilisation. It provides them with the skills they need to confidently express their views and needs. Such empowerment enhances refugees' capability to influence local and national institutions.

Experience shows that meeting physical needs alone is not sufficient to ensure sustainable development, which is why an essential aspect of an empowerment approach in resettlement is to reduce inequality between refugees and the host society by expanding the human capabilities of refugees. Empowerment is a priority because many refugees lack the necessary skills and means to deal with outside agencies. Overton and Storey's (1999:28) argument that "poor people are the powerless in society and they have little experience in articulating their needs" also stresses this point.

The concept of empowerment has been stressed by other academics such as Edward (1989:119) who asserts that "if people can analyse, design, implement and evaluate their objectives in a critical fashion, they stand a good chance of achieving their objectives".

The idea of empowerment is also stressed in Tanzania's former president, Julius Nyerere's definition of development, "as a process which enables human beings to realise their potential, building self confidence and lead lives of dignity and fulfilment. It is a process which frees people from the fear of want and exploitation. It is a movement away from political, economic, or social oppression (Rist, 1977:8)
The significance of empowerment to marginalised people like refugees is stressed in McWhiter's definition of empowerment as:

The process by which people, organisations or groups who are powerless (a) become aware of the power dynamics at work in their life context, (b) develop the skills and capacity for gaining some reasonable control over their lives, (c) exercise this control without infringing upon the rights of others and (d) support the empowerment of others in the community (McWhiter 1991 cited in Rowlands, 1997:15).

According to the conventional definition, empowerment is about attempts to bring people who are not involved in the decision making process into it (Rowlands 1997). Empowerment is what makes people become conscious of their interests and how their interests are related to the interests of other people, leading to combined efforts for shared common goals. Rowlands argues that individuals are empowered when they are capable to maximise the opportunities available to them without hindrance. Rowland's work on empowerment has found the three types of empowerment listed below, and illustrated in Figure 2.2.

**Figure 2.2 Three types of empowerment:**

![Figure 2.2 Three types of empowerment](image)

Source: Rowland (1997:14)
• **Personal:** refers to developing a sense of self and personal confidence and capacity, undoing the effects of internalised oppression.

• **Relational:** is about developing the capability to discuss and influence the nature of a relationship and decisions made within it.

• **Collective:** where individuals work together to achieve a more extensive impact than each could have had alone. This includes involvement in political structures and may also include collective actions.

In reality, most of the work around empowerment involves group or collective work and, according to Rowland, the role of outsiders in the empowerment process is one of helper and facilitator. Rowland believes that directive attitudes are considered to be more of an interference for the people to be empowered and therefore points out that empowerment generally comes from within the people.

An empowerment approach is already adopted (at least in theory if not always in practice) by development institutions like the World Bank that stress access to information, inclusion and participation, accountability and local organisational capacity in their intervention, as the key to successful empowerment. The role of information in the empowerment of marginalised groups is also emphasised by the World Bank's argument that a free flow of information between government and the citizens is critical for leading to responsible citizens and responsive and accountable government. Adequate flow of information is essential to refugee resettlement as it makes refugees better equipped to utilise existing local opportunities, access services, exercise their rights and negotiate more effectively. Information about rules and rights to basic government services can be effective tools when it is produced in the languages of the refugee communities.

Building human capability is critical for refugees to adequately access the available resources in the host country. The World Bank (2002:6) argues that "when inequality is high, poor people lack capabilities and assets (ranging from literacy to collateral for credit) and have difficulty taking advantage of economic opportunities".
The key element of the empowerment approach is the belief that the inclusion of the marginalised groups like the refugees is critical in the planning of resettlement services to make sure policy makers take into account the refugee communities' indigenous knowledge and expertise.

The World Bank (2002:21) argues that local organisational capacity building is a key element of empowerment of marginalised groups asserting that this enables communities to "work together, organise themselves, and mobilize resources to solve problems of common interest". According to the World Bank, organised communities are in better chance of their voices being heard and demand met in contrast to communities with little organisation.

Effective empowerment of refugees requires reform of host country local and national agencies to create policies that are conducive to refugee empowerment. Refugee empowerment requires mechanisms to establish positive and participatory relationships between the central and local agencies, and the refugee communities. The emphasis of empowerment is on enhancing the assets and capabilities of the refugees individually and collectively so as to "to enable them to participate effectively in society and to interact with their governments, so as to strengthen the demand side of governance" (World Bank, 2002:23)

The emphasis on reforming resettlement service providers are: designing means for supporting refugees' access to information; supporting means and mechanisms for fostering refugee's participation and inclusiveness; creating means for social accountability and investing in refugee communities' organisational capacity to enable them to solve their problems.

The empowerment framework (Figure 2.3) gives a summary of the relationship between government (local and national) policies towards refugee resettlement and resettlement outcomes. Reform in government (local and central) leads to support empowerment and investment in refugees and their organisation. Also policy reforms leads to more support for empowerment and investment, which then leads to improved assets and capabilities individually and collectively, contributing to positive resettlement outcomes.
2.3.5 Sustainable Livelihoods

While the previous section discussed empowerment as a tool for resettlement, this section discusses sustainable livelihood as another development approach that has great relevance to refugee resettlement.

It is a concept that first emerged in the 1980s as result of the work of Robert Chambers and further developed following the subsequent work of Chambers, Conway and others in 1990s. Sustainable Livelihood Approach became more popular after the 1990s when various development agencies adopted it as an integrated framework for thinking about issues related to community development, with particular focus on poverty alleviation (Thompson, FAO website, accessed on 17/7/2003)

The widely used definition of SL is that given by Chambers and Conway (1992: 7-8 cited in Thompson, 2000:2)
A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation: and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term.

A key difference of the sustainable livelihood approach from other mainstream methods of development lie in the emphasis on participatory approach to exploring the goals, focus and the priorities of development activities. The SLA is also different from other development approaches in the aspects of building on the capabilities of the people, the strategies they use to earn their living, the constraints they face and the opportunities open to them.

A notable strength of the approach is the emphasis on community participation, empowerment and sustainability, which are central to the approach. As a people centred approach, it considers livelihood outcomes to be conditioned by peoples' participation and the extent to which their perceptions and views about poverty, vulnerability, coping strategies are established and taken into account in any kind of development program/project.

As discussed above SLA has great relevance to refugee resettlement. Their relationship is supported by the fact that initial refuge flight is induced and driven by desire for better livelihood when key livelihood systems (social, institutional, environmental) in refugees' countries of origin collapse and make the people more vulnerable and less capable to earn a normal living. The relevance of SLA to refugee resettlement and to development in general has also been discussed by academics.

For example, McDowel (2002:2) argues that "the concept of sustainable livelihoods and impoverishment risks are compatible and appropriate when seeking to understand the impact of disaster and forced displacement on the livelihoods of affected populations, and the process of post-disaster livelihood reconstruction".
SLA is not only designed to solicit peoples' involvement but also to encourage development practitioners to respect and value peoples' perspectives and become knowledgeable of the circumstances surrounding them. Majale argue (2002) that a key contribution of the SLA is that it inspires development practitioners to view contributing factors of poverty from varied areas including examining the potential shocks and events disrupting the normal earning livelihoods. The approach also challenges development practitioners to examine any missing important assets, inappropriate policies and institutional settings and investigates the way these can influence each other.

Pasteur (2001: 4) argues that sustainable livelihoods approach "advocates a number of principles that should be applied in any type of development activity i.e. to be people -centred and participatory, holistic and dynamic, to build on strengths; to make linkages between macro and micro aspects; and to ensure sustainability".

In the refugee resettlement context, SLA can be applied by professionals in the sector to gain better understanding of refugees' priorities, examine the way resettlement is taking place and assess whether the resettlement policies they use are helping or hindering refugees' livelihood outcomes. Sustainable livelihood framework can as well be used by communities" in participatory way to identify the forces acting on them, their assets and the strategies they use, what they wish to achieve (outcomes) and what they need to do to achieve them" (Maiava and Oveton (2003:7).

There are certain assets, which are widely recognised by SLA as the underpinning factors of sustainable livelihood of poor people. Ellis, 2000 cited in Cahn 2002: no pg. no) argues that " the assets status of the poor is fundamental to understanding the option open to them, the strategies they adopt to attain livelihood, the outcomes they aspire to, and the vulnerability context under which they operate ". Mcleod (2001a cited in Majale, 2002:3) summarises these assets as:

- **Natural (environmental) capital.** Natural resources (land, water, wildlife, biodiversity, environmental resources).
- **Physical capital:** Basic infrastructure (water, sanitation, energy, transport, communications), housing and the means and equipment of production.
**Human capital:** Health, knowledge, skills, information, and ability to labour

**Social capital:** Social resources (relationships of trust, membership of groups, networks, and access to wider institutions).

**Financial capital:** Financial resources available (regular remittances or pensions, savings supplies of credit).

It can be argued that sustainable livelihood approach can be applied to refugee resettlement to assess the way refugee resettlement is taking place and examine how livelihood outcome has been changing for refugee households or communities during the resettlement continuum.

As noted by Cahn (2002) an important contribution of SLA to development is the recognition of social capital, which includes culture. The framework is suited to analyse how the cultures of refugee groups impact on their livelihood and shape their access and control to resources. The pivotal role that culture plays in peoples' livelihood is supported by Maiava and Overton (2003:90) who argue that culture evolves in different ways and impacts on the livelihood of communities in terms of:

- the risks and vulnerability context
- influencing structures and processes (such as societal norms, gender roles and relations, organisations, and traditional politics),
- access to and control of resources,
- choice and success of livelihood strategies
- priorities for livelihood outcomes
- the incentives that people respond to.

**The uses of SL Framework for the planning of refugee resettlement projects and programs.**

The SLA may seem designed for rural communities, but in reality the framework can be used for resettlement by providers in different levels (nationally and locally) for varieties of purposes including:
Examination of the action of positive and negative impacts of refugees' past experiences (country of origin, flight and first country) on their livelihoods in second country.

Identification, designing and assessing of new resettlement initiatives

Re-evaluation of how the existing resettlement policies (health, employment, benefit, and education, housing and family reunion) programs and institutional arrangements are impacting on their livelihood outcomes (nationally and locally).

Strategic thinking and discussion

Researching refugee resettlement outcomes.

As noted from the below framework (Figure 2.4) the analysis on refugees livelihood in the resettlement continuum require thorough analysis which takes into account the "various capitals; livelihood resources; institutions; livelihood strategies; and outcomes" (McDowell, 2002:6). The framework also demands analysis on the way refugees' capabilities are shaped by past (country of origin and first country of refuge) and present (second country) experience in the aspects of politics, policies and social economic conditions. For example:

1) **Country of origin factors**
   - Existing community infrastructures to support health, education etc.
   - The situation of governance and public participation in the decision making process

2) **Initial refuge factors**
   - The extent to which the refugee was exposed to experience of trauma, assaults, loss of family members and property

3) **First country of refuge**
   - The existing support for refugees (health, education, food, shelter etc)

4) **International factor**
   - The political environment within the international community and its impacts on the support for refugees in second country.

   **Second country**: social welfare, policy, family reunion, education, employment etc.
Figure 2.4: Refugee Resettlement and Sustainable Livelihoods
A revised framework for resettlement analysis

Adapted from McDowel, 2002:10.
The Table 2.3 indicates how the SL principles could be used as tool for guiding the project/programme planning.

**Table 2.3 SLA as tool for guiding project/program planning**

<p>| | |</p>
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| **Participatory**    | • Use participatory methods in the analysis phase to seek the views of the various stakeholders, including the refugee people, to ensure relevant information is gathered.  
• Negotiate on equal terms a process and principle for intervention with project partners.  
• Involve the resettlement stakeholders in implementation to strengthen ownership and improve resettlement outcomes. |
| **People centred**   | • Ensure that the needs and priority of the refugees are central and primary in the project/program objectives and goal.  
• Take concerns of disadvantaged groups into account, e.g. women, elderly people, youth and minorities.  
• Involve the stakeholder from different organisations, central government, local government, NGOs and refugee communities to ensure the livelihood perspectives of the refugees are represented. |
| **Partnerships**     | • Negotiate key principles and best practice for working with partners to bring about transparency and solid foundation for ongoing relationships  
• Plan for capacity building and empowering refugees in the various skills vital for resettlement. |
| **Holistic**         | • Look beyond single resettlement sector projects/programs  
• Make linkages between different resettlement projects and programs to achieve the aspirations of different groups. |
| **Dynamic**          | • Monitor the way livelihood changes e.g. seasonal or long term  
• Use a process with effective feedback and monitoring  
• Accept the possibility of changing resettlement environment in over time. Establish an effective process for reviewing and re negotiating resettlement projects and programs during the resettlement process. |
| **Building on strengths** | • Don't focus solely on planning and analysing the problems affecting communities but also focus on strengths and opportunities.  
• Use strengths including relationship, a departing port for planning and build on them. |
| **Macro-micro links**| • Recognise the impact of policy and institutional context on livelihoods  
• Make links between micro reality and macro level influences  
• Involve stakeholders from a range of levels: from national to local giving equal voice to all. |
| **Sustainable**      | • Ensure resettlement projects and programs are sustainable in long term (including economic, resources and social sustainability which include culture  
• Ensure transfer of skills and expertise to refugees themselves. |

Adapted from Pasteur (2001:5)

The SLA can as well be employed as tool for analysing and planning of resettlement projects and is capable of exploring a variety of factors that influence resettlement outcomes for refugees. The approach is well suited to the analysis on livelihood outcomes as it can examine the various strategies employed by different refugee households to maintain their living.
Table 2.4 How the SL Framework can support resettlement projects and programs.

| Livelihood strategies       | Helps to identify refugees according to their main livelihood sources  
|                            | Identify the different livelihood strategies that different households may pursue. |
| Livelihood assets           | Help identify the principle assets needed to support different livelihoods  
|                            | Look beyond the refugee normal needs such as food and shelter and include economic assets such as employment opportunities, and social assets such as culture and informal safety nets. |
| Vulnerability context       | Help to identify the main sources of vulnerability associated with certain livelihood strategies, which are not normally considered systematically in the planning process. |
| Policies, institutions and process | Helps to identify institutional and policy influence on refugees' livelihoods  
|                            | Draw attention to the issues of refugees' access to the structures and processes that can help to transform their livelihoods. |
| Livelihood outcomes         | Helps to ensure that linkages are made between the above elements and the achievement of a positive livelihood outcome. |


2.4 Resettlement and Integration

The term resettlement has no clear definition. There is an existing but debatable view about the actual make up of resettlement. Because of the existing misconception, the term has caused a lot of debate in the designing and implementing of refugee resettlement programmes and policies.

The diverse definitions of the term and the absence of widely agreed indicators for measuring resettlement outcome have caused a lot of debates and uncertainty about the actual meaning and the final goal of resettlement. The definition of the Canadian Council for Refugees seems to capture the goal of resettlement. The Canadian Council for Refugees defines resettlement "as a long term, dynamic, two-way process through which, ideally, immigrants would achieve full quality and freedom of participation in society, and society would gain access to the

Despite these differing views, all resettling countries share the same goal of enhancing the human capabilities of refugees to achieve self-reliance in the host society, with the same responsibilities and rights as other citizens (UNHCR, 2001). This argument is also supported by Payne's (1998:1 cited in Boyd, 2000: 9) argument that the objective of settlement is to create opportunities for refugees to become self reliant by providing them with the means and mechanisms necessary for developing their own livelihoods and integrate within the "official structures and systems of the host population".

The process of resettling refugees is a continuum encompassing a variety of stages to be undergone before becoming fully empowered to establish sustainable livelihoods. The continuum is a process that operates in two ways because it only occurs when the new refugees and the host society are able to work together to exploit the resources in refugees and the hosting society without causing any serious harm to each others cultural material assets.

The European Council on Refugees and Exiles (1999 cited in Schibel, et. al, 2002:4) sees integration as a process of change that is:

- **Dynamic and two way**: it requires a contribution from both the receiving societies and individual refugee persons / refugee communities. From the refugee side, the process requires them to be prepared to adapt to the life style of the host society without assimilating or losing their own cultural identity. From the host society, the process requires motivation and willingness to adapt local and central government institutions to "changes in the public profile, accept refugees as part of the national community, and take action to facilitate access to resources and decision making process" (ibid).

- **Psychological**: Integration has a psychological perspective. (Schibel, el al, 2002) argue that it starts when the refugee first arrives into the receiving country and finishes when the refugee feels a sense of belonging and becomes a part of the society in legal, social, economic, educational and cultural areas.
• **Multi-dimensional**: it is about the situation and real participation in the economic, social, cultural, civil and political areas of the receiving country and the refugees' own view of level of acceptance by and membership of, the receiving society.

Despite hosting societies' common views about the challenges that refugees face in the initial stages of resettlement, there is less agreement about the stages they go through before achieving basic capabilities such as being informed and knowledgeable, enjoying personal security and being free to participate in the host society.

These differing perceptions caused variations in resettlement approaches within the resettling countries when planning delivery of resettlement programs. Variation is also partly associated with existing differences in the economy and socio cultural conditions of receiving countries which shapes resettlement which then strengthen the integration process (employment, education and skill training, health and income support) and mechanism for promoting inclusion, participation and empowerment.

