RECONSIDERING THE FRAMEWORK OF AID FOR SUSTAINABLE INCOME GENERATION IN ZIMBABWE'S TONGOGARA REFUGEE CAMP

BY

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Reconsidering the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp

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ABSTRACT

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The recent global refugee crisis, which peaked between 2015 and 2016, triggered an influx of refugees in host countries globally, most of which are low-income nations (Edmond, 2017:1). These high volumes of human displacement have worsened the fragility of refugee livelihoods globally as well as in Zimbabwe where refugee poverty has always been rife with the average household earning approximately USD$1 per day (UNHCR & WFP, 2014:20). Against this background, the goal of the study was to utilise a critical ethics of care perspective to reconsider the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp. Bozalek et al. (2014:3) define care as a theoretical framework which "foregrounds relational and connection-based aspects of human beings rather than seeing humans as atomised individuals."

The study utilised a qualitative research approach and the intrinsic case study research design. Purposive sampling was used to select a total of 47 participants. They included refugees undertaking income generation activities (IGAs) in the Tongogara refugee camp, frontline members of staff for the NGOs funding and facilitating IGAs, managerial staff of these NGOs and the Government of Zimbabwe. Data was collected by means of one-on-one interviews, which was triangulated with data from Tongogara camp income generation project documents.

The findings show that the framework within which income generation aid is provided has three main flaws that compromise projects' sustainability. First, income generation is impaired by the isolation of refugees through encampment. Secondly, the income generation project cycle is mostly controlled by funding and implementing agencies, leaving refugees with little decision-making power. Lastly, a general unwillingness by government and NGOs to fully accept the moral and democratic responsibility towards refugee wellbeing resulting in inadequate assistance and low responsiveness to the plight of refugees.

The study concludes that the social, political, ideological and economic challenges in refugees' income generation activities stem from structural issues like restrictive refugee hosting policy and legislation, unequal power arrangements and an aversion to responsivity by government at the higher end, and NGOs at lower end of the care chain. Therefore, achieving project sustainability requires a reconsidered framework of aid that promotes notions of human connectivity, more egalitarian power relations and acceptance of the moral responsibility to act to secure the wellbeing of refugees, as well as reconsideration of their social positioning as outsiders. The main recommendation is for government and NGOs to employ practical strategies to implement the reconsidered framework of aid for sustainable income generation.

Key words

Refugees

Refugee camp

Aid

Developmental social welfare

Sustainable income generation

Critical ethics of care

Zimbabwe

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DEDICATION

To my mother, Shumirai Taruvinga, and sister, Glad Taruvinga, for their support through the years.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AASW	Australian Association of Social Workers
ACF	Action Against Hunger
ARESTA	Agency for Refugee Education, Skills Training & Advocacy
AU	African Union
CASW	Canadian Association of Social Workers
GoZ	Government of Zimbabwe
IASSW	International Association of Schools of Social Work
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICSW	International Council on Social Welfare
IFSW	International Federation of Social Workers
ILO	International Labour Organisation
JRS	Jesuit Refugee Service
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
UNAIDS	United States Agency for International Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDRR	United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organisation
ZIMSTAT	Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] Global Trends (2020:9) reporting on the continually rising figures of displaced persons states that, "…almost a decade later, this figure has risen to more than 82 million. It is the ninth consecutive year-on-year increase…the question is no longer if forced displacement will exceed 100 million people -but rather when".

Apart from understanding the high volumes of human displacement, it is equally important to have an appreciation of the geopolitical distribution of displaced persons. Edmond (2017:1) states that, "developing regions host 84% of the world's refugees under the UNHCR's mandate" and some of the world's poorest nations are the most receptive of refugees. This reflects, partly, to the lack of international consensus when it comes to hosting refugees but, as noted by Edmond (2017:1), it is also due to the fact that many conflict-ridden countries are surrounded by poor neighbours. Illustrating the gravity of human displacement in recent history, UNHCR Global Trends (2017:2) notes that "the number of new displacements was equivalent to 20 people being forced to flee their homes every minute of 2016". Furthermore, continuing armed conflicts in fragile countries in sub-Saharan Africa such as South Sudan, Chad and Burundi have led to significant refugee movements in the region. These nations, which are perpetually in armed conflict, also happen to be some of the major countries of origin for refugees living in Zimbabwe.

To argue for the need to acknowledge the implications of the refugee crisis on livelihoods and productivity, it is important to consider the state of the already strained global job market and diminishing productivity (UNDP, 2017). According to the UNDP (2017), the world is now facing an unprecedented global jobs crisis and, globally, an estimated 600 million productive jobs are urgently needed over the next decade to sustain growth. It is the researcher's observation that before the world productivity and livelihoods situation was aggravated by the refugee crisis, it was already a crisis in itself. If livelihoods and productivity have become constrained even for less vulnerable citizens worldwide, it only becomes obvious how more vulnerable groups like women, persons with disabilities and refugees can easily be side-lined

in what has become a global struggle.

Amnesty International (2018:1) notes that 84% of refugees worldwide are hosted by low to middle income countries; left unaddressed, rapid influxes of refugees on those nations could have overwhelming socio-economic, logistical and institutional implications. Making a similar argument, Verwimp and Maystadt (2016:27) state that population shocks caused by refugee influx in sub-Saharan African countries result in concerns about competition for services. This has resulted in the maintenance of encampment policies as a way of deterrence and a further minimisation of material assistance to refugees, thereby tying recent mass movements to increased refugee poverty, which has become part of the crisis.

With regards to the local context of the refugee situation, Zimbabwe committed to the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda that proclaims the inclusion of refugees in host nations' development plans as a human right. The Government of Zimbabwe however enforces an encampment and non-integration policy for refugees with the country's largest operational camp being the Tongogara refugee camp (Mufandauya, 2015:6). The International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] (2010:1) reports that the Tongogara refugee camp was established in February 1984 to host Mozambican refugees but from 1998 onwards, armed conflicts in east and central Africa resulted in further refugee influxes into the camp. The Zimbabwean government, through the Department of Social Welfare, oversees the management of the camp with funding from the UNHCR and in close cooperation with other line ministries. Mashaya (2018:1) notes that the Government of Zimbabwe's Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Labour and Social Welfare's visited the Tongogara refugee camp and discovered that, "refugees experience challenges in accessing adequate basic needs such as food, soap and sanitary pads, Tongogara refugee camp is overcrowded with a population of 9062 refugees…" After more than twenty years of operation, the camp became more of a village character than that of a camp. There are permanent housing structures with electricity, schools, churches, a mosque, a police station, a clinic, shops and at least two bars. Unfortunately, the services provided by these structures remain under strain due to the continuous influx of refugees into the country (The Bureau of Population Services and Migration, 2011).

The 2014 Joint Assessment Mission Report conducted by the UNHCR and the World Food Programme (WFP) revealed that, as of January 2014, the average influx of refugees at the Tongogara camp stood at 100 to 150 persons per month. The report also provides a demographic overview of the camp. At the time of reporting, the refugee population consisted

of 80% Congolese, 10% Rwandans, 7% Burundians and the remaining 3% were from the Horn of Africa, which includes Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea. Male refugees made up 54% of the total population, 5% of all refugees were over the age of 60, and 4% of camp households were child headed. Of particular interest to this study, is that two thirds of all households had a dependency ratio of over 60%, meaning there were few income-earning household members.

Following the recognition that the number of refugees worldwide has been increasing and that many live in grinding poverty, the welfare of refugees in Zimbabwe has taken centre stage for social work debates and focus. For the 2016 Social Workers Day commemorations on the theme, 'Promoting the dignity and worth of peoples', "Zimbabwe focused on refugees and displaced persons" (Zimeye, 2016:1). As individuals and through professional bodies, social workers have been part of the voices publicly contesting the responses of governments and other social institutions to the plight of refugees (Hugman, Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2011:3). The fundamental role of social work in relation to refugee welfare that motivated this study is further expressed by Hugman, Pittaway and Bartolomei (2011:3), who note that social work organisations such as the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW), the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW) and the International Consortium of Social Development (ICSD), have reporting status to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR).

The global and local context of the refugee crisis and its growing importance to the profession places both interest and importance on the current income generation activities in Tongogara camp, as well as the stakeholders involved. The main role players include government, NGOs, refugees and local communities.

The government is responsible mainly for shelter construction, education, security and medical services; it is also the custodian of the land on which income generation activities are conducted. Government is the overseer of all income generation operations in the camp, and it assists with technical trainings related to the income generating activities. In collaboration with the government, a consortium of NGOs focuses on expanding and diversifying income generating activities to increase the economic resilience of camp-based refugees (Macheka, 2016:1). These include piggery, poultry, horticultural and agricultural projects. Other complementary programmes include vocational skills training in computers, sewing, carpentry and brick moulding. Macheka (2016:1) states that, currently, one of the largest ongoing livelihood programmes in Tongogara is undertaken with the aid of the World Food Program

(WFP), UNHCR and Goal International. This programme has seen the provision of some 480 refugee households with farming inputs on plots of land provided by the Zimbabwean government where they grow various crops totalling 25 hectares of land under irrigation. There are also some unassisted entrepreneurial initiatives including shoe repairs, bicycle repairs and hair dressing, among others. This study explored income generation programmes run with the aid of camp administrative authorities, that is, the government and its partners. The partners include the various NGOs that focus on funding income generating activities for refugees in the camp as well as relevant government ministries that provide training and technical expertise for refugees in income generation.

These role players however face challenges in facilitating income generating activities in the camp. A joint assessment of the impact of these income generating initiatives by the UNHCR and the WPF revealed that only 25% of all camp-based households were engaged in some sort of livelihood activity during the first quarter of 2014 and, of those engaged in livelihood activities, the average monthly income was only US$35 (UNHCR & WFP, 2014:20), that is, just above US$1 per day. It was also revealed that women were confined to petty trade at market stalls while men ran small businesses, and the youth were hardly involved in any income generating activities at all. The joint assessment report showed that income generation activities in Tongogara camp were neither as lucrative nor as inclusive as intended. Commenting on some of the challenges they faced, refugees stated that income generation could be improved if they had access to more capital, more farmland and the opportunity to trade outside the camp where there were more business opportunities and purchasing capacity. In addition to that, women refugees said that, unlike men, they did not have similar access to capital to start and run a business. Elderly persons also noted the lack of projects designed for elderly refugees (UNHCR & WFP, 2014:22). The report however did not consider the possibility that broader contextual challenges, including the ideologies underlying Zimbabwe's encampment policy, or those underlying international aid agencies' interventions in the camp, which might also contribute to the lack of success of the reviewed income generation initiatives. This study sought to close this gap.

In sum, the study was motivated by the current global refugee crisis and the particular challenges it raises in sub-Saharan contexts, including Zimbabwe. Although the government in Zimbabwe and various NGOs at the Tongogara camp have made efforts to create opportunities for income generating activities aimed at increasing quality of life among refugees, the standard

of life for refugees engaged in assisted income generation activities is still deplorable. Refugee households in the camp remain in dire financial positions. The provision of income generation aid under the isolation of encampment brought about the contention that aid meant to alleviate poverty in Tongogara camp could be provided within an ideological framework that, in fact, compromised its viability. A critical ethics of care, as a perspective that offers an alternative conception of human wellbeing as reliant on connectivity and interdependence, was selected to interpret and address this problem. The study therefore intended to explore how income generating activities could be underpinned by principles of care and how the income generation aid framework, based on a critical ethics of care perspective, could be reconsidered.

The key concepts relevant to the study are as follows:

- **Refugee**

The UNHCR (2018:1) defines a refugee as follows:

> A refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so. War and ethnic, tribal and religious violence are leading causes of refugees fleeing their countries.

The definition proposed by Shacknove in 1985 holds relevance to the study as it does not restrict circumstances of flight to persecution, war and violence. Shacknove (1985:274) defines a refugee as anyone fleeing life threatening conditions. Informed by the above definitions, this study conceived a refugee as any person who flees to a foreign country due to conditions including environmental disasters, war, persecution or any circumstance hostile to human survival.

- **Refugee camp**

The UNHCR (2012:1) defines a refugee camp as a settlement which is supposed to be temporary; built to receive refugees and people in refugee-like situations. Refugee camps accommodate displaced persons who have escaped various conditions including war, persecution, economic and environmental disasters. The UNHCR (2012:1) further states that refugee camps generally develop in an impromptu fashion with the aim of meeting basic human needs only for a short time. However, Brun (2020:458) notes that refugee camps have continued to expand and have become "more permanent features". There is usually a basic

administrative structure of some sort and some camps have service provision structures such as health centres, schools, and police stations. Adopting the above definitions, the study conceives a refugee camp as a settlement with formal administrative structures meant to shelter and deliver aid and services to refugees fleeing any adverse or life-threatening conditions.

- **Tongogara camp**

Tongogara Refugee Camp is in the south eastern part of Zimbabwe close to the international border with Mozambique. The camp is remote as it is located 170 km from the nearest major city, Mutare (see section 1.4 for more detail on study setting). This camp resembles the typical camp defined by the UNHCR (2012:1) in the previous section in terms of basic service provision infrastructure. However, Tongogara camp differs from the UNHCR definition of a typical camp in that it has more permanent structures and dwellings because it has been in operation for over thirty years and many refugees in the camp have been there for protracted periods. The nature of services in Tongogara camp has evolved from provision of emergency needs for new arrivals to livelihoods strategies for refugees.

- **Sustainable income generating activities**

The study adopted the definition by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO] (1993) on income generating activities and uses it interchangeably with the term 'income generating activities projects'. UNESCO (1993:1) defines income generating activities as those activities meant to improve living standards and increase the capacity of people to produce goods and services in exchange for income. For this purpose, the income derived from income generating activities must be sustainable. Mann (2018:1) describes sustainable income as income that enables households to consistently cover primary needs such as education, health and nutrition. The study conceived sustainable income as income from income generating activities which allows households to save for future basic expenses while maintaining a reasonable/dignified standard of life.

- **Aid**

The Organisation for Economic Development and Economic Cooperation [OECD] (2019:1) defines aid as assistance designed to promote economic development and welfare. Aid may be provided bilaterally, from donor to recipient or channelled through a multi-lateral development agency such as the United Nations. In light of the above definition, the current study conceived aid as any assistance in the form of expert advice, training and material support meant to

enhance refugee income generation capability. Aid is rendered in the context of a framework. In the case of Tongogara camp, this study regarded an aid framework as a combination of respective agencies' policies on camp income generation, intended goals, outcomes, their underlying assumptions/ideology as well as set procedures and regulations for the dispensation of aid.

1.2 Problem Statement

In the wake of geopolitical instabilities across the globe and, consequently, mass displacement of millions of people, the treatment of refugees by host nations has become a critical human rights concern both for refugees and their host societies (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2019:1). Yet, in the Zimbabwean context, care for refugees is constrained by a lack of freedom of movement, association and equal access (with citizens) to means of income. In turn, this limits the ability of refugees to make a meaningful contribution to the socio-economic development of their host society, which is the case of Zimbabwe. Efforts have been made to improve the quality of life for camp-refugees through income generation activities facilitated and assisted by government and NGOs. Although these activities make a financial contribution to refugee livelihoods, they are mostly on survival level and lack sustainability. The lack of sustainability in refugee income generation might well be linked to ideological contradictions in the conception and implementation of income generation activities in the refugee camp. Arguments presented by critical care ethicists suggest that, indeed, aid and services meant to facilitate the success of income generation among refugees are provided within an ideological framework that could, in fact, compromise the potential of income generation as a durable solution to refugee livelihoods. To this end, the current study proposed an alternative, through an exploration of current income generation strategies in the Tongogara Camp, using a critical ethics of care perspective.

Despite committing to the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda that proclaims the inclusion of refugees in host nations' development plans as a human right, the Government of Zimbabwe has not made significant progress in fulfilling that commitment. Since the camp's establishment in 1984, it has become apparent over the years that initiatives by government and partnering NGOs to include refugees in development activities in a significant way have hardly yielded results. Against this background, the study sought to understand the range of policy, social, economic, political and ideological contexts within which refugee income generation activities are undertaken in the camp. Such knowledge is vital in developing the means to ensure the

appropriateness of contexts in enhancing refugee wellbeing. It is envisaged that the study's findings would contribute to transform refugee policy in the country to make it more sensitive to the requirements necessary to improve socio-economic wellbeing of camp-based refugees in Zimbabwe. The study therefore proposed a reconsideration of the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in Tongogara refugee camp underpinned by ethics of care.

1.3 Research Questions

The major research question of the study was as follows:

How can a critical ethics of care perspective be utilised to reconsider the aid framework for sustainable income generation activities in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp?

The research question was informed by the following sub-questions:

1) Through the lens of critical ethics of care, what are the shortcomings of current global, regional and local service delivery to refugees?

2) What is the nature of general resources and assistance provided at the Tongogara Refugee Camp by government and NGOs, including the ways in which they are dispensed and received?

3) What are the barriers and enablements that arise from the policy, economic, political, social and ideological contexts within which income generation activities at the Tongogara Refugee Camp occur?

4) What are the views of refugees, frontline service providers and managerial staff involved in income generation activities at the Tongogara Refugee Camp regarding current levels of seclusion of camp residents from Zimbabwean society?

5) How can the aid framework for refugees in camp-based income generation be reconsidered from the perspective of a critical ethics of care?

1.4 Goal and Objectives

1.4.1   Goal

The goal of the study was to utilise an ethics of care perspective to reconsider the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp.

1.4.2   Objectives

The objectives of the study were as follows:

1) To critique current global, regional and local service delivery to refugees through the lens of a critical ethics of care.

2) To explore the nature of resources and assistance provided at the Tongogara Refugee Camp, including the ways in which they are dispensed and received.

3) To explore barriers and enablements that arise from the policy, economic, political, social and ideological contexts within which income generation activities at the Tongogara Refugee Camp occur.

4) To explore the views of refugees, frontline service providers and managerial staff involved in income generation activities at the Tongogara Refugee Camp regarding current levels of seclusion of camp residents from Zimbabwean society.

5) To propose a reconsidered aid framework through critiquing camp income generation activities from the perspective of a critical ethics of care.

1.5 Study Setting

This section focuses on three main areas of the study setting, namely the geographic/climatic conditions of the region in which the camp is located, the demographic details of the region and its nature of industry.

With regards to **geographic/climatic conditions**, the World Weather Information Service (2012) notes that Chipinge, the district in which the Tongogara Refugee Camp is located, is in the south eastern part of Zimbabwe close to the international border with Mozambique. The urban part of that district is located 170km from the nearest major city Mutare. This reveals the relative remoteness of the camp location and its very close proximity to Mozambique, a country which has been politically unstable since the 1980s and a constant source of refugees for the Tongogara refugee camp. UNHCR and WFP (2014:13) also allude to the remoteness of the camp stating that Tongogara refugee camp is in the Chipangayi area of Chipinge district, the nearest main road is 50 km away.

UNHCR and WFP (2014) state that the camp area is under the agro-ecological zone 5 that normally experiences low amounts of rainfall, as low as 200 to 400 millilitres per year. It is mostly a dry, hot and dusty area for the better part of the year. As far as accessibility is concerned, due to the deplorable state of the road network, Tongogara refugee camp is accessible during dry periods but very difficult to access during rains and floods. UNHCR and WFP (2014) also point out that, although a major river runs parallel to the Tongogara refugee camp, the river water cannot be utilised for irrigation due to environmental conservation efforts

by the Zimbabwean government. In addition to water challenges, the camp occupies only 500 hectares of land while accommodating nearly ten thousand refugees, which means arable land is also very limited.

The **demographics** of the camp's host district is also vital for the understanding of the contextual environment of the study. City Population (2017) states that, as of 2012, the district of Chipinge in which the camp is situated had 298,841 residents, 53.8% were male while 46.2% were female. The district occupies approximately 5220 square kilometres of land. Perhaps the most interesting and directly relevant figures to this study are that 97.5% of the district's population lives in rural areas and the biggest population section of the district (48.3%) is aged 15 to 64. An overwhelming majority of the district's population is rural based, and this determines the nature of industry and means of income generation, that is, predominantly agricultural and petty trade. It is also crucial to understand that the camp's sources of income generation cannot be too detached from that of the surrounding local population. In addition to that, the largest population section of the district being 15-64 years old implies that this is not only the most economically productive age range; it is also the age group with high consumption of commercial produce. Both demographic characteristics are favourable for camp income generation should there be sufficient economic interaction between refugees and host communities.

It is also important to examine figures which allude to the standard of living in the area and its potential impact on income generation. According to UNICEF, the World Bank and Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (2015), poverty in Chipinge district ranges from 69.5% in the best ward to 93.3% in the worst ward; and most wards in the district have poverty prevalence of over 73%. UNICEF et al. (2015) further state that the average household size for the district is 4.5 and the average poverty is 79.6%. Overall, Zimbabwe has a total of 60 districts and Chipinge is ranked 23rd on the poverty scale.

Discussing poverty levels in the district, Parliament Research Department (2011) state that the level of poverty in Chipinge has been on the rise. People rely heavily on fruit growing for a living but the situation has changed following the discovery of gold in the region, which has also led to the increase in foods prices, crime and other vices. Low literacy, low standard of living and high poverty levels in the surrounding population, which is also the main market for income generation activities in the Tongogara camp, have a bearing on the purchasing power of the market and consequently the viability of small businesses in the area. However, it is

important to note that, although the numbers reflect high poverty levels, in comparison to other 59 Zimbabwean districts, Chipinge district is relatively better off, suggesting that refugee development is possible, if well managed.

Regarding the **nature of industry**, which determines economic activity in the district, City population (2012) notes that the local economy is centred on agriculture, with local farmers growing tea, coffee and dairy cattle. It is also crucial to note that the informal sector provides the main source of income even for the urban population in the district. Dengu and Moyo (2012) state that formal employment is extremely limited in Chipinge, and households mostly do subsistence farming and depend largely on their own agricultural production. They further observe that an ethanol plant was the only major investment in the district with potential for significant employment creation, however, it suffered from policy related constraints. The other areas that offer formal employment are Chipinge highlands that are endowed with tea and coffee plantations but are not yet fully recovered from the economic down turn still haunting the country since the early 2000s.

1.6 Research Methodology

The study utilised a qualitative research approach because the nature of inquiry required in-depth views of participants' subjective realities (Rehman, 2016:6). This case study research approach was applied as the intention was to contribute to solutions for policy and programme problems (Baimyrzaeva, 2018:6-7), in this case, it was reconsidering the aid framework for refugees. Tongogara camp is the only refugee camp in Zimbabwe and its income generation processes are very context specific, hence, the intrinsic case study design was employed due to the particularity of the study context (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005:445). The study triangulated three purposively sampled participant groups, namely managerial service providers, frontline service providers and refugees. To augment empirical data, the study also employed document analysis with project reports and plans which were made available by agencies in the camp.

The first sample group comprised managerial staff from three organisations currently active at the Tongogara refugee camp, namely the Government of Zimbabwe, GOAL Zimbabwe and the Jesuit Refugee Service. These participants occupied managerial positions, and they were involved in refugee welfare policy formulation. The second group consisted of front-line service providers or workers, who were in constant and direct contact with refugees at the camp. These participants had knowledge of grassroot programme formulation and implementation at the camp. These officers were selected from the Jesuit Refugee Service and

GOAL Zimbabwe, which were the only organisations with extant projects in income generating activities (IGAs) in the camp. The final sample group included refugees undertaking IGAs. The respective organisations used their refugee register to identify potential participants with desired demographic characteristics for the study. With all participants, data was collected using semi-structured face to face interviews, and data was analysed using the thematic content analysis method (Creswell & Poth, 2018:187). Details of the research process, data quality, ethical considerations and limitations of the study are provided in Chapter 5.

1.7 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 presents a general introduction to the study. The chapter discusses the key concepts, the rationale and problem statement, research questions, and the goal and objectives germane to this study. The chapter concludes with a brief overview of the research methodology and a layout of the structure of the research report.

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework adopted by the study. It discusses the main tenets and proponents of the ethics of care, following which it proceeds to focus on the critical ethics of care approach, a strand of care ethics, which is most utilised in the analysis of refugee income generation phenomena in the study. In discussing what critical ethics of care entails, the chapter also justifies its suitability for the interpretation and critiquing of current refugee affairs in Zimbabwe. The chapter concludes with discussions on how critical ethics of care is compatible with and can be employed to augment the social development approach for refugee wellbeing.

Chapter 3 explores the status and wellbeing of refugees globally, regionally and locally. It begins with global, regional and Zimbabwean legislative frameworks that provide for the recognition and welfare of refugees. It discusses the specific provisions of each Convention and legislation regarding its adequacy in catering for refugees' rights. Features of refugee wellbeing are discussed in this chapter in relation to sustainable livelihoods. Lastly, the chapter discusses various factors that affect refugee hosting. These are considerations made by hosts in their approach to hosting refugees, how such considerations influence general refugee wellbeing are also examined in this chapter.

Chapter 4 discusses literature on developmental social welfare, income generation and the role of social work in fostering the developmental approach to refugee welfare. By discussing the merits of developmental social welfare, the chapter justifies the suitability of the approach for groups that are usually side lined, for example, refugees. Income generation is discussed as a

social investment strategy and effective method for implementing a developmental approach for refugee wellbeing. Lastly, the chapter explores the role of the social work profession in the provision and advocacy for developmental social welfare.

Chapter 5 provides the detailed explication of the study's research methodology. The chapter further presents details of the research paradigm, research approach and type of research, the research design, study setting, population and study sample, sampling methods, data collection tools, data analysis methods, data quality measures, ethical considerations as well as limitations to the study.

Chapter 6 presents and discusses integrated findings from the interviews and document analysis. Findings are presented in themes and subthemes. The analysis of study findings includes integration of literature with the purpose of drawing comparisons to show how the study's findings are confirmed or how the study has contributed new knowledge. In the discussion of the themes, the researcher makes use of the critical ethics of care perspective to interpret and explain findings.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis. Key findings on main thematic areas are presented and conclusions drawn on each. The study's goal and objectives are recapped and there is discussion and cross reference to where and how they were achieved. The chapter proceeds to formulate a reconsidered framework of aid for sustainable income generation in Tongogara refugee camp and ends with recommendations for the implementation of the reconsidered framework as well as prospective areas for future research.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Sustainable livelihoods and sustainable development are embedded in human rights and the right to development (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2016:2). Governments must be sensitive and respond to the needs of all persons for whom they assume responsibility. Literature on failures and shortcomings of refugee income generation activities highlights the main reasons as human and financial capital, planning and implementation shortcomings (see Chapter 4). The theoretical framework of this study is underpinned by the critical ethics of care that explores ideological limitations as a unique angle to understanding the limitations of income generating activities. It also explores how resources can be provided in a caring way, and how care is actioned in a refugee camp where such practices are necessitated by challenging conditions. All these are starting points for proposing reforms. Care, as both an ideal and a practice, makes it an appropriate framework through which the treatment and administration of refugee affairs can be critiqued.

This chapter serves four purposes, which are, first, to explain the concept of care, secondly to justify the chosen approach to care for purposes of this study; thirdly, to consider the complementarity between care and intersecting concepts of sustainable development, human rights and justice; and, lastly, to highlight the specific aspects of care propounded by selected ethicists which will make up the framework for analysing study findings. The first section of the chapter presents the historical development of the ethics of care, showing how the debates have evolved since its inception in the early 80s. The second section gives a detailed account of care's expansion in scope from its early focus on moral development and interpersonal relations to global politics; drawing mainly on the works of Held, Tronto and Robinson. The third section presents Tronto's phases and qualities of care as a framework through which care can be evaluated on a practical level. The fourth section discusses the relationship between care and other relevant concepts to the study, including sustainable development and human rights. The concluding section provides a final overview of the chapter's main arguments, including a summative statement on the suitability of ethics of care for refugee wellbeing.

2.2 A Brief History of the Ethics of Care

This section traces the origins and evolution of the ethics of care, starting with arguments by pioneer proponents of care and focusing on what prompted its conception, as well as its gradual expansion in scope, ushered in by a second wave of care ethicists in the early 90s. Gilligan (1982), one of its first proponents, propounded an ethic of care primarily to challenge dominant assumptions about alleged deficiencies in women's moral development and reasoning, thereby situating care, at its conception, as a feminist concept. According to Turner and Maschi (2015:154), Gilligan was one of a group of feminists who looked at "status and power as it related to different development of boys and girls". She challenged human development theories, which emphasised 'separation and individuation', while proposing that, "women value and are sustained by connections with other people…" As opposed to principle-based morality underpinned by notions of objectivity and rationality, Gilligan wanted the ethic of care to draw attention to, as well as argue for, the significance of women's inclination towards human relationships in solving moral problems (Orme, 2002:800). Referring to her 1982 seminal work on moral development, Gilligan (2013:13) states, 'I wrote *In a different voice* in part to show that what psychologists identified as problems in women were problems in the framework of interpretation', in that traits considered feminine such as feelings and relationships were, in fact, human strengths (see also Hugman, 2005). The key contribution to ethics theorising by early proponents of the ethics of care was, thus, to introduce a paradigm shift according to which morality was now able to be understood in terms of relationships rather than through a system of rules. This enabled care, too, to be regarded as signifying a higher order stage of moral and social development (Gilligan, as cited in Hugman, 2005:67).

Similar to Gilligan's conceptualisation of care as a moral value that challenged patriarchal frameworks of moral thinking and development, Noddings (1988:218) highlights the ties between ethics of care and the female experience, noting that, "as an ethical orientation, caring has often been characterised as feminine because it seems to arise more naturally out of women's experience than men's". Like Gilligan, Noddings presents care as an alternative to traditional rationality and autonomy-based approaches to moral development, describing it as, '… a set of dispositions to respond positively in interpersonal relationships' (Noddings, 2010:28). She regards care as a more relatable and accurate account of the human experience as she considers the 'caring relationship' to be an 'empirical reality' and the basis of life (Noddings, 2010:28).

Another early proponent of care, Held (2006:3) makes a similar argument to Noddings' in critiquing Kantian, virtue and utilitarian ethics for their unrealistic focus on individual dispositions rather than relationships. Held (2006:13) argues that, "the ethics of care in contrast, characteristically sees persons as relational and interdependent, morally and epistemologically". While all three, Gilligan, Noddings and Held share the view that the female experience had been neglected by scholars in moral psychology, Noddings goes further to trace women's capacity and propensity for care to 'maternal instinct' (Noddings, 2010:1), a view that has been critiqued as essentialist (see below).

In addition to relationships, care also has context sensitivity as a distinguishing quality, which is often denoted by reference to the concept of particularity. Relationship-based approaches to ethics, such as ethics of care, focus on "particular contexts in which moral judgements are made" as well as "particular relationships and commitments people have to each other" (Banks, 2012:69). This means carers attend and respond to the concerns of individuals, not out of duty, but a relationship of responsibility. Held (2006:10), advocating for care to be accorded the standing of a distinct moral approach, makes the point that, "the central focus of care is on the compelling moral salience of attending to and meeting the needs of the particular others for whom we take responsibility". This is why, from a caring perspective, the assumption of particular responsibilities, rather than abstract and universalised concepts of right and wrong, are seen as forming the basis for morality.

Finally, Banks (2012:81) argues that care is about finding ways to help people within the bounds of the law instead of using the law to deny assistance to those who need it. Refugees often receive inadequate or no assistance in accordance with legal provisions with little to no regard to the contextual realities of displaced persons. Context-sensitive decisions based on commitment to others, as opposed to ticking boxes on a list of obligations without an immersed assessment of outcome of actions in relation to human wellbeing, are what makes ethics of care appropriate for the administration of refugee affairs.

Noddings, as cited in Hugman (2005:69), considers ethical caring to be more demanding and complex than ordinary caring, as "an ethics of care demands a thoughtful and considered nurturing of capacities to tease out ways in which the one caring may be receptive, attentive and responsible to the person cared for". Following her critique of Kantian, utilitarian and virtue ethical traditions (see above), Noddings considers acts as good or bad according to the implications they have on relationships, not simply by whether or not they conform to a set of

stipulations or rules, the extent to which contribute to the greater common good or denote the inherent goodness of the character of an actor. Hugman (2005:71) supports this view, arguing that ethical actions must be determined by their consequences not by their adherence to set rules. Stevenson, as cited in Orme (2002:801), also argues that an ethics of care allows for customised assistance, as every human being and their circumstances are unique, which requires special intervention, thereby resulting in responding to needs adaptive to specific contextual care.

By the early 90s, a second wave of care theorists, Tronto and Sevenhuijsen prominent among them, expanded the scope of care from interpersonal relationships to spheres of professionalised care such as welfare policy, education and health. In her critique of care's early and almost exclusive focus on gender-based morality, Sevenhuijsen (1998:52) argues that, "…empirical research has shown that styles of moral reasoning are not so neatly divided among men and women as Gilligan seems to suggest". This criticism can certainly also be extended to Noddings' work (see above). In other words, Sevenhuijsen (1998) argues for a shift away from a somewhat binary worldview of male versus female towards care as a political concept, which, beyond the interpersonal realm can be applied also to the administration of societal macro structures. She states that, "… I have been actively involved in what, in retrospect, could be interpreted as a search for an appropriate vocabulary for making care into a political issue". Assessment of care needs and the administration of care by formal managers in agencies marks the professionalisation of care (Orme, 2002:802). One of Tronto's (1993) main arguments, with which Sevenhuijsen concurs, is that care is not necessarily dyadic and individualistic, and thus can function politically and socially. Sevenhuijsen (1998:6) argues that care requires not only a redistribution of tasks between women and men but also a new approach to justice, morality, and politics, thus "placing care within conceptions of democratic citizenship". In this way, both Tronto (1993) and Sevenhuijsen's development of a political ethics of care, and Sevenhuijsen's (1998) articulation of care as integral to a reconceptualised notion of citizenship, are consistent with the recognition, mainstreamed during the second wave of feminism, of the political nature of women's concerns and the agenda of moving women from marginalised interpersonal caring to participating in, and changing the nature of, public life (Turner & Maschi, 2015:153).

Professionalised care must be politically conscious care. Wherever there are care needs to be met, and care is administered, there must be, by definition, stakeholders who hold influence over others, for example, in terms of needs definition (see Fraser, 1987), decisions regarding

resources allocation to help address the needs thus defined, and decision-making about the logistics of the care provided. Morée and Oldersma (as cited in Sevenhuijsen, 1998:24) argue that:

> … people with less social power find themselves more often on the 'underside' of care; that is, in situations in which they provide care without much power over the conditions and the means, and often in positions of invisibility and voicelessness.

Furthermore, people with limited social power, including any population group whose precarious circumstances (permanent or temporary) render them in need of care while at the same time unable to significantly impact how it is provided. These could be children, persons with disabilities, the elderly and refugees among them. This power disparity is intrinsic to relationships at all levels of human interaction because, at any given time, there are individuals and/or groups, who are more vulnerable hence in need of care more than others. The provision of care, conscious of these disparate power relations and with the intention of mitigating the potential abuses and injustices to which these can give rise, thus requires measures that can assure equal participation. Care ethicists aver that only when such measures are considered and implemented that care becomes democratic. The resultant egalitarian orientation of care ethicists is therefore what has made the concept of care attractive to theorists and practitioners who advocate for lateral power relations in policy, political and international relations.

Banks (2012:81) contends that, a 'political theory of care' values care as a political ideal in the context of democratic institutions. This means agencies and bureaucracies within which care is professionally delivered can only be democratic if they adopt care values in the management of power relations. Thus, even as care has been expanded in scope, 'activities of care' including "listening, paying attention, responding with integrity of respect", remain constant qualities of caring ethically, irrespective of whether care is actioned at an interpersonal or institutional/bureaucratic level (Gilligan, 2013:29). These qualities, which serve to equalise power relations, constitute the democratic nature of care. Mutual understanding, as Gilligan (2013:48) notes, "is horizontal in structure" and "inherently democratic". And yet, an awareness of the asymmetrical power relations inherent in care and the will of providers and administrators of care not to abuse such power alone are not enough; there is a need for an organised framework for the evaluation of care to ensure parity, hence Tronto's (1993; 2013) development of the five phases of care. Tronto's phases and qualities of care, which will be discussed in Section 4.3, are both an acknowledgement of this reality and a means of mitigating

against the subordination of more vulnerable stakeholders. In this way, they constitute a practicable way from immediate caring relationships to complex bureaucratic care arrangements, thereby rendering care democratic.

According to Held (2006:130), using care as a political concept initiates and furthers the ideal that "all people are adequately cared for is not a utopian question, but one which immediately suggests answers about employment policies, non-discrimination, equality of expenditure for schools, providing access to health care…". Sevenhuijsen et al. (2003:301) note how 'the ethics of care has also become a serious candidate as a guide line for policy making.' Having realised the expansion in the influence of the ethics of care from the interpersonal to questions of citizenship, policy, and questions of how to organise care, and considering the global nature of the refugee crisis, it can be argued that hosting refugees is a form of caring for others at a global level. An ethics of care, as a moral and political concept, therefore, argues for people to recognise their often neglected responsibilities to others in a global setting. Robinson (2011:2) notes that care cannot be separated from macro determinants of human wellbeing, stating that, "…poverty, race and social exclusion cannot be disentangled from questions regarding the need for and provision of care". She argues for broadening the scope of care, for human wellbeing, proposing its adoption in matters of transborder human relations by "thinking about ethics in the context of global social relations" (Robinson, 2011:2). Tronto (2011:12) contends that, "the strongest alternative that keeps people from taking their global moral responsibilities seriously is the claim that their moral responsibilities end at the boundaries of their own nation states". In this third wave of arguments for the utility of an ethics of care in human wellbeing, a range of authors, including Tronto (2011; 2013), Nguyen et al. (2017), Robinson (2010; 2018), Gilligan (2013) and Nipperess (2017), have intensified their critique of structures and ideologies that govern human affairs on a global scale, beyond nation states. This constitutes what is regarded as the critical ethics of care and forms the focus of the next section.

2.3 A Critical Ethics of Care

According to Pease, Vrengdenhil and Stanford (2017:4), a critical ethics of care is about redressing "inequality in political and practical terms". Robinson (1999:110) makes a similar argument, stating that where a critical ethics of care "differs from some accounts of the ethics of care … is in its explicit recognition (of) the potential for violent domination and inequalities in all social relationships". The critical version of care is appropriate for application in this study because an interrogation of the framework of aid in a refugee camp takes special

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cognisance of power relations that may need to be changed in the interest of human wellbeing. Nipperess (2017:111) also argues for the utility of a critical ethics of care because of its necessity to effecting political change. Similarly, Bozalek et al. (2007:33) argue that the critical ethics of care points to problematic political economies rather than individuals when it comes to people's capacity to earn a living. An examination of institutional structures and policies, which create and perpetuate human suffering, and the need for a critical ethics of care is expressed by Hankivsky (as cited in Nipperess, 2017:112):

> If ethics of care is to deliver on the promise of opening new ways of seeing human beings, their social problems, and their needs, and to critically assess how governments respond to these, theorising around social locations, differences, experiences of inequality, and power need to be further developed.

The critical ethics of care's focus on social exclusion and marginalisation also aligns it with the plight of refugees. According to Robinson (1999:112), "the relational approach to exclusion… is the basis for a critical ethics of care". Commenting on institutional arrangements and structure which perpetuate social exclusion, Minow (as cited in Robinson, 1999:114) argues that, "…society assigns individuals to categories and on that basis, determines who to include in and whom to exclude from political, social, and economic activities". Here, Robinson's (1999:117) contention that, "the state itself may be described as a system of inclusion and exclusion, with precise distinctions between citizens and aliens" is particularly relevant to the question of refugee marginalisation. In this case, a critical ethics of care becomes relevant to interrogating "practices and attitudes of exclusion and marginalisation" (Robinson, 1999:111). By so doing, Robinson (1999:110) argues:

> … the ethics of care transcends its perceived limitations as an ethics which is relevant only in the context of physically and emotionally close personal relationships and becomes an ethic which is relevant to the wider moral context of international relations…

As argued in the preceding section, the conceptualisation of care as a critical ethics of care and its expansion into the professional care settings allows the assessment of institutional and structural arrangements of human wellbeing from a new lens. This presents an opportunity to rethinking social problems and the arrangements which create them.

Fisher and Tronto's (1990:40) landmark definition of care as "a species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue and repair our 'world', so that we can live in it as well as possible" remains relevant to date, including the context of camp-based refugees.

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Elaborating an aspect that is important for our purposes here, Tronto (2013) adds that, although care manifests as an action of reaching out and expressing support to others, it is also a disposition for all actors in a democratic society. The state's provision of support for its vulnerable members is, as such, an act of care, while a government's conviction that it is its democratic responsibility to do so is a disposition of care (Tronto, 2013). In the context of camp-based refugee protection and care, democracy becomes a key value, as one of "... the most essential feature[s] of a camp is the authoritarian character of their administration ..." (Oyelade, 2006:228), and their residents' 'perspectives' tend to be systematically 'marginalised' (Hugman, Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2011:6). Tronto (2013:169) regards democratic life as the "ongoing practices and institutions in which all citizens are engaged". This concurs with Fraser's (2009:16) 'radical-democratic' view that, to be just, a polity, organisation, or institution must ensure parity of participation, and that, "all those who are subjected to a given governance structure have moral standing … in relation to it" (Fraser, 2009:65).

Koggel and Orme (2010:111) observe that the "ethics of care perspective has extended its relevance to current issues such as war, poverty and the global economic crisis and other forums of inequalities". Thus, the concept of care extends from human beings' everyday efforts to meet one another's needs, to the maintenance of communities and institutions in a manner that enables the meeting of human needs. Irrespective of the particular realm of human connection and interaction within which care is located, it always denotes a cluster of both practices and values. In support of the versatility of care and its increasing application to macro societal structures, Kolb (2008: 803) states, "the litany of organisational practices that might prove to be natural extensions of the moral impulse to care seems limitless". Robinson (2018:322) also notes that there is substantial literature on global care practices from the perspective of migration and social policy. Accordingly, Rabben (as cited in Nipperess, 2017:105-106) suggests, with specific reference to refugee protection and support that, "giving asylum or sanctuary can be seen as one of the basic manifestations of altruistic behaviour and human morality". In other words, to care about and to care for strangers seems to be the very basis of sanctuary. The refugee community, just like any community, experiences care dynamics both at the locally specific, thick level such as the day-to-day interaction among refugees and frontline staff in refugee camps and on a broader, thinner and more abstract scale including refugee legislation, government and NGO policy on various aspects of refugee wellbeing. Either way, hosting refugees and committing to ensure their welfare should reveal themselves

as both actions and dispositions of care and should be directed towards sustaining "not just bare life but *all* social life" (Robinson, 2010:132; italics added).

While advocating care as a comprehensive means towards meeting human needs at all these levels, a critical ethics of care asserts that the needs of persons, groups and communities evolve over time as societies expand their sense of what should be cared for; as demands placed upon care institutions change; and as the particular persons, groups, communities and institution of care themselves change. Needs assessment is therefore an intrinsic part of care (Tronto, 2013). A continuous and radically democratic approach to recognising, ascertaining and interpreting needs is particularly relevant in care work with camp-based refugees. This is because the particular vulnerability of refugees is exacerbated by the power differentials noted above, with the effect of "reinforcing the dependency status" of this group at large (Hugman, Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2011:6). In other words, enabling the receivers of care to articulate their needs in their own terms cannot but enhance practices of care in this field.

Although a wide range of traditions and leanings exist among care ethics, all of them disrupt traditional conceptions of what it means to be in either temporary or long-term positions of vulnerability. Gilligan (2013:43) contends that "we live in a world increasingly alert to the reality of interdependence and the cost of isolation". Likewise, Tronto (2013:26) contends that, "to pronounce those previously marked by dependence with a new 'independence' distorts reality [in that] it glosses over everyone's condition of interdependency". For these reasons, Kaya (as cited in Nguyen, Zavoretti & Tronto, 2017:201) concludes that, "key words such as self-government and self-help render care and wellbeing as internal affairs of communities, deeming those that are supposedly lacking in these qualities as dependent and inferior". This argument in particular discredits host governments' tendency to deliberately minimise their care obligations to refugees within their borders.

Framing circumstantial dependency on aid as a propensity to keep receiving it justifies the carers' assumption of leadership, resulting in the latter's disproportionate influence over the nature and procedure of assistance to refugees. Tronto (2013:149) argues that, "...in having needs, dependants are often framed as less than equal". This, however, risks undermining the recipients' ability to become what they might in fact desire to be, that is, "planners, initiators and executors" (Kadozo, 2009:5) of their own development. Like other care ethicists, Robinson (2010:138) questions the kinds of definition and valuation of dependence as undesirable and independence as a virtue implicit in the formulation of 'self-reliance' as a development

objective. In their place, she proposes an emancipatory social vision of interdependence. Similarly, Robinson (2010) disputes the apparent desirability of autonomy that is embedded in the term 'self-reliance', arguing that no individual and no social grouping ever enjoy full autonomy, but merely that the vulnerabilities and dependencies of some remain unacknowledged and hidden, while those of others become pathologised. Following Tronto and Robinson, this study therefore suggests that a concept, which considers the issue of refugee support as one where refugees are plotted on a continuum ranging from dependent to autonomous. Such interventions are designed to move them along from one end of the continuum to the other and are bound to create a false dichotomy and therefore risk leading the discussion away from, rather than towards, sustainable solutions.

The problem with the notion of autonomy and its binary opposite, dependence, is that both erroneously attribute misfortune and such vulnerabilities associated with income insecurity and poverty, to individual inadequacy, instead of regarding them in the context of human relationality and interdependence. It also risks feeding into xenophobic attitudes that frame refugees as problematic *per se* and thus deserving to be secluded in camps, rather than fellow beings with whom host communities can relate positively and integrate fruitfully. The point is that, from the perspective of a critical ethics of care, self-reliance and autonomy do not exist; and dependency is a relationship, rather than a property of any particular individual or group. So, the question to ask is: For what reasons, and for whom, do some kinds of interdependence appear more desirable than others?

Commenting on governments' general unwillingness to assume, within their territories, equal responsibility for both citizens and non-citizens, Nipperess (2017:105) notes that, despite the number of asylum seekers reaching crisis level at a global scale, governments still respond with punitive measures rendering the "whole context of asylum seeking and reception uncaring". The danger is that, at the very point at which refugees are likely to experience heightened forms of vulnerability and, consequently, an increased need for particular forms of care, they may be faced instead with an expectation to become 'self-reliant' and to sustain such 'self-reliance' in the face of inadequate support and in the absence of an enabling context, while more powerful stakeholders, such as governments and NGOs, absolve themselves of material responsibility. This is to the extent, however, to which policies and interventions are based upon a false notion of self-reliance, and risk being unsustainable. Instead, policies and interventions should be characterised by a propensity to reach out to people and groups facing particular kinds of

vulnerability in a continuous and sustained engagement of support, so as to create multidirectional relations of care.

The question arising at this point is how this might be achieved in practical terms. Tronto's (1993, 2013) formulation of care as a practice and orientation comprising five interconnected phases might be instructive. She suggests that care must be seen as a goal-directed practice, which to achieve its ends requires that particular needs for care is recognised; that someone takes the responsibility to ensure that these needs are met in particular ways; that there is direct engagement with the recipients of care, including the physical work required to provide the care; that care recipients respond to indicate the extent to which their needs have actually been met; and that over time, such patterns of care develop that will allow mutual trust and solidarity to develop (Tronto, 1993; 2013). Applying this within the context of refugee protection and support, a critical ethics of care requires, thus, that care must not be seen as a unidirectional humanitarian practice in which states, institutions or persons offer assistance to currently vulnerable groups or people (Robinson, 2010). Rather, it means an integrated practice that shifts the focus of attention to the needs, understandings and possibilities of target groups or people as both givers and receivers of care. This is the focus of the next section which considers how the critical ethics of care's reconceptualisation of vulnerability, its consequent suspicion of such notions as autonomy, independence and self-determination, and its proposition of relationality and interdependence in their place, can inform a critique of the ideological framework underlying the current income generation policies and practices in Zimbabwe's Tongogara camp.

2.4 Phases and Qualities of Care

If, from the relational perspective of a critical ethics of care, both the idea of dependence and the goal of self-reliance are problematic, and income generating activities are regarded as dependant on a web of relations between producers, intended consumers, fellow business persons and others, then they are likely to become more sustainable when planned and implemented within a framework that promotes broader human connectivity. In light of this, this section draws on Tronto's (1993) phases and ethical qualities of care to support the argument for a more achievable sustainable realisation of refugee income generation activities. To be able to apply these phases and qualities to the question of income generation for sustainable livelihoods at the Tongogara refugee camp, the section refers to refugees as receivers, to aid agencies as providers of care, to receiving aid as receiving care, and to the

facilitation of aided income generation projects as caring practices. In using the language of 'receivers and providers of care', the intention is not to reify either, nor to deny the possibility that, in different contexts, refugees could be providers of care, while the staff of the aid agencies could also be receivers of care. Instead, it is to acknowledge, first, that when members of one group serve as representatives of powerful stakeholders and gatekeepers to resources, which members of the other group need to access in order to be well and survive, power differentials do exist. Secondly, it is to acknowledge that the language introduced by writers on the critical ethics of care provides the researcher with an opportunity to re-conceptualise these power differentials and the hierarchical relationships to which they give rise, with a view to advancing participatory parity between the role-players involved.

Flaquer (as cited in Gilligan, 2013:69), states that, "in her analysis of the care process, Tronto distinguishes between four analytically separate but interconnected stages". Tronto's phases and their corresponding qualities map out 'a care analysis of humanitarian interventions…' (Robinson, 2011:109). According to Juujarvi (2003:54), Tronto's fourfold model for the caring process is useful because care is no longer confined to the realm of psychology but extends to applied sciences like social work and nursing. The phases of care "highlight many points where conflict, power relations, inconsistencies and competing purposes and divergent ideas about good care could affect care processes" (Tronto, 2010:160).

The first phase of the care process is 'caring about'. Caring about is whereby people notice unmet needs. Tronto (1993) states that caring about is the initial step of acknowledging the necessity of care. This phase entails noticing the existence of a need and making an assessment that it has to be met. The phase can be applied at both macro and micro levels of care. Some people are empathetic to the case of others' suffering while some people are bound to ignore such sufferings. Caring about can also be described on a social and political level or macro level. As an example, a society's approach to homelessness can be described in caring terms (Tronto, 2013). This phase can be used to explain the recognition or seriousness accorded to the plight of refugees both at local and national level by local community members, politicians or humanitarian agencies. Refugee needs can only be met if they are recognised as legitimate or prioritised. The general approach taken by a nation, society and community towards the fulfilment of refugee need hinges on whether they recognise or notice the need.

Tronto (1993:127) states that, "since care requires the recognition of a need and that there is a need that be cared about, the first moral quality of caring is attentiveness". It requires that

people attend to the needs of others as the initial step to address those needs. By this standard, the ethics of care regards indifference to the suffering of others as "a form of moral evil" (Tronto, 1993). She goes on to argue that, although modern society has become complex in human connectivity, people still have the capacity to know about the conditions of others, unfortunately, people are likely to focus on themselves and their immediate interests, paying no attention to others, ignoring them. According to Tronto (1993) the most severe aspect of inattentiveness is the unwillingness of people to direct their attention to others' particular concerns. Having identified the condition of ignorance as an obstruction to care, Tronto submits that, "attentiveness, simply recognising the needs of those around us, is a difficult task, and indeed, a moral achievement' (Tronto, 1993:127). In other words, the absence of attentiveness results in the continuation of human suffering. According to Tronto (1993), the capacity for attentiveness is the basis of all genuine human interaction.

