



Review of CORD
community services for
Congolese refugees
in Tanzania

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Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit

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Summary

This review details the findings of an evaluation of CORD Community Service programmes that took place from 14 June to 17 July 2002 in Nyarugusu and Lugufu camps in Kasulu District, Kigoma Region, Tanzania. The first half of the review is more descriptive in nature. Background information pertinent to the study will outline the context in which CORD operates. In addition, a look at the activities that CORD co-ordinates will detail some of CORD's successes plus reveal the difficulties that have arisen in operationalising Community Services.

Following that, the focus of the review shifts to refugee perceptions of Community Services. Evaluation findings indicate that the majority of refugees expect direct assistance from UNHCR and NGOs making it difficult for CORD to facilitate community initiatives without encountering expectations for handouts. Significant attention was given to a comparison of CORD and UNHCR approaches from the perspective of refugees. The review concludes by analysing the challenges CORD faces in implementing its development approach and offers suggestions for how improvements could be made in assisting Congolese refugees.

Introduction

1. The history of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), a Belgian colony formerly called Zaire, is rife with internal conflict and turmoil. In late 1996 and early 1997, Congolese refugees began arriving in Western Tanzania from the Eastern part of the DRC, also called the Congo, where political instability had led to the overthrow of the Mobutu Seseseko regime by Laurent Desire-Kabila. Nyarugusu camp was established in December 1996 and Lugufu camp was established in February 1997 to accommodate this influx of refugees.
2. Then, in June 1998, the situation in the Congo appeared to be stabilising and a large voluntary repatriation process began, reducing the population of Nyarugusu camp to 28,000 and Lugufu camp to 10,000. However, around this time, wars in Rwanda and Burundi spilled over into the Congo causing further unrest. The renewal of fighting in the DRC led UNHCR to stop facilitating the repatriation of Congolese refugees by September 1998, and a new influx of Congolese refugees entered into Tanzania. It is reported that over 90 percent of the refugees who had repatriated were caught up in the second crisis and returned to Tanzania as asylum seekers for the second time (WFP and UNHCR 2000, p 4).
3. Because of these events, the population in Nyarugusu camp rose back up to 50,000 in 1999 but has remained stable for the last two years at the maximum capacity of approximately 53,000. Lugufu camp reached its capacity of 50,000 in May 1999 (later reviewed at 53,000), and Lugufu II, which had already been earmarked as a contingency site to accommodate new refugees, was opened in October 2000. As of July 2002, the population of Lugufu II was estimated at 23,730 with new arrivals still coming. Within this context, a British based NGO called Christian Outreach Relief and Development, or CORD, has gained more than five years experience working as a UNHCR implementing partner to address the social and economic needs of Congolese refugees by co-ordinating Community Services among them.

Background to CORD in Tanzania

4. CORD's approach to refugee assistance has evolved over the past thirty years as the agency gained experience working in refugee communities in Asia and Africa. In 1986, CORD started community development programmes among Eritrean refugees in Sudan in response to the refugees' request. Then, when the Rwandan crisis broke out in 1994, CORD responded by implementing what are now called 'Community Services' in two of the Kagera region's refugee camps in Tanzania.
5. Through its involvement in these camps, CORD has developed an approach to refugee assistance that is based primarily upon the ideals of community development. The approach has been summarised to include the following four broad objectives that guide CORD Community Service activities in Tanzania.
 - To enable the refugee community to identify and find solutions to the problems that they face.

- To enable the refugee community to take care of their own vulnerable people.
 - To facilitate the building of community self-reliance.
 - To sensitise the community on various important issues including the care of the environment, disability rights and issues of rape and domestic violence.
6. At the core of this approach is the view that refugees are agents capable of improving their own economic and social situation. As a result, CORD intervenes only to support and to build on that capacity, not to provide direct assistance or to do things for refugees that they are capable of doing themselves.
7. Having gained significant experience in facilitating Community Services to refugees in Kagera, a number of expatriate and national staff were re-deployed to Nyarugusu and Muyovosi camps in Kasulu District in December 1996. In January 1999, CORD was also invited to revive Community Services in Lugufu camp in anticipation of a new influx of refugees coming to Kigoma region. Previously, another NGO called RUSERP had co-ordinated Community Services in Lugufu, but CORD was asked to take over from them in order to provide continuity between programmes in both Congolese camps.
8. While CORD no longer works in Muyovosi, a camp for Burundian refugees, the agency did play a significant role in setting up Community Services in this camp with the intention of building local capacity to take over responsibility for programmes. CORD did this by assisting the Anglican Diocese of Western Tanganyika Refugee Department (DWTRD) to implement Community Services in Muyovosi for a period of two years, beginning in April 1997. CORD and the Diocese jointly identified staff members, and when CORD handed over all responsibilities to DWTRD in July 1999, DWTRD staff carried on their duties without interruption. Since then, DWTRD has been registered as a separate NGO called Samaritans Enterprise Keepers Organisation (SEKO), which carries on the work DWTRD began in Muyovosi.

Terms of reference and methodology

9. This review was conducted in conjunction with a similar review of CORD's Community Service programmes in Zambia among Angolan refugees. Both studies were commissioned by UNHCR as supplements to a wider worldwide study of UNHCR Community Services being conducted at the same time.
10. The focus of the evaluation centred on the following five main issues.
- Policy and operational challenges CORD has faced
 - CORD's experience working with UNHCR and other NGOs
 - Government policy and its effect on CORD's work
 - Refugee perceptions of and participation in Community Services
 - CORD's interaction with refugee leadership and community representation

11. It should be clearly understood that no attempt has been made to systematically review each Community Service activity area against stated objectives. Descriptions of Community Service activities are general and are meant to provide the context for a more detailed discussion and analysis of refugee perceptions of Community Services and the challenges that arise in trying to implement the CORD approach to refugee assistance.

12. Because special attention was given to refugee perceptions of Community Services, this is reflected in the methodology used. Information was gathered first in Nyarugusu and then in Lugufu with nine working days spent in each camp. Most of that time was spent talking with refugees. To assist in the evaluation process, six English speaking Congolese refugees were chosen to serve as research assistants. They helped to lead focus group discussions, to conduct a survey and to analyse data collected. Three of the research assistants were from Nyarugusu and three were from Lugufu. It was considered important to hire research assistants who were non-CORD staff to enhance the objectivity of the evaluation.

13. In each camp, various groups were identified and invited to the CORD compound for semi-structured focus group discussions. Groups included the CORD Tanzanian staff, CORD Congolese staff, refugees who are involved in Community Service activities, refugee elected leaders, refugee traditional leaders and refugee religious leaders (see Annex 1). In addition, informal interviews were conducted with several key informants, which included CORD staff, UNHCR staff, and representatives of the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) for the government of Tanzania (see Annex 2).

14. In order to assess the views of refugees in the wider camp community outside the umbrella of the CORD compound, the evaluator spent time walking through the camps, meeting artisans, business people, and individuals at their daily work. Informal discussions with these people helped to provide a broader perspective of CORD's work and issues of concern to refugees.

15. In addition, the research assistants conducted a survey to assess the wider community's level of awareness of CORD and the degree to which they are involved in CORD activities (see Annex 3). For the survey, fifty refugees were interviewed in Nyarugusu and fifty refugees were interviewed in Lugufu using a purposive sampling technique. In each camp, research assistants talked with 25 males and 25 females. And of those, the following categories of people were interviewed: 20 children or youths, 20 elderly people, 20 disabled people, and 40 other adults. About half of the interviews were conducted at the shared market and the rest were conducted in areas of the camp several minutes walk away from the CORD compound. It should be noted that focus group discussions with refugee leaders also made it possible to assess refugee views outside of CORD staff and refugees who have directly benefited from CORD activities.

16. At the conclusion of the evaluation, one hundred people (primarily refugees) in both camps came to a workshop to hear the evaluation findings and to offer feedback. In these workshops, the evaluator sought to reflect the perspectives of all stakeholders so that the refugees could understand the complexity of the problems that concern them. As well as providing a forum to discuss evaluation findings, the workshop became an opportunity to discuss refugee perceptions and misconceptions

of UNHCR, the Tanzanian government's refugee policy and the purpose of Community Services.

Refugees in Tanzania

17. Tanzania has a long and generous history of hosting refugees, and over time their refugee policies have evolved. Refugees from Burundi and Rwanda who came to Tanzania in the 1970s were placed in settlements and given large plots of land. Over the last thirty years, these refugees have basically become self-sufficient and integrated into Tanzanian society. However, the number of refugees coming to Tanzania increased significantly in the 1990s to approximately half a million as a result of renewed conflict in Rwanda and Burundi. For a developing country struggling to meet the socio-economic needs of its own nationals, the task of accommodating so many refugees was understandably daunting. Thus the government of Tanzania (GOT) called upon UNHCR to bear the cost of assisting refugees.¹

18. Government policy in the 1990s shifted away from hosting refugees in settlements to containing them in camps where they could be more easily assisted by the international community and more easily controlled. In this context, UNHCR works together with implementing partners in a tripartite agreement with the GOT to assist refugees. Refugee matters are the responsibility of the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) and in each camp, an MHA representative acts as camp commandant and presides over matters of concern to the GOT.

19. As it now stands, the GOT is willing to continue providing asylum to refugees in Western Tanzania, but with a variety of stipulations formulated to address specific concerns. To begin with, refugees must live in camps and remain within a four-kilometre radius of the camp unless they have a permit allowing them to leave. The MHA camp commandant gives out permits to refugees on a limited basis with priority given to those in need of medical treatment and those involved in NGO sponsored activities. Select business people can obtain permits to travel out to surrounding towns for business purposes, but usually permits are only given for three days at a time. If a refugee is caught outside the camp area without a permit, the penalty is six months in jail.²

20. These restrictions on movement are mechanisms put into place to maintain national security. The Great Lakes region has been shaken by wars that have spilled across borders, and Tanzania does not want this to happen to it. In addition, the government has cracked down on all refugee movement in order to address the problem of armed banditry, which in many cases is attributed to Burundian refugees.

¹ In addition, the government has made a push for UNHCR to address the needs of Tanzanian nationals in refugee affected areas. One way this has been done is to allow Tanzanians to use the free medical care that is available to refugees in the camps. For a fuller discussion of how the Tanzanian government views the international communities obligations to assist Tanzanians living in refugee affected areas, see Landau, April 2001, "The Humanitarian Hangover: Transnationalisation of Governmental Practice in Tanzania's Refugee Populated Areas," *New Issues in Refugee Research*, Working Paper No. 40, UNHCR Geneva.

² It is reported that many refugees move outside the camp without permits taking the risk of getting caught. For obvious reasons, it is impossible to know how many do this.

21. Second, refugees cannot own land. This restriction is one way to ensure that refugees view their stay in Tanzania as temporary. The GOT has made it clear that local integration is not a durable solution. Although old caseload refugees were given land and have stayed indefinitely, new caseload refugees are expected to return home without a prolonged stay. Past experience has shown that even seemingly integrated refugees who stay in Tanzania for years continue to view their former country as home, to the detriment of Tanzania in some cases. This was poignantly clear when Tutsi refugees returned to Rwanda in 1997 after the Tutsi government regained power. Although these refugees owned homes, were educated, and held prominent positions, all in Tanzania, when they left, they took their assets with them and many Tanzanians felt betrayed. A sense of distrust lingers, and Tanzania, while willing to be a generous host is no longer willing to grant refugees the rights of citizens. The government line is "Tanzania is for Tanzanians."

22. Third, refugees cannot cut down trees and the harvesting of firewood is strictly monitored. These restrictions are also a result of lessons learned in the past. In the Ngara camp, refugees from Rwanda came in large numbers, and the land was quickly deforested to accommodate their need for building materials and firewood. To prevent this from happening again the GOT restricts the cutting of trees which means obtaining firewood is very difficult in some camps, though in Nyarugusu and Lugufu this problem is not as acute.

23. Fourth, refugees do not have the legal right to work, which means they cannot sign contracts or earn a salary. These restrictions ensure that employment opportunities are safeguarded for Tanzanian nationals.

24. Within this context, refugee numbers in Tanzania have remained relatively stable over the last year. According to end of year statistics for 2001, Tanzania hosts half a million refugees: approximately 350,000 from Burundi, 120,000 from the Congo, and the remainder from Rwanda and Somalia. Earlier in 2002, Tanzania's government was in favour of encouraging Burundian repatriation, but this has not taken place on a large scale since security conditions in Burundi are not conducive for refugee return at this point. It is likely that the status quo will continue, at least for the time being, and UNHCR plans to continue its 'care and maintenance' programmes among refugees in Tanzania for the foreseeable future.

Nyarugusu refugee camp

25. Nyarugusu camp is located approximately 80 kilometres North of Kasulu town, Kigoma region. Approximately 52 square kilometres, the camp is divided into seven zones, fifty villages and 550 clusters. Each cluster is comprised of a varying number of plots that are each 10 by 25 metres in size, and one plot is allocated per refugee family.

26. The two main tribes represented in the camp are Bembe and Fulero who come from an essentially urban environment around Uvira. The minority tribes represented (Rega, Shi and Kasai) are mainly from rural, fishing communities in South Kivu and Katanga regions. The lingua franca of the camps is Swahili though several other tribal languages are also spoken. In addition, those who are educated speak French.