The effectiveness of integration is determined by the existing policies, structures of central government agencies and the level of partnership between the non-governmental and community sectors and the capabilities of refugee groups. This is because policies that attempt to remove legal, cultural and language obstacles assist refugees to become empowered and become capable of making important decisions affecting their future and to take advantage of existing opportunities.

2.4.1 **The Beginning of the Process**

The success and failures of resettlement it is argued here in this thesis are influenced by the particular experiences that individuals encounter during their lifetime. This is a point often over looked by most of the recent research on resettlement (Gray and Elliot ,2001; Burnett, 1998 etc) which focuses only on the post reception stages, ignoring other experiences which the refugee person has gone
through and which impact on the individuals' capacity to cope with resettlement challenges.

To design, plan and implement refugee friendly programs requires an understanding of the refugee process which is the particular focus of this thesis, beginning with the reasons why persons flee their homes and decide to become refugees and then moving onto the challenges and experiences these persons face in different stages (flight, protection and initial reception). Understanding of this process is of particular interest to policy makers, service providers and the host society as the trauma and suffering refugees have faced during the flight and life in refugee camps remain potential factors imposing restrictions on the settlement process.

Silove (1994, cited in Elliot and Gray, 2001:25) described such experiences as a "Continuum of trauma" that start from the initial flight characterised by "social upheaval, danger, deprivation and the various losses experienced in the home country". Also Fincher et al. refer to settlement as a "process, not an event or a mechanical procedure" (1993:103 cited in Burnett, 1998:11) which indicate settlement is a continuum, interconnected and overlapping process.

The process of becoming a refugee and resettling in a third country is a long journey. Stephen Keller's (1975 cited in Stein, 1980: 3) work on uprooting and social changes argues that refugees go through a series of stages "perception of a threat; deciding to flee; the period of extreme danger; and flight; reaching safety; camp behaviour; repatriation; settlement or resettlement; the early and late stages of resettlement; adjustment and acculturation; and finally residual stages and changes in behaviour caused by the experience".

Keller's work affirms my argument, which emphasises the need for analysis on refugee resettlement to extend beyond the reception phase to connect with the experiences and circumstances that refugees faced during their lifetime. Analysis of an individual's past experiences is vital, as most refugees are likely to have been exposed to a prolonged period of deprivation of resources to achieve their aspirations particularly refugees coming from countries where important social services such as education, health, housing, water supply and sanitation are underdeveloped.
The planning on resettlement should cover gender equality, taking into account that women and girls from Third World countries have experienced significant gender discriminations in their countries of origin. The opportunities they lost both in their countries of origin and perhaps the first country of refuge are likely to become a resettlement barrier.

Likewise, such analysis is required to make space for considering the challenges presented by conflicting cultures during adjusting to modern societies. Many refugees come from traditional societies and the process of resettlement involves adjusting according to the culture of resettling countries. The challenges and difficulties associated with attempting to cope with the modern culture as well as preserve a traditional one also causes a new trauma, which adds to the past trauma of refugee experience.

2.4.2 Models of resettlement

The term resettlement has evolved as a concept over the last decades in a similar way to mainstream development. Traditionally, the desired outcome of resettlement was based on new refugees assimilating in the new society. Assimilation was the desired resettlement outcome because Westernisation was a measure for development.

Assimilation first emerged as concept to prevent ethnic diversity from becoming a likely force for social transformation. In other words it is a means for encouraging new minority groups like refugees to take the social and cultural practice of the host society (Castles, 2000).

Changes in development, particularly the emerging of a right based approach, led to a shift from assimilation to integration. This new thinking gained momentum following the 2001 International Conference on the Reception and Integration of Resettled Refugees where the focus was on promoting integration. The conference preferred integration on the basis of its dual benefits of allowing new refugees to adapt to the host society and the host society to adapt to the new refugees.
Because of the existing gap in indicators for resettlement, different resettling countries use different targets as tools for gauging resettlement success. The Canadian Council of Refugees suggests a variety of indicators from within economic, social, cultural and political dimensions as tools to measure the successfulness of resettlement. These are shown in Table 2.5

Table 2.5 Indicators for Measuring Resettlement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Short-term Settlement</th>
<th>Longer term integration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>• Entering job markets&lt;br&gt; • Financial independence</td>
<td>• Career advancement&lt;br&gt; • Income parity&lt;br&gt; • Entry into field of prior employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>• Established Social network&lt;br&gt; • Diversity within social network</td>
<td>• Accessing institutions&lt;br&gt; • Engaging in efforts to change institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>• Adaptation of various aspects of lifestyle (e.g. diet, family relationships)</td>
<td>• Engaging in efforts to redefine cultural identity&lt;br&gt; • Adapting or reassessing values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>• Citizenship&lt;br&gt; • Voting</td>
<td>• Participation in political parties&lt;br&gt; • Participation in socio political movements</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Gray and Elliot, 2001:73

2.4.3 The Generic Resettlement Needs of Refugees

Refugees have hierarchy, generic and individual needs. Maslow's (1970) theory of human needs perhaps gives a better framework for analysing the needs of refugees. Maslow's theory of motivation and human needs has identified human beings as having five levels of needs.
Table 2.6 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of needs</th>
<th>Motivation and behaviour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Level 1= physical/ones own body**  
(Physiological safety)  
Most basic need to stay alive, which entail having enough food and water to survive | Eat, sleep, and take care of body needs, provide for clothing, shelter, comfort, be free from pain |
| **Level 2: Security/one's family and work**  
(safety in environment)  
Consist of the need to be safe from physical and psychological harm in present and future | Work, save for future, improve skills and talents, be responsible, and want an organised world to predict future. |
| **Level 3 Social/Love (communication and response)**  
The desire to be loved and to love. Involve the need for affection and belonging | Join and be active in clubs and groups, be able to talk to others, contribute to society, marry and have family |
| **Level 4 Self Esteem (Ego/ Acceptance/respect)**  
Need for reputation, prestige | Display one's talents and skills, have confidence, appreciate attention and recognition from others. |
| **Level 5 self Actualisation (Fulfilment of realisation)** | Be self starter, have enthusiasm, be creative, be dedicated enjoy challenges, love to work and accomplish results |

Sources: Maslow (1970)

Maiava’s (2001:219-220) work which focuses on situations faced when minority ethnic group interacts with dominant society presents perhaps the most straightforward of the different types of human needs. She identified five types of needs, namely: the need to feel good about oneself, the need to belong and feel secure, the need to feel in control of one's life, the need to be free, active and independent and the need to support one's own family. These needs I suggest may be exhibited at different levels and shrink with the improved capabilities of the individual refugee.
A number of other models have been suggested. For example, Eisenstad, (1954, cited in Elliot and Gray, 2001) has identified four stages of adaptation that refugees experience during their adjustment to the culture of the new society. These four stages are:

- Learning the language, norms, roles and customs
- Learning methods of handling and coping with new roles and situations
- Development of a new identity and status image
- Switching over from participation in the institutions of one's own ethnic group to participation in the institutions of the host country.

I personally support Eisenstad's model as it attempts to give fair consideration to refugees from different cultural backgrounds. Along the lines of the Eisentad model, and my own experience as a former refugee, Somalis and most other African refugees fit well into this model but may require different support systems to help them progress through the four stages which Eisentad has identified.

Joy (1996) cited in Gray and Elliot (2001) also suggests four stages of adaptation:

- Initial arrival phase when the refugees are confronted with what they have lost
- First two years when there is a drive to recover what has been lost and rebuild lives
- Four to five years when the major of adjustment is completed; those who get the impression that they are not capable of attaining the goal may choose to abandon in this phase
- After decade or more some stability will have been reached.

Joy's suggestion has merit in theory though there are some doubts as to whether setting the same time will be appropriate for all refugees who come from different walks of society. For example, farmers, business people or doctors have come from different life styles (traditional and modern) and with different experiences. The duration and the desire are relatively dependent on past experience and availability of appropriate local support. Other factors including gender and age, and access to and control of local resources are also likely to have a influence, which invalidates the Joy's proposed time frame for refugee resettlement.
From personal experience, culture is the backbone of refugee resettlement and is the determining factor in the adjustment process. The definition of culture indicates it is a pivotal role in resettlement. The Waitangi Consultancy group (Waitangi Consultancy group Leaflet) define culture as that which holds a community together by giving a common framework of meaning. It includes how people communicate with each other, how they make decisions, how they structure families, and what they think is important. It expresses our values towards land and time, and attitudes towards work and play, good and evil, reward and punishment.

Culture is preserved in language, symbols and customs and elaborated in art, music, drama, literature, religion and social gatherings. It constitutes the collective memory of people of the collective heritage, which will be handed down to future generations.

Building on the definition of culture, it would be an enormous error to overlook culture in the planning of refugee resettlement. It is obvious that refugees can rarely establish themselves successfully in societies where they see no opportunity for cultural retention. Culture is the enabling factor for refugee integration with the host society, particularly when there are mechanisms for the integration processes.

Refugees' capacities for cultural retention and ability to prevent themselves from the risks of falling into cultural assimilating, is the key to achieving meaningful resettlement and can also create an environment conducive to positive ethnic relations.

Other models of resettlement but with different perspectives on resettlement exist, for example, Lieve and Kezo (1998 cited Gray and Elliot, 2001). This model has put more focus on the individual and social factors and identifies three groups of refugees:

- those who have the will to solve resettlement problems
- those who are negative and hostile to the host society
- those who take resettlement for granted and do not bother to make any effort to improve their situation.
Lieve and Kezo's model needs further research to find out why some refugees develop negative and hostile attitudes towards their host society. From a personal perspective, such an attitude is often developed in reaction to members of the host society exhibiting negative attitudes.

The two authors of this model also identified other groups of refugees who are described as people who take resettlement for granted and do not bother to make any effort to improve their situation. Again, from personal experience, refugees are most likely to put less effort into improving their conditions when self esteem and motivation is diminished partly due to declined opportunities to achieve personal future dreams.

There are reasonable connections between this model and the previous one, as both argue that settlement outcomes are dependent on both individual commitment and the level of support from the host society. The authors are of the view that integration can be improved by minimising the two stressors and individual's weakness factors. The best way this can be achieved is by empowering refugees themselves to become capable of meeting their own needs.

The three authors (Joy 1996 Lieve and Kezo, 1998) viewpoints and the emphasis on the role of the individual in the resettlement process are valid. However, the individual's commitment would not be rewarding in resettlement outcomes in the absence of accommodating support from central government, local government and the civil members of the host society.

This chapter has examined the theoretical context for this study, placing refugee experience in development thinking. The reading of the literature has found that the refuge experience is symptomatic of underdevelopment. The literature has also suggested the need to plan and implement resettlement programs in the context of development thinking. The discussion in Chapter Three is based on the finding of the research conducted and described in Chapter One.
CHAPTER 3: Refugee Experience: From Flight to Arrival

The discussion in this chapter is based on the findings of the research conducted and described in Chapter One. This chapter aims to discuss the experiences refugees undergo in their home country, the departure from their home country, the process of planning for departure and the actual flight and related factors. This will be followed by expectations and needs in the first country, challenges they face and mechanisms they employ to cope with camp related problems. As stated in Chapter Three, the participants in this research were representatives from the Somali and Afghan communities. The Somali participants came from Kenya and Ethiopia as the first countries of refuge while the Afghan participants have come from Pakistan, Iran and Malaysia, which were their first countries of refuge.

3.1 The Decision to Flee

The 1957 convention relating to the status of refugees defines refugee as "persons who are outside their country because of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a political or social group or political opinion" (UNHCR, 1990: 1). This definition gives a practical description of the experiences that refugees are likely to have gone through prior to seeking refuge in first or second countries of refuge.

Although refugees may share the common name of refugee it can be argued that they are not homogeneous. Gender, age, class and ethnicity are some of the many facets that separate them. Also, despite some groups sharing the same culture, language, and beliefs, they may not necessarily come from the same background nor have been exposed to the same experiences prior to resettlement in the second country. For example, refugees from the same community may have come from two different lifestyles, rural and urban, in their country of origin and have used different strategies to earn a living. It is possible that refugees from rural settings relied heavily on livestock and subsistence farming for their sustenance prior to the refugee experience. Unlike rural dwellers, urban refugees used to obtain their living from employment, business or a combination of both, prior to escape.
Despite New Zealand's accumulated experiences in hosting refugees since WWII and being, at present, one of only ten countries in the world to have refugee resettlement programs (New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS, 2001), new refugees are likely to present new challenges and necessitate new policies which are tailored to meet the needs of refugees, helping them to achieve their aspirations in New Zealand society. Designing such policy demands, from both policy designers and implementers, an in-depth understanding about a refugee's experience in the country of origin and also the first country of refuge.

The key reason for the above is that new refugees, unlike the European refugees that New Zealand used to host, are culturally, racially and ethnically extremely different from New Zealand mainstream society. Moreover, the new refugees have come from countries that are less developed and are at a different stage of development than that of New Zealand. This research also found that the new refugees are lacking well-established relatives in New Zealand and have no other potential support groups of their countrymen in New Zealand.

In contrast to these new groups, refugees, who came from Europe were both culturally and ethnically similar to New Zealand society or came from societies whose levels of development were better than Afghanistan and Somalia. The former refugees, particularly those from Europe, also enjoyed the benefit of being welcomed and assisted by well-established relations in New Zealand who knew their language and supported their integration.

3.1.1 Pre-Refugee Factors

The research findings indicate existing diversity in participants' pre-refugee socio-economic backgrounds. Respondents ranged from professionals, business people, politicians and doctors to maids, housewives, students and livestock herders. Some female respondents from both communities reported that, even prior to the flight, women were housewives looking after their children while the men were the main income earners for families. The majority of the men's pre refugee occupation were office administrator, politician, businessman, driver, farmer, student, animal
herder etc, while occupation for women ranged from housewife, accountant, secretary, maid to a few business women and student.

The research findings indicate that the two communities participating in this research (Afghan and Somali) have experienced longstanding human rights violations and conditions of underdevelopment both in their own countries and prior to arrival in New Zealand. In many situations, even before seeking refuge, these refugee groups have been living in situations of poverty and have faced constant fear or have witnessed immediate family member/s being tortured, killed or raped.

Seeking refuge in a first or a second country is both costly and dangerous, and is normally hard for the poor with lesser assets and financial capabilities. Because the flight process is so difficult, the most impoverished people cannot afford to leave their home country or reach a neighbouring country; key requirement of a refugee is to cross an international border. Failure to cross an international boarder is the reason why internally displaced people usually miss out on international protection.

Development failure and refugee flights often have links as the causes of the latter are rooted in the former. The interviews with participants in this research revealed a great correlation existing between underdevelopment and the creation of refugees. This finding is also supported by the fact that the majority of refugee producing countries are classified as less developed countries. While environmental disaster is a source of refugee flight, it can be argued that the majority of refuge flights occur when countries with less economic growth, lack of political freedom and higher levels of human rights violations, create an insecure environment for their people and fail to provide protection mechanisms for them.

The women in the research reported that gender disparity, resulting from deep-rooted cultural beliefs exists in the two countries of origin (Somalia and Afghanistan) and neither rural nor urban women have equal status to men and nor do they participate in the decision making process or have access to existing resources.

The research found rural refugee women to be even more marginalised than urban ones as gender disparity is high in rural areas because the roles of women are
confined to specific tasks such as looking after children and fetching water, while girls are responsible for looking after animals such as goats, sheep or cattle and cannot access education. Boys are prepared for leadership roles, so they get better access to social services, including education.

An Afghan refugee man said,

Women in the rural areas have not completely recognised themselves as free human beings in terms of decision making and in all aspects of life. They still depend on men to make even small decisions affecting their lives.

An Afghan man said

Generally education facilities in Afghanistan are almost equal to nothing for women and girls and in most places they are not allowed to study since the men think it is not culturally suitable for them. This concept is based on traditional belief and is against the true teaching of Islam that says women has the same rights with men in all aspects of life without any differences.

A Somali woman said

Women have limited opportunities for education because their role is restricted to increasing the labour force of the family of birth when she is a girl and the husband's family when she is married. The discrimination against women starts immediately after the child is born and people come to know whether it's a boy or girl. The birth of baby boy is normally celebrated, while the mothers who give birth to baby boys are better treated, contrary to a baby girls whose birth the families grieve with little care for the mother. In childhood, young girls are not given the same opportunities as boys because the boys are prepared for
the responsibilities of maintaining the future sustenance of their parents and their future families. Contrary to the boys, the girls are only trained on how to be good housewife.

3.1.2 The Effects of War on Peoples’ Lives

Regardless of the country of origin, almost all refugees in this research have experienced the burdens caused by the loss of homeland, loved ones and status as well as feeling of fear, frustration and emotional instability; all a result of the conflicts from which they fled. Many are traumatised by their experience. Moreover, the communities have fled from countries affected by extreme poverty as a result of prolonged conflicts and famine. They arrive both in the first country and New Zealand in poor physical condition.