Tronto (1993:128) offers an example that, "if people in the first world fail to notice every day that the activities spurred by a global capitalist system result in the starvation of thousands, or in sexual slavery in Thailand… starting from the standpoint of an ethic of care where noticing needs is the first task of humans, this ignorance is a moral failing". Similarly, failure by any party in the refugee care chain to recognise the full extent of the effects of their decisions or actions on refugee welfare can be classified as inattentiveness hence a moral failing by standards of the ethics of care. This standard can be used to assess refugee welfare players even at macro level; for instance, an attentive government is expected to understand the effects of its legislation and actions on refugee welfare, to suspend its own concerns to tend to the plight of refugees, to notice particular needs which arise from the living arrangement of refugees in its territory, and to understand the humanitarian implications of its refugee hosting policies.

'Taking care of' is the second phase in the care process and it entails assuming responsibility to make sure that identified needs are met. It involves notions of urgency and responsibility in the care process. Taking care of involves the realisation that it is possible to take action to address the unmet needs identified during the 'caring about' phase. Tronto (1993:106) states that, "if we believe that it is too bad that children starve in the third world, but since any food we sent there will be stolen, there is no point in sending money to buy food; then we have suggested that this need cannot be met and no 'taking care of' can occur". Tronto (1993) further argues that taking care of the needs of vulnerable groups is not a once off act or gesture, instead,

it requires a meticulous organised action which finds a reliable source of the required good or service.

Noticing needs without follow up action is not wholesome care. Tronto cites organised response to the needs of people living with AIDS as an example of the practical manifestation of this phase but this study applies it to understand a stage in the care for refugees living in a refugee camp in Zimbabwe. This study, through the provisions of this phase, examines the organisation and sustainability of responses to particular refugees needs. This stage can explain both the adequacy and the inadequacy of care efforts in meeting their intended goals. Tronto and Fisher (1990) argue that recognising a need is not enough, similarly, making a once off or a onetime gesture or act to respond to that need is still not enough. They call for care actions which ensure that a particular need is continuously and consistently met. In the context of refugee welfare, this phase can measure efforts at various levels of the care chain and with different players in the care process to determine whether they meet the requirements of meaningful care.

The second dimension of care, 'taking care of', "makes responsibility into a central moral category" (Tronto, 1993:131). Once needs are identified, someone or some group has to take on the burden of meeting those needs. That is what responsibility entails and it is the key moral quality of the second phase of care (Tronto, 2013). She goes on to note that, 'responsibility' seems to be more sociological rather than a political concept, and it is imbedded in a cultural value system rather than legal obligation. However, it is possible for the notion of responsibility to become political or become an issue of public debate. As an example, Tronto (1993:132) notes that "we can debate on what responsibility members of society, or the federal government of the United States, have in helping to rebuild violence-torn South-Central Los Angeles". It is important to note that 'responsibility', as it is used in the ethics of care perspective, is a matter of morality, for instance, a government or society may have no legal obligation to respond to particular needs of a certain population, but it can be concluded that it has moral responsibility to do so. A government, society and individuals' 'habit of mind' has to be guided by the ethical or moral quality of 'responsibility' in order for them to undertake the second phase of care which is 'taking care of.'

Feeling the obligation to respond to a predicament and assuming responsibility is what Noddings (1984) calls the 'ethical ideal'. The preceding section discussed how the drive to 'autonomise' refugees gives rise to concerns about the conception, targeting and

implementation of current income generation support initiatives at Tongogara. Both literary and anecdotal evidence have shown that the Zimbabwean government and its partners minimise material support in order to avert responsibility for a group of people who have been forcibly disconnected from their surrounding communities and subsequently labelled 'dependent'. The study therefore proposes Tronto's ethical quality of 'responsibility' as a means to reorienting Zimbabwe's separatist refugee hosting legislation and policy. According to Tronto (1993), responsibility entails that once needs and strengths are identified, someone or some group take on the task of meeting those needs, arguing that, in the social development context, the linking of care receivers' strengths to available opportunities.

It is important to note at this point that 'responsibility', as it is used in the ethics of care perspective, is a matter of morality. For instance, a government may have no legal obligation to respond to particular needs, but still it can be concluded that it has moral responsibility to do so. Indeed, while there are international and regional refugee welfare Conventions, the specific regulations governing refugee support in individual countries are essentially left to their discretion. In other words, individual states have the legal right to determine the level and extent of responsibility they assume towards refugees within their borders. Yet, although governments may not be legally bound to grant certain freedoms (such as free movement) to refugees, Tronto's ethical quality of 'responsibility' looks beyond legislation and makes a moral appeal to governments and policy makers to consider whether their actions or policies (or lack thereof) may, in fact, have aggravated the suffering of the population in question (Tronto, 1993).

'Care giving' is the third phase of care and it involves physical work; it entails that the care givers be in contact with the objects of care in a hands-on fashion. Noting as an example for this phase, Tronto (1993:107) states that, "delivering food to camps in Somalia, volunteers arriving with culturally appropriate meals for AIDS patients, someone washing his laundry, are examples of care giving". The nature of care work done in this phase is one which meets direct needs. According to Tronto (1993:107), it is important to realise that giving money is not an exact form of 'care-giving' because, "money does not solve human needs, though it provides the resources by which human needs can be satisfied". Tronto offers an example for that position, arguing that a homeless person given assistance in the form of money will have to convert that money to meet a particular need, thereby making money a means to an end. In light of this, Tronto (1993) maintains that, providing financial assistance to the needy is more

an act of 'taking care of' than 'care-giving'. Care-giving is the work that goes into converting financial resources into satisfying noted needs. Since there is a recognisable effort that goes into converting money into satisfying human needs, "equating the provision of money with the satisfaction of needs points out to the undervaluing of care-giving in our society" (Tronto, 1993:107). In simple terms, this phase accounts for the bulk of frontline work with the vulnerable, be it by professionals or general community members.

Tronto (1993:33) further states that, "the third phase of care gives rise to the importance of competence in care-giving as a moral notion". Doing the actual work for which one accepted responsibility is the third phase of care. Due to its practicality, this phase requires competence as more than just a technical issue, but a moral one. Competence is identified as the central ethical quality in the third phase of care because intending to provide care and accepting the responsibility to provide care then provide inadequate care is not enough, for, in the end, the need for care remains unmet (Tronto, 1993; 2013). The ethics of care acknowledges that care provided can be inadequate due to other factors like lack of resources or personnel shortages, but save for such problems, it is necessary that caring work be executed competently.

In Zimbabwe, despite the government repeatedly affirming its commitment to refugee wellbeing, it has fallen short of the actual action required to enable and enhance sustainable income generation among refugees. Action in this instance entails allowing freedom of movement, facilitating rather than preventing the connection between members of different communities, and enhancing access to human, natural and financial resources. Despite lobbying by various NGOs, the government has not yet taken substantial steps in any of these respects. In the face of government reluctance, Tronto's ethical quality of competence is particularly relevant. Tronto (1993:133) states that 'competence' refers to the actual work for which one has accepted responsibility. Competence is central because accepting the responsibility to provide care but then doing so in a manner that is inadequate, ultimately leaves the need for care unmet (Tronto, 1993:2013). Similarly, van Hoof (as cited in Hugman, 2004:71), argues that, "an ethics of care can only be achieved through action". Yet, Tronto (1993:134) observes that, "in large bureaucracies, a type of care with no concern about the outcome or end result seems pervasive", noting that it is common in bureaucratic organisations to have caregivers commit (on paper) to specific goals only to provide support that is inadequate to produce the intended outcome. The aided income generation activities at Tongogara serve as a case in point. In other words, 'competence' as an action-oriented ethical

quality should translate into genuine political will to reconsider and effect what may be necessary reforms in refugee support. If both government and NGOs were to rethink their understandings of autonomy, dependency and the elusive goal of refugee 'self-reliance', the sustainability of income generation at Tongogara might be well-enhanced.

Care-receiving is the final phase of the care process. Once care work is done, there will be a response from the person, group that has been cared for. Observing that response and making judgements about its sufficiency, success and completeness is the final phase of care (Tronto, 2013). According to Tronto (1993:108), "it is important to include care receiving as an element of the caring process because it provides the only way to know that caring needs have actually been met". She argues that, until this point of the care process, the assumption is that the definition of a need adopted by those who identified it in the first phase of care (caring about) is true or accurate. It is possible that assumption could be wrong because perception of need by a non-affected party can be wrong. Tronto (1993:108) further contends that, "Even if the perception of a need is correct, how the care givers choose to meet the need can cause new problems". The question at this point is whose account of 'need' will determine the direction of the care process. Furthermore, Tronto (1993:108) avers that, "Unless we realise that the object cared for responds to the care received, we may ignore the existence of these dilemmas, and lose the ability to assess how adequately care is provided".

The quality of care and adequacy of care provided to any individual or group of people in need depends on feedback. The efficiency and openness of the feedback process reflects on the reception of care efforts by the receiver. This phase is particularly pertinent in refugee care work because it ascertains whether the care givers and care receivers share the same perception of 'needs' at any given point. This study employs the principles of this phase to explain the successes and shortfalls of particular care acts.

According to Tronto (2013:35), "Once care work is done, there will be a response from the person, group… that has been cared for, observing that response and making judgements about it (whether the care given was sufficient, successful or complete) requires the moral quality of responsiveness". The moral quality of responsiveness completes the care cycle because it provides the means for assessing the effectiveness of care provided in any setting. In addition, Tronto (1993) observes that care receivers are often at danger from their care givers and other parties that assume responsibility to help them, the danger being care givers assuming to know and define the needs of the care receivers who find themselves in temporary positions of

vulnerability or inequality of some form. In any society, such vulnerabilities or inequalities give rise to unequal power relationships and domination or subordination; the moral quality of responsiveness therefore requires alertness to the possibility of abuse that arise from vulnerability (Tronto, 1993).

According to the ethics of care, "responsiveness suggests a different way to understand the needs of others rather than to put ourselves into their position; instead, it suggests that we consider the other's position as that other expresses it" (Tronto, 1993:136). That means the perceptions of care objects regarding the care provided be considered from their perspective. It is apparent that responsiveness requires attentiveness that, according to Tronto (1993), is evident that all four moral qualities are intertwined. Furthermore, Tronto (1993) notes that explanations of the various phases and ethical qualities of care reflect how much they form a part of an integrated whole, though they have different meanings, they cannot be treated separately in analysing the care process.

To illustrate the importance of responsiveness, Tronto (2010:120) argues that, "in formal care institutions, there may be conflicting approaches to purpose, particularity, and power arrangements, as a result, care institutions need to have formal practices to review and evaluate if the institution meets its caring obligations". The capacity for responsiveness can explain the success of a particular care effort. Care work with refugees at various levels involves dynamics such as unequal power relations among all members of the care chain, thereby making it crucial to assess the level of responsiveness in refugee care work in Zimbabwe. Tronto (2010:61) notes that institutional care is at risk of "paternalism, in which caregivers assume that they know better than care receivers". This risk is even more pronounced in a situation of encampment as camps have been described as 'total institutions' (Oyelade 2006:228). Due to the power dynamics inherent in institutions, care receivers' perspectives and opinions are easily overlooked (Tronto, 1993). Part of this dynamic is that care receivers' vulnerabilities, for example, on account of income insecurity and poverty, are often taken as signifiers of a lack of expertise in relation to the very matters that constitute the vulnerability in the first place. This interpretation then provides a rationale for care receivers' exclusion from decision making (see Tronto, 2010), strengthening in turn caregivers' positions from which they can impose their interpretation of the care receivers' needs (Fraser, 1989). The outcome may well be a vicious cycle of increasing domination and subordination between providers and receivers of care, bearing risks of exploitation, mistrust and hostility (Held, 2006). This is why

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responsiveness, which Tronto (2013:35) defines as the establishment and safeguarding of open communication to allow, encourage and facilitate care receivers' ability to voice their opinions about the care being given, is such a crucial ethical quality.

Responsiveness requires and entails attentiveness to the possibilities of abuse that arise from vulnerability (Tronto, 1993), together with the willingness to remedy and address its root causes whenever it occurs. Thus, Tronto (2010:120) argues that institutions of care "need to have formal practices to review and evaluate" if they meet their 'caring obligations'. Social development by means of income generation requires equal partnerships among stakeholders in that equalising stakeholder influence and rendering power relations more transparent and open to contestation are requisites for sustainability. In the context of the Tongogara camp, this means refugees and donor agencies relate within more lateral administrative structures, with neither group assuming exclusive leadership over on-going projects. Indeed, equal partnerships and interdependence may well be *the* key juncture at which the critical ethics of care intersects with the sustainable development framework.

Tronto's phases of care and their corresponding qualities provide an apt framework for considering how to go about transforming institutions towards caring practices. This is because the phases provide a consolidated practical guide for dispensing and evaluating care in both interpersonal and bureaucratic settings. To further align the concept of care to the macro realms of human wellbeing, Tronto (2013) states that, "… care requires that caring needs and the ways in which they are met need to be consistent with democratic commitments to justice, equality and freedom for all". The ideal of care as well as its practice should be aligned to securing social justice, equality and freedom as the fundamentals of human wellbeing. According to Tronto (2013), the ethical qualities necessary for this are plurality, communication, trust, respect, and solidarity. Care interventions at a political level can be assessed against the aforementioned virtues of democracy. Drawing from Tronto's propositions, the next section argues that justice, human rights and sustainable development are the conceptual contexts in which care manifests in refugee affairs.

2.5 Care's Conceptual Context: Justice, Human Rights and Social Development

As a conceptual framework for enhancing human wellbeing and refugee wellbeing in particular, care cannot singularly suffice. It must be conceptualised in relation to the 'neighbouring' and closely intertwined concepts of justice, human rights and social development. Although care was conceived originally in juxtaposition to justice, recent care theorists, turning to a

political/critical ethics of care, are increasingly agreeing that justice and rights can be discussed while acknowledging context, interdependence and relationships. Banks (2012:80) notes that Tronto "explicitly rejects what she calls the false dichotomy between care and justice". In this view, care is a necessary but not sufficient account of moral life and that, to address the problems with care requires, "a concept of justice, a democratic and open opportunity for discussion and more equal access to power". Orme (2002:805) augments this, noting that, "while care allows us to attend to and alleviate need, justice allows us to bring political awareness and critique the situations which contribute to the need". One such example is the marginalisation of camp-based refugees. In that situation, Plant (as cited in Orme. 2002:805) argues that, "… those who require care also deserve justice in which they are treated as moral agents … not there to be objects of other people's altruism and benevolence but given the means to be involved in decisions". According to Nipperess (2017:111), "a critical ethics of care acknowledges the importance of personal caring relationships… but it also embraces the necessity for political change". This political consciousness regarding power-related structural inhibitions to the fulfilment of care needs is what forms the relationship between care and justice.

Fraser (2008:53) notes that "in my view, the most general meaning of justice is parity of participation". Fraser (as cited in Hölscher, 2018:34) considers this to be the political dimension of justice in which all members of a polity must be accorded equal political representation and voice in social life; failure to do so amounts to what she terms *misrepresentation* which is a form of injustice. Tronto (2013:169) also refers to justice as "… reassigning caring and other responsibilities in a framework of non-dominated inclusion". She goes on to argue that, in order to be effective in solving social problems, care needs justice to facilitate "more equal access to power" (Tronto, 1993:154). Justice and care therefore converge on their shared orientation on egalitarianism, because like care, justice requires, "dismantling institutionalised obstacles that prevent some people from participating on par with others…" (Fraser as cited in Hölscher, Bozalek & Gray, 2020:11).

Fraser (as cited in Hölscher, 2018:35) also argues that the intended political outcomes of both care and justice on societal arrangements are connected such that justice can be viewed as the macro theory within which care, as a context sensitive concept, can fit. Similarly, Held (2006:66) argues that, the question becomes, "how should the framework that structures justice, equality, rights and liberty mesh with the network that delineates care, relatedness and trust?"

Hugman (2017:124) explains why that mesh is necessary, arguing that, "the values of human rights and social justice… may risk constructing human life as autonomous, ignoring its relationality. When justice and care are integrated, it is possible to see justice as social …". On the other hand, "care risks being parochial when justice is not considered when applying a caring approach" (Tronto as cited in Hay, 2017:52). This study, through the critical ethics of care, argues that human suffering results from marginalisation and structural exclusion necessitates care, thereby making care a response to injustice and inequality. This is in line with Tronto's (2013:62) argument that, justice entails ensuring that, "in our democracy, no one goes without care".

The ethics of care examines questions of social justice including distribution of social benefits, legislation and claims of entitlement (Tronto, 2013). Equitable distribution and participation in social benefits and opportunities as a dimension of justice (Fraser, 2008) is necessary in the alleviation of unnecessary human suffering in general and in reference to refugees. Care's concern with distributive justice is also noted by Nortvedt, Hem and Skirbekk (2011:194) who argue that "the ethics of care has lately included the significance of distributive justice on a national as well as global level of care". From this perspective, an ethics of care requires that issues such as equitable distribution of social benefits, favourability of legislation towards particular groups and social justice determine the level at which needs for the vulnerable are met. Tronto (2013) further argues that care, if adopted as a political concept, rebuffs constructs of dependency which perpetuate uneven power arrangements and illuminates the interdependency of humans, it could stimulate pluralistic politics that extend the platform to those politically and economically disenfranchised. In that way, care serves a closely similar purpose with justice which, "enables at once an analysis both of existing social arrangements and the norms legitimising them…" (Hölscher, Bozalek & Gray, 2020:11). This cements the relevance of the justice to care in political issues of wellbeing. Applying ethics of care to political contexts holds governments and civil institutions to their responsibility of offering economic provisions in times of adversity and uphold basic rights of individuals (Tronto, 2013). Fraser (as cited in Hölscher, Bozalek, & Gray, 2020:11-12) however argues that, in order for this distributive justice to take effect, a cultural/legal dimension of justice must be concurrently observed in social and political arrangements. She states that in order for economic and political rights to be extended to all social players, none should be denied public recognition by exclusionary classifications such as nationality, race, gender, sex, among others. This has a bearing on the treatment of non-citizens like refugees. Similarly, from a moral and relationality

standpoint, care advocates against the separation of persons and groups based on institutionalised discriminatory and hierarchical arrangements of any nature.

This study's focus on the development for refugee wellbeing is based on the argument that sustainable livelihoods could secure human dignity by improving access to rights such as education, health, nutrition, among others. It therefore becomes apparent that, "notions of dignity derive from rights-based discourses…" (Blum & Murray, 2017:68). This necessitates an examination of the relationship between care and human rights. Care is an originally feminist concept, and it is "central to all feminist belief that everyone has the right to access basic human rights and to be free from domination and subordination" (Turner & Maschi, 2015:155). According to Held (2006:125), care is a precondition for human rights, and the social cohesion and interconnectedness which make it possible for democratic institutions to work and guarantee human rights. She argues that "we ought to respect human rights of persons everywhere, but first of all we ought to develop in everyone the capacity for and practice of caring about all others as human beings like ourselves". For the protection of human rights, there must be necessary conditions of a 'sense of community' and 'civic virtues', and both are qualities of care (Held, 2006:126).

Noddings (2010:26-27) holds the view that, "care ethics is a needs-based approach, but that does not mean that it is uninterested in rights… the contribution of care ethics is to examine the needs and wants that underlie the granting of rights…" In the context of refugee affairs, and anywhere, human rights cannot be individually contested but can only be attained through a network of relationships. In light of this, Held (2006:125) avers that, "…before there can be respect for rights, there must be a sense of social connectedness with those others whose rights are recognised". Although human rights are dominantly regarded as individualistic, these arguments propose that their protection requires connectivity, care therefore should be the precursor of human rights. According to Chandra (2017:53), "If we insist that human rights must be rights that people can hold only as independent individuals, our conception of human rights will not match the social reality of the human condition". This is why human rights must be paired with care.

Giving asylum or sanctuary is, as Nipperess (2017:106) asserts, "one of the basic manifestations of altruistic behaviour and human morality", and asylum itself is a human right embedded in international law. However, refugee hosting is usually governed by uncaring policies and regulations, this makes a clear conception of human rights crucial for a "radically

just practice" (Nipperess, 2017:112). Nipperess goes on to argue that, "understanding the international human rights context allows social workers to engage both personal and political practice" (Nipperess, 2017:112). Human rights are particularly important because they are humane entitlements often denied to perceived 'outsider groups' such as refugees. Held (2006:66) considers a respect for human rights as critical to the care of those considered 'distant others' such as refugees. This separation of people based on citizenship, as in the case of refugees, is a 'frame-setting' decision which results in injustice (Fraser as cited in Hölscher, Bozalek & Gray, 2020:16). Fraser further notes that, the accordance of fair and equal representation is determined by *(mis)framing* which is the screening of people into who does and does not qualify for justice in form of access to human rights (Hölscher, Bozalek & Gray, 2020:16). Rectifying that requires the legal recognition of marginalised people, granting them equal membership in society on basis of their humanity not citizenship or any other classification. That is, at once, a moral and political position, giving precedence above all, to the natural phenomenon of human connectivity and interdependence, which makes it a caring argument.

It therefore becomes evident that if care is to be effective in reforming discriminatory refugee laws and policy, it must interface with human rights because "laws and regulations speak to the idea of people as bearers of rights" (Blum & Murray, 2017:80). Banks (1995:18) also calls for a combined approach to care and rights, stating that, "social work contributes towards expressing society's altruism (care) and enforcing societal norms (control); it champions individual rights as well as protects the collective good". According to Hugman (2017:117), it can therefore be argued that improvements in human life in the form of access to clean water, health care and education are a result of the pursuit of social justice and human rights as goals of social welfare.

Finally, social development, both as a human right and as the focus of this study, must also be examined in relation to care. The United Nations High Commission for Human Rights [OHCHR] (1986) defines development as:

> … a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process, which aims at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of benefits resulting therefrom.

Boff (2008:98) also notes that, "in simple terms, social development aims at improving the quality of human life… this implies a healthy and long life, education, political participation,

democracy that is social and participative… guaranteed respect for human rights and protection from violence…". Democracy and egalitarianism are central traits in both these definitions of social development, rendering principles of care both compatible with, and applicable to, social development. Social development, then, is basically a collective of multiple activities and processes for the improvement of human wellbeing in which nobody is excluded. Connecting the two, Hugman (2017:117) argues that, "… development suggests an ongoing assistance to achieve the betterment of human life" so it "might be seen as an expression of care". In his argument for the relationship between care and development, Hugman notes that a critical ethics of care provides social workers with means of exploring practical and ethical ways of intervening in humanitarian aid and social development (Hugman, 2017:116). Hugman (2017:119) further argues that, "at the centre of these concerns about humanitarian aid and social development practice is the question of social power". Consequently, the fundamental characteristics of meaningful social development should be empowerment and participation (Patel, as cited in Katungu & Lombard, 2015:190). Social development, when coupled with an emancipatory framework such as the critical ethics of care, could minimise social power differentials.

Lastly, interdependence as an intrinsic feature of human existence, hence a requisite feature of human wellbeing, is a critical and common tenet of both care and social development. As discussed in preceding sections, care ethicists argue that interdependence and connectivity are a more realistic representation of the human condition and must be maintained and fostered for wellbeing. Similarly, social development proponents such as Patel (2015:90) argue that social capital is a key dimension of social and economic development. She defines social capital as "… social networks, relationships and ties that bind people together". Without these social networks and ties, the poor's capacity to access resources and promote livelihoods is diminished (Patel, 2015:90). This negative outcome on wellbeing can be one of the many manifestations of what Gilligan (2013:43) refers to as 'the cost of isolation'. The IASSW, ICSW and IFSW (2016:17) also note interdependence as a desired outcome of social work intervention in social development initiatives with refugees in particular. They argue that when social workers actively engage refugees for their own recovery, "their plans tend to result in… a culture of interdependence, and mutual aid in the context of rebuilding communities".

When care is operational in the context of refugee wellbeing, it must become a critical ethics of care in cognisance of structural causes of care needs. The dynamically interrelated concepts

of care, justice, social development and human rights are necessary in achieving "practice systems and structures that are both effective and anti-oppressive" (Hugman, 2017:123). The triad of social development, justice and human rights bring about political change in form of policies for refugee wellbeing while care creates conditions of moral responsibility, responsiveness and human connectivity which necessitates that change.

2.6 Summary

This was a four-part chapter. First, the chapter outlined the ontological origins of the concept of care in the early 1980s and the layout of its delineating qualities proposed by early care ethicists. The discussion serves to explain the principles of care, the value they add to understanding the human wellbeing and the human experience in general. The second part discussed the developments in focus of care, from interpersonal relations to an increasingly macro concept gaining serious consideration in policy agendas globally. This part of the chapter focused on care ethicists with a focus on structural issues affecting human wellbeing which justifies its suitability in critiquing refugee affairs. Thirdly, Tronto's phases of care were highlighted as the critical framework germane to understanding, effecting and evaluating care in bureaucratic and institutional settings. Lastly, the chapter illustrated that care, when situated in its conceptual context, borders and relates with concepts of human rights, justice and social development. This part of the discussion argues that care as a unique angle of critiquing refugee and human wellbeing is not in conflict with these concepts but works more effectively in relation to them. The next chapter discusses how sustainable livelihoods are linked to human rights and wellbeing as well as how care is central to both.

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CHAPTER 3

THE STATUS AND WELLBEING OF REFUGEES

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3.1 Introduction

Refugee wellbeing is a sum of multiple interconnected features, adequate provision of each is critical to attaining holistic wellbeing. The multiple features of refugee wellbeing include education, health, nutrition, sanitation, documentation and physical safety (UNHCR, 2015; UNHCR, 2017; UNHCR, 2020). This chapter discusses these features in the global, regional and Zimbabwean context, demonstrating the bidirectional relationship between livelihoods and these features.

The discussion begins with a review of global and regional Conventions from which the legal basis for refugee wellbeing in Zimbabwe is drawn. The discussion proceeds to various features of refugee wellbeing in relation to livelihoods. Subsequently, the factors affecting refugee wellbeing are discussed, followed by a summary of the chapter.

3.2 International and Regional Conventions on the Status of Refuges

By ratifying the global and regional Conventions of the status of refugees, state nations commit to the obligation of providing for various features of refugee wellbeing and protection that are grounded in universal human rights. This section reviews the specific provisions for refugee wellbeing within interrelated international and regional Conventions. The section further critiques the Conventions' suitability in addressing current global, regional and local refugee contexts.

3.2.1 International convention

The 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees is the centrepiece of international refugee protection today. This Convention amalgamates previous international instruments relating to refugees and offers the most comprehensive codification of the basic rights of refugees internationally. The UNHCR (2001:1) states that the Convention is important because "it was the first truly international agreement covering the most fundamental aspects of refugee's life"; and, unlike previous instruments on refugees, "it recognised the international scope of the refugee crises" and calls upon international cooperation in addressing the problem. In brief description, the Convention is a rights-based instrument. Oyalade (2006:209) argues that there is an inalienable link between refugee wellbeing and human rights, noting that, "respect for refugees' fundamental rights as human beings is the first principle of international

protection". Oyalade (2006) further argues that there is a need for a human rights perception of the refugee problem. Overall, the Convention embodies basic standards for the treatment of refugees. Such rights include access to primary education, work, courts and fundamental documentation (UN General Assembly, 1951).

Article 1 of the Convention defines a refugee as someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion. Chapter 3, Article 17 and 18, provide for regulations on refugees' gainful employment and means of remuneration. It states that contracting states shall accord to refugees lawfully staying in their territory the same favourable treatment accorded to nationals of a foreign nation in the same circumstances, as regards to the rights to engage in wage earning employment and as regards to the right to engage on their own account in agriculture, industry, handicrafts and commerce (UN General Assembly, 1951).

Chapter 4 of the Convention deliberates on the wellbeing of refugees. It provides for the rights of refugees to get the same treatment as nationals with regards to the provision of rations of scarce commodities, housing, public education and public relief. Chapter 5, Article 26, as part of administrative measures, accords refugees the right to freedom of movement. It states that, each contracting state shall accord to refugees lawfully in its territory the right to choose their place of residence and move freely within its territory. Chapter 6 lays out the executory provisions of the Convention, and Article 35 of that chapter provides for the co-operation of the national authorities with the United Nations. It states that contracting nations shall undertake to co-operate with the office of the UNHCR in the exercise of its functions and shall facilitate its duty of supervising the application of the provisions of this Convention (UN General Assembly, 1951).

Despite its various provisions for refugee wellbeing, the Convention has shortcomings especially in the today's global refugee crisis. Cole (2015:1) argues that, "there are key problems with the Convention, and it may be that now is precisely the time to raise them. The three main challenges are the scope of the definition [of a refugee], what protection it offers, and its status in international law". The 1951 Convention's definition of a refugee is hinged on fear of persecution as the driver of forced migration when in fact the majority of people regarded as refugees are not afraid of persecution but are "simply fleeing violence" mostly as a result of war (Cole, 2015:1). This has implications on the wellbeing of people of concern as

this narrow definition is used to reject refugee status to certain seekers (Feller, 2001:1). For 'large scale influxes', which form the most common group of asylum seekers fleeing armed conflict, the Convention is "often more aspirational than actually implemented" as it serves as the "aspirational basis for extending protection rather than the blueprint for what is needed" (Feller, 2011:6). Cole (2015:2) further notes that "as far as the Convention goes, you are only a refugee once a state has granted you that status. Until that moment you are an asylum seeker. And so once more the vast majority of people fleeing violence in the world today are not according to the UN Convention, refugees, they are people seeking refuge". The problem with this narrow definition is that it leaves much to the discretion of the host country to confer one with the status of refugee and the wellbeing entitlements which attach to that status.

Regarding the protection offered by the Convention, Cole (2015:2) argues that the only 'effective right' guaranteed by the Convention is non-refoulement. This only obliges hosts not to return recognised refugees to territories from which they fled, but not the 'positive obligation to assist'. He further contends that less welcoming hosts can only provide temporary shelter until countries of origin are safe for return. This temporary status can be "revoked whenever the government decides it is safe for you to go home". The notion of 'temporary shelter' has implications on quality and nature of wellbeing provided to refugees because, not only is it contrary to the current reality of protracted refugee cases across the globe, itis often manipulated by hosts who seek to minimise services. Feller (2001:1) notes with concern that "there has been tendency over recent times for decision makers to focus on the letter of the Convention than on its purposes, much less its spirit. It has become such, for those so inclined, an instrument to restrict responsibility to the minimum". The exploitation of gaps in the terminology and provisions of the Convention for the purpose of averting responsibility is one of the ways in which uncaring refugee hosting policy manifests. As argued in Chapter 2 (see section 2.3), assumption of responsibility within an ethics of care has more to do with moral than legal obligation.

Lastly, the status of the Convention in international law, as pointed out by Cole (2015), is problematic. The Convention can only be effective in signatory states and some countries like Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, among others, have simply not ratified the Convention. Some countries like Zimbabwe have ratified the Convention with reservations to particular provisions such as freedom of movement (to be discussed under local legislation in section 3.2.3). What this simply means is persons seeking refuge in such countries have limited rights and wellbeing or

none at all. Having noted the impracticalities of applying the 1951 UN Convention to varying and unique refugee situations in Africa, a more region-specific instrument was drafted, that is the focus of the next subsection.

3.2.2 Regional Convention

The corner stone of refugee policy on the African continent is the 1969 Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa (OAU, 1969). It draws from and adopts the 1951 international Convention's definition of a refugee, but it expands it to suit the African refugee situation. Millbank (2000:1) notes that "while a number of African countries are signatories [to the 1951 Convention], it has always been obvious that the Convention is of limited use for dealing with the refugee situation in Africa". The preamble of the regional Convention states that it came into being after realising that all problems on the continent, including the refugee problem, should be solved in the African context. It also states that the Convention came after acknowledgement by African heads of states of the constantly increasing number of refugees on the continent hence the need for an essentially humanitarian approach to solving the African refugee crisis. There are three main characters which distinguish this Convention from the previously outlined 1951 United Nations Convention. These are the expanded definition of a refugee, burden sharing and regional solidarity and prohibition of subversive activities (OAU, 1969).

Article 1 of the 1969 Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa further defines a refugee as every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order is forced to leave their country of origin to seek refuge in a foreign country. This definition, unlike that of the 1951 Convention, takes into account persons displaced due to armed conflict and civil unrest. Article 2 of the Convention provides for 'burden sharing', it notes that where a member state finds difficulty in continuing to grant asylum to refugees, such member state may appeal directly to other member states through the Organisation for African Union (OAU), now the African Union (AU), and such member states shall, in the spirit of African solidarity, take appropriate measures to lighten the burden of the member state granting asylum. The notion of 'burden sharing' and what it implies is discussed as part of factors affecting refugee wellbeing (see section 3.4 below). The final distinguishing characteristic of this Convention is its prohibition of subversive activities deliberated in Article 3. Basically, that means that African states cannot host refugees who engage in any sort of activity to subvert public order in its territory or another

African state. Although Article 2 states that repatriation of refugees should be voluntary, subversive acts are grounds for forced repatriation.

Although this Convention is credited for expanding the scope of the definition of a refugee to accommodate the specific nature of refugees on the continent, it has proven to have loopholes of its own. Oyalade (2006:223) argues that:

> … while the instrument made several significant contributions to the corpus of international refugee law… it nevertheless manifests a number of problems. These include the fact that it does not specifically mention the rights of refugees… and erects several barriers in relation to rights of movement, expression and association that are often not justifiable restrictions on the rights of refugees …

The restriction of refugee movements and rights has implications on their collective wellbeing as will be discussed under features of refugee wellbeing in section 3.3. Okello (2014:70) also makes a similar argument, stating that, "forty years after the OAU Convention on refugees came into force, the dismal state in which refugees find themselves these days raises questions as to whether the Convention has lived up to expectations". He further argues that, in assessing the impact on regional refugee wellbeing, "it is not the OAU Convention itself that is in review but performance of states party in achieving the initial expectations and vision of the Convention" (Okello, 2014:73). The centrality of effective implementation to wellbeing is also noted by Oyalade (2006:209) who states that, "the international protection of refugees is based not only upon the elaboration and the acceptance by states, of principles and norms for the benefit of refugees, but also upon the effective implementation of these principles and norms by states…". As argued in the previous chapter (see section 2.3), committing to an obligation without the accompanying action to practically effect or implement the necessary steps towards the wellbeing of those cared for is lack of 'competence' that amounts to inadequate care.

The Convention's particular emphasis on host security has been pointed as one of the main reasons for compromised implementation. Implementation of the Convention faces challenges due to the tendency to view refugees as a security concern, for example, domestic laws in Zimbabwe, Kenya and Tanzania restrict refugee movements due to security concerns (Abebe, Abebe & Sharpe, 2020:1). Okello (2014:71) also notes, that unlike the UN Convention, the OAU has specific provisions prohibiting subversive acts by refugees in host countries, however, that provision is being used to instigate 'flagrant cases of refoulement'. According to Oyelade (2006:224), "it is just a Convention more inclined primarily to equip governments with legal

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powers and mechanisms to control and restrict refugees, rather than uphold their legal rights and entitlements". He further notes the distinction between the UN and OAU Conventions with regards to refugee rights, pointing out that, while the UN Convention 'details the civic and socio-economic rights' of refugees, the African Convention only articulates basic needs in the form of food, shelter, health and sanitary facilities (Oyalade, 2006:224-225). He also argues that the African Convention's shortcomings in securing refugees' wellbeing is further exacerbated by its failure to address "the issue of squalor in camps around Africa and this is definitely a specific and persistent problem the Convention should address". Despite the above discussed loopholes in the Convention, Abebe et al. (2020:2) state that, "the Convention is widely domesticated in national refugee laws and policies including in Angola… and Zimbabwe". Guided by these international and regional frameworks, individual nations have the discretion to craft national legislation in accordance with their own unique political and economic considerations. The next subsection examines domestic regulations in the context of this study and their implications on the wellbeing of refugees living in Zimbabwe.

3.2.3 Local legislation

In Zimbabwe, refugee affairs are governed by the Zimbabwe Refugee Act Chapter 4:03 of 1983 which is an incorporation of both the 1951 and 1969 Conventions (UNHCR, 2011:1). Drawing from the 1951 international Convention, the Zimbabwean Act recognises refugee entitlements to self-employment, housing, education and documentation. Zimbabwe however entered reservations to wage earning employment, public relief, social security and freedom of movement (UNHCR, 2011:1). Zimbabwe adopts the expanded definition of a refugee and minimalist wellbeing entitlements to food, shelter, health and sanitary facilities from the OAU Convention of 1969 discussed above.

Due to its reservation to freedom of movement, social security, formal employment and public relief, it is evident that the Zimbabwean government offers minimal support under an enforced encampment policy in accordance with the 1985 Regulations for the Refugee Act of 1983. Against this background, it can be argued that the overall wellbeing of refugees living in Zimbabwe is fragile. The government, however, effects Article 18 of the 1951 UN Convention that allows self-employment in form of handicrafts and other income generating activities whose proceeds can be used to augment refugees' livelihoods and consequently their wellbeing. This provision in Article 18 provides a starting point to see how income generating activities could be expanded towards sustainable livelihoods which is the focus of the study. The next

section examines the state of refugee wellbeing globally and locally while demonstrating the relationship between livelihoods and other features of refugee wellbeing.

3.3 Features of Refugee Wellbeing

The wellbeing of refugees is composed of multiple features that are discussed in this section. A range of human rights linked features emerge from the provisions of the 1951 and 1969 Conventions. These include refugee livelihoods, education, health, nutrition, shelter, documentation, and protection from physical and other forms of harm (UNHCR 2015, 2020, 2017; WFP, 2020; WHO, 2019). The following subsections examine the accessibility and adequacy of each of these features that make up refugee wellbeing, pointing out the differences on each for non-camp and encamped refugees. In that process, differences between refugees hosted in developed and developing nations are also be pointed out. Most importantly, this calls for the relatedness between livelihoods and the stated features.

3.3.1 Refugee livelihoods

Refugee livelihoods are provided for through wage earning employment and self-employment under Articles 17 and 18 of the 1951 Convention (UN General Assembly, 1951). Zimbabwe however allows self-employment only. There are three main themes to be discussed in this subsection; these include the need for refugee livelihoods, the various measures in place to introduce and enhance livelihoods; and, lastly, the challenges to such measures. It is important to understand that the introduction of livelihoods programming for refugees is a realisation and acknowledgement of the longevity of the global refugee crisis. Prior to that realisation, nations expected refugees to reside temporarily in their territories before returning to nations of origin but that has not been the case. Even some refugees have not come to terms with the very real possibility of prolonged refuge. Watlers (2008:202) states that, "one common explanation for the apparent failure of many refugees to look beyond their immediate survival needs and plans to reconstruct their future, is that they do not intend to remain permanently in exile". The increasingly apparent permanency of refugee situations has prompted a shift of focus to livelihoods. According to Janz and Slead (2000:34), the focus on livelihoods derives from the 'inalienable right' to economic and social development (OHCHR, 1986:2) as well as the debate themed 'from relief to development' and the distinction that it makes between what is sustainable in the short-term or long-term.

More people are being forced into refuge and they remain in exile for protracted periods. McKinsey (2016) states that the mass movement of people seeking refuge in foreign countries

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is no longer a passing news story; it is now a global phenomenon with long lasting effects. Recent and ongoing events in various regions continue to disturb civil order, generating continuous displacement. By the end of 2015, the Asian and pacific region had some 38 million refugees, one third of them were in camps, the rest in urban and semi-urban settings (UNHCR, 2015a). In Europe, refugees dominated the region's news, economic and political agenda for 2015. The UNHCR (2015b) reports that eighty-four per cent of refugees from the world's top ten refugee producing countries arrived in Europe by the end of 2015. The Middle East and the Arab world as a region accounted for over thirty per cent of world displacement figures in 2015 (UNHCR, 2015c). In the Americas, a region known as the northern triangle of Central America (NTCA), which includes countries like Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador, among others, continues to be a source of violent displacements and social upheaval in the region (UNHCR, 2015d). On the African continent, slow peace efforts and persistent violence in countries like the Central African Republic, Nigeria, and Burundi, among others, prevent the timely resolution of many displacement situations (UNHCR, 2015e). This results in only very few refugees voluntarily returning home. The most desirable solution to mass exodus of such scale is for the refugees to simply return to their home countries, however, if circumstances prevent the safe return of refugees, other durable solutions need to be found (Skran, 1995:146). Creating vibrant livelihoods has become a durable solution for protracted refugee situations.

The living conditions have been dire for the multitudes of people trapped in refuge in foreign lands for up to decades. According to Agier (2008:30), the absence of livelihood projects at individual, family or community level leads to apathy, depression, and expression of aggressiveness. Although vibrant livelihoods are necessary for all age groups, they are more important for refugees of productive age and young refugees in particular. Sonnert and Gerald (2010:24) argue that young refugees are perceived as a particularly vulnerable group because of what is believed to be their distinctive condition of marginality caused by being foreign. Refugees as young as 20 can stay in a camp tent for three years with nothing to do and living off food rations (Agier, 2008:27). He however goes on to acknowledge that income generating activities, though not always sustainable, do occur in some camps, but any economic profitability is accidental and remains at subsistence level. In terms of livelihood, the non-camp refugee is better than an encamped refugee, the urban refugee is above all much more politically aware, educated and ambitious than the camp refugee (CIMADE, INODEP & MINK, 1986:91). Overall, both camp and non-camp refugees have low living standards.

As a result, researchers and providers of refugee wellbeing have turned their attention from the emergency needs of refugees which include nutrition and shelter to more durable solutions which include the provision of livelihood programmes. Justifying the need to enhance refugee livelihoods, Bruijn (2009) argues that, in contrast to people who migrate by choice, refugees are compelled to stay in foreign countries longer than they wish to and are usually faced with realities that deny them a dignified life and fulfilment of their capabilities hence the need to broaden their livelihoods prospects. The UNHCR (2015e) also notes that the United Nations High Commission for Refugees has responded accordingly by commencing the shift from immediate survival relief to livelihoods in order to foster refugees' dignity and decent standard of life.

Following the adoption of the livelihoods focus by nations that host refugees, the UNHCR and other non-governmental organisations' measures varying in scope and scale have since been taken globally. Measures to enhance refugee livelihoods are taken at different levels ranging from legal, policy, economic and social. It is also imperative to note that such measures differ in application and effectiveness between camp-based and non-camp-based refugees. The UNHCR (2017a), through its global strategy for livelihoods (2014-2018), adopts the vision that refugees can earn a living that enables them to meet their basic needs and fully enjoy their human rights. This vision makes apparent the link between livelihoods and human rights whose realisation impacts wellbeing. The global strategy for livelihoods (2014-2018) entails a reformation from survival aid to livelihoods, introducing a minimum mandatory criteria for implementation and evaluation, enforceable since 2016.

Some of the main agendas on the UNHCR global strategy for refugee livelihoods include connecting refugees' skills with global markets, development of global markets for refugee produced goods and services. Its agriculture and rural markets initiative was centred on building refugee resilience to climate and market related shocks (UNHCR, 2017a). In this global endeavour, the UNHCR calls on host governments, local NGOs and researchers to play a role in the refugee livelihoods agenda. In addition to the above stated global strategy, there are other UNHCR support strategies and programmes for the same cause. UNHCR (2014) speaks of the 'graduation approach' practised since 2013, which entails enabling refugees to cater for their own needs, it is being tested in a number of selected countries across the refugee hosting community, among them Zambia, Egypt, Burkina Faso, Ecuador and Costa Rica.

In addition to that, there are livelihoods strategies tailored specifically for disadvantaged groups, mainly women. Bruijn (2009) states that, in a bid to effect full economic empowerment for all refugee groups, the UNHCR resolved to mainstream gender in refugee programming; and, in 2001, the UNHCR introduced a strategy known as the 'five commitments to refugee women' that basically provided for the equal representation of women in every aspect of refugee wellbeing including livelihoods and leadership committees.

To augment the global strategies stated above, the UNHCR, respective governments, and complimentary NGOs have initiated various region-specific income generating programmes. In the Middle East and Arab world, the UNHCR implemented sixty-two refugee affected and hosting areas (RAHA) projects in order to improve the living conditions and tolerance of refugees in host areas (UNHCR, 2015a). The coverage for such income generating initiatives is notably extensive, empowering totals as high as fifty thousand refugees in a single camp, for example, the M'bera refugee camp in Mauritania (UNHCR, 2015c). In Africa, the UNHCR is working with development partners such as the World Bank to secure the socio-economic development of refugee hosting communities in areas of agriculture, education and access to markets for under-resourced communities that host refugees. As of 2015, targeted economic development proposals for refugees had been made for DRC, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia. Having realised the acute need for refugees to have a livelihood, various refugee hosts in Africa and abroad have adopted different strategies to enhance livelihoods for both camp and non-camp-based refugees. These strategies range from provision of micro financial schemes, vocational trainings, to local integration. Some of these are discussed in the next sub-section.

3.3.1.1 Livelihood strategies

Integration of refugees into local communities as a livelihood strategy was also pursued throughout Africa, for example, two hundred thousand Burundians were naturalised in Tanzania in 2015 and similar efforts were made with Angolan refugees living in Zambia (UNHCR, 2015e). Governments on the African continent have demonstrated progressive cooperation with the UNHCR in efforts to improve refugee livelihoods. In Uganda, the Refugee Act of 2006 was passed to improve refugees' standard of life through providing agricultural plots and ensuring that refugee socio-economic rights are put on the same level as Ugandan nationals. Morand (2015) also gives an account of strides made by African governments and non-governmental agencies in promoting livelihoods for both camp-based and non-camp-

based refugees. He notes that in Tanzania, organisations like the Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service (TCRS) have come up with micro finance solutions through facilitating the formation of village community banks for refugees since they are not allowed by Tanzanian law to access mainstream banking services. Similarly, in Bujumbura, the Burundian capital, the International Rescue Committee (IRC) created capital assistance programmes for urban refugees by forming savings and loan associations which prioritise access for women as a marginalised group; it also conducts cultural sensitisation on Islamic usury law regarding lending (Morand, 2015).

Livelihood programmes for non-camp-based refugees include helping refugees to access jobs by improving their formal employability. There are organisations that specialise in that effort, for example, the Maharashi Institute in South Africa links young urban refugees with a network of employers and job trainings (Morand, 2015). Similar services are offered by the Agency for Refugees Education, Skills Training and Advocacy that conducts network lobbying for refugees in income generating ventures (ARESTA, 2022). The government of South Africa's involvement in the economic wellbeing is through the inclusion of refugees in social grant programmes (DSD, SASSA & UNICEF, 2016).

In Europe and North America, where most of the refugee hosting societies are composed of developed nations, the main plan for refugee livelihoods is resettlement and integration. Economically developed regions that host refugees tend to pursue the UNHCR (2014) policy on alternatives to camps. This promotes the adoption of development-oriented approaches to programming for refugees aiming at creating the opportunity for refugees to live in host communities through integration. UNHCR (2015d) states that this region, showed firm solidarity and responsibility sharing in the context of the global refugee crisis in 2015. Canada and USA met more than eight per cent of the global quota agreed by resettlement states. Events are similar in Europe, with the UNHCR working with governments on multiple mass resettlement and access to employment agreements (UNHCR, 2015b). Camp-based programmes are aimed at promoting livelihoods through agricultural and other income generating activities while in countries with non-camp operations, freedom of movement and association affords refugees more livelihood strategies like formal employment and free market networks. It is also clear that the majority of host nations in the developing world afford refugees in their countries little or no freedom of mobility and participation in local economies. This may present challenges for camp-based livelihoods effort.

Bruijn (2009) argues that livelihood conditions for refugees vary across thematic areas which are strongly contextualized depending on a complex of social, economic, political and attitudinal factors in host countries. Funding problems have been noted as one of the major barriers to livelihood projects. UNHCR (2015e) reveals that, with the need to focus on life saving emergency measures in so many situations worldwide, UNHCR was only able to dedicate just ten per cent of available funding in 2015 livelihoods activities in Africa. In highly volatile regions like the Middle East, where the UNHCR and its partners are constantly catering for emergency needs of new refugee cases, efforts on long-term solutions like livelihoods are bound to be strained in funding. UNHCR (2015c) states that, due to the complex operational environment and multiple crises in this region, the prospects of durable solutions for some refugees remain elusive; the major livelihoods programme for this region known as the Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) was only sixty-two per cent funded in 2015. In Asia and the pacific, the situation is no different. Strained budgets left sixty-five per cent of refugee needs unmet and various field offices closed in central Asia (UNHCR, 2015a). Similarly, in Europe, sixty per cent of refugee needs remained unmet due to funding constraints (UNHCR, 2015b).

3.3.1.2 Livelihood challenges

Despite jobs and skills trainings and programmes to improve the employability of refugees, they still face access barriers. Morand (2015) argues that, despite having sophisticated skill sets, refugees often cannot access the formal economy and often get relegated to the informal economy. Studies by the Church World Service (CWS) show that refugees in the formal sector have more stable livelihoods compared to those in informal income generation activities common in camp settings (CWS, 2016). Expanding on access limitations to refugee livelihoods, Bruijn (2009) states that, despite being signatories to the Convention, many countries, including Zimbabwe, are restrictive in their refugee mobility policy thereby being in contravention with the 1951 refugees' Convention. This has multiple effects on livelihoods in terms of access to labour, markets and credit lines. Citing a six-country case study, Bruijn (2009) argues that only one of those countries, Uganda, allowed refugees freedom of movement, access to labour markets and production factories. The most divergent policies are those of countries like Thailand who are not signatories of the 1951 UN Convention on refugees and have no domestic law on refugees. The Thai government considers refugees as illegal immigrants allowed to stay in camps temporarily until conditions in their home country are conducive to their return; only as late as 2006 did the Thai government mention willingness to

introduce income generation activities and vocational trainings in refugee camps (Mckinsey 2006). Although many countries provide income generation programmes in camps, their restrictions on refugee mobility and association impedes the success of such programmes.

It has also been noted that most programmes meant to enhance refugee livelihoods offered in restricted settlements like refugee camps are often limited in range and may not be a match for some refugees with no expertise in them. Research among refugees in Kampala, Uganda found that many preferred urban lives to camps, those involved are higher skilled and they found it difficult to adjust to the agricultural way of life expected in refugee camps (Bruijn, 2009). The WFP and UNHCR (2019:7) argue that Zimbabwe's reservation to freedom of movement accorded in the 1951 UN Convention has effects on refugee livelihoods in the camp, noting that, "Persons of concern lack viable alternative livelihood options owing to the government's encampment policy that prohibits refugee access to formal employment/business opportunities". Alloush et al. (2017) also argue that most remote camps that are dominantly agriculture based earn less incomes compared to the commerce-oriented ones. In many situations, the various livelihoods economic activities remain small scale, low-level and limited in range (Omata & Kaplan, 2013). Another livelihoods limitation specific to camp settings is the location and environment surrounding the camp. It has been noted that many refugee camps are remote and far from urban centres that are hives of economic activities, in addition to that, many camps are close to borders between host and sending countries hence they are prone to sporadic or frequent incidents of armed violence detrimental to economic activities (United Nations Relief and Works Agency, 2017; Guyatt, 2015).

