

Help for the Elderly



SOCIAL WORKER PROJECT FOR THE ELDERLY IN MOZAMBICAN REFUGEE CAMPS IN ZIMBABWE

By Rhoda Immerman

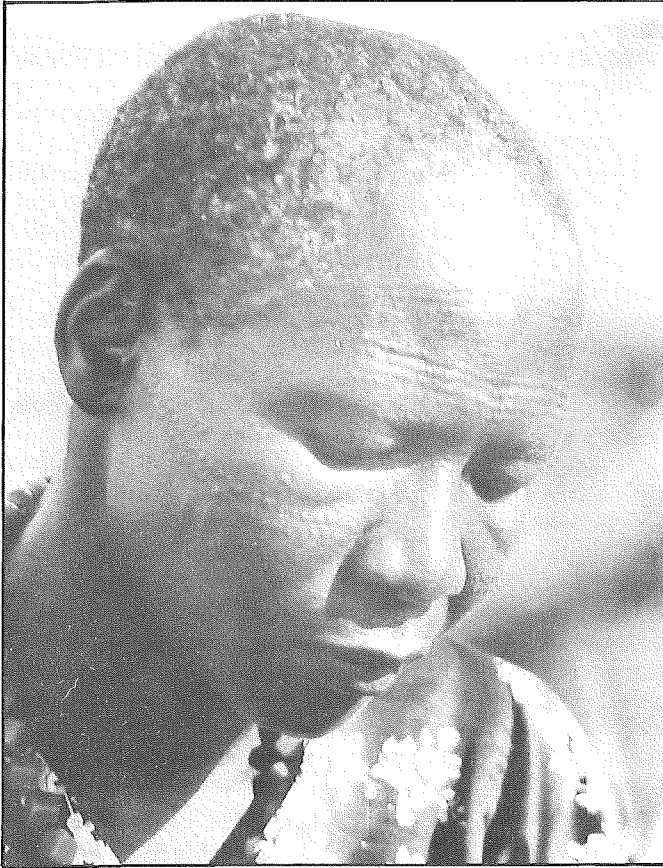
Many agencies are providing support for water supply, education, practical skill training, women's group promotion, agricultural development, health services and food supply to Mozambican refugees in Zimbabwe. Until this year, when Zimbabwean social workers began to take a special interest, no specific assistance was being provided to the elderly. Previously the elderly were the subject of special interest only when researchers or university students required them for their investigations. Some clinic staff felt that there would be little justification in investing heavily in people who would not be active producers in camps or, later, in society. The refugees showed no apparent community spirit and unless elderly people had close relatives in the camp, nobody showed any concern for their welfare, either physically (adequate provision of blankets, clothing, food etc) or emotionally. Together with the disabled, both young and old, they formed an extremely vulnerable group in the camps.

HelpAge provided funding to initiate a project which would attempt to remedy this situation. Six qualified, male Zimbabwean social workers were engaged in January 1988 for an initial period of one year. Accommodation in the camps, both housing and offices, had to be provided by HelpAge. Unfortunately, the wooden huts purchased for housing, took over four months to arrive and be erected in some of the camps. Bicycles, gas lighting, cookers, beds, desks, chairs etc. all had to be purchased and transported to the camps. The social workers spent the first months in the camps introducing themselves to the camp administrative staff, NGO staff, and to the elderly and also to handicapped refugees. They then compiled a register in each base camp which included places of origin and any disabilities.

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It was difficult for the social workers to establish their credibility with the elderly refugees as, initially, the latter suspected them of being researchers coming to exploit them. This suspicion was reinforced by the fact that the social workers initially were not giving any material assistance. However, the social workers persisted in offering their professional skill and concern and were able to intervene effectively on behalf of the elderly and disabled at the clinic, and also with the camp administrators, to ensure a more equitable and fair distribution of material goods, shelter, latrines etc.

Gradually our social workers have become accepted. Five months after the commencement of the project, HelpAge is in the fortunate position, of being both accepted and greatly appreciated by the elderly refugees as well as by the administrative staff in the camps and in government.

After gathering population statistics, the social workers carried out a needs assessment survey and were later instrumental in encouraging elderly inhabitants to develop Committees in each base camp. From these Committees health scouts have been selected who identify and report on the physical condition of the elderly in their bases, particularly those in need of medical attention.

Projects

The social workers, in consultation with the Committees of the elderly, have started various other projects:

1. In all the camps vegetable gardens have been started.

These are dug, planted, watered, weeded and guarded by the elderly themselves.

2. Sandal making. After purchasing the basic tools and obtaining old tyres (in itself very difficult), one Mozambican refugee is teaching elderly people from the various camps how to cut out and make the sandals.
3. Wire-mesh fence making is a spin-off from the sandal project. The inner rim of the tyres has bands of pliable wire which is carefully unwound and then twisted by hand to make fencing.
4. Poultry. The British High Commission has offered Z\$8000 to establish poultry projects in all the camps. Government extension officers have also been giving constructive advice and guidance.
5. Crafts, basket-making and woodwork.

Camp administration

On the whole the camp administrators have been most cooperative. They have accepted the social workers' recommendations and have also referred cases to the social workers to deal with. Our social workers have an advantage over the other NGO staff in the camps in that they have the same professional training and qualifications as the camp administrators.

HelpAge's relationship with the Commissioner for Refugees in the Department of Social Welfare and with other agencies is generally very good. The Commissioner for Refugees made arrangements to transport all materials and goods for us free of charge. His cooperation has enabled us to begin to function effectively within a short space of time and with the minimum of problems.

Feedback

Once a month the social workers come to Harare for a two day meeting. Each social worker presents a report, and everyone takes part in a general discussion of problems. These meetings also give the social workers an opportunity to come to town and make contact with family/friends and attend to other personal matters. They can also share problems and complaints with colleagues and office staff and discuss matters which have not been included in their regular reports. A doctor, counsellor or other resource person may be present at these meetings to help and advise social workers with health problems in the camps.

The rest of the time our social workers operate in considerable isolation, not only from their families, but also from professional support. It is therefore a tremendous morale-booster for them when any HelpAge staff visit, although such visits are much less frequent than I would like.

Social workers' own evaluation of their work so far

The social workers were requested to make a self-evaluation of the elderly refugee project. They have reported a perceptible improvement in the attitude of the administrative staff (both NGO and government) towards elderly refugees and a greater awareness in the camps about the problems and needs of elderly refugees. Elderly people are now participating in camp life, in the Committees for the elderly and health scout schemes. They are actively

engaging in productive activities: growing vegetables, making sandals, basketry, mat-weaving.

Through these activities their confidence has been built up and enhanced. They are beginning to experience less stress because they can now approach our social workers for advice or counselling. Previously they felt themselves to be in a position of helplessness. Elderly refugees now identify with each other. They hold meetings, have discussions, and organise social functions. They recently organised activities to celebrate Mozambique's anniversary of independence, when they performed dances, sang songs and told stories. Elderly refugees have also been mobilised to report on all cases that require medical attention, deaths and attempted suicides.

The social workers have successfully brought to the attention of the camp administrators and NGO staff the problems and needs of the elderly and there has been perceptible reduction in negative attitudes towards the elderly. This is apparent in the more respectful forms of address now being used towards older people. The old attitude that there is little point in doing anything to help elderly refugees has gone and old people are beginning to make an important contribution in teaching the young about traditional Mozambican culture.

Social workers have referred cases to the clinics and hospitals and have made representations to the camp administrators when necessary. Clinic staff in some camps now make regular visits to the elderly in their huts. Finally, the basic needs of the elderly (blankets, soap, salt, clothing) are now, at least partially, being addressed and met.

Without the social workers' tenacity and commitment under very difficult conditions, none of this would have been achieved.

In conclusion, on behalf of the elderly refugees, the HelpAge programme in Zimbabwe is thankful for the funds made available for this project from the appeal by the Disasters Emergency Committee, June 1987.

** This article is an excerpt from a field report from the HelpAge Zimbabwe Office. It was written in June this year. RPN takes up the issue of social work for refugees in Africa later in this issue with particular reference to Tanzania.*

PROTECTION INITIATIVES

In Papua New Guinea, six top public servants have been suspended following an alleged sex scandal involving refugees. The officers, members of the Department of West Sepik, which shares an international frontier with the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya, may have been forcing refugee girls into providing sexual favours under threat of repatriation. (*Post Courier*, 2 September 1988).

Such moves by host governments to protect refugees from exploitation in this way should be applauded.

The Effects of Torture: New Approaches to Therapy for Refugees

Psychotherapists from Denmark are researching the effectiveness of trans-cultural approaches to therapy for traumatised refugees suffering from psychological distress. In the belief that confinement and torture aim to render opponents politically impotent, frequently through psychological and physical attacks on sexual and gender identities, attempts are being made to reconstruct the sufferer's identity and ideology using approaches that include the testimony of victims to their suffering for political change. These techniques, first used by psychologists as a means of helping traumatised prisoners in Chile, may be useful to those assisting traumatised refugees in places of first or second asylum. Information about them may be of interest to others working with refugees in resettlement education and health programmes. They may also be of interest to refugees themselves. To this end, we are including, at the end of this RPN, a paper from Denmark which explains the rationale and strategies used in this technique.

Health Care for Refugees in Holland

The Dutch Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs has one of the developed world's more comprehensive networks for psychosocial assistance to victims of violence. Its Centre for Refugee Health (CGV) now has 65 medical and social staff in different parts of the Netherlands who give therapy to long term residents and newly-arrived refugees and asylum-seekers, suffering from psychological disorders consequent upon experiences of violence and uprootedness. Among those in need of assistance are some who were violated during the second world war. Staff at CGV find that both professional and voluntary workers, who work with people who have experienced torture and other forms of violence, are confronted with a series of problems of which they had no previous experience. In particular staff should be made aware that torture victims may distrust doctors. Those from tropical countries may have diseases with which medical staff are not familiar and may have different frames of reference in describing symptoms and their causes. They should also understand that the time between the experience of physical or psychic trauma and the manifestation of subsequent psychosocial stress disorders may be very variable. Victims may show symptoms of disturbance soon after trauma. Alternatively disorders may emerge in later life, perhaps 30 or 40 years after violation, which may not immediately be recognised as being indications of post-traumatic stress. Because of this, CGV researchers are planning a longitudinal study of the effects of therapy for post traumatic stress disorders. They hypothesise that intervention within a short time following traumatic experience can facilitate resolution and integration of stress more effectively than if the time between violence and therapy is protracted.

For information about CGV contact:

Ms Loos H.M. van Willigen

Centrum Gezondheidszorg Vluchtelingen

PO Box 264 2280 AG Rijswijk The Netherlands.

EDUCATION

Psychiatric Data from Peshawar

The Islamic Relief Agency has sent us data from its psychiatric reports on Afghan refugees receiving treatment in Peshawar. Most patients referred for treatment are men and their numbers have increased steadily since the service started.

Since April 1985 when some 280 refugees sought therapy for psychic disorder the monthly referral rate climbed steadily, with nearly 2000 patients being treated in March 1986. Over the next year attendance fluctuated but rose sharply, above 2000, for most of 1987. This year numbers have continued to rise with more than 2,500 patients a month receiving therapy, 86% of whom were adult men.

	1985 %	1986 %	1987 %
Anxiety	24.6	12.7	10.0
Schizophrenia	6.3	14.8	17.5
Depression	39.3	51.3	48.7
Epilepsy	8.4	7.6	11.1
Total	4,895	17,811	23,254

We have no information to explain these fluctuations: whether they reflected new crises in the Afghan war, increased numbers in the camps or staff movements at the agency clinic. The data do show that more patients were diagnosed as suffering from depression, anxiety, schizophrenia and epilepsy than from other specified disorders. Without information about the nature and distribution of psychic disorder in Afghanistan, or other refugee clinics, it is difficult to assess the significance of these figures. It would appear that they are abnormally high.

We should like to thank Dr Abdel Rehman Ahmed for sending us these data which are all too rarely available and invite readers with similar experiences elsewhere to send comments.

UNHCR INFORMATION NETWORK.

To encourage a wider exchange of information on refugee issues and to make it more accessible to researchers and practitioners, an international network on information and documentation on refugees was set up two years ago. A working group has been established to expand the existing UNHCR thesaurus to meet the diverse needs of human rights organisations, universities, governmental and non-governmental organisations which hold refugee literature. The thesaurus will be published in English, French, and Spanish.

Contact: Mrs Keiko Niimi, c/o The Centre for Documentation on Refugees, UNHCR, Palais de Nations, CH-1211 Geneva 10, SWITZERLAND.

Poles Apart: Refugee Student Teachers and their Trainers

What are the implications for classroom teaching when there are cultural and ideological differences between volunteer teacher trainers and refugee student-teachers, increasing numbers of whom have not completed primary schooling?

In UNBRO camps in Thailand, most agency volunteer workers employed as teacher trainers are young graduates of universities and teacher training institutions from different countries of Europe and North America. At school they were taught according to different educational fashions of the 1960s and 1970s when, in some countries, child centred teaching integrated curricula and vertical grouping experiments were being promoted. Those who have trained as teachers will have been taught to use these techniques in the classroom, all of which depend for effectiveness on the availability of an increasing range of teaching and learning aids and on access to the facilities to reproduce them. In training they will have been exposed to the ideas of the 1980s, the reorganisation of the curriculum and computer-based learning, each of which is material and machine dependent for effective execution.