The long-term conflicts and poverty that these refugees have gone through impacted negatively on their educational opportunities and disrupted the primary and secondary sources of living of communities in both rural and urban areas. In rural areas, in both Somalia and Afghanistan people lost their stock and farms. Often those from urban areas lost their jobs, businesses and other mechanisms for supporting their livelihood. In particular, the loss of resources and lack of functioning public infrastructures placed most people in situations of impoverishment, forcing them to make the decision to flee. For example, people who worked in factories and institutions lost the jobs that were the backbone of their livelihoods. Similarly, those engaged in self-employment activities, which were a livelihood-supporting mechanism, lost their income, which affected the family sustenance. Rural people lost their livestock, which were the primary source of their sustenance.

3.2 The Flight

3.2.1 Reasons for Refugees to flee their Homes

The research found various reasons for the participants to flee from their countries. The main reasons include:
• To find a safe place for their families to live when they can no longer live in peace in their country of birth because their clan group or religious sect have become targets of torture.
• To find a safe place because they have been the targets of governments in their countries.
• To find better education and health for their children when the systems and social services infrastructures in their localities collapse.
• To find work when they lose their work, business, farms and livestock.

In addition to the war factor, peoples’ decisions to flee are also motivated or induced by development related factors usually as a result of an environmental disaster such as sustained drought which causes people to face a situation of impoverishment and uncertainty about opportunities for obtaining basic needs.

3.2.2 Planning for the Flight

Not every one can afford the flight from home to the nearest place of refuge, despite being subjected to fear, persecution and impoverishment. In most circumstances, it is the most vulnerable people that fail to get to the nearest country of refuge and are forced to remain internally displaced in the home country. Refugee people normally weigh up the cost of fleeing against the human and financial resources they have before making the actual decision to flee. The research found some of the problems that people consider during the planning processes to be:

• Plans to overcome the dangers of passing through hostile groups
• The money needed to bribe checkpoints and plans of escape from security forces in the first country of refuge and establishing links with people smugglers who can be relied on
• Information about the first country, particularly the way to attain entry permits and admission into the camps
• Neighbouring countries’ willingness to provide refuge
• Information about the presence of other refugees from the same clan group or religious sect in neighbouring countries.

The process of travelling from home country to the first country of refuge has been extremely difficult for both groups (Afghan and Somali) with the exception of
the first groups who left their country early with a reasonable level of preparation and strong economic resources.

The research found that the time of departure from country of origin to the first country of refuge is dependent on peoples' abilities to sense the prevailing situation in their country and therefore the decision to leave is made at varying times. The research also found that the process and means of departure also vary depending on the time and the existing situation in the country. The composition of refugees also varies with the time of departure. The research findings revealed that the first groups of refugees were comprised of the upper class; the wealthy, the highly educated and those holding higher positions of authority, who are able to sense the situation in their country and make arrangement to leave early.

Some refugees left their homes very quickly, without sufficient notice and without preparing for the journey just to get to the nearest place of safety. These people essentially fled when war reached their area of dwelling or homes.

One former refugee from Somalia has this to say,

I left my home in the morning for work but couldn't return because the way to my home was taken over by a rebel group. I didn't know where my family had gone. There was no means I could go back to them, not even knowing whether they were all killed or not. The only way I could trace them was to go with the wave of fleeing refugees to see if I could find any one from our neighbours or others who could know my family. Sometimes, you just have to ask people from the surrounding area the information of what actually happened to get a feeling of the family situation

Depending on the situation as well as financial and human capabilities, people travel either by air, sea or land (on foot or by vehicle). Those well off normally use planes and boats to get to the second country and sometimes settle in cities instead of joining camps.
The research revealed that those with the most resources left early, travelling by air or motor vehicle and are less traumatised compared to those who travelled by foot. In addition, the rural refugees seem to travel late as they have restricted resources for travel in the early stages and must wait until family overseas send support for their flight.

3.2.3 Potential barriers faced by refugees during the flight:
There are certain barriers that refugees have to meet and overcome during the flight, especially those discussed in the planning process.

An elderly Somali refugee woman had this to say,

We travelled for weeks without food and proper knowledge of the routes. We just headed to the direction we thought was the country (Kenya) we were going to. We could not sleep at night because we were warding off wild animals that screamed everywhere. But we were fortunate to arrive at the border safely.

Another Somali woman said,

One thing that stands out in my memory, and I will never forget is the problems faced by refugees when fleeing from their homes. I was fleeing with my children and other families' children when the warplanes started bombing. During the escape the parents and the children got separated. Some of the children have never been found, but the most traumatic thing I experienced during this time was recovering the bodies of the children. Some women were killed while their babies were still feeding at the breast.

Other most commonly experienced difficulties listed in order of most frequently cited by respondents include:
1. Fear
2. Hunger, thirst, starvation and diseases causing deaths
3. Death of family member/s
4. Loss of direction
5. Robbery, raid and rape
6. Stuck in mud and water
7. Women give birth on the journey without any medical attention
8. Arrest and detention by security forces
9. People overcrowding boats and drowning in the sea.

Sometimes entire families perished. For example, according to U.N. Office for the co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs in 2002, 950 people destined for Gulf States were drowned at the sea (http://www.Irinnews.org/ retrieved on 29/8/03). There are certain times when people have to make a hasty decision regardless of the dangers involved, as the intention is to get away from what could be described as hell and get to a safe haven. For example, some Somali refugees boarded overcrowded boats to make their way to Kenya and Yemen. In many incidences, people on the boats were forced to jump into the sea. The boat crews, also known as people smugglers, always carry weapons and force people into the sea although many of the people didn't know how to swim.

3.2.4 Strategies used to overcome flight problems

As reported by respondents, refugees use diverse strategies to overcome flight-related barriers, for instance:

People smugglers are used as a means of support for people to get from the country of origin to the first country of refuge. These people are very useful because they know how to get around police and authorities, how to escape being caught and they know the countries and borders well. Because the refugees are unfamiliar with the first country of refuge, so they rely on these people who know the country well and they have to pay substantial amounts of money to these smugglers. The only way they can meet this cost is to sell their properties including land, houses, cars, and possessions. Some also borrow or take loans from friends in overseas countries.
The people travelling by land also hire local people to guide them through the unknown lands. The local people are hired because they know the safest route where they are less likely to encounter security forces. They are also helpful in providing information about sources of water which is essential and is a priority during the escape process.

Other useful items include sleeping blankets, sometimes the nights can be very cold. Also matches are necessary to light fires at night for heat and cooking. Sticks are used to rub together for fire when matches are depleted. Cooking pots must be carried but are kept to a minimum because of the difficulties when travelling long distances.

Sometimes people hire donkeys to carry their items, this depends on how they are able to afford this and how much time they have to organise this. Sometimes they have to travel long distances for longer periods of time and the animals are invaluable to them, as looters may steal the animals or provisions on the journey.

One Somali man said

We were travelling by truck which was ambushed at a check point and the people at the check point wanted to rob us because they had heard we had valuable jewellery with us. They started to fire on us and a full drum of diesel fell down on a 2-½ year old boy who was crushed and as a result he is disabled for life. We had no medication to treat him or pain killers so his injuries were severe and suffering immense.

A Somali man said

When approaching the Kenyan border there were check points where often looters stole everything the fleeing refugees had, raped women and demoralised everyone so some attempted to run through the borders to avoid this and subsequently 3-4 people were shot every time while trying to escape this. There was no medicine to stop bleeding so many people died.
A Somali woman said

We had settled for the night and my brother went to collect firewood and when he picked up one piece there was a large snake underneath which bit him. There was no snake antidote so his hand is now permanently disabled.

There are some helpful things, usually deemed indispensable for flight, to help people overcome the above flight related difficulties, for example:

Water: Is essential before any other plans can be made so they take several jerry cans of water depending on the number in the family fleeing. They have to take enough to get them to the next source of water but they are limited in what they can carry.

Torch: People usually travel during the night to be inconspicuous and also like to avoid travelling during the day because of heat so a torch is essential to travel with. They need to carry a reasonable supply of batteries to keep it going.

First Aid Kits: These include oral dehydration salts for children because salt supplies in the body are diminished during travel so they become dehydrated and sometimes they drink unclean water where they come down with diarrhoea. Cuts and abrasions, snakebites can also happen during flight so people need to take with them painkillers, antidotes. Sometimes they can get injured on the way so some medication to stop bleeding is essential.

3.3 The First Country of Refuge

The times taken for travel from the home country to first country of refuge vary from one day to two months depending on the distance and the means of travel. During travel it is the pregnant women, the elderly and the children that suffer the most.
3.3.1 Expectation in First Country and Reasons for Choosing

In many circumstances, this research found people make the decision to seek refuge in another country (first or second) for the prospect of a better livelihood. As respondents explained, the desire for physical safety, a better livelihood and education for children are important determining factors in choosing first and second countries of refuge.

Other stated reasons for choosing the first country of refuge are the existence of extended families established in these countries and the availability of places in the refugee camps. The majority of respondents from urban areas stated that they chose the first country because of the high chances of UNHCR sponsoring people to the second country. A small number (3) of Somali participants stated that they preferred the country because they spoke the local language. The majority of the Afghan respondents had chosen Pakistan or Iran because of cultural ties and shorter distance of travel.

Even though the refugees fled from disasters and had expectations of better conditions, the highest expectation of the first country is limited to physical needs when compared to their expectations of the second country. The reason is that because first countries of refuge (Kenya, Ethiopia, Pakistan and Iran) have borders with home countries (Somalia and Afghanistan), the participants already had some contacts with the country and so they had reasonable information about the conditions in the refugee camps. Appendix Three shows Somalia and Afghanistan bordering countries. Because of this prior knowledge and familiarity with the first country's development circumstances, the participants were aware that first countries of refuge were less developed and were already struggling with the development needs of their own populations. The participants cited the following as crucial expectations of refugees in the first country:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expectation</th>
<th>Somali</th>
<th>Afghan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical safety, food, shelter and medicine</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunity for work or start business</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go to second country for resettlement</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Because the first countries of refuge (Kenya, Ethiopia and Pakistan) were less developed and had policies that were rather inhospitable to refugees, expectations other than for a reasonable level of physical safety, remained unmet and the refugees struggled to survive.

3.3.2 Conditions in the Refugee camps:

Camps are normally established on a short-term basis, as the expectation is that the situation in the country of origin would return to normal relatively quickly. In reality, this may not happen in most situations. It is more likely that some camps will possibly exist for decades and evolve into towns because the situation in the home countries remains volatile or because the refugees have effectively established themselves and integrated with the local host society. For example, the Harta Sheikh camp on the Somali and Ethiopian border has become a well-established commercial town connecting Somalia and Ethiopia. Some of the first Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan have also been transformed into villages with refugees building traditional Afghan mud huts.

In spite of existing differences in camps, people in the refugee camps generally have a very poor quality of life, face acute shortages of food and water and have poor sanitation. They have limited options for making a living and so become completely dependent on aid handouts. A complete dependence on aid causes people to lose their self esteem, puts them in positions of low status, makes them powerless and vulnerable, and causes new trauma which adds to the flight experience in the countries of origin (loss of homeland, loss of loved ones, loss of status, feeling of fear, frustration and emotional instability).

Generally, rural people appear to face greater difficulties in the camps and become more impoverished because they have left behind the animals upon which they relied for their sustenance and come with no other human or financial capital. The research found that the urban refugees have a better chance as they have more status in the camps and have greater knowledge or experience of administrative processes and how to access agency resources, giving them more structured access to both the resources in the camps and the country of origin. The participants reported
that the urban people also improve their condition by selling assets they left in their country to raise finance to undertake new income generating activities or to use as an investment to get to a second country. Because of these advantages, upper and middle class urban refugees normally get greater admission to resettlement in second country, while the refugees from rural areas, who are mostly uneducated, and widows, remain in the refugee camps. The urban refugees also have the benefits of existing friends and kinship links in overseas countries that support their stay in the first country.

Some key characteristics of the camps include:

1. Overcrowding and poor shelter
2. Lack of educational opportunities
3. Limited food
4. Scarcity of water
5. Poor health facilities
Plate 4.1 Refugee Camp in Kenya- Africa
Sources: NZIS Mangere Reception Centre

Plate 4.2 Refugee Camp in Asia (Thailand)
Source: NZIS, Mangere Reception
Life in the refugee camps sometimes differs considerably according to the development of both continents and countries. Miller and Ann (1999:2) insist that although refugee camps cannot be compared to home, refugee camps in Africa and Europe differ significantly:

Miller and Ann state that, the office of U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees is spending about 11 cents a day per refugee in Africa. In the Balkans, the figure is $1.23, more than 11 times greater. Some refugee camps in Africa have one doctor for every 100,000 refugees. In Macedonia, camps have as many as one doctor per 700 refugees-- a ratio far better than that of many communities in Los Angeles.

Refugees at most camps in Albania, across the border from Kosovo have readily available clean water. In Eritrea, on the Horn of Africa, families as large as 10 are given about 3 1/2 gallons of water to last three days. The camps in Africa hold as
many as 500,000. Up to 6000 refugees there die each day from cholera and other public health diseases. In Macedonia, the largest camp holds 33,000 people"

Differences also exist in the food supplied to refugees. Refugees in Europe, for example, Kosovo, Albania eat "tins of chicken pate, foiled-wrapped cheeses, fresh oranges and milk and sometimes get coffee and fruits" (Miller and Ann (1999:2)

Disparity also exists in the provision of other services. For example, refugee camps in the Balkans are supplied with mobile phones to be used by refugees. Camps in Europe have soccer fields, basketball courts ping-pong tables and children's centres with heaters installed.

The existing inequality in provision of humanitarian services is also reflected in the donors' commitments in funding for refugees on different continents. For example, The World Food Program (WFP) fund raising appeal for Africa's Great Lakes (Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania and Uganda) was $98.5 million and the agency received 22% of the appeal. In Liberia the appeal was $71.6 million, of which the agency received $500,000 compared to Kosovo where the agency requested $97.4 million and received more than 70% in relatively short time (Miller and Ann (1999). The research participants also indicated differences in the provision of service for refugees in the Kenyan, Pakistan, Malaysian and Iranian camps.

**Pakistan:** The majority of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan were living in the cities and working in Pakistan factories. They received some money from the UNHCR depending on the family size. For example, some families received $100 per month while there were some who received $50. There were others who received support from relatives and friends in other countries.

**Iran:** No aid program was available for the refugees in Iran and they were living either at their own expense or working in factories, as there was a lot of employment available in Iran.
**Malaysia:** Afghan refugees were getting a reasonable amount of money from the UN office in Malaysia, which enabled them to live their lives with no financial problems. Most Afghans there were working, as there were some great work opportunities in Malaysia.

**Kenya:** Contrary to the camps in Pakistan, Iran and Malaysia, refugees in Kenya receive a limited amount of assistance which is inadequate to meet a family's survival needs. According to one respondent, food provision in the Kenya camps was confined to:
- Maize 3 Kg per person every 2 weeks
- Wheat flour 3 Kg per person every 2 weeks
- Oil 50 grams per person every 2 weeks.
- Cooking wood 5 pieces per person every 2-3 months.

The respondents reported there were no other essential supplies; for example sugar, milk, tea etc.

Sometimes the level of support available to refugees is dependent on, and driven by, donor countries and first country of refuge political interests. The refugees from Afghanistan got greater humanitarian support prior to the Russian defeat because American and Pakistan's interest at that time was to remove the Russians. Later, support for refugees declined and with the emerging of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan many faced deportation because the Pakistan government of that time wanted the refugees to go back and fight for the Taliban because the Pakistan government wanted a good relationship with the Taliban. The Pakistan government also dealt harshly with Afghan refugees who belonged to tribal groups opposed to the Taliban regime.

The refugees living in camps and cities in the first country (also living in a refugee like situation) used diverse strategies to cope with life in this first country. The most commonly experienced problems and the diverse mechanisms employed by the refugees to cope with the problems include:
Health: Health is a major problem for most refugees, especially for refugees who arrived before many international humanitarian organisations came. The participants from Kenyan camps stated that there were no medicines in the Kenyan camps and only few doctors to care for the large refugee population. Treating the sick from a private clinic is expensive. Also there is the problem of movement of refugees being restricted by the first country's security forces. As one Somali female respondent explained some refugees use loans to buy medicines often without a doctor's prescription. Absence of heath facilities causes complications during childbirth resulting in injury for many women and maternal mortality. The refugees use Traditional Birth Attendants (TBAs) who are not trained and don't have properly sanitised equipment. Absence of normal toilet amenities as well as inadequate nutrition contributes to diseases such as anaemia, dysentery and other diseases generally caused by unsanitary living conditions.

A middle aged Somali woman stated

The women who arrived in the camps first suffered the most. Some women were in labour for two days without any medication, or even painkillers and many women died because of bleeding.

Although the condition of Afghan refugees in Pakistan was relatively better compared to the Somalis in Kenya and the Afghan refugees also experienced shortages of food, drinking water, warm clothes, medical care and sanitation facilities. The few health clinics in the refugee camps could not cope with the large refugee population.