Cultural factors have been identified as some of the challenges in livelihoods endeavours. Domestic violence has been observed to erupt in camps when women earn more money than their husbands sparking conflict in some homesteads (Horn & Seelinger, 2013). Tendencies of gender inequality also manifest in other areas of refugee camp administration. Participation of female refugees in camp management committees continues to clash with cultural prejudices and is realised only to a limited extent. Global camp data shows that only twenty-nine per cent of camps meet the fifty per cent female representation in management structures (Bruijn, 2009). This is a general reflection of refugee women's subordinate position in both social and economic life.

Although the above discussed programmes and challenges are somewhat general to refugee livelihoods across the globe, the precise experience and challenges remain highly contextual.

3.3.2 Refugee education

Zimbabwe is among other signatory states that makes provisions for refugee education in accordance with Article 22 of the 1951 UN Convention. Despite that commitment, the general state of refugee education globally is however less than ideal. The UNHCR (2020:1) notes that almost four million refugees of school going age are out of school and there are significantly less refugees in primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education in comparison to non-refugees. People in protracted refugee situations can bear up to second and third generations of their children in exile; and, in the worst of cases, the figures are overwhelmingly high, for example, half of the five million Syrians in refugee are children and up to ten per cent of the entire Afghan population is in refuge (McKinsey, 2016).

There are special plans by host governments, with the help of the UNHCR and local NGOs, to educate the increasing numbers of refugee children. It is necessary to discuss some attempts, cited examples and challenges in that effort. McKinsey (2016) notes that the number of refugee children in the Middle East countries is too overwhelming for the provision of Conventional methods of schooling due to shortages of teaching material and staff. In Zimbabwe, the situation is no different. The WFP and UNHCR (2019:16-17) cite the lack of books and infrastructure like classrooms as threats to quality of education in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp. As a result, there has been improvisation at different levels. In Lebanon, a major host of Syrian refugees, teams of volunteers conducted extensive research of the needs on the ground and developed a curriculum that can be robustly delivered to students by volunteers with no teaching training with low cost tablets (Human Rights Watch, 2016). These kinds of improvisations have compromised the quality of education for refugee children.

The UNHCR (2015e) notes that due to constant diversion of funds to cover more pressing lifesaving needs, there has been failure to provide a consistent quality of education for children in refuge. The UNHCR has been working with governments in high refugee zones to allow children to access primary education regardless of their registration status. UNHCR (2015f) argues that education strategy places the provision of free education at the core of the durable solutions mandate. This is so because education has a direct bearing on refugee livelihoods and vice versa. The proper development of refugee education results in "knowledge and skills acquisition that lead to economic inclusion well beyond the margins of informal economies" (UNHCR, 2019:10). However, despite intensive efforts to push this agenda, dropout rates

remain high due to child labour, reductions in food rations and lack of sanitary material for girls (UNESCO, 2021; UNHCR, 2015f).

The most prominent solution to education for most host governments is integration of refugee children into national education systems. Morand (2015) cites the Kenyan and Ethiopian policies to absorb all refugee children into government schools by 2017. However, though noble, the feasibility of that policy is challenged given the stationery, tuition and uniform costs. The UNHCR (2020:2) also points out that refugee adolescents drop out of school due to the 'pressure to earn', which means they are forced out of school to engage in income earning activities in order to contribute to strained household incomes. This means, in the absence of assistance, only parents or guardians with livelihoods can afford to send their children to school. In Zimbabwe, limited refugees have access to tertiary education. Due to high demand for scholarships (UNHCR, 2019:16); similarly, a limited number of refugees are trained in entrepreneurship and business; and, as of 2015, these were only 11 members out of 464 families in Tongogara refugee camp (GOAL Zimbabwe, 2015:10). Limited access to tertiary and technical education further jeopardises refugee prospects for livelihoods,

Education conditions have also proven different between non-camp and encamped children. In 2007, a global assessment of primary education enrolment found that only thirty-seven per cent of all refugee camps met the standard of full enrolment (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). A comparative study in Nepal, Pakistan, and Kenya concluded without exception that refugees with better access to education and more resources are those found in urban areas than camps (Bruijn, 2009). Sonnert and Gerald (2010:153) also argue the link between family income and educational achievement for children. They make reference to a five-year study of Asia and South American refugees living in the United States which found a positive association between working fathers and high test scores for children. In light of these arguments, it is apparent that livelihoods and education are related, with each influencing the other.

3.3.3 Refugee health

Although they do not have specific Articles on refugee health, both the UN and OAU Conventions acknowledge and call for the provision of suitable welfare services in a humanitarian approach towards catering for refugee rights and that includes provisions as essential as health (UN General Assembly, 1951 & OAU, 1969). The WHO (2018:1) also asserts that, "as all people, refugees and migrants have the fundamental right to enjoy the highest attainable standard of health… migrant health is, therefore, a human rights issue".

Despite such commitments, health remains an underserved area of refugee wellbeing. According to Machokonye (2019:12), "there is strong evidence to show that asylum seekers and refugees face difficulties when accessing healthcare services". She attributes the generally poor state of refugee health to lack of accommodation, unsanitary environments and poor nutrition. Conditions such as those in refugee camps bring people in overcrowded situations opening the way to rapid transmission of infectious diseases like Covid-19 (UNDRR, 2020:2). Malaria, TB, and malnutrition are the most widespread health concerns, especially for encamped refugees (Agier, 2008:48). In Zimbabwe's Tongogara camp, over 65% of households have no designated bathing and handwashing areas, coupled with lack of latrines resulting in families sharing latrines and some resorting to open defecation; all factors flagged as serious health threats to refugees in Zimbabwe (WFP & UNHCR, 2019:24-25).

There are several countries commended for incorporating refugees into their health systems. UNHCR (2015a) cites Iran as a model. Protection and legislative success came in that country when the government, following an agreement with the UNHCR, agreed to include refugees in its universal public health insurance scheme. Similar efforts in Africa happen in countries like Kenya when the UNHCR started recruiting vulnerable refugees to access the National Health Insurance Fund (NHIF) in 2014; in Ethiopia, the UNHCR works with local NGOs to increase health care access for refugees at an equal cost to that of Ethiopian nationals. Due to capacity constraints mentioned earlier, in many cases, the UNHCR can cover only seventy-five per cent of medical costs for refugees and assistance is usually reserved for life threatening medical conditions; as a result, most refugees cannot afford preventive health care that can be considered a low priority given the circumstances (UNHCR, 2016). Since subsidised health care for refugees is constantly under strain, it can therefore be argued that refugees with a better income status can access better health services.

The WHO (2018:1) argues the connection between refugee livelihoods and health, noting the social determinants of health that include income, income distribution, employment opportunities, education, food security and housing. Mhlanga and Zengeya (2016) connects health challenges in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp to poverty, food security and inadequate shelter as well. Low socio-economic position is therefore linked to fewer health protecting factors; conversely, improving social conditions such as household and individual income positively influences health outcomes for refugees and migrants. The WHO (2018:4) further argues that, "healthy migrants become valuable and productive members of their

communities". It becomes clear from the above arguments that livelihoods are key to health and vice versa.

3.3.4 Refugee nutrition

In UNHCR vocabulary, nutrition for refugees is part of the kind of aid known as 'bare essentials' or 'basic needs' and it is often needed most in emergency situations where it is dispensed as food rations (UNHCR, 2015h). There are minimum standards to be met in terms of quality and quantity of nutrition to refugees, however, like other features of refugee wellbeing, efforts to provide adequate nutrition has its share of challenges. In refugee camps, people are oftentimes completely dependent on food aid and humanitarian assistance. This is especially the case when host governments apply a strict encampment policy and income generating activities are prohibited (Kagan, 2013). Despite food programmes, research among refugees worldwide repeatedly find that their nutritional status is poor (Bruijn, 2009). A joint UNHCR, WFP, and UNAIDS review in 2006 revealed that African refugees had the highest level of malnutrition globally, above fifteen per cent (UNHCR, WFP and UNAIDS, 2006).

The United Nations (2020:11) has revealed that the food security threat for refugees is now alarmingly high in the context of Covid-19 due to the toll the pandemic has taken on the informal economy on which most refugees depend. The WFP (2020:1) also notes that the effects of Covid-19 on refugee food security are more devastating on the African continent warning that, "in many parts of the continent, food prices are rising, posing a potentially devastating threat to millions of refugees, particularly those who were already living hand-to-mouth on daily wages". For camp-based refugees, it has been noted that food shortages have led to creation of black markets in camps and negative coping strategies like sex for survival, skipping meals and theft. Perhaps the most dangerous coping strategy is what is known as 'recycling' whereby refugees leave a camp in order to re-entre under different identity in order to obtain an additional food ration card (UNHCR, 2015h).

In Zimbabwe, the food situation for refugees is equally dire. The Government must rely on NGOs and donations by foreign governments in order to feed refugees; government capacity to provide food relief for refugees is further reduced by the fact that no less than seven million Zimbabwean citizens are food insecure in the 2020 lean agricultural season (Gwarisa, 2020:1). WFP and UNHCR (2019:32) attest to the link between livelihoods and food security, noting that more than half of households in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp 'experienced moderate hunger, an indication that households are facing some challenges in accessing

adequate food…this goes to reinforce the fact that there is need for livelihood activities in the camp to supplement the assistance received.' They go on to report that monthly food rations in the camp last an average of 18 days and families end up resorting to borrowing and reducing meal portions in the last third of the month and that has health implications.

As pointed out earlier, in most camps that run income generating activities for refugees, it can be argued that, if such activities were made sustainable, nutritional supplements for refugees in camps would be adequate to meet minimum nutritional requirements and minimise negative coping mechanisms. It is also apparent that nutrition deficits are more of camp-based rather than a non-camp problem; nevertheless, livelihoods can improve the nutrition status of both encamped and non-camp refugees.

3.3.5 Refugee housing

Part of the emergency aid or needs is shelter which is an integral part of the wellbeing of refugees and displaced persons. Refugee housing is a provision in Zimbabwe's Refugee Act Chapter 4:03 of 1983 as well as Article 21 of the 1951 UN Convention. Despite its importance, housing standard for refugees is less than ideal. Unite for Sight (2015) states that housing in refugee camps is often crowded and of inferior quality, often housing units for refugees have leaks, moulds and dampness. Often families are crowded in makeshift structures; sometimes many families share a single dwelling and pit latrine. Waste disposal and water drainage are often haphazard posing a sanitation crisis and possible spread of infectious diseases (UNHCR, 2013). In an effort to come up with a sustainable solution to the housing challenge in refugee camps, the UNHCR devised a programme aimed at empowering refugees to create their own housing solutions (UNHCR, 2015h). This programme basically provides construction training for refugees and hardware tools so that they can construct their own houses in refugee camps using whatever building material they can find locally. Although assistance is available for the sourcing of material, it can be concluded that refugees of better financial status can acquire more durable building material of their choice.

In Zimbabwe, the housing situation in the camp is no different. WFP and UNHCR (2019:19) note that, "shelter in the camp remains inadequate and in high demand against a background of a growing population". They go on to argue that shortages of shelter in Tongogara camp exposes refugees to protection risks such as sexual and gender-based violence and harsh weather as a result of living in overcrowded shelters. Over crowdedness also poses health risks such as airborne communicable diseases. Their report makes apparent the link between

housing, health and protection. Mhlanga and Zengeya (2016) cite impoverishment as a reason for inadequate housing in Tongogara camp thereby making income and livelihoods a key determinant of access to housing. WFP and UNHCR (2019:19) also argue access to appropriate housing serves as an indicator of vulnerability. Government relies on appeals to NGOs for assistance with durable building material as opposed to mud bricks which are easily destructible by heavy rains, unfortunately response in terms of donations has not matched demand (Club of Mozambique, 2017). Livelihoods can afford refugees extra income to acquire building material in form of cement and iron roofing sheeting to erect decent and dignified housing.

3.3.6 Refugee protection and documentation

Refugee protection entails all measures, laws and policies to prevent physical and emotional harm to displaced persons. This must be an integral part of refugee wellbeing in host nations because, in many cases, it is precisely the reason for seeking refuge in a foreign country. By acceding to the 1951 UN Conventions, hosts agree to protect refugees within their borders (UNHCR, 2017:34). By the end of 2019, the number of forcibly displaced people had reached 79.5 million (UNHCR, 2020c). With these looming numbers, documentation and protection has become a critical aspect of refugee wellbeing. Physical harm involves, but is not limited to, sexual and gender-based violence, sexual exploitation, child labour, servitude, xenophobic aggression, and armed violence. Horn and Seelinger (2013) argue that sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) is not only prevalent in the initial phase of disruption and movement but also in the later stages of stabilisation and in protracted refugee situations, even to the extent that it is among the most pertinent protection issues in refugee camps globally. Agier (2008:89) notes that averages of over 10 rapes per month are reported in African refugee camps. There are also numerous cases of domestic violence, forced marriage and survival sex mostly among women without male financial support (Bruijn, 2009). This, therefore, shows the link between low income and sexual exploitation and gender-based aggression.

In many cases, camp situations expose refugees to high levels of violence and human rights abuse because of poor security within and around camps. If the Dadaab refugee dwelling were a city, it would be Kenya's third largest after Nairobi and Mombasa; this kind of camp over populations presents security challenges and increases the incidents of sexual aggression and human trafficking among other criminal activities (Horn & Seelinger, 2013). The risk of physical harm is also expressed by Watlers (2008:159) who states that the growing number of

attacks on refugees across international borders by the armies which originally caused the exodus is alarming. For refugees living in Zimbabwe, lack of lockable doors on latrines has been identified as a sexual violence risk for women and girls; and this is also heightened by crowdedness in camp shelters (WFP & UNHCR, 2019:51). Access to decent housing plus secure sanitary facilities is determined by income which goes to strengthen the argument that livelihoods have a bearing on refugee protection. It is further noted that constraints in access to renewable energy for cooking in Zimbabwe's camp exposes refugees to physical harm from wild animals when they scavenge for firewood in game parks adjacent to the camp (WFP & UNHCR, 2019:51). Access to education also influences refugee protection because education is 'fundamentally protective'; young refugees in school are physically safer from abusers like human traffickers and armed groups who seek to forcibly recruit them (UNHCR, 2020b:3). For non-camp refugees, protection challenges come in different forms. Xenophobic aggression is one of the main protection issues for non-camp refugees and it is common in host countries which do not pursue encampment.

In response to these protection issues, the UNHCR and its partners have SGBV expert teams working on response and prevention programmes across the globe. In Zimbabwe, the government responded through establishing community policing structures to help combat sexual and gender-based violence and other crimes (WFP & UNHCR, 2019:51). There is also targeted assistance for groups prone to exploitation, i.e., women and children (UNHCR, 2015h). Given that most protection challenges like sexual exploitation, child labour, and human trafficking of refugees are driven by poverty and low incomes; improving livelihoods options for refugees could be a viable solution to some refugee protection problems.

A feature of refugee wellbeing closely related to protection is refugee documentation or registration. Before employment or other forms of income generation can be organised, refugees must be documented as that has implications on what their entitlements are in a host nation (Skran, 1995:146). Refugee documentation is important for identity purposes; it includes birth registrations and status determination. Literature shows that the ever-increasing numbers of displaced persons has created massive backlogs in their documentation processes which hinder the fulfilment of various aspects of their wellbeing (UNHCR, 2017). Bruijn (2009) argues that documentation is the basis for entitlement for refugees. It protects refugees from refoulment and military recruitment; it also gives access to education and health services. However, in many cases, the only administrative document that refugees possess is the ration

card of the World Food Programme, or "literally, a right to remain alive within the strict limits of the camp" (Agier, 2008:50). Refugees, mostly urban ones, due to their under registration and illegality, are prone to exploitation and insecurity (Horn & Seelinger, 2013). Agier (2008) notes that non-camp refugees spend years or whole life cycles undocumented on the fringes of cities; the displaced usually settle on the margins of cities, this is the same liminal quality that is common across most situations of mass migration. This compromises quality of life for most non-camp refugees who still find themselves an unwanted minority with no legal protection and a means of earning a livelihood (Skran, 1995:29).

In summary, all features of refugee wellbeing vary in different contexts. The overall state of wellbeing also differs between camp-based and non-camp refugees. From the above arguments, camp-based refugees face an extra difficulty in the form of mobility restrictions and that places them at disadvantage in terms of wellbeing. As a result of lack of free movement, their livelihoods options remain narrow and marred with context related challenges. However, the most important argument in this section is that income and a livelihood are important for wellbeing beyond food and other survivalist forms of support. Just like Sewpaul (2014:38) argues for "the centrality of full and decent employment for the achievement of almost all of the MDGs"; this section argues for the centrality of livelihoods for the achievement of the above discussed rights-based features of refugee wellbeing. The level of access to housing, health, nutrition, education and, more importantly, livelihoods depends on the extent to which hosts are willing to fulfil their commitments to refugee wellbeing. Although refugee hosting countries, including Zimbabwe, acceded to the 1951 UN Convention, they have different restrictions and reservations in terms of what rights they allow refugees in their territories to enjoy. That is determined by a number of factors which hosts consider in their provision of refugee wellbeing. The next section discusses those factors and how they affect overall refugee wellbeing.

3.4 Factors Affecting Refugee Hosting

The ever-increasing number of asylum seekers world over has made refugee hosting a prime but controversial discussion for policy makers and development players in many countries. Many nations host refugees out of obligation rather than a sense of morality (Agier, 2008:28). There are divergent views on whether refugees inflict positive or negative consequences on the socio-economic status of hosts. Scholars have pointed out how some nations have capitalised on hosting refugees. Sonnert and Gerald (2010:61) state that, for its economic, intellectual and

social growth, America has always depended on the rise of creative and hardworking young and middle-aged persons, including refugees. On the opposite end of the spectrum, refugees can be regarded as 'surplus populations' who are 'unplanned and unintended' with Gorman (1987:1) arguing that "there can be little doubt that refugees impose a special burden on countries that grant them asylum". From the point of view of governments, refugees are a problem because they do not fit within the normal parameters of a world of nation states in which life sustaining services are citizenship based. As opposed to respecting refugee rights, most host nations end up adopting a 'we do what we can' mantra (Catells as cited in Watlers, 2008:13; Skran, 1995:29). This section discusses the factors that influence refugee hosting in three broad categories, namely social, economic, and political factors.

3.4.1 Social and environmental factors

Social factors relate to challenges based on ethnicity, language and religious differences between refugees and hosts. The UNHCR (2015i) states that the arrival of refugees always has an impact on host communities depending on the size of the refugee population relative to the host community and the prevailing socio-economic circumstances prior to their arrival. Butale (2015) comments on the social impacts of the arrival of refugees, noting that many host nations face socio-cultural changes in the form of a challenged sense of identity and the increased visibility of ethnic, religious, racial and ideological tensions between refugees and locals. As an example, in 1993, the influx of Rwandan refugees in Benaco camp in Tanzania inexorably altered social dynamics in Tanzanian communities as most elderly people perceived a breakdown of the traditional social structure and a change in the attitudes of youth towards their elders and roots leading to the perception of refugees as "culturally unwelcome foreigners" (Butale, 2015:1). Hostilities arising from social tensions between host communities and refugees have implications on refugee wellbeing because social cohesion is necessary in attaining the social capital which refugees need in conducting income generation activities because local communities are potential clientele and connections for refugee enterprises. Social solidarity is also critical to an ethics of care which portrays people as relational beings whose interests are interwoven (see Chapter 2, section 2.2).

Conflict based on ethnic differences also occurs among refugees themselves in camp settings. According to Waters (2003), large camps serve a life-saving purpose, but the long-term effects of encampment can create the potential for further conflict among refugees of varying origins. Making a similar argument, Butale (2015) states that ethnocentrism and inter-ethnic

competition for camp resources can result in violent clashes, for example, camp workers in Kenya's Kakuma refugee camp attribute violence in the camp to imported ethnic tensions between the Sudanese Dinka and Didinga tribes as well as the Sudanese and the Somali people. Ethnic tensions are so rife, even the UNHCR groups refugees according to ethnic origin on three hectare plots of land in Kenya's Dadaab camp (Agier, 2008:51).

In addition to cultural tensions, refugees are often accused of social decay and viewed as agents of social ills and petty crime. The UNHCR (1997) states that refugees have been caught in acts of drug use, theft, prostitution, among other crimes. These kinds of tensions can deteriorate into violence and are considered undesirable by hosts and bound to influence their consideration of refugee hosting and the attitude they are likely to adopt towards refugees. Cultural clashes with host communities certainly affect the integration process and business relations in the case of livelihoods activities.

Refugees live in geographical spaces that not only impact on their social relationships but also impact on the environment and vice versa. Accommodating refugees is often associated by large land clearances in emergency fashion for settlement and cultivation. Berry (2008) notes that for the past decades, host governments have emphasised environmental degradation caused by refugee settlements but in recent years there has been growing acceptance by the UNHCR and independent researchers that there is indeed environmental degradation in camps and in areas surrounding refugee camps. These environmental implications include soil erosion, overgrazing, deforestation, wear and tear of canals, ground water contamination, human waste disposal, and decreased soil fertility (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2009). FAO (2019) estimates that the daily usage of firewood and charcoal is 1.8 kilograms per refugee. Although refugees are often blamed for environmental degradation, with proper planning and sanitation services, utilising environmental resources while preserving the integrity of the ecosystem is possible.

However, Agblorti and Grant (2020:2) argue that the conflict between hosts and refugees over the environment is less about environmental preservation and more about competition over access to environmental resources like wood which is linked to livelihoods. They argue that host communities consider themselves rightful owners of the surroundings as a way of side-lining refugees in the competition for environmental resources. This conflict over the environment has ramifications for refugee livelihoods. According to Agblorti and Grant (2020:14), "one factor that makes host-refugee conflicts a serious policy issue is its impact on

refugee livelihoods". They go on to note that host authorities end up settling refugees on undesirable lands because giving them fertile lands would attract animosity from local host communities. Again, these considerations have a negative bearing on refugee livelihoods.

There are scholars however who argue for the positive social contributions made by refugees in host communities. Beste (2015) argues that refugees act as mediators in intercultural exchanges in European workplaces so that Europe's socio-cultural diversity can be viewed in a more positive light. Refugees also import a set of valuable social skills like new subsistence farming techniques and useful professionals in the developing context, which includes nurses, teachers, and doctors, among others (UNHCR, 1997). There are also reported cases of good social cohesion between refugees and hosts, even in protracted refugee hosting. This has resulted in high social integration levels in the form of intermarriages between hosts and refugees, mutual participations in social events like funerals, weddings, child naming and other social ceremonies (Boamah-Gyau, 2008). Other social benefits of hosting refugees include the utilisation of infrastructure like schools and clinics set up to help refugees to serve the host population (CIMADE, INODEP & MINK, 1986:90). Therefore, the social implications of refugee hosting are a combination of positives and negatives depending on the host context.

3.4.2 Political factors

Political factors discussed under this sub-section include transnational relations and security. The state of diplomatic relations between the host and sending countries influence the treatment of refugees in the host country. Secondly, host nations consider the possibility or reality of security threats which may arise from hosting certain groups of refugees. Murshid (2017) states that the host attitude towards refugees depends on its control of camps, international factors such as alliances with sending country, and the presence of international organisations. A host country can be for, against or neutral towards a sending country which would, in turn determine the host behaviour towards refugees from that country. According to Murshid (2017), if the bilateral relations between the sending and host nations are sour, the host government would only accept refugees from the sender out of obligation or as pawns to exaggerate the turmoil in the sending nation. Under such circumstances, the genuine wellbeing of such refugees would be low priority to the host. Salehyan (2019) argues that bilateral relations determine whether refugees would be treated humanely or otherwise.

Transnational population flows have been observed to incite civil upheaval and political instability in host countries. The 1969 OAU Convention in Article 3 specifically prohibits

subversive activities against hosts or governments of fellow member states by refugees under. Loescher (2001) is of the opinion that poor living conditions and lack of access to services to meet basic needs makes refugees angry and prone to militancy causing instability. There is a huge concern about refugee camp militarisation in some countries; this is so because camps are often infiltrated by combatants from armed conflict zones who smuggle arms into host nations. Agier (2008:18) notes that camps may lose integrity and become training camps for defeated militia who move in as refugees or depots for arms traffickers. He makes reference to Somali bandits who often infiltrate Kenyan borders, enter refugee camps and kill refugees based on kin or ethnic membership. In 2021, the Kenyan government went as far as issuing an ultimatum to the UNHCR to close Dadaab and Kakuma camps which house almost half a million refugees (Oduor, 2021:1). For these reasons, hosts become sceptical of the innocence of refugees from waring countries as they cannot "know who is who among the combatants" (Agier, 2008:18). Okello (2014:70) also notes that, "Since the rise of international terrorism, security has taken the prime position in the consideration of asylum for refugees. This development threatens the very survival of the institution of asylum in Africa". In some cases, there is a proclivity towards violence between host governments and refugees and this has policy implications for the host (Song, 2012; Schon, 2011). The general suspicion with which refugees are treated is one of the reasons why refugees are encamped as a means to monitor and contain their activities in an attempt to quickly detect and deter possible threats to state security. These less than cordial relations between refugee groups and their hosts are counterproductive to the refugee wellbeing agenda because of the effects of restricted movement on livelihoods.

Another source of political unrest in host nations upon the arrival of refugees is the disruption of the host's ethnic balance. Fearon and Laitin (2003) argue that political unrest often occurs when refugees have ethnic connections with some groups in the host population and they combine to form an ethnic majority. In that case, they seize the opportunity to voice their own concerns and demands. Mahmound (2015) supports this view and states that, in fragile areas of mixed population, waves of incoming refugees upset the delicate ethnic balance and trigger sectarian conflict and political instability. Host governments also make political considerations motivated by political popularity. CIMADE, INODEP and Mink (1986:90) state that the experience of hosting refugees in Sudan revealed a certain number of problems which can be considered as characterising the situation of refugees in all developing countries. They go on to note that to preserve political stability hosts make sure that assistance received from international sources must not be calculated so as to allow the refugees a higher standard of

living than the population of the host country; nor should it prove an incentive to those who have remained in their own country to resort to exile for economic reasons.

Despite the various cited negative political consequences of hosting refugees, there are countries which host refugee groups on the political basis of regional solidarity. African solidarity is an apparent theme in the preamble of the 1969 OAU Convention which states that the Convention came into being following members' conviction that refugee problems on the continent, "must be solved in the spirit of the charter of the Organisation of African Unity and in the African context" (OAU, 1969:1). President Museveni of Uganda argues that, in the spirit of African brotherhood, there is nothing wrong with African refugees of diverse origins settling in any African country (Museveni, 2017). As a result of this Ugandan ideology of Pan-Africanist solidarity, Uganda affords over one million refugees living in its territory freedom of movement and capital support in livelihoods activities. President Museveni further argues that refugee camps are not sustainable solutions, whereas resettlement is a durable solution, it is not sustainable either because land can only be provided when it is available; therefore, the most sustainable solution to the African refugee crisis is granting refugees a chance to participate in the local economy (Museveni, 2017). In Middle-Eastern region, the political basis for hosting refugees is also apparent, it is dubbed by Arab governments 'Muslim solidarity' or 'Islamic brotherhood'; that kind of political regional cooperation results in fair protection and durable solutions for refugees (Mathew & Harley, 2016).

3.4.3 Economic factors

Economic implications of hosting refugees are arguably the most pertinent consideration by hosts. There are conflicting views on the economic effects of refugee hosting. There is literature arguing for the positive economic impact refugees effect on host economies and there is contrasting literature on the subject. Berry et al. (2015) note that, following the 2008 global economic crises and the refugee wave, anti-migration extremist movements have been on the rise. Even before the refugee issue became the global crisis it is today, economic considerations have always been at the centre of refugee hosting. As early as the 80s, Harrell-Bond (1986:1) noted that, "…most host countries are confronted with unparalleled economic crises on the domestic front and can ill afford the luxury of hospitality". Locals who receive immigrants as economic burdens are often embroiled in violence and confrontation with refugees (Meyer, 2006). There have been noted economic strains related to refugee hosting. According to Smith (2012), large influxes of immigrants can lead to unemployment among low-skilled citizens.

This concern implies competition in the labour market between refugees and locals. This however applies to non-camp refugees who get to compete for formal employment; encamped refugees create livelihoods through income generating activities which hardly impacts the host's formal job market.

The UNHCR (2015i) also discusses the economic costs borne by host governments. It states that governments concerned have primarily shouldered the higher costs of increased consumption of public services and utilities by refugees. In some cases, host governments have been reported to use methods of coercion that include the prohibition permanent structures in refugee camps, denial of access to education, livelihoods opportunities and health services as a way of encouraging refugees to return home (Murshid, 2017). Agier (2008:40) also comments on how encampment is enforced to avoid catering to the economic wellbeing of refugees; and notes that, "refugee camps apply an exceptional regime, normally reserved for a margin, an edge of the world kept apart, just alive so it does not have to be thought, so that no overall consideration of it needs to be elaborated". If the hosting period becomes protracted, hosts tend to apply repressive tactics to induce the return of refugees to their home nations. The perception of refugees as economic burdens is based on the faulty notion that refugees are dependents who drain national resources at the expense of citizens. This is more evident in the concept of 'burden sharing' which hosts like Zimbabwe adopt in their refugee wellbeing initiates. It further perpetuates the disputed misconception of dependence from an ethics of care perspective (see Chapter 2, section 2.2).

Although there is a general assumption between host governments and humanitarian agencies that refugees constitute more burden than opportunity (Harrell-Bond 1986:10), there is acknowledgement that refugees do present a level of economic opportunity, and it is therefore necessary to consider counter arguments on the subject. IRIN (2015) argues that negative economic impacts of hosting refugees are discussed at length, but less is spoken about the economic growth they generate. WFP (2016) states that a study of host economies within a ten-kilometre radius of three refugee camps in Rwanda revealed that an adult refugee receiving cash aid increases annual real income in the local economy by up to two hundred and fifty-three American dollars. In addition to that, positive spill overs through refugee consumption into the local economy can materialise if the host economy has the capacity to expand supply to match the demand created by refugees (Filipski, 2016).

According to Vayrynen (2001), the presence of refugee donor agencies gives the prospect of foreign currency and monetary aid inflow and that makes hosts more welcoming to refugees. A study by the UNDP in Lebanon since Syrians started fleeing the war in 2011 showed that, in total, humanitarian aid to refugees was adding 1.3% to the Lebanese GDP annually (The New Humanitarian, 2015). The New Humanitarian (2015) further states that millions of dollars have been pumped into the economy through food and other forms of aid, boosting trade for local businesses; and, due to the Syrian refugee crisis, aid agencies staff in Lebanon have ballooned into hundreds thereby creating employment for local Lebanese workers. Glitz (2012) concurs and further contends that immigrants have little or no negative impact on local employment; in fact, they can cause slight decrease in unemployment due to the income multipliers they create. Harrell-Bond (1986:11) also notes that the portrayal of refugees as helpless has been capitalised on by host countries as the cornerstone of nearly all appeals for funds.

In light of the conflicting opinions on the impact of refugees on the host economy, the Refugee Studies Centre in Oxford came up with guidelines for accessing the impacts and costs of forced displacement (Zetter, 2012). The guide dictates that, "the first stage in providing a comprehensive account is to ensure that, wherever possible, all relevant stakeholder groups are incorporated into the analysis; namely refugees, host country, and providers of assistance to the displaced" (Zetter, 2012:50). For each stakeholder, the approach mainly focuses on micro-level economics, that is, changes in household level livelihoods and economic well-being. In sum, the conditions which determine the treatment of refugees vary according to the socio-economic and political contexts of the host. It is detrimental to have the notion of 'refugee burden' firmly entrenched in the policy terminology of governments because it results in a bias of cost over opportunity in refugee hosting. Overall, refugee hosting should be a humanitarian act of care grounded in morality, as such, cost must not be a primary consideration over human wellbeing.

3.5 Summary

This chapter discussed the Conventions on which organised efforts to cater for refugee wellbeing are based globally, regionally and locally. Although refugee rights and entitlements are articulated in the Conventions, they have shortcomings of their own. Chief among these shortcomings is that individual states have the prerogative to ratify the Conventions with reservations to particular provisions like refugee movement and employment thereby immensely curtailing refugee wellbeing. Individual states can choose to pay little regard to the

spirit of the Conventions that is clearly based on humanity and compassion in favour of political and economic considerations resulting in repressive refugee policy or legislative frameworks and, concomitantly, refugee poverty. As discussed in the previous chapter, averting or minimising responsibility where there is an obvious need for care is dereliction of moral and democratic responsibility and, hence, a caring failure. The chapter also presented discussions of the multiple rights-based features of refugee wellbeing. This served to highlight the contention that livelihoods are the central link to overall refugee wellbeing. It therefore further justified why income generation is the focus of the study and why it should be given precedence. The premise of the study is, although access to a livelihood is a welcome shift from survival mode to wellbeing, it is insufficient given the protracted nature of refugee situations, those livelihoods must be made sustainable for long-term wellbeing. However, for these elusive rights to be secured for refugees in the face of hostile policies, care principles must be employed to effect political or structural change (see Chapter 2, sections 2.2 and 2.3). Lastly, the chapter discussed how social, environmental, economic and political factors affect the manner by which both host authorities and communities treat refugees and, consequently, the impact on refugee wellbeing. In spite of these social, environmental, economic and political concerns, ethical and caring refugee hosting must consider responsiveness over marginalisation and inherent human connectivity over the seclusion of refugees.

CHAPTER 4

DEVELOPMENTAL SOCIAL WELFARE FOR REFUGEES

4.1 Introduction

The Zimbabwean government, through the Department of Social Welfare, oversees the management of the camp with funding from the UNHCR and in close cooperation with other line ministries. Following the recognition that the number of refugees worldwide is increasing and that many live in grinding poverty, refugees' welfare in Zimbabwe has taken centre stage for human welfare debates. The previous chapter argued how other areas of refugee welfare like housing, health, nutrition, education among others depended very much on material welfare, thereby making livelihoods critical. This chapter builds on the importance of livelihoods and further argues that these livelihoods should be sustainable in order to guarantee overall refugee welfare or wellbeing in protracted refugee situations. That can only be possible if refugees are provided with social welfare services which prioritise poverty alleviation, grounded in respect for human rights, and conceptually underpinned by social development. This is the focus of the current chapter.

The chapter begins with an analysis of developmental social welfare, what it entails and why it is the ideal welfare approach for refugees. Income generation is discussed next as the developmental social welfare activity of interest that also fits in the underpinning theme of developmental social welfare, integrating social and economic development. Income generation is also presented as a form of *social investment* that Midgley (2014:66) describes as a feature of social development. Following that, the chapter discusses how social work can foster developmental social welfare by shifting remedial services with refugees to developmental services which include income generation and policy or rights advocacy work. Lastly, the chapter concludes with a summary.

4.2 Developmental Social Welfare

Apart from voluntary repatriation, the other two options for durable solutions to refugee situations in host nations are resettlement and aided income generation initiatives in camps. Those two options are rooted in the concept of developmental social welfare. This section presents literature on developmental welfare, starting with the various definitions put forward for the concept. Following that, the section reviews arguments for developmental over remedial social welfare and presents a justification for the need to transition to developmental social

welfare. Lastly, the section describes challenges to the full adoption of developmental social welfare.

4.2.1 Defining developmental social welfare

Taylor and Triegaardt (2018:6) state that, "refugees and migrants whose human rights have been violated" are among "some examples of specific categories of people in all countries in Africa who may require social welfare services …". According to Dustschke (2008), a social welfare system is the overall system put in place by the state to protect the wellbeing or welfare of its people through a variety of programme interventions such as housing, healthcare, education, social services, and social security, among others. Developmental social welfare is a "welfare system moulded by the theory of social development" (Lombard, Kemp, Viljoen-Toet & Booyzen, 2012:179). A developmental social welfare system therefore aims to parallel economic and social development through the incorporation of a preventive strategy which provides broad socio-economic entitlements and other poverty alleviating strategies (Dustschke, 2008). Making a similar statement, Gray (2006) states that developmental social welfare involves the combination of social and economic goals for the alleviation of poverty. Patel (2015:82) states the developmental approach to social welfare emerged from the initiative to redress inequality through infusing social welfare thinking with "notions of transformation and human emancipation". Developmental social welfare therefore considers indiscriminate economic development an integral part of social welfare. According to Lombard and Strydom (2011:327), the social welfare sector "challenged to join efforts in finding new solutions to reduce the consistently high levels of poverty and unemployment…" promulgates a developmental approach.

The concept of developmental social welfare is primarily concerned with poverty alleviation. Hölscher (2008) states that adoption of developmental social welfare makes conditions of poverty and underdevelopment primary concerns. She further points out that the social development paradigm was adopted in South Africa to allow effective response to the socio-economic needs of a population which had been previously subjected to poverty and systematic social exclusion. Lombard et al. (2012:179) also tie developmental social welfare to social work as they state that, "a developmental approach to social welfare positions both NGOs and social work as 'significant partners' in social development". Moser (1996:17) argues that, to increase economic productivity of the poor requires a comprehensive holistic social development approach that recognises the importance of inclusion and empowerment of the

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poor to become producers of their own welfare rather than passive recipients of aid. In sum, developmental social welfare is a model of social welfare most suitable for the chronically poor who Barrientos and Hulme (2008:68) describe as people who have never recovered from severe shock such as disability, illness or forced migration in the case of refugees.

Developmental social welfare, as a "productivist approach to social welfare" (Patel, 2015:89) grounded in social development theory, is designed as a community rather than individualistic practice model. According to Patel (2015:98), "the point of departure of the social development approach is that social welfare users of services and those who seek help are not passive recipients of services but are active partners in solving problems in human relations and social conditions which impede people's functioning". Nel (2015:511) also concurs, stating that "development interventions based on sustainable livelihoods… attempt to strengthen how people are already able to cope and strengthen their potential with the aim to make livelihoods sustainable". Midgley (2014:64) defines social development practice as "… a large number of discreet projects, programmes, policies and plans' including micro-enterprises aimed at community development". Likewise, developmental welfare fights poverty through economic and social development which fosters participation in community development (Jamieson, 2017).

The characteristics of developmental social welfare link it to social development which similarly focuses on inclusivity and harmonising social and economic activities (Midgley, 2014:65). The similarity between the above definitions is the focus on a populace as a whole and the collective economic upliftment of all persons through community-based interventions. Gray (1998) also calls for social welfare practice to fulfil a shift from a focus on individuals and individual pathologies towards the provision of integrated community-based development -oriented services. Developmental social welfare acknowledges that socio-economic development of persons can be more effectively achieved and understood in relation to the geopolitical and macro socio-economic environment at large. This macro focus is particularly relevant with refugees as Reisch (2016:258) argues that "the effects of… civil conflicts, and natural disasters, once confined to nations or even to communities, now give every problem an international dimension". This in turn requires welfare services to take cognisance of social, economic and policy contexts in arguing about developmental social welfare.

4.2.2 Arguments for developmental social welfare

There are several cited reasons for the need to transition from ameliorative or remedial social welfare to developmental social welfare. This sub-section presents literature that argues for the adoption of developmental social welfare in collaboration with the poor. The advantages of developmental welfare are apparent in its themes. Patel (2015:82-98) discusses the following themes of developmental social welfare and its merits:

- A rights-based approach based on human dignity that entails respect for human rights regardless of any label including race, gender, creed or any other basis of discrimination.
- Integration of social policies and economic development. Social policies should promote the participation of poor people in the productive economy. The poor can only enhance their welfare through participation in the productive economy.
- Full participation of the poor. The poor should participate in all phases of the development process as opposed to selective participation. The poor must take ownership of their own development process.
- Collaborative partnerships between state, private sector, civic society, communities and individuals.
- Linking micro and macro interventions for poor communities.

One of the most important advantages of developmental social welfare is its focus on the potential and capacity of the poor rather than their shortcomings. Niesing (2016:1) writes that, "the resilience and resourcefulness of people living in rural areas in South Africa convinced me that every community has the required assets at their disposal to create sustainable livelihoods for themselves, most of the time they just need guidance". If the poor are regarded as capable, all it takes is a restructuring of their context to raise their standard of living. Sewpaul (2014:30) argues that, "a more comprehensive and holistic understanding of poverty… might allow a deeper appreciation of… the structural determinants of poverty and for the formulation of policies and programmes to deal with and prevent poverty more effectively". A holistic approach represents a reconceptualization of vulnerability as a condition of circumstances not individual shortcomings. Barrientos and Hulme (2008:67) argue that traditionally vulnerability was attributed to the characteristics of a person, an event affecting a person or group, or a point in a person's life cycle. Developmental social welfare refutes viewing vulnerability as emerging from and embedded in the socio-political context. In support of that position, Kane and Kirby (2003:108-110) offer structural explanations to poverty, and argue that the poor are not to blame for their plight, rather, it is the way they are treated by institutions that leads them

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into a life of poverty and; hence, "most find themselves in that position because of some traumatic event in their lives…". In sum, developmental social welfare is advantageous because it shifts blame from the poor to restrictive policies, systems and structures.

Whelan, Swallow and Dunne (2002) contend that psychosocial support like counselling services has misgivings, alone, it cannot be an effective and appropriate response to people in circumstances of continuing displacement and uncertainty. They further aver that developmental welfare practitioners intervene to empower in peoples' interaction with their environment thereby surpassing the narrow confines of clinical practice to broad community work practice. The essence of this view is that remedial welfare with displaced persons like refugees is not enough to cover the entirety of their welfare needs. Hölscher (2008) also notes that residual welfare is only corrective, once an identified problem is normalised; emergency services are withdrawn from the family and the natural economy takes over. However, a residual approach is impractical in protracted refugee contexts. She further argues that long-term solutions to inequality and poverty require a substantive transition from limited ameliorative measures to developmental social welfare.

Another argument for developmental social welfare is its emancipatory nature. Jamieson (2017) observes that the basis of developmental social welfare is the provision of non-discriminatory services directed at marginalised communities and prioritise service delivery to the most vulnerable. Tracy (1996) adds that strengthening community-based structures and community based social development has long been the target of social planners in developing economies. Perhaps one of the main reasons that have popularised developmental social welfare is its advocacy for the capacitation of people to solve their own problems. Midgley (1995) states that developmental social welfare develops resources and builds capacities and facilitates the meeting of socio-economic needs. Stressing the importance of capacity building in meeting socio-economic needs, the IASSW, ICSW and IFWS (2012) maintain that developmental social welfare practitioners support and work in collaboration with others for the development of strong local communities that promote the sustainable social wellbeing of all their members. Major focus is on strengthening the capacity of communities to interact with their governments and extend socio-economic development.

It can be concluded that developmental social welfare is the most relevant approach with the poor because it prioritises economic productivity for the vulnerable. Economic productivity is important for groups like refugees who flee armed conflict and natural disasters like famine

because "for communities to adapt to the aftermaths of disasters, their resilience must emerge from economic development and social capital as adaptive capacities" (Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche & Pfefferbaum, 2007:127). Although clinical welfare services are important, they are not enough. Whelan et al. (2002), criticising the Australian government's clinical counselling intervention with four hundred disabled displaced persons, highlight that the application of Western discourses on trauma to the experiences and survival modes of populations affected by war in developing nations was too limited. They offered as an alternative, services directed at integration such as the development of a community centre and rehabilitative activities, for example, handicrafts for the refugees in question. In this regard, developmental social welfare draws from social development principles; it is basically an approach to human welfare that merges social and economic aspects of human development. Social development is the underlying concept to income generation as discussed in the following section. It is part of "tangible investments in [the] form of technical assistance, supports, training and financial resources" (Midgley, 2014:65), which must be made available as a developmental social service to foster sustainable livelihood solutions to vulnerable populations like refugees.

4.3 Income Generation: A Social Investment Strategy

As part of durable solutions for refugees, several host nations in collaboration with the UNHCR and supporting NGOs introduced income generation among refugees. This section presents literature apropos the concept of income generation. First, it is important to understand the notion starting with the definition of income generation. The section further presents arguments for the adoption of income generation among vulnerable groups in general. Discussions then narrow down to income generation with refugees and displaced persons both in camps and outside camps. Although income generation has been hailed as a part of the developmental and emancipatory social welfare paradigm in the context of deprivation, there are several inhibitions in its conception and implementation hence the final discussions of this section is on the factors inhibiting the desired success of income generation among the economically underprivileged.

4.3.1 Understanding the concept of income generation

Aided income generation for the poor is a form of *social investment*, a concept that undergirds social development. Midgley (2014:66) states that:

> In addition to being a core principle in social development, social investment characterises social development practice, requiring that resources are made available to individuals, households and communities to participate fully and productively in economic activities.

According to UNESCO (1993), income generation takes many forms as it is quite widely used to cover a range of productive activities by people in the community. Kane and Kirby (2003:10) also assert that, "money is an important, if not the most important means of acquiring the goods and services that improve life". Lack of income is at the centre of poverty; hence, attempts to improve living standards of the poor without involvement of entrepreneurship is bound to fail (Halkias & Thurman, 2012:7). The 1995 UN Copenhagen Declaration states that, "poverty has various manifestations including lack of income and productive resources to ensure sustainable livelihoods" (Alcock, 2006:4). Sustainability in the context of this study refers to continuation after cessation of direct assistance, which makes it a crucial element in long term refugee poverty reduction. DFID (1999), (as cited in Lombard, 2019:181), states that livelihoods are sustainable if they "continue into the future, coping with and recovering from stresses and shocks, while not undermining the resources on which it draws for existence". It is important to realise that the distribution of income across society is not uniform; it is determined by several structural variables. Kane and Kirby (2003:10) state that social characteristics which determine the distribution of income include gender, ethnicity, social class, location, and for refugees, exclusionary policy or legislative frameworks. Sustainable income generation is therefore a development strategy usually employed in the fight against poverty especially for groups with structurally induced vulnerabilities.

Income generation, as a strategy, is introduced to bring the poor into the fore of action against their own poverty, that is, raising standard of life is the ultimate goal of income generation. It is rooted in belief of the poor's capacity to help themselves. Halkias and Thurman (2012:6) argue that, "… to think of them as useless both economically and socially is not only incorrect but unethical". According to Niesing (2016:7), "poverty alleviation programmes that focus on income generation empower people to tackle their problems and their potential". Chitiga-Mabugu, (as cited in Niesing, 2016:6), argues that 'sustainable graduation' should take place whereby persons gain the ability to separate themselves from social protection and move towards sustainable livelihood. The expectation exists that income generation should develop into sustainable business after initial skills development and donor funding (Niesing, 2016:1).

In order to understand income generation, it is important to discuss the various forms of capital on which it is based. Jones and Nelson (2005:80) state that income generation is grounded in social capital, financial capital, natural capital, human capital and physical capital. Social capital involves social networks, affiliations and associations. These associations should provide the vulnerable "with actual assistance and embed them into a web of social relationships perceived to be … caring and readily available in times of need" (Barrera as cited in Norris et al., 2007:138). Financial capital refers to money such as cash and savings. Natural capital means natural resources such as land, water, climate and forestry. Physical capital entails the built environment including roads, mechanical equipment and infrastructure. Human resources include skills and knowledge as well as literacy and good health or physical capability. These assets should be organised and provided for to achieve successful income generation for any population group.

Hajdu, Ansell, Robson, Van Blerks and Chipeta (2011) also state that such informal businesses involving growing crops for sale, preparing food, manufacturing equipment, engaging in trade and retail and other services are abound in rural southern Africa and have collectively been termed income generating activities. In light of these definitions, the gist of income generation is the betterment of the financial status or livelihoods of a particular population or individual. Income generation can be a personal initiative or an assisted, planned and monitored endeavour. ACF International (2009:10) defines livelihood as, "the combination of all activities developed in relation to the resources that permit households to cover their needs in order to continue surviving and developing". Sustainable livelihood, as defined by UNHCR and ILO (2017:3) refers to "… an income generating activity that results in a positive return on investments sufficient to provide an income and fund the further investments necessary to continue that activity". This definition makes it apparent that income generation is the basis of livelihood.

Although income generation activities can be personal endeavours, this research places focus on assisted or aided income generation specifically targeting vulnerable groups. UNESCO (1993) argues that governments have responsibility to take care of all citizens as there are disadvantaged persons in communities, who, if provided with support could become self-supporting. It is for these people that income generating programmes are especially required. Justifying the need for assisted income generation activities, Van Niekerk and Van Niekerk (2009) argue that a considerable percentage of people, especially in rural areas are trapped in poverty with inadequate access to land, markets, employment, resources and information. In

face of these numerous and overwhelming social vulnerabilities, these residents have to be assisted to engage in income generation. In other words, the kinds of income generation activities relevant to this discussion are those employed by authorities and other collaborators to foster socio-economic development. In support of that, Mallumbo (2004) states that income generation is initiated to achieve community sustainable development that is ongoing and community driven.

The broad principles that should determine the role of the state in promoting development through income generation in rural areas are not dissimilar to those that apply to the economy in general, which are creation of a favourable investment climate and ensuring a predictable and stable micro-economic environment (Davis, Winters, Carletto, Quinones, Zezza, Stamoulis, Bonomi & DiGiuseppe 2007). They go on to argue that, due to the multiplicity of income generating activities, government policies need to intervene directly on income and productive activities, for example, through pricing policies, input subsidies and credit market policy. The common argument is that income generation, which is initiated, funded and guided through supporting policies and subsidies, is the state's obligation; and it is the most effective since the populations that need it the most often lack the financial and technical capacity to initiate and sustain them without assistance.

It is important at this point to understand that income generation activities are affected or determined either positively or negatively by several contextual factors. Hajdu et at. (2011) argue that income generation activities are widespread, especially in southern African rural livelihoods though there are significant differences between countries and localities depending on special, historic and micro-economic factors. They further argue that many factors affect people's opportunities for income generation activities; and these include age, gender, size and strength of social networks, personality, reputation, village location, among other factors. Davis et al. (2007) concur, stating that there is a need to take heed of the uniqueness and specificity of regional contexts in the implementation of income generating activities. UNESCO (1993) also highlights the varying elements in contexts in which income generation programmes are run, and these include literacy, urban migration, changing employment patens, and national economic prosperity. According to UNESCO (1993), for effective income generation programmes, there must be accurate information on the dynamically changing market trends, varying characteristics of target groups (education, skills among others) and the existing resources (physical, fiscal and human).

Other necessary requirements for launching successful income generating initiatives include extensive stakeholder consultation and political will in the form of policy support. Policy support against which income generating programmes can be launched include for example, integrated rural development, development for youth and women, poverty alleviation schemes and human resources development (UNESCO, 1993). Policy makers' attitudes to vocational skills training and support for income generation activities need to be explored and policy recommendations made to support vulnerable people's attempt to build sustainable livelihoods (Hajdu, et al., 2011). These stated prerequisites for the operation of successful income generation form the basis of inquiry for this study.

4.3.2 Arguments for the adoption of income generation activities

This sub-section reviews literature advocating for the adoption of income generating activities and their contextual suitability for vulnerable populations. The review also includes contextual enablements for income generation activities. Income generating activities are identified in this study as viable options in the face of constricting formal employment options. The main argument for income generation is that it is the centre of welfare, lack of income triggers a chain effects which compromises other forms of human wellbeing. Sewpaul (2014:38) alludes to the same point by arguing that, "… work grants more than income, it provides access to many other basic resources such as food, shelter, clothing, leisure activities, increased self-esteem, health care and education…". Halkias and Thurman (2012:1) also argue that, "you cannot solve other long-term problems including health, environment and human rights if people are just too poor". They go on to state that poverty is the 'scourge of our age' and sustainability-driven entrepreneurships have the promise of being a major force in a global transition towards poverty reduction.