Refugee student teachers from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam have very different educational histories. In the early stages of educational development in the camps experienced teachers were available from each ethnic group. Now, since selection for settlement in third countries is biased in favour of those with any education, most teachers and other refugees with educational qualifications have departed. This means that over time, the educational experience of refugees coming forward as teachers has declined, to the extent that many have only a few years of primary schooling. This will have been in poor rural schools lacking any kind of teaching aid beyond blackboards and chalk for teachers and paper and pencils for pupils. The mode of teaching will have been formal instruction by rote, as teachers reproduced their own experience in the classroom a generation earlier, without the insights derived from study of the psychology of learning and the sociology of the classroom.

The chasm that separates these prospective teachers from those volunteers appointed to train them is vast. They are separated in the quantity and the quality of their educational experience. Bridging the gap is made all the more difficult by a language barrier that makes volunteers dependent on refugee interpreters to train teachers. The ability of interpreters to transmit curriculum content and teaching techniques as intended by the trainer is as variable as the ability of the training teacher to absorb and reproduce them in the classroom. Camp teachers may have access to teaching aids, or the means to produce them, which they would not have seen in their own village schools. However, effective training may be impeded because the time in which teachers as students can assimilate new knowledge and the methods suggested as appropriate to its transmission to pupils in the classroom is typically short, often less than a day.

Observation suggests that in the classroom the preferred technique is teaching by rote. This is not a rejection of

the teaching method proposed, but a pragmatic solution to the problem of information over-load on the part of those not yet ready to receive it. It stems too, from the lack of training practice in classrooms to assist teachers organise lessons when pupils, as well as teachers, have materials or when pupil group work is to be encouraged. Finally, the high rate of turnover of volunteer staff and the lack of continuity of recommended teaching methods, particularly when the new trainer is from a different country, must be confusing to students.

The preference for very formal teaching styles also results from teacher awareness of what may be a culturally acceptable teaching method, to Laotian, Khmer or Vietnamese children. This would be a style that will lead to effective learning in children unaccustomed to question and challenge elders or the knowledge that they reveal.

With such polarisation, what are the strands of communication that make the training offered by young western educators relevant to refugee teachers of South East Asia. High on the list has to be a common enthusiasm to develop education for refugees, although the underlying motives of this enthusiasm may be very different. Both volunteers and training teachers may believe in the importance of education for human development but each may have personal career development motives as well. Volunteers may have missionary zeal to bring development to the disadvantaged poor; refugees may improve their expectations of resettlement by training as teachers. Through the volunteers, teaching materials are made available to camp schools. In becoming teachers, refugees have access to cash in the token remuneration made to refugee workers. These factors create a forum for consensus and exchange between student teachers and their trainers, but little is known about what is transmitted, what is rejected or simply not understood. Trainers do not observe their students perform as teachers and so they have no feedback on their own effectiveness.

No information is available about ways in which strategies might change to improve training. Orientation courses might help the volunteers be prepared to take account of the the implications of refugee culture when training teachers, but there is a need to assist prospective teachers to consolidate their skills in the short time available and use them.

Rosemary Preston

Refugee Studies Programme

Promoting Refugee Studies: Centre for Refugee Ethnography

The Centre for Refugee Ethnography at Hamline University, Minnesota, seeks to understand the complex socio-cultural heritage which refugees bring to their new life and which they continue to draw upon for basic values and expression. The Centre aims to increase cultural awareness of those working with refugees in language and literacy, to help refugees become self-sufficient within the mainstream of American life.

The Centre's introductory courses focus on traditional life in the country of origin and on the resettlement community. Special emphases are given to history, social

structure, spiritual expression, visual and performing arts, food customs, sickness and caring, and traditional values with which the refugee community most readily identifies itself.

The Centre attempts to respond directly to the needs of social, educational, and health services professionals. Additional courses such as intensive summer language instruction, surveys of other refugee cultures, or courses on specific topics are being planned.

For further information contact:

*The Centre for Refugee Ethnography
Division of Graduate and Continuing Studies,
Hamline University
1536 Hewitt Avenue
St Paul, MN 55104, USA*

Education and Refugees in Africa

Great appreciation has to be shown to the countries of Southern Africa for their assistance to education for refugees in the area. Nevertheless there is urgent need for education for refugees in all parts of Africa and for additional help to those in countries where some basic needs are being met. There is a need for greater coordination, nationally and internationally, between scholarship coordinating committees. There is urgent need for clarification respecting international responsibility for displaced people who have been forced to leave their homes because of external aggression: South Africa's destabilisation policy in Southern Africa. Educational assistance should also meet the needs of women refugees. It should ascertain the subsequent employment prospects of students and ways in which they can make an economic and social contribution to their country of asylum.

Source: Statement of the Standing Committee on Education and Training for Refugees in Africa to the Oslo International Conference on the Plight of Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons in Southern Africa.

Educational Initiatives in Refugee Protection

A manual on refugee law in the Sudan has been prepared as the basic text for a course to law students in the Sudan. Prepared by the staff of the Refugee Studies Programme at Juba University, it is already being used for teaching refugee law in other universities and is serving as a reference for personnel in refugee related work.

Any action in support of refugees must be encompassed by established law. Information on law relating to status, asylum, non-refoulement care, aid, rights, duties and settlement can only enhance the effectiveness of that action. This book presents the legal position in respect of all these issues.

Reference: Fawzi Abdel Mageed & Philip Ramega (1988) Refugee Law. Khartoum, Sudan.

Education for Refugees in Britain: Fees

Concerning fees charged to scholars studying in Britain who have refugee status outside the UK:

The RSP has approached the Chairman of the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals on International Affairs to suggest that it might encourage British universities to apply a uniform policy on fees chargeable to refugee students overseas who have scholarships and places to study in the UK. Currently some universities, on an individual basis, have waived overseas tuition costs. RSP has recommended that all universities follow this policy. It would be useful if organisations which fund refugees to study in Britain would write to the RSP giving some indications of the numbers of additional refugees whose education could be supported if home, rather than overseas, fees were charged. There may be a precedent in some other country, which would encourage British universities to adopt such a humanitarian policy.

In the meantime the position relating to fee liability in Britain is as follows:

In accordance with the Education (Fees & Awards) Regulations 1983 and the Education (Fees & Awards) Regulations 1984, students will be liable for payment of fees at the higher ('overseas') rate unless they are regarded as 'excepted students' under the Regulations.

Excepted Students

Any person who

- is recognised by the UK Government as a refugee under the United Nations (Geneva) Convention, 1981; or
- has been granted asylum in the UK; or
- has been informed in writing by a person acting under the authority of the Secretary of State for the Home Department that, although not qualified for asylum in recognition as a refugee, permission to enter, or leave to remain in, the United Kingdom has been granted; and
- who has been ordinarily resident in the United Kingdom and Islands throughout the period since recognition as a refugee, or granting of asylum or granting of leave to enter or remain; or

Any person who

is the spouse, son or daughter of a person of the kind described above.

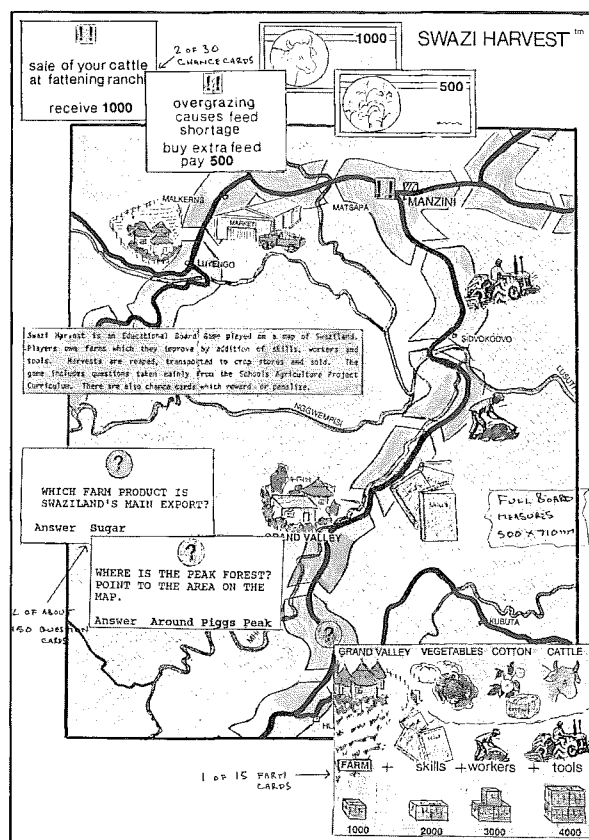
Revised guidelines effective from 7 September 1984

Address: Director, Refugee Studies Programme, Queen Elizabeth House, 21 St Giles, Oxford OX1 3LA

Educational Games

We have received an educational board game entitled 'Swazi Harvest' from Richard Iley in Swaziland. This is the first of a series of games to be designed for Swazi school children. 'Swazi Harvest' is a vehicle supporting agricultural or geography programmes, but requires skills from several other disciplines: maths, business and English. The relevance of such games in educational programmes for refugees is being explored. Mr Iley intends to design future games in conjunction with teachers, community and refugee leaders. *Anyone interested in the games or wishing to share similar experience, should contact Mr Richard Iley at:*

c/o BMEP, PO Box 2187, MANZINI, SWAZILAND



Teaching Materials

EKLAVYA: Indigenous science teaching materials for development projects

The Centre for Educational Research and Innovative Action in Bhopal, India, is forming a resource and documentation centre of materials relating to appropriate technology, food, agriculture, energy, industrial hazards, environmental studies, labour studies and women in development to provide support for teachers and development workers who lack access to manufactured equipment. The Centre also publishes a magazine for children. *Those assisting with educational development for refugees may wish to obtain information from:*

Dr V. Raina, EKLAVYA: Centre for Educational Research & Innovative Action, E1/208 Arera Colony, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh, INDIA.

REFUGEES AND DEVELOPMENT

The Case for Small Loan Assistance

Indications from 33 IFAD projects in 25 countries suggest that repayment rates are high on small loans to village groups who lack conventional collateral, while rates of government debt servicing may be very low, at less than one per cent of interest per annum. In Zaire, Bangladesh, Mali and Honduras village group repayment rates on small loans ranged between 85 and 100 per cent between 1978 and 1987. Projects included livestock rearing, craft business development, cheese and paper making.

Loans are usually made to groups of five borrowers. Members make a point of repaying in order not to lose face in the group or the chance of qualifying for new credit. If one member defaults the group is held responsible and no more money is lent until full payment is made.

If such peer pressure is enough to encourage local repayments in the case of citizens of a country, it should also be effective in the case of small loans to refugees. Refugees would have an additional incentive to comply with repayment requirements because failure to do so may jeopardise their precarious settlement status.

Based on 'Patching up Poverty', The Economist, 20 August 1988

Missing the Point: Refugee Aid in Sudan

The need for credit in South Kassala agricultural project proposal

A long series of survey missions and working papers will culminate soon in the signing of the South Kassala Agricultural Project (SKAP) at the World Bank's Headquarters in Washington D.C. On September 14th a small envoy of Sudanese officials began negotiating credit terms for a multi million dollar agreement with the World Bank and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. This project has been touted as the first joint project in Africa between the World Bank and UNHCR. It will be financed by \$20 million from the World Bank, \$10 million from UNHCR and \$4 million from the Sudanese Government.

SKAP was designed with two major objectives: a) to help offset Sudan's crisis in agricultural production; and b) to redress the heavy burden of an enormous refugee population in the eastern region (UNHCR's latest estimate was 630,000 refugees). The area designated for SKAP is bounded by the 400 mm rainfall isohyet on the north, Blue Nile Province to the southwest, and the international border with Ethiopia on the southeast. Twenty-seven per cent of all inhabitants, rural and urban, are refugees. Project supervision will be from Gedaref, the principal urban centre in the southern part of the Province and the undisputed centre of Sudan's struggling 'breadbasket'.

The four main components of SKAP include reforestation, road construction, additional water points, and agriculture. For agriculture, SKAP will fund an expanded extension programme and a seed experimentation project. A large portion (43%) of the funding is devoted to

machinery, vehicle purchases and facility construction, and is not aimed directly at farmers. Moreover, the proposed extension programme is at cross-purposes to the current extension programme for refugees. CARE has already established and nurtured a participatory, bottom-up extension programme based in Gedaref. SKAP offers a top-heavy approach to extension driven by a 'self-innovations' philosophy.

My fundamental criticism of the South Kassala Agricultural project is that it does not provide what small farmers, Sudanese and refugees, consider to be their primary need: an access to credit at subsidised or market rates. In the absence of any rural credit programmes, the only recourse for small farmers is to rely on crop mortgaging, known in Sudan as 'shail'. To take shail, farmers mortgage a portion of their crops to local merchants, at a pre-established price per sack, in exchange for a cash advance to meet running costs (e.g. wage labour or transport costs). Farmers who take shail are those with the least land, because they have few alternative sources of income.

Research shows that small farmers who take shail, mortgage nearly sixty per cent of their cash crops at less than fifty-five per cent of the average market selling price during the year. Thus shail places a lid on capital accumulation for farmers with the least land, and translates into interest fees for local merchants which usually exceed ninety per cent. The multimillion dollar SKAP proposal therefore fails to redress a key constraint to sustainable development. In particular, it discriminates against refugee farmers.

SKAP targets three categories of small farmers: those with between 5-50 feddans of land, those with between 50-300 feddans and those with garden plots in riverine areas. It excludes more than one thousand large agricultural schemes in South Kassala which average nearly 3,000 feddans and occasionally exceed 50,000 feddans. Sudanese who cultivate 50-300 feddans might be considered small farmers, but many are merchants for whom farming is a secondary activity. Refugees who are allotted only five or ten feddans, in settlement schemes such as Qala en Nahal, have no such alternative sources of income and depend on shail for credit.