Education: There are no education systems when refugee camps are set up and most people use informal education through local self-help initiatives. Although UNHCR is, in theory, expected to run education programs for children in the camps, in reality this doesn't always happen, particularly in the early stages of camp establishment when the refugee camps are not well established and few aid agencies have arrived.
The participants from Kenya said, even after some schools were established in the Kenyan camps, many children couldn't access education because their labour was crucial for their family survival. Children in the camps share the responsibility for cooking, fetching water, cutting wood and looking after the young ones while the parents are busy with activities to support family life and survival.

Refugees from Kenyan camps noted the absence of post-primary education in camps and there was no support for productive work. As a consequence of this, many teenagers became involved in anti-social behaviours including sexual violence and the consumption of *kat* or *mira*. (A stimulant plant grown in East Africa, used mostly to pass time). Some resourceful persons from within the refugee groups formed informal religious education centres with limited support from humanitarian agencies.

Afghan participants noted that, while most of the Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan had primary education, many children could not access it. Like the Somali refugee children in the Kenya camps, the Afghan refugee children took part in bread winning activities that primarily involved working long hours in local fruit markets, carpet-weaving industries and driving donkey carts. Many children also took part in carpet weaving because it was considered an important adult skill that children can be prepared for during childhood. As well as children's workloads, shortages of teaching materials and refugees' inability to maintain school infrastructures were among the causes for lower participation of refugee children in education. Gender disparity was high in the few functioning educational institutions and girls represented. Just a small proportion of those attending school. Even in these few functioning schools, there was more emphasis on religious education with some of the schools using a curriculum with a strong theological focus.

Unlike those from Pakistan, the Afghan refugees from Iran had limited access to education as the government denied permits to enrol in state schools or to establish private schools.

**Employment:** no formal employment opportunities exist in the camps and only a few speakers of English are able to get interpreting jobs. As reported by a
Somali respondent, the interpreters are also selected according to the size of their clan groups in the camp. People also paid money as a bribe to the leaders of major clans to get their support. A Somali female respondent reported that women in the Kenya camps also undertook self-employment activities such as selling milk, bulk food and firewood. A focus group respondent said refugees in Kenyan camps have no permits or freedom of movement and this becomes an obstacle to them undertaking activities that could have earned them some income. An Afghan respondent stated that refugees in Pakistan had better chances of getting permits and could take up employment.

People used other strategies to get away from financial problems. For example, some sold their properties in the country of origin to start new self-employment activities. As reported by women respondents from Kenya camps, women in Kenyan refugee camps initiated traditional saving arrangements called Shallongo/Ayuuto which involved groups of women combining to collect food items and then giving them each week to one who sells the food to get the cash needed for other essential commodities. Both the Somali and Afghan refugees in Kenya and Pakistan relied heavily on the support of relatives in overseas countries. Refugees' efforts to make a living were restricted by host governments' (Kenya) policies that prohibited any kind of refugee movements outside their camps.

The research found the principal sources of living for refugees, other than the food handouts, are:

- Rearing a limited number of goats and poultry both for the consumption of the household and for sale.
- Street retailing or vending
- Occasional hire for portering work (to unload food aid) and construction work
- Occasional food distribution work
- Income from fetching water (women) and collecting wood for cooking food and sticks for constructing huts.
- Use traditional skills (TBAs, Traditional healers, shoe making etc) to make extra income for living.
- Remittance from relatives and friends in overseas
- Work in low paid work (Pakistan and Iran)
The proportion of people engaged in the above activities amounts to a small fraction of the refugee population and therefore the majority lived solely on the food handout and money remitted from overseas.

**Income Generation**

People also use other systems of support to maintain their living in the harsh refugee life. For example:

- Dependent on extended kinship or family friends.
- Income from the sale of jewellery
- Income from the sale of houses, land and farms in the first country
- Relying upon family members overseas (remittances)
- Some women married local men to get a living

**Housing:** the situation of housing in the Kenyan camps was poor and people lived in overcrowded tents. In addition, plastic sheets distributed by aid agencies and construction sticks were used to build huts that provided minimal protection from rain and burglary. Live thorny trees were transplanted around each tent to stop bandits. Sandbags were put around the tents to prevent the many poisonous snakes and ants from crawling into the huts and tents.

Fear of poisonous snakes remained a problem in some camps and many people suffered and died from the bite of poisonous snakes that were everywhere in the camps.

A mother stated,

> I missed a safe inch of land that I could sleep my newly born son because there were big snakes everywhere. The snakes were so big that two men could not carry a dead one on a wheelbarrow.

The majority of Afghan refugees in Pakistan lived in rented houses in the cities. Those still living in the old refugee camps lived in traditional mud huts.
Food: Refugees in Kenyan camps had no stable income and lived in basic survival conditions depending exclusively on humanitarian aid and external assistance. Most camps were established in semi-arid environment that didn't suit farming and lacked available surface water and vegetation.

The process for getting food from the distribution centres is depressing and causes new trauma because people become humiliated at having to stand in a queue every week to get food from distribution centres. Some employ other strategies to get more food. For example, they manipulate the interpreters to get more rations cards.

Water: There is an acute shortage of water in most refugee camps and in some camps, water is sometimes rationed, just like food, and families get only a 10 litres bucket daily which is not sufficient for drinking, general use and personal hygiene. Water is so scarce that clothes are not washed for months because there is no water. As well as insufficient water, some don't wash because they have no spare clothes to wear while the dirty ones are being washed. They are forced to wash only during the hours of darkness. The need for clothes is a reason many sell their rations and choose to forego eating some meals. Few sewing machines exist in the camps and the cost of repairing clothes is too expensive for most people.

Insecurity: The respondents reported that most refugees, especially those from Kenya experienced rapes and robbery. Sometimes the local Kenyans populations develop anti-refugee sentiment because they see the refugees as depleting their natural resources and degrading their environment.

Existing unemployment in Pakistan and Iran created high levels of intolerance and resentment from the local population when they saw the refugees taking their jobs.

The Kenyan security forces were also very harsh on the refugees. One Somali female respondent said,

The police used to knock on people's doors in the middle of the night asking for identity cards and money. Those without identity cards or money to pay were detained
and heavy fines imposed on them. Sometimes the ordinary Kenyans pretended to be patrolling police and acquired money from the refugees.

Another Somali female former refugee stated,

The Kenyan forces used big sticks to beat the refugees and many refugees sustained injuries from the beating.

Insecurity was always high on the Somali and Kenya borders even prior to refugee arrival. After arrival, problems with bandits spread and were persistent in the camps. More refugees became the victims of the lack of security in the surrounding areas. Women were the main victims and became easy targets for bandits.

The research found that women were raped on their way to the firewood fields and, as a consequence, were left with severe psychological problems with very little support either from their communities or the humanitarian agencies.

According to the respondents, women sometimes offered themselves to the bandits to save their lives. The female respondents reported that some young girls became pregnant and fled from their communities as they were despised. Because the communities despised women who were raped, many women kept silent. Rape victims also felt too shy to relate their experience to the agencies and the local authorities. Because rape victims don't come forward to tell of their experience and they also cannot bribe UNHCR officials for selection to a second country, they become excluded from resettlement to a second country like New Zealand.

**Lack of information and access:** The majority of the respondents stated that they experienced difficulties in accessing information, particularly that concerning resettlement to a second country. Camp administrators were generally expatriates and were not accessible to every one, particularly both the illiterate and women, except those who paid money to interpreters. Those, whose names were advertised for interviews to a second country, were not always informed nor were they allowed to pass the UNHCR office gate unless they bribed the security staff and interpreters.
This situation excluded the most needy and marginalised people from gaining access to opportunities for resettlement to a second country.

Following the arrival of the refugees in the new centres the responsibility of supporting them through resettlement in New Zealand shifts to the Government departments and refugee resettlement agencies in each centre. The experience of refugees in New Zealand and their resettlement is discussed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER 4: Resettlement and Integration; Refugee Needs and services

4.1 The Second Country of Refuge

The previous chapter discussed the findings of the research in the field with particular focus on examining the refugee experience from country of origin to arrival at the second country of refuge. This chapter will discuss the initial reception at Mangere Reception Centre and post reception resettlement of refugees in Christchurch, examining the generic and specific needs of refugees, the services available and existing gaps, drawing on interviews with refugee communities and providers of refugee resettlement in Christchurch. Finally, the chapter will present key recommendations for improving noted gaps in services.

The process of finding a place in a second country of refuge is difficult, as there are many people competing for the few places available under quota refugees. Life in the camps is very difficult. Leaving the camp is like escaping from hell to paradise. Quota refugees have no choice in the selection of the second country of refuge. The UNHCR office in the first country of refuge usually assigns people to the second country after acceptance from Immigration officials in the second country.

Refugees who come to New Zealand under the Refugee Quota spend six weeks at Auckland Mangere refugee reception centre. After the initial arrival at Mangere Centre, the resettlement process is managed through partnerships between Government departments and local NGOs, which involve government departments purchasing settlement outcomes from community based organisations.

The NZIS works in partnership with both Government departments and non-governmental agencies to run a range of programmes for newly arrived refugees. The orientation programs are conducted using bilingual support people from the different refugees' communities. The purpose of the orientation programmes is to provide refugees with basic information and help them develop skills for coping with resettlement in New Zealand. The Auckland University of Technology (AUT) is contracted by Ministry of Education to co-ordinate the English language programme
and some other components of the orientation. The centre also provides childcare, special education support and primary and secondary classes to familiarise students with the New Zealand education system. The Ministry of Health also provides complete medical and dental check ups. The Refugee as Survivors Centre also provides a trauma counselling service and therapeutic activities for both adults and children.

The Refugee and Migrant Service (RMS), an agency contracted by the NZIS, provides social services to refugees with bilingual /cross cultural support workers, and co-ordinates the training of volunteer support workers who assist refugees with continuing settlement needs and the accessing of mainstream services.

Refugees are settled in four main cities (Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington and Christchurch) following the completion of the six weeks orientation programmes at the refugee centre in Auckland.

4.2 Resettlement Expectations in Christchurch

Generally, the expectation of refugees in the second country is based on recovering from the impoverished situation they have experienced in both the home and first country of refuge. Although all refugees share the desire to recover what was lost, individual expectations vary according to their backgrounds and previous lives e.g. rural or urban, rich or poor, educated or uneducated. Therefore those from the rural or poor areas are more easily satisfied with life in the new country compared to those who have fled and been processed quickly and /or have been wealthy or living in the cities in the first country. The latter often have high expectations and do not feel content in the second country.

The respondents in this research reported to have come with different expectations to Christchurch. Some respondents came with the expectation that Christchurch is a culture of European background and that they will easily get jobs and opportunities for education. There are also others who expected that there would be more discrimination here compared to the North Island. Some respondents thought on arrival that it would be harder to practice their culture and religion while there were some respondents who had high expectations for good income and better
housing based on their understanding of the life enjoyed by their relatives and friends resettling in Europe.

An Afghan respondent said,

Expectations have been very high of New Zealand. Some people thought that New Zealand will be very similar to some European countries where the refugees have been provided with houses (without being asked to pay for them) and all living in facilities in great working conditions. But things were different here in New Zealand.

Another Somali woman said,

When I came to NZ with my children I felt safe and reassured that my husband would soon be able to join us from Somalia. Now after five years we are no closer to him coming and I would rather return to Somalia than live without him here and keep telling my children he is coming.

The respondents gave mixed views about how their expectations were met in Christchurch and their achievements ranged from low to high. The majority of the respondents reported that expectations around education for school age children and health, except mental health, were well met. Significant numbers of respondents considered first language maintenance as an area of unmet need. Almost the entire number of respondents reported expectations around employment and income still remains unmet. Expectations of achievement about cultural retention far exceeded that was expected and respondents generally felt secure in their cultures, and free to practice their religion and culture.

An Afghani woman said,

When I came to NZ I had been only a short time in a refugee situation because I came quickly to the first of refuge because my husband was in Taliban jail and we
as his family were in immediate danger. So I had not known any of the poverty of living in a refugee camp, and indeed had been quite rich in my home country. When I came here I thought I would be able to restore my former lifestyle but have found living on the benefit system I have barely enough to maintain a basic lifestyle and find it difficult to adapt. Even my phone has been cut off and I am not used to budgeting as my husband who has been left behind would take care of these things for me.

Another Afghani woman:

With my $1200 resettlement grant I wanted to buy many new things but WINZ told me I would have to buy second hand and I did not want this as I have never bought used things before. I spent some of my grant on Persian rugs which are important to me culturally for my home but this left me short when needing other things later on. I now want to return to Afghanistan now the Taliban has left Kabul.

A Somali middle aged man said

When I was coming to NZ I bought a pair of trousers with four pockets from Nairobi (Kenya). I thought I would find a job easily and I intended to work two shifts a day and the money I earned from these two shifts would be enough to fill these pockets. After two years I find I am still unemployed, and desperate to find a job just to earn a living, I feel very disappointed I have not been able to find one.
An Afghan man in the research reported,

Employment will always be the biggest and major problem for Afghan men who have been working back in Afghanistan. By coming here just because of their English level they have been accounted equal to uneducated person.

Those whose expectations have been well met feel they have been assisted by the English language skills they arrived with by helping them achieve better relations with kiwis. Also their previous relationships with westerners helped them integrate better. Also they felt the support they got from their sponsors helped them with information about local services and how to live and survive in New Zealand.

4.3 Refugee Needs in New Zealand as Second Country

Refugees have both generic and individual needs. Some of the generic needs of refugees reported by respondents are listed below in order of priority.

4.3.1 Education

Education in general is a high priority area for refugees. The two communities in this research have expressed a huge demand for education as they both came from countries where the entire education system has collapsed as a result of the prolonged wars, with the locals having no access to any form of education. As reported by 85% of respondents, the communities had no formal access to different levels of education and therefore come with a huge expectation for education in different levels.

Early Childhood Education

Since early childhood education is not compulsory in New Zealand there has been no separate policy to meet the needs of refugees in this area despite the growing recognition by the Ministry of Education of the role of ECE in students' learning outcomes. All or the majority of refugees in this study consider proper access to ECE is vital. The respondents consider that proper early childhood access for refugee
parents and their children prepares them to participate in the New Zealand education system.

Refugee children's participation in ECE not only provides a strong learning foundation, but it also helps them to receive intensive screening for early identification of both health and general developmental problems. Early identification of these issues also allows parents and agencies to put in place support for early intervention. Examples of the benefits obtained from refugee children's participation in ECE include:
1. Immunisation
2. Hearing and vision examination
3. Speech and developmental monitoring
4. Support for school readiness skills for transition to school.

Despite the progress made in the last three years gaps still exist in ECE services for refugee communities and a significant number of the children don't access ECE services. The identified existing gaps in ECE services include:
- Lack of support to preserve refugee native languages (first language maintenance)
- Poor relationships between families and ECE centres due to communication problems as English is the language for instruction and consultation
- Lack of culturally appropriate resources
- Lack of information about the early childhood service/centre
- Transport is a problem for the most parents
- High costs- including payment of donation or fee which prevents refugee children from 100% attendance.

**Compulsory Education (primary and secondary)**

The majority of the refugee children normally come with a huge education gap owing to the long time spent in the camps without proper access to education. These students find it hard to cope easily with the New Zealand age based education system. The majority of schools recognise this as a factor impinging on students' achievements and develop appropriate "back up" programs. The Ministry of
Education now puts more resources into schools to enable them to meet the needs of these students.

**Tertiary: Adult Education**

Respondents wholly noted English as a crucial element of refugee resettlement both for personal development and gaining employment. The Afghan and Somali communities come from countries where English is not even the third spoken language.

The respondents reported that refugees who come with a reasonable level of English usually have a better chance of finding jobs more quickly and adjusting more quickly. Besides the employment factor, English-speaking refugees also face the challenges of:

- Coping with daily life
- Making friends and integrating with people from other cultures
- Assisting children with their education
- Expressing their needs and their feelings.
- Accessing information on housing, health and gaining better knowledge of their rights and obligations in New Zealand society.

In terms of education standards, refugees generally come with vastly diverse educational backgrounds and arrive with a huge educational disparity. They range from being highly literate to some being semi-literate or illiterate in their own language. Such disparity impacts on individuals’ resettlement outcomes. Rural refugees and women suffer from lack of previous education even in their own language and require appropriate interventions to meet their needs. Also the highly qualified people require separate interventions to up-skill their qualifications to New Zealand standard.

According to the Tripartite Interdepartmental Report (2001) adult refugees are the most marginalised group in terms of access to ESOL and educational opportunities in New Zealand. Currently, most refugees can access ESOL through
part-time English courses using the $200 training grant from WINZ (Work and Income New Zealand).

At present, Christchurch polytechnic provides two years free English programs for refugees in different levels in the first four years of their arrival in Christchurch. However, there are some specific groups (elderly and women with pre school age children) who don't avail themselves of this opportunity because of their circumstances. The women with pre school age children are excluded because the polytechnic has no creche and the cost of the childcare is too high for the refugee women. There are few options open for these groups, apart from attending church based ESOL classes or learning with the free ESOL Home Tutor Service and RRS (Refugee Resettlement Service) where volunteers offer few hours a week. There are also a few family literacy programs managed by community organisations and other agencies. Adult refugees are also eligible for TOPs (Training Opportunities) courses funded by Tertiary Education Commission at PEETO (Pasifika Education and Employment Training Organisation).