Van Niekerk and Van Niekerk (2009) also support income generating activities as a practical alternative to limited formal employment arguing that they utilise local available resources and generally aim to benefit the entire community; they tend to reduce poverty and add general community wellbeing. Davis et al. (2007) note that income generating activities are becoming more lucrative in developing nations, citing empirical papers that report an increase in the importance of rural non-farm economies showing that, by the turn of the millennium, rural non-farm economies accounted for forty-two per cent of rural household incomes in Africa and forty per cent in Latin America. In addition to that, Hajdu et al. (2011) report that a rapid deagrarianisation is occurring in Africa, citing that a 2009 study in Malawi found that rural

areas have long been considered to lack job opportunities but various small scale business ventures and other income generating activities accounted for a larger share of household revenue of agro-based activities typically associated with rural areas. They argue that these statistics are evidence of the growing popularity of income generating activities in their diversity mostly in rural areas that had been dominantly dependant on agricultural or farm-based activities.

Income generating activities have proved to be beneficial to vulnerable groups in many ways other than financial gain. Rajamma (1993) states that income generation projects for the underprivileged are often seen to bring about changes in their lives by simply focusing on an increase in income as the main objective but that should not obstruct attention from the impact they have on their overall wellbeing and empowerment. He goes on to cite an example of women in Madhugiri in India, who, after engaging in income generating activities, reported improvement in gender relations, decline in child marriages and other related ills. After a research with women in Kabera, Abala (2013) noted that they expressed various reasons for conducting income generating activities other than the improvement of their income. There are other reasons like psychosocial support, feeling of wholeness and self-worth, personal freedom and personal improvement through offered trainings. Van Niekerk and Van Niekerk (2009) are of the opinion that micro-enterprises have added benefits such as social coherence, network forming, emotional support and social participation. In the case of refugees, Loughry and Eyber (2003:13) assert that higher socio-economic status is associated with psychosocial resilience in war trauma survivors. If income generation activities have other non-economic benefits, it is plausible that non-economic factors of human interactions can inversely bear an impact of income generating projects and, as such, this study sought to understand this.

Lastly, income generation activities based on developmental social welfare principles have been commended for their bottom-up approach, which allows inclusion participation and self-determination. That characteristic is regarded as an enablement in their implementation and practice. Mallumbo (2004:45) affirms that, "development does not occur when disempowered people are merely the recipients of pre-set financial aid. Development must promote communities that initiate and sustain their own upliftment free from constant reliance on the draft blueprints and generosity of outside donors". In support of that position, Mshelia and Guli (2018:27) contend that self-help and empowerment projects are people centred approaches aimed at reducing social vulnerability; participatory techniques require people to be

knowledgeable of their own circumstances and immediate environment. Development planners and practitioners have long supported the idea of self-determination and participatory approaches and that is what income generation activities ideally are.

4.3.3 Income generation among refugees

Income generation activities for refugees are grounded in the right to work and access to resources under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNHCR, 2018:2; Ayoubi & Saavedra, 2018:39). Literature and records on refugee welfare show that various sorts of economic activities occur in refugee dwellings both in and outside camps, these activities are both aided and unassisted. Omata (2012:3) states that, "The issue of how to understand and support the livelihoods of refugees has emerged as a pressing agenda due to the large number of protracted refugee situations globally". According to Gorman (1987:16), the concept of refugee related development assistance was first introduced at the 1979 International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA). Sonnert and Gerald (2010:62) state that assisted income generation activities are meant to harness the entrepreneurial potential of refugees in the need to help the increasing tide of refugees to become self-supporting by obtaining marketable skills and family supporting incomes by starting sustainable small businesses. This is part of a new perspective to refugee assistance which calls for fine-pointed aid that responds to the creative energy of commercial enterprise realised as people are forced to struggle for survival under new conditions and through new relationships (Watlers, 2008:331). In Zimbabwe, income generation for refugees falls within broader efforts by government to enhance income generation capabilities for the underprivileged. Hall and Mupedziswa (1995:38) note that, since independence in 1980, the government has done all it can to reduce the effects of poverty by encouraging individuals and groups to create income generating projects with the profit ploughed back for development.

Agier (2008:53) notes that, although some refugees run business, it is more or less recognised or tolerated by hosts; hence, financial capital, networks and institutions are needed for this 'embryonic economy' to turn. He goes on to state that, typically in camps, by ways of loans averaging USD$100, groups of four to five refugees develop projects known as income generation activities. The UNHCR and its partners have, since 2013, adopted what it refers to as the 'graduation approach' which entails the provision of income generation support to refugees but only for a time limited period after which aid is withdrawn and refugees are expected to continue sustainably by themselves (Ayoubi & Saavedra, 2018:41).

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Since this study is on income generation among camp-based refugees, it is important to review records and trends on the dynamics of camp income generation. Income generation activities are crucial in camp situations as they minimise the socio-economic effects of refugee isolation as a result of encampment. ACF International's (2009:16) objectives include, "to improve the socio-economic integration of displaced refugee populations [and]… to promote links of solidarity between community members, especial towards the more vulnerable population". After a study of four Middle Eastern refugee camps, Handicap International, UNHCR and Emerging Markets Consulting (2015) observed that the majority of households interviewed participated in some form of agricultural work that continued to be the most common and most desired form of work by refugees except for refugees with disabilities who preferred less labour-intensive income generating activities like petty trade. Similarly, in Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps, two of the largest refugee camps in Africa, livelihoods depend primarily on very traditional production in form of agriculture and animal husbandry at subsistence level. These observations could be reflective of the limit in activity diversity in refugee camps. Handicap International et al. (2015) further note that forty-two per cent of interviewed refugees where undertaking income generation activities which were not their first choice. This contravenes principles like basing "livelihoods support on refugees' own perspectives and agency" (Barbelet & Wake, 2017:vi). It is however commendable that the UNHCR, in its implementation of income generation activities, follows a community approach and focuses on the most vulnerable members such as people with disabilities, the sick, and large families (UNHCR, 2012a).

Although refugee commercial and handicraft activities are meant primarily to generate income; Agier (2008:53-55) argues that their value is more social or educational than financial; they have become a means to pass time and combat refugee inactivity within camps. As a result, unsold woven baskets pile up in the houses of women who weave them; hence Agier (2008:53-55) avers that, "everything happens as if from the point of view of the funders, what matters is to maintain an appearance of economic activity in which regular work is tangible proof of a continuing social utility". To increase the profitability and sustainability of interventions, partners could increase funding, infrastructure, access to markets, access to different types of assets such as facilities, natural resources and networks (Niesing, 2016:42, to achieve peculiar challenges that need to be overcome.

4.3.4 Common challenges in undertaking income generation activities

Although aided income generation activities are adopted to alleviate poverty among specific groups, there has not been significant progress in that regard. The most obvious challenges to income generation are economic and technical in nature; however, there are several political and social challenges which are highly contextual. Niesing (2016:42) notes that the range of challenges include poor communication, gender issues among participants, conflicting stakeholder motives, conflict among participants, nepotism, class differences among participants and difficulties in accessing necessary assets. This subsection reviews literature on these challenges. Explaining socio-cultural problems, Abala (2013) observes that in group fashion income generation activities (which are the commonest among refugees), there are reported challenges with age differences in the composition of the group resulting in divergent opinions. She also points out that there are ethnic tensions in income generation groups which usually result in partiality when electing group leaders and the biased distribution of loans on basis of ethnic allegiance rather than merit. Side-lined, usually minority ethnicities complain that income generation groups end up becoming 'mono-ethnic affairs' (Abala, 2013:73).

Sinclair (1993) also adds to the sociocultural discourse by stating that, there seems to be gender-based separation of project beneficiaries in accordance with Islamic traditions: women projects are household related such as embroidery design and tailoring while male programmes are industrial and much more lucrative like irrigation and construction works. The ILO (2021:7) makes a similar point that, due to social and cultural factors, refugee women are often restricted to domestic and home-based work that is mostly unpaid. Twikirize (2014:57) also highlights gender dynamics in social development, stating that unequal relationship between men and women have impacted "resource distribution, responsibilities and power". The UNHCR and UNDP (2018:11) report that stigma is cited as one of "the most significant barriers preventing women from fulfilling their aspirations". In addition to a number of social disadvantages against women in income generation activities, Abala (2013) states that patriarchy is a huge challenge for women, the maternal family duties are reported to be too demanding for women to fully engage and commit to income generation activities. He further states that this unfair balance places men at an advantage, men also hold considerable control over how loans from income generation programmes are invested and tensions over the involvement of women has led to incidents of gender-based violence (Abala, 2013). The above arguments show that sociocultural dynamics have a bearing on the success of income generation activities. While income generation is reported to improve gender relations in some contexts, it has had opposite

effects in others. Other social variables like ethnicity and age are equally impactful, showing that human relations, based on various factors can pose challenges in undertaking income generation projects.

Lack of business prowess is cited as a major hindrance to the success of income generation among the underprivileged. Jacobsen and Fratzke (2016:2) bemoan that, "programs are launched without first mapping the local political and economic landscape, and therefore are not designed with context specific barriers or opportunities in mind". A similar argument is made by the ILO (2019:18), who state that most refugees in camps lack the business innovation necessary to retain market relevance. NFED (2010) regards the inability to conduct proper market surveys and produce market competent products as key challenges for many people in income generation activities; it further points out that most participants lack project expertise in their respective endeavours, produce substandard goods and are basically not business savvy. As discussed in Chapter 3 (see 3.3.1.2), most target beneficiaries of aided income generation programmes may not possess the required business acumen to survive in increasingly competitive markets, especially refuges of various occupational backgrounds who find themselves in foreign land required to undertake business venture of which they have no prior knowledge.

Palmer (2007) expands on the business skills matter stating that, although there are general skills trainings for income generation programmes, they are often top-down and lacking in post training support. In support of that, Hajdu et al. (2011) argue that there are two shortcomings, that is, skills development programmes often do not offer help to start-up businesses and loan programmes do not deal with the need for skills to run businesses. He proceeds to offer an example in which young people engaged in income generation programmes in Malawi and Lesotho expressed what they regarded as their two main challenges: learning the necessary skills to run a business and acquiring the necessary capital or assets to sustain a business. In the same report, women in fast food business and men in brick laying business in Malawi revealed that they lacked the ability to manage business budgets and calculate profit margins, especially profits as small as eighty to one hundred and fifty kwacha. There is a lack of experience in economic affairs by particular sects of communities, women mostly lack skills in financial management due to their relatively lower level of education, literacy and exposure (Jacobsen & Fratzke, 2016:2; Rajamma, 1993). It can therefore be concluded that lack of business prowess reduces the market competitiveness of beneficiaries of assisted income

generation activities who are usually people of low education, business acumen and exposure, making it a very likely challenge for income generation in refugee contexts.

Lack of adequate financing also remains a barrier to the full success of income generation. Income generation for both refugees and citizens in the developing world have financing deficits. The UNHCR and partnering NGOs are the prime funders of refugee income generation and they have both reduced funding to the programmes. According to Jacobsen and Fratzke (2016:22), funding has shifted to new refugee emergency crises away from livelihoods projects. They note that, of all joint UN funding appeals, livelihoods development received only 6% of requested funds. Wake and Barbelet (2020:135) also state that, when it comes to financing, priority goes to 'life saving activities' over 'expensive long term livelihood projects'. A report on their study states that:

> … an NGO livelihood officer reflected during an interview that they knew from the beginning that their livelihood intervention provided too little money to make a real difference to the lives of refugees… (Wake & Barbelet, 2020:135)

The situation is no different for citizens who often get income generation funding from both NGOs and government. Hamunakwadi (2016:51), following her study on the challenges facing women's income generating activities in Zimbabwe, found that some of the pledged funds do not get dispatched to intended beneficiaries. The problem is worsened by challenges which the poor face in seeking funds from independent and commercial financial institutions. Legese (2012:21-22) notes that lenders 'restrict credit supply' because the poor who often need microfinancing have low credit worthiness and are likely to default on repayment. Bhalotra, Copestake, and Johnson (2001) present a similar observation, stating that a survey conducted in Zambia found that only a minority of microfinance credit clients were successful in their businesses and had no problems repaying their debts while around half struggled to repay and exited the offered microfinance programmes within one year of joining. For refugees, the problem is twofold because their lack of access to financial services like banks is 'largely structural' and can be traced to exclusionary policies of host nations (Masuku & Rama, 2020:91).

For any business undertaking, location is a critical factor and it has presented a number of challenges for income generation among vulnerable groups. The UNHCR and ILO (2017:1) note that the "… isolation of forcibly displaced communities…" is an obstacle to income generation. As a result of hosts' political decisions (see Chapter 3, section 3.4), poor

communities like refugee camps and the rural poor are often geographically remote, isolated and detached from economic opportunities and business networks. Rajamma (1993) also states that peripheral villages are problematic, in some cases, the marketing of projects and their goods is restricted to the villages in which they are initiated with limited prospects to explore newer markets. In a village named Rantelali in Malawi, people engaged in income generation activities claim that there is lack of business in the area due to the small population of the village and its isolation (Hajdu et al., 2011).

The effects of geographic remoteness on refugee income generation have been exacerbated by Covid-19. According to the ILO (2021:4), the Covid-19 pandemic has made refugee access to work restricted, with many in business turning to digital connectivity, refugees face challenges in accessing the internet and sim cards. Most economically disadvantaged people who are the targets of assisted income generation programmes live in peripheral, rural or peri-urban locations and that affects the viability of the businesses which they try to initiate. This situation of isolation and seclusion is common with both camp and non-camp refugees. The UNHCR (2018:4) and Sinclair (1993) note that poverty in remote communities which surround refugee settlements impact viability of businesses given the low purchasing power of poor locals who make up the majority of residents and prospective clientele in the income generating activities.

Though based on the notion of community participation and bottom-up approaches, there has been realisation that income generation activities are not always implemented in that fashion. Davis et al. (2007) bemoan that, while the responsibility of execution for a number of activities is delegated, much of the decision making power and responsibility over budget allocations still tend to be very much centralised. The Norwegian Refugee Council (2001:24) poses the question: 'Are the common invariably top-down income generation schemes for displaced persons really practical?' They go on to argue that, in order to support livelihoods for displaced persons, policy makers need to know the extent of social and economic interactions between displaced persons and local communities. That includes the exploration of factors that enable or obstruct the pursuit of livelihoods in the context of displacement. According to Harrell-Bond (1986:349):

> … there has been no attempt to assess the direction refugees themselves take in their efforts to generate income using their own initiative. Instead of identifying such initiatives and assessing the problems faced and channelling aid into these areas, agencies tend to impose their own ideals on the community, supporting

projects of their own choice which are implemented according to rules laid down by the agency.

Mallumbo (2004) concurs, stating that one of the reasons why income generation initiatives fail to raise incomes in a sustainable manner within the context of sustainable community development is a top-down planning approach. The author gives an example of a community dairy project in Iringa, Tanzania in which implementing agencies planned everything beforehand from above. Top-down approach in implementation of income generation activities may result in irregularities and discrepancies between what recipients and implementers wish to achieve and the way they wish affairs to be conducted. Kane and Kirby (2003:46) also argue that, due to their removal from the realities on the ground, "criticism can be levelled at experts for using unrealistic assumptions when designing measures to alleviate the effects of poverty". After their cross-case analysis of refugees in protracted displacement, Wake and Barbelet (2020:126) concluded that it must be a principle to "base livelihoods support on refugees' own perspectives and agency".

Literature also raised several implementing agencies related problems on the subject. Jacobsen and Fratzke (2016:2) and Hajdu et al. (2011) note that donors, NGOs and faith-based organisations usually run income generation activities with vulnerable groups and sometimes lack coordination and sufficient evaluation. Mallumbo (2004) adds to agency centred challenges, stating that some of them lack the competence and capacity to run complex income generation programmes. Often there is a lack of shared vision among implementing agency staff. In order to effectively support refugee livelihoods, Wake and Barbelet (2020:126) argue that there must be an engagement of a well-coordinated 'coalition of actors'. In addition to that, there could be problems of nepotism and favouritism in beneficiary selection processes, and, in extreme cases, there is project funds embezzlement. Intra and inter-agency dynamic are vital to this study due to its multi-stakeholder approach. In addition to that, there are problematic conceptual variations among multiple collaborating stakeholders. The Norwegian Refugee Council (2001:24) argues that there must be clarity on what is meant by self-reliance, the varying definitions and their implications indicate and affect the sustainability of interventions.

Lack of social capital (see Chapter 3, sub-section 3.4.1) is a common challenge in income generation activities for the poor and refugees in particular. Social capital is the "stock of relations between people within society" (Alcock, 2006:120). Moser (1996:16) argues that poor communities have depleted stocks of social capital, this is particularly true for encamped

refugees who are restricted by host governments. McLoughlin (2017:3) states that refugee income generation is hampered by "restricted freedom of movement" which is associated with a "disabling policy environment, [and] low levels of social capital". Halkias and Thurman (2012:8) also argue that social capital is often a key missing instrument in discussion on how business can fight poverty in sustainable ways; business for poverty reduction requires business linkages and making markets work for the poor. Such linkages may be particularly difficult to establish under circumstances of encampment.

Social capital is important for communities which have suffered traumatising adversities such as refugees. Vngar (2011:1742) makes this point and states that, "a community's resilience is in its social capital, physical infrastructure, and culturally embedded patterns of interdependence that give it the potential to recover from dramatic change, sustain its adaptability…". Agier (2008:40) also argues that nothing can ever be totally achieved under camp contexts of quarantine; which is why Wake and Barbelet (2020:126) argue that refugee livelihoods support should "effectively integrate host community relations and social integration as a core part of livelihood strategies". Alcock (2006:122) categorises social exclusion; noting that it includes four areas of activity. These are consumption, which relates to the purchasing of goods and services; production, which entails participation in economically valuable activity; political engagement, which means involvement in local and national decision making; and, lastly, social capital, which is interaction with family, friends and communities. Exclusion and lack of social capital in the context of refugees is a result of hostile policy contexts. Jacobsen and Fratzke (2016:15) draw the conclusion that, "without the political will on the part of the authorities to create and implement a supporting policy framework… livelihood interventions cannot pay off". In sum, although suitable for poverty alleviation, income generation as part of developmental welfare does face significant obstacles, both general and contextual. The next section discusses how social work can strengthen opportunities for developmental welfare and, more importantly, how it should respond to the above discussed challenges.

4.4 The Role of Social Work in Developmental Social Welfare for Refugees

The focus of this section is on the critical role of social work practice in developmental social welfare for refugees. The section starts with a discussion of social work's general mandate to refugees. This is followed by a discussion of the developmental functions of social work in implementing the developmental approach to refugee welfare in the face of general and

contextual challenges discussed above. The discussion focuses mostly on features of developmental social work and how they foster "improvements in people's wellbeing in wider societal conditions" (Midgley & Conley, 2010:4). Most importantly, the section shows how social work's focus on poverty alleviation, participatory parity and human rights enhances the sustainability of refugee livelihoods.

4.4.1 Social work's mandate to refugees

Traditionally, the social work profession considers the alleviation of different kinds of human suffering as its purpose. According to Molle (2018:201), "although a considerable majority of today's social workers hold direct service roles, the profession was founded on the macro-level values of social justice and rights activism". Rightfully, after the intensification of the global refugee crisis after the second world war, the profession has developed policies and plans of actions towards the execution of what it regards as its obligation to refugees. IFSW (2016), commenting on the increasing social work involvement in the welfare of refugees, states that the profession has grown enormously in response to the refugee crisis following the second world war and since that time, social workers have been supporting refugees in their ordeals.

The IFSW policy statement on refugees states that the profession accepts its share of responsibility for responding to the distress of refugees and strives for the fullest possible involvement of refugees themselves in meeting their needs (IFSW, 1998). Perhaps the most important declaration in the IFSW's policy statement for refugees is the profession's commitment to refugee income generation, which is the involvement of refugees in addressing their own needs. Practically, this involves employing skills such as mobilising, organising and advocacy to facilitate social investments like income generation, which is "a key component of the developmental approach to social work" (Midgley & Conley, 2010:15). Lombard and Strydom (2011:327) concur with this view, and state that social workers have a role "in poverty reduction and social development and, hence, in direct and indirect economic activities". Augmenting that, IFSW (1998) recognises the need for economic adaption in the work with refugees; it states that the long-range goal for social work with refugees should be durable solutions to their problems through the achievement of 'self-sufficiency' and 'economic independence'.

Giving recommendations for practitioners in Mozambique, Janz and Slead (2000:150) point out the role of humanitarian workers such as social workers to integrate a development vision in response to emergency situations from day one and transition to more sustainable activities

as soon as the operating environment allows to restore family productivity and livelihood. Mwansa (2011:369-370) also notes that given the disruption of livelihoods across the African continent due to armed conflicts, the social work profession must move in to restore community function by catering to the development needs of the continent. However, the steps to durable solutions provided by the IFSW major on voluntary repatriation and resettlement in host countries thereby excluding another viable durable solution of income generation in circumstances of encampment. It is however important to note that the IFSW (1998) asserts the obligation of the profession in the economic emancipation of underprivileged persons through fostering community development, local business development, job training and placement and economic opportunities for area residents.

Of more importance to this section, is social work's responsibility to alleviate poverty and its ramifications among refugees. IFSW (1998) states that there are three dimensions of poverty among underprivileged persons, namely income poverty, human development poverty and social exclusion. This is an acknowledgement of the fact that refugees experience exclusion from opportunities and consequently suffer poverty and other indignities, therefore, social work approaches to poverty eradication among refugees include consultation of the groups in question as a way to foster empowerment in the development of poverty reduction strategies and social integration. In such circumstances, social work "must return to its social change function and engage in advocacy practice, challenging structural and power issues at a macro level to break down poverty and inequality" (Lombard, 2014:54).

Against the background of continual violation and denial of refugee rights in many host nations, the social work profession must regard advocacy as one of its prime mandates in refugee welfare. According to Lombard (2014:47), advocacy work is a developmental social work function in which "social workers represent and advance the cause of clients". Responding to the censorship of social work advocacy efforts for refugees in Turkey in 2016, Rory Truel, the secretary general of the IFSW, stated that social work as a profession that promotes human dignity and people having influence over their lives should never be silenced, especially in the context of mass refugee influx (IFSW, 1998). The basis of the argument for advocacy is that refugees can only access decent welfare if host governments recognise their rights and honour the associated entitlements. Rights are central to developmental social welfare because they have a direct link to poverty. Dean (as cited in Lombard, 2019:53) argues that "… the link between rights and poverty is associated with a discourse that regards poverty as a violation of

human rights". In its statement on the role of social work in the global refugee crisis, the Canadian Association of Social Workers (CASW) (2015) confirms the importance of social work advocacy in denouncing budget cuts on essential services for refugees and hostility against particular refugee sects like Muslim refugees. The profession aims to advocate for pluralism, acceptance and compassion.

Maricar (2021) argues that refugee rights must be seen in the overall field of human rights. Their rights are no different from those of other members of society, but the point is that oppressive structures and policies make it difficult for them to exercise their rights, hence special provisions must be made and that is where social work advocacy is of great import. Making similar arguments, the Australian Association of Social Workers (2020:8) states that, in countries with restrictive policies, social work should be centred on political advocacy-based work. In growing contexts of encampment, refoulement and general deprivation, political advocacy work entails challenging governments to ensure refugees' access to fundamental rights like education, health, freedom of movement, humane treatment among others. Gray, Agllias, Mupedziswa and Mugumbate (2017:975) also state that it is the role of developmental social work to secure human rights through working alongside those involved in health care, education, nutrition, sanitation and other rights.

The above mentioned obligations of the profession to refugees proclaimed by major social work bodies translate into various hands on social work practice fields with refugees. This sub-section also discusses the common duties executed by social workers at different levels both in camp and non-camp settings. Social workers' roles in refugee work can be divided broadly into micro and macro level work. Drumm, Pittman and Perry (2004) state that social work intervention points in working with refugees integrate micro, meso, exo and macrosystems. Microsystem interventions by social workers primarily consist of essential services provided by frontline social workers in daily realms of interaction such as homes, schools, church, and peer groups. Mesosystem work includes coordination and cooperation work with other professionals and agencies providing relief for refugees, exosystem work involves community wide interventions, for example, attitude change and culture sensitivity awareness, while macro level work is interventions at policy level with host governments (Drumm, et al., 2004).

According to Schraer (2016), most social workers in camp settings focus on micro level immediate relief provision. Due to the impromptu fashion in which camps are setup, normally under emergency circumstances, social workers usually engage in assessment work, extreme

trauma and child rehabilitation as well as provision of basic requirements like health, sanitation and nutrition. Pezerovic and Babic (2016) note that social workers also provide specialised individualised counselling for special refugee groups like women and children. However, beyond the usual crisis relief interventions, social workers work to resolve structural issues which present unique vulnerabilities such as gender-based exclusion and sexual gender-based violence (Pittaway, Bartolomei & Rees, 2007). Since developmental social work bridges micro and macro practice, Sheedy (as cited in Lombard, 2015:494) notes that social workers must attend to 'interpersonal dynamics' without neglecting "thinking and actions directed at organisational and social institutional structures". In that regard, social workers must work to identify possible risks for social exclusion and provide psychosocial support that is critical for economic and educational integration. Despite its usefulness in improving refugee wellbeing, social work practice, however, inevitably faces challenges, especially in the uniquely difficult circumstances of refugee affairs.

4.4.2 Challenges in social work practice with refugees

As noted earlier, there is a gap between what the profession aims to deliver in refugee welfare and what it actually can practically deliver. This subsection discusses literature on varying factors barring the effectiveness of social work interventions in both camp and non-camp refugee contexts. Harding and Libal (2012) question the power the profession must do to effect change on governments and institutions. It is important for the profession, as a critical caregiving profession to refugees, to acknowledge the limits of its influence. According to the IFSW (1998), the large numbers of refugees nowadays does not only present problems for the international community, governments and non-governmental organisation; it poses unique challenges for the social work profession which is required to address the problems facing refugees. As discussed in the previous chapter (see Chapter 3, section 3.4), the refugee influx globally has seen a rise in restrictive and hostile migration policies by many refugee hosting governments, and social workers in such nations face the challenge of securing human dignities and basic freedoms in the face of anti-migration policies. In other words, there is a difficulty in applying social work values in countries with little political will to address the plight of refugees.

Nicholls (2015) holds the view that social workers often conduct assessments for refugees applying for assistance after which most applications are denied. That kind of work leaves little difference between social workers and migration officers. Social workers in some high refugee

Middle Eastern countries like Jordan and Iraq are not even professionally recognised or often relegated to clerical work for the ministry of social development; and, apart from a lack of adequately trained social workers in such refugee contexts, social workers are also generalised with other human service practitioners (Harding & Libal, 2012). There is therefore a need to realise the difference between what social workers commonly do in refugee contexts as opposed to what they ideally should, that is, challenge service institutions to revise their restrictive assessment standards which deny assistance to many refugees in distress as well as lobby for reassessments for refugee cases denied access to accommodation assistance, relevant documentations and other crucial services (Diaconu, Racovita-Szilagyi & Bryan, 2016:5-6).

The profession considers it its mandate to come up with long term solution-oriented practice in refugee welfare, however, there is literature stating the practical challenges to that transition. IASSW, ICSW and IFSW (2016) note that although social workers call for political response to shift focus from the immediate crisis to creating a worldwide environment enabling sustained social development for displaced persons, little success has been realised in that regard. Besides political or government interventions remaining remedial, there has been concern over the same lack of sustainability in interventions by many relief agencies and practitioners. According to Schraer (2016), despite social workers' view of people's needs holistically, support personnel and volunteers, mostly in camp settings tend to be preoccupied by essential supplies like food, clothing, among others. According to Agier (2008:48), the agents at the UN and relief organisations on the ground recognise that they do not have time to look at things from a long-term perspective; their intervention takes place in the name of emergency, but the precise duration of the emergency is hard to determine. Generally, "… at all levels, humanitarian intervention has a tendency, along with the emergency practice, to become frozen and fixed at the sites of its implantation" (Agier, 2008:48).

Not overlooking the importance of such emergency services, AASW (2016) argues that as individuals remain in protracted refugee situations, new challenges and opportunities beyond basic needs arise, legal and social contexts change, individuals continue to grow, and the passage of time offers new possibilities. This means the longer people stay in refuge, their needs evolve past food and clothes; and social work practitioners constantly face the challenge of transforming humanitarian practice towards more sustainable social development goals. Schraer (2016:1), commenting on the challenge of remedial social work practice common in

camp settings, states that, "it is like watching someone tied to a tree and people are coming along and saying, 'I'll feed you and keep you warm' when all they want is to be set free".

Soliman and Gillespie (2011) also argue that social workers' effectiveness in refugee camps is constrained by an increasing demand and limited resources as they rely primarily on their ingenuity to figure out ways of meeting the needs of refugee populations which is strenuous to the relief workers themselves. In addition to that, there are reports of burnout among camp social workers. Savchuk (2017) notes that social workers are at risk of burnout which includes emotional and mental exhaustion due to the frontline work they do in the global refugee crisis. Listening to and witnessing the traumatic experiences of refugees is reported to result in vicarious trauma among social workers and this may affect the execution of their roles. Soliman and Gillespie (2011) state that special hardship programmes in refugee camps such as specialised services for women, the chronically ill, the disabled, women and other vulnerable groups present onerous tasks for social workers given that a social worker can be assigned to a total of two hundred to three hundred cases, the energy and time needed for such a caseload is substantial. This shows the importance of understanding the impact which the service delivery process has on aid workers and professions.

Literature discussed in this section showed what the social work profession seeks to contribute to refugee welfare, but it also pointed out the limitations. The role of social work as made explicit above varies at different levels of intervention but generally consists of provision of multi-dimensional services ranging from childcare, education, counselling, policy advocacy, administrative work and cultural orientations, among others. Practice in all these fields is guided by scientific inquiry, adequate consultation and inclusion of all stakeholders involved. Despite numerous challenges in practice with refugees, the social work profession prioritises the responsibility to spearhead durable and sustainable solutions for refugees. At the heart of durable solutions lies emancipatory welfare practice approaches including developmental social work with refugees to foster personal and community development in refugee settings.

4.5 Summary

This chapter discussed three main topics: developmental social welfare, sustainable income generation and the role of role social work in refugee welfare. The main argument in this chapter was the need for developmental social welfare in ensuring poverty alleviation for the structurally disadvantaged. Literature showed the reasons why this approach is effective for development policy planning thereby justifying its suitability in work with refugees. Following

that was the discussion on income sustainable income generation as the key strategy for long-term poverty reduction but the challenges it faces turned out to be dominantly structural which necessitates developmental social work functions in the context of refugee poverty reduction. As a primary social welfare profession, social work must attend to refugee welfare holistically at both micro and macro levels in order to ensure the sustainability of refugee livelihoods. Lastly, refugee livelihoods can be sustainable if the structural causes of poverty are resolved in accordance with human rights as well as principles of full participation and non-exclusionary legislation. This can be fostered if livelihood support is based on the dictates of a critical ethics of care (see Chapter 2, section 2.4) and principles of developmental social welfare. The research methodology for the study will be discussed in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises the detailed explication of the research methodology that the study follows. The qualitative research study sought to capture the experience of camp-based refugees undertaking income generating activities as well as the perspectives of various stakeholders who provide technical and financial aid to the refugees of interest. The research question addressed by the study was: How can a critical ethics of care perspective be utilised to reconsider the aid framework for sustainable income generation activities in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp?

The chapter starts with the research approach which is followed by a section explaining the type of research. It proceeds to discuss the details of the research design, leading to research methods. The chapter also describes ethical consideration taken during the research and then presents the limitations of the study. The chapter ends with a summary.

5.2 Research Approach

This research was underpinned by interpretivism and thus qualitative in nature. Rehman (2016:6) states that interpretivism believes in subjective and socially constructed multiple realities, hence the current study's adoption of a multiple stakeholder inquiry. The author further states that the role of interpretivist methodology is to understand context as in case studies, and this is aligned to the case study design that this study adopted. A significant part of the study was aimed against institutional reification of refugees as economically inept or burdensome, and hence the study in this context is transformative and emancipatory as it sought to rethink the ideological approach to income generation. Transformation was the intended outcome of the study and hence this made qualitative inquiry the most appropriate research approach. Ideology critique is what qualitative research is particularly good for, as argued by Foucault (as cited in Packer, 2018:6). Qualitative research involves a "critique of what we are thinking and doing" and it would "attend to the complex interrelations of knowledge, politics and ethics… it would foster personal and political transformation" (Packer, 2018:6).

According to Henn, Weinstein and Foard (2006:150):

> Underlying the qualitative research style is the assumption that in order to understand human behaviour, a researcher must first understand the meaning

that people have of the world around them, because these meanings tend to govern their actions. The emphasis given by qualitative researchers therefore involves an examination of perspectives of the groups that are of interest to them … their ideas, attitudes, motives and intentions.

Two key considerations in this quote are acceptance of subjective interpretations/ motivations of social phenomenon and, more importantly, recognition of multiple perspectives on any given phenomenon. Both considerations resonate with the study's theoretical framework and study objectives. Kielmann, Cataldo and Seeley (2012:8) are in support of the above quotation as they argue that reality of a given social phenomenon has different dimensions and these dimensions can be captured through different lenses. Lenses refer to ways in which a researcher frames what he or she is looking for with the help of a theory and theoretical assumptions. In the current study, it was the assessment of subjective multiple stakeholder perspectives through the critical ethics of care. All in all, the study was best suited for qualitative inquiry because it focused on experiences, subjective knowledge and understanding, institutional procedures and governing regulations, derived meanings and subjective rationales.

The study was exploratory and descriptive. Exploratory research arises out of either one or two situations: the discovery of a new topic, which is rare, or the discovery of a new angle of approach to a known subject (Kowalczyk, 2015). Babbie (2010) states that scientific descriptions are more accurate and precise than casual ones, and the intention of this study was to give a detailed description of a reconsidered aid framework. Exploratory studies are mostly qualitative, use small samples, and often make recommendations towards further, larger-scale studies (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). The current study critiqued the aid framework through the critical ethics of care perspective to explore how it could be reconsidered as a new approach to refugee care.

5.3 Type of Research

The study was applied research. As highlighted in the previous section, the study's goal was reconsidering the aid framework for refugees in Zimbabwe. Applied research aims at precisely that; it is needed "to identify solutions to specific policy problems… also to identify needs of constituents and evaluate effectiveness of programs" (Baimyrzaeva, 2018:6-7). Baimyrzaeva (2018) further argues that applied research is conducted to change dysfunctional organisational practices hence the applied researcher has in his or her mind a practical application because applied research is motivated by utility. Oxburgh, Walsh and Milne (2011:106) make a similar argument stating that applied research is designed to help practitioners overcome challenges

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they confront daily as opposed to acquiring knowledge for knowledge's sake as is the case in experimental studies.

The current study acknowledges that knowledge is important but intends to extend the knowledge in informing interventions and applications to improve practice in both frontline and managerial service provision to refugees in Tongogara camp. The study is not only applied by nature of its objectives but by its utilisation of the ethics of care as well. Saini (2016:8) argues that applied research is meant, "… to acquire knowledge on the practical application of a theoretical base already built up which is expected to solve a critical problem". The current study does that by applying the critical ethics of care perspective in the reconsideration of refugee aid framework. Saini (2016:8) further states that, applied research involves collection and analysis of data to examine the usefulness of theory in solving practical problems.

5.4 Research Design

The study was undertaken in Tongogara refugee camp, which is the only refugee camp in Zimbabwe, and the only permanent resident for refugees in the country. This research utilised the intrinsic case study design. According to Rose, Spinks and Canhoto (2015:1) the word case means "an instance of"; it can be something relatively concrete such as an organisation or a group or something more abstract such as management decisions or a programme while a case study entails scientific investigation into a peculiar instance, group, organisation or programme. Denzin and Lincoln (2005:445) state that intrinsic case studies differ from instrumental or collective case studies because they are "undertaken because first and last, one wants better understanding of this particular case. It is not undertaken primarily because the case represents other cases… but because in all its particularity, the case is of interest". As indicated above, the Tongogara refugee camp is the only camp in Zimbabwe and its income generation operations are highly context specific hence the current study sought not to generalise findings to any camp, although some degree of transferability may exist or anticipated with other camps outside Zimbabwe.

Since the camp is a semi-closed and considerably secluded community, its particularity and boundedness qualify it for case study. Babbie (2008:326) states that case studies focus attention on one or a few instances of some social phenomenon, such as a village, a family or a juvenile gang or, in the case of this study, a refugee camp. In addition to that, case studies are appropriate for qualitative, exploratory and applied studies (Zainal, 2007:1).

Case study design was suitable for the study because the phenomenon under study is highly contextual. Schwandt (2007:31) argues that case study is a strategy suitable when the object of study is a contemporary phenomenon in a real-life context, when the phenomenon and its context are highly intertwined, and when it is desirable to use multiple sources of evidence. From that argument, the analysis of income generation in context and the desirability multiple data sources from multiple samples makes the study a case. Denzin and Lincoln (2005:444) offer a breakdown of the context; and argue that case study concentrates on close attention to the influence of its social, political, legal and aesthetic, among other contexts. All the major and multiple facets of 'the context' are relevant to the proposed study. In addition to that, Denzin and Lincoln (2005:444) argue that "optimizing understanding of the case requires meticulous attention to its activities" likewise, the study focuses on case activities, income generation activities in particular.

Denzin and Lincoln (2005:447) provide focal points which discern case studies from other designs, they argue that case researchers seek out what is particular about the case, drawing all at once from:

- The particularity of its activities and functioning. The current study focused on income generation activities and how refugees and care providers interact and function in that regard.

- The physical setting of the case. The current study explored ways in which encampment influence refugee income generation. This includes the geophysical location of the camp and its effect on the appropriateness of specific income generation activities in the camp.

- The informants through whom the case can be known. The current study utilised sample triangulation which was inclusive of all critical participants through whom the case could be known.

Despite the suitability of the case study design for this study, it is not without limitations. Krusenvik (2016:1) notes that case studies are an intensive study which require prolonged exposure to the study context, study phenomena and study participants. This presented a challenge because the refugee camp is not an open community, it is a semi-closed and high security settlement which cannot be accessed multiple times at will; gatekeeper permission is required at any given time before entry into camp premises. To mitigate this, the researcher

avoided back and forth travelling to the camp; instead, he resorted to requesting residence in the camp for the entire duration of the data collection phase. The refugee camp administrator, after the matter had been discussed prior to the commencement of data collection, made room in camp staff quarters to accommodate the researcher for the duration of approximately three weeks.

5.5 Research Methods

This section presents the research methods, including the study population and sample, data collection, data analysis, data quality and pilot study.

5.5.1 Study population and sampling

According to Hassan (2019:1), a research population is generally a large collection of individuals or objects that is the main focus of a scientific query; it is a well-defined collection of individuals or objects known to have similar characteristics. All individuals or objects within a certain population usually have a common, binding characteristic or trait. The study population comprised two population groups, which were camp-based refugees undertaking income generating activities as well as members of staff or officials from governmental and nongovernmental organisations responsible for the administration of refugee affairs in Zimbabwe, particularly income generation issues. There were four organisations providing income generation aid in the camp, and these included the Jesuit Refugee service, the UNHCR, Goal Zimbabwe and the Government of Zimbabwe's Department of Social Welfare.

Sampling for the study was guided by representation and saturation considerations. Vasileiou, Barnett, Thorpe and Young (2018:1) state that sample adequacy in qualitative inquiry pertains to the appropriateness of the sample composition. The study adopted a balanced sample composition based on a multi-tier selection criterion, especially for the refugee sample to ensure representation. Commenting on data saturation, Vasileiou et al. (2018:1) state that, "undoubtedly, the most widely used principle of determining sample size and evaluating its sufficiency is that of saturation". Saunders, Sim, Kingstone, Baker, Waterfield, Bartlam, Burroughs and Jinks (2017:2) also state that, saturation in qualitative studies means interviews will be conducted until nothing new is apparent. The current study ensured that sample sizes were adjusted to capture new text until nothing substantially relevant or insightful came up during interviews.

This study triangulated three sample groups, namely managerial staff, frontline service

providers and refugees. Managerial staff for the aforesaid agencies included two categories of staff which were refugee project designers/managers and income generation aid fund directors. Frontline staff encompassed all project officers, personnel permanently stationed in the camp working in project implementation and monitoring with refugees of interest. There were only two agencies involved in frontline refugee income generation work; and these were GOAL Zimbabwe and the Jesuit Refugee Service. The study also included a range of all relevant refugee service delivery documents. Guion, Diehl and McDonald (2012:01) state that, "data triangulation involves using different sources of information to increase the validity of a study. In extension, these sources are likely to be stakeholders in a program, participants, program staff, other community members and so on". The authors further argue that during data analysis, feedback from the stakeholder groups would be compared to determine areas of agreement as well as divergence.

From the Department of Social Welfare, the camp administrator and the retired commissioner for refugees were participants in the study and, from the UNHCR, the programme manager (livelihoods) was also a participant. All other participants for the study were sampled using purposive sampling technique. Singh (2007) defines purposive sampling as drawing a sample from people with particular knowledge or experience on a subject or area of interest to the research. Kielmann, Cataldo and Seeley (2012:22) also affirm that purposive sampling selects the most productive sample to answer the research questions. The total sample size for this study was 47, and data saturation was reached in all sample groups. Ritchie et al. (as cited in Vasileiou et al., 2018:1) suggest that studies employing individual interviews conduct no more than 50 interviews so that researchers can manage the complexity of the analytic task. Participants who were willing to participate in the study were selected by specific criteria indicated in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Sampling specifications

Sample group	Sample size	Sampling method	Selection criteria
Managerial staff Goal Zimbabwe (NGO) Jesuit Refugee Service Government of Zimbabwe UNHCR	1 project manager/designer 1 project fund director 1 project manager/designer 1 project fund director 3 managerial officers 1 officer	Purposive	• Knowledge on income generation project policy, design, and funds management. • At least six months experience in Tongogara camp.
Frontline staff GOAL Zimbabwe Jesuit Refugee Service	2 field officers 2 field officers	Purposive	• Knowledge on ground level aid dispensation procedures and project implementation. • Must be stationed in Tongogara camp. • Must have at least six months experience.
Refugees	35	Purposive	• Age: Open from a minimum of 18 years. • Gender: A balance of male and female participants. • Level of education: A balance of tertiary, secondary, primary educated and illiterate participants. • Type of income generation: A balance in inclusion of participants from the full range of income generating activities in the camp. • Duration of stay in the camp: All participants to have a minimum stay of 2 years. • Length of participation in aided income generation: At least 12 months.

Applications for permission to conduct the study were mailed to respective agency head

offices. Once permission was granted, the researcher scheduled appointments with participants in the managerial sample at their designated offices. The camp administrator, upon receiving a letter granting permission to the study from the Government of Zimbabwe, Department of Social Welfare head office, introduced the researcher to camp-based staff. After permission from their respective agencies was granted, these camp-based officers were asked for their individual consent.

The researcher, with the help of Goal Zimbabwe and the Jesuit Refugee Service on-camp offices used the refugee register to identify potential participants who met the outlined sample criteria. Once a sufficient number of approximately 30 potential refugee participants was identified, the researcher approached them one by one until the best attainable sample in terms of size and diversity was reached.

5.5.2 Data collection

Data was collected through face-to-face interviews and document analysis. The researcher made use of semi-structured face-to-face interviews with all 47 participants. The semi-structured interview was chosen for this study for its apparent natural fit with qualitative inquiry. Packer (2018:42) argues that, "qualitative approaches that are otherwise very different… all agree that interviews are the method of choice to obtain qualitative data". He goes on to single out the semi-structured interview as "the work horse" of qualitative research today.

The researcher did not seek to explore unknown facets of refugee wellbeing or private life experiences; this study targeted specifically the income generation activities in the camp and the ideology that underpins them. However, semi-structured interviews gave refugees an opportunity to discuss what they may have deemed necessary, refugees could also add their views on wellbeing in the context of income generation. Packer (2018:43) argues that, in semi-structured interviews, the researcher has the plan of the topics to be discussed but interviewees have latitude in the way they answer, length of answers and even topics of discussion. Kielmann, Cataldo and Seeley (2012:29) make a similar argument, they state that, "semi structured interviews are not questionnaires because interviewees can respond freely to what is asked". Although the conducted interviews covered fairly specific topics and themes, the interview schedule was designed to contain follow up probes in order to generate more information and elicit free responses.

Individual face-to-face interviews were appropriate for this study because they ensured privacy during the data collection process. Refugees, due to the positions of vulnerability and the circumstances surrounding their displacement, may be sceptical of anyone, including fellow refugees (Hugman, Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2011), thereby making focus group discussions less preferable in this particular research. It takes a gradual gain of trust and rapport for persons in positions of vulnerability to open up and engage in conversation with a researcher, a process that was greatly aided by the comfort provided by privacy. In-depth one-on-one interviews were also used with service providers because, due to their unknown and unpredictable work schedules, it was not possible to gather them in a sufficient number to conduct a focus group discussion.

With the informed consent of participants, the researcher used a voice recording device and took detailed notes for two participants who did not consent to voice recording during interview sessions. All interviews were conducted in English, for the non-English speakers who got sampled, the service of an interpreter was sought (at a fee) among Tongogara camp interpreters. The interviews with the participants from the two service provider samples as well as government and UNHCR participants were held in their offices. The interviews with the members of the refugee sample were held at a venue chosen by the respective participants and these were conducted anywhere from their own home to the offices of one of the service providers, as long as it could be ensured that interruptions were avoided, and confidentiality could be assured.

Data collection for this study also included document analysis. Documents for data collection included the following documents which were made available to the researcher by agency management: organisational periodic reports, project monitoring and evaluation documents and strategic plans (Creswell & Poth, 2018:163) and policy documents. Documents are sources of data collection because, instead of treating a document as a neutral container of content, qualitative researchers examine the larger context of its creation, distribution and reception (Neuman, 2014:372).

5.5.3 Data analysis

The study utilised thematic content analysis, which is defined by Braun and Clarke (2006) as a qualitative method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. A theme represents something significant about the data in relation to the research question and characterises some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set (Braun & Clarke,

2006:82).

The researcher followed a five-phase process to thematic analysis proposed by Creswell and Poth (2018:187), the steps are as follows:

- Managing and organising the data: In this phase, the researcher began with grouping audio files according to sample category. This was followed by listening to all recorded audio files to transcribe the interviews. Lastly, the researcher undertook the task of labelling and naming audio files with corresponding transcripts for easy access and identification.

- Reading and memoing emergent ideas: In this phase, the researcher embarked on repetitive reading of transcribed field interviews. The preliminary stages of noting emergent ideas began and continued throughout interviews, recurrent topics became apparent as the processes of data collection and data analysis are intertwined. The researcher had few interview notes because only three participants did not consent to voice recording. Although ideas emerged and critical text highlighted, the primary goal at this stage was thorough familiarisation with interview content.

- Describing and classifying codes into themes: This phase entailed working with what appeared to be key phrases and words with the goal of identifying codes. The researcher came up with a list of code descriptions regarding particular topics and phrases which informed common topics which were ultimately consolidated into themes.

- Developing and accessing interpretations: The researcher assessed the relationship between themes as well as noting the differences in viewpoints among multiple participants across all sample groups. At this point, the researcher sought to determine the extent to which participant accounts confirmed or differed with literature on relevant topics. The researcher also interpreted what participant experiences implied in accordance with the theoretical framework.

- Representing the data: In the final phase, the researcher created and included own viewpoints and conclusions deducted from the data. This outcome is presented in this thesis.

Just as the above steps aim at identifying themes, patterns, trends and assigning meaning to raw data, document analysis seeks to do largely the same (Walliman, 2018:97). The researcher compiled documents on refugee income generation policy and procedure by both government and nongovernmental organisations for analysis. Documents were read and interpreted in the same manner as interview transcripts. The researcher created codes and identified thematic issues within the text of project reports which were presented in augmentation to the themes from empirical data. The principal analysis guide for documents was the research question of the study as suggested by Neuman (2014:480). Qualitative researchers emphasise the entire process from a document's creation including the intentions of the creator, its reception by various consumers and then situate the document in a social context (Neuman, 2014:372).

Theme analysis was used for data from documents. The researcher used a guide to document analysis proposed by Creswell and Poth (2018:147). The first step was to ascertain the relevance of a document to the study topic. For it to be selected, a document had to entirely or substantially focus on refugee income generation, the respective organisation's policy and set procedures in that regard. The researcher went on to further determine how far a document that describes a particular aspect, goal or process of refugee income generation reflect the general situation in the camp. Additionally, the researcher used discernment whether a document focused on ideals or procedure. Babbie (2013:319) also adds that analysing documents includes looking out for what sorts of theoretical issues and debates a document casts light on; that means what organisations seek to achieve and how they plan to achieve it. Having done all that, the researcher reached an interpretation of the meaning and intent in the documents and triangulated data from the interviews and the document analysis according to theme similarities to present integrated findings on the data.

5.5.4 Data quality

Babbie (2013) describes trustworthiness as a key principle of good qualitative research found in the notion of neutrality of findings and decisions, making it worth taking account of. Lincoln and Guba (1985), (as cited in Creswell and Poth, 2018:256), posit that trustworthiness comprises credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. This section discusses the trustworthy components and their relevance to the proposed study as follows:

Credibility is the compatibility between the constructed realities that exist in the minds of the participants and those attributed to them (Korstjens & Moser, 2018:121). To strive towards credibility, the researcher was careful not to be intrusive especially with data collection devices

like voice recorders. Lietz and Zayas (2010:192) state that being recorded unwillingly may impact on participant responses which compromise data credibility. The researcher was therefore on the lookout for nonverbal signs of discomfort with voice recording even when verbal and written consent was given. It was noted when refugee participants were silent after certain probes or expressed hesitation to respond to questions they called 'difficult', the researcher discontinued the question and moved on to other questions. The researcher employed data source triangulation. Data was collected and compared from both relevant documents and multiple sample groups. The case study design required a prolonged field engagement and that contributed to ensuring data credibility. The researcher also conducted member checks. Willing participants were afforded the opportunity, at an agreed date, to review a summary of findings in person and by email to ensure that the researcher interpreted responses as intended by the interviewees. One managerial participant, one frontline participant and one refugee accepted the invitation to review the summary of findings. They all confirmed that no deviation in its interpretation of their perceived reality of the state of camp IGAs.

Transferability, according to Korstjens and Moser (2018:121), is the extent to which findings can be applied in other contexts or with other participants. The study's purposive sampling methods and thick descriptions assist with the transferability of its findings. The researcher aimed at collecting sufficiently detailed descriptions of data and reported them with precision. According to Lietz and Zayas (2010:195), for findings to be transferable, meticulous details of the study context must be noted. Devers (1999), (as cited in Lietz and Zayas, 2010:195), also states that the researcher must, "identify key aspects of the context from which the findings emerge and the extent to which they may be applicable to other contexts". Although refugee camp contexts are unique, the researcher noted contextual similarities with other camp income generation settings across the globe in a bid to ensure transferability. Section 6.3 of Chapter 6 makes cross reference to Chapters 3 and 4 on similarities between findings in Tongogara camp and other contextual realities of refugees undertaking IGAs under encampment.