Additionally, the SKAP proposal projects rates of return to the project which have little stabilised support. Given the long legacy of development failures in Sudan, a 32% estimated return for SKAP as a whole and a 38% increase in annual incomes for refugee farmers must be questioned. These poorly substantiated estimated return rates are being used to justify spending another thirty-five million dollars at a time when Sudan's foreign debt is rapidly approaching thirteen billion dollars and its debt service requirement is on the verge of outstripping its annual export revenues.

Trader Diversion of Tractor Assistance to Refugees

The experience of another development project should be instructive. The Finnish development agency (Finnida) has an ongoing programme in South Kassala to provide tractor service for refugee farmers at a subsidised rate. A recent evaluation of the Finnida programme verified field research observations. Despite the fact that refugee farmers were to have first priority to ploughing services, most refugee farmers suffer crippling delays because traders use bribes to hire Finnida tractors first, for use on their own farms. This example underscores how refugee farmers are vulnerable to being out-manoeuvred by local merchants for resources intended for refugees. In similar fashion, SKAP's assistance for the smallest farmers (refugees as well as Sudanese) may be coopted by their larger counterparts.

Jonathan B. Bascom, 316 Jessup Hall, University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA 52242, USA.

Jonathan Bascom has spent ten months as a researcher in the East of the SKAP area. His work included interviews with small farmers of whom more than 200 were refugees. He wrote these reports for RPN on returning to Iowa.

THE ROAD TO SALVATION OR EXILE IN THE WILDERNESS: REFUGEES AND DEVELOPMENT IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Exemplary Development Potential

The Papua New Guinean government has created an opportunity to convert 200,000 ha. of rain forest into a model rural development zone. Whether it becomes a Garden of Eden or a place of impoverished exile for those who will live there depends on the government's ability to realise the area's potential for economic development, either through direct intervention projects or through the unfettered enterprise of future residents.

The situation has been created by a combination of factors. Businessmen claim that cash crop exploitation, principally rubber, in the area in question is economically viable and will restore development equilibrium in a district that elsewhere is home to PNG's lucrative gold and copper mine, at Ok Tedi. At the same time, the government has agreed to relocate in Papua New Guinea 10,000 West Irian refugees, four fifths of whom were subsistence gardeners, who have been living in 16 camps along the border in West Sepik and Western Provinces. They fled before Indonesian army reprisals on individuals and border villages following demonstrations and attacks by different sections of the Free Papua Movement (OPM) seeking independence for Melanesian Irian Jaya.

Some 50kms from the border lies East Awin in the Elevala Basin of the North Fly District of Western Province. Its designation as the relocation site meets government need to move refugees inland, breaking their ties with OPM units across the border and preventing the border camps from becoming permanent, sensitively located village settlements. It coincidentally meets the need for a large number of settlers, if the stated development

potential of East Awin is to be exploited. It also confronts the government with a political dilemma: how to encourage social and economic development for Papua New Guineans in an area in which they will be many times outnumbered by non-citizen, refugee settlers.

Preparation For Development

Initiatives at East Awin have not followed an economic feasibility study identifying the commercial viability of different modes of primary industrial exploitation. Instead, it has been policy to satisfy infrastructural (roads, forest clearance), and human resource (local staff) preconditions before requesting assistance from Australia with development planning.

Since 1985, refugees have been prepared for relocation in countless briefings from UNHCR and government officials. As incentives, they have been promised security of residence and economic and educational opportunities. Nevertheless, when given two or three days notice of departure, many refugees declare themselves to be ill-informed about the move and in need of more time to pack household effects and garden produce.

So far, no attempt has been made to prepare Awin people, themselves gardeners, for the arrival of the refugees. They have not been paid for the use of their land and its resources and there has been no discussion of development initiatives for them.

Failure to address these issues and to identify strategies to resolve the problems that they will produce raises questions about the primary purpose of infrastructural development and the movement of people into the area.

Relocation: the move

The order in which people from different camps have been relocated was unplanned, as was their future place of resettlement at East Awin. Latterly too, the government has not moved refugees against their will and, in several cases, those in border camps have at the last minute, refused to move once advance parties have erected temporary shelters for them at East Awin. A much dramatised illusion of force was created to clear the first two camps to be relocated, when two or three policemen accompanied UNHCR and government officers. This strategy was abandoned in the wake of strong negative refugee and local Papua New Guinean public opinion.

Vacillation

There are multiple reasons that refugees give for hesitating to leave the border and move to East Awin. On the border, they have built good houses from sago palms and established gardens in and around camps that are pleasant rural villages and not fenced and guarded detention centres for unwanted aliens. In most camps refugees enjoy good relations with Papua New Guineans who, along the southern border at least, are of the same ethnic group as themselves. Many refugees have created informal and semi-formal trade and marketing links with local people.

On the border, refugees are free to come and go to their own land and families in Irian Jaya. They provide

essential services to the OPM units located immediately across the border from the different camps. Such services include food, health facilities and communications outlets. Unit members typically include the husbands, lovers and fathers of border camp dwellers who feel additional pressures upon them to remain in close proximity.

Relocation to East Awin distances refugees from all this. It requires them to build new homes and gardens in an area in which they believe, rightly, that access to water may be problematic and the lack of sago will deprive them of their staple foodstuff and customary building materials. Refugees from coastal areas fear that they will not adapt well to inland life. Above all, refugees fear tribal harassment and demands for compensation from the Awin people for the use of their land and its resources. Some too are afraid of being subject to personal attack from members of opposing OPM factions among refugees already at East Awin.

At East Awin

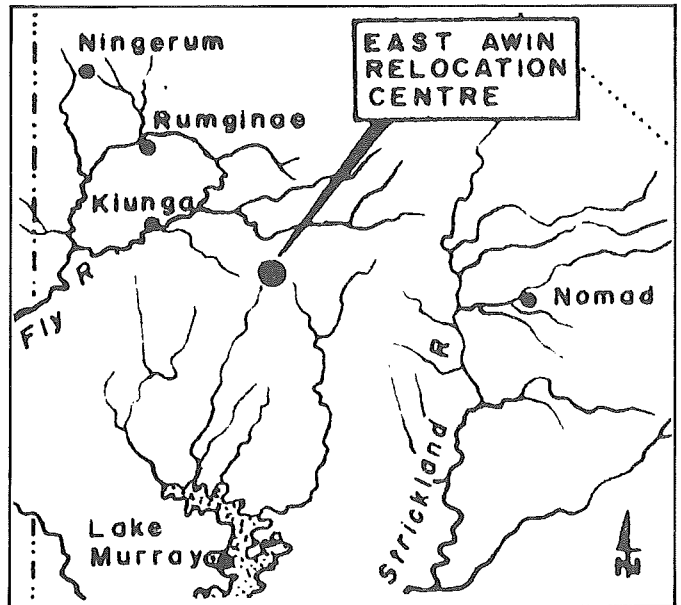
The relocation site at East Awin is remote and refugees are disoriented on arrival. They have hastily departed from border camps and may have spent several days en route. During the journey, they have been medically examined and drenched to prevent the spread of sifterciosis, a worm that affects pigs and can be transmitted by humans. It is endemic in Indonesia, but not present in Papua New Guinea.

At East Awin, refugees are returned to full UNHCR rations and are given axes and bush knives to enable them to clear land, build houses and make new gardens. They improvise walls from tree bark lining, but are supplied with plastic sheeting to compensate for the lack of suitable roofing material in the bush. Plastic tanks are supplied for water, which refugees fetch from nearby creeks. Between the trunks of fallen trees, while house building, refugees plant ground nut and spring onion to supplement their diet of tinned fish and rice.

Although health posts are located within easy access of the different settlement points, refugees are disappointed that schools have not been built and equipped by either UNHCR, government or church agencies, refugees themselves have been quick to start spontaneous primary schools and seek assistance from UNHCR and the local Catholic mission with curriculum and teaching materials. Teaching at these schools is in Bahasa Indonesia and the curriculum, for the moment, broadly follows that of Indonesian primary schools.

As yet few refugees have found a solution to the lack of economic opportunity at East Awin. It is policy to give employment to local Papua New Guineans or to encourage them to establish businesses at East Awin, in preference to refugees who are frequently better qualified and motivated. For a small number of refugees, jobs are available as teachers, translators, saw millers and other manual workers. Rates of pay are nominal, at K10 (six pounds) per week.

For the majority of refugees at East Awin there is as yet no opportunity to make money. There are no local residents with whom to exchange fish and rice in return



for vegetables or tobacco. Even when gardens are established, transport to market at Kiunga is unreliable. A small number of refugees, after initial, luke-warm discouragement by government officials, have started small shops and one or two, passing as Papua New Guineans, have found temporary work with local companies.

Prospects for Economic Development

It is only a matter of time before refugees at East Awin initiate economic activities and set an example to local residents of how many diverse, small scale enterprises can be sustained in an area suffering from extremes of isolation and poverty. Their incentive derives from their desperate need for cash with which to buy basic household goods, as well as to continue support to OPM units in the bush. Only stringently enforced government restrictions will prevent this from happening as refugees have learned since 1984 that many government prohibitions are gut reactions and, if challenged, are not implemented. They are aware too of the grudging admiration in which their border camp commercial activities are held by many Papua New Guineans.

A government decision to locate a cash crop project in the area could enhance or inhibit such development, depending on the extent to which opportunities for refugee, as well as Papua New Guinean, employment were included. However, government commitment to such a project is unknown and may be weak. Informed opinion is that there is no readily identifiable primary industry that is commercially viable in the area. Rubber is slow to produce and its price on world markets has slumped. Timber to sustain a sawmilling industry is in short supply, although there is both local and export demand. Suggestions that cane furniture might be made overlook the lack of cane in the area and the lack of market for finished products. Poor soil and limited water make vegetable production a poor prospect, although there would be good markets at Kiunga or Tabubil.

Non-economic rationales

If there is no basis for major commercial development at East Awin, it should be assumed that investment in roads and refugee relocation will serve other purposes. These include the strengthening of political and economic links to the administrative centres at Nomad and Lake Murray and, separately, the isolation of known West Irian activists from the border without offending popular opinion. In Papua New Guinea, there is general sympathy for the Melanesian struggle for independence from Indonesia and the forcible repatriation of refugees would cause serious outcry.

The failure to compensate the Awin people, as much as the lack of development planning, reinforces the political rationale of relocation. It may legitimate any aggression by the Awins which will, in turn, prevent refugees from seeking retribution. Fear of claims for compensation will inhibit refugees from setting up business enterprises, since any commercial success by outsiders on local land would, of itself, be justifiable provocation in Melanesian eyes.

Implications

On the grounds that direct intervention would be of benefit to both citizens and to refugees, the Papua New Guinean government has yet to attract external funding to undertake at East Awin a development feasibility and social impact study and the subsequent implementation of economic or social programmes. Regardless of the amount of revenue that might accrue from the sale of goods produced by such a scheme, the extent to which it would provide refugees with opportunities for social and economic participation, equal to those which it would provide for Papua New Guineans with equivalent skills, would depend on government intentions for the long-term status of refugees. Failure to encourage the integration of Papua New Guineans and West Irians through such schemes will leave the refugees an alienated underclass of Papua New Guinean society.

Without such a project, or other opportunity for skilled employment at East Awin, dynamic refugees, as individuals or groups, will set up businesses in spite of fears of attack from land owners. These will initially be based on agricultural production and latterly on the provision of services, for example, the provision of transport to and from Kiunga.

Refugees with educational and vocational skills will, simultaneously, seek employment elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, hoping to obtain residence permits from the Department of Foreign Affairs. With their departure, as elsewhere in the world, those best qualified to lead social and economic development will be the first to leave the settlement area. In the case of East Awin, this would have the effect of reducing the capacity for self-sufficiency of both Papua New Guineans and West Irians who remain to subsist in Arcadia.

Rosemary Preston

CHILDREN AND ART IN THE FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID

The power of artists, writers and intellectuals to affect child survival and development in the Frontline States and Southern Africa was confirmed earlier this year in Harare. Moved by the testimony of child victims from Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe that apartheid kills and mutilates children, paralyses the economies of the Frontline States and destroys hope for the future, participants of a UNICEF symposium, Social Mobilisation for Child Survival and Development, called on African governments to implement the UN convention of the rights of the child. Artists, writers and intellectuals resolved to share information, organise support for the struggle against apartheid, collect testimonies from victims and publicise them worldwide. They declared that children should be the focal point of their work and that internationally artists should mobilise children to produce art in solidarity with the Frontline States.

The participants also observed that children have their own ideas, and that they are creative artists, writers and intellectuals in their own right. Participants therefore felt that a most important task was to find ways to enable children to articulate their views on their survival and development, their needs and their opinions on what can be done to guarantee their survival and development.

The participants further agreed that whereas all children everywhere can be agents of social change, children in distress in the Frontline States and Southern Africa are particularly important agents of their own survival and development.

HUMAN RIGHTS UPDATE

The Human Rights Unit of the Commonwealth Secretariat has recently held a survey of national institutions concerned with the promotion of human rights within the Commonwealth. It is hoped that the survey will help as a source of reference to facilitate exchanges of information. *Information: Human Rights Unit, International Affairs Division, Commonwealth Secretariat, Marlborough House, Pall Mall, London SW1Y 5HX.*

Asylum Network: A campaign on behalf of People seeking asylum in Britain

Due to the recent deterioration of the conditions facing those who seek asylum in Britain **ASYLUM NETWORK** has been set up to promote their protection and highlight their plight. Consisting of representatives of refugee communities, specialist agencies assisting refugees, church and faith-based groups, it aims to promote a fair asylum procedure based on a code of practice, the statutory right of appeal and legal representation, a comprehensive and fair refugee policy for Europe, an improved public understanding of asylum-seekers and refugees and finally strict limits on the detention of asylum-seekers.