The research found that adult learners are confused about the area of expertise of various providers all teaching English. Furthermore, both agencies and respondents concur that there are so many programs running competitively that it can be confusing for learners to make the right choice and they may not be aware of all of them. Some providers felt that are some overlaps when it comes to the providers of English courses and this is confusing too.

4.3.2 Lack of Employment

Employment and income are an important element of human life and have great effect for the human spirit. Employment is a means of upholding refugees' spirits, their self-esteem and confidence in the New Zealand society. As respondents explained, within refugee communities, Muslim women are at present facing acute problems of unemployment, which affects their health, motivation and makes them excluded.

The existing literature on refugee employment, for example, Christchurch City Council (1997) and Ali and O'Connor (2001) reveals that lack of access to
employment remains a critical issue for refugees' integration with New Zealand society. For a refugee to become fully integrated into the system, employment and other means of income are vital.

The finding of this research confirms with the previous reports. For Example: the report of January 2000 on refugee resettlement policy presented to Hon Lianne Dalziel (former Minister of Immigration) and the Inter-cultural Relations Report in 2000 for the Mayor’s working party by Ali and O'Connor (2000:). However contrary to the previous reports the research findings revealed some disparities within groups about access to employment. Women appear more excluded from accessing employment opportunities because of dress, discouragement from their spouses who are not traditionally used to women taking up employment while the husbands are still unemployed. Women also suffer from the additional problem of being unable to balance their workload of work and family life, while men don’t share family responsibilities, which force women to usually prefer part-time jobs to suit their family circumstances. The research also revealed WINZ policies as a potential obstacle e.g. their policy on income threshold and how it affects a benefit, this may make it not worthwhile having a part-time job.

The research respondents expressed lack of knowledge about WINZ policies for example: Some people avoid finding jobs because they think WINZ policy will not reinstate them back to a benefit subsequent to termination of the employment. Also some respondents appear unaware of their eligibility for IRD family assistance. Women are disadvantaged when looking for employment because of family and other hindrances, and some of the obstacles facing women in employment are not identified by the agencies and allowed for. This result in their failure to develop interventions geared to addressing issues of women’s needs and interests. The research indicated the passive attitude of refugees towards looking for work and the benefit dependence syndrome as a supporting pillar of the unemployment situation for them. Many refugees leave for Australia or other cities in New Zealand as a coping strategy for the unemployment situation in Christchurch.
4.3.3 Family Reunification

Family unity is at the heart of all societies and conflict in the country of origin usually results in separation of families. Therefore reunification of families is critical and is the main concern for refugees. The research respondents indicated that the wars in Afghanistan and Somalia have caused the dislocation of many families who fled to different parts of the world for protection. Some fortunate families managed to get to New Zealand. However, they have not managed to come as an entire family and have left behind spouse, children or other immediate family.

Family dislocation makes resettlement extremely difficult for these families and exacerbates the difficulties associated with resettlement in New Zealand. While family dislocation is generally a problem for everyone, it causes more harm to female-headed households who can't balance the increased workload of fulfilling the dual roles of the father and mother. Family unity determines the economic and social wellbeing of families in New Zealand and, according to the Afghan and Somali cultures, men and women have different roles in the family.

Traditionally, it was the agreed role of fathers to maintain the family livelihoods and to mentor boys for leadership roles while the mothers were responsible for mentoring the girls for household responsibilities. Also family values in the countries of these communities are not just about a husband and a wife. Extended families are considered part of the family. Therefore reunification with families, which include the extended family members, is the heart of effective resettlement.

The research found existing differences of the composition of the family in the home country and New Zealand is considerable, given that in the home country this average family membership is 12.5 compared to 4.5 in New Zealand. These differences correlate with the existing need for family reunification and have an influence on the family life in New Zealand. Concerns about family reunification are critical while many families are struggling to live in family isolation. With family reunification they feel the process is too slow with a large waiting list and some of the
policies don’t match the realities e.g. a major problem with the family reunification policy is the requirement for siblings to have a job offer in New Zealand before they come. This is unrealistic expectation in the current employment market.

With the Somali and Afghan cultures, it is possible while living in New Zealand to marry a woman or a man in the home country. Under the current policy, if you want to bring a spouse here you are required to have lived with her/him for 12 months before sponsoring her/him here, which may be impossible.

The relationship with the family members left in the home country and first country of refuge remain close. Many families here send money to their members in home country on a regular basis, complicating the lives of their families here.

4.3.4 Housing

Appropriate accommodation is essential for newly arrived refugees. Equally, housing has great influence on the resettlement of refugees who have been here long time, since "housing plays a central role in determining the social and economic well being of families and household" (Myers and Wolch 1995 cited in Schill, Friedman, and Rosenbaum, 1998: 201).

Refugees feel better settled when living in a comfortable place. Under the current resettlement planning, most of the quota refugees get housing upon arrival through Housing New Zealand and RMS (Refugee and Migrant Service), although they have no opportunity to choose where they want to live. This is noted as a problem because refugee communities are relatively reliant on mutual community support and are not used to living in different neighbourhoods. Such separation is seen to diminish community self support and solidarity.

While refugees have, in theory, rights to housing equivalent to mainstream New Zealand citizens, the respondents said access to private housing is limited and is dependent on the willingness of landlords to let their properties to refugees. Language, race and the stigma attached to refugees are reported as potential constraints. There is a feeling among the respondents that some landlords appear to be concerned about the ability of people from refugee backgrounds to pay rent. Also
there is strong feeling among the respondents that racial discrimination is common in most real estate agencies in Christchurch. It is reported that sometimes, certain landlords are so racist that they are reluctant to let their properties to refugees.

Refugees' limited English proficiency may sometimes trigger discrimination from landlords and real estate agents. Some landlords don't return bonds to refugees upon termination of their tenancy period, despite keeping the property in good condition. One refugee woman reported was looking for a house to rent and she was shown to a house that she didn't like, and upon expressing her dissatisfaction, the landlord said to her, "I have another house but that one is new and obviously is not for your people".

The rising costs of private housing as well as the cost of administration fees, bond and deposit are recognised as a significant problem. Also the respondents noted many landlords and real estate agents frequently increase rents, which are often difficult for refugees to pay, and as a consequence they fail to keep a suitable house. The high mobility of refugee families' results in students' frequent change of schools and disrupts their efforts to create relationships with teachers, students and school communities.

Refugees also tend to have large families and landlords generally dislike letting their properties to large families. Many families are forced to rent old properties and lie about the size of their families. One woman said, "We just have to hide some of our children when the landlord is coming for inspection".

The demand for many bedrooms in housing by refugees causes severe shortages of housing, particularly housing for large families. Both Housing New Zealand and Christchurch City Council don't have sufficient properties which can accommodate big families. Waiting lists for Housing New Zealand and City Council housing are generally long and the length of waiting for houses with many bedrooms is intolerable.

Many refugees of Muslim faith face difficulties buying housing of their own because their beliefs forbid them to make any contract involving loans with interest.
The respondents shared the view that living overcrowded housing is a key coping strategy to cut down the cost of living for refugee low-income families and to save some money to send back to their families and friends in the refugee camps.

4.3.5 Mental and Physical Health

In addition to the camp experience, the refugees have come from countries where health services were ill equipped and arrive in New Zealand in poor health. The research found that the majority have experienced persecution, imprisonment or lost possessions such as a house and work. In addition, some have also experienced family dislocation, all causing mental stress. The degree of trauma experienced prior to resettlement in New Zealand influences individual's mental health; the mental wellbeing of their family and their ability to adjust to New Zealand society. Also, refugee professionals who have no employment in New Zealand are likely to become frustrated which affects their physical and mental wellbeing.

A Somali single mother said

The local people judge us only by our skeleton and they treat us as normal people when in reality we are not. They also think life is about feeding someone with food and providing a place to live in, which is not the reality. There are certain times when what you eat and drink is not sufficient to relieve you from the hunger and thirsty, simply because you have no taste for it. You can't eat and drink properly when part of your body is in the fire.

It is likely that many refugees may not express their mental health needs to health professionals on their arrival in New Zealand and in the early stages of their ailment because of the stigma attached to mental illness in their cultures. Even those, whose illnesses are identified don't put trust in counselling and New Zealand ways of dealing with trauma because it is not recognised by their cultures.
It is clear that because of the language and communication barrier, many refugees are not familiar with contributing factors of many diseases, and have no knowledge regarding the various foods that have high-risk contributing factors and so, information about healthy food is essential for refugees to remain in healthy condition.

Furthermore, the respondents, particularly the women, have stated that they have no access to physical fitness facilities and other related activities that are vital for their health and for keeping their body in proper shape. Despite the availability of physical fitness facilities in Christchurch, refugees cannot make the most of such services as a consequence of culture, fear, costs, lack of time and lack of knowledge about the benefits and existence of such services.

Other factors were also identified as a potential hindrance to refugees' access to physical fitness activities. For example:

- Fear of going out with the prominent Muslim dress
- Lack of time to organise and conduct recreational activities

Another identified health issue relevant to resettlement is the circumcision for boys which is culturally compulsory and very expensive in NZ $800 if you travel to Auckland.

### 4.3.6 Access to information:

Access to important information, particularly that pertaining to government departments' policies on refugees is important for refugees. Information about individuals' rights and obligations are vital for refugees to access public services and integrate with New Zealand society. The respondents expressed concerns regarding the low level of communities' understanding about the services of government agencies (e.g. WINZ and IRD) and their policies towards refugees. The problem is increased by the attitudes of refugee men who are rather reluctant to share information with women and the fact that women hardly ever attend meetings both within and outside their communities. These factors prevent women from acquiring important
information including information about new policies and decisions affecting their lives in New Zealand.

Timely access to information in refugee communities' own languages from local providers is particularly useful. Important information includes local policies and services and information about the shopping is critical. The majority of the respondents appear not to approach most providers except schools, RMS, RRS, PEETO, WINZ, Housing New Zealand, Polytechnic and NZIS whose contacts improved in the last two years. The contacts with these agencies developed through sponsors and friends from their own communities.

Information about how to manage the tight family income is crucial. For example, power and telephone supplies are necessary but it is hard to manage for refugees because they are unaccustomed to budgeting, paying bills or how to save money. This has repercussions on the family living; for example, when a large telephone bill needs to be paid, food costs or heating may have to be reduced, so the family suffers.

4.3.7 Cultural retention

Providing refugees with the necessary support to preserve their own culture was found to be a high priority. It’s clear that, for these communities, culture is not only about dress or food, but involves beliefs, attitudes, and norms and shapes the entire lifestyle of the family and the person. Culture is seen as the guiding principle of the individual's relationship with their families, communities and the wider society.

According to the cultures of these communities, the process of learning culture generally starts from childhood to adolescence as children voluntarily observe and copy their parents, siblings, friends, teachers and neighbours. The migration of refugees to New Zealand, which has a Western culture, has resulted in the merging of new cultures and the erosion of their indigenous cultures. The influence of the New Zealanders culture is outweighing parents' ability to help their children to hold on to their cultures and is causing the erosion of the indigenous cultural values.
The respondents believe that parents' inability to raise their children according to their native culture and preserve their language is partly caused by the absence of helpful resources in New Zealand e.g. books and audio-visual materials and Somali and Afghan artists. Lack of time is another factor as most parents are struggling with resettlement challenges and fail to help their children to retain their culture in the new and unfamiliar environment.

While financial and mental stability can have strong influence on cultural sustainability, almost 99% of the families interviewed suffer from unemployment and live on low incomes and appear to be failing to meet both cultural and other ordinary needs of their children, causing diminished parents' relationship with their children. Parents' failure to meet the needs of teenage children generates conflicts in the family and children seek separation from parents to get an increased benefit.

The entire Somali female focus group participants believed many Somali parents suffer from mental health illnesses due to the pre-resettlement experience. The participants reported that family dislocation, financial pressures and other such experiences are causing parents to lose patience and violence to occur in the family.

It became obvious that, also, little support is available from refugees' own communities because they are small, fragmented or less empowered. In addition, there are no proper support systems in their communities to sustain their cultures. For example, siblings are no longer the right cultural mentors, and friends, teachers can no longer serve as support systems but may act to the contrary.

As some respondents explained, children losing their mother tongue is also partly caused by some parents who deem their native languages less important than English because of the numerous needs they have for English language.

4.3.8 Lack of Support for Community Empowerment

The research found this as an area of resettlement that needs much attention, in particular support for building community cohesion, as refugees still suffer from past internal conflicts. Previous conflicts imported from home countries (for example
between ethnic groups) prevent these communities from benefiting from the many human resources in their communities. Building cohesive communities would also enable them to avail themselves of local support mechanisms, which are difficult to access without strong community cohesion.

Empowerment in the form of information about their rights in New Zealand and how the systems work is found crucial. Most people, particularly women, may have played different roles of participation in their country of origin and are having different views about their role in the resettlement process. According to the cultures of these communities, the concept of participation in the home culture conflicts with how participation is defined and practised in Western cultures.

Different classes of the community have distinct roles. For example, only the leaders, who are predominately men, are expected to take part in major decision making processes, while women are consulted solely on household issues. Differences also exist in civil society's relationships with government authorities and therefore refugees are sometimes scared to express their needs to officials in government institutions.

A refugee stated

Our communities are too scared to approach MPs and other government officials because the system in our country never allowed low class people to talk to people in higher positions of authority.

Another x refugee said

Our people need to be educated about how the new system works. For example, some new refugees at present run away when they see a police car or an officer from a distance because the police forces in the countries of origin and first country of refuge were harsh.
4.3.9  Low Income

Low income is found to be a potential problem for refugees. The highest proportion of the communities relies solely on the benefit without any other secure sources of income. The research found an existing disparity between funding for the quota refugees and family reunion access, even in the initial resettlement support. Despite coming from the same background and experience, Quota refugees receive non-refundable $1,200 grants and a refundable loan of $800 for the purchase of essential household needs and clothing. The support for Family Reunion is confined to $800 refundable grants and even this is dependent on the discretion of case managers.

Both groups are eligible for emergency benefits and training grants from WINZ. There are perceptions within the refugee and NGO respondents that there is no clarity in WINZ's policies and that the level of support for refugee clients is dependent on the case manager of the day. Refugee's respondents also feel better treated when accompanied by a New Zealander sponsor or a representative from resettlement agencies. This is a view similarly shared by resettlement agencies. An X staff from the Refugee and Migrant centre agency said "The refugees are well treated if we go with them to WINZ case managers"

4.3.10  Discrimination

Discrimination particularly at the institutional level is another factor complicating resettlement for refugees. Discrimination not only cuts off peoples' access to the provision of resettlement services but it can as well cause potential psychological harm to the individual refugee and silence them from seeking their rights. Despite the fact that respondents have reported several incidences of racist experience, it is clear that misinformation exists around racism and some people thinks it exists particularly with skinheads (people with shaved heads) when sometimes this is just a fashion. People with tattoos or piercing may appear racist and if someone is given racist remarks or frightened it may take them a long time to trust being in public again, particularly women. Some respondents feel that the term refugee has a negative connotation and are concerned with people from refugee
backgrounds being branded as refugees even if they have become New Zealand citizens and have lived in the country for decades.

4.3.11 Low Level of refugee Participation

With regard to participation and empowerment, the way New Zealanders and refugees interact differs. Refugees may find it hard to be as bold as New Zealander. The agencies do not approach the communities with problems, they wait to be approached and there may be fear to do this. The refugee community organisations do not have the skills to manage the needs of the communities, to seek outside support and they are not getting funding and professional development for their needs. Most of the people are volunteers so it is hard to retain experienced people who may already be busy with their own lives and families.

The research also indicated existing deficiencies within the refugee communities, partly due to their smaller size or disunity and existing fragmentation in the communities that makes them more vulnerable, less empowered and their voices not being heard. It's important to realise that refugee people come with internal conflicts and divisions which impact on their resettlement and their prospects to use available resources in their communities to help in the community development. The rationale for empowering refugee community organisations is to enable them to take charge of solving their community every day problems.

4.4 Specific Needs

4.4.1 Women

As noted in the above sections, refugee women come to New Zealand with a huge disparity in all aspects of human development. Therefore, apart from generic needs, some specific needs exist.

The women respondents are concerned that their special needs are not taken into account in the planning process. For example, many women have not had any education because of family needs, gender discrimination, living in refugee camps and when they come here they are treated with the same level of support as the men, when in fact they need a lot more basic skills to bring them in line with the men. A lot
of the women particularly feel more excluded because of dress code and language barriers. Also women, particularly older ones, put children as their first priorities and don’t have the same opportunities as the men to take advantage of the free English lessons available for two years, and also any free training that men have more free time for. Also this free English must be taken within the first four years of living here so women who come pregnant or with children cannot take this opportunity and it will lapse. Childcare is also an issue, with complicated appointments and forms to fill out which they may not fully understand even with the help of sponsors.