Camp economy

27. All refugees living in Nyarugusu are entitled to receive food rations, which are distributed every two weeks. However, food rations are generally not 100 percent sufficient to meet food needs, and the non-food items refugees require are not provided. As a result, refugees look for alternative ways to supplement what is provided by agencies. One strategy for obtaining cash is the trading or sale of food rations. Some of the refugees also have small gardens on their plots, but soil conditions are not good and small plot sizes limit the benefits of gardening. As a result, some refugees engage in non-formal wage labour on nearby Tanzanian farms, though officially prohibited by the GOT. Because it is illegal, it is difficult to determine how many people avail themselves of this opportunity and to what extent they benefit.

28. In general, the Congolese refugees have a stronger orientation towards trade than towards agriculture, and many supplement their food rations by engaging in petty trade within the camp and at the bi-weekly market shared with local Tanzanians. In addition, a variety of shops and small businesses exist at the camp. Salons, radio repair, shoe repair, and video businesses are ubiquitous in the centre of the camp providing valuable services to other refugees. Some refugees came from the Congo with significant assets, which they have invested in these businesses while others have been assisted by CORD in setting up income generating projects.

29. The other primary way to access cash is through employment with NGOs working in the camp, which pay 'incentives.' Incentives are not the same as salaries and are kept quite low, but still they account for significant flow of cash into the camp.

Refugee leadership

30. In the Congo, traditional leaders inherited their positions with jurisdiction over land distribution and cultural matters. From the time of the Belgians, the government paid these leaders in a system of indirect rule. However, when refugees left the Congo, several different tribes with different customs and traditions became all mixed together making it difficult to recreate old systems of leadership. As a result, while traditional leaders are still respected in the community, they no longer have any real authority.

31. Instead, MHA, UNHCR and various implementing partners have devised an administrative structure for refugee leadership at the camp. In Nyarugusu, refugees vote for two leaders in their cluster. The leaders of the clusters then vote for two village leaders. The cluster leaders and village leaders, in turn, vote for two zone leaders. Throughout this process, in every case one elected leader must be male and one female in order to ensure gender balance and equal representation of the sexes. Finally, the cluster, village and zone leaders vote for a camp president who can be either male or female. Currently, the camp president is a woman. The lower level leaders also vote for two vice presidents, again adhering to the requirement of one male and one female. Originally elected leaders served for one year, but now they serve for a year and a half. Nyarugusu is unique in that an independent benefactor

has arranged to pay zone leaders, the vice presidents and the president an incentive for their work each month.³

Aid agencies

32. Currently, there are five NGOs working as implementing partners to UNHCR in a tripartite agreement with the GOT providing services to the Congolese in Nyarugusu. CORD facilitates Community Services and education programmes plus provides health care. CARE is responsible for environmental protection and monitors the cutting down of trees. CORD is also involved in environmental protection but focuses on environmental education rather than policing the forests. TWESA, a local NGO that took over from Oxfam, oversees water and sanitation. World Vision is responsible for camp management. The World Food Program (WFP) provides food for distribution.

Lugufu refugee camp

33. Lugufu camp is located 80 kilometres South of Kasulu town, and 90 kilometres East of Kigoma town. Lugufu I is approximately 22.5 square kilometres, and Lugufu II is approximately 20 square kilometres. Lugufu I is comprised of eight zones, each made up of four villages. A village is made up of 24 blocks, each block consisting of 24 plots. Each refugee family is allocated a 7.5 by 10 metre plot.⁴ In Lugufu II, there are six zones, although only five are currently occupied while the sixth is reserved for new arrivals. Each zone is divided into seven to twelve clusters depending on the size of the zone. (There are no villages in Lugufu II). Each cluster is comprised of 18 blocks with 18 plots each. UNHCR recognised that the plots in Lugufu I were not sufficient to meet the needs of families, so they petitioned MHA to increase the size of plots in Lugufu II. As a result, families in Lugufu II are allocated plots of 10 by 15 metres.⁵

34. Lugufu has an ethnic and linguistic population similar to that of Nyarugusu. The primary difference between the camps is that Nyarugusu is now a closed camp, but Lugufu continues to receive new arrivals from the Congo.

35. Because Lugufu II caters to new arrivals, several issues are of unique concern. New arrivals usually come to Tanzania by boat from the DRC across Lake Tanganyika to Kigoma where they register as refugees in a transit centre. They are housed there until a sufficient number can be transported to Lugufu by convoy. At the transit centres, refugees are asked to form groups of at least four people. This requirement was made because UNHCR discovered that refugee families were dividing into smaller groups in order to access a second ration card and more non-food items that are issued to new arrivals. Refugees complained that the family size stipulation sometimes requires strangers to form 'families,' especially in the case

³ Refugees and CORD staff in Nyarugusu noted that the independent benefactor funds incentives for the top refugee leaders, but I was not able to find out who this person is and why he or she decided to contribute in this way.

⁴ The WFP/UNHCR study (2000, p 6) conducted in Lugufu I records plot size to be 7 by 15metres. It is not clear why there is a discrepancy between this information and information given to the evaluator by the UNHCR assistant field officer in Lugufu.

⁵ Again there is a discrepancy between information provided by the WFP/UNHCR study (2000, p 14) which says plot sizes in Lugufu II are 10 by 20 metres and information recorded above obtained from the UNHCR assistant field officer.

where people come alone and must join with people they do not know. This sometimes causes problems when the newly formed 'family' cannot agree on how to share the resources provided.

36. Upon arrival in Lugufu II, refugee names are crosschecked to guarantee proper registration. They are then screened to confirm that they are not carrying any weapons. All new arrivals receive a medical check-up to ensure that they are in good health. Those who are sick are treated, and children under five are vaccinated. All new arrivals are eligible to receive food rations. However, they are not given a standard package of non-food materials, which includes a tarpaulin, 3 blankets, 2 saucepans, 5 cups and 5 plates, until they can demonstrate to UNHCR that they have constructed a house and latrine to a convincing stage.

37. UNHCR's policy of delaying distribution of non-food items is an attempt to reduce the problem of 'recyclers.' Recyclers are refugees who have allegedly left the camps in order to re-enter the transit centres so they can re-register as refugees and access another ration card plus be eligible for the package of non-food items. The Congolese refer to these people as 'makanaki,' a term that comes from the name of a Cameroonian football player adept at dribbling and manoeuvring the ball around obstacles. In some cases, 'makanaki' have complied with UNHCR policy by building houses to a 'convincing stage,' received the non-food items, and then abandoned the house. UNHCR monitors these houses and if they appear abandoned for several months, UNHCR traces the ration card and confiscates it. In addition, some of these abandoned plots and houses are re-allocated to vulnerable refugees unable to build their own houses.

38. The issue of confiscating ration cards is a highly sensitive one. UNHCR has utilised the refugee guards at the camp known as sungu-sungu to identify people they recognise as 'makanaki.' However, refugees interviewed complained that innocent, legitimate refugees have in some cases been singled out, and their ration cards unfairly taken away. Though a joint interagency committee exists to review appeals, refugee leaders feel that their appeals have not been taken seriously. The UNHCR Field Office, in turn, says UNHCR is willing to hear the appeals of individuals, but when refugees come in large groups as a mob, they are not given an audience. The issue is being monitored and is clearly very complex.

39. An issue more directly affecting CORD is that UNHCR did not allocate any money for Community Service programmes in Lugufu II for 2002. This is because the budget request to Geneva was based on population figures of 12,602 taken from 2001.⁶ However, since then the size of the camp has more than doubled. CORD is trying to remedy this situation by getting money from other donors, but as it now stands Community Service activities in Lugufu II are functioning at a very limited capacity due to lack of funding and the newness of the camp.

Camp economy

40. As is the case in Nyarugusu, all refugees in Lugufu are eligible to receive food rations, but most are engaged in various activities to supplement what they receive.

⁶ It is not clear why funding was not allocated to Lugufu II. Presumably it was assumed that funds for Lugufu I would be sufficient to cover Lugufu II activities for the relatively small population registered in 2001.

Smaller plot sizes in Lugufu I specifically and poorer soil conditions in Lugufu in general make it difficult for refugees to benefit significantly from agricultural production. As a result, refugees must look to the trade of goods and services as a way to earn additional income in much the same way as in Nyarugusu.

41. It is important to recognise that not all refugees are of an equal economic status; incomes within refugee communities are stratified. A WFP and UNHCR joint assessment of 'Household Food Economy' in Lugufu conducted in 2000 categorised 2-6 percent of the refugee population as 'better-off' because they earn more than 30,000 Tanzania shillings (Tsh)⁷ per month. People in this category were more likely to have prudently invested money carried during their flight from the DRC, and they primarily work as traders and owners of restaurants and bars at the camp. Some in this category may also be families with two incentive earners employed by NGOs working at the camp.

42. Refugees classified in a 'middle-level' wealth group made up approximately 8-12 percent of the population. These refugees earn between 16,000 and 30,000 Tsh per month as small traders, as artisans such as carpenters and masons, as bicycle taxi riders, as small restaurant and bar owners and as weavers. They may be incentive earners as well, but only one per family.

43. Refugees classified as 'poor' made up 44-50 percent of the camp population, and they earn between 6,000 and 16,000 shillings per month. This group is engaged in many of the same activities as the 'middle' level group but with less economic success. In addition, some in this group were engaged in CORD supported economic activities such as soap making, poultry projects and other small businesses.

44. In the final wealth group, refugees classified as 'very poor' were further subdivided into the 'active' and 'less active' poor. The 'active poor' make up 30-40 percent of the population and earn between 1,000 and 6,000 Tsh per month, and the 'less active poor' make up 2-6 percent of the population and earn less than 1000 Tsh per month. Those in the 'less active poor' category fall into UNHCR defined categories of vulnerability such as the chronically ill, the mentally disabled, the physically disabled, unaccompanied elders, unaccompanied minors, etc.

Refugee leadership

45. In Lugufu, an interagency election committee comprised of MHA, UNHCR and various implementing partners have devised an administrative structure for refugee leadership at the camp that differs slightly from Nyarugusu. Refugees who wish to be camp leaders fill out an application and send it to the committee, which then reviews the applications and short lists candidates. Usually four candidates are chosen and the refugees vote for one of these candidates. The election committee oversees elections in the camp at the village or cluster level and at the zone level. Village, cluster and zone leaders are responsible for arranging block elections in their respective areas.

46. In Lugufu II, the set up is a bit different due to the continuing arrival of new refugees. Refugee families are allocated plots upon arrival and choose their own block leaders. Block leaders choose cluster leaders and cluster leaders choose zone

⁷ At 3 July 2002, the exchange rate was 941 Tsh to \$1.

leaders in the first year. But after that, they revert to the same system that is in place in Lugufu I.

47. Although the election system appears to allow refugees to have a voice in choosing their own leaders, it should be noted that the election committee reserves the right to disqualify potential election candidates. Some refugees interviewed viewed this as a way for the election committee to ensure that the refugee leaders chosen will co-operate with the powers that be.

48. The issue of gender balance has been more of a problem in Lugufu than it is in Nyarugusu. In the June 2002 elections, only three women were elected as zone leaders out of a possible 26 zone leaders for the two camps (two leaders times 13 zones). The election committee responded to this problem by holding a second election just for women, and requiring that each zone should have one male leader and one female leader.

49. The primary reason given for the lack of gender balance in Lugufu camp leadership was that women are not encouraged to take leadership roles in traditional Congolese society. However, refugee leaders interviewed also added that women with families to look after were not willing to apply to become leaders because they are not compensated for their work as is the case in Nyarugusu. As it now stands the cost of spending time away from their families on camp business outweighs the benefits of being a leader in the community. Men had this same complaint, but seemed less encumbered by the family and childcare responsibilities that occupy the women. These problems suggest that gender balance in refugee leadership is not a democratic choice of the refugee community, but a product of UNHCR, MHA and donor initiative.

Aid agencies

50. Currently there are four NGOs working as implementing partners to UNHCR in a tripartite agreement with the GOT providing services to the Congolese in Lugufu. As is the case in Nyarugusu, CORD facilitates Community Services and education, but the Tanzania Red Cross Society (TRCS) oversees healthcare, water, sanitation and camp management. CARE is responsible for environment protection in Lugufu, and it appears that CORD and CARE have a stronger collaborative approach to environmental education in Lugufu than they do in Nyarugusu. As is the case in Nyarugusu, WFP provides food for distribution. There appears to be a good level of communication between agencies working in Lugufu, with an inter-agency meeting held twice per month to discuss issues of mutual concern.

CORD's community services programmes in Tanzania

51. CORD's method for working within the refugee community involves refugees in the planning, implementation and evaluation of activities. Each year, CORD conducts a baseline survey to assess the needs of the community using participatory rapid appraisal methods. Various refugee leaders and other representatives of the community come to a meeting to brainstorm activities that the community would like to implement. CORD staff assess all the suggestions made and prioritise them according to budget constraints and CORD's technical ability to assist in the implementation. Through this process, new activities can be added or subtracted each year with refugee priorities taken into consideration. For example, in Lugufu, refugees expressed an interest in having a community gazette, which CORD plans to take on board as a new activity next year.

52. In some cases, directives come from donors rather than from the refugees to implement projects such as an HIV awareness campaign or environmental programmes. While these initiatives are not a priority of the refugee community, CORD seeks to encourage community ownership and involvement by asking refugee staff, refugee leaders and community representatives to give input regarding the best way to implement the proposed project.