Dependability, according to Korstjens and Moser (2018:121), is the "stability of findings over time". It is the provision of evidence proving that, if the research were to be repeated with the same respondents in the same context, its findings would be similar. To enhance dependability, the researcher kept all interview voice records for inquiry audit purposes. All data after the finalisation of the study was submitted to the University of Pretoria for a fifteen-year storage period.

Confirmability is the degree to which the findings are the product of the focus of the inquiry and not the biases of the researcher (Korstjens & Moser, 2018:121). To ensure confirmability, the researcher kept an adequate audit trail which made research findings traceable to their sources. To this effect, the initial research proposal and interview guides, samples of the interview transcripts, and evidence of the data analysis process would be made available if requested by examiners.

5.5.5 Pilot study

The researcher conducted a pilot study to determine the methodological and ethical soundness of the main study. Junyong In (2017:1) states that pilot studies are necessary to access the overall feasibility of the study protocol. For this study, the pilot study assisted the researcher to make the necessary alterations to the sample size. Upon familiarisation with staff participants, the researcher learnt that the UNHCR had one managerial staff member with knowledge and oversight of IGAs funding in the camp; and hence the individual was invited to participate in the study. The Government of Zimbabwe also turned out to have managerial staff with knowledge on IGAs and they were also included in the study. Preliminary interviews also shed light on which participant demographics had the most influence on the income generation experience. The researcher found that age had no significant implications on the income generation experience and were therefore not a prime consideration in the inclusion or exclusion of participants. Junyong In (2017:1) posits the same sentiments, stating that an inclusion and exclusion criterion for participants is fine-tuned after pilot studies. The researcher conducted one preliminary interview each with the two staff samples and three interviews from the refugee sample.

Since the largest sample group for the study consisted of persons in precarious conditions, due ethical considerations were as important as attainment of relevant data. Fraser, Fahlman and Guillot (2018:261) argue that, in effect, pilot studies comprise a risk mitigation strategy which includes minimisation or avoidance of harm to participants. During the pilot study, the researcher was therefore on the lookout for follow up questions which caused any form of discomfort or hesitation to participants and made necessary adjustments ahead of the main study. Refugee participants were generally comfortable with main interview guide questions, however, they showed hesitation on follow up questions regarding management and distribution of group-based IGAs' profits. Teijlingen and Hundley (2001:2) state that qualitative pilot studies help in the identification of topics which need further exploration as

well as determination of user friendliness of research instruments. Through initial interviews, the researcher noted that questions about frequency and nature of aid for particular IGAs became irrelevant because they elicited similar responses for group-based participants, as well as questions which prompted further discussion and subsequently further exploration. The pilot study resulted in no substantive changes in terms of the focus of inquiries, hence, findings from the pilot were thereafter included in the main study.

5.6 Ethical Considerations

This research observed the following four ethical principles:

- **Informed consent**

Gordon (2020:36) notes that, for institutionally vulnerable people like refugees, researchers must, "focus on devising a consent procedure that will adequately insulate prospective subjects from the hierarchical system". According to Wassenaar and Mamotte (2012), informed consent is built on two main principles. The first is provision of appropriate information to all participants; in this case the researcher provided selected participants with detailed and clear factual information about the study and its methods. In addition, the participants were assured that data would be used hopefully to improve refugee welfare policy as well as for academic purposes only. The second principle is voluntariness in participation; in this study nobody was coerced to participate and those who were chosen to participate were informed in explicit terms of their right to withdraw at any point if they so wished. Wiles (2013:37) raises concern over capacity to consent for groups like children and the mentally impaired. The research had no such groups in its sample, however, there was bound to be non-English speaking participants. In the case of non-English speaking participants, the conditions of consent were read and explained in the presence of an interpreter who read and then discussed it with the participant whenever additional questions arose. The interpreter also had to sign an informed consent form for confidentiality purposes. Participants who agreed to participate in the study signed an informed consent letter which outlined the above discussed terms of consent.

- **Confidentiality**

According to González-Duarte et al. (2019:220), "… confidentiality of the data collected should be assure because the participants might know each other; likewise, the obtained results should not be used in detriment of the individuals". Wiles (2013:41) also states that participants must be informed whether it would be possible for them to be identified from the data and what the implications of that might be for them. In the case of the refugee sample, the confidentiality

of participants was under no circumstance breached, that is, the identities of these participants were protected though the use of codes to substitute participant identity. In the case of the two service provider samples, code names for participants were used as well. Data was at all times stored in a password secured personal computer. Upon completion of the study, data was submitted to the University of Pretoria for 15 years storage period. All confidentiality aspects were stipulated in the informed consent letter.

- **Avoidance of harm**

Creswell and Poth (2018:294) posit that avoidance of harm means "research participants are protected from undue intrusion, distress, physical discomfort, personal embarrassment or psychological or other harm". The largest sample for the study was made up of refugees in positions of vulnerability and probably traumatic pasts. The interview guides for this study were designed with sensitivity to these circumstances. Interrogative and intrusive questioning which could possibly traumatise refugees were avoided. In addition to causing no harm, this research also sought to do no wrong by avoiding any form of deceit at any stage of the research process and with any participant. When at any point refugee participants showed signs of discomfort, and/or hesitation with a particular line of follow up questions, they were discontinued and the interviewer moving on to other questions on the interview schedule. The researcher noted that having held debriefings after each interview, none of the refugee participants needed or expressed interest in being referred to any agency field officer chaplain but it was made known to them that the service was available if they needed it. Only one service provider participant expressed hesitation over discussing matters on tape, recording was stopped briefly while the discussion continued off tape, thereafter, voice recording was resumed. Hugman, Pittaway and Bartolomei (2011) caution that, frequently, participants express disappointment following their interaction with researchers. Disappointed expectations can be considered a form of harm. Similarly, Gordon (2020:36) discusses the importance of managing expectations by avoiding 'overestimation of benefit', especially with participants in positions of economic vulnerability. The current study sought to avoid that by carefully seeking informed consent, which did not overstate the anticipated outcomes or benefits of the study.

- **Dissemination of research findings**

Mootz, Taylor, Wainberg and Khoshnood (2019:3) state that the overarching obligation in dissemination of findings is respect for persons. They note that researchers must ensure that findings do not reinforce or create negative stereotypes of groups based on ethnic or social

identification. The refugee status may be a label that denotes certain negative connotation and this research report sought to be sensitive not to exacerbate such. Mootz et al. (2019:3) further state that researchers are accountable to the communities where the research was conducted; hence they must make their findings available and accessible to the communities where the research was conducted. Electronic copies of research findings will be mailed individually to all service provider participants. Refugee participants will have access to a hard copy of the findings which shall be kept at the camp administrator's office solely for that purpose. The researcher will put out a notice through the camp administrator, informing willing refugees of the opportunity of a face-to-face oral presentation of summarised findings in the presence of an interpreter for the sake of illiterate participants and participants who cannot read English. Research findings will also be published in scientific journals.

Dissemination of findings also requires the maintenance of data integrity, which means researchers are ethically obliged to present truthful accounts of data. Watts (2008:1) states that data integrity should be an ethical consideration in the dissemination of findings. The author urges researchers to avoid falsification or fabrication of data which is usually a result of researcher's bias or allegiance to a particular school of thought or hypothesis. To ensure data integrity, the researcher has not disregarded or discarded data which has shown non-confirmation to the study's conception of the research problem.

5.7 Limitations of the Study

The case study design adopted by this study, although relevant to the nature of its inquiry, presents limitations regarding the utility of findings and recommendations. The relatively small sample sizes required for effective case studies as well as the highly contextualised participant circumstances significantly reduced the accuracy with which the findings can be replicated in other settings. Krusenvik (2016:6) notes that "the major problem is that the studies are highly specific, that is, that they only relate to a particular context or a few units". However, the study's thick descriptions and attention to contextual detail help with transferability. The presentation of detailed contextual factors in the findings of the study (see Chapter 6), made it possible, to an extent, to identify emerging similarities between Tongogara camp and other refugee camps on matters of income generation thereby enabling lessons to be drawn.

5.8 Researcher Experience

Arriving in the camp for the first time did not present any immediate challenges for the researcher because of the hospitality and reception by the camp administrator who is a fellow social worker. However, although initial contact with refugees was made after the researcher was introduced by agency staff, it remained subtle yet noticeable that some refugee participants thought the research was being clandestinely undertaken on behalf of funding agencies. The researcher had to reiterate and reaffirm participants of the independence of the researcher which aided to better openness but also made apparent the complicated relationship between refugees and funding agencies. The researcher's independence became more believable following weeks of stay in the camp and casual conversations with refugees after business hours. In that process, the researcher also realised the extent of refugee poverty and hopelessness in the camp, beyond the immediately noticeable delipidated, make-shift housing. The researcher for a while felt conflicted by the inability to effect tangible material benefits for some participants whose expectations of it was implicit in their statements. The researcher felt like one of many researchers who come to the refugee camp with the sole promise of 'an envisaged better outcome for refugees' due to their research. While this may be true, it did not feel enough for both researcher and some participants at the time of the research.

5.9 Summary

This chapter provided details on the methodological procedures of the study. It discussed the suitability of the chosen research approach and design. The chapter further outlined sampling specifications for the study together with the rationale for such choices. The researcher justified the suitability of the chosen data collection and analysis methods particularly for sensitive participant groups like refugees. Furthermore, this chapter described measures to ensure data quality and ethical considerations throughout the research process. The following chapter presents the empirical study and findings of the study.

CHAPTER 6

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses data collected from the triangulated three sample groups as well as selected documents from respective agencies. The first section of the chapter presents tabulated demographic details of staff and refugee participants, which is followed by document details and an overview of themes and sub-themes. Findings are verified with literature and the theoretical framework is also integrated in the discussion, noting where it affirms and differs with the findings of the study. The chapter concludes with a summary.

6.2 Agency Profiles and Participant Demographics

The study involved four agencies which were involved in the funding, planning, implementation and management of income generation activities undertaken by refugees in Tongogara Refugee Camp. These agencies were the Government of Zimbabwe, the UNHCR, the Jesuit Refugee Service and GOAL Zimbabwe; and all four agencies had members of staff stationed in the camp. In general, these agencies provided various forms of assistance including income generation activities conducted in the camp. This section gives details on each agency's mandate for service delivery in the camp.

6.2.1 The Jesuit Refugee Service

The Jesuit Refugee Service is a Catholic faith-based non-governmental organisation that provides humanitarian and developmental assistance to refugees. In southern Africa, this agency is operational in four countries, namely Zimbabwe, South Africa, Angola, and Malawi. The regional head office is in South Africa. The main mandate for this organisation is to provide support to refugees, guided by the motto 'accompany, serve and advocate'. This motto contains three principles which guides the scope and nature of assistance the agency offers to refugees. According to the agency, accompanying refugees means offering companionship to refugees during their period of refuge. The agency advocates for policies that support and guide refugees in their country of stay to ensure the humane treatment of refugees. Not all projects supported by this organisation are income generating; it has projects which are short and non-income generating, such as education programmes.

Of particular interest to this study is that the Jesuit Refugee Service advocates for refugees' right to earn a decent living, that is, the right to work, the right to learn vocational skills and

the right to be empowered with income generating skills. In its advocacy work, the organisation engages other partners, including the UNHCR, Government of Zimbabwe and GOAL Zimbabwe. Lastly, the agency considers serving simply as the provision of services which refugees require during their stay in refuge.

6.2.2 GOAL Zimbabwe

GOAL Zimbabwe is a nongovernmental organisation and the only agency in the camp whose exclusive focus is income generation for refugees. As described by its officers in Tongogara Refugee Camp, GOAL Zimbabwe's general mandate manifests in its vision, which is to serve the poorest of the poor. Regarding refugees, this entails identifying and developing livelihood means. In that process, the agency conducts comprehensive needs assessments in consultation with refugees, and this takes into consideration the strengths and weaknesses of the target population in order to devise and develop livelihood options. In the refugee camp, the overall goal of the agency is to promote self-reliance amongst the people of concern, namely refugees.

6.2.3 UNHCR

The UNHCR is the wing of the United Nations tasked with the overall protection of refugees worldwide. Due to the protraction of refugee caseloads and situations since the second world war, the UNHCR has been the central agency necessary for the coordination of global refugee protection programmes. The UNHCR works towards what it deems to be 'durable solutions' for refugees, that includes voluntary repatriation, assimilation by host nations, and relocation to a third country on a permanent basis. However, due to the slow-paced implementation of these solutions, the UNHCR has developed income generation programming for refugees to raise their standard of living while they are in waiting.

In the case of Tongogara camp, the organisation sources funding from partnering governments across the world, which it distributes to implementing partners like Goal Zimbabwe. It also vets competing funding proposals from potential implementing partners. In addition to income generation, the UNHCR is the main funder of other refugee programmes, such as education, health, housing and nutrition.

6.2.4 Government of Zimbabwe

The Government of Zimbabwe is the overseer of Tongogara Refugee Camp as it is the official host of all refugees living in Zimbabwe. The government protects and assists refugees in line with the provisions of the Refugees Act Chapter 4:03 of 1983. The specific government

department that caters for refugees is the Department of Social Welfare. It is responsible for a number of thematic areas of refugee welfare. Chief among them is overall camp management and coordination. The basic structures required for human settlement in the camp are provided by the government, including shelter, land, and vital community services such as schools, healthcare infrastructure and law enforcement services. Another, secondary but important, function of the government is refugee status determination. Any persons who seek refuge in Zimbabwe undergo vetting processes conducted by the government before they receive refugee status and thus awarding them residence in the camp and eligibility to humanitarian assistance. Since the government is the official refugee host, it is the one agency with the prime responsibility of mobilising financial and material support for refugees from international donor and humanitarian agencies. Lastly, the government, as the highest authority, crafts national policy and legislation which govern refugees living in the country.

6.2.5 Staff participants

Twelve staff members from four agencies participated in the study. To protect the agency and the staff member, the agencies are indicated by alphabet numbers A, B, C, and D; and staff as participants with a number (P1-12). Participants' sample categories are indicated as Managerial (M) or Frontline (F). The agency, sample category and participant number are used to represent the staff participants of the study. Details about agency staff participant categories, their key duties and identifying codes are provided in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Staff participant profiles

Code	Sample category	Agency	Key Duties
AMP1	Managerial	A	• Manage and coordinate all projects serving refugees • Policy advocacy • Crafting refugee policy • Supervising implementation processes
AMP2	Managerial	A	• Monitoring subordinate members of staff
AFP3	Frontline	A	• Drawing project budgets • Execute and monitor the implementation of IGAs with refugees • Relay progress feedback to project funders
AFP4	Frontline	A	• Develop project monitoring and evaluating tools • Draft action plans for the projects • Train refugees in financial literacy
BMP5	Managerial	B	• Oversight of all projects supported by the agency in the camp • Supervising camp-based subordinates
BMP6	Managerial	B	• Coordinate livelihoods programmes • Source for project funding
BFP7	Frontline	B	• Training refugees in project operations • Serve as liaison between refugees and management.
BFP8	Frontline	B	• Routine monitoring of ongoing projects
CMP9	Managerial	C	• Manage and coordinate operations in the camp • Overseeing policy compliance
CMP10	Managerial	C	• Oversee refugee protection. • Policy formulation
CFP11	Frontline	C	• Vetting refugee applicants • Refugee beneficiary selection
DMP12	Managerial	D	• Manage livelihood activities in Tongogara camp • Write proposals seeking funding from the donor community • Work with implementing partners within the camp

6.2.6 Refugee participants

The demographics of the 35 refugee participants in the study, as indicated in Table 6.2, included sex, country of origin, type of income generation activity, size of household and level of education.

Table 6.2: Refugee participant demographics[1]

Code	Country of origin	Type of IGA	Duration of stay in Tongogara	Size of household	Level of education	Sex
RP1	DRC (urban)	Poultry & piggery	7 years	6	Tertiary	Male
RP2	DRC (urban)	Restaurant & garment making	12 years	7	Tertiary	Female
RP3	DRC (urban)	Farming & poultry	8 years	6	Secondary	Female
RP4	DRC	Rabbit keeping	2 years	3	Tertiary	Male
RP5	DRC (rural)	Weaving & pottery	8 years	4	None	Female
RP6	DRC (urban)	Garment making	4 years	7	Secondary	Female
RP7	DRC (rural)	Poultry	7 years	6	Primary	Male
RP8	DRC (rural)	Piggery	4 years	8	Secondary	Male
RP9	DRC (urban)	Metal work	12 years	5	Tertiary	Male
RP10	DRC (rural)	Peanut butter production	2 years	6	Primary	Female
RP11	DRC	Metal work	13 years	7	Tertiary	Male
RP12	DRC (urban)	Hair dressing	17 years	5	Secondary	Female
RP13	Uganda (urban)	Agro-feed processing	12 years	2	Tertiary	Male
RP14	DRC (rural)	Soap production	-	7	Primary	Female
RP15	DRC (urban)	Carpentry	15 years	5	Secondary	Male
RP16	Burundi (urban)	Poultry	16 years	6	Secondary	Female
RP17	DRC (urban)	Brick laying	8 years	2	Tertiary	Male
RP18	DRC (urban)	Agro-feed production	5 years	3	-	Male
RP19	Rwanda (urban)	Agro-feed production	11 years	1	Tertiary	Female
RP20	DRC (urban)	Motor mechanics	12 years	7	Tertiary	Male
RP21	DRC (urban)	Metal work	12 years	9	Tertiary	Male
RP22	DRC (rural)	Garment making	9 years	7	Secondary	Female
RP23	DRC (urban)	Poultry	7 years	10	None	Female
RP24	Rwanda	Hair dressing	10 years	4	Secondary	Female
RP25	DRC	Plumbing and refrigeration	5 years	7	Tertiary	Male
RP26	DRC	Milling & metal work	10 years	8	Tertiary	Male
RP27	DRC	Poultry	14 years	1	Tertiary	Female
RP28	DRC	Poultry	6 years	9	Tertiary	Female
RP29	DRC	Piggery	7 years	2	Secondary	Male
RP30	DRC	Piggery	7 years	14	Secondary	Male
RP31	Ivory Coast	Cell phone repairs & piggery	7 years	3	Tertiary	Male
RP32	DRC	Poultry	10 years	6	Secondary	Male
RP33	DRC	Poultry	11 years	6	Tertiary	Male
RP34	DRC	Juice production	9 years	1	Tertiary	Female
RP35	DRC	Milling	-	-	-	Male

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[1] The dashes (-) on some participants in the table represent missing information as the participants expressed discomfort with sharing personal information.

The majority of participants listed in Table 6.2 are urban refugees (mostly Congolese). Their duration of stay in Tongogara camp range from two to seventeen years, the average being almost ten years. Of the 35 refugees participating in this study, twenty were male. More than half had tertiary education; the rest attained either primary or secondary education (except two with no formal education). This shows an overwhelming bias towards literacy in income generation participation. The majority of income generation activities were agro-based while the rest were light industry activities.

6.2.7 Agency documents

The table below presents income generation documents included in data analysis. The table contains documents identifying codes, authoring agencies and the years in which they were drafted.

Table 6.3: List of agency documents

Code	Type of document	Year	Agency
BD2016	Project performance report	2016	Agency B and D
BD2015	Project performance report	2015	Agency B and D
D2019	Joint mission report on Tongogara camp	2019	Agency D
D2016	Livelihoods strategy plan for Tongogara camp	2016	Agency D
A2018	Skills training report	2018	Agency A
BD2015b	Livelihoods assessment report	2015	Agency B and D

These documents were internal agency plans and progress assessment reports for income generation activities in Tongogara refugee camp drafted between 2015 and 2019. Some of the plans influence current activities.

6.3 Themes and Sub-themes

A total of 47 interviews were conducted with the study participants. These, as the documents listed in Table 6.3, were analysed using thematic content analysis. The resultant themes and sub-themes are listed in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4: Overview of themes and sub-themes

Theme	Sub-themes
1. Nature of capital aid and manner of dispensation	1.1 Beneficiary selection criteria
	1.2 Natural capital aid
	1.3 Physical capital aid
	1.4 Human capital aid
2. Power dynamics	2.1 Project participation
	2.2 Control over project resources
3. Encampment challenges	3.1 Market access
	3.2 Climate
	3.3 Aid accessibility
	3.4 Resettlement prospects
	3.5 Preservation of local resources
	3.6 Culture preservation
	3.7 Security
4. Refugee income generation group relations	4.1 Ethnographic differences
	4.2 Oversized groups
	4.3 Harmonious cooperation
5. Adequacy of support	5.1 Material and technical
	5.2 Accreditation of trainings
6. Gains of income generation activities	6.1 Financial gains
	6.2 Non-financial gains
7. Participants' literacy levels	
8. Unstable macroeconomic environment	
9. Agency responsiveness	
10. Gender dynamics	
11. Goals of IGAs	
12. Refugees' commitment to IGAs	12.1 Artificial vulnerability
	12.2 Entitlement to aid
	12.3 Individual perseverance

The themes and sub-themes are discussed next by presenting the findings, substantiated by participants' voices, quotes from specified agency project documents and integrated with literature where applicable.

6.3.1 Theme 1: Nature of capital aid and manner of dispensation

There are various types of resources and assistance provided to refugees undertaking income generating activities in the camp. Such activities are mainly organised and aided by the organisations listed in Table 6.1 because, after displacement, refugees often lack the resources and technical capacity to initiate and sustain IGAs. Theme 1 gives detailed descriptions of what aid resources in Tongogara camp consist of and how it is distributed. Data shows that aid in Tongogara camp comes in three broad categories, namely natural, physical and human capital, all three are required for setting up and running income generation activities. These resources are dispensed to recipients through stipulated procedures, and aid recipients undergo standardised consideration processes to determine eligibility for assistance. Interviews with

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members of staff revealed that there is a set method of distributing resources to the refugees in need. Findings from both staff and refugee participants indicate that there is an application of selection criteria and procedures controlled by a team of inter-agency beneficiary selectors and respective staff members of the implementing agency. This is discussed in the following sub-themes.

6.3.1.1 Sub-theme 1.1: Beneficiary selection criteria

Participant capability was cited as one of the crucial considerations when dispensing aid. Participants are in some instances either picked by fellow beneficiaries or agency officers to join a group for an income generation activity based on merit in training examinations. When asked on the determination of eligibility for reception of aid, a frontline worker stated that:

> AFP3: We select those who are doing well, like the teacher, he or she will show us that this one, this one, and this one they did very well. Maybe they write some examination, if there are people they see these ones will manage, they are responsible, then we just select. Like in a class of maybe thirty something people we just select maybe twelve people to start the business, some will just be doing their business under the trees but alone, we select a group of people for startup kits, we don't give the whole class.

A refugee participant in a poultry project for single mothers also stated that she was invited to join the project by fellow refugees who chose her to be a member on basis of her potential and capacity to contribute to the project. Her response to the method of selection was:

> RP28: They chose me because the mothers saw my capacity.

Asked to comment on the frequency of aid dispensation and fairness of selection criteria, an on-site officer responded:

> AFP3: We do evaluations, there is no need to ask for many start-up kits while those who are in the business are not doing quite very well and you continue asking for start-up kits. If the market was busy or if they were allowed to go somewhere after the training, maybe Harare, it would be better but there are some who go maybe they will be working under other people but they come here monthly maybe to renew their permits but it's not recommended, the refugees are supposed to be staying in the camp. The criteria on who is supposed to get the start-up kits, I think the criteria is okay but if the (economic) situation in the country was good it was better to give everyone who was training because they are given certificates after training, those who do well are given certificates and those who do not do well, are given the opportunity to write again. But there are some who are not even serious those we don't give certificates.

Speaking on selection for vocational skills training, participant AFP3 revealed that age, level of education and level of vulnerability were criteria for consideration:

> We target people who are 18 years and above whom we know have finished the secondary school level; maybe those who do not do well… even the disabled people, the single mothers and the elderly; we have a group of elderly people.

Regarding the actual selection for training in some projects, a managerial member of staff shed light on the stakeholders involved as he stated that:

> CMP9: We have what we call beneficiary selection committee comprising the Department of Social Welfare, UNHCR… We have a representative from GOAL Zimbabwe which is one of the organisations and JRS. The two organisations are involved in self-reliance activities. Then beyond that we also have (refugee) community leaders. The reason why we are doing so is because we want everything to be transparent and also to account for the decisions that we make. We are guided by what we call the age, gender and diversity approach. This is an inclusive approach that we adopted in the refugee programmes, that's why we include refugees; and their representation in the committee is quite fundamental.

The selection of beneficiaries by this committee is determined by a pre-set criterion based on level of vulnerability:

> BFP7: The names will undergo the initial selection committee chaired by the camp administrator then those people will single out people depending on the information they will have provided and their level of vulnerability… For example, they could look at single mothers, they could look at the elderly, they could look at the unaccompanied.

Participant BMP5 gave more information on the aid dispensation process, highlighting that determinants of who get which project are not only vulnerability and capacity or capability of the prospective beneficiaries. He said there are a number of factors in selection, with the first being interest, illustrating that resources are simply distributed to those willing to undertake a particular project. During that process, the officials are on the lookout for 'double dipping' because there are individuals who may want to benefit from multiple projects. Past experience in a certain project was also a consideration for resource allocation. Lastly, labour units in families were considered when distributing resources. Some projects are labour intensive hence resources for such projects are given to refugee families with labour capabilities to run them. Overall, it appears different projects by different agencies have different ways by which aid is dispensed. Resource distribution by vulnerability would be more ideal in terms of poverty alleviation as opposed to perceived capacity or merit based on training performance in which beneficiaries have to prove worthy of aid. This is exclusionary and risks bypassing those who need aid most. It would be just and caring for the most vulnerable to be given precedence for aid reprieve because nobody should be side-lined from receiving care due to anything other than need (Tronto, 2013).

6.3.1.2 Sub-theme 1.2: Natural capital aid

This sub-theme is concerned with resources, which are natural and take long to replenish, access or regenerate; hence, this category is the most limited of all resources in the camp. Natural resources that form the backbone of income generation in Tongogara refugee camp include water, land and other environment-based raw materials like timber and reeds. Also, in this bracket are purchasable resources, which are not mechanical but biological like piglets, chicks, and rabbits. As this category of resources falls within the jurisdiction of host governments, the Government of Zimbabwe is the main custodian and regulating authority. Literature shows that some progressive African countries like Uganda have dedicated legal provisions for dispensing natural resources as the backbone for refuge livelihoods, and the Refugee Act of 2006 was passed to promote self-reliance through providing agricultural plots (Morand, 2015).

The bulk of income generating activities in the camp are agro-based, and this makes water and land, before anything else, a key requisite. However, the camp is situated in a low rainfall area, hence rainwater may not be relied on for crop production and animal husbandry, which means the government must provide irrigation water. In relation to what the government contributes in the form of resources to income generating activities, Participant CMP9 stated:

> Beyond providing land and water …they [refugees] are also provided with what we call technical expertise related to agriculture. They are also supported with water for irrigation.

Commenting on the size of the refugee dwelling in terms of land requirement, participant AMP1 noted:

> The whole of this area we can actually say … is a foreign dwelling in Zimbabwe and people are allowed to practise their activities. They even have irrigation.

Land is not required and provided only for agricultural income generating activities, other retail related and entrepreneurial activities require working space from the government on which refugees may erect structures:

> AFP3: Maybe in the case of accommodation we can liaise with the social welfare people … but you see there is a challenge of shelter. So, when they are doing well in their business, they can build their own shelter … they are given a place to build their own shelter.

The 'shelter' being referred to is not residential, it is working space for business. Refugee business groups who are thriving got land from the Government of Zimbabwe within the camp,

to build a shed or any form of structure, under which they practice their trained trade. In addition to water and land, there are certain courses and trades, which depend on natural raw materials in the camp. These include carpentry, weaving and basketry among others, which require planks of timber and straws of reeds. Although such resources are purchasable on the market, they are natural resources which depleted the environment hence they are regulated by the Environmental Management Authority in Zimbabwe. The quantity needed for training and production of related goods, especially for refugees, require government and NGO assistance.

6.3.1.3 Sub-theme 1.3: Physical capital aid

Physical capital entails resources, which are material or mechanical in nature, including built environment and infrastructure (Jones & Nelson, 2005:80). Some businesses and trainings in the camp fall under secondary industry, that is, small scale manufacturing. Hence, assistance given to these kinds of businesses is discussed under this sub-theme. These forms of resources do not come from the government but from NGOs working in income generation with refugees, and they require no form of government regulation or oversight. This category of resources depends mostly on availability of financial resources and varied also with the type of income generating activity. Participant BMP5 explained that material resources given to refugees depend on the level of intervention and the stage of progression in the project. They range from the revamping of irrigation schemes to agricultural inputs, which comprise the whole package of seeds, fertilizers and chemicals. In addition, there is assistance in the construction of pigsties and fowl runs for projects in poultry and piggery.

The most prominent type of material resource package given to refugees under this category are what agencies refer to as 'start-up kits'. This is a special package of material resources given to refugees upon completion of vocational training so that they may have resources necessary for their specific trade in order to initiate income generation in the camp. A description of what 'start-up kits' consist of was given as follows:

> AMP1: It depends now with the skills that someone is learning, for example, if one is into welding; they may end up getting a welding machine and all the materials that are required in the skills that they have learned, so that we can wean them off and bring the training into practical... The trades we have undertaken so far are welding, carpentry, motor mechanics, auto electronics, the rest you will pick when you get in contact with them.

Following that response, participant AMP1 commented on the availability of financial aid stating that:

> No, we provide the tools that you require for the skill [which one has been trained], for example, if you are a welder, we don't give money, we give you the equipment that you need including the raw materials to make up those things. For example, if you are a carpenter you will get a machine, you will get the planks so that you know how to apply theory into practice.

Material resources in the camp are mostly meant to set up the recently graduated refugee who completed vocational training, to commence income generation in the camp. They are usually dispensed at the very beginning stage of the newly established business. Overall, material resources depend on the nature of income generating activity.

6.3.1.4 Sub-theme 1.4: Human capital aid

Human capital aid comes in two forms; first, in the form of trainings in vocational skills offered to refugees before they engage in their respective income generating activities. Secondly, in the form of technical support and guidance given by experts in various fields to refugees who are already conducting income generating activities. Participant BMP5 stated that his organisation arranges for training in collaboration with the Ministry of Agriculture or other relevant government departments such as the Livestock and Veterinary services for livestock intervention and technical backup in the camp. Additionally, GOAL Zimbabwe affords refugees 'look and learn' tours outside the camp for motivation and educational purposes in particular areas of income generation.

Speaking about this collaboration between NGOs and relevant government departments, participant CMP9 confirmed that:

> The government has actually agreed with NGOs involved in these projects that it should provide technical assistance in the implementation of these projects. So, for poultry, piggery and even the irrigation projects, we actually engage the ministry of agriculture to come and conduct workshops, seminars and training assisting refugees. So, this is what we are doing as government.

It also became apparent that education and technical knowhow skills are taught not only to enhance production output in income generation but also to equip refugees with employable competencies in case of repatriation or resettlement. Regarding capacity building beyond camp life, participant AMP1 holds this opinion:

> Some are just short projects but most of them are to make sure that resilience is ultimately achieved, for example, the education programme. For now it may appear not to be paying; but we are saying we are preparing you (refugees) to be able to be self-sustaining where ever you will end up, whether you go back to the country of origin or if you are going to be resettled or if you are going to stay here in Zimbabwe, we make sure that you are self-sustaining… There are lots of lost opportunities during the migration or during displacement. So, if we equip you with the skills, it means that we

are trying to connect you to the world once again such that even if you are to be repatriated back home, you will be able to survive.

It was also brought up during interviews that education and training provided to refugees does not only target the specific trades being taught but also aims at change in attitudes and mindsets for those engaged in income generation. The aim of training is to reorient refugees' way of thinking in order to align it to the requirements of business success.

> BFP7: … For example, transformational leadership training, and training for transformation, … such trainings assist them in having certain mindset which could push them to do some projects for themselves. The other training is conflict resolution, that is, dealing with conflict management. So, we work with them in such a way that even if they have got some differences emanating from their countries of origin, you can still try and make them understand each other for common purpose.

Elaborating on what transformation training means, participant BFP7 stated that:

> The purpose of this [transformation training]is to change the attitude of the person in terms of the way he perceives things because, when you see a thing, you should not just say ah that's soap, when you see a soap you should think of you being smart and your family being smart, what benefits are associated with that. So, when you are linking it to projects, it's not a question of you doing a project without some vision, without action and reflection and foreseeing the changes. Some more training, such training would help them.

Just like GOAL Zimbabwe, the Jesuit Refugee Service has educational programmes outside the vocational training in various trades, and these provide refugees with knowledge necessary to run successful businesses. As stated by Jones and Nelson (2005:80), human capital entails literacy, knowledge and skills acquisition. In Tongogara camp, technical knowhow and educational resources are provided in three different ways. First, in form of vocational skills trainings in several trades in which refugees learn practical skills in chosen fields. The second way is expert technical support and education to refugees in projects already underway, for example, expert training on how to dose livestock with anti-bacterial vaccines. Lastly, support trainings in attitude building and conflict resolution which also necessitate the smooth and harmonious running of projects. As shown by the responses under this theme, aid varied in both nature and availability, also, the administrative authorities for various aid resources differ. This inevitably has a bearing on the success and sustainability of particular income generation activities, and this is discussed under theme 6. It also emerged from findings that financial capital is a crucial yet missing component of aid in Tongogara camp. The reasons for lack of financial capital are discussed in sub-theme 2.1. Manner, timing and frequency of resource dispensation also have implications on income generation success. Details of such implications

are presented in sub-theme 6.1.

6.3.2 Theme 2: Power dynamics

Data shows that there are significant accounts of disparity in relation to decision making in project undertakings. Some participants purport that there is adequate consultation of refugees while some contradict that claim. Official project documents also report on refugee consultation exercises and procedures. The concern with decision making power is mainly about refugee participation in project formulation and evaluation. Data showed that while there are formal procedures to afford refugees the opportunity to choose and decide the kind of income generation activity they would prefer. This is often inconsistent with what transpires throughout the project cycle. Control over project resources also came up as a manifestation of power and powerlessness among staff and refugees. Due to their position of powerlessness, some refugees have claimed that their project funds were mishandled, and they expressed inability and fear to confront responsible parties and individuals. These issues are elaborated in the following sub-themes.

6.3.2.1 Sub-theme 2.1: Project participation

During discussions, it became apparent that there are conflicting views regarding levels of refugee participation at various stages of income generation activities. Some officers cited their participatory methods of engaging refugees. Elaborating on agency approach, GOAL Zimbabwe field livestock officer stated that:

> BFP7*:* We normally sit when we want to come up with an idea, even if we [staff] have some ideas we have put down. Because we believe in participatory methodology, we normally want them to come up with their own ideas then we debate them. If the best idea comes from them, we implement that and by doing that, they also have self confidence amongst themselves. For example, the selling of the pigs, we had a marketing committee that we used to give some sort of questions to them and by answering and taking some activities based on the answers they would have provided we have ended up opening a market in Masvingo. And at one point, last year around December, we came back from Christmas only to hear that they had gone there without our involvement.

Participant BMP5 also explained how refugees are consulted in the commencement and development of income generation projects and plans. He noted that:

> With regards to refugees, the identification and development of livelihood projects is carried out through an inclusive process whereby agency staff sit down with refugees to conduct needs assessment; identify strengths and weaknesses and options for development.

Agency project report BD2015 also shows formal structures for refugee inclusion and

participation:

> A review and planning meeting was held with refugees to review progress and challenges for 2016. The meeting assisted GOAL to fine tune its programming to suit the needs of the refugees and at the same time become responsive to the needs of the refugees.

Despite this appearance of participatory parity, some refugees and members of staff expressed that refugee views are not heeded. A refugee participant noted with concern that, although refugees are sometimes consulted on the projects, their suggestions are not always considered. He stated that:

> RP29: Sometimes they come to ask us what kind of projects which we want but they have not regarded ...

Similarly, participant RP26 expressed that the current trade in which he was trained was not his first preference, and expressed that:

> When you are choosing something, you can say I want this but it's not the course that they are going to bring to you. There was no time, they didn't even give that opportunity to choose, that's a problem. They just came with the offer and said go and see and I said ah, let me just go and learn.

Participant DMP12 also revealed that although refugees have expressed disinterest in current types of projects, they have been forced to partake in what is available instead of what they prefer:

> … they cannot do whatever they want to do so we are forcing them into an alternative livelihood that they need time to acclimatise to.

It was also reported that some donor funds come with prescribed projects without refugee or implementing agency consultation. The resultant project therefore becomes an imposition:

> DMP12: There are some funds that come with a hashtag [chuckles] to say go and do ABCD.

Participant CFP11 confirmed the occurrence of such problematic situations of project impositions:

> Then the other problem which I also see is we are talking of projects which are already designed… It's a project already in my pocket and it needs people and, normally, they are coming to say we have to start next week because of timeframes. Let's forego this (refugee consultations), even the training, we will train as we go, even the orientation meetings are simply to write your names here and so forth.

A disregard for refugee preferences and their low levels of power to effect decisions is also reflected in agency reports. Surveys conducted by agencies show their awareness of the unpopularity of agro-based projects by the camp's largely urban refugee population:

> D2019: When asked for their preferred livelihood activities, about 34% of households in the camp reported that they would like to own businesses followed by livestock production (13%), formal employment (11%) and crop production (10%) as highlighted in figure 42. Refugees from Rwanda had the highest proportion of households who reported that they prefer owning their own businesses at 38% followed by DRC at 33%.

Despite general knowledge of this refugee position, strategic planning documents still insist on implementing agro-based projects as main type of income generation activity in Tongogara camp:

> D2016: Agricultural-based interventions will be a key anchor of the livelihoods programme, for it allows for self-sufficiency and the immediate availability of food to the refuges. This will reduce food dependency on UNHCR.

This planning results in low refugee turn out captured in one agency projects report:

> D2016: … some refugees indicated that they do not have a culture of farming and would prefer other enterprises… When they resuscitated the irrigation scheme, they wanted 350 beneficiaries and only 180 applied. They had to remove the eligibility conditions because interest was not as high as expected. Therefore, before any intervention that is large scale by refugees is designed, detailed feasibility studies are essential.

However, reasons are given for project impositions. Participant DMP12 argued that expert feasibility assessment is done for refugees on project profitability because, due to lack of market knowledge, refugees often suggest impractical projects which may not be feasible under camp circumstances. Therefore, projects which make it to implementation are those that are approved by expert planners. The risk here, from an ethics of care perspective, is that aid, especially in institutional settings such as refugee camps, can become *paternalistic*, with care givers presuming to know what is best for care receivers (Tronto: 2010:61). There have been calls for refugees to receive financial aid as a way of giving them the opportunity and flexibility to pursue enterprises of their choice. However, participant AMP2 noted that refugees could not be given cash because there are concerns that they may mismanage the funds, which could bring the agency into disrepute. To mitigate that, refugees are given raw materials instead. Given that this assumption is unfounded, it affirms Held's (2006) view that synonymising vulnerability with incapacity results in a circle of mistrust and domination.

Though based on the notion of community participation and bottom-up approaches, it has been noted that income generation activities are not always implemented in that democratic fashion. Davis et al. (2007) note that, while the responsibility for the execution of several activities is delegated, much of the decision-making power and responsibility over budget allocations tends to remain centralised. In addition to that, project imposition, especially on refugees and other economically vulnerable groups, is often the norm, despite the facade of inclusivity (Harrel-Bond, 1986:349; Mallumbo, 2004). Although some agency staff argued that expert market assessments are necessary, the resultant projects are nonetheless unsuccessful. This validates Wake and Barbelet's (2020:126) conclusion that refugee livelihoods must be based on refugees' own perspective and agency. While there may be consideration of refugee input to a degree, Patel (2015:82-88) argues that partial participation would not suffice in developmental social welfare. The poor must fully participate during all phases and be enabled to take ownership of the development process.

6.3.2.2 Sub-theme 2.2: Control over project resources

There were reports of power-based mismanagement and misappropriation of project funds. These cases may not be many, but they were raised by several refugees, and they have, by refugee accounts, compromised project success and sustainability. Due to lack of access to banking services for non-citizens, refugees undertaking group-fashion income generation activities are forced to give project revenue to someone for safekeeping. Usually refugees do not trust each other so they normally choose a member of staff to keep the funds until such time that they are shared among the group. Refugee participants revealed that, although the understanding is that the money should be made available to them on-demand, that is not always the case:

> RP15: They [staff members] embezzled the money, the [censored] for a long time, they embezzled the money... The one who left… and the other one who remained behind, she left with the money.

Another participant explained how members of staff had been selling refugees products and distributing a small amount of the profit to refugees in the project group. That seems like a suspicious arrangement because refugees are supposed to fully own the project and sell their own products, as well as sharing the profit amongst themselves. Participant RP14 regarded that matter as a 'difficult question'. She declined to respond to follow up questions, stating that:

> … the problem is for our bosses but myself I don't know.

Having exhibited discomfort with that probe, that line of questioning was discontinued. Nonetheless, the participant did reveal that project profits, which were being kept at the agency's office, had not been shared among refugees for over a year and none of the refugees in that particular group had made a follow-up at any point.

Another participant also explained how an agency appropriates half of her products, leaving her to sell only the remaining half:

> RP5: We also did [produced a product], so, if you (a refugee) make four, they (the staff) give you two and you sell and they also take two… We could share, me I take two, (agency staff) also takes two… I could not control them. I do not know what they were doing with it.

Participants also expressed fear of confronting staff because they are non-citizens. The problem, as presented by one participant, is that agency staff members make refugees believe the project belonged to them. However, when the project is assumed to be lucrative, some members of staff take over control:

> RP3: … they come up with a project and say this is for youth, this is for single mothers, but when the project is progressing, they take it like theirs… We are afraid to go and report… Maybe we can report and this turns against you because of their nationality. They are in their country.

Refugees who attempt to address their grievances regarding financial dues receive little support from respective agencies and, in one instance, they were warned against such actions. A group of refugees trained in a particular trade [censored] reported that they were not paid what was due to them for a service they had delivered over two years ago. The contractors who hired them clearly took advantage of refugee powerlessness, and the camp agency, which worked in affiliation with that contractor, reportedly did nothing to help:

> RP17: …two years later we were not paid and then went to report to the late camp administrator Mr Zengeya. He introduced us to the Protection Officer by that time… We explained to him that we have worked we were paid but there is still a balance of $4000. That's when he told us that we should go to Mutare and get a lawyer so that we can ask for our money… We reported to the two [censored: agency staff]…so, they were even threatening us saying that, if you get a lawyer, you don't have to mention [censored: the agency name]…so, we were very surprised because they are the ones who brought the contractors.

Literature shows that mismanagement of project funds by implementing agency employees is a common occurrence. Sesoko (1995:22) states that, in group fashion income generating activities, "embezzlement of funds by some officials is common, especially if the group is successful". This is similar to what participant RP3 said regarding the hijacking of successful

projects by some members of staff. Semrau (2018:2) also makes similar observations that, "donor-funded projects in developing countries are particularly vulnerable to employee fraud". Project sustainability is compromised when full project funds do not reach intended beneficiaries, and this is worsened by the embezzlement of project profits. It is therefore important but not enough to acknowledge the inherence of power asymmetry in relationships of care; there must be an organised system of checks and balances to avoid unchecked power which is prone to abuse (Tronto, 1993;2013).

6.3.3 Theme 3: Encampment

The encampment policy in Zimbabwe was a central theme in participant perspectives on income generation. Reasons for encampment were given, and its effects, according to participants from all sample categories, are both positive and negative. While participants from all sample categories confirmed that encampment had some benefits, the overwhelming position was that encampment had, to a great extent, negatively impacted refugee income generation. By its nature, encampment goes against care principles that advocate for fostering and acknowledging the natural human condition of interdependence and relationality (Held, 2006). Income generation, as a care undertaking, requires connectivity to allow both local villages and refugees to accrue social capital for economic purposes. Recurrent issues with regards to encampment or physical confinement to a fixed location included security issues, climate issues, aid accessibility, resettlement prospects, acculturation and preservation of local resources. Participants who held the option that encampment was beneficial to both hosts and refugees argued that encampment ensured the security of both state and refugees. It was pointed out that encampment enabled refugees to access aid and services conveniently. Physical confinement was said to preserve refugee cultures thereby assuring the continuation of a sense of community and way of life for displaced persons. Refugees in the camp viewed the proximity of their residences to camp administration offices as convenient for easy participation in resettlement interviews.

Opposing views to encampment mostly focused on its effects on income generation. The foremost challenges were limited access to markets and the agriculturally unfavourable climatic conditions of the region in which refugees were confined. Some participants regarded refugee confinement as advantageous in the preservation of local resources. This, however, was disputed by other participants. These consequences of and reasons for encampment are discussed as sub-themes to follow.

6.3.3.1 Sub-theme 3.1: Market access

Inadequate access to lucrative markets was noted as the main problem with refugee seclusion. The success of refugee income generation depends heavily on availability of markets. Although agencies make arrangements for refugees to access potential buyers; mobility restrictions make it impossible to fully access markets for various refugee products and services thereby compromising the sustainability of camp income generation. Refugee seclusion in the camp at Tongogara is exacerbated further because the camp is remote. This is also cited as a market problem in the reviewed literature which illustrated with examples that, for any business undertaking, location is a critical factor which has proven to present a number of challenges for income generation among vulnerable groups. For example, Rajamma (1993) argues that goods produced from projects run in peripheral villages are restricted to the villages in which they are initiated with limited prospects to explore newer markets. Similarly, in a village named Rantelali in Malawi, people engaged in income generation activities claimed that business was down in the area due to the small population of the village and its isolation (Hajdu et al., 2011). As refugee camps such as the Tongogara camp tend to be isolated and remotely located, it is unsurprising that they, too, are presented with market problems of this nature.

Income generation within confined and secluded locations presents a set of difficulties. This barrier is not unique to Zimbabwe; literature shows that many host nations afford refugees in their countries little to no freedom of mobility and participation in local economies (Kagan, 2013). This separation in Zimbabwe resulted in lost economic opportunities:

> AMP1: …these people are confined; their movement is limited, so, the scope of their operations is within the boundaries of the camp. If they are to go out they need permission which is given in form of a pass which is actually restrictive because the freedom of movement is limited… Once restricted there are a lot of opportunities lost…

It also became apparent that, although other aspects of business in the camp may be fairly optimal, these count for very little in the end because of the limited market. Access to the market is an important determinant in business success as one participant articulated:

> RP29: It's like a cage here, it is called a camp, meeting the same people today and tomorrow every time the same people… We have to go and work outside but we have no option.

Refugees trained in vocational skills like plumbing and refrigeration expressed desire to market their skills outside the camp. Despite such skills being technical and sought after, encampment restricts them:

RP25: The skills are coming (through the trainings) but the major problem is going out (of the camp) to get the work. I went to Harare once and got arrested and told to come back where I came from here in Tongogara.

Agency assessments on the progress and prospects for trained refugees also found that:

A2018: Based on the Zimbabwean government's reservation to Articles 17 and 26 of the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, the movement of refugees is restricted and they are obliged to reside in the camp. This restriction has been a major challenge as it hinders beneficiaries of JRS's various skills training programmes from marketing their products outside camp, limiting their ability to become economically self-sufficient.

There are reported cases of product under-pricing in the camp due to restricted market options which create over-supply of the same products and services. Confinement in the camp, which leads to oversupply of the same service, was also brought up by a refugee, who is in the grinding mill business. Following the introduction of more competitor grinding mill machines, he stated that:

RP26: …here in the camp with the grinding mill, I was making little bit money, but the way now we are almost five machines, it's becoming hard. To get even ten dollars a day, it's terrible I am telling you. Sometimes we were getting five dollars, sometimes three dollars but to get that money now is hard because of the other grinding mills.

The same situation is affecting the hairdressing businesses in the camp with agencies opening up numerous groups that offer the same service to a confined market, thereby reducing the viability of such endeavours:

RP24: When we started, we were the only saloon in the camp but last two months, they (JRS) opened another one called Nakayama place. Then we started losing customers because [we] were 5 members. One left our saloon to work for Nakayama's saloon and started pulling those customers of ours to that place.

Market flooding of services and product glut due to refugee confinement is also noted by Agier (2008:53-55), who states that refugee women trained in handcrafts end up with piles of unsold woven baskets in their houses. Similarly, an agency project assessment in Tongogara reports that:

D2016: Concentration of skills base congest competitive market environment, create product glut in a single enterprise.

One refugee raised a peculiar concern stating the unfairness of local Zimbabweans being allowed to enter the camp to sell similar products to the ones sold by refugees in the camp, leaving the latter with no chance to succeed:

> RP34: …the market is now full with frezits [a local drink] coming outside from Zimbabweans selling in the camp, but us, we cannot go out to sell. Me, I was selling ten dollars a day, now you can't sell two dollars. One day they brought the vehicle full by frezits in the camp; from that time, I just drop out because we were not running even $1.

This problem is also prevalent in other refugee enterprises that have to compete with Zimbabwean sellers inside Tongogara camp. Report BD2015b notes that:

> Women who participated in FGDs (focus group discussions) indicated concern that when they engage in vegetable marketing, they face competition from members of the host community, who bring their vegetables and barter trade them for food (mealie meal). This puts refugee producers who are selling vegetables for cash at a disadvantage.

Contrary to this, a member of staff confirmed arguments by the UNHCR (2018:4) and Sinclair (1993) that project viability is often compromised by the poverty of communities that usually surround refugee camps. He noted that even if refugees could freely trade in neighbouring Zimbabwean communities, it would not make much of a difference due to the poverty of local prospective customers:

> CMP9: …there is one thing we need not to run away from, the fact that the camp is adjacent to (Zimbabwean) villages that can be defined as poor villages. So, even if we have got a positive interaction, those people because they are poor, there is nothing that they can bring on board to ensure the success of the self-reliance projects.

Although agencies have assisted in linking refugee products with outside markets, encampment poses a logistical challenge in terms of transportation especially of bulk products like agro-produce from the remote location of Tongogara camp to prospective buyers. This challenge is captured in document BD2016b:

> Utilisation of the default local camp market is either a result of the lack of surplus production for both crop and livestock enterprises or due to lack of transportation services to external markets.

> RP6: …we were sewing, we were only designing for children and we did not have anybody to take our fabric or our product outside the camp.

Relating to refugee seclusion, there was a contrary argument that it actually works to the refugees' advantage. The argument was that the business environment outside the camp would make it difficult for refugee businesses to survive. Outside the camp, refugees would have no special exemption from business regulation, whereas in the camp there is ease of doing business:

> CMP9: …we should never run away from is that if (refugee) individuals were to

> conduct business out there, they would have to comply with bylaws or laws as provided for by policy. If you want to open a shop, you have to make sure that you pay tax, get the authority to start businesses from immigration, license, work permit and so forth, which is another factor which we have to look at which is a bit complicated for refugees.