Information: Mark Ereira, Asylum Network Coordinator, c/o BRC, Bondway House, 319 Bondway, London SW8 1SJ (Tel: 01 582 6922).

PUBLICATIONS

Journal of Social Development in Africa

Published by the School of Social Work at the University of Harare, Zimbabwe, this journal is an excellent medium for disseminating research on refugees to African readers. The journal publishes articles on issues affecting development and poverty, popular participation, social development, equality and productivity.

Information:

Journal of Social Development in Africa
P Bag 66022, Kopje, Harare, ZIMBABWE

For European and North American subscriptions only:
Leishman and Taussig
19 The Rise, Northampton, NN2 6QQ, UK

Voices Rising: A Bulletin about Women and Popular Education

Voices Rising is the central networking tool of the ICAE Women's Programme, and aims to link educators and organisers in different regions of the world who are working to develop education as a tool for social change and the empowerment of women. Voices Rising features articles, letters, reviews, a 'noticeboard', and resource listings which would be of interest to women and men involved in popular and adult education with women internationally. It is published twice yearly in English, Spanish and French. The April/May issue this year contained an article on Palestinian refugee women.

*Contact: ICAE Women's Programme, 229 College Street,
Suite 309, Toronto, Ontario, CANADA M5T
1R4*

The Palestinian Homeland

A chronology of events in Palestine from 1878-1967, including population maps.

*Available from: The Council for the Advancement of
Arab-British Understanding, 21 Colling-
ham Road, LONDON SW5 0NU*

Refugees International

The purpose of Refugees International is to meet the basic needs for protection and care of the most vulnerable refugees in the world today who, for one reason or another, do not come under the umbrella of the larger aid agencies/organisations. Priority will be accorded to a) Cases that have already reached, or are attempting to reach, a country of first asylum; b) cases that are without protection, or are in jeopardy of losing their protection and whose lives are in peril; c) group cases that have either fallen outside the purview of the UNHCR (or host country) protection or processing system and/or individuals whose plight cannot be addressed through the normal procedures of other agencies or advocates and d) cases that represent (or are symbolic of) the needs of a larger group of refugees.

Examples of group cases that would qualify for immediate RI attention are a) Vietnamese boat refugees stranded on islands in the Gulf of Thailand; b) rejected Khmer at Khao I Dang; c) Nam Pun Hmong; d) Ethiopians and South Africans who are fleeing forced conscrip-

tion; e) Salvadoreans who are seeking, but have not found, safe asylum in neighbouring countries or in the US.

For further information contact: Refugees International, Suite 240, 220 1 Street, NE, Washington DC 20002, USA.

Rapport

Published by the Technical Support Service (TSS) of UNHCR, Rapport contains short articles on low key technology appropriate to refugee camp use. It covers sanitation, administration, reports of TSS activities and a question and answer section for readers to obtain responses to field problems.

*Contact: Rapport, UNHCR, Box 2500, 1211 Geneva 2
Depot, SWITZERLAND*

Himal

A new publication from Nepal on social and economic affairs. Recent issues contain articles on forced migration and on the dubious role of development consultants.

*Information: HIMAL, PO Box 42, Lalitpur 44702,
NEPAL*

Human Rights Internet Reporter

Published quarterly, every issue of the Reporter is fully indexed and cross-referenced by subject, by geographic focus, and by organisation. A specialised indexing vocabulary has been developed to meet the needs of human rights advocacy organisations and scholars. Accompanying the Reporter is a Master List of organisations, publications and indexing language.

The Reporter contains:

- ★ Commentary on issues of importance to the human rights community
- ★ A Calendar of upcoming events
- ★ News of major national and international developments in the Americas, Africa, Asia, the Pacific, Europe and the Middle East
- ★ Highlights of Fact-Finding Missions
- ★ Reports of attacks on human rights defenders
- ★ Information on the concerns and work of human rights NGOs
- ★ Reviews of the work of inter-governmental organisations
- ★ News about human rights conferences
- ★ Resources for teaching and research
- ★ Information about funding and awards
- ★ Developments in the area of documentation & computerisation

Each issue of the Reporter also abstracts and indexes hundreds of publications in many languages. These focus on such violations as torture, political imprisonment, disappearances, and general repression; on civil and political rights and on social, economic and cultural rights; on the rights of women, children, refugees, labour, minorities, indigenous populations, and other vulnerable groups; on the work of human rights organisations, the policies of governments, and the protection and promotion of human rights through international organisations.

Available from:

*Human Rights Internet, Harvard Law School, Pound
Hall, Room 401, Cambridge MA 02138, USA.*

SOLIDARITY AMONG REFUGEE WOMEN

Compiled by Elizabeth Colson and Rosemary Preston

In the ACORD* Annual Report for 1987 can be found suggestions that cooperative activities may be more successful among women producers than they seem to be in general. Formal cooperative organisations appear to have had a rocky time of it and most have a rapid death, yet women's self-help groups seem to have a better record. ACORD reports the growth of viable women's groups engaged in market gardening in Burkino Faso and Guinea. Women in a market gardening cooperative based at Siguiiri, Guinea, have agreed not only to the cooperative organisation of land allocation and communal maintenance of irrigation channels and fencing, but, in addition, to cooperative purchase and distribution of inputs and the organisation of planting dates to regularise marketing. Other experience suggests that this may be a congenial form of organisation that women adopt easily. In Zambia, when women cultivators took over the majority of plots on a small-scale irrigation scheme, they also placed pressure on all plot holders to maintain the system and handle other matters cooperatively.

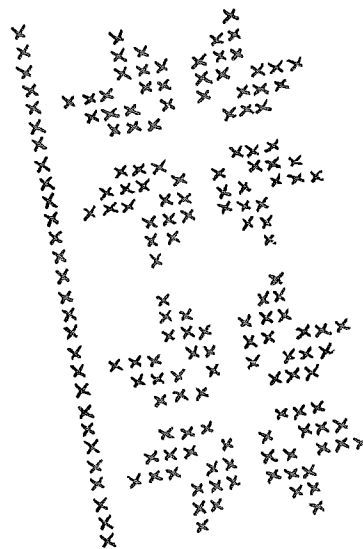
Refugee and other displaced women are also organising cooperative activity groups and a regular feature of refugee camps and settlements in many places of the world is the ability of women to form craft production groups. These groups are not only intended to generate income, but to provide support for each other within the camps and nurture the culture of their homeland. They may also assume a political responsibility for the cause for which they are fighting.

These groups may reject the possibility of increasing income for individual gain, although most refugees experience a cruel shortage of cash. They may refuse to be intimidated by military or police attacks against their work and its political intent, and, instead, are strengthened in their union and commitment. They claim that it is this commitment from which they

draw inspiration and which explains group survival. Little research has been done to analyse the dynamics of these groups, although their work in Chile, Thailand and Palestine is well-known. We attach two accounts of camp women working in groups and a concluding comment.

* Euroaction ACORD is an international consortium of non-governmental organisations working together for long-term development in Africa.

Embroidery, Subsistence and Political Identity: the Najdeh Association in Lebanon



Cross-stitch embroidery is an integral part of the culture of women in Palestine. Each village, town or region has different designs and colours and give different meaning to the symbols portrayed. Ten years ago Palestinian women in Lebanon revived this tradition to provide income, self-reliance and a link to Palestinian culture. The women, formerly industrial workers, were uprooted from their camp homes in Beirut and planted in a ghost town nearby after the assassination of their husbands at the start of the Lebanese civil war.

They knew nothing of traditional embroidery, but through it have forged ties to their own culture and a popular movement of solidarity that is overtly political. Their organisation has survived for more than ten years. At a time when Lebanon is an increasingly sectarian society, it retains women from all ethnic political groups and a membership that has grown from 300 to 1000 in the last four years.

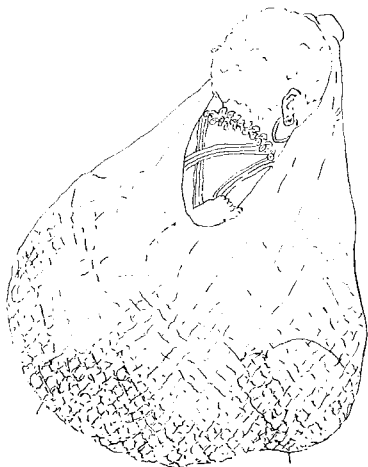
Payment is by the stitch and complexity of colour used in the designs, being the most accurate indicators of the amount of work done. The finished work is sold through two shops in Beirut and solidarity and support groups who know of Najdeh. Demand is high but there are no plans to increase production to meet it. There is no intention to go into mass production and forsake the political responsibility of the group to support women in their fight to remain in camps in Lebanon.

Source: *Voices Rising: Special Report, 'The Feminist Challenge to Adult Education'*, Montreal, November 1987.

String Bags and Leadership: Refugee Women's Group Production in Papua New Guinea

In several Papua New Guinea camps for West Irian refugees from Indonesia, women have tried to start craft groups as a means of self-education, solidarity promotion and income generation. Led by women with some training in home economics, sometimes with the support of local Catholic missions, the groups have rarely developed a stable organisation. Most have disintegrated for lack of confident leadership, unable to find ways to compensate for the lack of money and materials with which to develop craft activities. One group stands out for having overcome these problems.

At Kuiu, six hours by motorised canoe down the Fly River from the district head centre at Kiunga, in a refugee camp of 1000 people where male leaders and primary school teachers had been



unable to agree about how to start a school, the women's group flourished. More than 100 women attended half-day sessions held throughout the week and learned dressmaking and general educational skills. They also made trays, cane chairs, brushes and string bags.

The string bags were critical to the success of the programme. So was the enthusiasm and experience of the teacher, a trainer of home economics teachers from Mindiptanah. The string bag, or bilum, is found throughout Melanesia and is made by women from twisted jungle twines. It is used by women, suspended from the forehead, as a carrying bag. The group began by making string bags and arranging for their sale in town. Although distance and lack of control over marketing meant that this took several months, the proceeds from the sale were used to purchase sewing equipment and material. Eventually there were funds to purchase a hand machine and later there was money for three more. The intention was for women to make clothes for themselves and their families and also for very poor members of the community thereby lessening dependence on the infrequent distribution of hated used clothes of dubious quality from Australia.

Women taking clothes for their own use, made by themselves, or by others in the group, paid for them with string bags, the value of which was assessed according to the size and quality of weave. These string bags constituted the medium of exchange in a precarious micro economy which lacked cash. No individual was remunerated for their work, all income was used to

increase the production and training capacity of the group. Income was small, irregular and uncertain, given the distance and low selling price and given that the string bag is made everywhere in Melanesia. Without the commitment of the leader and her ability to retain interest of group participants and stimulate them to work, the group with such slender resources would have foundered. Hopefully, when moved to the new resettlement location away from the border she will be instrumental in creating a network of women's production groups in the different refugee villages that are being created.

Source: Rosemary Preston, 1988 Field Notes, RSP.

Women's Clubs in Settlements in Uganda

At UNHCR settlements in Uganda, for Rwandan and Sudanese refugees, a network of women's clubs now exists. Uganda had emphasised the importance of women's organisations in the 1950s and 1960s. Many of the Rwandan women were already in settlements in Uganda at the time such clubs were being organised with the encouragement of community development workers. Years of internal strife then made it impossible for the women to continue these organised activities. With the return of more orderly conditions, women in settlements appear to have reactivated the old groups, using the forms of organisation learned in the 1960s. The reactivation of women's groups has been occurring throughout Uganda, again suggesting that women value group association for practical purposes. In 1986 women in the villages of the settlements began to hold meetings, choose officers, and decide on activities, on their own initiative and apparently without any external material assistance. All women in a village join the group, irrespective of age or economic status. Their first objectives seem to have been to learn from each other: they wanted 'to carry something in their head

away home'. The clubs have taken on a range of activities from cooperative gardening to crafts and self-help literacy classes. Gardening, however, is not a preferred activity and the reason is important. The women have to spend so much time working on their individual family plots that they take no pleasure in a joint gardening project unless the profits are very obvious. Handicrafts are favoured although they have problems obtaining materials or finding a sales outlet. The women have few resources of their own, but one club has been able to invest in a pig. All would like to invest in a cow, but this is far beyond present possibilities and can happen only when some money has been accumulated through other activities. Several run savings and loan schemes to help members in emergencies. The women prefer to keep any profits pooled for joint reinvestment rather than distribute the very tiny sums involved, on the grounds that they would never be able to save as individuals while collectively they have the possibility of creating a base from which to build a better future. They fear that money divided would be seen as family funds to be used at the discretion of their husbands (Porteus, Botzow and Stein 1987).

This suggests that women may have incentives that men do not have to pool resources, but it may be only the minuteness of the sums obtained by the club that discourages ideas of division. Again, comment is invited.

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 Porteus, Kimberley; Bostow, Jennifer; Stein, Joshua
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THE TESTIMONY-METHOD: THE USE OF THERAPY AS A PSYCHOTHERAPEUTIC TOOL IN THE TREATMENT OF TRAUMATISED REFUGEES IN DENMARK

Soren Buus and Inger Agger*

The intentions of psychological and sexual torture are to convert, symbolically, political strife into internal personal strife. Transcultural psychotherapy aims to revert private pain into political consciousness so as to relieve symptoms and re-establish ideological consciousness. This is achieved through written testimonies which develop an understanding of the torture perpetrated in the context of the particular political struggles in which it was located.