53. Throughout the year, CORD refugee staff continually interact with refugees in the wider community. They report to CORD refugee supervisors and national staff in weekly meetings to discuss programmes, resolve problems, and make improvements. In addition, twice per year, CORD staff conduct evaluations of the activities they co-ordinate. In some cases, evaluations are conducted by committees of refugees who are not CORD staff. For example, in Nyarugusu, on their own initiative, a group of refugee teachers did an evaluation of the education system offering recommendations for improvements.

54. The following discussion highlights what CORD is doing in regards to specific Community Service activities. The priorities of the refugees and the operational constraints that CORD faces are outlined. An attempt has been made to be more descriptive with analysis to follow. In most cases, the issues are similar in Nyarugusu and Lugufu camps. Where there are differences between the two camps, these are identified.

Group formation and assistance

55. The focus of CORD activities is working with groups, but before CORD will assist a group, they must meet several criteria. Groups must be five or more in number. Members must be from different families to ensure that a wider circle of people benefit from the group. And they must begin the project on their own initiative with their own resources. As one refugee said, "CORD will help a child, not a pregnancy." In other words, refugees must demonstrate their own initiative before CORD will intervene. Activities that groups have engaged in include tailoring, soap making, bread making, carpentry, agriculture, etc.

56. Groups discuss their project with a CORD animator who clarifies what CORD is potentially able to contribute. The group writes a proposal following a specified CORD format. Then the animator takes the project proposal to the appropriate refugee supervisor who returns to the group to verify that it is legitimate. CORD provides training to the group if needed. And in some cases, though not all, CORD will provide material assistance to the group, such as the provision of sewing machines, hoes, tools, seeds, materials needed for baking, etc. The idea is that CORD will assist the group only once. It is up to the group to use initial inputs to make the project sustainable.

57. The primary problem is that many groups form and show initial initiative, but CORD does not have the funds to provide adequate material assistance to every group. This is particularly a problem in Lugufu II where no micro-project group has received material assistance to date due to lack of UNHCR funding, as previously mentioned.

58. In both camps, many refugees form groups with the expectation that CORD will assist. When assistance is not forthcoming, groups get discouraged and disband. In addition, some people are said to have good ideas for micro-projects but lack very basic resources needed to show the required initiative for CORD assistance. Another problem is that due to the difficulty of accessing outside markets, refugees feel that one-off assistance is not sufficient and that CORD should continually supply inputs to projects, such as materials needed to make soap or wood to build furniture.

Vocational training

59. CORD's approach to non-formal education is to encourage apprenticeship schemes. A skilled person is asked to form a group to provide some training to unskilled refugees. In exchange, CORD, at least in theory, will provide materials to the trainees to facilitate their work. This type of training has been used in both camps to teach people skills in baking, sewing, art, radio repair and carpentry. On the one hand, the scheme has been successful in that skilled refugees have been able to pass on their skills to other refugees who have then started their own businesses. However, it appears that the initial willingness to form apprenticeship groups is waning because expectations for material assistance have not been met. In addition, groups face the problem of insufficient markets needed for buying supplies and for selling products.

60. For example, in Nyarugusu an artist went to CORD to ask for assistance with art supplies. He was told to form a group, which he did. He began teaching ten students how to do artwork using his own limited supplies. When the group went back to CORD to ask for assistance, they were only given cans for mixing paint. The founder of the group was not able to continue providing supplies to the group from his own resources, so the group disbanded. He continues to do artwork because he enjoys the hobby, but he cannot sell his work in the camp and restrictions on refugee movement prevent him from accessing more lucrative outside markets.

61. In another case, a tailor wanted CORD to assist him with sewing machines and material for making clothes. Again, CORD suggested that he form a group, which he did. Using his own resources, he was able to purchase a sewing machine, and he began to teach seven students to sew. But when they went to CORD for further

assistance, nothing was provided. Three of the seven students have since managed to begin businesses of their own, but the other four gave up because they did not have the resources needed to continue with sewing.

Agriculture

62. Agricultural activities are an important way for refugees to supplement their food rations and to vary their diet with vegetables since food rations consist of only of peas and maize flour, which the refugees view as very monotonous. CORD encourages families to cultivate small gardens on their allocated plots and each village is also being encouraged to plant fruit trees. In addition, CORD provides seeds and tools to agricultural groups, although refugees complained that not enough tools are distributed and the ones given out are poor in quality.

63. Two primary obstacles limit the successfulness of CORD agricultural activities. First, they do not have access to enough land. Their allocated plots must contain the family house plus a latrine, leaving a very small space for gardening. Second, the soil is not fertile, resulting in low crop yields.

64. In regards to animal husbandry, poultry (ducks and chickens) and goat keeping are done on a small scale in Lugufu and Nyarugusu. Previously CORD supplied chicks to refugees to begin poultry projects, but this activity has stopped. Refugees expressed interest in its resumption, but they are unable to provide adequate treatment when animals get sick, which could hinder the sustainability of the project.

Environmental education

65. Environmental conservation is a priority of the Tanzanian government and of donors, and CORD seeks to heighten awareness by engaging the community in environmental education. Refugees interviewed appeared very sensitised to environmental issues and seemed to understand the importance of preserving the forests. There was a clear preference for CORD's approach to the issue, which encourages mutual discussion and problem solving, rather than CARE's approach, which focuses on monitoring and policing refugees to prevent them from cutting down trees.

66. As part of environmental education, refugees have been taught to make fuel-efficient stoves to reduce the amount of firewood needed for cooking. However, it has taken time for CORD to convince people to abandon their preference for cooking over three stones (the method used in the Congo). In the rainy season, the fuel-efficient stoves, which are made of clay, tend to crumble and people revert to old cooking methods. As a result, CORD must continually encourage people to remake stoves. It is also notable that at the CORD compound, lunch for staff is cooked over three stones. This inconsistency was noted in a March 2002 evaluation of CORD activities (Eden, p 12) but has not yet been addressed.

67. Efforts have also been made to encourage building practices that do not require large amounts of wood. Initially refugees cut trees to build their houses with wooden pole supports covered in mud. However, in order to protect trees, refugees are now encouraged to build with sun-baked mud bricks. This type of structure is

more susceptible to being washed away when the rains come, but CORD has encouraged refugees to dig drainage trenches around their houses, which has remedied this problem to a great extent.

Youth activities

68. The promotion of children's rights has become a focal point, largely because UNHCR Community Service Officers have prioritised this initiative and have provided training to community workers on the issue. In Nyarugusu there are five children's rights groups active in the camps, and in Lugufu there are 23 children's rights groups. These groups help to raise awareness about children's rights by facilitating meetings, seminars, trainings and video shows. On African Child Day, celebrated in both camps, it was evident that at least the children performing dramas and songs were very well schooled, quoting the Geneva Convention on the Rights of the Child. Children who performed were given exercise books, pens, soap, toys and sports equipment. Donor support for groups and activities related to children's rights has encouraged the community to take up the issue.

69. This raises the question: To what extent does the language of rights translate into actual improvements in the quality of life for refugee children? Measuring the impact of children's rights seminars and awareness raising would be difficult to pinpoint and quantify, although this does not necessarily mean it is without impact. Perhaps more significantly, some refugees interviewed remarked that UNHCR appears willing to talk to children about their rights because this is rather non-threatening, but does not talk about the rights of refugees which may be more controversial.

70. CORD has done much to support youth projects, but youth make up a large portion of the camp population, and resources for youth activities cannot keep up with the demand. For example, music groups form and ask for instruments. When they are provided, CORD staff say they are not well looked after. As a result, CORD has started to hire the equipment so that there is money for repairs and maintenance.

71. Sports are very popular in the camps as well, especially football, although acrobatics, basketball and other games are also played. UNHCR has been quite supportive of refugee sports, and on occasions such as International Refugee Day on 20 June 2002, UNHCR facilitated joint refugee and Tanzanian sporting events in Kasulu with the goal of encouraging positive interaction between refugees and their host community. Throughout the year, CORD facilitates competitions with football teams in other camps and in nearby Tanzanian towns giving refugees the opportunity to interact with people outside the camp. In addition, CORD has encouraged girls to play football. However, there is not enough money in the budget to provide the numerous teams with uniforms and sports equipment. An NGO called Olympic Aid has stepped up to the plate in regards to training athletes and providing sports equipment. It seems that whatever additional athletic resources are made available will always be put to good use.

Social welfare

72. One of CORD's primary responsibilities at the camp is to oversee assistance to people considered to be 'extremely vulnerable.' Vulnerable people eligible for special assistance were defined by CORD and by the refugees themselves for the most part in terms of UNHCR categories, which include unaccompanied minors, some attached minors, single females, single parents, the physically disabled, the mentally disabled, unaccompanied elders, and the chronically ill. CORD has also recognised that women subjected to domestic violence and victims of rape are particularly vulnerable.⁸

73. When refugees first arrive, vulnerable people are identified and registered by CORD at the reception centre. In addition, CORD monitors the situation of the existing caseload of vulnerable refugees to determine if a person's status changes. For example, a single mother might marry and thus would no longer be considered vulnerable. Or if a child's parents die in the camp, this child would then be registered as a vulnerable refugee after the time of initial registration. Thus, numbers are subject to continued change. CORD statistics at June 2002 showed that 4,436 Congolese were registered as vulnerable refugees in Nyarugusu; 6,695 in Lugufu I; and 3,180 in Lugufu II (see Annex 4 for a more detailed breakdown of statistics).

74. While CORD does give some direct assistance to vulnerable refugees, CORD's goal is to encourage refugees to look after vulnerable people in their community. As one CORD staff member summed it up, "What CORD is doing (in regards to direct assistance) is a drop in the ocean. CORD is more like a matchbox. We cannot take care of everyone with our limited staff and limited resources, but our hope is that we will start a fire in the community, a fire of awareness about the need to help vulnerable people, and we hope that the fire will spread."

75. To spread awareness, CORD holds training seminars and sponsors information campaigns about the need to look after vulnerable people. The seminars, in particular, seem to be effective in the sense that those who have attended them are very articulate about the need for the community to assist vulnerable refugees. However, it was not possible to determine what percentage of the refugee population has had the opportunity to attend these seminars, and therefore it is difficult to determine how widespread community awareness actually is.

76. The Community Based Rehabilitation (CBR) programme has done a lot to raise awareness in about the importance of including disabled people in micro-project activities and in 'mainstreaming' them into all community service activities. Hand-powered tricycles have been distributed to many disabled people and can be seen all over the camp, indicating that they are put to good use. In addition, disabled refugees have been taught to make orthopaedic limbs. Refugees generally viewed the CBR programme as very helpful to the community. The only complaints were

⁸ In a broader sense, vulnerability can be broken down into categories of economic vulnerability, physical vulnerability, mental and psychological vulnerability, and protection vulnerability. It is not always clear which type of vulnerability applies to a specific category. For example, refugees interviewed said that a single mother may not necessarily be vulnerable economically, so giving her extra material support would not make sense. However, that same woman may in fact be vulnerable in terms of being unable to adequately protect her interests in a community where men make decisions for their families.

that those given tricycles were not given spare parts, thus the maintenance of their tricycles is sometimes a problem.⁹

77. CORD's primary strategy for facilitating community participation in assisting vulnerable people is through encouraging micro-project groups to get involved. The first type of group, known as social voluntary groups, provide direct assistance to vulnerable refugees by washing their clothes, collecting firewood, digging latrines and building houses for them. The second type of group are income-generating groups that operate small businesses and assist vulnerable refugees either by integrating them into the group or by committing to give 25 percent of their profits to vulnerable refugees. Each month the groups are required to submit a report to CORD that details, among other things, what assistance was given to which vulnerable refugees, giving specific names and addresses. CORD staff are supposed to follow up on this from time to time to ensure that vulnerable refugees are indeed receiving assistance from these groups.

78. In theory, groups are supposed to be the bulwark of community involvement in assisting vulnerable people, but their actual effectiveness is questionable. CORD staff and micro-project groups interviewed gave many examples of how the scheme has worked effectively, and no doubt this is true. However, in Lugufu, research assistants asked 30 people who they considered to be vulnerable refugees if micro-project groups had ever assisted them (Annex 5). In Lugufu I, ten of the fifteen vulnerable refugees interviewed had been assisted. Of those ten, six had only been assisted once by groups. In Lugufu II, only one of fifteen vulnerable refugees interviewed had been assisted and the assistance provided was minimal (cash assistance of 200 Tsh provided on two occasions). Most interviewed in Lugufu II were not even aware that social voluntary groups existed. Again, this is likely because funding constraints have severely limited CORD's activities in Lugufu II.

79. At the same time, vulnerable refugees interviewed in Lugufu acknowledged that in some cases churches and religious groups had assisted them. In addition, neighbours assist one another from time to time, though it is difficult to know how often and to what extent. Due to the smallness of the sample size, survey results may not present an accurate picture of the effectiveness of CORD supported community group assistance to vulnerable refugees. However, tentative findings indicate that group assistance is limited in scope, especially in Lugufu II.¹⁰

80. Of much greater concern to the refugee community was the issue of CORD's direct assistance to refugees, and much of the evaluation was spent discussing people's dissatisfaction with the distribution process. CORD has attempted to address refugee concerns by setting up distribution committees that include a CORD staff member, refugee leaders and representatives of the vulnerable group that is to be assisted. However, non-CORD staff complained that this system does not always work effectively. Refugee leaders in particular felt that CORD animators who act as mediators between CORD and the community have too much control over the

⁹ It was not clear whether this was a problem of lack of access to the necessary parts or simply an expectation that CORD should be responsible for all tricycle maintenance. Further investigation into the matter is needed.