Some of the courses for example, TOP (Training Opportunities) don't benefit men and women equally. The problem with the ‘TOPs’ courses is that women may not get the same chances as men because of family commitments, localities of the jobs and the hours or shifts required for the jobs, childcare, lack of driving licenses or driving skills, so these jobs all get taken by the men. Also women prefer part-time jobs mainly on the weekend because of family needs and these are not always available.

Women get excluded in many other ways. When it comes to accessing information about existing services, new policies etc they are excluded because culturally they do not attend meetings and the men who attend do not pass on the information. Mainly interpreters are men and women feel shy to voice opinions and their needs through a male interpreter so at appointments they are disadvantaged.

An Afghan woman said

It is always more difficult for an Afghan woman to cope with the problems of a new society and culture than an Afghan man, since an Afghan man is more used to outer society than an Afghan woman. So this leaves an Afghan woman sitting at home and thinking about all those terrible things she and her family have undergone through, her family back home and all memories from her homeland. This always leaves the door open for depression, which further on creates lots of other problems"
In addition, the female respondents reported that the refugee women in Christchurch currently have little provision for empowerment, particularly in respect of the arrangements and support needed to equip them with the skills and knowledge to live a decent life in New Zealand. At present, the majority of women lack the essential skills to manage the hard resettlement process. For instance language and driving skills are central to women's ability to cope with the difficulties emerging from the changing roles in this new culture.

The respondents think that stronger networking among refugee women and with wider New Zealand women's groups is a crucial factor. It is considered that absence of effective mechanisms for promoting networking among refugee women has contributed to diminished support systems and prevented women from functioning as a solidarity group to deal with issues of common interest.

The Somali and Afghan cultures are built on placing most household workloads on women. Traditionally, the responsibilities of men around the family were limited to the role of breadwinners and to act as decision-makers for their family. Despite the changing circumstances in the New Zealand environment, the attitude of men still remains unchanged and shows no sign of flexibility and continues to resist assisting women with the changing workload in the family.

Access to employment is a recognised priority need for women. The research identified a number of factors contributing to the unemployment situation of women. The major ones include:

- The available programs for skill training are not meeting the skills needed by refugee women, simply because the work which such skills would lead to are not the right option for women. For example, most factory work doesn't suit women. The reason is that it is either against their culture or doesn't fit well with the domestic circumstances of most women. For instance, most women would have a preference for a part time or weekend job since it doesn't conflict with the household responsibilities.
• Appropriate childcare support is not available. Childcare is essential for women to effectively function in the community and to undertake personal development activities. The current centres are not accessible to the communities because, the costs are either too high or there is other factors preventing access. While the costs of the centres are high, WINZ childcare subsidies are too small and fall short of meeting the cost of most centres. Sometimes the daily earning from most work does not go beyond the cost of childcare. For example, a Somali woman with six children (three pre school age 4 years, 2 years and 5 months) found difficult to keep up with the cost of childcare when she had to look for work.

5.3.2 Elderly Refugee People

Just as men and women have differing needs, so too do elderly people. The research found the elderly people to have the most problem in adjusting to the new life in Christchurch and face lots of problems in addition to the common problems generally faced by all refugees. Their problem is partly increased by the fact that elderly people have no prospect for employment and further education and is therefore hesitant to take up educational training. As a consequence, the majority of them end up staying at home and don't establish any contacts with people of similar age group either from within or outside their communities.

These people feel lonely even in their own households, principally because the other members in the family are from the younger generation that cannot share discussions with them. Their situation is complicated by the small number of elderly people in the communities, which makes them invisible even in their community, and so they become marginalised. The elderly people also lack information about sources of support for elderly people in Christchurch. For example, none of the elderly people in the research are aware of the existence of the Age Concern agency.

It is clear from the research that the hardest problems currently facing these people include lack of socialisation and appropriate time passing activities. The situation of isolation, coupled with a lack of exercise and healthy food, is putting them into a medically at risk situation.
4.3.3 Men

The roles of men in the family have changed upon coming to New Zealand. Traditionally, men used to be the breadwinners in countries of origin and the unemployment situation in New Zealand has undermined their authority in the family.

As one respondent explained, men who had more than one wife in their home country find it difficult to disclose their second marriage to New Zealand immigration or sponsor, because it's against the New Zealand law. Similarly, they find it hard to maintain the livelihood of the wife left behind and visiting the home country is almost impossible.

4.3.4 Youth

The problems associated with the transition from childhood to adulthood and from financial dependence on parents to a new stage of independence are found to present an enormous problem for both parents and youth. Some youth respondents reported past experience of deep trauma as a result of past torture or experience of traumatic incidents, for example loss of parents, sibling or other immediate relatives or friends. They have also experienced a prolonged period of poor living conditions in the first country because basic needs for human survival were inaccessible. Some youth have come to New Zealand unaccompanied or come with distant relatives or friends and their arrangement with these extended families break down after a time.

As reported by girls in the research, female youth suffer from a lack of recreational activities, as they cannot access mainstream recreational activities on cultural grounds. The youth find it difficult to live between the two conflicting cultures and clashes occur between parents and youth when younger people engage in behaviours not acceptable to their culture of origin.

Parents find it hard to accept the New Zealand culture of freeing children upon attaining maturity (18 years), as their cultures require children to stay with their families until they marry and have their own families.
4.4 Resettlement of Refugees in Christchurch and Services Available

Upon leaving Mangere and arrival in Christchurch, the task of addressing the resettlement needs of refugees is shared by various agencies each playing different role in the resettlement process. These agencies comprise of resettlement NGOs, Government Departments and Crown entities that include:

Refugee and Migrant Service (RMS)

The Refugee and Migrant Service has resettlement contracts and protocols with NZIS, MOE and Housing New Zealand. The services offered by RMS include:

- Meeting the refugees from Mangere on arrival at Christchurch airport
- Providing housing through housing New Zealand, clothing and furniture
- Assisting new families with enrolment of children in schools
- Assisting new arrivals with health exams
- Providing crucial information about how to live in New Zealand and other support guidance. Sponsors help families for the first 6 months to adjust to a new life in Christchurch and overcome the challenges of adjusting to a new society in New Zealand.
- Assisting refugees with their family reunification applications
- Advocacy and support with Work and Income and employment referrals
- Running holiday programs and homework centres for refugee children

PEETO: (Pasefika Education and Employment Training Organisation) The Multicultural Learning Centre:

PEETO has resettlement contracts with Tertiary Education Commission, the Christchurch City Council, New Zealand Immigration Service, Department of Work and Income and Canterbury Development Co-operation. The main resettlement programs targeting refugees are:

1. Orientation Programs for newly arrived refugees (both quota and family reunion refuges)
2. General English courses
3. English for employment
4. ESOL introduction to basic computing course
5. Employment placement support
6. Learner Driver Licence course

PEETO also operates other programs for refugee communities, for example:

- Free venue for refugee communities to conduct homework programs and first language maintenance
- Appropriate space for communities to conduct parties, gatherings, and community meetings with free cafeteria and kitchen facilities.

PEETO programs also include intercultural development seminars/workshops, which aim to raise the cultural understanding of people from agencies/private enterprises that have an interest in and dealing with working with refugees. PEETO has also built a prayer space within the RMC building to enable Muslim refugee adult students and communities at Refugee and Migrant centre to practice their faith comfortably.

**Refugee Resettlement Support (RRS)**

RRS provide a range of services comprised of

1. Social work (mental health; counselling; advocacy; relationship/family support; practical support.
2. Living well in Christchurch, which is an ongoing orientation/ESOL/literacy program to pre literate refugees who cannot access other mainstream courses.
3. Child services (creche and playgroup) for user of living well program.

**ESOL Home Tutor Scheme Inc.**
The services provided by this agency are:

1) 1 to 1 ESOL tuition by volunteers in learners' homes (1 hour per week)
2) Literacy classes including childcare and transport
3) Social English groups to enable learners to develop their conversational English and build social networks
4) Correspondence lessons payment
5) Community capacity building through provision of leadership training which assists in identifying the roles of different members of the committees, the
process for effective participation in community meetings, the preparation of financial reports and budgets and understanding the obligation of the community committees as potential employers.

4.5 Other Support Assistance for Refugee Resettlement:

Besides resettlement NGOs, other government organisations provide programs and services for refugees. For example, Department of Work and Income New Zealand, Ministry of Education, Housing New Zealand Co-operation, New Zealand Immigration Service, Community and Public health, Christchurch City Council, Christchurch polytechnic and Canterbury Law Centre

Some of these organisations have national policies and programs, which are intended to meet the resettlement needs of refugees. Most of the policies focus on initiatives, which attempt to provide interventions required for initial resettlement. The key policy areas are:

Work and Income

In theory, refugees have equal rights with mainstream citizens of New Zealand in terms of access to all social welfare entitlements provided by Work and Income New Zealand. In addition, Quota refugees receive non-refundable establishment grant of $1,200 and a refundable grant of $800. These grants are intended to assist refugee with the initial resettlement, primarily to buy necessary household items and clothing.

Both Quota Refugees and Family Union are also entitled to Tops training courses within the first 12 months. Unlike migrants, the Quota refugees are exempted from the 2 years student allowance waiting period. WINZ also provide emergency benefit to all refugees upon arrival in Christchurch.

Generally, the research found that a communication barrier exists between the case managers and the refugee clients hampering refugees access to ordinary entitlement. WINZ has no readily available interpreters and clients rely on friends while some don't wish to bring along a friend for reasons of privacy. It was only recently that WINZ has started using online interpreting service initiated by the Ministry of Ethnic Affairs.
Ministry of Education

The Ministry of Education has a refugee policy and funding to provide ESOL support for school aged children. The Ministry has appointed five refugee Education co-ordinators in 2000, to work with the Ministry, schools, agencies and communities on issues affecting refugee school age children. The provision of ESOL to refugee students also involves a complete national system of learning need assessment, funding assistance for teachers and bilingual people to provide small group support for learning English and assessment of progress for each learner. While educational provision at different levels is available to refugees, their ability to access some of the educational opportunities still remains minimal.

Secondary students receive $1700 funding for refugee students per year for two years and then $500 ESOL funding per year for up to a further 3 years. Primary school students receive $1100 per year for two years then $500 per for another 3 years. The Ministry has allocated an additional pool of funding to support schools and families to employ bilingual tutors, social workers to work with schools and families and to set up homework centres for secondary school students.

Most schools in Christchurch have refugee-welcoming environments and are able to cater for students' cultural and educational needs. The research found that the parents are pleased to see their daughters' have no problems at school with wearing headscarves and veils. Many parents are also delighted with the schools that provide places for prayers for their children. For example, Hagley Community College, which has over hundred and fifty Muslim students, has constructed a purpose built prayer facility.

Housing New Zealand Coperation

Housing New Zealand and RMS assign housing to new quota refugees upon arrival in Christchurch.

Christchurch City Council

The Mayor's welfare funding is a one-off source of support for low-income families needs, mainly power and telephone bills. The Christchurch City Council also fund other initiatives contributing to refugee resettlement e.g. the Refuge and
Migrant Centre, Intercultural Assembly and the Christchurch Refugee and Migrant Forum.

The council also provides funding for refugee communities to run holiday programs, study support centres and other activities for refugee children.

Canterbury Development Co-operation (CDC) is the development wing of Christchurch City Council and has employed five refugee employment advocates. Their tasks involve preparing the employment profiles of work ready refugees in Christchurch.

**New Zealand Immigration Service**

Family reunification is recognised as an important aspect of New Zealand's refugee settlement activities. However, the present high level of demand for family reunification by former refugees is far beyond what the Refugee Quota can cover. Family reunification cases are generally considered according to the UNHCR resettlement guidelines and are usually referred by the UNHCR. In some situations, NZIS may waive the requirement for a formal UNHCR submission if the relationship was declared to immigration in the first place. Such cases are likely to include nuclear family members who are in the country of origin. Usually, refugees who have relatives in New Zealand and who do not meet the criteria for resettlement in accordance with UNHCR resettlement criteria are expected to apply for residence under standard immigration categories. The government has also introduced the refugee family and family quota (Ballot system) categories to enable refugees to sponsor their families who don't qualify under any other category.

Increased awareness by refugees, about the process for sponsoring family members is recognised as being crucial by respondents. In response to such needs, the Christchurch branch of NZIS has been running community capacity building workshops for refugees particularly focusing on policies concerned with family reunification and the processes for sponsoring family members. The increased awareness of communities about the policy issues, coupled with the open access to the local branch manager saves both money and time for clients, while also reducing the past misunderstanding about family reunification policy.
Other Services

- Community and Public Health (CPH) assist refugees with health screening immediately after their arrival in Christchurch and sometimes run health awareness raising programs for the refugee communities.

- Christchurch Polytechnic run 2 years free English classes for all refugees in their first 4 years in New Zealand.

- Canterbury community law centre provides free legal services to all refugees and runs courses on New Zealand law and the legal system.

4.5.1 Refugees Involvement

The refugee communities take part in the planning and delivery of resettlement services in different capacities, for example, employees and advisory roles. The other processes followed by the providers to include refugees in the process, range from using refugees as interpreters, appointing refugees and sometimes advises agencies regarding issues for individual refugees and community groups and focus groups discussion to discuss the needs of communities.

4.6 Analysis

4.6.1 Assessment of Refugee Participation

Although the above mechanisms for involving refugees in the process are in place, refugees still appear vulnerable and excluded. In terms of vulnerability, the women and the elderly appear more vulnerable in many ways and have less structured access to local resources and opportunities. Women who are heads of households suffer from in ability to balance their workload and appear to be more marginalised. In addition, women and elderly people seem more socially disadvantaged while women with pre-school age children are excluded from most social relation building programs with the host society.

These circumstances that surround the refugees validate the use of the term exclusion as explicitly appropriate for refugees and particularly in the case of women, because their education, culture and workload place them in a situation of exclusion.
The situation of family reunion appears disturbing. In the situation of female-headed households whose husbands are still in the home country take the extra burden of fulfilling the husband's role including an economic role. Parental separation leads to absence of cohesion and stress for families and even in psychological terms such families feel dislocation, a loss that adds to the normal problems associated with resettlement. The situation of single mothers is exacerbated by workload, as they have no money to pay for childcare. Their children also attain less educational achievement in schools, as they cannot provide the children with the environment and the supports they need to perform better in schools. Also these women don't approach WINZ or CYF (Child Youth and Families) because of the mistrust in these agencies about the fear they would take the children away from parents.

In terms of existing social assets, the two communities appear to enjoy strong social assets. There is mutual help between the members of communities in times of need. People of the same community offer important support in the initial resettlement and adjustment into the country. Members from the same community also provide information on contacting employers, shopping etc. The reliance on the people from same country becomes less after the initial resettlement, unless the families live as neighbours.

The majority of resettlement agencies seem to share the view that the current resettlement programs are being designed in a rather unparticipatory manner, maintaining that the government departments who are the funders mostly dictate the programs, which they offer. Some feel that they are not well consulted when it comes to funding training programs. Because the providers and the refugees are not consulted many programs don't take into account the differences in the experience of the individuals e.g. RRS and ESOL run on-site part time family literacy with creche component for women with pre-schoolers without any reliable source of funding and the students cannot at the same time attend PEETO or Polytechnic because of childcare and transport. Most of the TOPS courses have employment outcomes therefore refugees who are not work ready miss out. Resettlement agencies don't have many options for funding and are running projects with very tight budgets which undermine their ability to undertake and test new initiatives which would have
enhanced their services for refugees. Sustainability of project funding is another area of concern for agencies and as a consequence agencies fail to maintain successful projects and programs due to financial snags.

It's also clear that some of the current policies of government agencies were designed for the initial group of refugees and are not designed for the changing needs or different cultures of refugees that are now here. Moreover many agencies don’t have processes for consulting refugees on their needs, and there is no single agency that follows up and co-ordinates refugee resettlement in NZ.

4.6.2 Gaps in services

There exists a degree of overlaps among providers of ESOL. This situation arises from the absence of a cohesive, universally accepted assessment programme, whereby refugees are placed post assessment in the most appropriate intervention that suits their profile. The reason is that refugees are not homogenous groups so interventions need to be tailored accordingly. Some refugees are illiterate in their first language let alone English so the acquisition of English is going to take longer than somebody who is highly literate in their first language and who has perhaps studied English to some degree.

The Adult ESOL Strategy recently published is a very positive step in addressing ESOL provision issues, however funding needs to be tagged to ensure that expectations can be met through appropriate delivery.

The ESOL Home Tutor Scheme is an excellent programme, however it cannot be a substitute for comprehensive ESOL courses. The expectation of the learners is very high and cannot be met by a one hour per week intervention.

Transport to ESOL and literacy classes continues to be a problem particularly for women with young children and babies. There is a move in Christchurch to establish a multicultural early childhood centre which will greatly assist parents wishing to study.
Experience has shown that for absolute beginners, a bilingual ESOL programme has significant benefits. These needs therefore to be increased funding for the training and employment of bilingual tutors.