Refugees in Denmark: Torture and Therapy

The number of political refugees arriving in Denmark continues to increase. In the period from 1973 most refugees were from Eastern Europe, Vietnam and Latin America. Now refugees from the Middle East, Iraq, Lebanon and Palestine, are predominant.

On arrival in Denmark, refugees are placed in camps run by the Danish Red Cross. They may stay there for 1-2 years, without knowing if asylum will be granted.

Of male applicants for asylum, 31 per cent have previously been exposed to imprisonment and torture. For some the long stay in a camp is experienced as yet another form of psychological torture, although during this pre-asylum phase, many traumatised refugees have been referred to the health service. Others may not reveal the need for either physical or psychological treatment until after asylum has been granted.

An important aim of psychological torture is to break down the identity of opponents, making them politically impotent so that they are no longer a threat to those in power.^{1,2} This is done by aiming the torture at the opponents' most vulnerable personal points: their sexuality and gender identity.³ They are exposed to situations which are so absurd as to evoke mistrust, converting political conflict into personal conflict. Through torture, opponents become symptom-filled and powerless.

This paper argues the case for the development of transcultural therapeutic methods for refugees who have been exposed to organised violence. It presents some experiences and results of our work with traumatised refugees in the Danish Health System as well as in an institution specialising in the treatment and counselling of refugees.

We are using the term traumatised refugees as a general concept for refugees who have been exposed to trauma, imprisonment, torture and war, as well as through flight and exile, since trauma associated with torture cannot be isolated from other traumatic events in the life of the refugee. We avoid the term torture victim as the concept is stigmatising and isolates torture from the social and ideological context in which it took place.

Ideology and Identity

In the UN declaration, a refugee is a person who is outside his or her home country because of a well-founded fear of persecution due to race, religion, nationality, membership of a special group or because of political opinion. It means that ideology is seen to play a crucial role in the process of becoming a refugee. It strongly influences the degree of identity loss which refugees experience after separation from life in the home country, to the extent that they are

able to perceive persecution as part of the ideology of those in power. They do not see it as individually directed persecution. Our position is that ideological consciousness affects both treatment outcome and processes of psychological integration, and that previous approaches to refugee therapy have not taken this factor into account. For example, in a treatment model designed by Somnier & Genefke from the International Rehabilitation and Research Centre for Refugees (RCT)⁴, the ideological consciousness of victims is mentioned, but its implications are not discussed. On the contrary their model aims at directing victim anger against the torturers, rather than against the system which created the torture and to which the refugee was opposed. Using this approach, it is possible for the torture and its perpetrators to become isolated from the political struggle which was the underlying cause of the torture. This might contribute to the traumatised refugee's feeling of the meaninglessness of the pain experienced.

Assigning importance to ideology can lead the refugees to turn the tables and ask therapists about their own ideology. Our own clinical experience shows that therapist claims to a neutral position are seldom convincing to refugees, especially in cases where the refugee has maintained ideological consciousness. On the contrary it seems to have a positive effect if the therapist admits to not being directly engaged in the individual refugee's struggle, but on a more general level, to be engaged in the struggle against injustice, abuse of power and suppression of democratic rights.

We argue that the loss of personal and of ideological consciousness can be seen to constitute a major part of a refugee's combined physical, psychic and social problems. The American psychoanalyst Erikson⁵ stresses that the development of identity moves in the direction of states characterised by either integrity or despair. Ideological engagement plays a major role in the experience of integrity, whereas the state of despair is marked by value confusion. Among refugees receiving conventional therapy, we often see the negative dimensions of the process described by Erikson: identity confusion, isolation, stagnation and despair. To overcome this we have come to believe that consciousness of both therapist and refugee can play an important role in treatment aimed at reinforcing processes of integrity and identity formation.

The biopsychosocial approach

Biopsychosocial examination and treatment has its own methodology which has been described in detail elsewhere^{6,7}. Here it should be emphasised that this approach does not intend to give explanations of causes and effects of trauma, instead it aims at a circular understanding of symptoms. It means that the therapist respects the symptom without necessarily subscribing to the client's explanations or treatment proposals. The therapist accepts that there is pain, irrespective of the reason given for the pain. From the outset, the therapist adopts a holistic approach no matter the perspective from which the clients choose to present their symptoms. In this, the therapist attempts to achieve examination and treatment

simultaneously. Using such an approach, the presenting symptoms can become vehicles for the transcultural meeting between the western therapist and the refugee.

As many refugees arrive with physical sequels to prison, torture and prolonged stress following flight, there may be medical complaints which need attention. Typically too there are diverse psychosomatic symptoms. In the investigation of torture sequels among Latin American refugees, Thorvaldsen⁸ finds that 70 per cent complain of headaches, tiredness and stomach pain. At least one vegetative symptom, palpitation, perspiration or diarrhoea, was reported by 34 per cent of the examined refugees.

Exile imposes strain on most political refugees and for some it is more stressful than torture or prison. In exile, purposelessness and alienation are accompanied by isolation from what was formerly a common ideological struggle. The struggle has become individual and is now fought against unknown opponents: refugee organisations and the policy which governs them. In the country of exile, in this phase of individual struggle, the refugee might come into the Western European health system. This happens following the expression of a symptom. The refugee gives voice to pain or shows behaviour which brings about a referral to medical or, less frequently, psychological treatment.

Contact and alliance

In order for the contact between therapist and refugee to develop into a reliable working alliance, the therapist must at an early stage be conscious of the respect and distrust which the treatment may elicit.

Clients must approve of their therapist. Very often the refugees regard psychological or psychiatric treatment with suspicion and emphasise that they are not psychiatrically ill. They feel discrimination in being referred for psychotherapeutic treatment. In their home country, they would not be people who underwent psychiatric treatment as this was reserved for the insane.

The situation is particularly complex when communication between therapists and clients is mediated by interpreters. It is critical for clients to come to trust their interpreters and accept them as participants in the therapy. At first, clients may feel threatened by their interpreters for both political and private reasons. Why are the interpreters in this country of exile? Do they belong to the same exile groups and participate in group activities as the client? Will client anonymity be respected? Client fears on all these issues in respect of their interpreters must be allayed and final approval given before any treatment can begin.

After giving approval to interpreters and therapists, the working alliance will often be marked by continuous mistrust and hopelessness. Therapists encouraging discussion of ideological consciousness can reduce this by inviting refugees to explain the aims of those in power, to whom they were opposed, and why they used torture, bringing the client to the point of understanding the intention to cause private pain to the extent that the ideological opponent becomes politically impotent.

Reframing experience

To place the torture and its sequels into a meaningful context in such a way may, for the refugee who is ideologically conscious, be more relevant than employing a conventional psychotherapeutic approach. For refugees who have individualised their pain, this perspective may be the first step in the process of de-individualisation by reframing their experience.

Using information about the aims and methods of torture, in the light of experience in general psychosomatic treatment from a biopsychosocial approach, the therapist reframes the symptoms by placing them into a new context: pain in the head or in the stomach might be reframed to become pain in the family life or in refugee life. Initiation of this reframing process implies that the psychotherapeutic process has begun. It becomes meaningful for clients to understand symptoms in new contexts even if the symptoms persist. On the other hand, it is meaningless for refugees to hear that the pain has no organic reason, or that it has an organic name, if this does not have any treatment consequences.

When contact, alliance and the reframing processes have been established, it may be time for the refugee to bear testimony.

Testimonies in Chile

During the 1970s, the use of testimony as a therapeutic tool was developed in Chile in the underground work carried out to help the victims of the military dictatorship⁹. In this work psychologists were, at the risk of their own lives, collecting testimonies from former prisoners who had been submitted to torture. These testimonies were drawn up by the therapist and the ex-prisoner together and form part of the evidence which the underground movement was collecting of the regime's repressive techniques. The drawing up of a complete and precise testimony became a therapeutic process for ex-prisoners, as by this, they were able to relate to their pain in a new way. They could see the universal in pain which had been experienced as personal encroachment. The bearing of the testimony became a cathartic process in which the common goal acted as a means of re-establishing the connection to reality. The collection of testimonies was also a research process for therapists who continuously learned more about the regime's methods against its opponents.

The testimony

In the testimony-method of therapy in Denmark, refugees give an account of their experiences. The account is written down and possibly supplemented by drawings of places and situations. Therapists and interpreters are there as witnesses to and promoters of the testimony. Witness by interpreters can be of great importance as they often come from the land of origin of the refugees. Giving testimony before a compatriot may be of especial reparative value as the interpreter, unlike the western therapist, may empathise with the trauma experienced in the common land of origin.

Testimonies are preceded with a short presentation on personal background. The testimony itself begins with

an account of events shortly before the first experienced trauma. If the client finds it important for a better understanding of the testimony to cover a longer period, then this is respected.

Testators go on to give a detailed account of physical and psychological torture, comparable to the precise descriptions of Amnesty International's reports. Names, dates, hours and places are all carefully written down. These are changed at a later time if the refugee wishes to remain anonymous. The cognitive lead in the testimony is the account of events as they happened. If the emotions are not spontaneously expressed during the account, the therapist intervenes and tries to contact the emotional level of the refugee's experiences. When working psychotherapeutically at the emotional level, the refugee is aided in the expression of, for example, sorrow and anger. As arranged, parts of this can be included in the testimony with the refugee's own choice of words. In this way, therapeutic testimony differs from similar accounts given outside the therapy.

This form of therapy may appear to resemble crisis intervention: trauma is put into words again and again. At the beginning of each session the final part of the account given at the previous session is read aloud. When the testimony is finished the refugee and the therapist go through the written account together. This can, for example, be done by the therapist reading the rough draft aloud with the possibility of correcting errors. By doing this refugees hear their account given by another voice and become, in a new way, witnesses to their own testimony. When the rough draft has been typed, the refugee might be able to read the testimony aloud, even though it is in bad Danish. In this way the account is again taken in, but in yet another way: it is now an account which has an independent identity. The testimony has become a piece of written material which can be passed on to others and used by them. This last, often emotionally-loaded, reading by the refugee may constitute an important part of the psychotherapeutic process.

At last the testimonies are approved by their authors, and maybe signed. It is stressed by the therapist that the documents belong to the refugees and that it is theirs to use as they wish.

The recording of traumatic experiences in this way, in a typed document, has a positive symbolic value: the pain is made visible and is externalised. Here, in some cases, the process may stop.

A further step in the process of deprivatising might be that the refugee, in agreement with the therapist, uses the document in the struggle of the exiled group against those in power in the home country. This might be through the press or through international organisations, or for other kinds of informative or educational work. The document might also be used in the education of professionals who, by learning about this method, are able to help other refugees.

Testimonies: indications and limitations

It seems, from the sparse experience of using the testimony-method in therapy, that it has the greatest chance of

success if refugees have maintained an ideological commitment. They have not entirely broken down but feel that their symptoms prevent them from continuing their struggle. They feel ill and give themselves up to private pain.

Bettleheim¹⁰, in his report on being a prisoner in a concentration camp, observed:

To observe and try to make sense of what I saw was a device that spontaneously suggested itself to me as a way of convincing myself that my life was still of some value, that I had not lost all the interests that once gave me self respect. (p. 105)

In the concentration camp, he was consciously reframing his traumatic experiences with the aim of keeping his former identity. His written account can be read as an elaborate testimony in which pain is conceptualised in a theoretical and political frame of reference. Artistic expression can also be used by victims of trauma, to reframe the private pain and move it out of the self.¹¹

In the case of refugees who have entirely given up commitment to their goal in life, the therapist might start by making contact with their former selves through their previous ideological commitment. The American psychoanalyst Lindy¹² has worked with victims of traumatic stress, mostly Vietnam veterans, who now perceive the horrors of the Vietnam war as meaningless. In his work, he tries to create a new meaning of the experiences of war by connecting them to a desire in the client to help other victims of traumatic stress.

As a rule, working with political refugees is not that difficult: it can still be experienced as meaningful to be opposed to a totalitarian regime, especially if the refugee is connected to the exiled group. The loss of meaningfulness might be manifested as a desire to be isolated from fellow country-men. An important step in the process of de-privatising is then the re-establishment of contact with the exiled group. This contact may also aid the refugee to overcome survivor-guilt¹³: guilt feelings of having survived while others have died or have been left in the home country. In this context, testimony, as an offensive instrument, may be given as a way of overcoming this guilt which is frequently apparent in refugees. With refugees who have been through a long and traumatic flight, with stays in several intermediary countries, it has also been beneficial to use the testimony-method. In this case the refugee will wish to bear testimony to the many happenings and encroachments during the flight.

It is a challenge for the therapist to maintain the therapeutic process. Sometimes the political talk must be limited and the therapy must be accentuated by maintaining the personal account: talking in the first person and including the emotional level.

The refugees might try to take an heroic attitude towards themselves, the therapist and the interpreter. The deep humiliation of having betrayed comrades or family during torture must be reframed by the therapist as understandable and natural behaviour which was elicited by those in power as part of the strategy of breaking down the prisoner's identity.

The therapist must pay attention to the fact that the

testimony as documentation might also become the victim of the torture strategy: the mistrust, which was one of the aims of those in power, might also arise in the reader of the document. Is it really true? Has it been proved? In this respect, therapists play an important role. By their assistance in the creation of a testimony which is as precise as possible, employing therapeutic sensitivity for clarification of the inexact, they assist in maintaining credibility.

Thus therapists will know that they have witnessed a true account. The strengthening of the ideological commitment of the refugee may thereby also be followed by an equal process in both therapists and the interpreters. It is the choice of the therapists themselves if they want their pain to be private or if they share it with supervisors or colleagues. Maybe they will choose to join the struggle against the injustice and evil which they have witnessed.