¹⁰ In Nyarugusu, vulnerable refugees were not questioned specifically about group assistance to them, but informal discussions with vulnerable refugees and comments made in focus group discussions suggest that group assistance is happening, but not in a comprehensive way, probably comparable to results from discussions with vulnerable refugees in Lugufu I.

distribution process. Examples were given of some vulnerable refugees receiving assistance more than once while others did not benefit at all, and allegations were made that only those who know CORD staff benefit from material assistance. CORD refugee staff in turn cited these allegations as one of the biggest challenges they face as refugees working within the community to which they belong.

81. The problems surrounding the distribution of material assistance to vulnerable refugees are likely a combination of two things. First, resources available for distribution are never enough yet refugees have the expectation that whoever is registered as vulnerable should receive assistance. For example, if a hundred widows are registered and only ten are given mosquito nets, the other ninety do not understand why they have been excluded. Second, CORD's distribution system may in fact have loopholes and items may not be distributed as fairly as is claimed. Continued monitoring of distribution systems is imperative.

Reproductive health activities

82. The HIV/AIDS awareness campaign among the youth was a subject of a great deal of controversy in focus group discussions with refugees, particularly in Nyarugusu. In June 2000, the UNHCR/UNAIDS Focal Point in Geneva visited Nyarugusu briefly to facilitate plans for an HIV/AIDS pilot project being funded by the Ted Turner Foundation. CORD staff and refugees interviewed perceived the project to be an external, donor initiative imposed upon the refugee community, but CORD made efforts to include refugees in the planning stages of the project. A youth HIV committee was identified to work with CORD and UNHCR to oversee the project that was funded from November 2000 to June 2001. They built a youth centre to accommodate the project, 208 youth were trained to be trainers in matters pertaining to reproductive health, and they were given the name Ramsha, an abbreviation for 'Rafiki Mshauri' which means 'friend advisor or counsellor' in Swahili.

83. Significant resources and energy went into disseminating information about HIV to youth between the ages of 10 to 24. This was done through video showings, puppet training and shows, and the printing of T-shirts and caps with HIV awareness raising slogans. The HIV campaign could be viewed as a great success in that refugee youth took full responsibility of implementing the activity. They were also involved in conducting an evaluation of the project. In addition, the Nyarugusu pilot project raised awareness within UNHCR Tanzania about the importance of tackling the HIV/AIDS issue, and resources have been allocated to support similar programmes in other camps.

84. However, from the perspective of many parents and adults in Nyarugusu, Ramsha and the HIV campaign were shocking and culturally inappropriate. Refugee leaders said they were consulted before the campaign began, and they agreed to the programme because they understood its objective to be education to reduce the spread of HIV in the camp, something they also support. But as the programme gained momentum, they felt excluded from decisions made about how and what information was to be disseminated and to whom. In Congolese culture, adults are not open with their children about reproductive issues, and parents were aghast when their ten-year old children came home talking about condoms. Many adults viewed the HIV campaign as completely inappropriate and as actually promoting

sexual promiscuity among youth at an early age by giving them information they previously were not exposed to.

85. Valuable lessons were learned in the Nyarugusu pilot project that are being taken into consideration in Lugufu where CORD staff have recently begun their HIV campaign. CORD staff are making an effort to focus on educating parents and leaders about HIV first, allowing them to have a greater input in how the campaign is conducted. In addition, youth are being divided into groups by age. Those from 10 to 14 will receive information appropriate to their age, as will youth in older age groups. Discussions about reproductive issues will likely continue to receive resistance from the Congolese community as such discussions have been traditionally taboo, but efforts are being made to address the issue in a more culturally acceptable way.

Gender issues

86. In regards to gender issues, CORD faces the challenge of reconciling differences between a Congolese cultural view of women and a concern for the rights of women as defined by the international community. To begin with, in Congolese society, families prioritise the education of boys while often considering education to be wasted on girls who are expected to marry and have children. The number of girls attending secondary school at the camp is significantly less than the number of boys, and it is difficult to convince families that this should change. An additional reason given for low girls' attendance is lack of uniforms. The point was made that while an adolescent boy can sit in school with a torn shirt, an adolescent girl cannot. Introducing uniforms could potentially positively affect girls' attendance in school.

87. A second challenge concerns issues of domestic violence and rape, both very highly sensitive issues especially since UNHCR and CORD have sought to handle these cases in a very different way than the Congolese. In Congolese society, the way a man treats his wife is considered his own business, and thus wife beating is not uncommon. However, this is not acceptable to CORD or to UNHCR, besides the fact that it is a violation of human rights. In addition, in instances of rape among the Congolese, it is the role of traditional leaders to solve the case either by requiring the perpetrator to marry the victim or by negotiating the exchange of a chicken or goat between families for a first time offence.¹¹

88. CORD has responded to this highly sensitive issue by introducing a programme called Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) to raise awareness in the community about domestic violence and to provide a place where women can come to receive counselling from staff trained in these matters. Traditional leaders have been consulted and included in discussions about these issues, but there is still resistance within the community to utilise the services of SGBV. A contributing factor to this reluctance is that according to Tanzanian law, those convicted of rape are sentenced to thirty years in prison. As a result, families are loath to report rape cases to the SGBV staff preferring to settle things the traditional way. The net result

¹¹ According to Congolese tradition, a man accused of rape is given a chance to defend his case to the traditional leaders. If he is found guilty, he must make a payment of a goat or chicken to the girl's family. If he is found guilty of rape a second time, he is banished from the community.

is that victims of rape may suffer injury and exposure to HIV, yet families refrain from seeking medical attention for the girl.

89. The combined number of reported rape cases in both camps has increased from 10 in 1999 to 19 in 2000 to 23 in 2001 indicating that the community is now more aware of the established legal channels for dealing with these problems and is more willing to use them. However, numbers of reported cases seem low, and it is difficult to know how many cases continue to go unreported. Recently a Tanzanian lawyer was hired as a legal counsellor to the SGBV programme though it is not yet clear what role he will play or how it will affect community responses to domestic violence and rape.

Education

90. Education is considered by refugees to be one of CORD's most helpful and indispensable Community Service activities. Of those interviewed in the refugee survey, 59 percent cited education and/or healthcare as the most helpful service CORD provides to the refugee community.¹² Secondary school students in particular were grateful for the efforts of UNHCR to negotiate with the government of the DRC to recognise final year exam results of Congolese refugees in Tanzania. CORD facilitates the examination process, and efforts have been made to include interested Burundian refugees in taking these exams. In addition, refugees appreciated that CORD supplies students with pens, exercise books and other school supplies.

91. However, refugees interviewed also cited a raft of problems in the education system that are of great concern to them. More rooms are needed to accommodate overcrowded classes. In primary schools there are as many as 100 to 120 students in a classroom. More school furniture such as desks and tables are needed as well. And as has already been mentioned, parents felt that CORD should provide uniforms to students.

92. Teachers expressed several concerns as well. They felt that teachers should receive a raise in their monthly incentive. Pre-school teachers do not receive incentives from CORD and they thought this should change.¹³ Complaints were also made that unqualified people were given teaching jobs due to connections they had with school headmasters, while more qualified people were turned away.

93. In addition, as a result of UNHCR's unwillingness to fund the hiring of more secondary school teachers, parents sought to remedy the situation by hiring teachers themselves. While this could be viewed as a good example of refugee initiative on the one hand, refugees themselves see it as a big problem because they say some parents must sell their food rations in order to pay the fees and this makes the rest of the family suffer.

¹² Healthcare was included as an answer in Nyarugusu where CORD oversees this service. While healthcare could be viewed as part of Community Services, it was not a focus of this evaluation particularly since CORD does not oversee healthcare in Lugufu.

¹³ Initially UNICEF asked people in the camp to form pre-schools, and it appears that a group of male teachers who now run these pre-schools had expectations that they would earn an income from participating in this activity. Their expectations have not been met, and these teachers regularly protest the situation by sending letters on a monthly basis to CORD UK asking for funding for their schools.

94. CORD has also faced problems regarding the matter of school construction. Seeking to implement a community-based approach, CORD worked with refugee leaders and parents' committees to encourage refugees to build their own schools. Unfortunately, in Lugufu, one of these schools collapsed on students (fortunately without fatalities) because it was not built adequately. UNHCR intervened and hired technical people to construct better schools, a decision that ensured improved safety yet at the same time eroded CORD's attempts to encourage community participation.

95. Currently there is a need to build more classrooms, particularly in Lugufu, and UNHCR is once again asking CORD to facilitate community participation in this project. It is not clear how this project will move forward and who will be responsible for school construction. Refugees now expect that people should be paid to build schools, and CORD staff anticipated that it would be difficult to mobilise volunteer labour if that is what UNHCR decides to recommend.

96. Refugees who have completed secondary school strongly felt that CORD should provide post-secondary school educational opportunities to them as well as scholarship assistance such as the DAFI fund to study in Tanzanian universities and other universities abroad. In addition, some refugees formed a post-secondary school education programme on their own initiative using correspondence materials from Belgium. Students enrolled in the programme are asked to pay a small fee. The leaders of this new institution have asked for UNHCR and CORD financial support to improve and expand the programme without success. Unfortunately, donor priorities, which focus on elementary and secondary education, are not inline with refugee priorities on this issue.

97. Finally, refugees have also initiated adult education classes, teaching adults to read and write and in some cases to speak English. CORD sometimes provides training to these teachers, but little is provided in the way of material support. Groups seem to function effectively on their own and classes can be seen meeting under trees. However, while some charge minimal fees for their classes, teachers say this limits attendance, and they wish that CORD would pay them incentives.

Staffing issues

98. In the field, CORD's work is lead by a small staff of Tanzanian Community Service Officers who at least in theory, work in equal partnership with refugee supervisors to facilitate CORD programmes. Working under them are refugee animators, community workers and SGBV focal points who are the primary link between CORD and the wider community.

99. Within CORD, a variety of challenges arise in regards to the recruitment and compensation of refuge staff. When Community Services first began in Nyarugusu, refugees volunteered for positions and after a few months some were taken on as full-time staff and given an incentive as compensation for their work. In Lugufu, when CORD took over Community Services from RUSERP, they inherited some of the RUSERP staff. As the Community Service programmes expanded in both camps and more staff were hired, CORD realised that refugee staff recruitment was being done on the basis of family connections and ethnic affiliations. In order to remedy

this situation, in both camps efforts have been made to ensure that minority groups, women and disabled people are made aware of vacancies.

100. A system is now in place where candidates fill out an application and are short-listed. Then a CORD refugee supervisor and a Tanzanian Community Service Officer go with the candidates to the appropriate village to consult the village leaders and other community representatives to find out which of the candidates they would prefer. Taking the response of the village community into account, CORD makes the final decision about who to hire.¹⁴ This process appears to have significantly reduced the problem of nepotism. However, in some cases CORD has faced refugee leaders trying to steer the selection process so their person gets the position. If CORD feels that person is not qualified and decides to hire someone else, big problems arise when it comes to working with that particular refugee leader. This problem is not widespread, but in some cases has led to a great deal of frustration for CORD.

101. The rate of turnover among refugee staff is quite minimal as refugees hired tend to retain their jobs for several years. It appears that once a person is a CORD employee, he or she is in effect always a CORD employee except in the case of a serious violation of CORD principles. This provides continuity to the programme, but non-staff suggested that improvements could be made if staff worked on a one or two-year contract allowing new employees to bring in fresh ideas. Concerns were expressed that existing staff do not fear being made redundant even if their job performance is low.

102. In discussions with CORD refugee staff, the issue of greatest concern to them was the failure of CORD to increase the amount they are paid as an incentive. Animators and community workers make 16,000 Tsh per month and Supervisors make 21,000 Tsh per month. This rate was set by UNHCR when they first came to Tanzania, and it has not changed even though the Tanzanian shilling has devalued considerably over the last five years.¹⁵

103. The matter of refugee incentives is a very sensitive one and came up again and again throughout the course of the evaluation. CORD has taken the issue to UNHCR who decides what refugee incentives should be. From the perspective of UNHCR and the GOT, refugees are not paid salaries, but instead incentives are viewed as a small token of appreciation for the work that they do. However, from the refugees' perspective, an incentive is actually a low and exploitative wage. They also view the fact that they do not sign official contracts as negligence on CORD's part and do not realise that this policy stems from the Tanzanian government's restrictions on refugees' right to be employed.

104. To complete the picture it is important to note that currently 60 percent of CORD's budget goes to the payment of salaries and incentives of approximately 1,500 Tanzanian and refugee staff. This means that only 40 percent of CORD's budget funds activities that benefit the remaining 120,000 refugees in both camps. If CORD staff are effectively and efficiently working for the benefit of their

¹⁴ The application process has become the standard method of recruiting new employees. However, in one case it was reported that CORD observed a man in Lugufu who had a successful tomato project. They supplied him with more seeds and saw that he produced a good harvest. On the basis of his good performance, he was recruited to work in the agricultural programme.

¹⁵ In 1997, it is reported that the exchange rate was approximately 700 Tsh to USD\$1. Now the exchange rate is slightly less than 1000 Tsh to USD\$1.

communities, it could be argued that the large portion of the budget spent on human resources is money well spent.

105. In addition, it is worth noting that as CORD's Community Service programme has grown, resources have gone into hiring more staff rather than increasing the salary of the existing staff. At one stage UNHCR asked CORD to increase the numbers of Tanzanian Community Service Officers who earn, in some cases, sixteen times the amount of their refugee 'counterparts.' CORD resisted this directive, preferring to keep the numbers of Tanzanian staff lower in order to give more opportunities to refugee staff.