There is no programme available for people with learning difficulties or life/settlement issues of such magnitude that attendance at language and training programs being conducted at a regular pace proves a huge burden. These needs to be more effective cross agency consultation and planning for example between Ministry of Education, Tertiary Education Commission, Ministry of Social Development, Department of work and Income. Particularly in the case of WINZ, there is plenty of evidence of a generally unwelcoming and ineffective response to refugee needs and the services to which they are entitled.

4.6.3 What is working well?

Many services for refugees are working well including.

Hagley Community College

Hagley provides a range of ESO, general High School Education, family education and other services for example the newly established mosque on site.

PEETO

PEETO continues to provide a range of ESOL programmes, employment advocacy via three employment officers including one dedicated for refugees, orientation programmes, family literacy programmes for women and children, and the provision of free facilities for refugee community activities e.g. children language programmes.

Ministry of Education

Since the appointing of the refugee Education Co-ordinators there has been greatly improved access to education programmes and enhanced understanding among community leaders and community members generally.
**Canterbury Development Co-operation (CDC)**

CDC have appointed six refugee and migrant advocates whose tasks it is to research the education and employment training requirement of various refugee and migrant communities. Advocates from Somali, Afghan, Ethiopian and Iranian refugee communities are among the appointees. This programme is midway through so final evaluation is not yet possible, however, initial reports are very positive.

**General**

Several agencies, departments' etc are now much more aware of the presence of refugees in the city and the City Council is very supportive to enhance settlement. The New Zealand Immigration Service has offered a series of community workshops on policy and operational matters and has provided an open door policy with the manager particularly receptive to enquiries, clarification etc.

The host community generally has also been more receptive to the resettlement of refugees in recent years.

**4.6.4 What is not working well?**

There remains inadequate provision of housing for families with over five members, and there is little evidence that forward planning is underway.

WINZ policies and the services available for refugees are too complicated. This is particularly the case for full time students who often abandon their studies when their income decreases upon commencement of full time study.

Both refugee communities and the host society need to focus on positive ways of enhancing integration. Refugee leaders need to explore ways of achieving this, as do the agencies working with refugees.

There is also luck of cohesion and unity within specific refugee communities and also between the various providers. This needs to be addressed by all stakeholders.
Employment remains a concern and more interactions need to occur between employment advocates and refugee individuals, leaders and communities. Lack of recognition for overseas qualification remains a barrier to individuals seeking employment.

Institutional discrimination is a factor and is manifest by departmental ignorance of the needs of refugees, and unwillingness to employ refugees, and the provision of services and information appropriate to the refugee needs.

4.7 Crucial components to establish best practice

The excellent report by NGOs to the Minister of Immigration (January 2000) needs to be revisited and perhaps rewritten. Since it has been presented many achievements have been made, however it is somewhat out dated.

Cohesion of analysis and implementation of interventions among all stakeholders is the key component defining best practice.

Specialist staff need to be appointed in various agencies to enable the smooth service provision in partnership with specialist refugee resettlement agencies (RMS, PEETO, RRS, RMC, Home Tutors Scheme, Polytech etc) and refugee individuals and communities.

Each agency/provider should be recognised for its specific credentials and secure funding should be provided to ensure quality continuity of provision.

Professional intercultural training should be provided for all staff working with refugees particularly Government departments. A best practice manual could be developed as a guide for staff. The employment of bilingual staff in key positions and the provision of multilingual literature explaining rights, obligations/services etc would be a great improvement.

Further observations include the development of robust partnership among stakeholders to ensure expedient investment of resources and attainment of outcomes.
Accountability can be sought via focus groups to ensure universal input into the effectiveness of the interventions.

Work is being done and should be improved regarding the consultation of Tangata Whenua to acknowledge their input into the resettling communities and respect their status as people of the land.

4.8 The Role of Stakeholders in the Resettlement Continuum:

The research found stakeholders' co-operation to resettlement outcomes crucial. Respondents suggested some of the roles that key stakeholders could play in the process:

**Individual refugees/refugee Communities**

It is the responsibility of individual refugees, refugee communities and their leaders to acquaint themselves with precisely what is available to them in terms of resettlement services. This will involve working in partnership with various agencies but a degree of ownership of their (refugees) integration/resettlement should be sought.

There is a need to confront the challenges faced by adjusting to life in New Zealand. This requires often-significant shifts in attitude and move away from the dependence mentality/culture inherited from the refugee camps and the countries of origin.

Refugees need to make more emphasis on developing the necessary motivation commitment and discipline involved in thinking technically about education, training and employment. Career goal re-alignment needs to occur to reflect the reality of the New Zealand job market. There is a need to beware of the negative impact of the benefit trap and recognition of the impact being employed can have on the wellbeing of the individual, the family and indeed the whole (refugee) and (host) communities. There is a need also for refugees to be more proactive in seeking awareness to develop contacts/relationships etc with the host community.
Refugee communities should also be determined to ensure that children are given every opportunity to learn about and maintain their language, culture, religion, dress, food etc of their culture of origin. Refugees who have been here for more than 6 months have an obligation to guide and mentor new arrivals.

**Host Society**

The host society (individual and communities) at large, the City Council, Government Departments, Statutory agencies (Police etc) and specialist agencies etc have a responsibility in law and morally and ethically, to research and provide for the needs of newly arrived refugees.

Positive resettlement outcomes cannot be achieved in isolation so stakeholder cohesion is crucial. This requires an openness to differences and the creation of a safe, secure and welcoming environment for new refugees.

The host society could also educate itself more about the reasons for refugees coming to New Zealand and the policies in place by the Government for refugee resettlement. Furthermore, to enhance cultural diversity and race relation, the host society could have a great appreciation of the resources and benefits refugees bring with them rather viewing them only as a burden to society.

**Government**

The Government could focus on designing refugee recruitment programmes, in partnership with UNHCR, to ensure that intakes include a broad profile of refugees to enable them to form an effective functional community. A wide skill range is desirable - medical people (nurses, doctors etc) teachers, business people, manual workers, artists, sportsman entrepreneurs.

The Government should ensure that adequate ongoing funding exits to support key agencies offering resettlement services. Whist minimising overlap/duplication, policies need to be based on strong foundation of human rights principles Government (local and Central) could offer work experience programmes and commit more energetically to offering genuine employment to refugees.
NGOs

NGOs should commit to employing excellent staff well credentialled to provide effective support to refugees. This will involve training, but also extensive consultation with refugee leaders, associations and individuals. A positive approach to employing refugees should be developed and refugees should be appointed to boards, trust etc. Agencies should work cohesively in partnership so competition and duplication is minimised.

NGOs need to be strong advocates for refugees and need to focus on quality service delivery and not accept second best for refugees.

4.9 Suggestions/Recommendations

Resettlement Interventions should remain flexible constantly open to evaluation and review by all stakeholders especially including refugees. Central and local government should to forming advisory groups again including refugees. Existing specialist resettlement agencies should be strengthened as the emergence of new agencies creates wastage of resources. More could be done to ensure that policy development within and between key Government departments is in response to what refugees actually need.

Lastly, the engagement of local and national Maori leaders in refugee dialogue is a most desirable concept to foster greater interaction between the two groups.

4.10 Conclusion:

The analysis reveals that although refugees may originate from the same geographical locality, they are not homogenous and likely to have gone through different levels of development and circumstances. The research revealed that within specific groups there were many variables on their previous experiences depending on the location they came from whether rural or urban. For example even within the urban population there were well-qualified people with high lifestyles compared with street people who had little to lose. What the refugees have in common is that they flee from their homes when they become concerned about their livelihood, security or
when their rights have been violated in home countries. Refugees flee with the expectation that their situation of livelihood and human rights would improve once they reach the first or second country of refuge. The research has revealed that people’s expectations were different according to their previous situations, and some felt their expectations were met whereas some became disillusioned. Also this depends on the individual’s previous experience.

The results of the data analysis indicate that the refugees were clear about their needs but are unaware of the various ways they can take part in the resettlement process. For example there are many who want to contribute their time and effort to improve their situation, e.g. finding employment but unfortunately because of their language barrier and lack of understanding of how the system works they choose to stay at home. They also seem unaware of the consequences of their failure to take part in the resettlement process. For example if they don’t come forward and approach the providers to help them meet their needs, the providers won’t approach them so the situations remains unsolved. It also appears that, there are no effective mechanisms to induce the refugees to assume greater responsibilities for their own future. These mechanisms could be an incentive to encourage e.g. A big family has one parent who would like to work. It would need to be worthwhile to work while on the benefit because if the family was going to lose a lot of money over the secondary income it is not an incentive to work, it needs to be worthwhile, while offsetting the childcare costs.

The respondents' views indicate greater awareness rising is needed for both the refugees and the host communities regarding the roles they can play in the resettlement process. The host community needs greater understanding about the benefits that refugees can bring to NZ based on their previous lives, including experience, expertise and cultures, which NZ can capitalise on.

The lack of agencies' knowledge about the cultures and experience of refugees is clearly demonstrated in the research. The research revealed that some of the policies formed by agencies and organisations are based on the needs and experience of refugees from Europe, which cannot match the reality of new refugee’s needs. For example some of the family support policies are designed to meet the
needs of small sized families. Therefore they cannot be applied to large families, and some of the policies are not flexible to meet the real needs for example in NZ some of the policies are not designed for different cultural issues and thereby affect the living conditions of these families.

The research indicates that refugees have hidden needs, which require practical measures to implement a common approach, which involves refugees in the decision-making. Refugees needs can be well understood by involving them in the decision making table, so that they can have input into the planning of major policies. The research also revealed existing disparity within the existing refugee groups and women appeared to be more marginalised in NZ and most of the current initiatives don’t take into account that women have already been disadvantaged in their home countries, and they assume that in NZ they will be given equal resources that men have. The research also revealed that while men and women have got different needs, yet women’s needs are not exposed to the providers and the public in general, simply because they don’t contribute in the planning and also the decision making processes. Their priorities of looking after children are not prioritised as the important social role that they perform.

This research investigated the way refugee resettlement is taking place in Christchurch by establishing, in greater depth, the existing links between development and the refugee experience and the situation of refugee resettlement in Christchurch.

Due to the limited number of communities involved, as well as the number of respondents and their diversity, this research does not claim to represent the experiences and circumstances faced by refugees generally. However, despite these limitations, the research presents reasons for refugee flight, the reality of fleeing from home country to a first country of refuge, life in refugee camps, and the subsequent challenges associated with resettling in a new second country.

The study has undertaken this investigation by specifically focusing on an in-depth examination of how people became refugees; their circumstances and experience related to their flight, the first country of refuge and how they are now supported in New Zealand. It also identified existing gaps in support system in New Zealand.

The undertaking of the research was aligned with an alternative development approach, particularly participation; rights based approach, exclusion and marginalisation, empowerment and sustainable livelihood strategy. The theoretical advantage of these approaches to resettlement is that they have a wide application in development practice.

The synthesis of these approaches agrees that refugee experience is both a cause and a consequence of development and can also be considered as a process of development, shifting from a situation of underdevelopment to a situation of improved development. The respondents' experiences indicate the process of becoming a refugee is a long journey which starts from the moment when the individual feels a sense of threat until he/she arrives in the second country of resettlement and effectively integrates with the receiving society. The findings also found the challenges associated with this journey affect different groups of refugees in
different ways dependent on the pre-refugee life style, socio-economic background, gender and age.

The research found that refugees undergo considerable problems during the flight process, confirming that becoming a refugee is not a matter of choice but the only option for survival when individuals are faced with a situation of threat and human rights violation.

The research found that due to the difficulties and costs involved, only those with a reasonable level of financial capability can afford to overcome the flight process. The most vulnerable usually remain internally displaced in countries of origin. In reality, those internally displaced face situations of threat, persecution and impoverishment, confirming that the only dividing line between mandated refugees and internally displaced people is the crossing of an international border which is impossible for the most vulnerable people. Furthermore, this casts doubts on the adequacy of the 1951 Convention to provide humanitarian protection to the most vulnerable people who are faced with threats, persecution and impoverishment in their home countries.

The research found certain rights that the convention requires of the states that are signatory to convention in respect of refugees. Despite this, rights of refugees in first countries receive less attention. For example, important rights such as freedom of movement, the right to work, health, education and accessibility to travel documents which are the key to refugee livelihoods are denied in first countries of refuge such as Kenya and Pakistan. The denial of movement rights prevented many from participating the first country labour market, forcing the refugees to experience a situation of exclusion, impoverishment and marginalisation, which exacerbated the underdevelopment situation people experienced in their own countries.

The research also found existing disparity in the refugee camps with their condition varying according to first country level of development and the political will of the international community. Overall, however, provision of social services in the first country of refuge is inadequate and refugees support their living with
supplementary activities such as extended kinship, income from sale of jewellery, houses and reliance on family members and friends in overseas countries.

The research found that many people regard moving to a second country as an investment and are hopeful of recuperating from the impoverishment and disempowerment situation people have experienced both in the home country and the first country of refuge. Although the desire for an improved condition of life is widely shared, individuals' expectations vary according to their backgrounds and previous lives. Such factors influence individual commitment to the resettlement process.

Expectations about education, health, cultural retention, employment and family reunification ranked top. Expectations concerning family reunification, employment, mental health and education for adults still remain as areas of unmet needs, while cultural retention far exceeded expectations. Previous language skills and support from host community members were found helpful in gaining access to local information and essential resources.

As has been revealed in the research, the process of refugee resettlement consists of a series of stages that take place at different times. Although the term resettlement is applied in the literature in both first and second countries, resettlement of refugees in the destination (second) country is different from the reception in the first country as the two have different objectives. According to Payne Lina (1998 cited in Rosalind Boyd, 2000:9) "resettlement programs, contrary to transit camps in countries of refuge seek to provide an opportunity for refugees to be self reliant by giving them the opportunity to develop their own livelihood and integrate with official structures and systems of the host society".

The research findings indicate resettlement is a complex development process and is considered here as process of development, having connections with alternative development and human rights discourse, which also have interdependence, indicating refugee resettlement links with Human Rights. The complexity of the process needs to be recognised by both policy makers and providers to facilitate refugee empowerment and integration with the receiving society.
Furthermore, the research has found that integration is greatly influenced by several factors including:

- Country of origin factors (existing community infrastructures to support health, education and the situation of governance and public participation in the decision making process)
- Initial refuge factors (the extent to which the refugee was exposed to experiences of trauma, assaults, loss of family members and property), first country of refuge (the existing support for refugees health, education, food, shelter etc)
- International factors (the political environment within the international community and its impact on the support for refugees in second country)
- Second country (social welfare, policy, family reunion, education, employment etc).

The research suggest resettlement should be considered as a development concern and alternative development approaches should be applied to guide the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of resettlement programs. Because the process is dynamic and two-way, contributions and participation of the individual refugee, and the host society play a vital role in determining the level of success in removing existing obstacles to effective resettlement.

Furthermore, the research found the term exclusion and marginalisation are explicitly relevant to the refugee situation as the respondents revealed symptoms of both vulnerability and exclusion. According to the research findings, refugees are less empowered and have less structured access to local resources and opportunities due to discrimination, language barriers, cultural differences etc. Women and elderly people are found to be the most marginalised and excluded from important decision making resulting in their needs being overlooked at the policy level.

This finding supports the argument in this thesis that alternative development theory which is a concept that seeks "equitable income distribution, basic needs provisions, human resources development, popular participation and democratisation, socially and spatially balanced growth, and cultural and environmental sustainability" is clearly relevant to resettlement (Storey, 2000:54). These issues are the core for achieving sustainable resettlement for refugees.
The research suggests refugee participation in the resettlement process to be considered as a human right which supports the UN (2001) argument that the Declaration of Human Rights gives every person the right to be involved in the government he/she lives in and the right to equal access to public services. Promotion of these rights for refugees requires the second country to put in place the policies, laws and institutions that protect human rights and encourage refugees themselves to take responsibility as active participants. For example policies to curb racial discrimination are important.

The research found a growing need for enhanced refugee participation in the resettlement process to enable the refugee groups to take charge of their needs and realise self-reliance. To achieve, such participation the process ought to be one in which refugees have ownership and control over the initiatives and actions they take. Such initiatives and actions should be inspired by their own thinking.

It is argued here that a key benefit of refugees' participation is that it can help resettlement stakeholders to discover and reveal new opportunities and hidden wealth in the refugee communities that currently remain unrecognised and untapped. Such an approach can also lead to the formulation of new and more effective resettlement strategies and models that are culturally friendly and capable of increasing the speed and efficiency of resettlement.

According to the research results, resettlement stakeholders do not completely understand that the participation process means different thing to different cultural groups, requiring the process to be nurtured and guided closely, particularly in the initial stages of resettlement. The research found that refugees are somewhat passive at present time and this is partly contributed to by the absence of a mechanism for motivation. Also it is a result of the dependency attitude imported from the undemocratic countries the refugees have come from and the long time they spent in the camps living on handouts. Such lifestyles promoted the possibility of people adopting a dependency condition. This finding supports the World Bank's view that "sustaining the peoples' participation in societies with deeply entrenched norms of exclusion or in a multiethnic societies with a history of conflict is a complex process..."
that requires, facilitation, sustained vigilance, and experimentation (World Bank, 2002:19).