Conclusion

Traumatised refugees should be met and understood with a transcultural approach to therapy. Treatment should aim to meet the refugee in the symptom with the simultaneous incorporation of biological, psychological and social perspectives.

When contact, alliance and a reframing of the problems have been achieved, therapy can continue according to general psychotherapeutic principles which might include employing the testimony-method.

We take as our point of departure that most of the traumatised refugees we meet are individuals with an ideological consciousness who now find themselves in need of treatment because of their political commitment – and what has followed from this commitment. Thus, traumatised refugees are not only victims of the torturers. Their pain is a consequence of an ideological struggle, and this implies that the ideological consciousness must be respected and seen as a resource in treatment. By naming the ideological consciousness and taking it as an element in therapy we differ from the approach of the RCT¹⁴.

We work on the basis of a respect for the resistance, and this implies that we do not see the resistance of the

traumatised refugee as an attempt to counteract treatment. The resistance is here, as in therapy in general, the clients' best way of looking after themselves right now. Resistance also contains the resources which enabled the refugee to survive until now. We oppose the approach of the RCT where the resistance is something which must be broken down after which it is said that the treatment is amazingly easy¹⁴ (p. 141). We find that this method can cause unnecessary revival of situations in which similar break-downs were wanted.

We find, contrary to the RCT, that traumatised refugees should be offered help as soon as possible. This should preferably be in the pre-asylum phase. From a professional viewpoint we find it irresponsible to leave severely stressed refugees in the uncertainty of the refugee camps for many months without offering any help. This long delay, due to the refugee policies of the country of exile, may lead to an aggravation of the condition, thereby complicating treatment.

We stress the need for supervision of therapists by someone outside their institution. Therapists must absorb the material of the traumatised refugees and need therefore to take care of themselves. A disrespect for the need of therapist supervision may have serious consequences for the environment in institutions which treat refugees.¹⁵

From our viewpoint the commitment and the ideology of the therapist is a necessary precondition for successful treatment. It is absurd to maintain a neutral attitude while listening to accounts of torture. As therapists, we might fear that if we are not neutral then we are seduced. We find that it is possible to have an active attitude towards the struggle against injustice within professional conduct. In practice this can be done in connection with the refugees' applications for asylum to which therapists can give support by drawing up certificates. Many therapists decline to assist because they fear that the refugee is simulating in order to be granted asylum. We find this situation little different from being asked to sign other certificates that have social consequences, for example, certificates for invalidity pension.

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Today there is a need to expand the treatment possibilities for the relatively large group of traumatised refugees who are in the country. In order to bring this about therapists need to gain greater knowledge about traumatised refugees and their therapeutic needs. This implies an expansion of the present educational and supervisory possibilities in combination with increased research in this area.

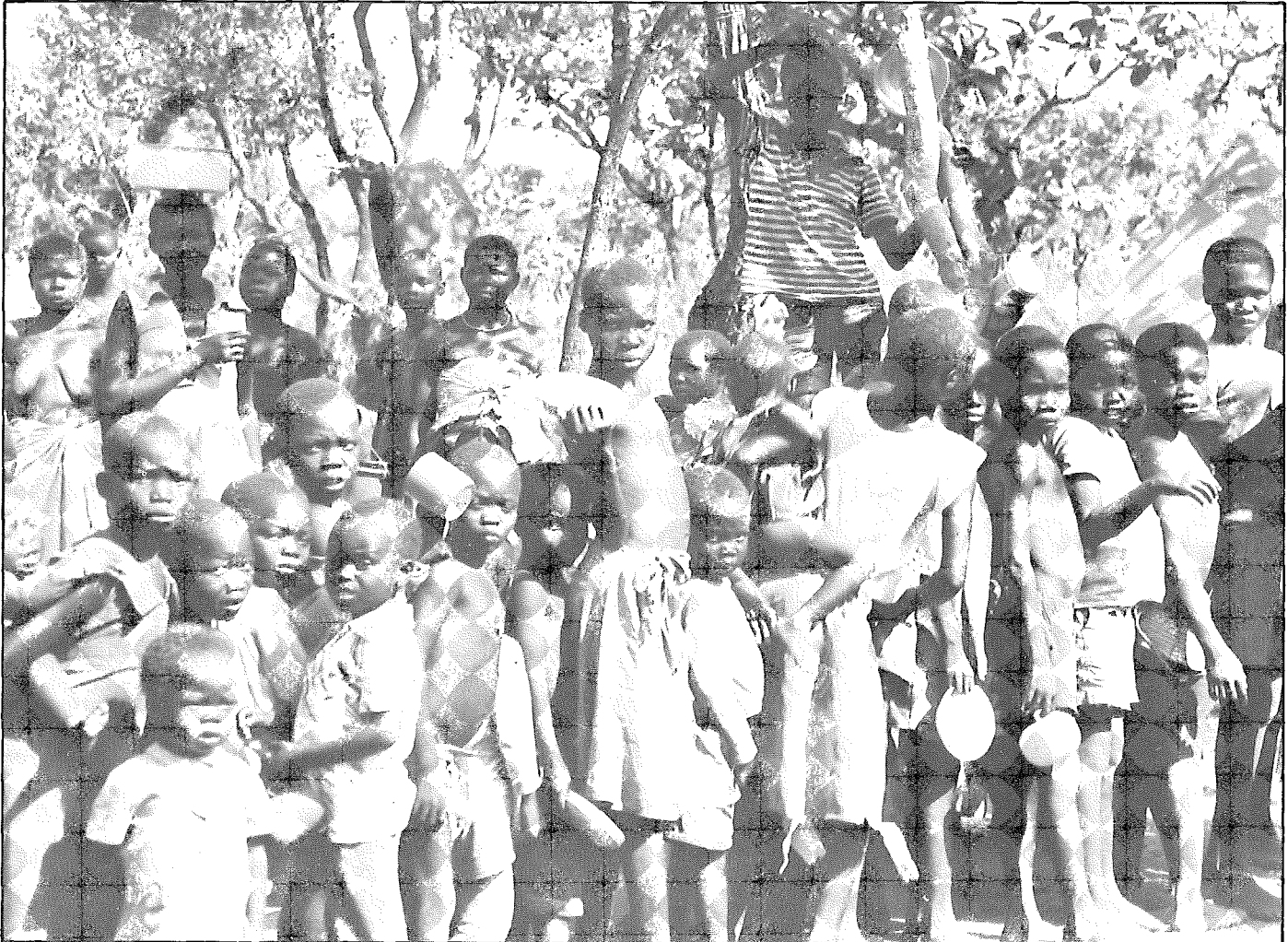
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WORKING WITH REFUGEES: SOME EXPERIENCES FROM TANZANIA

By C.K. Omari*



Introduction and Context

This paper contains some notes and reflections on working with refugees in Tanzania as both Student Work Secretary and Chairman of the National Council of Social Welfare.

Although refugee problems are an international concern (Brooks 1970, Newland 1981), each country has its own laws and regulations concerning refugees. Sometimes these laws and regulations work against, as well as for, the refugees. At the same time, there are general and international laws that govern refugee status which are accepted by nations and states, in varying degrees. Finally, there are international organisations and non-governmental organisations which help refugees in one way or another. These elements provide a complex environment, within which individual social workers are engaged in refugee assistance. These elements condition many of the requirements for, and professional tasks of, social workers.

Refugees comprise one category of migrant populations. They move across borders, either noticed or unnoticed. In Africa, where national boundaries are quite recently established, people crossing from one country to another create more difficulties now than during pre-colonial times, before the creation of modern frontiers. Then,

movement was flexible, without the current international restrictions. Now such movements give rise to social problems when extended families are split by a frontier and political strife or economic stress cause some members to become refugees. The effects of refugee migration on the overall family are thus rather severe, compared with the effects of traditional migration patterns. This is because of the new boundaries and the complex legal definitions of national status.

Another contextual factor is that refugee population movements have two crucial effects, each of which is important to the subsequent discussion. Out-migration depletes and reduces the population in the country of origin and, in the long run it can reduce the potential for manpower development in both the rural and the urban sectors. Within host countries refugees may often become a cause of enmity and conflict: there are potential problems in diplomatic relations with the country of origin; there may be problems in providing security for the refugees; there are substantial pressures on host country resources, infrastructure and welfare programmes. These factors, although well-known, provide another dimension to the social worker's contribution to refugee assistance.

Social Services to the refugees

These contextual elements clearly give rise to the difficulties in providing adequate and appropriate social services to refugees. Refugees as displaced people, individually, or as family units, can be classed in several groups, each one of which has special social work requirements.

One category includes those who establish and settle themselves in the country of first asylum. In Tanzania, for example, there are refugees from Burundi and Rwanda who, although they are still thinking of returning to their respective countries, are ready to stay and establish themselves in Tanzania. Under the tripartite agreement (Gasarasi, 1984) they have been given land to cultivate and have been engaged in various development projects. These settlements have been growing steadily and most have become self-sufficient in food production. In 1983/84 in Lyankulu, refugees produced sufficient maize for themselves with a surplus to sell to the local cooperative. It has been the policy of the Tanzanian government to allow refugees to have sufficient land to cultivate. This kind of policy has helped, not only the government of Tanzania, but other agencies dealing with refugee matters. Government and non-government organisations have been able to concentrate on social services, other than food supply and distribution, which is often a major burden. In general, the social care requirements, too, are less onerous.

A second group of refugees, who are temporary and transitional, can be divided into three sub-groups. First, there are student refugees. For this group social development programmes should assist refugees to prepare for different courses and training for jobs when they return to their respective countries. These courses may lead to diplomas or certificates, such as those given by, for example, the Mozambique Institute, the forerunner of the Dar es Salaam Foreign Service Centre. Young people who were trained at the institute are now holding key posts in independent Mozambique.

Second, there are urban refugees. These people are neither students nor liberation movement activists. They do not wish to live and become self-reliant in rural areas which is a reflection of their upbringing and of their expectations. In many instances, these people become impoverished because of the high cost of living in urban areas. Most sources of income support to them are non-governmental agencies and organisations but in many cases these organisations and agencies, dependent as they are on international community assistance, may not be authorised to meet the demands and needs of urban refugees. Urban refugees are highly mobile, quite different from those in the settlements or camps. As a result, social service provision must allow for this. However it is not easy to institute durable development programmes, like those in rural areas, for example, the development of training centres in small industries and crafts to promote skill development. With a mobile client group, there is limited scope for sustained assistance.

Third, are the upper echelon among the leadership of the liberation movements. They stay normally in urban areas, although some may also be rural-based. Our experience during the Mozambique and Zimbabwe struggles

showed that this group of refugees belongs to the potential leaders of the independent nations.

Identifying these groups and sub-groups of refugees helps us to devise social services to meet their different needs, aspirations and expectations. Until recently, the social services have adopted a remedial approach to refugee welfare aid aimed to meet material, rather than developmental, needs. The emphasis has been on clothing, money and medical assistance. During the 1960s and 1970s Tanzania was also assisting liberation struggle with material support, and this was seen as a necessary addition to humanitarian aid.

Towards a developmental approach to the social services for the refugees

1) General view

Refugees are a displaced people. They have aspirations, expectations, ups and downs, emotions, immediate and long-term needs. In brief, they have their own economic, cultural, and political problems. Understanding the root causes of these problems is one step towards helping social services to help the refugees better. The other major requirement for effective service provision is to prepare refugees to face their situation both current and future in as well-adjusted manner as possible. Most refugees will not remain in host countries forever and their country of adoption must be seen as a training place for a future elsewhere, as well as a temporary home for the present. Social service support must therefore aim to help refugees to live a fulfilling life in the context of uncertainty about their present and future situations.

A social development approach to the delivery of social services to refugees may be more appropriate in helping them overcome their difficulties. This differs considerably from the remedial approach:

- i) It aims at providing skills and knowledge for present and future life;
- ii) It aims at making the refugees more self-reliant;
- iii) It aims at educating the hosts about the refugee problems in international contexts.

For example, when in the 1960s and 1970s Tanzania assisted refugees from Southern Africa, especially those from Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Angola, it was influenced by more than normal humanitarian needs. It was an expression of political commitment, as well as a programme for personal development which led to the development of the Mozambique Institute. Almost all who trained there have since gone back to Mozambique; those who decided to remain are treated equally as Tanzanian citizens. Those who returned, have used educational experience at the institute to face the developmental needs and problems of their country. They may not have obtained an academic education and training, but they had acquired some skills which were very much needed in the newly independent Mozambique. Refugees from Zimbabwe were rather different. Most had high educational qualifications and expected government positions when independence was achieved in their country. In this situation, Tanzania gave them the opportunity to prepare themselves adequately for this.



Another example of how to prepare the refugees for their future is the development of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Mazimbu. The uprising of Soweto in 1976 left many young people with unfinished education. Several thousands fled the inhuman situation in South Africa. When they came to Tanzania they could not be intergrated into the national educational system. So in 1977, in order to meet the educational needs, the ANC began the construction of the college with the collaboration and support of the government of Tanzania and OAU Liberation Committee. The government of Tanzania gave land and other material support. Now many young men and women are trained in this college for future roles in their home country. The current refugees from Burundi and Rwanda have been given status as guest-citizens and have opportunities to develop skills in Tanzania, if they decide eventually to return to their countries. The provision of such training, to meet the needs of all groups of refugees, is what I term social service preparedness. In addition to access to land, refugees are given the opportunity to learn skills which will be an asset for their future development and participation in their respective countries.