Refugee leadership

106. CORD has made an effort to work with refugee leadership in both camps, but refugee leaders themselves expressed a great deal of dissatisfaction about the way in which they are included. For example, whenever sensitive cultural matters are addressed in Community Service activities, CORD makes an effort to include elected leaders, traditional leaders and religious leaders in the discussion. However, these leaders complained that in many cases, they are consulted on a one-off basis. Once their opinion has been heard, CORD staff take the project and move forward with it, and refugee leaders feel they have no more say in how it is implemented.

107. The bottom line seems to be that refugee leaders want to play a more active role in facilitating CORD activities. Because CORD staff are the ones who know what the budget is and organise the distribution process, they are viewed as being the de facto leaders. In effect, CORD has created its own leadership structure and it seems unlikely that they can accommodate the wishes of refugee leaders short of directly hiring them as CORD staff or paying them incentives for their current work as refugee leaders. As it now stands, refugee leaders interviewed felt that their role is more symbolic in nature and not necessarily influential when it comes to the implementation of Community Service activities.

Refugee perceptions of community services

108. While CORD refugee staff are well versed in CORD's approach and the ideals of community development, refugees in the wider community appeared to have a limited idea of what is meant by Community Services. The survey and discussions with refugee leaders and people in the community indicated that many refugees view CORD's work almost exclusively in terms of what CORD gives to refugees, rather than in terms of how CORD assists refugees to contribute to their own community development.

109. In the survey of refugees, 100 people were asked to define CORD's job (see Annex 3). Eight did not know; 64 said it was to help vulnerable refugees, defined in terms of direct assistance; 49 said it was to provide education and/or health care; and 38 said it was to provide material assistance to micro-projects. Only 13 mentioned anything about self-reliance. Interestingly, of the 13 who mentioned self-reliance, 8 were disabled people who had been to Community Based Rehabilitation seminars indicating they had received some training in CORD's approach.¹⁶

110. Also notable, when asked which CORD activities are the least helpful, 30 of the 100 said assistance to vulnerable refugees was not helpful on grounds that material assistance was either not sufficient and/or it was not distributed fairly. 15 of the 100 said assistance to micro-projects was not helpful for the same reasons. 28 of the 100 interviewed did not give an answer.¹⁷ In some cases this was because they viewed all activities as helpful. It was suggested in focus group discussions that there was a reluctance to categorically reject an activity as unhelpful as that would result in less assistance coming to the camp.

111. Discussions with refugee leaders reinforced the perspective that assistance to refugees should be in the form of direct material assistance. Their concerns focused almost exclusively on what they view as insufficient material assistance to refugees, lack of transparency in distribution of assistance that is provided, and insufficient involvement of refugee leaders in the distribution process.

112. The recent history of UNHCR assistance to Rwandan refugees in Eastern Congo after the 1994 genocide provides valuable insight into why the Congolese have such high expectations for relief. In the camps of Goma and Bikavu, scores of NGOs arrived to shower assistance on Rwandan refugees. In many cases, several NGOs duplicated assistance and outside groups as well gave direct assistance to refugees without going through an NGO. A significant number of Congolese refugees in Tanzania were employed as national staff to assist the Rwandese during that time. Some of them earned salaries as high as US\$200 a month.

¹⁶ Total responses add up to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

¹⁷ The remaining responses were largely focused on activities that challenged Congolese culture, such as the HIV campaign, SGBV and women's mobilisation. Also activities that required the Congolese to change their way of doing things, such as cooking on fuel-efficient stoves, were criticised.

113. The Congolese in the Tanzania camps recall how UNHCR operated in the Congo and do not understand how the same organisation could have such a different approach in Tanzania. As a result, many Congolese simply conclude that the same amount of resources are available for Congolese refugees but that the Tanzanian government, UNHCR, CORD and other implementing partners are withholding those resources. Most refugees do not understand that donor priorities have changed since the Rwandan crisis. They also do not understand that UNHCR co-ordination of a limited number of NGOs in Tanzania is a direct result of lessons learned in the Congo where co-ordination of assistance was ad hoc at best.

114. In the final workshops, following the presentation of research findings, refugees asked many questions about UNHCR's mandate, about how the agency raises funds and about why they do not receive all the things they feel they need and want. Refugees appeared to simply lack basic information about how UNHCR systems operate, suggesting that significant benefits could result from facilitating further discussion and providing refugees with more information about these issues.

115. Perhaps one of the most revealing findings of the evaluation concerns refugee perceptions of the UNHCR symbol. On several occasions in discussions about self-reliance, refugees pointed to the UNHCR symbol largely displayed on donated tarpaulins used all around the camp and explained its meaning like this.

When we see the UNHCR emblem, it shows a man without legs and without hands. He is like a disabled person. He is vulnerable. He cannot move forward, he cannot move backward. This is a refugee. How can a refugee become self-reliant if he is like that? The only thing he can do is wait for the hands to provide all the things he needs.

116. While not every refugee articulated this concept, this view of UNHCR appears to be quite pervasive among Congolese refugees in the both camps. In essence, UNHCR's protection mandate symbolised by protective hands has been reinterpreted in terms of direct service provision to people who feel UNHCR owes them material support. Within this context, CORD's efforts to encourage the community to use their own initiative in problem solving are at risk of being undermined because many refugees expect CORD to function in the same way that they view UNHCR.

117. A pertinent example illustrating refugees' preference for direct assistance relates to religious groups. As it became apparent that religious groups play an important role in the life of the refugee community, an effort was made to interview some religious leaders in Lugufu. (Regrettably, this was not possible in Nyarugusu because of time constraints.) There are at least 120 recognised religious groups that meet regularly in Lugufu. The majority of Congolese at the camp are Christian, but there are also five mosques to accommodate the Muslim population at the camp.

118. Religious groups could be viewed as a remarkable example of refugee initiative independent of donor supports, but religious leaders interviewed did not see it in this way. They complained that they must build their own churches and mosques with no assistance from CORD¹⁸. Some churches have started pre-schools and Bible

¹⁸ In one case, an Islamic Tanzanian group contributed funds for the building of a mosque at the camp.

schools and the mosques also provide education to children. CORD has provided training for pre-school teachers, but religious leaders felt that this was not enough, and material support should be provided as well.¹⁹

119. It is interesting to note that the focus of almost every discussion with refugees (outside of CORD staff) about improvements for Community Services had nothing to do with CORD's community development approach, but rather focused entirely on accessing more direct material assistance. Given the nature of the evaluation, it is understandable that refugees would view this as an opportunity to voice complaints and seek more assistance. Resources are limited in the camp, and many refugees assume that UNHCR has near-unlimited resources available to assist them if only their voice is heard by the right people.

¹⁹ Tension between refugee priorities and donor priorities regarding support to religious groups has created difficult situations for CORD staff from time to time. On one occasion UNHCR asked CORD to facilitate travel for a refugee football team from Lugufu to Kasulu. At the same time, a large church conference was going on in Kigoma and religious leaders asked CORD to facilitate their travel. CORD was not able to do so because funding was not available. The church groups involved were frustrated and did not understand why a distinction was made.

Community services: an approach or a sector?

120. Because CORD views Community Services in terms of a community development approach that seeks to empower the community to address their own needs, this approach can guide and inform other sectors. By contrast, UNHCR views Community Services as a separate sector, a service rendered especially to key groups of vulnerable refugees with an effort to improve their living standards.

121. The two different postures are reflected in their terminology. 'Community Services' suggests that an agency is offering or providing something to needy victims whereas the concept of 'Community Development' requires community initiative and recognises that refugees come equipped with inherent abilities and skills plus the capacity to be decision makers and agents of positive change. While CORD works under the umbrella of UNHCR and actually implements UNHCR Community Service activities, this distinction between an approach and a sector has enormous implications for what CORD is and is not able to accomplish.

122. Decreasing the distance between these two perspectives, UNHCR has made an effort to widen the scope of Community Services.²⁰ In Geneva, a document entitled "Reinforcing a Community Development Approach" was drafted by the Health and Community Development Unit of UNHCR in February 2001. This document highlights UNHCR's efforts to move away from a focus on individual service delivery and their greater emphasis on a community perspective that strengthens refugees' initiative. UNHCR's Community Services handbook further outlines the agency's priorities for involving refugees in the "assessment of their needs, planning activities and services and in the implementation and evaluation of programmes." The goals of community services are stated as follows: "To restore the refugees' humanity and dignity, to enable them to take decisions, to restore a sense of security, to create a sense of belonging and to rebuild a self-generating community (p 13)."

Reconsidering the purpose of micro-projects

123. In Tanzania, UNHCR Community Services has interpreted these guidelines in terms of encouraging self-reliance through micro-project schemes. According to an unpublished paper outlining "The Self-Reliance Initiative" for Tanzania, the first goal of the programme is the "enhancement of (refugee) dignity and sense of self-worth." Other goals include providing activities in the camp so that refugees have something to do and offering training to refugee so they are equipped with skills they can use when they return home. In the pilot project in Kibondo camps, the refugee self-reliance committee used resources to establish a community garden and are waiting for more UNHCR support to expand and continue the project. This is a significant step forward, and it appears that self-reliance will remain a UNHCR priority in the coming year.

²⁰ Recently, in UNHCR's financial management system, they changed the label from Community Services to Community Development Services suggesting a small acknowledgement that the agency is expanding their view beyond service provision.

124. However, the self-reliance programme regrettably lacks a profit making component. The assumption that refugee self-reliance requires ongoing UNHCR funding and donor inputs from year to year, appears to create a self-reliance that is completely dependent on UNHCR as it were.²¹ In “The Self-Reliance Initiative,” no mention is made of a need for training and equipping refugees with skills in marketing and business development. In addition, credit schemes are not in place, making it very difficult for refugees to access capital needed to start business that could potentially generate a sustainable income independent of UNHCR and NGOs. As it now stands, CORD operates its micro-projects in a similar mode, although the CORD country director has made an effort to conduct seminars on marketing, brain storming business ideas with refugees with very positive results.

125. In the past, CORD did attempt to offer credit to groups through a revolving loan fund. However, the scheme failed because groups disbanded when many refugees repatriated in 1998. Since then, refugees have requested that the fund be reinstated and efforts are now underway to do so building on lessons learned. However, the fact that CORD freely distributes resources to some groups may jeopardise their plan to give credit that must be paid back to other groups. The principles of relief and development can be effective in progression moving from relief toward development, but the two approaches can sometimes be at odds.

Reconsidering the origins of dependency

126. An idea prominent among aid workers says refugees are dependent and need to be taught how to become self-reliant. More accurately, under UNHCR’s current system, refugees become dependent in order to continue benefiting from the system in place. In the Congo, before they became refugees, they were self-reliant or better stated, ‘family-reliant.’²² Communities fed themselves and looked after their children, their elderly, and the sick. While self-reliance is not something new, dependency is.

127. In this context, UNHCR speaks the rhetoric of refugee participation in assistance as a way to combat dependency, but success is hampered by the agency’s overriding approach of fitting refugees into UNHCR initiatives rather than fitting UNHCR into refugee initiatives. In other words, refugees are in most cases being participated rather than participating. For example when food is distributed, refugee leaders are called upon to help with crowd control while refugees appoint ‘kapitas,’ or ration card leaders, who help to distribute food. This could be called participation, but any opinions refugees have about what type of food is distributed, how it is distributed and to whom are not taken into consideration.

²¹ One suggestion made by the Senior UNHCR Community Service Officer was to arrange for transportation of refugee products between camps to facilitate trade. If this suggestion is implemented, UNHCR will bear the cost of maintaining an artificially created market. While inventive, such a proposal does not appear sustainable, and given high transportation costs, it is likely that only small numbers of refugees would benefit.

²² When asked, some refugees interviewed said ‘self-reliance’ is a word they rarely used in the Congo. They suggested that in Congolese society to be reliant on self is not common. Instead, people look to their families for assistance and support. This suggests that ‘self-reliance’ is perhaps an imposed Western concept, and the Congolese may not value ‘self-reliance’ in the same way that aid workers do. ‘Family or community reliance’ may be a more appropriate word to use.

128. By contrast, CORD aims for refugees to be actual decision-makers, allowing refugee staff to see budgets and plan activities according to their priorities. According to CORD's approach, refugees should take an active role in managing their own lives. Taken to its logical conclusion, an effective community development approach used across the board would allow refugees to have a say in food distribution and camp management issues. Under the UNHCR system where refugees expect that everything should be done on their behalf, CORD seems to be swimming upstream in its efforts to encourage the community to do things for themselves.

Considering what makes CORD special

129. When asked to articulate the differences between CORD's approach to refugee assistance and the approach implemented by UNHCR and other NGOs that work in the camps, one CORD staff member rephrased the question to be 'what makes CORD special?' In all focus group discussions with CORD staff and non-staff alike, refugees expressed appreciation of CORD's willingness to work with the community, to listen to their ideas, to offer training and to continually seek ways of improving their activities. In the words of one refugee, "CORD lives with the community and shares all its problems." That the CORD compound is not walled or gated was appreciated as a sign of openness to refugees. Other NGOs were perceived as more focused on direct service provision without consulting refugee opinion.