However, refugees have refuted the claim that, in terms of conducting business, life outside the camp would be difficult for them. There are some refugees who left the camp illegally but have not been apprehended by the department of immigration or the police. When these refugees return to the camp for various reasons, chief among them, to renew their documentation with UNHCR, they report of relatively higher remuneration and standard of living outside the camp. They have been referred to by some officials and refugees in the camp as practical examples in the argument against current levels of seclusion:

> BFP7: …some of them are living in Harare, when they come and give reports of how they are working, some who are here will also like to go out there. Some have been here since 2008 and they have never even gone out so being confined to one area time and again, I don't think it's helping.

Cimade, Inodep and Mink (1986:91) also make the distinction between non-camp and camp-based refugees, noting that the former have significantly higher standard of living and livelihood prospects. Making a similar observation, participant AFP3 stated that:

> … some of them report to have better life, some are in Mbare there doing some buying and selling… Some are out in Mutare, maybe employed in a saloon, and they come back and say they are doing well, better than in the camp… They sneak out when they go to renew their permit, they come and renew their permit.

This resulted in refugees deserting the camp given the opportunity. Some refugee project beneficiaries even desert mid-training or mid-project implementation:

> AFP4: …. there are certain projects that have been successful like the agro-feeds one… Beneficiaries come and train, the next day you hear that some of your trainees are in Harare they are now doing A-B or selling phones in the street.

Overall, with marketing appearing to be also a matter of numbers, the camp population is becoming too small to provide sufficient markets for refugee products and services. Participant RP13 held the opinion that:

> …the market is there, the people are there, but here we are kind of like we are in a hole.

Realising this common effect of separatist encampment policies on refugee enterprises, the UNHCR (2017) acknowledges the importance of market links in its new framework for the implementation of income generation activities for refugees. Some of the main agendas on the

UNHCR global strategy for refugee livelihoods include connecting refugees' skills with global markets, development of global markets for refugee produced goods and services. Halkias and Thurman (2012:8), Vngar (2011:1742) and Alcock (2006:122) also assert the importance of business and market linkages in the form of social capital critical for sustainable income generation. Overall, refugees regarded encampment as restrictive as it creates unfair market competition. Some staff participants differed, arguing that local communities have little buying power anyway. However, social capital with regards to market access does not necessarily have to be limited to local villages. Refugees, if allowed full freedom of movement, could market their products and services to more metropolitan cities with higher demand for goods and services.

6.3.3.2 Sub-theme 3.2: Climate

The confinement of refugees to the refugee camp presents a challenge for agro-based activities, which are the main income generation activities at Tongogara, as the climatic conditions of the region in which Tongogara camp is located are not favourable for agriculture:

> D2019: Tongogara refugee camp is located in an ecologically fragile, semi-arid area characterised by very low rainfall, prolonged droughts and seasonal flooding during the rainy seasons. This, coupled with the continued increase of the refugee and host community populations, illegal encroachments and settlements, logging and overgrazing, and charcoal burning, has exerted pressure on the environment leading to environmental degradation. Clearing of vegetation to expand the camp and brick making added with the ever-increasing demand for wood fuel to meet household energy needs have remained key environmental challenges.

> D2016: TRC (Tongogara refugee camp) is located among the poorest and harsh climatic conditions that make it an extraordinary challenge for livelihoods investments.

Harsh climatic conditions forced agencies and refugees to rely on irrigation for crop production, however irrigation and water supply from the national water management agency could be erratic, and that affects yields. Unreliable water supply is listed as a project obstacle in report BD2016:

> … water could not be accessed from ZINWA for close to three weeks leading to the crops showing signs of severe moisture stress and could not stand off attack from Red spider mites. The crop performance was significantly affected… full self-reliance may be difficult to attain in view of the encampment policy and the location of the camp in an arid zone of the country where agriculture, as a key livelihood activity, is possible only under irrigation.

Climatic conditions also affect refuges in livestock production activities like rabbit keeping,

piggery and fish farming. When the animals are not yet fully matured, the excessive heat in the region could kill animal stock and dry up fish ponds resulting in discontinuation of projects:

> RP18: … in the period of the heat when the sun was too hot… too much rabbit was dying. So, you see sometimes we can start a project here but it will reach at a certain moment you won't progress because of the conditions…

The naturally semi-arid climatic conditions of the camp are probably worsened by the environmental mismanagement due to the increasing camp population and settlement expansion. Document BD2016 revealed that:

> There is excessive cutting down of trees around the camp especially for firewood. The indiscriminate cutting down of trees without any replacement plans potentially causes serious environmental damage and localized desertification if allowed to continue as the camp is in agro-ecological region V that receives low rainfall, of 200mm to 400 mm per year.

Participant DMP12 compared the Zimbabwean camp to one in Zambia. The Zambian government allocated up to 800 000 hectares of prime land with optimal rain climatic conditions. Refugees are allowed to clear land and farm at will compared to Zimbabwe's small and arid 800 hectares. Agro-based initiatives in climatic conditions of Tongogara camp require consistent and adequate water supplement programmes like irrigation schemes. Though available during the time of this study, water supply in the camp, like anywhere in Zimbabwe, could be erratic. Under such circumstances, minimising land-based IGAs seems to be a more practical choice.

6.3.3.3 Sub-theme 3.3: Aid accessibility

The general sentiment for responses under this theme highlighted the centralised location of refugees that make it easy for them to access targeted aid and services. Some staff participants argued that refugees, because of their encampment, have the advantages of localised social services and aid:

> AMP1: …in terms of the assistance, everyone knows where to find the refugees. If you talk of refugees anywhere in Zimbabwe; they will refer you to Tongogara… easy to access and assist them with resources, there is no man hunt. No wonder why there are these schools now. If these refugees were dotted all over, they could have not even accessed education because no one would go to Chingwe in Penalonga to find two refugees. See what government has done in terms of putting resources and stuff here, there is the Department of Social Welfare here, state security, the army, police and everyone else, they are here. Look at the social services here, most Zimbabwean communities do not have, look at the ambulances and clinic which has a visiting doctor, which is because they are refugees and they are encamped.

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Agencies, which dispense aid to refugees, expressed a preference for refugees to be easily accessible for the aid process to be convenient. Despite acknowledging that refugees preferred freedom of movement, some managerial and frontline staff participants argued that encampment is necessary for refugee accessibility:

> AFP3: We have JRS South Africa they tell us that ours (system of refugee governance) is better because they are in the camp; it is difficult to work with refugees who are just scattered but for them the refugees I don't think they like being encamped.

Another member of staff raised a specific argument regarding the seclusion of refugees, stating that confining refugees helps the government to source aid for them from the international donor community. His argument was:

> CMP9: It (encampment) is also a platform to mobilise resources: if you confine refugees to a refugee camp, you are able to raise a red flag and say look, the global village, we have all these people in need of resources please come on board to assist. At the end of the day we have millions of dollars trickling in, by so doing we are getting foreign currency.

Some refugees, albeit very few, also concurred with the aid benefits of encampment:

> RP16: … Like here, us, we are benefiting, we were benefiting when we were being distributed money… outside the camp, if you meet a problem, you cannot be assisted by the camp administrator because you are out.

Participant RP3 also argued that camp advantages, including free shelter, education and healthcare are commendable but that limits ingenuity as one gets accustomed to free food. The participant argued that one must fend for oneself in order to enable creative ways of earning a living. Some refugees noted that encampment for aid purposes is not a 'normal' human condition to opt in the long term. In their view, people naturally prefer the freedom and dignity of providing for themselves:

> RP18: …really someone who is normal cannot say so that you will just live by receiving gifts or maybe donations. You must also make effort [to]do something for your own...

> RP31: If the business goes well, I can do my business maybe in Chipinge. I have to see how strong I am because here, we are not paying any rent or any electricity bills, outside you see how responsible you are, you cannot be a refugee all your life. There is one of my friends, a Congolese, he is doing well in Harare, a mechanic, so why not me?

These expressed sentiments by refugees confirm Schraer's (2016) metaphor for the challenge of camp settings that, "it is like watching someone tied to a tree and people are coming along

and saying, 'I'll feed you and keep you warm' when all they want is to be set free". While it is true that refugees have better access to basic amenities compared to citizens in some remote parts of rural Zimbabwe, it is however not a convincing argument for the encampment of refugees. This is because, given freedom of association, they are likely to thrive economically and, thus, more likely to be able to afford such amenities as medication and basic education without the assistance of organised aid. It is also very apparent from refugee responses that the benefits of encampment are outweighed by those of the freedom to conduct income generation outside the Tongogara camp. Likewise, the argument put forward by one of the research participants that government uses encampment to appeal for international donor aid was not very convincing because international aid agencies were still operational in countries which host non-camp refugees. In terms of sustainability of income generation and overall refugee wellbeing, aid accessibility due to encampment did not offer enough advantages to offset its demerits.

6.3.3.4 Sub-theme 3.4: Resettlement prospects

Many refugees consider encampment as a stepping-stone for resettlement to a first world country. Refugees who live in the camp are aware that they have better prospects of being chosen for resettlement by the UNHCR compared to those who leave the camp. Resettlement to a first world country remains the most preferred *durable solution* for refugees in Tongogara:

> RP20: …the other advantage of staying in the camp is whereby you are assisted; maybe you are given a chance to go to a third country where you can stay and start a new life.

Screening interviews with refugees to determine eligibility for resettlement are conducted at Tongogara camp offices. Some refugees believed that living in the camp and having closer proximity to selection site increased the chances of selection for resettlement:

> RP10: Like at the office, they call you for interviews and you go, you are interviewed then you are resettled.

The problem however is that resettlements are very rare, leaving refugees holding on to hope for the near-impossible. Many have stayed in the camp enduring the poverty for years in the expectation of resettlement. One participant considered encampment a violation of his human rights and a reminder of his traumatic past which he fled from his country of origin. He further expressed disappointment at the promise of resettlement that never seem to materialise, stating that:

RP25: There is no difference from where I was to where I am right now. It's like you want something to eat, now they [UNHCR] take the stones and put on the water in the pot and firewood and you are waiting for the food and since people wait, until tonight, until tomorrow morning with people still waiting for the food. The things that took place at my place enter my memory, it will be like a mark, it won't be removed. All that is coming from whatever, it has been impossible for me to forget. For me to forget it would be good for me to stand for working, liberty and doing all the things and getting money freely.

Although encampment has, according to refugee accounts, caused or increased economic vulnerability, many refugees still considered it advantageous in terms of securing the outcome they want in the long run. Some members of staff expressed concern that the focus on resettlement has compromised refugees' willingness and commitment towards income generation activities as a more realistic alternative to raise their standard of living. This is discussed in sub-theme 5.1.

6.3.3.5 Sub-theme 3.5: Preservation of local resources

One participant referred to encampment as a measure to prevent refugees and locals from competing for the same resources and opportunities which are already scarce:

CMP9: The other issue is the need to protect the resources that we have in the country including employment opportunities. More often than not, third world countries are faced by the challenge of providing job opportunities to their nationals. Now, if allow refugees to integrate, they are going to compete with locals. If we allow that, we open a gap that will be very difficult to cover because locals may seem threatened by refugees, we will have what happened in South Africa, xenophobia.

This is an economic and political consideration also cited in literature as a major reason why many nations that host refugees enforce encampment policies. This position is supported by scholars like Smith (2012), who argue that large influxes of immigrants can lead to unemployment among low-skill citizens. This leaves hosts with no choice but to prevent this open labour market competition between citizens and refugees.

Agier (2008:40) summarises the discriminatory purpose of camps in relation to economic exclusion, "refugee camps apply an exceptional regime, normally reserved for a margin, an edge of the world kept apart, just alive so it does not have to be thought, so that no overall consideration of it needs to be elaborated". However, that position has been disputed by a number of studies on the impact of refugees on host economics. Clements et al. (2015) and Glitz (2012) argue that immigrants have little or no impact on local employment; in fact, they can cause slight decrease in unemployment due to the income multipliers they create.

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Preserving national resources against their alleged exploitation by refugees is premised on the assumption that refugees are passive consumers of services. If all persons, in order to sustain their lives, produce and consume goods and services of economic significance; refugees too, given enabling circumstances, are capable of giving such care just as much as they receive it. Refugees bring a wealth of knowledge and new ideas that can enhance microeconomic activities, as the following excerpts illustrate:

> BFP7: … if we are to look at it socially, when we are interacting, pollination of ideas can bring about development. If we are to talk of chicken production in Zimbabwe, for example, bedding, we look at grass but when we were working with Congolese they said we use sand in our area and that's what we have been doing and it is working and it's good bedding when you are doing broiler production.

> RP31: … to be free because we have some talents, we have to show it with other Zimbabweans so what I know I can share and you can also share with me like human beings; that is normal.

Literature indicates that some countries owe their advances in science, industry, and medicine to refugees. In further acknowledgement of this fact, former president Mugabe of Zimbabwe mentioned that many countries owed some of their business success to the invaluable contributions of refugees (United Nations General Assembly, 2016). Participant BMP5 also argued that there is no justification or benefit for secluding refugees whatsoever. He held the opinion that refugees are adults with skills which could be utilised by the host nation, but these remain untapped due to the encampment policy. Moreover, there should be no preservation concerns because refugees were only 14000 in total against a 14 million Zimbabwean population, hence, their potential contribution to the economy outweighed whatever threat they could allegedly pose. Care ethicists also argue that nobody is perpetually dependent: human beings may find themselves in a condition of relative dependence at one point in their lives but, if the circumstances of their vulnerability are alleviated (or not perpetuated), they are capable of giving care as much as they receive it in the natural human condition of interdependence (Tronto 2013; Gilligan, 2013).

The pursuit of self-interests by refugee hosts motivates separatist policies for the proclaimed purpose of preserving local resources. If this approach to refugee hosting is reconsidered from a critical ethics of care standpoint, there ought to be promotion of a relational conception of people as not only socially just but politically and economically progressive. As the literature above alludes, developing webs of mutual dependence between refugees and hosts can lead not to depletion of local resources but better economic sustenance for both. In this instance, a

reconsidered approach, informed by critical ethics of care would debunk the zero-sum notion that refugees' economic gains equal economic loss for hosts because the social and economic sustenance of human beings is enriched under conditions of interconnectedness.

6.3.3.6 Sub-theme 3.6: Culture preservation

Along a similar line of argument as with resource preservation, the current level of refugee seclusion is deemed necessary by some officials who cite the need for preservation of culture for both locals and refugees. This reason for the seclusion of refugees has long been subject of discussion among refugee hosting scholars. According to Butale (2015), many host nations face socio-cultural changes and experience a challenged sense of identity as a result of the increased visibility of ethnic, religious, racial and ideological tensions between refugees and locals. The same concern was raised in Tongogara camp:

> CMP9: The other one which appears to be farfetched but we should never ignore it, is the protection of the culture and tradition of the local people. If we allow refugees to roam around, they are going to dilute the local culture; if we do it we will end up having acculturation. As a country we have a responsibility to guard against that.

In addition to the desire to protect Zimbabwean society from 'acculturation', encampment was also said to protect refugee culture. Refugees have been displaced for protracted periods, one participant noted that it would be beneficial culturally if refugees continued to live among their keen:

> AMP1: … there is also a perpetuity of their community, of their culture, if you are all from DRC and you are staying in the same community. It is only the country that has changed but you are still within your people although they are displaced but they can still maintain their culture and values because of encampment. If you look at the set up, you can actually tell this area is for the DRCs, this area is for Mozambicans, so there is that perpetuity; there is no cross cultural diffusion or dilution.

Literature has noted some instances of culture shocks due to mass refugee settlements in local communities which led to the development of hostilities. Butale (2015:1) refers to the 1993 influx of Rwandan refugees in Benaco camp in Tanzania which altered social dynamics in Tanzanian communities; most elderly people in Tanzania perceived a breakdown of the traditional social structure and a change in the attitudes of youth towards their elders and roots leading to the perception of refugees as "culturally unwelcome foreigners". However, while that has occurred, there is no evidence that it is either widespread or recurrent, nor is there

evidence that the arrival of refugees and the breakdown of traditional social structures were directly and causally linked.

The seclusion of refugees, especially in Africa, contradicts the spirit of 1969 Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa (OAU, 1969) which bases refugee hosting on African brotherhood and solidarity. This sentiment was reiterated by president Museveni of Uganda who holds the view that, in the spirit of African brotherhood, there is nothing wrong with African refugees of diverse origins settling in any African country (Museveni, 2017). Overall, any effort at preserving any particular culture is based on an unrealistic perception of culture as static and unified. The fluidity of human culture, especially in circumstances of prolonged displacement, makes it impossible to be essentialised. The social intermingling of refugees and hosts should, for mutually beneficial reasons, be regarded as an opportunity for cultural enrichment rather than dilution. In addition to that, any form of essentialism, cultural purism in this case, risks creating the social, economic and political 'otherism' of particular groups. This in turn perpetuates the continued separation of people and xenophobic policies towards perceived outsiders.

6.3.3.7 Sub-theme 3.7: Security

Both state security and refugee security were pointed out as reasons and justifications for Zimbabwe's encampment policy. As highlighted in literature discussion (see Chapter 3, section 3.4.2), state and refugee security emerged as a critical consideration and dynamic of refugee hosting. In the case of Tongogara, data showed that encampment was thought to protect the Zimbabwean public, state security and the refugees themselves:

> CMP9: The first one is the issue of national security, that explains why the majority of African countries confine refugees to refugee camps, so that they don't threaten the security of the nation. The security narrative should also be looked at from two dimensions; number one [is] that refugees do not threaten the national security of the country; number two, that the security of the refugees themselves is guaranteed in the camp. The security apparatus are able to monitor and account for those people (refugees). When refugees were allowed to roam around in the past, some of them were attacked by rebels, some of them were attacked by even the nationals, some of them were even recruited by rebels.

The state, as the primary guarantor of refugee security in Zimbabwe, takes it upon itself to centralise the residence of refugees to account for and ensure their physical protection:

> AMP1: … the fact that one is a refugee, the state has an obligation to look after the refugee… if anything happens, then the country becomes answerable.

Refugee protection from harm, even by the host community, was explained by a participant who had witnessed tensions between refugees and locals:

> BFP8: It is political, but I will just mention a bit. We have an irrigation scheme that is there, sometimes people from the host community they intentionally come with their cows and they put them in there just to destroy the crops … the reasons we don't know but they do that sometimes. When the refugees try to remove the cattle sometimes they release their dogs on them so you would imagine if that someone from here would go to the host community, who knows what would happen, because if they have the guts to come here and attack, what would happen if the refugee goes out, we don't know, so that's what we mean when we say they are protected.

Some participants also alluded to the fact that not all refugees in Tongogara refugee camp are 'genuine' refugees hence the need for mobility restrictions:

> AFP3: Some of the refugees who come here, they did not all come in the name of refugees. Some are even rebels, some they done many things negative there and they just come in the name of refugees. So, if they are in the camp, they can be monitored. Some are criminals, not everyone but some are involved in some things happening there (home countries) … It's very difficult to know if it is good because of security reasons so it could be justified to keep them here.

This was also noted by some refugees that not all of their fellow refugees were 'genuine' refugees:

> RP33: … not everyone here is a true refugee. There are people who are here because they harmed other people back home, where we come from. There are people who are kind of mentally disturbed, so leaving them just like that, they may cause other trouble. So, refugees have to be monitored.

While most officers were concerned about state political stability, one participant stated that civil security from petty crime made encampment necessary. There had been reports of refugees stealing from local Zimbabwean villages which surround the camp. As a result, if refugees are to be integrated into local communities, there would be a risk of rampant civil and criminal offenses:

> BFP7: … if we are to look at our Mozambican counterparts, they have been stealing a lot in the local communities because I come from a place two kilometres away from this camp; I belong to the host community.

One refugee admitted to a conviction after engaging in illegal trade of precious metals:

> RP15: I changed business and I went to the mines to buy and sell gold with that money, they caught me and I went to prison.

There are refugees who expressed some security benefits of being secluded in the camp, given

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that many of them come from violence ridden countries. The camp provides a sense of security which is helpful as many suffer trauma from violence and torture:

> RP23: The thing that makes me like the camp, I have peace, no bullets, no war. I'm just sitting peacefully.

> RP34: Just the peace, I am staying in the camp because of peace… I just feel like if I go outside something will happen.

> RP33: … there are some people (refugees) who really need peace and assurance while we are here (in Zimbabwe). At least here (in the camp) there is this kind of protection. It's not easy that someone all of a sudden can just come with a gun and start shooting. I think we are well protected. Since I came to this camp, I have never heard the sound of a gun. There are some people that if they can just hear the sound of a gun, it will trigger a lot in the person so in this place here, it's a very good place, we don't have such things, you need people (refugees) to be in a calm place.

Although there are several refugees who prefer the camp for the sense of protection it provides, this choice appears to be informed, at least in part, by fear and residual trauma. Due to the temporality of their basis, such preferences could not be regarded as sound for long-term human wellbeing. With the passage of time and free professional therapeutic help available in the camp, the refugees in question are likely to reconsider their position on encampment as they regain emotional wellness. When or if that happens, they should have the option to leave if they so wish. Refugee security seems to be also a matter of life and death as some refugees believe that people from whom they fled their home countries could and have followed or tracked them to the camp. This has, according to refugee accounts, resulted in deaths of suspicious nature and therefore more preference for the security which the camp offers:

> RP12: … it's because of our own safety… because even here people are still dying.

> RP19: … I'm much comfortable when I'm in the camp… I can't be out of the camp… because I can even lose my life…

While the majority of participants have shown general agreement regarding the security benefits of encampment, one refugee made a divergent point that, since refugees are vetted and cleared, it is unnecessary to confine them for security reasons:

> RP21: … you have assessed someone and have given him a refugee status… that means that person is not a threat… you have assessed and the guy is confirmed that he is a genuine refugee… So, why keep him in the box?

Oduor (2021:1), Agier (2008:18) and Okello (2014:70) have all discussed how the rise of international terrorism resulted in the treatment of refugees with suspicion, which has been

significant enough to threaten the closure of refugee camps in countries like Kenya. While governments have legitimate state security concerns, responding by aggregating refugees as equally suspicious and enforcing encampment foments rather than address hostilities between refugees and hosts. Encampment is presented as an institutional system of meeting the security needs of refugees. However, treating refugees *en bloc* results in hosts neglecting the caring responsibility of sensitivity to personhood and the very particular circumstances of refugees. Additionally, the mandatory encampment of refugees 'for their own good' becomes a hegemonic solution when many refugees have expressed an informed will to integrate with locals in spite of security concerns. Tronto (2010:167) argues that, while there are institutional systems for meeting people's needs, "individual inclination allows people to choose which way they will meet their own needs". Therefore, the provision of security cannot be instituted by means of a standardised solution like encampment; it can only be caring if it is based on individual sensibilities and propriety (Tronto, 2010:167). Security risks may be present when it comes to refugee hosting, nevertheless, the moral position from a caring perspective is nothing should undermine human dignity or compromise the conditions requisite for human wellbeing. The state does not have to assume the patronage of 'looking after refugees' by encamping them, instead, it should lift the policy which, by many refugee accounts, was a structural cause of vulnerability. By severing human connections and isolating refugees, encampment is essentially an uncaring policy.

6.3.4 Theme 4: Refugee income generation group relations

Group relations turned out to be a determinant of project success. Refugees live and work in groups within Tongogara camp, and group relationships have been reported to be either helpful or destructive to camp income generation. Refugees from various nations and ethnicities converge in Tongogara camp and find themselves having to cooperate for income generation activities. Due to such differences, and other difference among human beings, data from all participant groups shows that there are tensions that have resulted in the disintegration or malfunctioning of group-fashion projects. In addition, sizes of groups in which refugees are arranged have been reported to be too big to be manageable given the diversity of opinions and low profit margins. However, there were participants who thought groups made it feasible for refugees to run income generating projects more efficiently. These varying positions are presented in the following sub-themes.

6.3.4.1 Sub-theme 4.1: Ethnographic differences

Tongogara refugee camp accommodates refugees from various countries; their cultural backgrounds differ even for refugees of the same nationality as ethnicities vary. Waters (2003) confirms this as a problematic phenomenon in refugee camps as ethnocentrism and inter-ethnic competition for camp resources can result in violent clashes. Butale (2015) gives an example of clashes in Kenya's Kakuma refugee camp attributed to imported ethnic tensions between the Sudanese Dinka and Didinga tribes as well as between refugees of Sudanese and Somali origin. The extent of human diversity and unresolved conflict-ridden pasts between various refugee groups within the confines of encampment increases the likelihood of conflicts of varying degrees. Participants revealed that these differences are sometimes counterproductive in group-based income generation in the camp:

> BFP7: Another thing amongst the people we are working with, they have taken the differences they have from their places of origin even to the projects we are training them. If the president [of the group] is from Kivu and the other is from Lubumbashi, he will not appreciate his role as a leader.

> BMP6: Where we have someone coming from Rwanda but they have caused trouble in DRC, and you have guys from DRC who are in that camp, that also presents a challenge in terms of cohesion. If you had an opportunity to discuss with camp leaders [refugee community leaders] … those leaders represent their country of origin so in terms of cohesion at times you'd find it's a bit tricky because a certain group feels they can't work with another group because of what would have happened back home.

The tendency of historical conflicts to resurface within the group settings of income generation activities was also identified as a barrier by participant AMP2:

> Let's take for example we are from one country but many tribes, many small tribes they may be from one country DRC but there are 19-20 small tribes and some of them you know there is always that conflict… Sometimes that conflict may come within the institution [the agency] when we are giving training. Those people will be within the same group so you see those dynamics whereby someone is explaining this and that you may see the response, there is that dynamism. These people, they don't look eye to eye… whatever is happening at their homes, they bring it to the classroom…

One member of staff and a refugee made a similar observation that such ethnic-based tensions could result in intra-group segregation which can leave minority groups feeling side-lined:

> AMP1: … Sometimes they select one another on cultural preference. You would find that the DRCs would like to be on their own and the Rwandese also want to be on their own. You find that this can actually have an impact even on the group selection, group dynamics and selection… So, you find that if you are minority in a group, you may face some challenges, at times even language, cultural beliefs and all. At times they want to speak in Swahili when you can only

understand French.

> RP13: … we come from conflict areas… people are still carrying it up to here. For example, I'm from Uganda, most people from here think that we Ugandans are the ones who are causing problems in their countries… When you look around, most people from the small communities, which include Uganda, Sudan, Southern Sudan, and Ethiopia, they are not much involved in these projects [IGAs] because of the fear of discrimination and hostility…

Research conducted by agency D also revealed how refugees in Tongogara camp form social capital and business connections along lines of ethnicity and nationality:

> D2016: Rwandese are highly organised in business ventures with a strong network … By having country of origins as organising structures, this limits social integration across ethnicities and enterprises become identified by countries of origin.

Agency A also reports lack of cooperation due to ethnic differences as well as general unwillingness to partake in income generation activities with peers of different backgrounds:

> A2018: The group is made up of people of diverse backgrounds and some of them are not keen to accept the ideas of others. Some simply want to acquire technology skills for their personal use and not for group enterprise. There is a need for strong team building.

This situation is complicated further by different ethnic groups often speaking different languages which leads to communication challenges between refugees and local Zimbabweans while conducting business with the host community, as well as between officers and refugees during trainings:

> AMP1: … the issue of language, and just fear of going out and mix with other people, so you may end up selling your product at a compromised price because of limited market… The host community speaks a different language… They cannot market because of the language… Suppose you are in the welding sector, getting to the site where you can get into someone's homestead and say I want to weld your plough and the like, those are navigational challenges they encounter.

> BFP7: We [Zimbabweans] are English speaking people, the bulk of them. [refugees] are French speaking people, some Swahili, some Bemba, so many different languages. So the art of now having translators when you are doing training, what you may want to cover maybe in an hour, you could end up covering that in two hours.

Power and struggles for control over project processes also emerged to be a perceived result of ethnic characteristics of certain groups. One refugee gave an example of a certain ethnic group generally considered to be domineering:

RP31: … sometimes we say no they are Kasai, those who are the Kasai want control...

In light of the above data, it is clear that project sustainability becomes difficult to enhance when income generation networks are based on ethnic allegiance rather than business strategy. In addition to that, refugees who are in need of income generation end up pulling out of the group or hesitate to join due to the ethnic-based segregation within the groups.

6.3.4.2 Sub-theme 4.2 Oversized groups

As mentioned earlier (see Theme 1), refugees in the camp receive assistance to initiate and run income generation projects in group settings, then they share profits after sales. They are organised into groups for most income generation activities. Due to the large size of the groups, there are conflicting opinions resulting in disagreements, which inconvenience business. Abala (2013) states that with group-based income generation activities typical of refugee camps, there are noted challenges of divergent opinions and conflicting perspectives. Participants noted that it is difficult for many people to reach consensus:

> AFP4: I'm thinking the best way is to have probably each organisation to have small groups, if budgets were to be approved to train out beneficiaries in small groups… Big groups sometimes are very difficult to manage, different views, usually there will be skirmishes in terms of who is supposed to do what…like now in our agro-feeds, the one that is currently running the committee members have been changed two times…it's a big group, the project was approved for 60 people to manage one machinery…if it was like ten people managing one machinery it was going to be better…

Undertaking tasks in large group settings promotes non-participation which was identified as a hindrance in group income generation:

> RP34: … we were twenty-one, other persons they were not liking coming everyday [to report for duty], there were problems, so I was the only person standing and I was sharing the money [with the absent members]. So, other people, they don't want to work but they want to share every money, so they started problem. They were not coming for three months, so we wanted the people who didn't want to work to go…

> RP26: … as I see, I am the treasurer of this group, it is very hard to work like group, some won't come to work, they have no interest because they don't get money, they don't want to work, that is the problem with this group.

Data also showed that it is a common aspiration among refugees to make just enough money to break away from group type income generation activities:

> RP33: What I would love to do with my money, I think I can just break out [from the group] and do my own thing, doing my own thing outside the GOAL project. Working with other people is a matter of trying hard and understand [other

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people] and be patient enough. So, if I can have my own thing… You see with groups there are advantages and disadvantages. The disadvantage sometime you are working with people who just want to be in the group but they are not contributing anything. They are ever sick, they are ever busy…we don't have the same vision.

Apart from disagreements over decision making, oversized groups reduce remuneration per individual at the end of business. Refugees stated how the profits are too negligible to effect change in standard of living, sometimes resulting in some refugees absconding:

> RP12: … some people they get too tired to work… They think, if I go to work maybe I can get $20 and, in the end, we share.

> RP16: There is nothing beneficial which we can find behind the project… because the chickens which they were giving us were few chickens. Think about 300 chickens then you divide them with 50 people.

> RP26: … it's [the profit] not sufficient even to be shared because… we are a group… We are sometimes getting let us take example of twenty dollars… end of the month and you [group members] are almost fifteen persons… Then you get two dollars end of the month… two dollars is it going to be enough really with your family?

Although funding agencies acknowledge that refugees do not prefer working in group settings, participants said no steps have been taken to change that arrangement:

> RP23: … our wish was to be given [chicks] individually, everyone. You take your poultry and you look after them, [but] they [funding agency] said no, they just want a group… Because of what I have seen, I can't like to work in a group again.

Budget constraints were cited as the reason for group-based, as opposed to individual funding. However, it has become evident that the current method is not sustainable.

6.3.4.3 Sub-theme 4.3: Harmonious cooperation

Although working in groups has presented certain challenges, there are also reports of positive group dynamics. Some officers pointed out strategic advantages for grouping refugees to implement projects. Identified common advantages are cooperation, delegation of tasks and cost effectiveness:

> RP28: To work as a group, no problem… Working as a group is better because we are sharing some responsibilities, some duties and I am learning from others for the behaviour.

> RP22: Ourselves, we were first honest amongst ourselves. Some other groups… they were not honest. Sometimes they could keep the fabrics or their stuff, they start

> stealing… We were working in a team spirit together…some of us left to, went to Harare but still, those who remained continued to keep the group [running].

Regarding cost effectiveness, groups were said to be advantageous in terms of cost sharing:

> BFP7: Working on individual basis is okay but looking at the costs that will be incurred by an individual, it would be hard for some of them. For example, taking the pigs from here to Masvingo, if it is an individual doing so, you may need something like $250, that initial cost could be hard for you as an individual than if you are doing it as a group. You could hire a truck and share the burden of the transport cost.

Groups were reported to provide an administrative structure, which is necessary for project accountability. This prevents the abuse of donor aid by some refugees who may sell project equipment if left in individual custody. There could have been unfortunate instances in the past in which some refugees sold project equipment, but it was clearly not a common occurrence, and presuming that refugees *en masse* lack trustworthiness therefore is counterproductive to the refugee-staff working relationship. The continued treatment of refugees with suspicion makes it clear, however, that there is still mistrust between care givers and care receivers:

> AFP3: It is better to work in a group than individually because there will be a chairperson, secretary, committee, who prevent JRS assets from being sold because if they are sold we will be in for it because the donors they still need to come and see how the people are doing so it is good to work in a group… they are five getting $398 and from that money they can buy maybe chemicals for $100 and the rest they share. At least per month if someone gets $50 or $25, they are encouraged…

There were some refugees, who attributed continuity of their groups to carefully planned coordination and mutual understanding despite the occurrence of conflict. Leadership and conflict resolution trainings given to refugees were also said to have equipped groups with the skills to foster cohesion:

> RP13: … the bottom line is there has to be team work… well-coordinated team work that is what makes projects to survive.

> RP21: … in leadership [training] we were taught on how to resolve conflict. So, we managed to resolve our conflict. It's even normal, you know you cannot say that you will be working alone.

Group settings, though largely less preferred, have been noted to be advantageous in terms of logistical arrangements because there is division of labour within the group committee. This facilitates the ease of doing business as committees within refugee groups are credited for establishing customer networks from various surrounding towns for groups' produce:

> RP31: We have customers, they come from Harare, customers from Chiredzi, Checheche... So, we have those three networks and just some individual people, the local people so customers we need to plan it very well so that it can be regular.

It is important to acknowledge that group income generation is not the preference of the majority of refugee research participants, but members of staff for the relevant agencies insist on the benefits of groups. Although there are some undeniable benefits to groups setting income generation, its continuity despite its expressed unpopularity cannot be overlooked. The continuity of group-based IGAs at the displeasure of those they are meant to serve remains a matter of decision-making power in the care chain. Hugman (2017:119) argues that, "at the centre of these concerns about humanitarian aid and social development practice is the question of social power". In light of data discussed under this theme, refugees have shown to have little capacity to act on their preferences during the course of the project cycle. Predetermined methods and formats of project implementation are enacted by camp-based agencies who, in turn, get their funding from international institutions. Despite apparent good intentions, the common problematic consequence when it comes to development practice is that, "aid often is delivered in such a way as to promote the interests of donors rather than recipients" (Hugman, 2017:117). The cited reason for group-based IGA is increasing beneficiary numbers in the face of dwindling budgets. However, it would be more economic to assist fewer refugees to run sustainable IGAs rather than maintain large beneficiary statistics which only portray a façade of mass productivity in the camp while disguising the failure of aid to move refugees out of poverty. Since enacting care involves power imbalances (Tronto, 1993), adopting a political ethics of care perspective in development practice requires *all* levels of decision making to be democratised. Only then will there be some assurance that international aid and development organisations and their implementing partners become more attentive the interests of those they intent to assist.

6.3.5 Theme 5: Adequacy of support

There was general acknowledgement across all participant categories that refugee income generation is affected by inadequate support in the form of physical capital as well as human capital aid. Income generation projects lack equipment, materials and, in some cases, technical skills necessary for market competitiveness. It was revealed that after refugees are trained in various vocational skills, the material and technical resources which they are given during or soon after training are prematurely withdrawn. Material and technical resources are often given once at the beginning, and then irregularly during the various activities. Material support is

highly dependent on funding and most implementing agencies get substantial amounts of their budgets from the UNHCR, which was overwhelmed during the time of this research. In 2015, UNHCR managed to dedicate just ten per cent of available funding for livelihoods activities in Africa (UNHCR, 2015e). This was cited as a barrier to projects' success. Participants pointed this out as reason for failed sustainability as projects depending on such resources to expand in scale. Secondly, inadequate support regarding skills development and accreditation of training was linked to low consumer confidence in refugee products and services.

6.3.5.1 Sub-theme 5.1: Low material and technical support

Ayoubi and Saavedra (2018:41) note how refugees are only assisted with income generation briefly before aid is withdrawn and they are expected to sustain projects by themselves. This has become a common problem for refugee IGAs in protracted refugee situations because funding is shifted to new emergency situations and livelihoods funding becomes low priority (Jacobsen & Fratzke, 2016:22). Similarly, UNHCR funding in Tongogara camp has been strained:

> BMP6: One other thing is, if you look at the funding model for UNHCR, they talk of committed funds…what it means is you do a budget, once they approve, they tell you, fine we have approved this budget but we don't have all the funding at the moment. It's a commitment that we will give you the amount. What happens is when they [UNHCR] finally get the funding, they then add on a number of other issues…. What it means is you employ staff based on the commitment that they would have made but half way through the year they will tell you that we have received extra funding but they just give you the funds without you adding on the staff so there is a challenge in terms of the work load; so we end up with just two people focusing on livelihoods

> AMP2: … there is a lot of donor fatigue and the monies which they may give, they may give you twenty thousand- thirty thousand, and looking at the populace within the camp you will see that it's just a drop in the ocean.

> AFP3: It's too basic [the aid], because what we give them, maybe the first month, the first money they get, they need to go and buy other materials for the business because they will be limited funds…

According to Tronto (1993:120), "good care requires material goods, time and skills. When we acknowledge that care givers often lack adequate resources to accomplish their caring tasks, it is easy to see how care continues to be a burden in our culture". In reference to the insufficient support for self-help projects which were underway, participant BMP5 was particularly concerned with the scale of projects and quality of infrastructure. He decried that there are no resources to expand current projects such as poultry and piggery; the agricultural projects are still using rudimentary methods of irrigation that are ineffective and expensive due to the cost

of water. Additionally, refugees in irrigation projects experience conflicts in the schemes due to scramble for irrigation siphons, there are no funds to upgrade to more efficient and cost-effective methods like the drip system of irrigation. Participant CMP9 also commented on resource availability and projects expansion:

> We need to expand the irrigation project so that we absorb more refugees. At the same time we give large tracks of land to refugees, if we achieve that, they will be able to be self-reliant. Number two, is the issue of resources, it is an investment cause, we need to invest in self-reliance projects. If we are able to invest in self-reliance projects, making sure that we have enough money to buy the resources required, making sure those who haven't joined self-reliance projects are able to join. We also need to expand the self-reliance projects…

Training refugees in various trades turned out to be the most implemented form of support, however, follow up support after refugees complete courses has been very lean, thereby rendering the training unutilised in the camp:

> AFP3: The only challenge we have is, after trainings, there is no challenge in training because the funds will be there… The challenge is when they finish, where to put the skills because they are just in the camp. Some of the people will just be circling the courses from computers to sewing, to cosmetology to motor mech but not implementing something. So, that's the challenge we need to see these people doing something because when we visit them, they are just seated...

> RP11: So, the material that we used during the training it's what we were given and that's what we are using up to now. We've never gotten any other support besides that.

> RP4: …we did not get any support in terms of maintenance. Sometimes when the rabbit is sick, they [funding agency] don't bring medication… It also happened that we could finish a week without getting the feed and sometimes you find that we are in a period where grass is dry- we cannot get grass so easily, we had to go far away to look for grass.

When post training support is offered, it is for a brief period of time then withdrawn prematurely when agencies effect what they refer to as exit plans in their project documents. Report BD2016 notes the following with regards to exit strategies:

> GOAL developed an exit/ weaning off strategy for all interventions from the onset and this was communicated to all relevant stakeholders including the project participants.

> RP21: … that's the only kit we got, they said now you can fly on your own.

Refugees revealed that when they seek additional assistance mid-project to deal with a particular challenge; staff are not equipped to assist with ongoing project challenges to the point of suggesting project closure. Participant RP6 gave such a scenario:

> So, we had a meeting as a group and then our chairperson went to consult with the sister that we are not able to pay electricity, the amount that we were asked then sister said if we are not able to pay it is better you stop.

Participants also lamented lack of project equipment following the withdrawal of support. Lack of mechanical equipment and tools was a common problem which affects refugee handicrafts. Sinclair (1993) reports about early surveys of refugee villages in Pakistan revealed that many craftsmen were unable to practice their trade owing to lack of income to purchase tools which lowers productivity in refugee settlements:

> RP26: It was not working well, it was a new machine but after three months, it was down… We tried to fix it but the parts are not found here in Zimbabwe. They say the spare are going to be found only out of Zimbabwe. So, it is a lot of challenges because now we are down, totally down but we are trying our best to see how we are going to find.

> RP31: The tools like the battery, we asked Silver House [training agency] to bring those things, till today no(thing). We need to go to the second phase (of training), how to flush phones. They bought new battery and that very day it broke in front of the teacher; our tools are dead.

> RP34: … I am doing with my hands, the machine got spoilt during training. They bought the machine to make ice cream; it got spoilt five days after they started training. We also need fridge for yoghurt, we were trained to make yoghurt but we have never made it because it needs fridge, they never bought the fridge so we have never made since they left.

> RP22: Like machines, they refused, they said they can't give us machines, we have to sell something so that we buy for ourselves.

> RP24: … some of the properties [trade equipment] are now broken, they are getting old…

Several refugee participants were of the opinion that post-training support must involve constant follow up by staff members to monitor how projects are being implemented as well as offering advice. This, according to participants, has not always been the case. Refugees expressed how they would like donor agencies to follow up on how financial resources were converted to meet refugee needs. Staff members are reportedly away from on-the-ground project operations for up to six months:

> RP33: Not really happy because the Harare [agency headquarters] team, maybe they support with something but there is no follow up on how they [frontline camp staff] are using what has been given. They [agency Headquarters] don't value what they are doing for us because we expect some follow up like we gave you so much, what have you done with it…it doesn't reach us the way it was supposed to reach us.

Participant RP4 linked staff absence with a diminished investment in projects by refugees. This

participant argued that refugees see no interest from frontline staff to monitor progress constantly and closely, which affects project beneficiaries' seriousness with the projects:

> If the project was taken seriously, it could assist, even though it cannot assist to a big level, but with the little, it could assist… because the one who brought the project, if they don't make a follow up even the one who is working in the project cannot be serios because no one is making a follow up about what is going on.

Similarly, participant RP1 commented on the staff who are rarely present during daily project undertakings:

> It is rare [agency visits and monitoring], it's not often…I would like them to come and have a look and see what we are doing from what we got from them.

> RP31: … they [relevant agencies] must be close to us… so that they can come with advice which can help the group to advance. To create more areas whereby friends can come to us and bring business…

In her third phase of care, which is 'care-giving', Tronto (1993) states that allocating money towards a specific need for persons in need is not enough and does not guarantee that the need would be met. She argues that, the provision of resources should be followed up by physical hands-on work to ensure that monetary resources are effectively converted to meet identified needs. Since there is a recognisable effort that goes into converting money into satisfying human needs, "equating the provision of money with the satisfaction of needs points out to the undervaluing of care-giving in our society" (Tronto, 1993: 107). In simple terms, this phase accounts for the bulk of frontline work with the vulnerable by development agency staff in the case of Tongogara. Therefore, providing training and 'start-up kits' without regular and consistent follow up and monitoring of day-to-day project activities is incomplete care. It also deprives both staff and refugees of the opportunity to continuously engage and share ideas on the ongoing and inevitable challenges of the daily running of IGAs.

Shortcomings were identified in terms of human aid capital support that entailed equipping refugees with technical knowhow in the various trades and handicrafts in Tongogara camp. There are reports of training abruptly stopping midway with no explanation given. NFED (2010) attributes failure in income generating activities to inability to produce market competent products, it further points out that most participants produce substandard goods. This is reflected in responses of refugees who explained how they have not received adequate training in advanced skills to give their products and services better market competitiveness:

> RP18: … after a while the teacher did not come. So, we stopped like that…

RP31: I need more training for the phones[repairs]; I want to know more about android phones.

RP10: … the teacher told us that he could teach us how to make tomato sauce, *maputi* [a corn snack] and mayonnaise but the teacher never did… We only did peanut butter and he left…

RP2: When [censored] come, we tried to train us for three days only but we didn't finish the training.

The lack of financial capital support in Tongogara refugee camp income generation aid package for reasons discussed in sub-theme 2.1 is a problem raised by refugees regarding inadequate project support. Financial capital support is a key component for income generating activities (Jones & Nelson, 2005:80). However, in Tongogara camp, such support and other financial service support are missing:

RP32: We want to see GOAL making a micro finance. Suppose I have a small business to do and I want to get micro finance, if they can help us, if they can do it for us it will be good… I can go and borrow money there loan money and I can use it in my project and after I can pay with interest. The problem we have in the camp is capacity, we cannot do anything because we don't have the money… It [microfinance facility] can help much people than these projects.

Due to encampment and denied accesses to credit facilities, refugees proposed agency funded small loans to allow them the choice to initiate and finance projects of their choosing instead of the pre-set projects which turn out to be low preference projects for many refugees. Literature shows that encampment is not necessarily a barrier to access financial services necessary for business. Morand (2015) argues that innovative solutions have been implemented to curb that problem, organisations like the Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service (TCRS) have come up with micro finance solutions through facilitating the formation of village community banks for refugees since they are not allowed by Tanzanian law to access mainstream banking services.

Overall, income generation support is constrained by funding. According to Tronto (2010), care givers frequently complain that they have inadequate resources for their tasks, once care givers operate despite the pressures of the operations which they are supposed to execute, the institution has a diminished capacity to provide good care. Refugees have complained that aid was only given once after trainings as 'start-up packages'. However, the theory of care, in the second step of the care process, postulates that, 'taking care of' is not a once off gesture, it requires a meticulous organised action which finds a reliable source of the required goods or service (Tronto, 2010). Given the circumstances, support becomes superficial, encapsulated by

RP35's remark that officials from respective agencies just take pictures but offer no substantial support.

6.3.5.2 Sub-theme 5.2 Accreditation of training

Participants argued that training given to refugees is of low credibility because much of the practical courses lack accreditation from a responsible body for tertiary education. Training support is inadequate even if refugees qualify with certificates that are not recognised due to lack of standardised training. These training inadequacies add on to the already low consumer confidence in refugee products and services due to stigma. Commenting on the irregularity of training certain trades, participant AFP3 revealed that:

> The certificates we offer are not nationally recognised, so, as an organisation, we are planning for our courses to be registered nationally so that when the laws of the refugees are maybe relaxed, they will be able to compete with other people because some of the certificates are a challenge again… The certificates are just local, for attendance but, if you are resettled, they want to see if the certificates are valid. Maybe they will just see Tongogara refugee camp and they will be recognised but we would like to register with HEXCO and ZIMSEC the courses we are doing. Some of the courses are registered with Silver House, they are recognised but some courses like cosmetology, sewing and computers are done here, they are not registered.

The training, especially of practical courses could not be accredited because the courses lack field work requisites for qualifications of that nature. This is problematic for refugees because they could not access such placements outside the camp. This could only be made possible through agency support and assistance but agency IGA planning and evaluation reports place the responsibility on refugees in spite of encampment complications which make it close to impractical for refugees to attain such facilities without assistance. Such technical trades as motor mechanics, which require high credibility in order to attract customers, are mostly affected; and skills then lay idle in hope of using in life after resettlement:

> AFP3: … it is very difficult because a person with a vehicle will give a person whom they trust and know that if I give him my car, he will fix it; usually it is just to empower them for the future if they get opportunities somewhere.

> A2018: There are no suitable institutions for student attachments in motor mechanics, auto electrics, refrigeration and electrical installation courses

> A2018: The members of the group are being advised to go for attachment and to pursue further skills training with industrial colleges so that they can be certified to do electrical installations as required by ZESA.

As a result, services and goods provided by refugees that are marketed outside the camp with the logistical support of relevant organisations are reportedly attracting low consumer

confidence. The Zimbabwean market has not welcomed refugee goods favourably, and thereby negatively impacting on sales:

> CMP9: It is one thing to start projects and it's another thing to have the product sold and accepted by the market so we also need to appeal to the business community outside the camp and say we are producing these items, can you come on board and buy these products… There is a need for the partnership to think outside the box and incorporate this issue of standardization of products being produced. I am talking about this issue even at JRS, they are producing different consumable things so we are saying these things need to be standardized, to engage the Standards Association of Zimbabwe to come on board to standardize these things. If we are able to standardize these things, we will be able to create markets outside because now we will be certified to produce the product

The effects of product standardisation are worsened by stigma. Local buyers and retail outlets already doubt refugee capabilities to produce competent goods:

> CMP9: … there are issues to do even with perception from the locals, when they look at refugees, they see passive recipients of handouts to an extent that even the produce being produced by refugees at times does not find a ready market out there. I have seen that with products from JRS.

> CFP11: Again, there is this labelling or stigma again where you say can a buy a soap from a [refugee] project when I can easily access the bar from Unilever…

The problem is pronounced in products that are edible, where consumers are more sceptical of refugee products:

> CMP9: … especially those produced for human consumption, the drinks being produced by JRS and so forth, they are regarded to be of low quality by the locals and the fact that the label show that they are being produced from Tongogara refugee camp and what comes to peoples' minds is how can we consume products produce in a refugee camp, are refugees capable of producing something which we can consume so it's a question of attitude…

> A2018: Major challenges of the group include: (i) the need to acquire food handler's certificates in order to comply with public health and safety regulations…

> RP34: Another challenge we are just making the juice, people are not coming to buy from us because there is no label, because we have our name (for the juice making group). We have to have the label to put to our juice, there is no more label.

The stigmatisation of camp products is rooted in the stigmatisation of refugee camps in general. Brun (2020:465) notes that camps are characterised by "stigma, processes of exclusion and marginalization". Moreover, the stigma attached to goods produced by camp residents is indicative, also, of the quality of relationships between camp-based refugees and their

surrounding communities. Refugees are restricted in forging social relations and accruing social capital necessary for competing in markets and encampment further perpetuates labels of refugee 'inability' that is linked to perceived 'product inferiority.' Market confidence in any product takes time; however, consumers need to be convinced of the credibility of the production process. Refugees need support in that regard. Although agency staff and documents acknowledge this need, practical steps must be taken to save the situation; raising the training standard to meet stipulated requirements for recognised qualifications would be an important step in that direction.

6.3.6 Theme 6: Gains of income generating activities

Refugees, staff and project documents acknowledged gains of various forms due to the implementation of income generating activities in Tongogara camp. These gains were presented in two broad categories, namely financial and non-financial gains. Financial gains from projects were acknowledged to varying degrees by different participant groups. Refugees mostly stated that they did record changes in household income, but they did not consider these sustainable. Staff participants together with project documents revealed mixed positions regarding the level of financial gains for refugees. With regards to non-financial gains, all interviewees considered IGAs beneficial in non-material but important ways. Participants noted how projects curbed inactivity in the camp thereby saving refugees from boredom, depression and monotony characteristic of refugee camps. They argued having something to occupy them reduced the likelihood of refugees getting into 'mischief' and bettered their mental wellbeing. Financial and non-financial gains of IGAs are discussed in sub-themes below.

6.3.6.1 Sub-theme 6.1: Financial gains

Data shows that undertaking in IGAs provided financial gains of varying degrees for various beneficiaries. Regarding financial gains of IGAs in Tongogara camp, there is conflicting data from different sources. Most refugee participants reported that, although they were getting additional income, there was no sustainable and significant change in the standard of living at household level. Importantly, however, a small group of refugees reported a sustainable level of income which could allow a dignified standard of living affording savings for the future. Some members of staff claimed to have observed conspicuous changes in refugee standards of living due to IGAs. After conducting surveys with refugees, agencies also recorded in their project reports, financial changes in refugee households. Experiences of financial gains of low significance were presented as follows:

RP14: ZW$50 was very little… it was only to buy drink and go to work.