2) Durable Solutions

To work with refugees requires vision while utilising current opportunities. Refugees are displaced people, and wherever they settle, their experience of being travellers with few belongings and staying in temporary places will continue to haunt them. Their experiences in their places of origin always become part and parcel of their existence in their new abodes.

How, in this situation, can one conceive and initiate durable solutions among the refugees? Since the aim of this paper has been briefly to share with readers Tanza-

nia's experience with displaced people, I now give an example of one particular refugee population in Tanzania.

In the early 1970s, to the far west, in Katumba, Ulyankulu and later in Mishamo, some 150,000 Burundi were living under a tripartite agreement between the government of Tanzania, The United Nations High Commission for Refugees and the Tanzania Christian Refugee Service. As a consequence much has been done, together with their own efforts, to improve the general well-being of the settlers, to develop local infrastructure, including health-care facilities and schooling.

Education, however, has been a major problem for the children of these refugee families. Like Tanzanians, most of the children receive primary education within their own locality. Such a level of education is not enough to meet the demands these children will face. Since only 5 per cent of indigenous primary school leavers are successful in gaining entrance into the extremely restricted secondary education stream, the chances for refugee children are at best slim. To compensate, the government of Tanzania has initiated a programme in which all primary school leavers will attend technical centres and receive intermediate skills training in subjects such as agriculture, metal work, carpentry and joinery, masonry and brick-laying, tailoring and mechanics. It is hoped that graduates from these technical centres will be gainfully employed, either at a village level or within the urban informal sector.

The aim has been for refugees to be encircled in the same general policy and, after training, for refugee youths to become integrated into the labour force of their local village, settlement or district. It is hoped that the training will serve to reduce rural-urban migration.

From Katumba and Mishamo alone, in 1984, there were some 3,000 primary school leavers. Each one was expected to compete in the secondary school entrance examination procedure, but very few gained acceptance into secondary education. To overcome this problem technical centres were established at both Katumba and Mishamo. These centres offered some 192 places and resulted in 96 refugee students graduating in 1987 and being deemed fit to enter into the community with skills and knowledge necessary to help push the wheel of village development.

Refugee youths are highly motivated to obtain technical skills and vocational training. This is perhaps because they can see no other way of advancing themselves except educationally at such centres.

A random survey carried out in 1983/84 among 140 seventh-grade students of Ulyankulu settlement, revealed that 60 per cent of the students interviewed desired to attend vocational training centres of this kind, to study agriculture, metal work, homecrafts, mechanics, carpentry and typing. A further 20 per cent of those interviewed expressed a desire to pursue their schooling through secondary education and the remaining 20 per cent confirmed their wish to join their parents in farming. Education therefore can be seen to assume great significance amongst longer-term refugee populations and provides an important component of a developmental approach to

social care. Imparting knowledge and skills to refugee youths is a way of firstly, integrating them into the larger community where they will serve and act as part of the productive labour force, and secondly, of preparing them for their future as active members of their country of adoption. This in turn affords them an all important sense of direction and purpose.

3) Self-reliance

The above strategy aims to encourage the refugees to become self-reliant and not dependent on relief work and state aid. There are, however, two main obstacles towards achieving this objective. Firstly, many of those working with refugees are in fact trained to provide only short-term immediate relief and not to seek durable solutions. They are not community development officers with skills to develop effective programmes and projects aimed at stimulating settler participation. Secondly, refugees very often regard themselves as people in transition, an attitude not at all conducive to participation in long-term development projects.

Motivating people to take an active role in their own future requires a long-term strategy and great efforts to build up the confidence of the people themselves. From starting up a refugee camp or settlement, it is long way to that centre becoming a self-reliant and viable socio-economic unit. Encouraging refugees to take an active role may not be easy but participation remains one of the most effective means for them to overcome the disorientation, disillusionment and displacement which all too often affect the victims of forced and traumatic migration from areas of conflict.

With insight, active involvement can be seen as the key to creating this sense of direction so that refugees begin to see themselves as people who can contribute, not only to the development of their 'new society', but also towards building sustainable conditions for future generations.

In Tanzania, this need for an emphasis on work to motivate refugees has long been recognised, and the initial steps towards developing such methods have been taken in the Ulyankulu settlement. For example, refugees are not only involved in their own agricultural activities, but also in the construction of housing, schools and dispensaries. In view of the current national policy with its leaning towards self-reliance at the community level and taking into consideration the present economic climate both locally and internationally, it must be said that the above strategy portends a positive future.

In spite of the range of factors which beset refugees and development officers at the settlements of Katumba, Mishamo and Ulyankulu, there is evidence to suggest that a policy of working towards self-reliant community integration will prove a durable solution for a once transitional people.

4) Counselling

Many refugees have been uprooted from their material and cultural base. Although they are in an African country, these differences are always there. Emotional attach-

ment to their family and their social network combined with their experiences of conflict and flight are all problems for those working with refugees in the host country. Efforts to meet material and emotional expectations among the refugees, however, will meet varying responses and depend on the social conditions of the country in which they have settled temporarily.

It is in this context that there is a great need for counselling centres for refugees. The aim of such a service should be to help overcome the emotional problems so that refugees can live a reasonably adjusted life and be ready to face the future. It is impossible to replace former village and family life, but it is important that resources are provided and that those in distress are not left to struggle alone in the midst of their turmoil. They may need someone to talk to, someone who can listen to them and understand their situation.

In Tanzania there are counselling centres for refugees. One centre is run by the Christian Council of Tanzania, in collaboration with UNHCR. The Catholic Relief Service and Tanganyika Christian Refugees Services also have counselling programmes. The Christian Council of Tanzania established a special office for this service as long ago as the 1960s. All counselling services are, however, inadequate due to insufficient manpower.

Single or dual services

The other fundamental problem affecting the existence of refugees is the nature of their settlement. Normally, refugees are established in camps or settlement villages. These geographical identities, separate them from the local population. As a result, even their social services are separate.

The question always asked is whether the social services in these camps and settlements should be the same as those offered to the local people or better. In the case of counselling, it could be argued that it is very important to separate refugees from the local population because their problems are so different. The social problems facing urban people, such as housing and transport may be the same, but I would suggest that refugees be treated separately. Further experience with refugees in camps and temporary dwellings, suggests rather different social services for the refugees should be provided than for the local people. This may be contentious.

In the case of counselling a distinction should also be maintained. Social and emotional problems resulting from the uprootedness of the refugees' community from its original home, will need special attention. Once established in places like Ulyankulu and Katumba settlements in Tanzania, counselling should be flexible to meet needs as they arise at the local level. For example, when the Christian Council of Tanzania established a counselling office in the 1960's, it recognized this dilemma and aimed to achieve an efficient flexible service. Since the majority of the refugees and students were in towns, the type of counselling was related to the nature of their needs and aspirations which were different from those in the camp or rural settlement.

For those who are in a permanent settlement like the



Lyankulu Settlement Scheme, the quality of life has paradoxically surpassed that of the local people in some respects, for example, in self-reliance. The self-reliance approach among the refugees has helped them develop their own social services. Refugees at this settlement have been able to produce sufficient food for themselves and sell the surplus to the local cooperative while the local people are not self-sufficient at this level. External support given to refugees by social service departments enhances their social development. Those who will eventually remain in Tanzania will be integrated in the local population and become part of Tanzania's population. We have already seen that the second generation of refugees in Tanzania fit well into the local population and have equal educational and health opportunities, human rights and access to land.

The encouragement of self-reliance given by social services means that many of the activities are done by the people themselves. They do not have to wait until the government or an external agency come to build, for example a classroom, a dispensary, or to dig a trench for a water pipe. Furthermore, such orientation is within national policy which emphasises self-reliance in any social development process.

Awareness Building

Awareness building involves educational and information dissemination. It is a long process which may take some time before the real fruits are witnessed. There is a need to raise awareness amongst the refugees and amongst the host community about what it means to be a refugee. It has to be emphasised that it is a dehumanising process to become a refugee, especially without a future. With such awareness both the refugee and non-refugee populations can better appreciate the difficulties.

One way of awareness building among refugees and in the community in general, is through the establishment of a newsletter. This should be in simple language and present various issues of importance to refugees and to the community concerned. Contributions to the newsletter can be made by the refugees themselves or by contributors from the local population.

Another way to raise awareness is through radio, television or video.

Conclusion

These brief descriptions and analyses, based on professional experiences, do not represent the views of the government of Tanzania or any agency. Rather the inter-

pretation is based on reflections over a considerable time.

There are problems not covered. The particular problem of health and welfare for the freedom fighters is one. People who spend much time fighting for their liberation face many risks both immediately and in the later stages of their lives. Even for those who stay in urban areas, the emotion and stress which they have to undergo in their daily lives may affect their health adversely. How to devise an adequate and appropriate social service for such people is a problem. My own experience is that we do not have satisfactory social services for such people, although some NGOs and governments are involved in the provision of some services to them.

Another area left untouched is the problem of community participation in refugee situations. This needs re-evaluation. Many of the world's communities participate in the provision of the material needs and relief work, but part of what I call social development model in social services provision to refugees must be to address the root causes of refugee crises; it is these that dehumanise people.

Finally, whenever refugee problems arise, there are two distinct groups which are most affected: these are women and children (e.g. Simonds et al (eds) 1983). It is imperative that in any social service provided to refugees, these two population groups most at risk must get priority, not as a favour, but because they are the main sufferers. These groups of refugees require more research in order to unveil more details of their social problems and how they may be addressed.

Note

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CREDITS

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REVIEWS

Population

In 1987, a conference on Population and Development in the Sudan included papers on planning, health and family welfare and population mobility. We provide annotated references to two on migration that may be of interest to readers:

Hassom, Abdin (1988):

'The Refugee Population: policy implications and future development', in Atif A. Saghayroun et al (eds) *Population and Development in the Sudan: The quest for national policy, Proceedings of the third population conference, Khartoum, October 1987. Sudan National Population Committee, pp 177-183.*

Sudan has borders with eight countries and hosts refugees from nearly all of them. This short paper discusses briefly the national government's position in relation to voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement to third countries. Lamenting the lack of research, it refers to some of the ways in which refugees affect domestic economy and suggests directions for future policy.

Hamed, Ahmed Mohammed & Ahmed, Samira Amin
L'External Migration: Causes and consequences in the Sudan', Population and Development in the Sudan: The quest for national policy, Proceedings of the third national population conference, October 1987, Khartoum. Sudan National Population Committee, pp 165-175.

Out-migration from the Sudan has important repercussions for the nation's economic and social structure. This paper discusses changes in migration rates and selectivity and their impact on the Sudan. It does not refer to links between the emigration of Sudanese and in-migration of refugees. Researchers may find it useful in tracing the chain between positively selective out-migration and involuntary in-migration in the international division of labour.
Contact: Atif Saghayroun, NPC National Research Council, Khartoum, Sudan for information about regional meetings on the NPC recommendations being held this year.

Powerlessness

Gersony, Robert (1988)

Summary of Mozambican Refugee Accounts of Principally Conflict-Related Experience in Mozambique, Bureau for refugee programs, Department of State, Washington DC. p 26.

Knight, Derrick (1988)

Mozambique: caught in the trap, Christian Aid, pp 72.

Each of these publications stresses the apparent senselessness of MNR/RENAMO banditry to the Mozambican people. Gersony constructs Mozambican daily existence under both RENAMO and then, FRELIMO control, using the testimony of refugees who have escaped.

His method represents a new approach in US government sponsored research into refugee affairs. The Christian Aid book is a comprehensive account of the development of political conflict in Mozambique and of the MNR/RENAMO atrocities against the people. It produces a case study of devastation in the province of Zambesia and traces MNR/RENAMO links with South Africa and its policies to destabilise the frontline states.

Feith, David (1988)

Stalemate: Refugees in Asia, Asian Bureau, 173 Royal Parade, Parkville, Victoria 3052, Australia. pp 92.

After surveying the main groups of refugee groups in Asia (Afghans, Vietnamese, Kampuchean, Laohans and Sri Lankans) and their background, the book reviews international responses to the Asian refugee crisis. It goes on to appraise the possibilities of repatriation, remaining in country of first asylum and resettling in a third country. The fifth chapter discusses a fourth outcome: long term residence in a refugee camp.

Women

Martin Forbes, Susan and Copeland, Emily (1988)

Making Ends Meet? Refugee Women and Income Generation. A study by the Refugee Policy Group. Obtainable from the Centre for Policy Analysis and Research on Refugee Issues, 1424 16th Street, NW, Washington D.C. 20036, USA. Price \$7.50

This report looks at income generating projects aimed at refugee women in Sudan, Pakistan and Costa Rica. The case studies provide the basis for generalisations about the factors that are associated with success, of at least a minimal nature, and with failure. Projects are evaluated for their effectiveness in making women self-supporting. In this respect the majority are found wanting since they could not be sustained over any long periods of time without subsidy and usually added only small amounts to income. Both economic and legal barriers existed that made it difficult for ventures to succeed without continued outside inputs in terms of funding and management assistance. These include the poverty of regions within which refugees were located, a high unemployment rate in general, restrictions on access to work permits or to markets, absence of essential materials for crafts or high local prices for such materials, and low demand due to the general poverty. Legal restrictions made it difficult to obtain licenses, acquire the use of land or buildings, obtain travel documents that made it possible to visit markets, and further restrictions were placed on the export of refugee made crafts.