130. The following positive picture of CORD is a compilation of comments made with most points repeated several times in various focus group discussions. It was simply not possible to gage how widespread these views are. In the survey, research assistants came into contact with people who had never received assistance from the agency, were angered by this, and did not want to talk about CORD. It is also likely that there are many refugees who would not be able to articulate these distinctions between UNHCR and CORD. Thus, the table indicates how CORD refugee staff and the refugees who directly benefit from CORD's activities appreciate the way in which the organisation goes about including them.

UNHCR and other NGO implementing partners	CORD
Assumes that all refugees are the same.	Recognise that refugees are a diverse community of people with different skills and leadership abilities.
Make decisions on behalf of refugees without giving explanations to refugees.	Facilitate and encourage refugees to make decisions that affect their community.
Give direct assistance to everyone equally.	Give direct assistance only to the most vulnerable. The community is encouraged to assist the most needy among them.
Use refugee leaders as a way to get information to and from refugees.	Ask refugee leaders for their opinions and advice in shaping programmes that affect the community.

Not approachable. Unwilling to hear refugee suggestions or complaints, especially on a one-to-one basis.	Very open, easy to access. People are free to present complaints and recommendations to CORD staff.
Do not allow refugees to see budgets and do not include them in planning.	Allow refugee supervisors to see budgets and include them in planning.
Do not include refugees in their meetings.	Regularly include refugees in their meetings.

131. In the final workshop, time was spent further discussing how CORD's approach differs from UNHCR's approach and how they could be symbolised pictorially. The following conception of CORD's approach to refugee assistance was presented.²³

Rather than one refugee with no arms and legs standing under enclosed hands, CORD recognises that the refugees are a community of people with arms and legs. They are a diverse group of people with a wide range of backgrounds and skills, and they have the ability to do things for themselves. But at the same time, this community has been affected by war and is in need of protection, protection that is perhaps better represented by a tree. A tree can provide shade, firewood and fruit to the most needy refugees beneath it, but the community has a responsibility to the tree, to care for it and use its resources wisely. But most importantly, the community is free to move out from under the tree to explore their own possibilities.

132. This model recognises the need for protection and for direct assistance to a degree. Particularly in the emergency phase, there is a need for donors to provide food, shelter and medical care to people as fast as possible. When people regain their strength, communities form out of diverse groups of people and people begin to look for ways to improve their lives. Although UNHCR calls this next phase 'care and maintenance,' the current system tends toward the 'care and maintenance' of relief systems rather than the development of refugee communities.

²³ This conception of CORD's approach is mine. I created the picture as a way to communicate and highlight the distinctions CORD refugee staff and focus group participants made between the UNHCR and CORD approaches to refugee assistance. Participants at the final workshop had not thought of CORD in these terms, but once the idea was presented, the general consensus seemed to be that the tree model (CORD) would be preferable to the enclosed hands model (UNHCR). Limitations to CORD's approach including government restrictions and UNHCR's current systems were represented as fences around the tree and the community. After the initial presentation, refugees engaged in an animated discussion about these concepts and seemed to fully grasp and agree with their intended meaning.

Highlighting some challenges

133. Having argued strongly in favour of a more comprehensive community development approach to refugee assistance, it is important to temper that discussion with a clear understanding of the inevitable challenges of implementing a community development approach in a refugee context. CORD faces at least four over-arching challenges that have been touched on above but will be further discussed below. The issues presented are complex and this review cannot provide all the answers to these challenges. However, it is hoped that in raising these issues, CORD and UNHCR can move forward with a greater awareness and consideration of the difficulties of working in refugee communities.

A temporary community

134. A community development approach necessarily requires a community that has a measure of stability. It takes years for a community to develop, not days or even months, yet refugees arrive in Tanzania with thoughts of going home one day. It is important for people to take ownership of projects if they are to be sustainable, but it is difficult to foster a feeling of ownership in a group of people who are not at home. It may also be difficult to convince people that it is worthwhile to invest in businesses and activities in a temporary refugee camp.

135. Also the issue of community development is based on the assumption that a cohesive community actually exists. In a refugee camp, people from different regions of the Congo, from different tribes and ethnic groups merge together, and while over time they form a community of some kind, it is not always cohesive. In many cases, it is very difficult for people to reach a consensus on what is best for the community.

136. Critiques of community development approaches have been better articulated by others and will not be detailed here. However, it should be noted that 'community development' is not a panacea. In some respects a purist 'community development' model is based on a socialist point of view where everyone shares equally and looks after the good of those in their community. The Congolese are primarily traders, essentially capitalists, and it is not clear that their priorities are necessarily entirely in line with community development priorities. Romantic notions of refugees all working together to help one another are simply unrealistic and dangerous. As in any community, there are strong people and weak people and sometimes the strong look for ways to profit that further disadvantage the weak. Yet, acknowledging these differences may place community development programmes in a better position to address inequities than direct assistance systems that do not recognise community hierarchies.

Refugee expectations

137. A second big challenge CORD faces, one that has already been touched upon, is that many refugees express their preference for a relief model over a development approach. If handouts are what refugees want, one could argue that the focus of CORD programmes should be to simply provide more handouts. However, the short-term benefits would be negated by prohibitive short-term and long-term costs. In addition, refugees repeatedly made statements to the effect that they do not want to be beggars but feel they have no other alternative given the current conditions of the camp.

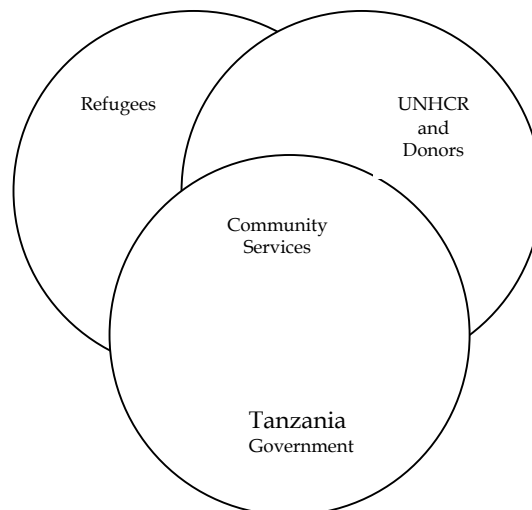
138. The issue of refugee expectations in regards to participation is also a difficult one. CORD relies heavily on volunteer labour, which is viewed by many refugees as the exploitation of free labour rather than as 'community participation.' Initially, misunderstandings about volunteering were semantic to a degree. The Congolese understand the word 'volunteer' to mean someone who assists, but can be eligible for payment. The word 'benevolat' is the one used for work done without any compensation. Initially this word confusion created difficulties for CORD because what they meant by volunteering is not what the refugees understood.

139. The expectation that one should earn a wage for his or her labour does not seem unreasonable given that this is the custom almost everywhere else in the world. However, as the situation now stands, the NGOs are the only ones offering paid employment, and they simply cannot employ everyone. The best way to remedy this problem would be to develop the camp economy such that businesses are profitable enough to allow refugees to employ one another. Until more is done on this front, using the analogy outlined above, refugees will always see the need to gather close to the aid tree to benefit from what it provides them.

140. The key to dealing with refugee expectations is to engage refugees in dialogue. If refugees are not involved in discussions, they will view community development as a cheap alternative to the provision of handouts (obviously, the same holds true for donors). Although refugees have learned the current system well and know how to make it work to their benefit, discussions at the final workshop indicated an openness to exchanging the short term benefits of direct assistance for the long term benefits of a community development approach as long as provisions are made for more profit-making opportunities.

Conflicting priorities.

141. Another challenge CORD faces is that they must broker between the wishes of the refugees, the priorities of UNHCR and donors, and Tanzanian government policy and their conflicting priorities. This challenge can be depicted as follows:



142. CORD's ideals focus on empowering the refugee community and thus Community Services prioritises refugee community initiatives. However, refugee initiatives do not exist in isolation. As a result workable Community Services can be viewed as the point where refugee priorities overlap with donor priorities that are in compliance with the Tanzanian government's policy.

143. For example, discussions with refugees revealed a need for more direct assistance, a need for improvements to be made on their behalf in the education and healthcare programmes, and a wish for higher incentives paid to CORD staff. At the same time, UNHCR and donors want refugees to become self-reliant. In addition, the Congolese have resisted donor initiatives such as family planning, environmental protection and HIV awareness raising because these initiatives contradict or challenge their culture. The Tanzanian government's concern for national security and the preservation of the environment in the refugee camp further complicates things. CORD's focus on community development must fit within the constraints of government restrictions placed upon refugees.

144. In this context, it would be easy to view government restrictions placed on refugees as the chief obstacle in facilitating community development approaches, but these restrictions may not be as limiting as they seem. Western Tanzania is one of the poorer regions of the country, and the government desires that refugee affected areas should benefit from all the assistance coming in for refugees. It is likely that the Tanzania government would appreciate initiatives that lead to economic development for both refugees and hosts simultaneously given that they do not constitute local integration. For example, CORD has negotiated with MHA to allow shared markets at the entrance of Nyarugusu and Lugufu camps that allow refugees and Tanzanians from neighbouring villages to trade. The government's willingness to allow this initiative suggests that it is open to ideas that have an economic benefit to both refugees and the local population, but not enough has been done to explore the possibilities.

Dark rooms

145. Another major challenge CORD faces is that of ensuring that the most needy, that is the 'extremely vulnerable,' are assisted. Unfortunately, the term 'vulnerable' has been defined in so many ways it is not clear what the word actually means. In one sense, all refugees are 'vulnerable', but within the refugee community, UNHCR and refugees alike acknowledge that there are some with special, more acute economic, social and protection needs. Not all refugees are the same, and there will always be individuals who have special needs or may be in grave circumstances needing direct intervention.

146. A brief encounter in Nyarugusu camp highlights the seriousness of the problem of assisting vulnerable refugees. On a walk through the camp, we (that is the evaluator and the research assistants) stopped at a house that appeared much poorer than others. The mud walls were crumbling and the wind blew in. Inside, once my eyes grew accustomed to the lack of light, I realised a child lay on a makeshift bed inside the dark room. I was told that the three-year old is disabled and that his mother leaves him every day because she must go out in search of work. Apparently paralysed, he used to cry loudly whenever his mother left, but now is quiet and used to being left each day on his own. I asked if the family had gone to the Community Based Rehabilitation (CBR) programme to learn how to look after the child better, to help him with physical therapy and to ensure that he has a proper diet. The response was, "The father thinks the child has been cursed, so he is not interested in going to CBR. He doesn't see the need."

147. There is no way to tell how many dark rooms are hiding problems that CORD has a responsibility to address. Making matters worse, if people in the community do not view issues such as a child's disability or domestic violence as a problem worth addressing, then CORD is very limited in its ability to intervene.

148. A question that needs to be asked is: How widespread is CORD's net of effectiveness within the community? The survey showed that out of 100 people interviewed, 63 had spoken to a CORD staff member. This would indicate that CORD staff are doing a fairly good job communicating with refugees in the wider community though there is room for improvements. 51 of the 63 who had spoken to a CORD staff member had spoken to an animator. Animators play a significant role as the liaison between CORD and the refugee community, and on the basis of survey results, they are successfully communicating with at least half of the refugee population. While CORD depends on community workers (including animators and other workers) to act as the information and monitoring link between refugees in their villages and the agency, there is roughly only one community worker per 1,000 people. It is not likely that one community worker can know everything about his community.

149. In focus group discussions, CORD staff continuously talked about communicating with 'the community,' but it is worth asking 'who do they mean?' CORD staff, village leaders and members of CORD assisted groups are routinely included in seminars and trainings and to be sure they are part of the refugee community. However, how efficient are these people in disseminating information and addressing community issues? In the space of five weeks it was impossible to adequately assess this. But the story of the child in the dark room should be

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sufficient to illustrate that a well-articulated approach to community development is not enough if it is not reaching the hidden places of the refugee camp.

Conclusions

150. In conclusion, it is worthwhile to consider what the long-term possibilities are for Congolese refugees in Tanzania. UNHCR recognises three durable solutions to refugee problems. The first and most preferred solution is repatriation, but for the Congolese this option appears a long way off. The recent Inter-Congolese Dialogues in Sun City, South Africa were a step forward in the peace process, but fighting continues in Eastern DRC while new arrivals fleeing the war arrive in Kigoma, Tanzania every day.²⁴ The second recognised alternative is local integration. However, as has already been explained, Tanzania will not accept integration as a durable solution. The third option, resettlement to a third country of asylum, is an unrealistic solution on a large scale given that only a very limited number of refugees are resettled to other countries. For example, in 2000, only 333 refugees from Tanzania were resettled to the United States, Canada and Benin. In 2001, the number increased to 534 refugees out of which 215 were Congolese (UNHCR Tanzanian 2001/2002, p 5).

151. In sum, because the three accepted durable solutions are allusive for Congolese refugees, UNHCR is focusing on 'care and maintenance programmes' in Tanzania that largely take the form of direct assistance to the refugees. But the question is how long can UNHCR go on feeding people in the Tanzanian camps? The refugee-feeding operation, which covers both Kigoma and Kagera regions costs upwards of US\$1 million per week (Landau 2001, p 12). And UNHCR's funding appeal for 2002 was \$24.7 million, down from \$32 million in 2001, suggesting that such prohibitive costs are difficult to sustain over a long period of time. An alternative to the current relief approach to refugee assistance is in order.

152. It has been argued here that aid used for development rather than for relief would more effectively assist refugees. This requires allowing refugees to participate in decision making and management. They should be approached as people with skills and inherent capabilities, not as helpless victims. Long-term development activities are likely not appropriate, nor conceivable to refugees when they first arrive. However, engaging people in community development approaches that allow them to influence how they are assisted is a much better alternative to the current system.