RP26: … we are trying to get soap, end of the month, sugar when I get something like ten dollars or so for the children, wife and house it's okay.

RP12: A bit, it's like I was not getting airtime [before IGAs] …but now I can get airtime.

RP11: We don't have savings because the little we get, we eat.

RP24: …before that [joining the IGA group], I was unable to even get one dollar… As we started this project, then I started getting some five dollars, ten dollars and twenty dollars, sometimes even one hundred.

A frontline member of staff argued that financial gains from IGAs are insignificant in terms of providing refugees with savings on which they could live off in case of any form of adversity. He made reference to a situation which occurred in the camp when food assistance was delayed for three months and left refugees food insecure. His argument was, if IGAs had sustainable financial gains, refugees should have been cushioned from that:

CFP11: I don't think there has been much impact in terms of the income generating projects… First and foremost we still have all of them, the refugees relying heavily on the [UNHCR and partners] entitlements… If there had been some impact then we should have seen less dependents, for example, for the last three months we have been struggling to give them food but again we have not seen them tap in from resources coming from income generating projects…

One project report showed numbers from research conducted by project implementing agencies in the camp indicating that, for the majority, agricultural production was on a hand to mouth level while less than half of participating households realised financial gains from vocations of their training:

BD2015b: Vocational training had 40.3% of households participating, with 19.3% of these realising additional income.

BD2015b: The data shows that households are either producing mainly for consumption or are failing to produce surpluses for marketing. Only 1.5% (7 out of 464) households marketed their maize in 2015 while 1.3% (6 out of 464) households sold their beans in 2015.

There was data in the report suggesting that refugees may have overstated their surplus when the reality of harvests remain less than optimal for profitable sale:

BD2015b: … some reported selling more than what they claimed to be the surplus. Generally, production levels of camp residents are very low and actual surpluses above household needs are rare.

Unlike agro-based projects that are generally unpopular in Tongogara camp, retail projects were reported to have earned refugees sustainable income which allowed them to acquire property and save enough money to afford sending their children to schools of their choice. This could be explained by the multi-currency system operational in Zimbabwe at the time of the research. This system allowed businesses to run viably before the introduction of the local currency that was accompanied by the macro-economic instability in the country as disused in Theme 8:

> BD2016: The sale of produce enabled households to purchase bicycles, clothing, school materials, and food items and barter other items with the locals and within the community which was positive but the challenge is the income is not enough for full-fledged self-reliance.

> D2016: Refugees said money earned from income-generating activities is used to send children to boarding school, provide self-sponsored medical care, purchase clothing and toiletries, buy items for the repair of houses and meet other household needs such as purchase of paraffin for cooking.

> BD2015b: Sixty households surveyed have members who participated in self-help groups. Of these, 46.7%, or nearly half, reported that self-help groups increased their household income.

Very few participants who were interviewed during Zimbabwe's ongoing economic crisis reported a change in refugees' standards of life. These participants claimed that they were generating money enough to afford goods and services that are more than just food. They stated that they used proceeds from income generation activities to purchase domestic assets and pay school fees at boarding schools outside the camp:

> RP9: There is some change because from when I started welding, my house I was not having a tv… but now I have a tv… I buy the battery… battery and solar.

> RP1: Through the project, I was able to send my daughter to St. Gideon in boarding so it is assisting me much.

It cannot be denied that some project beneficiaries are currently earning sustainable income because of multiple advantages due to personal abilities or opportunities of circumstance. This, however, cannot be cited as reference to the general situation for refugees in IGAs at this time. However, some staff insisted that refugees were earning substantial amounts based on some isolated examples:

> BFP7: Yeah, definitely and I could even cite one example which you can see for yourself. If you go to Nakayama shop, you could see a shop written 'the best saloon' it's for a guy whom we had incorporated in our piggery project who managed to sell the pigs and then opened up that shop and saloon for himself.

> It's not that one alone, we also have another guy who has a tuckshop so there are many things that have come out through keeping these animals. So, they could have more food at home, more to buy clothes, so some improvements are definitely there.

The common staff sentiment was that income from projects have sustained some refugees, but it could not be said that general refugees' standard of living has improved as a result. This position was captured by one frontline worker who stated that:

> AFP4: … should I say the standard of life is better? I can't say that, but generally there are some refugee[s] who are able to sustain themselves through the projects that are being offered.

Overall, the majority of refugees reported very modest changes economically in the general quality of their lives owing to income generation activities in the camp. Likewise, Agier (2008:27) makes a general observation that income generating activities, though not always sustainable, do occur in some camps, but any financial profitability is unlikely and remains on subsistence level.

6.3.6.2 Sub-theme 6.2: Non-financial gains

Participants revealed how living in a confined space like a refugee camp for protracted periods of up to over a decade engendered inevitable monotony and idleness which could impact the psyche of refugees. Hammond (as cited in Wagner & Finkielsztein, 2021:4) states that, "one of the problems faced by refugees in camps worldwide is sheer boredom". With reference to Tongogara camp in particular, Mhlanga and Zengeya (2016:25) concur that boredom is one of the characteristics of camp life for refugees in Zimbabwe. For several refugee participants, the introduction of income generation activities in the camp helped alleviate that challenge. Income generation activities, though meant primarily to improve the economic status of refugees, economic well-being could not be conceived in isolation from other forms of human well-being. Hence, income generation activities were, to some extent, regarded by both officials and refugees as appropriate based on the occupation they have given refugees, and helping their mental health. Participants expressed how the projects have given refugees something to occupy themselves with and a way of spending their time:

> RP19: You know sometimes, most of the times people they don't have nothing to do in the camp, they are just there… but when you are busy with something, it's okay, its fine you have somewhere to spend your time.

> RP19: … the money you are making through the group, its meaningless money, but at least you are busy… it's about occupation.

AMP2: We also try to help them as we say an idle mind is the devil's workshop. These people are just idle on a daily basis. They will be just idle. If you move around they will just be playing draft, playing cards or some will just be drinking. You know these people are sort of resigned in terms of life to say whatever may come we don't mind at the end they are just given cooking oil, mealie-meal…

Agency reports allude to the rampant of idleness in Tongogara camp that is mitigated by income generation activities. They refer to refugee restlessness and unnecessary movements to the clinic and camp offices as a result of inactivity:

BD2015: Involvement in the agricultural project also helped in reducing idleness in the camp where people only had kitchen gardens to work on. The numbers who visit administration offices and the clinic with genuine and non-genuine issues dropped significantly.

Some refugees commented on how their experience in income generating projects has allowed them to make new relationships with fellow refugees, staff and business clients. They reported that these relationships and friends have bettered their quality of life on a non-financial level:

RP27: Yeah, to avoid stress sometimes, now I have new friends I have some relations with others, even customers.

RP1: Yeah, there is many advantages because we are building relationships with other refugees… we are building relationships with the local residents, it is a big advantage.

RP12: … It would be boring that's why you will see we usually come to work… because if you are at home…you can't make a friend or meet other person.

RP11: ... it has given me a big familiarity with other people, office staff. They even call me to go and work if there is something that they need to fix.

RP34 expressed similar sentiments noting how some refugees resorted to taking chances by leaving the camp illegally, only to be apprehended by the police in the country's major cities:

… the camp was boring, some people were running away, going to Harare, going to Mutare staying there, police will catch them… I don't have much money but according to the camp, it's something, the life we are living here in the camp, it's something.

She further cited the mental health benefits of the income generation projects. Similarly, the UNHCR (2017:1) notes how Syrian refugee women "battle boredom and bad memories by making carpets". The changes in state of mental wellbeing were indicated by the participant's reduced need for professional help:

RP34: We will just be walking around the camp because living here is like jail, you can't go anywhere you are just here, turning around seeing the same thing… A lot of stress, before I was going all the time to the counsellor, stress all day. I

go there, they look for a book for me to read but I have never gone back [to the camp-based counsellor] since 2014 because I am busy now. Sometimes I cannot make any juice but just to come to watch my things and my place that it's good and go back home, just make myself happy.

Another participant also highlighted how inactivity adds to stress:

RP28: … instead of just sitting at home thinking about life, as a mother I have many things to think about.

Income generation projects in the camp do not always have to be lucrative to have an impact on the psyche of refugees, RP30 from the piggery project concurred, stating that partaking in the project keeps him from despair:

… I may have some problems, but I stay with my pigs, I can indulge, just indulge my pigs. Just seeing my pigs I'm feeling happy, not selling, just to see.

One participant expressed how income generation activities saved him from likely ending up in petty crime due to idleness. Inactivity has been identified as one of the causes of crime in refugee camps. Molla (2019:1) reports that refugees living in Bangladeshi camps blame petty crime such as thefts and drug peddling on unemployment:

RP31: … I am busy and I am getting more than $13 dollars… compared to 2011 to 2012 because if you are not doing anything you can go into doing something bad, maybe crook.

Refugees are generally victims of violent and often traumatic pasts, having something to occupy them is considered very important. A project's ability to do that increases their perception of its appropriateness; RP29 alluded to that fact when he stated that:

… it makes me forget the stress, making you bust and forget some of the past things, some of us our past they are not very good to be remembered.

Although most participants stated that their standard of living was still the same as before despite their introduction to camp income generation, several participants regard the skills and know-how acquired during project training and implementation to be just as important. Many consider such skills valuable for future use, whenever they get the opportunity to leave Tongogara camp:

RP21: … even now as I am looking forward, if ever, I am out of this place then I consider myself a welder.

RP13: … although we are not yet into real business but in terms of occupation, I have been, I was occupied. I also acquired new knowledge which I can use anytime, anywhere…

RP19: No… I can't say there is improvement, maybe improvement in skills.

Participant accounts under this theme revealed that stakeholders see the relevance of camp income generation activities more than in terms of financial lucrativeness. IGAs were meant to improve the income status of refugees, for that reason, they were usually evaluated on basis of income output; however, emerging literature and participants have shown that combating idleness is an important function of such activities. According to Wagner and Finkielsztein (2021:6), "refugee camp boredom… has never been an object of thorough analysis and has been treated rather perfunctorily in the relevant literature". Mental health and peace of mind are invaluable aspects of human welfare for refugees living in refugee camps given their likely traumatic pasts and confinement which, for some refugees, has exceeded a decade. However, while these aspects are important components, income generating activities must be, above all, a source of sustainable income. As they currently are in Tongogara camp and many other camps, the value of IGAs has remained largely social. Agier (2008:53-55) explains this phenomenon, arguing that camp IGAs have more educational and social than financial value, they serve mostly to pass time and reduce inactivity. In that case, they cannot suffice in the provision of holistic refugee wellbeing as intended by both funders and refugees.

6.3.7 Theme 7: Participants' literacy levels

The level of refugee literacy was brought up multiple times as a determining factor for success, leadership and even inclusion in income generating activities. As discussed in theme 1, training is usually the first step of income generation assistance in Tongogara, for that reason, ability to read and write is an important requisite for prospective beneficiaries. In addition to that, the most literate participants tend to assume leadership positions in group fashion IGAs. Some participants made observations that literate refugees also happen to run more profitable projects whereas less literate refugees often mismanage project funds or simply lacked the skills to sustain a business. Literacy was also reported to affect certain members' attitude and lookout on their day to day running of projects and this was identified as cause for intra-group conflict. Similarly, UNESCO (1993) argues that factors such as literacy and education determine the opportunities of target groups in income generation endeavours. Sound financial management in IGAs is also linked to level of education, literacy and exposure (Jacobsen & Fratzke, 2016:2; Rajamma, 1993).

Tongogara refugee camp depend on taught concepts of certain procedures like disease prevention and inoculation. Officers argued that educated refugees understood these concepts

faster than illiterate or semi-literate refugees. There is also theoretical training on the principles of business and income generation which require basic literacy for comprehension:

> BFP7: The other challenge is level of education. Some have got literacy below the expected level because you may need to explain things several times for him or her to understand a certain principle.

One participant revealed that literacy was a requisite for eligibility to join the project as it was pointless to join if one was not literate enough to get through the trade training phase:

> RP19: …we needed people who are able to read and write… because, if they are teaching and you are not able to write, what are you coming for?

In another account, some refugees reported conflict arising from other group members not being able to manage project finances. They stated that their group colleagues, due to their illiteracy, do not understand the difference between project capital and profits:

> RP21: You know people, most people they have never been to school. So, when they find themselves having a project like that, they think that we are just here to eat money… or eat our chicken and that's it. When you try to stop them… conflict arises.

One participant argued that group members of low literacy did not understand the common and normal ups and downs in business. This lack of knowledge is said to be the reason why they are quick to shut down projects at the slightest set back:

> RP2: …you will see the level of people we are working with here, they just finished their schooling in primary… They say now there is no business, let us close the restaurant … The one who was the chairperson [of the restaurant group]…she didn't even finish grade 6.

Refugees with relatively higher levels of literacy were noted to be generally more successful in income generation and more appreciative of skills trainings, making literacy an enabling factor. Commenting on the success of literate refugees, AMP1 highlighted that:

> … to some extent yes, those who have actually acquired some basic education, their educational level even from their country of origin… they tend to excel and even appreciate the skills training and aid that we are giving them.

BFP7 gave examples, and cited a few refugees by name who, he thought to be innovative and natural leaders because they had been educated professionals in the countries of origin.

> … for example Mr. Longo for One Love [project name], he is a natural leader whether you like it or not… So, we have got such people and we are making use of them to lead diligently and for them to do virtually everything and even voluntary and, also

surprisingly, if you are to look at the level of education for these people, they are very much educated, some are accountants, some are nurses. Mr. Longo is an electrician, he was leading a certain company in Congo.

The sentiment was that educated refugees are more organised and have a better understanding of the importance of skills training. That helps them in their operations and ingenuity in camp income generation. RP27, a woman educated to diploma level, cited her education and capacity as the reason why she was elected by fellow single mothers to be a community leader and principal member of the poultry project for single mothers. She stated that:

> I was a secretary (in the country of origin); now I am a community leader and I am working in the poultry project…I was chosen by the mothers; they said this one can lead us…capacity… way of talking.

RP28, a Congolese woman with a diploma who was a teacher in her home country also stated that she was chosen by single mothers in the community to be in the project based on her capacity which is inseparable from her literacy. She stated that:

> … when I was working in Congo because I was a teacher, I was leading many people.

It became apparent during interviews that refugees of high literacy had experience, exposure or background in business management from their countries of origin and this contributes to their exceling in income generation projects. Business prowess thus turned out to be linked to literacy. It is therefore inevitable that refugees with experience in a particular trade tend to do better and adapt faster and more effectively to camp IGAs. AMP1 combined business experience with some related factors as causes for success when he stated that:

> … you find that you give them the same start-up kits, some people excel better despite having received the same training. We have an element of business management and leadership but you find some have received the same course but don't perform as others. I think it's a combination of the drive, zeal and your desire as well as some background in business.

RP32 did some accounting work in his home country and cited that background as one of the reasons why he has survived in the camp's income generation activities, stating that:

> In the Congo, I know how to manage things, I know how I can keep money, and I know how I can make orders…it helps me because I know I cannot use all money. If I use all money [capital] I will not be able to buy another [stock]…

Hajdu et al. (2011) cite a study of women in fast food business and men in brick laying business in Malawi whose findings showed that they lacked basic skills such as managing business budgets and calculating profit margins. These are challenges resulting from participants failing

to read and right. However, level of education has a direct relationship with standard of living. The illiterate and semi-literate are the ones who need IGAs the most, literacy can therefore not be a basis for exclusion. Instead, Akello, Lutwama-Rukundo and Musiimenta (2017:79-80) argue that NGOs, civil society and development partners must support functional literacy for IGA participants that would enable learners to "effectively participate in income generating activities (IGAs) as this had an impact on their economic lives". Staff responses showed an attribution of income generation failure to literacy among other factors. However, even tertiary educated refugees generally expressed minimal income that is reflective of more structural challenges to Tongogara IGAs rather than person-centred inadequacies like level of literacy.

6.3.8 Theme 8: Unstable macro-economic environment

Data showed that success of income generation activities is influenced by the economy in which they are operating. Budlender and Proudlock's (2011) observation that, subsidies provided by governments to implementing structures and partners are insufficient to cover the full scope and cost of services required for developmental welfare is indicative of the underlying reality that the macro-economic infrastructure necessary to support sustainable income generation is absent in poor nations which host refugees. Host countries need to generate and sustain enough economic growth and funds necessary for developmental welfare efforts as income generation activities for refugees. The Zimbabwean economy is facing several challenges, prime among them, a liquidity crisis which has affected small businesses mostly. Inseparable from economic performance is market liquidity; and this theme is a presentation of challenges which are directly linked to the state of the host country's economy. Participants and agency documents reported on the overall economic climate in the country:

> D2019: According to the World Bank, Zimbabwe's unsustainable fiscal deficit widened from 8.5% in 2016 to 15.2% in 2017 and is projected to surpass that level in 2018. Despite the headwinds, the African Development Bank projects that the economy will grow by 4.2% in 2019 and 4.4% in 2020. The high and unsustainable debt-to-GDP ratio; the high fiscal deficit; the cash shortages, three-tier pricing, and limited availability of foreign exchange, which continue to constrict economic activity.

> A2018: The 3-year project span coincides with a period of political instability and unprecedented economic upheavals in Zimbabwe, characterised by rampant inflation and spiralling cost of living, a critical shortage of foreign currency, the introduction of the Zimbabwean bond notes as a medium of exchange and trade, a widely contested presidential election, and a general crisis of governance.

Concurring on the liquidity crisis prevailing in Zimbabwe during this research, participants argued that cash is the foundation of operating a business, and its shortage in Zimbabwe

compromised refugee projects:

> RP30: First, cash because if you want to do business you need to have cash around, you see cash is a challenge, that's a challenge my friend.

> BD2016: Zimbabwe began facing liquidity crisis as from September 2016 and this did not spare the pig demand and sales as buyers were now recording a decline in sales thus a reduction in the quantity of pigs bought from the camp as well.

> RP18: … like the projects here are collapsing. First of all because now we don't have money, we don't have enough money because for a project to advance, you need money for the trade. If there is no money, its automatically possible that the project might fail…we can spend many months without transaction of money… labourers won't be paid and they won't even sell their merchandise…

In addition to the general shortage of physical cash in the country, the problem is worsened in Tongogara camp because the UNHCR ceased distributing monthly cash assistance to refugees, replacing it with assistance in form of food packages. This further added to the cash crunch in Tongogara making it difficult and rare for cash to change hands for business purposes:

> BFP8: … and circulation of money again because we are saying those people who were getting cash distribution, they are no longer getting so there is a reduction in terms of cash follow in the camp…

The liquidity challenge in Zimbabwe does not only affect refugees trying to penetrate the market; camp-based implementing agencies are also affected in funding income generation programmes as they experience delays and restrictions in accessing funds from donor agencies:

> AMP1: … at times we cannot access the money from our donors for the implementation of this program, for example there is a project that is supposed to be running right now but the banks do not have the cash so it can actually impact negatively on the project cycle or even lead to delays in the donors releasing funds.

> A2018: In this context, throughout 2017 and most of 2018, JRS Zimbabwe experienced massive delays in the transfer of funds into the country programme, compounded by a raft of bank regulations limiting daily bank withdrawals. During periods of shortages of money in the country, the smooth implementation of project activities was negatively affected, often causing the temporary suspension of some project activities or delays in the timely procurement of equipment and training materials.

In addition to physical cash shortages in the country, there are problems which emerge from the multi-currency system in the country whereby any given commodity may have different pricing depending on the method and currency of payment. The three common methods are

United States dollar, local Zimbabwean dollar and mobile money platforms which all create confusion and make it hard to manage pricing systems for customers and businesses owners alike. Mahaka and Mapiye (2019:1) refer to the situation as "Zimbabwe's endless currency circus and cycle" which results from the nation's general lack of economic productivity:

> AMP1: There is also the three-tier pricing system, there are some people who are actually preferring US dollars and they know that the donor organisations are receiving the US dollars. You find it sometimes affecting projects and they may even think that even the beneficiaries are also getting the US dollar.

Commenting on the implication of this condition on disposable income in the market, he further stated that:

> AMP1: … the general umbrella in the country, very little amount can be disposable income… we may also include the global financial crisis that we have, there is little disposable income.

One member of staff however argued that encampment is a protective measure from the failing economy, saying that:

> CMP9: I would be biased, I am a government official… Looking at the performance of our economy most of the refugees are better off in the camp, their standard of living is better than some locals… The state of the economy mainly, while I acknowledge encampment has got its own challenges, I wouldn't want to say self-reliance activities are affected by encampment as it is, I think the current state of the economy is affecting the projects, not particularly encampment.

Participants pointed out the state of the economy, with particular reference to the country's exceptionally high levels of inflation, arose when the government made the transition from using United States dollars and reintroduced the local Zimbabwean dollar. This is one of the overarching challenges in refugee income generation. Inflation mainly affects transactions in the camp because customers can no longer borrow goods for payment at a later date as the figure would have lost value:

> D2019: The introduction of S.I 142/2019 brought a substantial change in cash distributions resulting in a change from distributing USD to Zimbabwe dollar (ZWL) in Tongogara refugee camp. The distribution of the ZWL will require regular market monitoring to ensure that persons of concern continue obtaining value for money and that prices of goods and services do not affect their purchasing power.

> RP27: ... because of the situation in the country…sometimes the price, we can put sometimes six dollars a chicken but if you go to buy feed, the price is high, at the end of the calculation you see that there is no profit.

BFP8: They sell on credit then someone will have to pay later so when this transition came they carried on with that system and you know inflation and everything so a lot of projects were affected so at one point we were going back to support them again financially even those projects we had said we are no longer, we had to go back and start again so that was problem number one and it is still ongoing because people still want to take things on credit…but then it is not working you take something today, you want to pay a month later, the money is valueless … currency issues, that is the main problem we have in the camp…

This change in currency was also pointed out as cause for reduced buying power of refugees in the camp as the value of most of their savings was eroded by the introduction of the very unstable Zimbabwean dollar:

BMP6: … we went into the camp in 2015 During that era we were using US dollars as a country but then there were changes and then when we when onto the current regime where the multi-currency system was abolished, you'd find that whatever savings they [refugees] had were eroded.

New national financial regulations in 2019 made it mandatory to use local instead of the United States dollars and other foreign currencies. This put refugees in a disadvantaged position as they had to compete with other Zimbabwean small businesses which could evade the law because they are not formal enterprises and continue selling their products in foreign currency, thereby maintaining value:

CMP11: … policies of Zimbabwe will not allow refugees doing income generation to sell their soap in US dollars and if you don't sell in USD it means you are now competing with other people who are now using multi-currency and your survival is made very difficult. It's a cut throat business where people buy from the already established person.

The unstable macro-economic environment affects basic service delivery like water and electricity. These services are often interrupted due to the country's failure to generate or import enough to consistently meet the needs of both domestic and commercial service users. This has serious implications on agro-based IGAs in Tongogara which depends on both electricity and water:

BD2015: There were a number of challenges during the reporting period with the major one being the disruption of water supplies to the irrigation scheme for approximately ten days in May 2015 at a critical time for the winter sugar beans crop as a result of two issues:

- lack of an excavator to remove silt in the Save River and divert water to the pumps and,

- ZESA outage which resulted in lack of power to pump water to Dam 3 which supplies water to the irrigation scheme...

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Although many refugee and staff participants alike alluded to the myriad of aid and procedural shortcomings, some staff participants, in defence of their agency projects and aid, blamed income generation failure in Tongogara camp on the broader Zimbabwean economic environment. Reference to other countries in which refugee camp-based IGAs were run under more favourable economic environments were cited to argue this position:

> DMP12: The last three years or so I was in Zambia in refugees setting as well. Uh where we were also doing these activities. So, depending on the macro-economic environment the well-being or the quality of life actually improves… and I can tell you at one time one of the groups had an equivalent of US$19 000, a group of 30 people… They were buying cars, buying, I mean building better accommodation for themselves.

> BFP7: … as far as I am concerned it's sufficient[aid]; it's only the economic crisis we are facing that has derailed everything.

The Zimbabwean economy, as shown by the responses above, is simply not favourable for business as there is a lot of market instability. As participant experiences have illustrated, the prerequisite for successful income generation activities meant for vulnerable groups is the creation by government a favourable investment climate and ensuring a predictable and stable microeconomic environment. This affects both refugees in business conducting transactions and relevant agencies accessing donor funding. This is basically a resource shortage issue; the country is failing to generate enough financial resources to maintain business friendly climate and that obviously affects socio-economic care efforts.

6.3.9 Theme 9: Agency responsiveness

Agency reports and staff revealed that there are project feedback mechanisms and procedures and procedures by which refugees can express their opinions as well as grievances regarding IGAs. There is also data from refugees which indicate a formal means of communicating feedback. In addition to that, refugee participants went on to express their level of satisfaction regarding agency responsiveness to expressed concerns and requests. This theme discusses data on feedback channels between stakeholders in the care chain as well as the effectiveness of agency response to feedback. The UNHCR, which is the primary funder for camp IGAs, has a standard procedure which its implementing partners adopt and put in effect at specified intervals so as to gather refugees' input.

One project report shows that agencies involve refugees in programme design by conducting assessment on impact of projects on refugee standard of living. In this process, refugees provide

feedback on whether or not particular projects already underway have improved their economic status:

> BD2016: In accordance with UNHCR guidelines on livelihoods programme design, GOAL conducted Impact Monitoring Assessment (also called Midterm Evaluation), done mid-way of the one-year programming schedule in order to provide evidence of the achievements for the interventions and determine progress on specific impact and outcome indicators. Specific objectives of the Impact Monitoring Assessment were:
>
> - To understand the impact of a specific interventions implemented under the project.
>
> - To collect data to be used for describing the economic picture of a range of refugee households.

The report also reveals that there are annual review meetings meant to adjust project procedures in accordance with what refugees prefer. Although data on refugee participation (see sub-theme 2.1) shows that refugee participation at project planning level was minimal, agency reports claim that the platform for refugee inclusion is in effect:

> BD2016: A review and planning meeting was held with the refugees, to review progress and challenges for 2016. The meeting assisted GOAL to fine tune its programming to suit the needs of the refugees and at the same time become responsive to the needs of the refugees.

Another programme report indicates the presence of a specialised structure for receiving and responding to refugee grievances:

> BD2015: Project participants in all livelihoods sectors being implemented by GOAL were trained on accountability and a "complaints and response" committee was formed touching all sectors.

Despite reports of annual and mid-term evaluations meant to gather and respond to refugee ideas and feedback, one member of staff argued that these evaluations are not 'objective' and do not capture the reality of refugee concerns. His argument was there ought to be an independent external evaluator for refugees to freely express their perspectives on IGAs:

> CMP11: … I think it is high time we come up with a proper evaluation, an independent evaluation. What we have tended to do is at the end of the year we have someone coming from GOAL Harare and maybe gathering refugees under a tree that this is an evaluation what do you think. I think we need an independent evaluator who would come and be anonymous in other words, bring refugees to bring freely about what they think about the projects which they are doing.

Refugees were said to attend and participate in these feedback exercises with little faith in the effectiveness of the process. Refugees have in the past offered ideas and expressed complaints but little to none has been done regarding their concerns:

> CFP11: The refugee mentality is NGOs think for them, even if we [refugees] raise [complaints], we don't change things, they have raised a lot of areas where they think they should be helped but they don't.

Some refugee also stated how they have repeatedly given feedback with no response from agencies:

> RP21: … you see the problem is the people you are talking to [agency staff]; they are not paying attention…they are not taking note…they are not even considering.

> RP15: … those other ones (are) very difficult [group of staff], you talk talk talk talk, (but) nothing going your way.

> RP12: Almost every report that we are doing every month…we tell them [implementing agency], we say we are still waiting for help [they respond] if we get something, we will let you know or you just see us bring you items...

Refugee participants pointed out that the reason offered by agencies for low responsiveness to refugee problems is the expectation for refugees to assume full ownership of the project which entails solving their own problems:

> RP11: Yeah, we report it to Mutare [HQ] but nothing happened…We were so many but few are left [after some refugee deserted the project] and they are telling us that they have already given help to us so we have to develop ourselves.

> RP19: … they say we are the beneficiaries of the project; we have to try our best so the project goes for the best.

While resource constraints may appear to be the main barrier to swift and adequate responsiveness, there are instances that have nothing to do with funding shortages. One example is the issue of market preference within the camp that is a recurrent issue. Refugees reported that they are passed over for employment regardless of several appeals made to agencies. Several refugees bemoaned how they have requested their IGA groups to be hired if work requiring their skills and expertise arises in the camp:

> RP21: … we said to them that we will suggest that if there is some market here in the camp, they should give us… So, they would ask for a quotation… Surprisingly, you will see that it's another company from outside that will come and do.

> RP17: It is very difficult… to work here because sometimes they were building the pigsty. Instead of giving us the job, they were calling nationals and giving them the work.

RP21: … the problem also we had was also when there is a business. So, they were not giving us the business, they would prefer to give the locals… even inside the camp…even sometimes USAID itself, if they have some piece job, they would prefer to use locals.

RP14: … we start making soap and they [implementing agency] talked to UNHCR to start buying from us… UNHCR took some soap for a test and after that they said we are now going to make soap and [they] buy from us but from there that's when everything stopped and we don't know why.

It is not immediately clear why agencies do not hire their own trainees to perform construction and other forms of work in the camp. However, the scenario reveals the extent of agency unresponsiveness to refugees' input and suggestions. If there are legitimate reasons for doing so, they should have been communicated to refugees through established agency-beneficiaries feedback channels. Although reports show the existence of open feedback and response structures, refugee accounts indicate that these have not served the purpose or add their voice to how business is conducted in the camp. Unless agencies become disposed to, and practice Tronto's (1993) ethical quality of responsiveness, feedback processes and structures in Tongogara camp will remain tokenistic. According to Tronto (1993), responsiveness involves having to acknowledge that recipients of care are not helpless objects to be monitored but human beings with enough awareness to have ideas of their own regarding their circumstances. Their feedback must therefore be taken into account to determine whether provided care is 'sufficient,' 'successful,' or 'complete' (Tronto, 2013:35).

Having feedback mechanisms in care institutions such as refugee camps through which refugees express complaints or get consulted is not enough for sustainable income generation. Arnstein (2019:24) argues that, "There is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process". Power to act on care receivers' recommendations, that is, meaningful responsiveness, must be equalised so that it is not entirely left up to funding and implementing agencies to decide which of refugee ideas are 'feasible'. Development practitioners must, therefore, from a political ethics of care perspective, "approach the tasks of immediate aid and ongoing development" with the interests of communities at the forefront (Hugman, 2017:121).

6.3.10 Theme 10: Gender dynamics

Data from staff participants and project reports show a prevalence of gender imbalances in the trade trainings and income generation projects. It was reported that some trades are dominated by one gender. Technical trades and others which require brawn are dominated by men while

women dominate trades which are traditionally regarded as feminine. While these choices are made freely, they may result in income disparities. Some reports also show that women were unequally represented in some income generation development activities due to their lower income compared to men. Women were also reported to be hesitant to joint IGAs and assuming leadership roles in group-based projects.

Regarding skewed IGA membership based on gender, the occurrence was described as follows:

> AFP3: Most males prefer computers, few ladies go for computers but they are important. We tell them that the computers are important to everyone but the sewing, women are many… No woman is doing motor mechanics, they have no interest. We were supposed to talk to them that it is possible… They had 27 people for motor mech, male only, they were 30 but others dropped out for some reasons. For refrigeration there were 16 males and 9 females, electric installation there were 25 men no women, in carpentry there were ten males and four females, welding 22 males and one female.

> A2018: Women are still hesitant to enrol in courses that they perceive to be for men.

> D2016: While women invest in fashion fabrics and cosmetology, the men prefer retailing as central activities and these activities are complementary in scope.

RP35 who is in a mechanised trade, that is, the grinding mill business, also made the observation that, although the project is group-based and open for all and anybody to join, not a single member is female. Membership by gender may disadvantage beneficiaries who avoid certain trades which may turn out to be more lucrative. Sinclair (1993) made the observation that gender-based separation of project beneficiaries impacts on income generation capability; women projects are mostly household related such as embroidery design and tailoring while male programmes are industrial and much more lucrative like irrigation and construction works. In addition to this, report BD2016 noted women's reluctance to participate in IGAs for unspecified reasons:

> Women and women groups are encouraged to register and participate in self-employment to provide not only money but also self-worth and skills. Widows and single mothers were allocated plots so that they do not continue to queue for handouts as vulnerable groups.

There is, however, no evidence in data from interviews to suggest that women are reluctant to join IGAs in Tongogara camp. Nonetheless, this hesitancy among female refugees is prevalent at a global level. Bruijn (2009) notes that, in recognition of that problem, the UNHCR made a resolution to ensure gender main streaming in income generation programming. It resolved to mainstream gender in refugee programming in 2001 with the introduction of a strategy known as the 'five commitments to refugee women' (UNHCR, 2001). Point four of this strategy

basically provides for the equal representation of women in every aspect of refugee livelihood including vocational and technical training.

Women's lower financial means also appears to limit them from partaking in activities which require self-financing. Despite receiving training in any trade, women are less likely than men to start-up and finance IGAs:

> BD2015b: Focus group participants noted a couple of gender-based challenges to increased participation. Women said they struggled to join in market development activities as they had no access to transport or start-up capital. Some women chose not to participate in poultry production projects, as they lacked access to vaccines and veterinary advice to prevent the chickens from dying.

Participant BMP5 also spoke of gender balance in income generation noting that, although women participate in income generation, they tend to shy away from positions of leadership. Similarly, global camp data shows that only twenty nine per cent of camps meet the fifty per cent female representation in management structures (Bruijn, 2009). This is a general reflection of how refugee women occupy subordinate roles both socially and economically. This withdrawal from positions of public leadership and assumption of peripheral roles puts women at the risk of further alienation. Overall, there is a link between gender and poverty which manifests in unequal participation and representation in income generation activities and leadership structures. Twikirize (2014:57) argues that unequal relationship between men and women have, in social development, impacted on "resource distribution, responsibilities and power". It is therefore necessary to interrogate and address these differences in access to resources between men and women to avoid their perpetuation. Although there are projects reserved for women only in Tongogara camp, their efficacy in addressing any existing income disparities between the genders ought to be assessed.

6.3.11 Theme 11: Goals of IGAs

Data revealed the different goals that refugees and funding agencies have pursued in the implementation of income generating activities in Tongogara camp. It was apparent in the responses that different participants expected somewhat similar outcomes for IGAs, however, their motives differed. The common goal for all stakeholders was to achieve sustainable income generation. However, it appears refugees and agencies want this outcome for different reasons. Refugees want IGAs to be sustainable so that they can afford the necessities of life and support their families in dignity. Funding agencies seem to push for IGA sustainability primarily to relieve the pressure to support refugees off hosts as well as the UNHCR. Agencies want income

generation projects to enable refugees in protracted situations such as the one in Tongogara to achieve self-sustenance so that they would stop relying on dwindling UNHCR and host government funds. This theme presents findings on what different participants consider to be the IGA goals as well as the underlying motives and assumptions for such goals.

The livelihoods strategic plans under which projects are being implemented consider sustainability as a goal and envisaged outcome for refugee projects:

> D2016: The vision of the TRC livelihoods programme is: Economic justice and social equity to meet the needs of refugees in TRC with the inclusion of host communities in sustainable livelihoods and self-reliance for targeted populations.

However, the interview with UNHCR staff, whose agency is the principal funder of camp IGAs, revealed that IGAs are meant to reduce funding pressure from the agency when the caseload becomes protracted:

> DMP12: … because of caseloads that end up protracted, there is a need to promote self-reliance amongst refugees… because most host countries don't have the capacity to give refugees or POCs free handouts… that's our departure point for livelihoods.

The following responses illustrate the motive to reduce funding responsibilities as one of the goals of the IGAs:

> BFP8: As an organisation, we want to achieve self-reliance… At some point they [refugees] have to graduate from donor support to being self-sufficient.

> BD2015b: It is therefore imperative that medium to long term plans are put in place to ensure that refugees can increase their self-reliance instead of relying on food handouts.

> CMP9: … we need to empower refugees, we are saying refugees cannot rely on handouts alone so we are fighting dependency syndrome of refugees. We want them to contribute to their house hold economy that is the first thing that is very fundamental to us… Once we empower these people, they will no longer rely on the benevolence of well-wishers…

> AMP1: … there is that temptation of keeping on feeding you which in some instances can actually make you very dependent… I think all the donor community should actually think of an exit strategy. If we are really serious about sustainability, let's have an exit strategy.

Participant BMP5 also stated the motive behind funding income generation activities was that UNHCR resources to feed refugees are dwindling, and they cannot handle the load anymore; so, refugees who can engage in economic productivity should be made self-reliant. The

problem with this motive is the eagerness to withdraw support and the unrealistic expectation to have refugees run projects 'independently'. This is shown in report BD2016 which states the following:

> In an effort to make refugees appreciate and prepare for weaning off, trainings… were designed as part of building participants self-reliance skills set.

The preoccupation with 'autonomising' refugees as a goal of aid given to refugees in income generation in the explanation below by participant AMP:

> … we have given you the training for skills and you have been doing some practicals with us but then we are saying now you are ripe enough, you are able to do it on your own and then we give you everything you require in order to be able to start on your own, that's the start-up kit. So, when you start-up now, we expect you to be going on your own.

Participant AFP3 explained how it is the agency's goal for refugees to make enough money for themselves so that they would not need the monthly allowance which they receive from the WFP and UNHCR:

> … to stand alone because you see people are complaining, they are given $13 per month by WFP and our wish is...for them not to even worry about that $13 if they are self-sustained.

In response to that, several refugees stated that they would not stop receiving and accepting any form of aid even if the income generation activities become sustainable. Refugees held this position because they argued that it is their right to receive assistance by virtue of being refugees regardless of personal financial status:

> RP27: I can't stop the $13 because it is my right as refugee.

> RP25: Even if I make lots of money, whatever, I won't stop getting that $13, it's like my right.

> RP29: Even if I have got one million, if someone gives me a coin, you can't refuse, you can't say no.

RP35 explained that he understood the purpose of aided camp income generation activities is to make refugees able to look after themselves instead of "sitting and waiting for WFP support". Despite that understanding, he argued that no matter how well the poultry project performs, he could not stop receiving the free WFP handouts because "all refugees are equal". Similarly, participant RP31 gave an account of what he understood to be the project's goal:

> Normally in business you have to sustain yourself not to always wait for another people,

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if the person is not there, what are you going to do?

However, his position on voluntarily stopping to accept UNHCR and WFP food aid should his project become sustainable was:

> RP31: It's coming from UN, so, we collect them, you can never be full.

Agencies seem to acknowledge the meagre project profits and the larger structural challenges faced by camp IGAs but still insist on the ideas of self-reliance and refugee autonomy:

> BD2016: The group managed to share dividends in each quarter, as each member started by receiving $6, followed by $12, then $50 for two times in the year. In an effort to stimulate self-reliance, the group was gradually weaned off from input support and commenced running the project using proceeds from the project…

Annual proceeds of six, twelve and fifty dollars cannot be enough for agencies to cease input support with the goal of stimulating 'self-reliance'. The report seems to overlook the impracticality of these figures to meet basic household needs to focus on getting refugees off aid. The structural circumstances that inhibit project sustainability were described in another report as follows:

> D2016: This lack of progress has sometimes been because of resistance by host governments, the unwillingness of humanitarian and development actors to work together, or the lack of funding for development-based approaches to refugee assistance. In other cases, it has been because such approaches have been poorly conceived.

The report goes on to describe the requisites for sustainability which include empowerment, human rights and social justice. Until these preconditions are put in place there could be no self-reliance:

> D2016: The TLSP promotes actions to harmonize economic development for refugees and host communities with crucial social, cultural and economic justice concerns of human societies, including responsibilities to be taken by beneficiaries for their wellbeing and rights, empowerment, peace and human security.

There are several problems with the quest to economically 'autonomise' refugees without addressing the structural causes of their economic vulnerability. The first problem is that it creates the false assumption that project sustainability depends entirely on refugee competence. The notion that the individual is responsible for their own outcomes is unrealistic and is often propagated by power holders to absolve them of the caring responsibility that human beings owe each other from a moral and democratic standpoint. In the case of Tongogara, the

sloganeering of terms like 'independence' and 'self-reliance' results in refugees being pathologised as essentially lazy, entitled, ungrateful and uncommitted when they fail to achieve the unachievable. This affords more powerful stakeholders like government and agencies the *privileged irresponsibility* (Tronto, 1990) of not acknowledging or interrogating their own role in perpetuating refugee poverty by means of uncaring policies and undemocratic power relations. Tronto (2010) states that the notion of independence is a fallacy that distorts reality because it glosses over the need for continuous and consistent care in a society. There can be no once-off care like start-up kits offered by agencies in Tongogara camp with eagerness to avoid the responsibility of a complex and on-going caring relationship. Tronto's realistic representation of the human condition reveals goals like 'self-sufficiency' as ill-conceived; thus, IGAs suffer a false start given the frugal support and premature expectation for beneficiaries to 'stand alone.'

6.3.12 Theme 12: Refugees' commitment to IGAs

Although factors that affect the sustainability of refugee income generation projects turned out to be mostly beyond the control of refugees, their level of commitment to the projects was identified as an important factor. Participants argued that many refugees do not put as much effort in project work as they should because they did not regard it as a priority during their stay in Tongogara camp. Several staff participants stated that refugees were not willing to engage in the necessary work for them to be able to fend for themselves because they felt entitled to food aid from government and the UNHCR. Refugees also reportedly sought to maintain or even exaggerate their vulnerability in order to increase their eligibility for resettlement to first world nations. In support of their argument on low refugee commitment, staff participants gave examples of individual refugees and groups who have, owing to their high commitment, ensured continuity of production in their respective projects.

6.3.12.1 Sub-theme 12.1: Instrumental vulnerability

Data gathered from multiple staff participants showed that, although the average refugee ends up living in the camp for over a decade, refugees regard Tongogara camp as a transitory camp. Staff participants held the view that, in holding on to the hope of relocation, some refugees seek to maintain the image of vulnerability that is instrumental in raising prospects for relocation. By so doing, refugees were reported to have low interest in income generating activities:

> DMP12: I can safely say 80% of refugees we have want to be resettled to a third country… So, if you come in with say, I have got a piggery project here or a value chain that you need to develop, they might not put as much effort so that they remain vulnerable and become candidates for resettlement… Then there is no full commitment to whatever anyone is doing.

Refugees' preoccupation with resettlement above everything else was described as follows:

> CFP11: …UNHCR brings in people and say courtesy of the American government, they are allowed to go for a program called resettlement. So, whilst those refugees have registered for resettlement they are in no hurry to do other income generating projects. They are saying, 'we are waiting to go to America where in America we will not do pigs. We will not do all these things and poultry and stuff. So, why do we have to go and do this?' So, sometimes they are even shunning and discouraging others… then there is a lot of turnover of people…

> AFP4: … people are just looking for quick money since they don't have a plan of future within the camp. They don't know when they will move out because everyone within the camp has got an anticipation of relocation even the business persons that you see in the camp. They have got that anticipation of relocation, so, everyone is thinking of relocation. So, that one now becomes a challenge in the field.

Refugees still hold on to the possibility of resettlement although UNHCR staff members have met with refugee representatives to inform them of the diminishing chances of resettlement. This is so because Tongogara camp is no longer regarded as an emergency situation like the more pressing refugee crises in the Middle East:

> AMP2: … it's unfortunate that we have got what we call the resettlement that you may go to America or Australia… So, already it has affected how they come to school or putting hard work. They say 'for these four years, I finish America is waiting for me'… Even the UN high commissioner who came two weeks back he told the [refugee] leaders that now don't expect resettlement there is nothing like that.

Staff participants also expressed concern regarding conflict between staff and refugees stemming from the relocation issue. Staff stated that they were hesitant to monitor refugees in income generation projects for fear of being reported and accused of abuse by refugees who seek to present themselves as victims in a bid to be relocated:

> BMP6: … if ever you'd want to monitor those guys [refugees] and you see there are challenges and they don't want to discuss, they would quickly refer to protection issues and use that to seek relocation much earlier… So, what happens is, if they are a participant in a certain project, and then you [staff] see that there are things that are not working well then you try and discuss it with them; if you are not very careful they will go and say this guy is abusing me to increase eligibility for relocation.

This scenario, according to staff participants, prevents the removal of 'loafers' from project groups, or the implementation of corrective measures in projects. This reportedly results in the continual presence of uncommitted refugees in income generation groups:

> BMP6: … even in terms of taking remedial action. If you see that somebody is not participating, if you want to remove them, they will quickly go and say I'm having problems with this guy. So, it takes a lot of time to seek remedial action and it has to go through certain procedures. The committee first, and after the committee when everyone is agreeable that there is an issue that's when they will seek a replacement.

The purported exploitation of vulnerability creates an atmosphere of tension among stakeholders in the care chain particularly, frontline staff and refugees. However, this is to be anticipated, especially among stakeholders with conflicting goals. Agencies and refugees appear to have conflicting long-term goals: relocation for refugees and long-term sustainable income generation for agencies. Tronto (1993:109) states that "while ideally there is smooth interconnection between caring about, taking care of, care-giving, and care-receiving, in reality there is likely to be conflict within each of these phases and between them". This friction between frontline staff and refugees is prominent at the 'care-giving' phase which entails the physical day to day activities of running IGAs in the camp. Relationships of care in the camp may at times be underlined by mistrust and scepticism. In that case, anything can be used to gain leverage in negotiating for one's interests. Reflective and critical practice that an ethics of care brings to humanitarian work should incite a closer look at what this sort of 'refugee dishonesty' signifies. Refugees resorting to deception in pursuit of resettlement is indicative of the ineffectiveness of IGAs as an alternative option to wellbeing, given the context of limited success within which they are performed. If refugees consider resettlement the only viable option, regardless of its rarity, they will adopt counterproductive methods of bargaining for eligibility. Hölscher, Kanamugire, and Udah (2020:35) affirm that:

> In contexts where one party has been formally empowered to serve as gatekeeper to that on which the other depends, the latter may at times draw on informal sources of power- such as ability to tell their stories in ways that meet the gatekeepers' requirements, while also seeming to meet the expectation of being the truth.

This power contest does nothing more than exacerbate mistrust between staff and refugees. Faced with this conundrum, a critical ethics of care can inform the equalisation of power with those at the bottom of the power scale, giving refugees agency over IGAs. This can increase their sustainability to a level where refugees sincerely engage in projects instead of exploiting

their vulnerability to qualify for resettlement which they consider as the only viable option to a dignified life.

6.3.12.2 Sub-theme 12.2: Entitlement to aid

Several staff participants went on to allege that some refugees' low level of commitment is a result of a sense of entitlement to aid. Staff participants argue that refugees consider themselves entitled to free food and life sustaining commodities and services and this diminishes their motivation to earn a living through income generating activities. This, according to staff participants, leads to laziness in the camp:

> BFP7: … some have been given the kind of education in which they consider themselves as people who should be given something for free to use but for them now to do their own thing, they need some training, some transformation in order to change their mindsets.

> AMP1: … their attitude plays a very important role. They don't want to work, well some of them don't want to, they feel that they are not supposed to, they believe that everything is supposed to be done for them. For example, if you bring a truckload of timber, they say no, find someone to offload it… It's just a matter of interest. They are really hesitant to take up physical jobs. I'd take the DRCs, you would find that most of them want to take up cosmetology, even the men, because they want to run away from manual labour.

The consistent provision of food aid at predictable intervals, as argued by one member of staff, is an impediment to the achievement of refugee self-reliance because it diminishes the incentive to work hard. In that case, income generation activities and food aid become competing and contradictory activities:

> BMP6: … during your visit to the camp, I want to believe you witnessed a number of other competing activities… For example, we are doing livelihoods, we encourage somebody to be self-reliant but then there is food aid…they are conflicting activities because that person would not see any incentive to work hard…because they know this [IGAs] is failing but we still get backup in terms of food.

This problem is also noted in agency documents which propose attitude change training to encourage refugees to be proactive:

> BD2016: Some key behaviour changes continue to be realised in trying to help refugees appreciate that they need to do things for themselves. These ranged from GOAL not engaging or paying off loaders for offloading the agricultural inputs (seed, fertilizers, cement, roofing materials and stock feeds) but rather having the project participants carrying out the tasks themselves.

A refugee income generation strengths and weakness assessment study of Tongogara camp also reports that:

> D2016: … unwillingness to participate in economic livelihoods project because they see free food as a right.

Making similar observations, Participant CMP9 blamed 'dependency syndrome' which results in low commitment to income generation:

> … the second issue has to do with the refugees themselves, there seems to be this resistance towards undertaking self-reliance and livelihoods projects. Some of them are reluctant and this dependency syndrome has been engrained in their minds to say we are here to be supported by UNHCR and WFP as well as the government so we can't work. They seem to have associated or socialized themselves to an extend that they claim to be vulnerable and since they say they are vulnerable they think they should enjoy the benefits of being vulnerable.

Document BD2016 also links assistance with the perpetuation of dependency:

> UNHCR provides refugees with diverse multi-sectorial assistance in areas which include food, core relief items, energy, shelter, education, self-reliance, education, water and sanitation, health and community mobilisation. This creates high levels of dependency which is not sustainable since refugees are dependent on UNHCR for most if not all of their basic needs.

Participant BMP5 also held the opinion that refugees think it is the duty of UNHCR to feed them. Some projects are not taken up because they are considered labour intensive. In the irrigation schemes, the Congolese in particular are unwilling to undertake manual labour; their number on the beneficiary group is too lean because they are reluctant.

Refugees are allegedly not dependent on material aid alone, they also depend on external parties to put in the hands-on work associated with project operations, resulting in money wasting outsourcing of responsibility:

> BMP6: … I want to show you the level of dependency syndrome that was in the camp. People where actually paying for a security guy to guard their crop, you have produced a crop but you want a security guy to guard your crop during the night…

However, this contradicted an agency report which hailed this initiative by refugees as noble:

> BD2016: The security sub-committee put in place an initiative for irrigation scheme farmers to safeguard their crop through hiring security guards for the month of harvesting. Farmers were mobilised under this initiative and each contributed $0.50c towards the payment of the guards. The farmers recruited and engaged the services of four security guards to watch over their crops and recorded near zero cases of theft in the scheme a testimony that the initiative was noble.

Participants also attributed absenteeism from both trade training and project group of activities to an entitlement to immediate gratification or compensation. The attitude of entitlement in vocational skills training was considered to be a symptom of low commitment:

> RP10: Saturday we had a meeting whereby we could talk about this money but unfortunately, all the group did not come, there were only three persons so we said better we postpone…
>
> AFP4: … some would just go for refreshment. They will choose where there is refreshment [food snacks] if GOAL is training on fish production and there is refreshment there. And at JRS, … there is training and there is no refreshment, they would choose where there is refreshment…

Local Zimbabweans who get the same training together with refugees in Tongogara refugee camp were referred to as examples of how attitudes and commitment impact business. They are reported to be doing much better relative to refugees because they are more committed:

> AMP1: … take for example where we take some of the locals. They are doing very good compared to the refugees, that is a matter of attitude. You find that during the trainings, physiological things like food, these people [refugees], if they don't get food, they may not come to the trainings. So, it's more of what do I gain out of doing this.