None of the projects appear to have been locally initiated by the women involved. The evaluators conclude that if projects are to be successful, refugee women need to be consulted at an early stage to assess feasibility, given the restrictions placed upon their independent action. Those involved in planning need to have an understanding of local conditions and be prepared to build up trust in the community at large, if they wish to reach the women. The writers recommend that income-generating projects should focus on improving income rather than on

compensating for the absence of various social services. Projects should be aimed at households rather than at individuals. Staff in programmes to improve incomes, whether or not the programme is focussed on women, should receive training to alert them to the opportunities offered if women become important targets of their efforts. Techniques of involving women in such projects should also be taught.

The evaluators failed to report the starting dates of some of the projects included in the study. This is crucial information and should be included in all evaluations.

Porteus, Kimberley; Botzow, Jennifer; Stein, Joshua:
A Field Project on the 'Effectiveness of Women's Clubs as a Vehicle for Adult Education and Economic Development: UNHCR Ugandan Settlements, Ibuga Settlement Case Study, March-May 1987. Dartmouth: Dartmouth College, Dickey Endowment

(See section on Solidarity Among Women.)

Education

Preston, R.A. (1988)
Educational Needs of West Irian Refugees in the East Relocation Site in Papua New Guinea, Educational Research Unit, Port Moresby, pp 101.

A plan for educational development that derives from meetings and research among refugees in holding camps. It assumes that refugees are the principal activists in promoting education at all levels and that they take major administrative responsibility for the system that emerges.

Research

Outhwaite, Wilhelm (1988) (ed.)
The Sociology of Involuntary Migration, Current Sociology: Trend Report. International Sociological Association.

A collection of sociological research papers on forced migration and refugees. Case studies include: Africa, Pakistan, Central America and Palestinians.

Anderson, Mary B.; Woodrow, Peter J.
An Approach to Integrating Development and Relief Programming: and Analytical Framework. International Relief/Development Project, Graduate School of Education, University of Harvard.

A short paper describing a framework of ideas to help NGOs design and evaluate relief projects. It is based on concepts of vulnerability and capacity in relation to physical and material resources, social and organisational issues and motivational and attitudinal issues. It categorises these in terms of gender, level within a national system, change over time, and interactions between sectors.

Eritrea: Food and Agricultural Production Assessment Study. Agricultural and Rural Development Unit, Centre of Development Studies, University of Leeds.

This study was carried out within a short span of time between June and October 1987. It involved the collecting of summaries of the overall food and agriculture situation of whole villages compiled by cadres of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) and Eritrean Relief Association (ERA), with the help of local influentials, it gives an average and aggregate picture of the whole community, rather than the more detailed view that would be gained from household surveys. However, it more than makes up for this seemingly cursory picture by the extent of the coverage. This extensive approach to generating basic data was necessary as no statistics existed on the most fundamental parameters, like population, food production and peasant economies in general.

The report describes the development of agriculture in Eritrea and the implications of its high vulnerability to drought for projected food and requirements for the local farming population and some 20,000 displaced people and 10,000 Ethiopian prisoners of war. In particular, it discusses the political constraints to effective distribution of aid when it reaches Eritrea.

Clark, Lance (1986)
Early Warning Case Study: The 1984-85 Influx of Tigrayans into Eastern Sudan. Working Paper 2, Refugee Policy Group. Obtainable from Centre for Policy Analysis and Research on Refugee Issues, 1425 16th Street, NW, Washington D.C. 20036, USA.

The body of the report is a case study of a particular situation, but the final section is of more general interest. It assesses the predictive value of various indicators that signal the probability of massive population movements and discusses the constraints associated with their interpretation and use in planning. The constraints on interpretation include incorrect generalisations based on previous experience and the failure of field observers to state clearly what they fear. For instance, 'Often such information was buried in the midst of other data, and was not accompanied by recommendations of the kinds of action steps which would reinforce a sense of importance and urgency.'

The report is of immediate interest to those working in the Horn of Africa, but is also relevant to the development and interpretation of early warning systems elsewhere.

Reference

Showak Handbook 1988/89 (1988)
Produced by the Refugee Settlement Administration, Showak, and printed at the Printing Centre, Khartoum, Sudan.

This handbook attempts to compile information on all operations carried out by the Refugee Settlement Administration. It is an invaluable source of information on administration, settlement camps, their services, their setting. It details information on education, water supplies, income-generating activities, transport, etc. for each camp. The intention is to review and update the handbook annually.

The handbook provides a useful model for systematising information on settlements and services that could be used elsewhere. Such handbooks would be a boon for new employees of the administration involved, employees of other agencies, and for others

who need an introduction to the local situation.

Cernea, Michael M. (1988)
Involuntary Resettlement in Development Projects: Policy Guidelines in World Bank-Financed Projects. World Bank Technical Paper No. 80, The World Bank, 1818 H Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20433, USA.

Since involuntary resettlement of refugees from exposed border areas is a common phenomenon, members of the Network will be interested in the guidelines for addressing the social and economic problems of forced relocation circulated by the World Bank to encourage discussion and comment. The body of the report examines policy and operational implications of relocation. Annex 1 contains a technical checklist for preparing and appraising resettlement plans, Annex 2 contains guidelines for analysis of the cost/benefit appraisal of alternative resettlement plans, while Annex 3 contains a rather cursory checklist for monitoring and evaluating programmes of forced relocation.

UNDRO (1988):

Provisional list of non-governmental organisations active in the field of Disaster Relief and Habitation in Angola, Geneva.

UNDRO (1988):

Directory of non-governmental organisations in the field of Disaster Relief and Habitation in Mozambique, Geneva.

Other Titles

Abdel Mageed, Fawzi; Ramaga, Philip (1988)

Refugee Law with Particular Reference to the Sudan, Khartoum, Office of the Commissioner for Refugees.

(See Education Section)

Morris, Benny (1987)
The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem 1947-1949. Cambridge University Press, pp. 380.

The book belongs to a number of recent studies on the early history of the State of Israel, by a new generation of Israeli historians and social scientists. This implies a revision of some of the long cherished myths concerning the reasons for the Palestinian exodus

from the territory of the State of Israel in its borders of 1948.

Morris uses Jewish, Israeli, British and American Sources. He offers valuable material, sometimes with a questionable interpretation. The argumentation concerning the Arab side is unsatisfactory, especially those arguments based on the internal social fabric of Palestinian society.

Thomas Zitelmann, of the University of Berlin, has submitted an extended review of Morris's book which may appear shortly in the *Journal of Refugee Studies*. The above is an excerpt of his review.

Bramwell, Anna C., (1988) (ed.)
Refugees in the Age of Total War, Unwin Hyman, pp 359.

The twenty articles in this volume present an analysis of the situations of refugees in Europe and the Middle East that arose as a consequence of two world wars. The series of crises that the writers depict, from Palestine to Poland, diminish contemporary claims that we live in a time of unprecedented refugee problems. On the contrary, one purpose of the book is to provide a frame of reference to assist understanding of today's refugee experiences and their associated political and administrative problems.

Following an introduction by Michael Marrus, the book begins with a paper by Goran Melander on the development of the refugee and an historical survey of 20th century expulsions by Alfred Maurice de Zayas. There follow two first World War case studies from Armenia and the Weimar Republic. Six papers discuss refugees from Germany and Italy and their settlement in the United States and Cuba (Fox, Nichols, Bramwell, Moro, Persson and Roseman). The role of Ukrainian and Polish refugees on post war development in Europe is the subject of papers by Boshyk, Prazmowska, and Sword while three writers address the question of Palestinian refugees and their impact on Middle East development (Morris, Sayigh, and Adelman). The book concludes with a discussion of the implications of bureaucratisation for agency political commitment (Lanphier) and on the role of UNHCR on refugee determination procedures in Belgium (Cels and Loescher).

LETTERS

As mentioned in our previous Newsletters, we welcome any opinions, ideas or suggestions that will improve the RPN and how to meet its objectives: the exchange of experiences and ideas between refugees, researchers and practitioners. We are particularly grateful to George J. Mukkath who put forward many helpful suggestions among which are the following:

The Newsletter should carry experiences which serve as examples of efficiently run programmes and also carry analyses and descriptions of projects that have failed..... As far as possible it would be ideal to maintain a balance on information from each geographical zone....

Although English is widely spoken, he nevertheless fears that the Newsletter might stop with the elite among refugees

....unless encouragement is provided to regional documentation centres to translate the material into local languages.

We would greatly appreciate any suggestions from you as to how we might be able to overcome the difficulty of language.

I think the idea of RPN is great. It facilitates maximum and equitable dissemination of knowledge to all academics and practitioners.

Chan Kwok Bun, Dept Soi 7, University of Singapore. 29 August 1988

Linking research and field work is a good and necessary idea. The layout of the network could be made more attractive. For example the text is too dense for busy field-workers. It is quite hard to find out what is in the Newsletter before deciding what you want to read. Some alternative presentation allowing the reader to glance at headings and select items would be appreciated.

Mark Raper, S.J., Bangkok.

As you see we have now tried to take account of readers' comments. We hope that our new A4 style, type-set articles and greater range of issues will meet with your approval.

NEWS FROM RSP

Since the last Newsletter, RSP has made strides to strengthen its staff, academic programme and publications. In September Anthea Sanyasi joined us with a brief to develop short training courses for people who will be working with refugees in countries of temporary asylum and of long-term settlement. Rosemary Preston will be joining us in the New Year as Senior Research Fellow. She will be undertaking research on educational development for refugees and working closely with Anthea in the course development programme.

Editorial Change

Earlier this year we said farewell to Maknun Gamaledin Ashami, former RPN Manager and Editor of the Newsletter. We would like to thank him for the energy and initiative he put into the first two issues of the Newsletter. His ideas and invaluable contacts will be sadly missed. This issue, No. 3, has been jointly produced by Rosemary Preston and Mary Kilmartin and we are hoping that in the future Mary will become RPN's principal editor.

Academic Programme

The academic year is now beginning. RSP is offering an introductory course on refugee studies, and courses on research methods, the sociology of famine, international relations and understanding international issues. Fellows from different countries are following these courses and undertaking individual studies on refugee issues.

The programme is also initiating research projects that are intended to have direct policy implications. These will evaluate NGO assistance to refugees in Africa, British settlement policies for refugees from South East Asia and refugee educational development in different political contexts. It is expected to involve local researchers in these projects.

Training for Practitioners Working with Refugees

Social and health-care workers, educators, administrators and other categories of helpers involved in refugee assistance programmes are confronted with a series of contextual issues that affect their ability to work effectively, for which they may be wholly unprepared. Support and field staff, including those who are themselves refugees, may not have considered their personal position in respect of the competing interests of government agencies and refugees. They are unaware of the history that has caused the people they help to seek refuge in flight and brought them to their present situation. They do not understand the political constraints that dictate modes of provision of services to refugees, reducing the space for refugee participation and self-determination in servicing themselves. Helpers may fail to work through refugee administrative bodies in camps and other settlements. They may overlook the psycho-social effects of the refugee experience or fail to understand the impact on the host community.

Awareness of how any of these and related issues should be held to account would assist the practitioner to work with refugees in whatever environment.

The Refugee Studies Programme is now discussing ways to develop training programmes to help those assisting refugees to recognise such constraints, develop their knowledge and skills, and to turn them to advantage. Following meetings in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe, delegations from the governments of Zimbabwe and Malawi have visited Oxford to discuss training for helpers.

RSP has recently appointed a staff officer to coordinate training course development and its modification for presentation in different parts of the world. She would welcome comments and suggestions as to how this might be achieved.

Write: Anthea Sanyasi, Refugee Studies Programme, Queen Elizabeth House, 21 St Giles, Oxford OX1 3LA, UK.

For a report on meetings in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, in which issues of refugee research priorities and staff training were raised, contact: Roger Zetter, Refugee Studies Programme, Queen Elizabeth House, 21 St Giles, Oxford OX1 3LA, UK.

Symposia

There have been two major symposia at the RSP over the past few months. The first, in July on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, highlighted the conditions of life for Palestinian refugees within the context of the political aspirations of the Palestinian people. During the conference, debates focussed on factors that had produced the present situation. The proceedings of this meeting will be published in two forms: a summary report and a special issue of the new RSP publication, *Journal of Refugee Studies*.

The second major meeting brought twenty-five visiting researchers from African countries. They came for two purposes: to present papers to the African Studies Association Conference in Cambridge in September, and to hold discussions about the development of refugee studies in their own countries which are hosts to large numbers of refugees. The consultation provided a venue for researchers to meet each other and also academics, publishers, human rights experts and those with expertise in training. It was agreed to establish a Committee for the exchange of information between participants about the directions of refugee studies and to develop an African refugee research network.

Publications

The most significant achievement of 1988 has been the publication of the *Journal of Refugee Studies*. Containing academic articles, field and conference reports, and book reviews, it includes an interview with novelist Nuruddin Farah as the first contribution in a section called 'Refugee Voices'.

The range of articles should attract many readers. An editorial on the effect of labelling on refugee status and an article on philosophical issues implied in the terms refugee and asylum contrast with more empirical writing on South East Asian resettlement in the US and refugee wellbeing in settlement schemes in Tanzania.

Roger Zetter and his team would welcome comments and contributions from all RPN readers.

In addition RSP has produced a second expanded edition of the Research Directory and has sponsored the publication of the following books: Randolph Kent: *Anatomy of Disaster Relief: The International Network in Action*; Richard Lawless and Laila Monahan (eds.): *War and Refugees: The Western Sahara Conflict*; and Anna Bramwell (ed.): *Refugees in the Age of Total War* (see under Reviews). Finally, RSP has remodelled the Network Newsletter in response to readers' comments on the format of the first two issues. Using larger paper, more varied print and some illustrations, we have tried to make it more appealing to its wide readership, without unduly increasing costs.