153. The problem is that UNHCR is well equipped to offer legal protection to refugees and to deliver humanitarian relief, but when it comes to community development, systems are very weak.²⁵ Indeed, some would argue that UNHCR's

²⁴ An UNHCR press release issued on 31 July 2002 stated that "UNHCR today heralded the signing in Pretoria of an agreement between the governments of the DRC and Rwanda as a milestone that could pave the way to peace and the return of tens of thousands of refugees." Given that there have also been recent, unconfirmed reports of fighting in South Kivu, any hopes of a large-scale repatriation of Congolese refugees seem overly optimistic. The press release goes on to state that UNHCR "expects most Congolese refugees to adopt a more prudent attitude and wait for further development in the peace process before opting for return."

²⁵ See the following paper for a comprehensive, historical discussion of UNHCR's involvement in development efforts: Crisp, Jeff (May 2001) "Mind the Gap! UNHCR, Humanitarian Assistance and the

mandate prevents it from becoming involved in development work.²⁶ But the alternative is not workable. UNHCR is faced with an increasingly protracted refugee situation in Tanzania. A purist reading of UNHCR's mandate would withdraw assistance and focus only on protection as it relates to *non-refoulement*. But most would agree that Tanzania is not in a position to host half a million refugees without some external assistance. The question, then, is how can assistance be more effectively provided in a way that allows refugees to live productive lives in exile until repatriation is possible?

154. Rather than continually seeking ways to squeeze community development into a relief approach as is the case in Nyarugusu and Lugufu, efforts could be made to focus on community development rather than relief from the beginning. The government of Tanzania has earmarked a new site in Ilagala as the next refugee camp in Tanzania. Here is a potential open door of opportunity to expand the impact of a community development approach if UNHCR and the government of Tanzania make this a priority.

155. Recognising the Tanzanian government's valid concerns about local integration, there is still room for refugees to live in Tanzania on a temporary basis while taking more control of their own lives for their own benefit as well as the benefit of Tanzania. Concerns that refugees will never go home if given too much autonomy in exile seem misplaced and unsubstantiated. "Home is home," as Congolese refugees often say. And that is where they want to go when peace is restored to the Congo. However, since experience has shown that refugee situations often become protracted because of unresolved conflict in countries of origin. It would be useful to assume that refugees will stay for a few years and to make plans to utilise their presence. If this assumption proves false and refugees return home in a matter of days or months, nothing has been lost. But if refugees do stay on, community development efforts would be a better alternative to repeating the same scenario of funding years of relief that only perpetuate refugee dependency.

156. By the same token, a development approach to refugee assistance should not be viewed as a cheap alternative to relief. Initial inputs to create opportunities for development would be costly, but not more costly than years of funding relief.²⁷ The

Development Process," *New Issues in Refugee Research*, Working Paper No. 43. In the 1980s an effort was made to consider ways of marrying refugee assistance with a development approach. Unfortunately, problems arose because objectives were ambiguous in nature. It was not clear if the development initiative was an attempt to encourage local integration or to ameliorate the situation of refugees, the host community and state until repatriation was possible. In addition, around the same time UNHCR became embroiled in a large-scale famine relief effort in Africa. By the time the famine ended, the cold war was also coming to an end and repatriation was increasingly perceived as the only effective solution to refugee problems further redirecting UNHCR's approach away from development within host countries.

²⁶ I have argued this in a UNHCR Evaluation Report looking at the protracted refugee situation of Liberian refugees in Ghana. However, in Ghana refugee numbers are much fewer than in Tanzania, and Liberian refugees have greater access to economic opportunities through remittances received from the United States that facilitate development without UNHCR intervention. Liberians do have a need for development assistance, but it was argued that UNHCR should focus on protection issues strictly in keeping with its mandate in this case. For more details, see Dick, Shelly (July 2002) "Responding to Protracted Refugee Situations: A Case Study of Liberian Refugees in Ghana," UNHCR, Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit.

²⁷ In the 1980s, UNHCR worked in conjunction with the World Bank and the Pakistani government to facilitate the Income-Generating Project for Afghan Refugees (IGPAR) at a cost of US\$86 million. It is reported that "the programme provided more than 21 million work days of employment between 1984

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longer-term goal is to reduce the need for refugees to be dependent on donor inputs and to allow refugees to enjoy productive lives and contribute to the development of Western Tanzania pending the day of their return to the DRC. With this goal in mind, it is in the enlightened best interest of UNHCR and the government of Tanzania to expand the impact of international NGO assistance beyond delivering truckloads of relief supplies. Rather than viewing refugees as a total cost to relief agencies and to the host country, efforts should be made to utilise refugees as assets, human resources capable of contributing positively to their own community, the host community and the state of Tanzania.

and 1994, more than three-quarters of which benefited the refugee population. At the same time, it allowed the completion of nearly 300 separate projects in three or Pakistan's border provinces, mainly in areas such as reforestation, watershed management, irrigation, flood protection, road repair and construction. Throughout the programme, emphasis was placed on providing training to the refugees, so that they could acquire the skills and experience needed to reconstruct their own country if and when repatriation became possible (Crisp 2001, p 3)." This programme appears to have successfully bridged the gap between relief and development in a refugee context, but costs to donors were significant.

Recommendations

157. CORD should include greater numbers of people in seminars where refugee expectations can be addressed and where training in community development approaches can be more widely disseminated. Much of refugee dissatisfaction comes from a simple lack of information about CORD's priorities and the constraints UNHCR and implementing partners face in assisting refugees.

158. CORD should continually seek ways to improve the distribution system to insure that distribution of material assistance is transparent and fair.

159. CORD should get rid of the 25 percent donation rule that is imposed on assisted micro-project groups. It is too difficult to monitor and enforce, as well as onerous. It is likely that successful businessmen will assist their community as they do in other places. Efforts should be made to treat refugee businesses as real businesses with the same expectations that apply everywhere else in the world.

160. CORD should consider providing school uniforms, at least for secondary schoolgirls.

161. CORD and UNHCR should consider providing more opportunities for professional training for nurses and teachers. Programmes to train nurses and teachers have been started, but they should be expanded. UNHCR has had success getting the DRC to recognise refugee secondary school examinations. The same approach could be used with nursing and teaching certificates so that refugees are gaining skills and qualifications in the camp that can be used when they return home.

162. UNHCR should hold forums on a regular basis to simply answer refugee questions. Unrealistic expectations would be addressed and it is likely that a greater degree of co-operation and understanding would exist.

163. UNHCR should review refugee incentives and give them a raise. It is likely that even a small increase would boost morale and help refugees to feel that their voice has been heard.

164. UNHCR should make funds available for Community Service activities in Lugufu II as soon as possible.

165. UNHCR should create a separate NGO to provide credit to refugee businesses, or alternatively, ask an agency with expertise in this area to begin a small business training and credit programme in the Congolese camps. An agency like CORD is probably not in the best position to administer this programme as it is contradictory to distribute material assistance free of charge on the one hand, but require people to pay back loans on the other hand. The NGO should give initial loans but then function as a profit-making organisation like any other lending agency in capital markets around the world. Training in marketing and business management should also be provided. This organisation should encourage refugees to turn their

businesses into sustainable profit making enterprises rather than simply being donor-supported projects that in many cases fold as soon as assistance is no longer forthcoming.

166. UNHCR should consider conducting a pilot project at the Ilagala camp using a community development approach that will provide opportunities for autonomy to refugees from day one of the camp. UNHCR and the Community Services implementing partner could brainstorm with the GOT to develop creative strategies that utilise refugees as an asset to Tanzania rather than creating structures that enforce refugee presence in Tanzania as a total cost.

Annex 1

Participants in focus group discussions

CORD Project Leader and Community Service Officers (Tanzanian staff)

Nyarugusu	Lugufu
Mloso Hashim, Project Leader Eunice Ferdinand, Micro Projects CSO Eradius Rwechungura, Education CSO Arsen Mbanzendole, Youth/Environment CSO Musa Rashid, CBR CSO Joram Kimo, CBR CSO	Aaron Magembe, Project Leader Judith James, Assistant Project Leader Jovina Nawenzake, Non-formal Ed. CSO Subira Mkumule, CBR CSO Enna Sanga, CSO David Mtiruka, Education CSO Peter Mnalla, Environment/ Agriculture CSO Denis Rwegoshora, Youth/Micro Projects CSO

CORD supervisors and assistant supervisors (Congolese refugee staff)

Nyarugusu	Lugufu
Kapela Bakary, Administrator Elongo Lukendobonga, Translator Lubala Mungereza, Vulnerables Supervisor Kisasu Felicien, Vulnerables Assist. Supervisor Bwiseelelo Mishima, Youth Supervisor Danton Mbusa, Youth Assist. Supervisor Mlebinge Justine, Environment Ed. Supervisor Mulenda Kinbiti, Non-formal Ed. Supervisor Mujombwe Bakeni, Formal Ed. Supervisor Watinbwa Mukungilwa, Formal Ed. Assist. Supervisor Wilongja Mutanbala, Micro Projects Supervisor Nyassa Elengabo, Women's Supervisor Tembela Chala, Agriculture Supervisor Chabunbwa Sela, SGBV Supervisor Marie Walengamina, SGBV Assist. Supervisor Lusanbya Zebedee, CBR Supervisor	<p>Lugufu I</p> Kiza Pondamali, SGBV Supervisor Alimbe Mtembwa, Education Inspector Wacubwa Yangya Vulnerables Supervisor Ehebelo Mtu, Micro-Project Supervisor Mangaiko Nalukuli, Administrator Saidi Fitima, Gender Development Supervisor Tchite Shikoti, Environment Supervisor Christine Siwahemo, CBR Supervisor Mwajemi Hussein, Non-formal Ed Supervisor Mwenebocho Ngoma, Education Trainer Mwefu Shabani, Youth Supervisor Mutumbi Alimasi, Vulnerables Supervisor Mashinga Ntambwe, Assist. Ed Coordinator Rev Poahombusa, Education Coordinator Esabya Mwenesangoam, Agriculture Supervisor Huruma Kennedy, Community Gazette
	<p>Lugufu II</p> Lilozo Ktabu, Environment/ Agriculture Supervisor Abwe Bendera Nilu, Childcare Supervisor Mlala Baruani, Youth Supervisor

	<p>Lusungu Dunia, Micro-Project Supervisor Georgette Nteziriba, Vulnerable Supervisor Mukamba Nganu, Education Inspector Ernesto Mfaume, Gender Supervisor Bienfait Welongo, Compound Manager/Non-formal Ed Supervisor Furaha Mangala, CBR Supervisor</p>
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CORD community workers (Congolese refugee staff)

Nyarugusu	Lugufu
<p>Tatuma Sumali, CBR Worker Apame Byaombe, Environment Worker Ebibe Bwewye, Animator Katato Nkomba, Teacher Bani Bibenga, Animator Asukulu N'nbanbwa, SGBV Counselor Nauwa Noshi, Animator Mme'we Mkangya Boniface, Teacher Bobilya Elungu, Teacher M'Mangyu Lukalula, Teacher Kisidja Anzuruni, Teacher Sila Lulinda, Environment Worker Mata Samba, Animator Songa Mleci, SGBV Counselor Missi Assumani Nestor, Health Worker Machozi Beatrice, Health Worker Lwango Msafiri Medard, Health Worker Rugoso Rukalisha, Animator Abwe Mimbekalo Nyambwe, Animator Elia Salumu, CBR Worker Welongo Misa, CS Worker Salawba Amul, Animator Nulole Singimwiby, Animator Malenga Abwe, Animator Mwandja Mkelelwa, CS Worker Mitamba Damlangala, CS Worker Walukeba Nunda, CS Worker Mlebinge Nyongobela, Animator Wawangwa Assumani, Animator</p>	<p>Lugufu I</p> <p>Riziki Said, Focal Point SGBV Abuke Matundanya, Animator Bahindulwa Lukye, Animator Lidia Msafiri, Animator Kiza Bariel, Animator Akola Mahungu, Animator Lulela Bin Mukabo, Animator Safi Sango, Animator Fatuma Bilelo, Animator Kongolo Mubindja, Animator Bomona Lhanda, Animator Mahungu Alinoti, Animator Kyala Rose, Animator Pekee Ehanga, Environment Educator Thadeho Kithaho, CBR Social Worker</p> <p>Lugufu II</p> <p>Byamone'a Sadi, CBR Worker Jeneroza Wamamgi, Animator Mtee Mwenebatu, Agric/Environment Educator Amani Ramzani, Animator Johari Bakari, Focal Point SGBV Regina Mwamba, Animator Mwando Lukaba, CBR Worker Mukunde Kahindo, Animator Lubunga Pierre, Focal Point SGBV Gagnee Baruti Animator Sadiki Watarvwe, Animator Louise Lehani, Animator Magambo Muhigrwa, Animator M'makbya Mkyoku, Animator Lumona Mialano,</p>

Elected refugee leaders

Nyarugusu	Lugufu
Selemani Bulungo, Zone Leader Mukandja Dienolonne, Zone Leader Yokibeda Naloengo, Zone Leader Abubakar Sadiki, Vice President Mlanda Dunia, Zone Leader Vumilia Naabwe, Zone Leader Wabikwa Nalonda, Zone Leader Bwisemene Lambert, Zone Leader	Ngoy Watembo, Camp Leader Kilinda M'mangyu, Zone Leader Wamanya Mwaka, Zone Leader Ahinobe Rajabu, Village Leader Aoci Esube, Village Leader Lusakila Modeste, Village Leader Macozi Anzuruni, Village Leader Mwavita Zahina, Village Leader Friphonse Bernadette, Village Leader Wakibundi Djuma, Cluster Leader Ngoma Sungula, Cluster Leader

Traditional leaders

Nyarugusu	Lugufu
Selemani Bun Jumaa, Chief B. Muzima Olivier, Chief Kilozo Malenga, Chief Sibatwa Juma, Chief Kibungu Oledi, Chief Tshinkoma Mutumbi, Administrator (in DRC) Bikela Shomari, Chief Yumor Emedi, Chief Shabani Ngolwa, Chief	Jerardi Saleh, Capita Bumbaki Kindondwa, Capita Benjamin Minyanya, Chief Kalenga Lambert, Chief Mbuka Kiloloma, Representative Nyangi Desire, Chief Saidi Lunga, Chief Mialano Welindgo, Chief Alonda Acindjwa, Capita Bilewgana Ayuba, Capita Eumbya Iyose, Representative Akembe Aromi, Capita

*Capitas rank under Chiefs.