The research documents, that the degree of individuals' participation is dependent on other factors which include:

- Individual's capabilities, motivation and commitment
- The capabilities of refugees' own community network
- The existing host communities' policies towards refugees (income, education, health, family reunion etc.
- The acceptance of the host society

To build these capabilities, it is suggested here that providers and planners of resettlement programs need to put in place policies that remove all legal, economical, cultural and language obstacles that prevent refugees from becoming empowered and so help them to become capable of making decisions affecting their future and to take advantage of existing opportunities.

The research found an empowerment approach to have great relevance for refugee resettlement. Resettlement process is a continuum and empowering process encompasses a variety of stages before self-reliance is reached. The research found the continuum process operates in two ways and occurs when the refugees and the receiving community team together to exploit the resources in both refugee and host societies. This leads to the argument in this thesis that participation in the resettlement context can be a process for empowering refugees, giving them the capabilities needed to penetrate layers of obstacles to self-reliance. Host society empowerment about refugee matters is found to be crucial to resettlement. Refugee self-reliance is less likely to be practical in an environment in which both refugee and mainstream society don't have equitable access to local resources and so are living in state of marginalization and disempowerment.

The research found the two participating communities are presently less empowered to actively participate in the development process. Both are small and fragmented which makes them more prone to exclusion and marginalisation.
The SLA approach was also found strongly relevant to resettlement. This argument is supported by the fact that the ultimate aim of resettlement is generally building capabilities. Community participation, empowerment and sustainability themes that are central to SLA are found here to also be relevant to refugee resettlement. The SLA is particularly applicable and relevant to resettlement when analysing the way resettlement programs impact on peoples' livelihood and the strategies people use to earn their living. This supports Pasteur's (2001: 4) argument that sustainable livelihoods approach "advocates a number of principles that should be applied in any type of development activity i.e. to be people -centred and participatory, holistic and dynamic, to build on strengths; to make linkages between macro and micro aspects; and to ensure sustainability".

The research found restoration of refugees' lost assets is dependent on peoples' access to resources and livelihood outcomes. That is why sustainable development theory stresses that development such as resettlement programs should be framed in ways that allow sustainable living. Also Overton & Scheyvens (1999) argue that "unjust societies are not sustainable societies, because they rest on the exploitation or subordination of one group in society by another" which is why sustainable development is less likely to be achieved in a society where injustice is done to a particular group on the grounds of race, colour, religion or gender.

The research findings in Chapter Four reveal that the Christchurch providers and the local society have progressed in the area of refugee resettlement in the last three years. However, despite the increasing experience coupled with the openness of the mainstream society, there are still gaps that need filling. Providers and planners still have to learn more about the experience of refugees so that provision of resettlement services are done in the context of individuals' experiences and past development differentiation.

The main arguments in chapter Four highlight that, although refugees have gained more attention and moved way forward in the last three years, it is important to note there are still gaps in current services, partly because the programs have not been designed to be consistent with the specific needs of refugees. The research findings further reveal that, while the policies pay attention to resettlement, to date, some
policy areas, for example childcare, income and adult education don't take into account the unique experiences of the refugees. Family reunification is another area of priority need that needs to be addressed as the desire of families to establish themselves in New Zealand is hindered by family dislocation.

The arguments in this report suggest that resettlement goes beyond provision of physical needs and covers the restoration and sustainability of peoples' capabilities. To achieve sustainable resettlement, policy makers need to take into account the diversity of refugee needs and accessibility of services and resources to all refugees regardless of previous background.

As the ultimate goal of resettlement is achievement of self-reliance, different resettlement policies are needed to ensure the programs are delivered in a culture of inclusiveness which assures the empowering of different groups. A key to inclusive services requires institutional capability to respond to different needs in a culturally responsive manner.

Responding to individual's need ought to be considered as human rights issue. Providers are therefore required to offer the highest respect and dignity to every refugee.
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Appendices

Appendix 1 Characteristics of Respondents

**Somali**

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<td>13-20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Married, separated from spouse</td>
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<td>Foreman, businessman/women, Interpreter, housewife, clerk, student, accountant, minister, truck driver</td>
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<td><strong>Profession in New Zealand:</strong></td>
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Afghan

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<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</table>

| Average family size in home country | 25 |
| Family size in New Zealand         | 6  |

| Marital status          | Married, living with spouse | 16 |
|                         | Married, separated from spouse | 2 |
|                         | Single                         | 2 |
|                         | Total                          | 20 |

**Profession:**

**Profession in home country:**
- Technical supervisor, businessman/women, Aid worker, lecturer, , housewife, clerk, student, carpenter

**Profession in New Zealand:**
- Unemployed, Fruit picker, interpreter, labourer
Appendix 2. Countries of origin Geography

Afghanistan Geography

Location
Southern Asia, north and west of Pakistan, east of Iran

Geographic coordinates
33 00 N, 65 00 E

Area
total: 647,500 sq km
water: 0 sq km
land: 647,500 sq km

Land boundaries
total: 5,529 km
border countries: China 76 km, Iran 936 km, Pakistan 2,430 km, Tajikistan 1,206 km, Turkmenistan 744 km, Uzbekistan 137 km

Sources: Afghanistan Geography - 2002
Somalia Geography

Somalia
Location Eastern Africa, bordering the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean, east of Ethiopia

Area
*total*: 637,657 sq km
*water*: 10,320 sq km
*land*: 627,337 sq km

*Area - comparative* slightly smaller than Texas

Land boundaries
*total*: 2,340 km
*border countries*: Djibouti 58 km, Ethiopia 1,600 km, Kenya 682 km

Coastline 3,025 km

Sources: Somalia - 2002
Appendix 3. First Countries of refuge

Somali refugees
Afghanistan refugees
Appendix 4 Flight to New Zealand

[World map with a flight path from Australia to New Zealand]
Appendix Five: Interview Questionnaire for Resettlement Agencies and
Organisations:

Please answer the questions by ticking the appropriate response box and placing your
comments in the space provided.
This form may be used to represent the views of more than one person. However, if there
are differing views please feel free to use separate sheets of papers

**Personal and Organisational Details:**
Date _________________________________________________________________
Name __________________________________________________________________
Name of organisation
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
Areas of resettlement work
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
Specific target groups. _____________________________________________________
What services do you provide for refugees?
1) ______________________________________________________________________
2) ______________________________________________________________________
3) ______________________________________________________________________
4) ______________________________________________________________________
5) ______________________________________________________________________
1) How do you rate the way refugee resettlement is taking place in Christchurch? Please
elaborate:
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
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2a) Based on your understanding, are the existing services and programs for refugees in Christchurch capable of addressing the pressing needs of refugees. (You may wish to comment only with regard to your own organisation).

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2b) What is working well and why?

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2c) What is not working well and why?

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3a) Based on your personal/organisational experience, do you agree individual's experiences including the one in country of origin and the first country of refuge influence resettlement outcomes for refugees?
   a) Strongly agree  □
   b) Agree  □
   c) Disagree  □
   d) Strongly disagree  □
3b) In what way can these influence refugee resettlement outcomes?

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Please explain why

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Please answer the following questions according to the polices and services delivered by your institution.

4) Does your agency have a separate policy/ies designed to meet the needs of refugee?
Please tick one. A) Yes □  b) No □
If yes, what is your policy?

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5) If yes what was/were the process/es for designing these?
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6) What factors are taken into account in the planning and delivery of services for refugees?
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7) What role do refugees play in the designing, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of these policies?
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8) What process do you follow to include refugees in the delivery of services?
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9) Do the following disparities in provision of services exist?
   a) gender ☐
   b) age ☐
   c) education ☐
   d) employment ☐

If so, please comment.
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10) How does your agency respond to any disparity?
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11) From your experience what would be the crucial components to establishing best practice for resettling refugees in Christchurch?
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________________________________________________________________________
12) Please state what you see is the role for refugees, Christchurch receiving society, government and NGOs to improve the resettlement situation of refugees in Christchurch? Use the appropriate box in below page.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual refugee</th>
<th>Refugee own community</th>
<th>Host society</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>NGOs</th>
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13) Do you see any gaps in current service provision?

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14) Do you feel adequately consulted by funding agencies as to the most appropriate interventions for refugee resettlement? Yes □ No □
If yes how?

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If no why not?

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15) If so how can this be improved?

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Appendix Six: Interview Questionnaire For Focus Group Interviews

1. What do you think are the problems faced by refugees in Christchurch?

2. How do these problems affect different refugee groups?
   a) Men   b) Women   c) Youth   d) Children

3. What are the solutions to solve these problems

4a. Based on your personal experience how do you think an individual’s experiences, including the one in country of origin and the first country of refuge, influence resettlement outcomes in second country (education, language, family support, employment, pre refuge urban life etc.)?

4b. To what extent do agencies incorporate this experience into their policies and planning of resettlement services?

5. What do you think is lacking in the existing services for refugees?

6. Do you feel that providers in Christchurch adequately consult refugees about resettlement (policy planning, service delivery, monitoring and evaluation of services)?

7. How could refugees be encouraged to put more effort in resettlement?

8. What do you think are the weaknesses of refugees (individually) at present?

9. How could this be improved?

10. What do you think are the weaknesses of communities at present?

11. How could this be improved?

12. What do you think are the weaknesses of NGOs at present?

13. How could this be improved?

14. What do you think are the weaknesses of government agencies at present?

15. How could this be improved?

16. What do you think are the weaknesses of the mainstream kiwi society at present?

17. How could this be improved?

18. How could community groups be encouraged to put more effort into helping resettlement for their members (family reunion)?

19. How could sponsors be encouraged to participate in the resettlement of their families more thoroughly?
20. How could communities become stronger and united to solve bigger community resettlement issues?

Any other comments?
Appendix Seven: Interview Questionnaire for Individuals

Introduction:
Please answer the questions by ticking the appropriate response box and placing your comments in the space provided.

This form may be used to represent the views of more than one person. However, if there are differing views please feel free to use separate sheets of papers.

Part one: Personal Details:

Name _________________________________________________________________

Gender Male □  Female □
Age ________________

Somali □  Afghan □

Date of interview ______________________________

Length of time in New Zealand ______________________________

Category:  Quota □  Family Reunion □

Profession /Job

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>New Zealand</th>
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### Family Composition

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<th>Household/family size/ composition</th>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Christchurch</th>
<th>Others in NZ</th>
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### Part Two: Country Of Origin Factor

1) Please comment on your pre refugee life style.

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2) What were your pre refugee main sources of livelihood? Please explain below.

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142
3) How did you go about supporting your livelihood?
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4) How did the war in your country disrupt the above sources of living and diversification mechanisms?
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5) What are the motivating factors of your decision to leave your country?
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6) What factors influenced your decision to flee? (if any)
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7) Once you had made the decision to leave/flee, what barriers/obstacles did you face?
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8) How did you overcome these barriers?
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9) How long was it from when you decided to leave to when you departed?
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10) Had other immediate/extended family sought refuge before?
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11) List the countries you considered as first country of refuge?
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12) Please explain reasons for considering first country of refuge?
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13) Tell me about your journey?
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14) From your personal experience, what do you see are the major difficulties faced by
refugees in their journey from home to the first country of refuge?
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15) What helped you most to overcome the above problems?

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Part Three- First Country of Refuge Factors

16) What were your expectations of first country of refuge (Kenya, Ethiopia, Pakistan, Iran etc.)? Please discuss.

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17) What way were your expectations in the first country met? Please explain.

Some
18) Describe the conditions in the refugee camp.

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<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Conditions</th>
<th>Strategies employed to support</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Health</td>
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<td>b) Education</td>
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<td>c) Employment</td>
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<td>d) Housing</td>
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<td>e) Security</td>
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<td>f) other concerns</td>
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</table>

19) Did you consider returning to your country of origin?
   a) Yes □   b) No □

20) If you responded yes what stopped you from returning? Please explain.
21) If you responded no, please explain reasons for not considering returning?

________________________________________________________________________

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Part Four: Second Country Of Refuge Factor

22a) What were your initial expectations in the first few weeks of refuge in second country of refuge (Mangere - Auckland)- Please explain.

________________________________________________________________________

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22b) What was your initial reaction to what you found in Mangere /NZ? How did you experience it?

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23) What were your expectations of New Zealand as second country of refuge?
24) Did your expectation change upon arrival to Christchurch? Please comment.
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25a) What were your expectations of Christchurch?
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25b) What did you find in CHCH? What was your initial experience of Christchurch?
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26) To what extent have you achieved your dreams/expectations in Christchurch? Please tick one.
a) very high ☐  b) high ☐  c) medium ☐  low ☐  very low ☐

27) How was it different to your expectation? Please explain what you think have helped or caused the failure to achieve your expectation.
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If high please explain what was good?

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28) How do you rate the way resettlement is taking place in Christchurch? Please elaborate.

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________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

What is working well?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

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________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

What is not working well?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

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________________________________________________________________________
29a) What are the needs faced by refugees to effectively resettle in New Zealand? Please list in order of priority.

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<tr>
<th>Needs</th>
<th>Strategies currently used to cope</th>
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</table>
29b) Which providers do you have contact with? Please use the space below to elaborate.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Government (Name)</th>
<th>Service</th>
<th>City Council (Name)</th>
<th>Service</th>
<th>NGO (Name)</th>
<th>Service</th>
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How did this begin?
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30) How do these local refugee resettlement providers address these needs? Please explain your perception of each agency's service?

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<tr>
<th>Agency Name</th>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Weakness</th>
<th>Strength</th>
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31) What efforts have you made independently to enhance your resettlement? Please explain.
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32) What suggestions would you like to make to improve the situation?
________________________________________________________________________
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33) Please list what you see are the **responsibilities** of the groups below in the resettlement process. Please separate sheet of paper if necessary.

**Responsibilities**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Own community</th>
<th>Host community</th>
<th>Central government</th>
<th>NGOs</th>
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34a) Do you think these groups are aware of/understand their responsibilities? Indicate one being the lowest and 5 the highest in the box.
34b) If you have responded negative to the above, please state how this could be improved
________________________________________________________________________
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35a) Based on your personal experience how do you think an individual’s experiences, including the one in country of origin and the first country of refuge, influence resettlement outcomes in second country? (Education, language, family support, employment, pre refuge urban life etc.) Please elaborate.
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35b) To what extent do agencies incorporate this experience into their policies and planning of resettlement services?
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36) How can this be improved?
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To Be Answered By Women Only:

37) What are the major problems commonly faced by refugee women?
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38) From your personal viewpoint, do you think women are disadvantaged compared to men?
   a) yes □ b) no □

39) If you responded yes, why do think women are disadvantaged? Please elaborate
_______________________________________________________________________
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40) What supports or services do you think could improve the situation of refugee women in Christchurch?
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To Be Answered By Elderly People Only:

41) What are the major problems commonly faced by refugee elderly people?
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42) From your personal view point do you think elderly people are disadvantaged compared to men?
   a) Yes □  b) no □

43) If you responded yes, why do you think elderly people are disadvantaged? Please elaborate
________________________________________________________________________
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44) What supports or services would you think could change the situation of elderly people?
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To Be Answered By Youth Only:
45) What were the major problems commonly faced by refugee youth?

46) From your personal viewpoint do you think youth people are disadvantaged compared to adults?
   a) Yes □  b) no □

47) If you responded yes, why do think youth are disadvantaged? Please elaborate
________________________________________________________________________
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48) What supports or services would you think could change the situation of youth? Please elaborate.
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Any Other Comments?

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Appendix Nine Information Sheet for Agencies.

Introduction
Hello. My name is Hassan Haji Ibrahim. As part of my work towards the completion of a Masters Degree in Development with Massey University, I am currently undertaking a research project on the resettlement of refugees in Christchurch. I am particularly interested in examining refugee experience, post arrival needs and existing gaps, with particular focus on the following key areas:

- Identification of key factors that force refugees to flee from their homes
- The processes and experiences of becoming a refugee and the issues involved
- Post arrival needs
- The extent to which refugee experiences are taken into account by service providers in the planning and delivery of services.

In order to complete this research, it is necessary that I conduct interviews with people from refugee communities, government agencies and resettlement NGOs. I would be very grateful if you would agree to complete the questionnaire or be interviewed for my research for about an hour at your convenience.

Your Rights
As participant you have the right to:
- Choose not to take part in the interview
- Choose not to answer any specific question
- Withdraw from the research at any time
- Request audio-tape to be tuned off
- Anything you say is confidential and you are guaranteed individual anonymity
- However, the organisation your work for may be identified in the study
- Any information collected will only be used for the purpose of this research, any subsequent publications or seminars, and no other purpose.

Further information
If you have any questions regarding this research, please contact my supervisor:
Dr. Susan Maiava
School of People, Environment & Planning,
Private Bag11 222
Palmerston North.
Tel 06 356 9099 ext. 2516
or s.l.Maiava@massey.ac.nz
Appendix Ten Statement of Informed Consent to be signed By the Interviewee

1. I have read the consent and understand the nature of the study
2. I know that I may withdraw from the study at any time
3. I understand the university's human ethics committee has approved this study

Signed by Interviewee _______________________________ Date ____________

Researcher ________________________________