Religious Leaders

Nyarugusu	Lugufu
<p>*It was not possible to arrange a meeting with religious leaders in Nyarugusu due to time constraints. A large number of religious groups operate in the camp, the majority being Christian and the minority being Muslim. Traditional religions are also practised.</p>	Eloko Masengo, Protestant Pastor Mmbakwa Ababele, Protestant Pastor Mukalangwa Alimasi Protestant Pastor Baruani Juvenal, Protestant Pastor Mlumbi Wahananuweko, Protestant Pastor Malangu Makenda, Protestant Pastor Minduli Mulanda, Anglican Evangelist Katende Kibila Alphonse, Catholic Priest Etugomo Mniwo, Bahai Leader Athumoni Zaidi, Islamic Leader * In Lugufu, there are an estimated 120 religious groups. As in Nyarugusu, in Lugufu the majority of groups are Christian and the minority are Muslim. Traditional religions are also practised.

Refugees involved in community service activities

Nyarugusu	Lugufu
<p>Kipanga Npenda Mlonge Jeannette Mlebinge Apendeki Kabonga Malolwe Abwe Ngoy Asisa Bokyo Yamungu Shabani Alaki Nyamangyoko Kungwa Lumona Mariana Malango Asende Rajabu Kisanda Mulindja Lubunda Babuwababu Machozi Msiwa Selemani Unduelu Owana Kashindi Sango Salome Dina Bilemanga M'lemba Bilemwamoni Juma Baholelwa Bitokendja Masha Bwami Ekyamba Kandolo Makongo Amuri Jumbe Atumbuamisi Maeingira Cambondjien Mwene'alongwe Kashurdi Saidi Muzaliwa Salima Abedi Muendaunzwa Butale Wa Bierra Songolo Lutungu Wiuca M'Sambya Basesela Rashidi Alphosine Abedi Mbele Abdallah Ungwa Aboke Lyliammee Aruna Adika Misheline Georgette Omari Zakayo Jowa Mwanuke Saleh Abdallah Uso'e M'lechi Ngena Jumapili Mpela Mkala Aluta Minyeko Emile Shike Iluta Mbula Wa Mbuli Fatuma Kabonga</p>	<p>Lugufu I</p> <p>Saidi Isaac Ilunga Sungulu Wilondja Mmolelwa Mmassa Kilala Honorine Asele Assani Selemani Sungura Mathias Mabele Chandja Tobongye Jules Lulenda Ngabwe Gerard Mwasiti Hassan Mutiki Musafiri Kiza Ramzani Kitunda Kibandju Amaniyao Hamisis Dinos Omari Malko Rujulika Nosa Selemani Anyesi Kandolo Ibulelo Kissto Munmbwe Motiyob</p> <p>Lugufu II (Newcomers, within the last year)</p> <p>Alimasi Mululi Kiza Mkyombwe Clement Saidi Sifa Jospehine Juma Swedi Demonga Belinda Mubandilwa Walumona Byulenganya Iyaeb Ibwatuo Ebuella Chukye Remi Elenge Mahibu Mpenda Ebasomba Esioloke Lusambya Tulela Ilembo Mitopke Bwan Makya M'Mbehumo Ikilima Nyongolo Ayombo Apodalat Lwengo Abahenya Salima Tabatu Issac Songolo Clement Afindji Tunza Salunu</p>

Shabani Ekyamba Adolphe Baleenga Imani Menge Byaundaombe Ishibahikye Ana Ete	Naneno Kiza Maguma Mathiasi Wilonoja Balongelwa Abonga Abifini
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SEKO staff in Muyovosi**Burundian refugee staff**

Desire Nkuzimana, Vulnerable Care Supervisor
 Niyungeko Paul, Education Coordinator
 Nahinana Roto Samson, Assistant Education Coordinator
 Nigarura David, Environment Supervisor
 Girukwishaka Celestin, Agriculture Supervisor
 Nizigama Jacques, CBR Supervisor
 Ndayitwayeko Evariste, Non-formal Education Supervisor

Tanzanian staff

Dondidoni F.D., Child Protection and Tracing CSO
 Emmanuel Magiliginga, CBR CSO

Annex 2

Key informants

Karuna Anbarasan, Senior Programme Officer, UNHCR Kasulu
Terry Pitzner, Senior Community Services Officer, UNHCR Kibondo
Yosuf Gawany, Field Assistant, UNHCR Lugufu

Charles Nswila, Assistant Camp Commandant, MHA, GOT, Nyarugusu
Mama Mwandri, Camp Commandant, MHA, GOT, Lugufu
Colonel E. Mfuru, District Commissioner, GOT, Kasulu

Stephen Kahabi, Director, SEKO Kasulu
Hamenyimana Gutabaga, Community Services Co-ordinator, SEKO Kasulu

Jane Travis, Desk Officer for Central and East Africa, CORD United Kingdom
Paul Thorning, Country Director, CORD Kasulu
Catherine Rayner, Head of Programme Support, CORD Kasulu
Sarah James, Community Services Co-ordinator, CORD Kasulu
Hashim Mloso, Project Leader, CORD Nyarugusu
Aaron Magembe, Project Leader, CORD Lugufu
Mama Masamu, Community Based Rehabilitation, CORD Kasulu

Annex 3

Survey

Questionnaire

Personal details

1. Gender?
2. Age?
3. Any disability?

Awareness of CORD

4. Have you heard of Christian Outreach? (Yes/No)
5. What job does Christian Outreach do in the camp? (summarise response)
6. Have you ever spoken to any Christian Outreach staff? (Yes/No)
7. If so, who? (record job title)

Involvement in CS activities

8. Have you ever been involved in any Christian Outreach activities? (Yes/No)
9. Which of these is the most helpful? Why? (List with short explanation for why.)
10. Which of these is the least helpful? Why? (List with short explanation for why.)

Purposive sample: Total 100 interviews

Nyarugusu (50 people)	Lugufu (50 people)
25 male, 25 female	25 male, 25 female
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 10 children/youths• 10 elderly• 10 disabled• 20 other adults	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 10 children/youths• 10 elderly• 10 disabled• 20 other adults

Survey results

Description of finding	Nyarugusu	Lugufu	Total
1. Aware of CORD's existence	50	50	100%
2. Awareness of CORD's job			
a) Did not know	5(10%)	3(6%)	8%
b) To provide education and/or healthcare	30(60%)	19(38%)	49%
c) To help vulnerable refugees	24(48%)	40(80%)	64%
d) To promote self-reliance	11(22%)	2(4%)	13%
e) To support micro-projects	16(32%)	22(44%)	38%
3. Communication with CORD staff members			
Had spoken to a CORD staff	31(62%)	32(64%)	63%
a) Disabled who spoke to CORD	7 of 10	10 of 10	17 of 20(85%)
b) Adults who spoke to CORD	14 of 20	13 of 20	27 of 40(68%)
c) Youth who spoke to CORD	2 of 10	2 of 10	4 of 20(20%)
d) Elderly who spoke to CORD	8 of 10	8 of 10	16 of 20(80%)
Staff member consulted			
a) Animator	24 of 31	27 of 32	51 of 63 (81%)
b) Supervisor	15 of 31	7 of 32	22 of 63 (35%)
c) Teacher	-	2 of 32	(6%)
d) Tanzanian staff	-	2 of 32	(6%)
4. Most helpful activities			
a) Health and/or education	34(68%)	25(50%)	59%
b) Care of vulnerable people and/or CBR	8(16%)	18(36%)	26%
c) Micro-projects	4(8%)	6(12%)	10%
d) Did not respond	4(8%)	3(6%)	7%
5. Least helpful activities			
a) Said there was no least helpful	3(6%)	-	3%
b) Did not respond	12(24%)	13(26%)	25%
c) Assistance to vulnerable refugees	8(16%)	12(24%)	30%
d) HIV campaign and/or Ramsha	13(26%)	1(2%)	14%
e) Micro-projects	8(16%)	7(14%)	15%
f) SGBV	2(4%)	3(6%)	5%
g) Promotion of fuel-efficient stoves	1(2%)	4(8%)	5%
h) Agriculture	-	3(6%)	3%
i) CBR	-	2(4%)	2%
j) Sport	1(2%)	2(4%)	3%
k) Family planning	-	1(2%)	1%
m) Hiring wealthy people to CORD	-	1(2%)	1%
n) Nursery school	-	1(2%)	1%
o) Animators	1(2%)	-	1%
p) Women's Mobilisation	1(2%)	-	1%
q) All unhelpful except education	1(2%)	-	1%

Annex 4

Vulnerable Refugees

(Statistics for 20 May – 20 June 2002)

Lugufu I

Category	Male	Female	Total
Unaccompanied Minors	36	21	57
Attached Minors	1670	1261	2931
Single Females	-	158	158
Single Parents	92	2099	2191
Physically/Mentally Disabled	468	411	879
Unaccompanied Elders	39	83	122
Chronically Ill	154	181	335
Victims of Violence	5	17	22
TOTAL	2464	4231	6695

Lugufu II

Category	Male	Female	Total
Unaccompanied Minors	17	9	26
Attached Minors	878	689	1567
Single Females	-	16	16
Single Parents	30	1136	1166
Physically/Mentally Disabled	165	132	297
Unaccompanied Elders	5	10	15
Chronically Ill	47	34	81
Victims of Violence	3	9	12
TOTAL	1145	2035	3180

Nyarugusu

Category	Male	Female	Total
Unaccompanied Minors	11	12	23
Attached Minors	442	312	754
Single Females	-	233	233
Single Parents	51	1830	1881
Physically Disabled	386	370	756
Mentally Disabled Unaccompanied	109	94	203
Elders	33	49	82
Chronically Ill	243	261	504
Victims of Violence	n/a	n/a	n/a
TOTAL	1275	3161	4436

Annex 5

Questionnaire measuring the effectiveness of social voluntary group assistance to vulnerable people in Lugufu

<p>Questions asked:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Have any community groups assisted you? 2. How did they assist you? 3. How often do they assist you?
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Results in Lugufu I

Reason the Research Assistant considered the person vulnerable	Answers		
	1.	2.	3.
1. A legless man	yes	Given 200 Tsh and one soap.	Only one time last year.
2. Mentally disabled	yes	Given one soap	Each month.
3. A man with one leg.	no	--	--
4. Disabled	yes	Given one soap	Once last year.
5. Disabled	yes	Given one soap and vegetables	Given soap three times last year. Given vegetables at harvest last year only.
6. Very old widow	yes	Given a box of matches	Once.
7. A disabled woman	yes	Gave a bowl of rice and half a cabbage	Once a year.
8. A legless man	no	--	--
9. A disabled young man	no	--	--
10. A young man, chronically ill	no	--	--
11. Female, physically disabled	yes	Given one soap	Only once.
12. Young man, physically disabled	yes	Given vegetables, money, soap	Vegetables given at harvest. Soap and money given each month.
13. Female, extremely poor	no	--	--
14. Man, physically disabled	yes	Given bread, wood, soap. Assisted to wash his clothes	Last year, at various times.
15. Female, chronically ill	yes	Build house for her	One time.
Total assisted	10 of 15		

Results in Lugufu II

Reason the Research Assistant considered the person vulnerable	Answers		
	1.	2.	3.
16. Widow and elderly	no	--	--
17. Widow, elderly, chronically ill, very poor	no	--	--
18. Widow, no ration card	no	--	--
19. Orphan, both parents dead	no	--	--
20. Lame, mentally disabled	no	--	--
21. Disabled	no	--	--
22. Disabled	no	--	--
23. Disabled	no	--	--
24. Disabled	no	--	--
25. Disabled	no	--	--
26. Disabled	yes	Given 200 Tsh	Two times.
27. Old	no	--	--
28. Old	no	--	--
29. Old	no	--	--
30. Old	no	--	--
Total assisted	1 of 15		

Annex 6

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Annex 7

Abbreviations and acronyms

CBR	Community Based Rehabilitation
CORD	Christian Outreach Relief and Development
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
DWTRD	Diocese of Western Tanganyika Refugee Department
GOT	Government of Tanzania
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
SEKO	Samaritans Enterprise Keepers Organisation
TRCS	Tanzania Red Cross Society
Tsh	Tanzanian shillings
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WFP	World Food Programme