This example however fails to take into account the obvious advantage that locals have over refugees in terms of freedom of movement. Therefore, refugees' low levels of success relative to locals', despite receiving the same training, could not be attributed solely to lack of commitment. This disregard for circumstantial causes of dependence affects the manner in which care is dispensed because circumstantial dependency on aid is framed as "…a propensity to keep receiving it…" (Taruvinga, Hölscher & Lombard, 2021:8). The risk is, this can be used to justify the minimisation of aid, regardless of need. It turned out to be the case in Tongogara camp with staff proposing the reduction of assistance to refugees:

> AMP1: At times our aid is too much spoon feeding; we tend to treat them [refugees] with too much kid gloves, in as much as we don't want to give them a rough landing but they should also see the other side of the aid. There is nothing like a free lunch, I have always said. Someone has paid but that is the component they lack even in terms of the pricing because at times they may not even take it into their costing as a cost because its coming from an aider or from the donor. So, in the event that you are dropped now in the middle of the dessert, where all this support is no more with your skills, you may end up failing to be self-sustaining…we are supposed to wean off and see the person growing on their own…
>
> AMP1: I think the issuing of start-up kits should have restrictions, to say we own the start-up kits until a certain period because some people are just attracted by the start-up kits knowing that once they get the start-up kits they may end up even

> selling. You give them a welding machine, following morning you find it sold. Like in the last meeting, I was told that we gave people uniforms but they ended up selling the uniforms. We also have people whose fees were paid but they don't want to write the exams.

Overall, the general sentiment by staff participants is that refugees exploit dependency and are generally reluctant to put in the commitment and work necessary to run and sustain income generation activities. Although an overwhelming majority of refugees who are still engaged in income generation report negligible changes to their quality of life, caregivers seem insensitive of the legitimate challenges which make sustainable remuneration in the camp almost impossible. Attributing IGA failure to refugees' unwillingness to fully commit would be a simplistic way of approaching the problem which appear to have multiple causes. Pinning the blame on refugees without a closer look at the circumstances allows agencies to circumvent the responsibility of introspective practice. If refugees had the influence to determine how their own development needs should be met, project desertion and 'loafing' would not be as high. With refugees excluded from critical decision making on account of their 'low expertise', it is only expected that their presence in IGAs be little more than 'courtesy' as participant CFP11 observed.

6.3.12.3 Sub-theme 12.3: Individual perseverance

Participants who commented on refugee commitment argued that, for any business to start realising profits, it must gain momentum, which takes time, even longer under encampment conditions. While refugees have been blamed for lacking commitment and persistence, there are cases of refugees who are cited as proof that commitment does indeed lead to project success even under camp conditions:

> AFP3: … there was a group which was trained in bakery. The other one decided to work on his own, he is doing very well. His name is [censored]. The others worked as a group, but they have nothing to show but he is continuing working alone… I think the refugees, if things are not going well they have a tendency that, if things are not going well, they need to leave it. I think that one, he just kept on going. He persevered because some other equipment, we take back if we feel these people are not doing something because there are some records of things getting stolen because they are not using those things. So, at times if they are not doing anything, we take the material, if they want to continue, they take it back.

> AFP4: … he usually comes when he wants to have his breakeven price… We will be updating him on prices each and every time… So, he will come with whatever he bought, the receipts, [he says] may you calculate the break even for me. We always do that for him and then he goes and do the selling and we tell him to adjust other prices as inflation is gripping this country… That guy was trained by JRS and he went on to practice what he was taught. Some went on to relax

at home… So, it's about commitment. Some are committed… like these guys for welding, they were thirteen but only two guys are still coming [to work].

Participants also referred to cases in which the majority of group members deserted their group leading to their closure of many groups. However, there are some groups which were kept afloat by few individuals who keep running despite the initial low profits. After fellow group members shut down a restaurant business, participant RP2 decided to resuscitate it out of her own pocket, which led those who had quit to rejoin:

> After four days I said no! We cannot stay like this. I go talk to Sister Pepe [frontline member of staff]. I said Sister, me I have my own money. So, I will start business… I buy mealie meal, I buy chicken, I buy everything. We start that business again… and then they come again, they say oh we want to work…

Participant RP13 also spoke of such individuals who are more committed and proactive than others as key in ensuring group continuation:

> You know for a project to run, there has to be what we call the lead players… people who are devoted to work and help, the project will go on…

Several refugees in the few groups which have continued to run also expressed a commitment to the project despite turnover challenges. Their reasons for persevering despite all odds were:

> RP28: The love of the project, I don't want the project to lock the doors… because after the work, the hope is, in the future we can have much money and we will improve.

> RP11: … many projects have shut down but us, because it is our field [a particular trade] we don't have any other work, that's why we are hanging on… maybe if we are courageous, you never know, tomorrow can get something good out of it…

> RP1: I am serious and I like what I do… I like what I do and when I am doing my work I do it with all my heart and I like it and I want to be successful.

> RP27: Me, I have hope that one day things will be good, things are going to change and my hope is we find a sponsor, someone who can authorize our projects then we will be very happy… yes, I am hard working.

One participant attributed his relative success to better management:

> RP9: I am trying to manage my things. I tell you, if I find some money, even small, I send someone to go buy for me some material [outside the camp] and I fabricate them, I am going to move around to sell.

Although some groups and businesses have continued to run owing to particular individuals, their standard of life have not changed significantly as a result of that. Refugees who are identified as committed and hardworking seemed to bank on hope rather than actual revenue.

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The continuation of projects in that circumstance does not equate to sustainability. A project must do more than just run, it must ensure a dignified life and savings for its beneficiaries. Overall, staff perspectives on low refugee commitment create a distorted view of the problem at hand on account of overlooking contextual factors. Before assuming that IGAs lack sustainability because of low commitment, staff ought to be more circumspect of context to establish the correct causal order between failing projects and low refugee commitment. Considering the myriad of challenges of operating IGAs under encampment, it is more realistic to interpret refugees' reliance on aid as an alternative for survival rather than a preference.

6.4 Summary

This chapter presented and discussed data from the study's three sample categories as well as agency projects' documents. The chapter began with brief descriptions of agency as well as participant profiles. It further discussed the nature of aid together with the multiple factors which affect project sustainability as they were presented by participants. Discussions reveal that aid and assistance vary from material to technical support. It is also apparent in the discussions that some resources are more limited than others and the manner of dispensation for various resources differ. This has a bearing on the sustainability of IGAs. Although relevant agencies, including government, converge on the common goal to better the socio-economic status of refugees through IGAs, their efforts to assist are hindered by several contextual barriers, some not of their making while others are the unfortunate results of misconceptions, unfounded fears, and not so accurate perceptions of refugees, which are further discussed in the next chapter. However, data also covered person-centred factors to business success; a collection of what enables some refugees in Tongogara to register some level of success they have accomplished. Overall, with regards to projects appropriateness and the seclusion of refugees, the perspective of refugees and officials differ more than they concur. The study's key findings, conclusions and recommendations are discussed in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 7

KEY FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

The goal of the study was to utilise a critical ethics of care perspective to reconsider the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp. This chapter is made up of summative accounts and concluding arguments for the study. The chapter is divided into three main sections. It begins with a summary of the key research findings and their conclusions. This is followed by a layout of the overall study goal and objectives, indicating how and where they were met in the research process and where accounted for in the thesis. The second section draws on key findings and conclusions to propose a reconsidered aid framework for sustainable income generation in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp informed by a critical ethics of care. The final section offers recommendations for ways through which a reconsidered aid framework can be implemented.

7.2 Key Findings and Conclusions

The study's key findings encompass social, political, economic and ideological contexts within which income generating activities are undertaken in Tongogara camp. Findings further show how context affects the sustainability of refugee IGAs. Key findings and their conclusions are presented in twelve main themes as follows: (1) nature of capital aid and manner of dispensation; (2) power dynamics in project undertakings; (3) encampment challenges for income generation conditions; (4) refugee income generation group relations; (5) adequacy of support for IGA start-up and implementation; (6) gains of IGAs for sustainable livelihoods and general wellbeing; (7) participants' literacy levels for training and project suitability; (8) unstable macroeconomic environment for IGA viability; (9) agency responsiveness to refugees' input; (10) gender dynamics' implications for IGAs; (11) goals of IGAs; and (12) Refugees' commitment to IGAs.

7.2.1 Key findings on nature of capital aid and manner of dispensation

- The nature of capital aid and assistance given to refugees comes in three main forms, namely natural capital, physical capital and human capital aid.

Physical capital aid comes in pre-set packages, usually specific to a particular trade. These packages are meant to offer the newly trained refugee with the requisite trade tools and equipment necessary to initiate a business in the area for which training was received.

Natural capital aid forms the backbone of the dominantly agro-based income generation activities in the refugee camp. These resources included land, irrigable land, water, timber planks and reeds, among other natural resources, which are under the custody of the Zimbabwean government.

Human capital aid includes consulting services of experts. The government, in collaboration with livelihood agencies operating in the camp, consult the services of experts such as agriculturalists and manufacturing industry technicians to train and guide refugees in their respective trades.

- Aid is dispensed according to eligibility and determinants of eligibility include the number of dependants per household, disability, level of education and number of parents in a household.

7.2.1.1 Conclusions on nature of capital aid and manner of dispensation

o Aid is constrained hence its dispensation is economised through various eligibility criteria depending on the dispensing agency. However, need based selection would be more effective than merit based selection for the goal of poverty alleviation.

o Financial capital aid is missing from the overall aid package in Tongogara camp, thereby reducing refugees' flexibility of choice.

o Frequency aid dispensation is a major determinant of project sustainability.

7.2.2 Key findings on power dynamics in project undertakings

- There is decision making power disparity during project undertakings.

- Despite the existence of stipulated procedures for refugee inclusion, their involvement in project formulation and evaluation remain limited.

- Some projects come pre-formulated without refugee consultation.

- There is alleged power-based mismanagement of project funds.

- There is both fear and lack of support in confronting and addressing alleged situations of funds misappropriation.

7.2.2.1 Conclusions on power dynamics in project undertakings

o Aid has, in some cases, become paternalistic in Tongogara camp, with agencies presuming to know what is best for refugees.

o Some members of staff synonymise refugees' vulnerability with inability resulting in refugee subordination.

o Centralised decision-making power results in diminished IGA sustainability.

o Unchecked power inevitably leads to its abuse, hence the need for checks and balances to mitigate that the problem.

7.2.3 Key findings on encampment challenges for income generation conditions

- Encampment and its implications are a central theme in participant perspectives on refugee IGAs.

- Participants across all sample groups argued for and against encampment, however, most participants argued against it.

- Physical isolation presents a challenge by limiting access to markets, additionally, it makes the camp population the default market, resulting in flooded products and services with little demand.

- The climatic conditions in the region in which refugees are confined makes it difficult to conduct their mostly agro-based IGAs.

- Government and NGOs consider encampment to be beneficial in terms of easy access to aid for localised refugees. Refugees dismissed this alleged advantage and wished they could be allowed full freedoms.

- Some refugees favour encampment for easy access to the resettlement interview site.

- Refugees are considered to be competition for national resources by government; hence it resorted to encamping them as a preservation measure.

- Some staff participants argued that the intermingling of refugees and locals pose a culture dilution risk for both parties.

- The security of both state and refugees was considered a necessary reason for encampment by some participants from all sample groups.

7.2.3.1 Conclusions on encampment challenges for income generation conditions

- Isolation reduces refugees' capacity to accrue social capital in the form of business and personal relationships, a counterproductive scenario for IGAs.

- It is contradictory to seek refugee emancipation through IGAs while citing easy access to aid as an advantage of confinement.

- Encampment as a separatist policy is motivated by the uncaring pursuit of self-interests on the part of government.

- There is an incorrect assumption that refugees' economic gains equal economic loss for the host resulting in a missed opportunity for mutual enrichment under conditions of interconnectedness.

- There is an unrealistic perception of culture as static and unified, leading to unnatural and essentialist ideas of cultural purism.

- Encampment perpetuates the othering of refugees and further bred harmful attitudes of segregation and xenophobia.

- The collective treatment of refugees when it comes to host-refugees hostilities results in the neglect of caring responsibilities by hosts

7.2.4 Key findings on refugee income generation group relations

- Group-fashion IGAs, despite their unpopularity, are the only arrangement for donor assisted income generation in Tongogara.

- The level of IGAs' group member cooperation determines project success.

- Refugee participants revealed that there were group tensions due to unresolved carried over conflict from participants' countries of origin.

- Ethnic-based tensions resulted in intra-group segregation which leads to some refugees hesitating to join or quitting IGAs.

- Language differences results in communication challenges during refugee training as well as marketing of refugee goods and services.

- Refugee IGA groups are oversized due to funding constraints, resulting in negligible profits and difficulties in conflict management.

- Some participants thought groups are beneficial in terms of responsibility sharing and mutual learning and sharing of business ideas.

7.2.4.1 Conclusions on refugee income generation group relations

- Tensions among refugees compromise social cohesion necessary for the development of social capital and business networks.

- Power struggles for project control among refugees is just as detrimental to project success as power struggles across different stakeholder groups.

- The continuation of group-setting IGAs at the displeasure of refugees is reflective of their limited power to effect change in project procedures.

- Large beneficiary groups achieve little to alleviate refugee poverty; instead they portray a false image of mass productivity in the camp.

- There must be measures to foster intra-stakeholder cohesion as this is just as critical to project sustainability as inter-stakeholder cohesion.

7.2.5 Key findings on adequacy of support for IGA start-up and implementation

- All participant groups agreed that physical and human capital support were inadequate thereby negatively affected IGAs.

- Due to budget constraints at the UNHCR, which is the main funder of IGAs, material support is given once at project commencement and seldom given during the projects.

- Project infrastructure such as hardware equipment for various IGAs is substandard due to the premature withdrawal of funding, causing limited productivity.

- Frontline staff do not make enough follow ups post training to equip refugees with technical advice as well as monitor progress. Refugees expressed a feeling of abandonment that was identified as one of the causes of low refugee investment in IGAs.

- There is inadequate human capital support due to incomplete training and unexplained abrupt stoppage of training.

- Lack of support in finding internship placement for practical courses reduces refugee competitiveness and low consumer confidence in refugee services.

- All participant groups reported a lack of financial services for IGAs that are crucial for business. Although refugees could not access banking services due to legal restrictions, the UNHCR participant indicated that some refugee camps have initiated improvisations like micro financial schemes that are absent in Tongogara.

7.2.5.1 *Conclusions on adequacy of support for IGA start-up and implementation*

o Providing money without the hands-on frontline work to make sure needs to run IGAs are met is inadequate care and hence not enough to ensure project sustainability.

o There is a need for continuous engagement between refugees and staff for both to share ideas and keep up with the complex and everchanging field challenges. This is especially important for staff to stay in touch with the IGAs experience on the ground to avoid unfounded and inaccurate assumptions.

o The abrupt cessation of trainings with no explanations offered to refugees is indicative of a general lack of open, lateral and transparent communication between agencies and refugees.

o The placement of responsibility on refugees to find attachment for practical training illustrates the disregard for circumstantial limitations and the propensity to avoid responsibility by agencies.

o Low consumer confidence and stigmatisation of refugees' products and services are signs of poor social relations between refugees and local communities.

7.2.6 Key findings on gains of IGAs for sustainable livelihoods and general wellbeing

- Participants reported that IGAs in Tongogara camp had two types of gains, namely financial and non-financial.

- Refugees did acknowledge changes in household income due to IGAs but not on a sustainable level.

- Refugees and staff held different views regarding the extent of IGAs' financial gains; some members of staff were convinced sufficient funds were being generated while most refugees refuted that.

- Regarding non-financial gains, both staff and refugees were in agreement that IGAs are beneficial for refugees' mental health and are instrumental in combating boredom and inactivity common in refugee camps.

7.2.6.1 Conclusions on gains of IGAs for sustainable livelihoods and general wellbeing

- Although mental health is an invaluable part of human wellbeing, IGAs must be evaluated on basis of their primary purpose, that is, to generate sustainable income. In that regard, they are generally failing.
- Without the financial sustainability component, the mental health benefits of IGAs could not suffice in the long run to guarantee overall refugee wellbeing.

7.2.7 Key findings on participants' literacy levels for training and project suitability

- Refugees' level of literacy is thought by some participants from all sample groups to be a person-centred determinant of success in IGAs.
- Refugees' ability to read and write is a requisite for certain types of training and IGAs.
- High literacy was reported, mostly by frontline staff, to have a direct relationship with business knowhow.
- Group members' attitudes and general commitment towards IGAs are also linked to members' level of literacy.

7.2.7.1 Conclusions on participants' literacy levels for training and project suitability

- If poverty reduction is the goal of IGAs, low literacy should not be a basis for exclusion from vocational training because persons of low literacy are often most in need of vocations.
- Focusing on person-centred factors like literacy withdraws attention away from structural causes of IGAs' failure in Tongogara camp such as restrictive refugee legislation.
- Instead of side-lining the illiterate, functional literacy is supposed to be improved to enable them to effectively participate in IGAs.

7.2.8 Key findings on unstable macroeconomic environment for IGA viability

- Zimbabwe's unique and prolonged economic woes resulting in conditions of hyperinflation and currency inconsistency influence IGA outcomes.
- Poor nations/hosts like Zimbabwe cannot afford to fully finance the necessary preconditions for an effective developmental approach to welfare.
- The country's economic instability affects the provision of basic amenities like water and electricity so crucial for the smooth running of agro-based IGAs.

7.2.8.1 Conclusions on unstable macroeconomic environment for IGA viability

- o The economic situation in Zimbabwe is unfavourable for business to thrive.
- o The unpredictability of the economic environment affects every stage of the project cycle from donor funding to implementation.

7.2.9 Key findings on agency responsiveness to refugees' input

- There are official feedback platforms through which refugees could use to express their opinions and complaints to camp-based NGOs.
- Agency project reports noted that they conduct periodic reviews of IGA procedures and processes in accordance with refugees' needs.
- The objectivity of project evaluations was brought into question by a managerial officer who contradicted project reports, the argument being that internal evaluations are biased and do not capture or reflect the true picture of the state of IGAs on the ground.
- Refugees have little faith in the effectiveness of feedback mechanisms to address the complaints they raised.
- The expectation by funding agencies for refugees to be 'autonomous' was pointed out by mostly managerial staff as the main reason for low agency responsiveness.

7.2.9.1 Conclusions on agency responsiveness to refugees' input

- o Feedback channels and procedures in Tongogara camp remain largely tokenistic and on paper without the real power to implement or address expressed concerns.
- o Decision making power is, for the most part hierarchical, agency prescriptions of IGA undertakings take precedence thereby rendering agencies unresponsive to refuge ideas and complaints.
- o Until refugees attain the power to effect decisions, there could not be full project ownership and this reduces their faith and commitment to the income generation process.

7.2.10 Key findings on gender dynamics' implications for IGAs

- There are gender imbalances in Tongogara camp trade training in relation to voluntary enrolment for training in particular vocations. Women are hesitant to enrol for trades traditionally considered masculine.
- There is awareness of gender imbalances in the uptake of IGAs, therefore, there are projects specially reserved for women in order to address their particular vulnerabilities.
- Some women did not join IGAs due to lack of funds to finance the continuity of projects before profits could be realised.

- There is no evidence, however, to suggest that reluctance to undertake IGAs in Tongogara camp by female refugees is widespread.

7.2.10.1 Conclusions on gender dynamics' implications for IGAs

o Women's socially constructed and perceived subordinate roles are intertwined with their economic vulnerability.

o Women risk further alienation by choosing not to participate in certain types of IGAs.

o The cultural roots of women's subordination require sensitisation to cut the cycle of economic vulnerability and social domination.

7.2.11 Key findings on goals of IGAs

- Although all participants consider sustainability to be the goal of IGAs, staff and refugees' motives differ.

- Refugees want sustainability to lead dignified lives while agencies seem to pursue sustainability with the aim to relieve budgetary pressure off the UNHCR.

- Refugees consider UNHCR assistance a right; therefore, they would not voluntarily stop connectivity with UNHCR for further support even if their IGAs become sustainable.

- Agencies acknowledge that refugees make negligible profits, however, they still insist on 'self-reliance' without reviewing contextual causes of current failure.

7.2.11.1 Conclusions on goals of IGAs

o The motive to make refugees 'self-reliant' risk the premature withdrawal of assistance in a bid to reduce UNHCR budget pressure.

o Preoccupation with the notion of 'self-reliance' leads to the false assumption that sustainability depends solely on refugee commitment.

o Failure to acknowledge and review the contextual causes of IGAs' failure is reflective of agencies' propensity to avoid and minimise responsibility.

o Ongoing support as opposed to the expectation of 'independence' under minimal support is a requisite condition for IGAs sustainability.

7.2.12 Key findings on refugees' commitment to IGAs

- Staff claimed that most refugees do not show enough commitment to IGAs as they consider them a low priority.

- Entitlement to aid is identified as a reason for refugees' unwillingness to make effort to become 'self-reliant' through IGAs.

- There is a link between vulnerability and resettlement prospects. Staff participants reported that refugees sought to exaggerate their vulnerability in order to increase their chances of resettlement.

- Relatively, few refugees and most staff participants linked high levels of commitment to IGA success. Highly committed refugees reportedly made enough income to keep their projects running while recording profits.

7.2.12.1 Conclusions on refugees' commitment to IGAs

o There is an inter-relatedness between refugees' level of commitment to IGAs and their ability to provide refugees with a viable alternative to dignified life. Refugees resort to use their vulnerability to get resettled and this reflects IGAs' failure to provide refugees with life sustaining income.

o Dismissive accusations of laziness without due consideration of the context of IGA failure can only lead to mistrust, domination and a further breakdown of refugee-staff relationships.

o There is a contradiction between staff and refugee perspectives regarding the link between the level of commitment and sustainability of IGAs.

7.3 Goal and Objectives of the Study

The goal of the study was to utilise a critical ethics of care perspective to reconsider the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp. To this end, the following objectives were set:

Objective 1

- To critique current global, regional, and local service delivery to refugees through the lens of a critical ethics of care.

This objective was addressed in Sections 3.2 and 3.3 of Chapter 3 which presented discussions on current global, regional and local service delivery to refugees. Section 3.2 critiqued the Conventions to which Zimbabwe is a signatory, as are most other refugee-hosting nations. These Conventions provide the internationally agreed on blueprint for services which hosts should provide to refugees within their borders. Literature in Section 3.2 and 3.3 of Chapter 3 revealed that shortcomings in international and regional Conventions on the status of refugees impact the quality and adequacy of services rendered to refugees. The Conventions leave much, in terms of service obligations, to the discretion of signatory states. The African Convention contains notions of 'burden' sharing in Article 2, which also has negative implications on adequacy of services provided by hosts (OAU, 1969:4). This is worsened by its silence on wholesome refugee rights with focus only on basic services like food, shelter and health. Overall, the

interpretation of and conclusion regarding the state of refugee services on a global, regional and local level was that it is inadequate and deliberately kept at a minimum by hosts who are unwilling to assume the moral and democratic responsibility to care for refugees as human beings with equal claim to rights as citizens.

Objective 2

- To explore the nature of resources and assistance provided at the Tongogara Refugee Camp, including the ways in which they are dispensed and received.

This objective was achieved in Theme 1 in Section 6.3 of Chapter 6, which discussed both nature of resources and manner of dispensation. The theme also provided details on which stakeholders oversaw dispensing certain types of resources. Lastly, Section 3.4 of Chapter 3 shed some light on the general context in which aid and assistance is offered in most host nations. The section discussed what most refugee hosting regimes consider when availing aid as well as how that affects its adequacy.

Objective 3

- To explore barriers and enablements that arise from the policy, economic, political, social and ideological contexts within which income generation activities at the Tongogara refugee camp occur.

This objective was realised through the discussions on social, policy, economic and political contexts of Tongogara IGAs in Sections 3.2 and 3.3 of Chapter 3 as well as in the presentation of the empirical findings in Section 6.3 of Chapter 6. With regards to policy barriers, the main barrier, as discussed in Subsection 3.2.3 of Chapter 3, is the restriction of movement and association as a result of the country's encampment policy. Although Zimbabwe is a signatory to the 1969 Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, the country's domestic policy and legislation on refugees has reservations on access to employment and freedom of movement. Refugee status in Zimbabwe means refugees cannot access financial services, free open markets and business links necessary for the running of small scale businesses. Encampment policy denies refugees the chance of integration into the host population and access to economic rights similar to that of citizens as a 'durable solution' (UNHCR, 1989). Themes 3, 8 and 11 in Chapter 6 present empirical findings on the specific economic, political, social and ideological contexts of IGAs in Tongogara camp. Regarding contextual enablements, Theme 1 in Chapter 6 describe details of the various kinds of assistance given to refugees that is more progressive than some nations like Thailand who have been reported to run prison-like refugee camps which meet

only very basic human needs, that is, food and shelter, up until as late as 2006 (see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.3.1.2; Mckinsey, 2006).

Objective 4

- To explore the views of refugees, frontline service providers and managerial staff involved in income generation activities at the Tongogara refugee camp regarding camp residents' current levels of seclusion from Zimbabwean society.

This objective was met through the discussion of multiple stakeholder perspectives on encampment in Theme 3 in Section 6.3 of Chapter 6. There were mixed opinions on the current level of refugee seclusion, with arguments presented both for and against it. It is notable that stakeholder opinions differed depending on their position in the care chain. There were arguments made by members of staff that the current level of seclusion is advantageous for refugees for a couple of reasons, however, refugees refuted such claims.

Objective 5

- To propose a reconsidered aid framework through critiquing camp income generation activities from the perspective of a critical ethics of care.

The study addressed this objective by outlining and discussing a care-based reconsidered framework of aid in subsection 7.3.1 below. This framework seeks to redress income generation inadequacies identified in key findings and conclusions outlined in section 7.2 above. The framework focuses on three central and recurrent thematic issues in the key findings and conclusions, namely power imbalances, human and social incoherence, and political inaction. As objectives 1 to 4 were achieved, the study therefore achieved its goal to utilise a critical ethics of care perspective to reconsider the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp.

7.3.1 A reconsidered framework of aid for sustainable IGA in Tongogara refugee camp[2]

The study proposes a reconsidered framework of aid hinged on three intertwined principles informed by a critical ethics of care. For IGAs in Tongogara camp to become sustainable, the first proposed principle is for aid to be provided within a context of enhanced human connectivity. Secondly, aid should be provided within a context of equalised stakeholder

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[2] Note that parts of Sub-section 7.3.1 of this chapter have since been published as part of: Taruvinga, R., Hölscher, D. & Lombard, A. (2021). A critical ethics of care perspective on refugee income generation: Towards sustainable policy and practice in Zimbabwe's Tongogara Camp. *Ethics & Social Welfare,* 15(1). 1-16.

agency; and, lastly, government and NGOs ought to have genuine political will to assume the responsibility to care. To be able to apply these principles to income generation for sustainable livelihoods at the Tongogara camp, reference is made in the following, to refugees as receivers, to aid agencies as providers of care, to receiving aid as receiving care, and to the facilitation of aided income generation projects as caring practices. In using the language of 'receivers and providers of care', the intention is not to reify either, or to deny the possibility that, in different contexts, refugees can be providers of care through productive participation in economic activities. Instead, it is to acknowledge, first, that when members of one group serve as representatives of powerful stakeholders and gatekeepers to resources, which members of the other group need to access to be well and survive, power differentials do exist. Secondly, it is to acknowledge that the language introduced by writers on the critical ethics of care provides an opportunity to re-conceptualise these power differentials and the hierarchical relationships to which they give rise, with a view to advancing participatory parity between the role players involved.

If, from the relational perspective of a critical ethics of care, both the idea of dependence and the goal of self-reliance are problematic; and, if income generating activities are seen instead as dependent on a web of relations between producers, intended consumers, fellow businesspersons and others, then they are likely to become more sustainable when planned and implemented within a framework that promotes broader human connectivity. In light of this, the study draws on Joan Tronto's ethical qualities of care to support the proposition that a sustainable realisation of refugee income generation might be more achievable. These qualities of care include *attentiveness, responsibility, competence*, and *responsiveness* (Tronto, 1993).

Tronto (2010:161) notes that institutional care is at risk of "paternalism, in which caregivers assume that they know better than care receivers". This risk is even more pronounced in a situation of encampment, a situation that has been described as 'total institutions' (Oyelade 2006:228). Due to the power dynamics inherent in institutions, care receivers' perspectives and opinions are easily overlooked (Tronto, 1993). Part of this dynamic is that care receivers' vulnerabilities, for example, on account of income insecurity and poverty, are often taken as signifiers of a lacking expertise in relation to the very matters that constitute the vulnerability in the first place. This phenomenon was recurrent throughout data analysis, however, its consequences on project participation and control are more elaborate in themes two and nine in section 6.3 in Chapter 6. This interpretation then provides a rationale for care receivers'

exclusion from decision making (Tronto, 2010), strengthening in turn caregivers' positions from which they can impose their interpretation of the care receivers' needs (Fraser, 1989). The outcome may well be a vicious circle of increasing domination and subordination between providers and receivers of care, bearing risks of exploitation, mistrust and hostility (Held 2006). *Responsiveness*, which Tronto (2013:35) defines as the establishment and safeguarding of open communication to allow, encourage and facilitate care receivers' ability to voice their opinions about the care being given, is such a crucial ethical quality.

Responsiveness requires and entails *attentiveness* to the possibilities of abuse (such as reported resource control abuses in sub-theme 2.2 in Chapter 6) that arise from vulnerability (Tronto, 1993), together with the willingness to remedy and address its root causes whenever it occurs. Thus, Tronto (2010:120) argues that institutions of care "need to have formal practices to review and evaluate" if they meet their 'caring obligations'. As argued in Chapter 4 (see 4.2.2), social development by means of income generation requires equal and collaborative partnerships among stakeholders. This is because equalising stakeholder influence render power relations more transparent and open to contestation and are thus requisites for sustainability. In the context of the Tongogara camp, this means refugees and donor agencies would relate within more lateral administrative structures, with neither group assuming exclusive leadership over ongoing projects. Indeed, equal partnerships and interdependence may well be *the* key juncture at which the critical ethics of care intersects with the sustainable development framework.

Feeling the obligation to respond to a predicament and assuming *responsibility* is what Noddings (1984) calls the 'ethical ideal'. In Theme 11 of Chapter 6, there is discussion on how the drive to 'autonomise' refugees gives rise to concerns about the conception, targeting and implementation of current income generation support initiatives at Tongogara. Both literary (see Sub-section 3.2.3 in Chapter 3) and empirical data (see Themes 3 and 11) have shown that the Zimbabwean government and its partners minimise material support to avert responsibility for a group of people who have been forcibly disconnected from their surrounding communities and subsequently labelled 'dependent'. The study therefore proposes Tronto's ethical qualities of *responsibility* and *competence* as means to reorienting Zimbabwe's separatist refugee hosting legislation and policy (see Chapter 3, sub-section 3.2.3). According to Tronto (1993), *responsibility* entails that once needs and strengths are identified, someone or some group has to take on the task of meeting those needs, arguing that, in the social development context, the

linking of care receivers' strengths to available opportunities in alignment with developmental welfare.

It is important to note at this point that *responsibility*, as it is used in the ethics of care perspective, is a matter of morality. For instance, a government may have no legal obligation to respond to needs, but it can still be concluded that it has moral responsibility to do so. Indeed, while there are international and regional refugee welfare Conventions, the specific regulations governing refugee support in individual countries are essentially left to their discretion. In other words, individual states have the legal right to determine the level and extent of responsibility they assume towards refugees within their borders. Yet, although governments may not be legally bound to grant certain freedoms (such as free movement) to refugees, Tronto's ethical quality of *responsibility* looks beyond legislation and makes a moral appeal to governments and policy makers to consider whether their actions or policies (or lack of) may in fact have aggravated the suffering of the population section in question (Tronto, 1993).

Despite the Zimbabwean government repeatedly affirming its commitment to refugee wellbeing, it has fallen short of the actual action required to enable and enhance sustainable income generation among refugees. Action in this instance entails allowing freedom of movement, facilitating rather than preventing connection between members of different communities, and enhancing access to human, natural and financial resources. Despite lobbying by various NGOs, the government has not yet taken substantial steps in any of these respects. In the face of government reluctance, the study proposes Tronto's ethical quality of *competence*. Tronto (1993:133) states that *competence* refers to the actual work for which one has accepted responsibility. Competence is central because accepting the responsibility to provide care but then doing so in a manner that is inadequate, ultimately leaves the need for care unmet (Tronto, 1993:2013). Similarly, van Hoof (as cited in Hugman 2004:71), argues that, "an ethics of care can only be achieved through action". Yet, Tronto (1993:134) observes that, "in large bureaucracies, a type of care with no concern about the outcome or end result seems pervasive", noting that it is common in bureaucratic organisations to have caregivers commit (on paper) to specific goals only to provide support that is inadequate to produce the intended outcome. The aided income generation activities at Tongogara serve as a case in point.

In other words, *competence,* as an action-oriented ethical quality, should translate into genuine political will to reconsider and effect what may be necessary reforms in refugee support. In this case, if both government and NGOs were to rethink their understandings of autonomy,

dependency and the elusive goal of refugee 'self-reliance', the sustainability of income generation at Tongogara might be well-enhanced.

7.4 Recommendations

Following the above presentation of how care principles can guide the framework of aid, this section provides recommendations on how the reconsidered framework of aid can be implemented. The section also makes recommendations for further research based on the study.

7.4.1 Recommendations for stakeholder relations

There is a need for a cordial and cooperative relationship between and among stakeholders enabled by an ongoing, cyclical and open engagement. This has been shown to influence levels and extent of refugee participation in decision making at all levels of the project cycle. In addition to that, it serves to bridge the rift created by mistrust and discontent between refugees, NGOs, locals and government. Creating an environment which promotes the open and honest expression of refugee experiences should not only be a goal and responsibility of external researchers; it must be a priority for immediate service providers for them to keep abreast with the ever mutating and complex challenges of income generation under encampment. The creation of an open environment could be done through basic methods of enquiry with guaranteed anonymity, possibly service feedback questionnaires or periodic focus group discussions with refugees conducting ongoing projects. Open and honest feedback allows care givers to avoid the risk of forming simplistic and dismissive perspectives on refugees who fail to be 'independent'.

7.4.2 Recommendations for enhancing human connectedness

Intensive civic education is required to foster social cohesion and reorient relations between refugees and local Zimbabweans who form a large part of the intended market for specific types of refugee projects. These relations are affected considerably by attitudes of locals towards refugees. The reason behind the need for mass attitude change is the misperception of refugees as incapable of offering competent products or services because of their refugee status and projected vulnerability. This was pointed out as one of the reasons why technical services as well as edible goods produced by refugees are finding it difficult to infiltrate the local market. Although both staff and refugee participants alluded to this problem, there have never been attitude change efforts targeting the locals.

Sensitisation programmes are generally conducted by government and NGOs with the general populace on matters of public health, disability, gender-based violence and other areas of social wellbeing, but none are conducted to sensitise the locals and prospective consumers of refugee goods since the country started hosting refugees three decades ago. The surrounding community to the refugee camp is a rural population;

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effectively engaging them for attitude change involves approaching their gatekeepers, namely their traditional and political leadership including headmen, village heads and chiefs as well as councillors. Exhibitions of refugee products for locals with the help of local authorities, paired with enhanced interaction between refugees and hosts, can assist in dispelling the misconception that refugee products and services are substandard. Corporate world stakeholders, with the potential of consuming refugee products on a large scale, need to be engaged and made aware of refugee products and services in order to demystify myths about refugees. Increasing interaction between refugees and key market players creates business synergies and establish consumer confidence in refugee merchandise. In addition to enhancing cooperation between refugees and local communities, there must be cooperation and better social cohesion among refugees. The divisions along national and ethnic lines within the camp has shown to have effect in IGA working relations. Peace building exercises are recommended for better long-term cooperation among refugees. Without open discussion, carried over animosity between certain groups of refugees would continue to compromise IGA operations and inhibit potential mutually beneficial personal and business connections.

7.4.3 Recommendations for context sensitivity

The nature and types of income generation projects and how they are conducted should be rethought. Programmes that refugees are undertaking are not compatible with the geographic situation of the camp and they are not based on refugee preferences. There is a need to overhaul the income generation process. Pre-designed programmes in which refugees are enrolled to participate in have shown to be ineffective. Likewise, assistance packages that are pre-set do not allow refugees the flexibility to use aid meant for business in ways that are best for them. The camp, given necessary support, could be transformed into a settlement suitable for various business undertakings of refugees' choosing and ingenuity. Relevant organisations should intervene only as partners and facilitators in the creation of markets and development of business opportunities. In short, choice of project type should be ceded to refugees, the stakeholders who implement and encounter the contextual circumstances of business in the camp in relation to market and climate.

Regarding the context suitability of the types of income generation activities in the camp, it would be important to reiterate that the camp is in a rural setting surrounded by a relatively poor community that survives on subsistence farming. Technical skills being trained and run in the camp such as computer studies, motor mechanics, beverage and dairy product manufacturing, and hair dressing, among others, are detached from the needs and day to day requirements of the local market. Such types of income generation activities are best practised in urban settings where such services have a high demand and

where there is constant electricity as well as a relatively well remunerated clientele. Special provisions could be arranged between refugees trained in such vocations and relevant industry employers in need of such labour for refugees to access employment even on temporary basis where their services can be utilised at a fee. Alternatively, funds directed at training of current vocations could be reserved to create micro financial lending services allowing refugees the agency and flexibility to engage in feasible activities like grocery retail in which they would have expressed interest.

7.4.4 Recommendations for social work and other human and social service professions

The long-term improvement of refugee socio-economic status in Zimbabwe can be enhanced by recognising and integrating refugees as a priority client group for human and social service professions, social work in particular. Refugee wellbeing, economic wellbeing in particular, should be an integral part of social work education, practice and research. Tongogara refugee camp, hosting an excess of ten thousand refugees has only one social worker who is indirectly involved in IGAs. Refugees' wellbeing in Zimbabwe is not a prominent field of practice for social workers regardless of the acute need for social work practitioners in protracted refugee situations. Social workers employed by government are employed in child welfare and other community development fields; and, similarly, NGOs operational in the camp have no social workers both in frontline and managerial service.

Utilising social work services in the refugee camp would ensure client centred and active participation approaches which are a requisite for developmental social welfare compared to the current ineffective consultation and participatory approaches employed by members of staff with no social work or human service professional backgrounds. For the researcher's experience of lecturing at three local universities, the social work curriculum in Zimbabwe includes intervention strategies for traditional client groups such as children, people living with disabilities, people living in poverty, and people with mental and clinical ailments, among others. However, at the point of writing this chapter, refugees' studies were not yet part of the curriculum in a country which has been hosting refugees for decades. Social work, as a profession in Zimbabwe, urgently requires recognition and its rightful professional obligation to orient and sensitise the profession and its training to the plight of refugees.

The International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW, 1998) policy on refugees implores the social work profession to search for policy and practice alternatives as a matter of professional obligation to bring to the spotlight the treatment of refugees in their respective countries and advocate for the consideration of refugee rights as human rights. Having understood the experiences of refugees in Zimbabwe, it is a recommendation of this study that social workers, not only in Zimbabwe, but other developing countries that host refugees, broaden their knowledge base of refugee welfare. This would bring the subject to the

fore of academic discourses to accord refugees affairs consideration as a major human wellbeing concern for their respective nations.

7.4.5 Recommendations for refugee policy and legislation

Lastly, there is a need for alteration in refugee legislation and refugee welfare policy in Zimbabwe. With regards to legislation, the most impactful on refugee welfare are mobility law and access to employment. Legal reservations to refugee movements and access to employment have detrimental effects on not only their socio-economic but psychosocial welfare as well. Human and social service professionals and politicians must be aware of the link between poverty and restricted rights. There must be advocacy work at a practice and policy level for ideals of pluralism, compassion and acceptance. This recommendation considers some of the valid concerns that have been cited to justify encampment. However, the merit of its argument is on the collective advantages of integrating refugees in the economic, cultural and political dimensions of social life. Holistic integration is especially important since findings affirm and give credence to Fraser's (2008) contention (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4) that cultural, political and economic parity are intertwined for just outcomes. Legally, the Zimbabwean government is not bound to enact freedom of movement and employment for refugees, but for a country with millions of its citizens who are economic migrants in other nations across the globe, it is only moral to be more accommodating to refugees. It would also consider one of the key claims of, among others, critical care ethicists that such integration would be more appropriate to the interconnected and relational nature of human existence. There must be radical change in general refugee policy in Zimbabwe. Some African hosts like Uganda are fast realising the social and economic worth of refugees resulting in a more welcoming and integrative approach to refugee hosting. The underlying understanding for such progressive hosting policy is the notion that, rather than a burden, refugees are much more appropriately regarded as a group of capable people in temporary positions of vulnerability due to forced displacement.

Authorities responsible for refugee wellbeing need to develop coordinated durable development programmes for refugees as they do for other vulnerable groups of the citizen population. It is a loss to the country's human and economic development agenda to omit a wealth of unutilised human resources in refugees. Currently, refugee development and planning are largely within the jurisdiction of nongovernmental agencies and the UNHCR, although government holds political authority, it limits its intervention in refugee affairs to mere oversight.

7.4.6 Recommendations for further research

Following the findings on IGAs in the context of Tongogara camp, the study suggests the following further research areas to enable: (a) a wider understanding of refugee IGAs in Zimbabwe; and (b) the formulation of more evidence-based solutions for refugees' wellbeing:

- Quantitative inquiry with a significantly bigger sample to determine if and how various refugee demographic/biographical characteristics impact IGA success, preference and challenges. A quantitative study would also make a more accurate determination of whether there are more lucrative IGAs, and if, by what margin.
- It is acknowledged that each refugee camp is a unique case whose circumstances cannot be generalised to other camps. It would be informative to conduct comparative research with reportedly more progressive camps in countries like Uganda and Zambia to see how their more flexible and inclusive aid dispensation and approaches to IGAs can be adapted for better refugee agency in Tongogara refugee camp.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Ethical Clearance Letter

Research Ethics Committee

9 February 2020

Dear Mr R Taruvinga

Project Title:	Reconsidering the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp
Researcher:	Mr R Taruvinga
Supervisor:	Prof A Lombard
Department:	Social Work and Criminology
Reference number:	19330058 (HUM012/1219)
Degree:	Doctoral

I have pleasure in informing you that the above application was **approved** by the Research Ethics Committee on 30 January 2020. Data collection may therefore commence.

Please note that this approval is based on the assumption that the research will be carried out along the lines laid out in the proposal. Should the actual research depart significantly from the proposed research, it will be necessary to apply for a new research approval and ethical clearance.

We wish you success with the project.

Sincerely

Prof Maxi Schoeman
Deputy Dean: Postgraduate and Research Ethics
Faculty of Humanities
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
e-mail: PGHumanities@up.ac.za

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomotho

Research Ethics Committee Members: Prof MME Schoeman (Deputy Dean); Prof KL Harris; Mr A Bizos; Dr L Blokland; Dr K Booyens; Dr A-M de Beer; Ms A dos Santos; Dr R Fasselt; Ms KT Govinder Andrew; Dr E Johnson; Dr W Kelleher; Mr A Mohamed; Dr C Puttergill; Dr D Reyburn; Dr M Soer: Prof E Taliard: Prof V Thebe: Ms B Tsebe: Ms D Mokalaoa

■

Correspondence should not be addressed to individuals

Telephone: (04) 704085 / 703871 / 703625
Fax: (04) 700393

MINISTRY OF PUBLIC SERVICE, LABOUR AND SOCIAL WELFARE
9th Floor Kaguvi Building
P.O. Box CY 17
HARARE

ZIMBABWE

Ref: R .Taruvinga

30 October 2019

MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL WELFARE
DIRECTOR HUMAN RESOURCES
3 1 OCT 2019
P.O. BOX CY 7207 CAUSEWAY
HRE, ZIM, TEL 242 705871 325393

Mr Ray Taruvinga
House Number 1966
Maseko Road, Tshovani
CHIREDZI

PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT A RESEARCH STUDY AT TONGOGARA REFUGEE CAMP IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE: MINISTRY OF PUBLIC SERVICE, LABOUR AND SOCIAL WELFARE.

The above subject matter refers.

Please be advised that permission is hereby granted for you to carry out a research study at Tongogara Refugee Camp under the Department of Social Welfare.

Permission is however, granted strictly on condition that the research studies will be purely for academic purposes only. Identities of those involved in the research should be guarded. Any information gained by you during the period of your research study shall, during that period and thereafter remain confidential and should not be disclosed to any unauthorized person(s). You will be expected to exercise a high degree of discipline during your period of research study. As the research studies have a bearing on the Ministry's mandate, it would be appreciated if a copy of your research output document is availed to the Secretary of this Ministry.

May I take this opportunity to wish you a fruitful research study.

E.C. Gapara
DIRECTOR HUMAN RESOURCES.
MINISTRY OF PUBLIC SERVICE, LABOUR AND SOCIAL WELFARE.
Cc.   Records Copy.
        Camp Administrator Tongogara Refugee Camp.
        Commissioner Refugees

Appendix 3: Permission Letter from Jesuit Refugee Service Zimbabwe

Jesuit Refugee Service
Zimbabwe
St Dominic's Mutare
P. O. Box 877, Mutare
Zimbabwe
Tel: +263 220 202 2447
www.jrssaf.org

2 December 2019

Mr. Raymond Taruvinga
House Number 1966, Maseko Rd
Tshovani, Chiredzi

RE: PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT DOCTORAL RESEARCH WITH JRS ZIMBABWE STAFF (Tongogara Refugee Camp).

Dear Mr. Taruvinga,

The above subject matter refers.

Please be advised that permission is hereby granted for you to conduct interviews with JRS Zimbabwe staff. The organisation gives additional consent to a review of any of its refugee welfare documents/publications it deems appropriate.

Permission is however granted on condition that the research studies will be purely for academic purposes. As the research has a bearing on the organisation's mandate, it would be appreciated if a copy of your research output document is availed to JRS Zimbabwe head office.

May I also remind you that for the research to take place you also need formal written permission from other stakeholders like the relevant Government ministry and also from the Commissioner of Refugees.

May I take this opportunity to wish you a fruitful research study.

Yours faithfully,

Fr. Shepherd M. Munaro
Team Leader: JRS Zimbabwe

JESUIT REFUGEE SERVICE
ZIMBABWE

0 3 DEC 2019

P.O. BOX CY 284, CAUSEWAY
TEL: 263 4 708996
FAX:263 4 721119
outhern.africa   at

Appendix 4: Permission Letter from GOAL Zimbabwe

Ref: R. Taruvinga

25 November 2019

Mr. Raymond Taruvinga

House Number 1966

Maseko road, Tshovani

Chiredzi

PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT DOCTORAL RESEARCH WITH GOAL ZIMBABWE STAFF.

The above subject matter refers.

Please be advised that permission is hereby granted for you to conduct interviews with GOAL Zimbabwe staff. The organisation gives additional consent to a review of any of its refugee welfare documents/publications it deems appropriate.

Permission is however granted on condition that the research studies will be purely for academic purposes. As the research has a bearing on the organization's mandate, it would be appreciated if a copy of your research output document is availed to GOAL Zimbabwe head office.

May I take this opportunity to wish you a fruitful research study.

Gabriella Prandini

COUNTRY DIRECTOR

GOAL works in: Ethiopia Honduras India Kenya Malawi Niger Sierra-Leone South-Sudan Sudan Syria Uganda Zimbabwe

Appendix 5: Informed Consent Letter for Ministry of Social Welfare Officials and NGO Personnel

05/12/2019

Researcher: Raymond Taruvinga
Email: raytaruvinga3@gmail.com
Tel: +263775684450

Informed consent letter for NGO and Ministry staff

Dear participant,

You are hereby invited for an interview session as part of a doctoral study by Mr Raymond Taruvinga, a student at the University of Pretoria in South Africa. The study will assist the researcher in reconsidering the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in Tongogara refugee camp. Please take time to read through this letter as it gives information on the study and your rights as a participant.

Participants' rights
Participation in the study will be your own choice. If you agree to take part in the study, you will be free to withdraw from the study at any time if you so wish, without any negative consequences for yourself and your organisation.

Confidentiality
I will use the information that you share in writing a report on the study for the University of Pretoria. Your name will not appear in any of these writings; instead, I will use a pseudo name in place of your name so that others will not know who you are. If there is any specific information you share it will be protected in the presentation of findings so that it cannot be traced back to you. Only the researcher will have access to the voice recordings which will be filed with a protected pass word code. Findings will also be used for conference papers and publication in scientific journals. After I have completed the study, I will submit all information to the University of Pretoria where it will be safely kept for 15 years, after which it will be destroyed. If the data is used during this period, it will only be for research purposes.

Title of the study
Reconsidering the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp.

Goal of the study

To utilise an ethics of care perspective to reconsider the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp.

What will happen in the study?

The researcher will conduct an interview with you at a place that is convenient for you. The purpose of the interview is to hear your views and suggestions on various aspects of camp income generation activities and how it contributes to refugee livelihood. The interview will take about an hour of your time and with your permission, will be voice recorded so that I do not miss any important information that you share. You can choose to have the interview in English or French/Swahili as an interpreter will be available for translation.

Risks and discomforts

There will be no danger to you or to your organisation if you participate in the study. It may however be hard for you to share your experiences working with refugees and witnessing the difficulties in the camp. You will be free not to answer any questions that may make you feel uncomfortable. If you experience some discomfort after the interview, and you request so, I will arrange with a professional of your choice, either at the NGOs or Ministry for Public Services and Social Welfare or Jesuit Institute for consultation.

Are there any benefits for joining the study?

You will not receive any money or gifts for your participation. Your contributions will assist me in reconsidering the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in the refugee camp. It is envisaged that the study will make recommendations to improve the sustainability of refugee livelihoods.

Any questions?

If you have any questions or would want me to explain anything further, you are welcome to phone or text me on +263775684450. You can also send me an email on the following address: raytaruvinga3@gmail.com

CONSENT DECLARATION

I, _____ (write your name) hereby agree to participate in this study.

_____   _____
Signature participant   Date

_____   _____
Signature researcher   Date

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Appendix 6: Informed Consent Letter for Refugee Participants

05/12/2019

Researcher: Raymond Taruvinga
Email: raytaruvinga3@gmail.com
Tel: +263775684450

Informed consent letter for all participants

Dear participant,

You are hereby invited for an interview session as part of a doctoral study by Mr Raymond Taruvinga, a student at the University of Pretoria in South Africa. The study will assist the researcher in reconsidering the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in Tongogara refugee camp. Please take time to read through this letter as it gives information on the study and your rights as a participant.

Title of the study
Reconsidering the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp.

Goal of the study
To utilise an ethics of care perspective to reconsider the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp.

What will happen in the study?
The researcher will conduct an interview with you at a place that is convenient for you. The purpose of the interview is to hear your views and suggestions on various aspects of camp income generation activities and how it contributes to your livelihood. The interview will take about an hour of your time and with your permission, will be voice recorded so that I do not miss any important information that you share. You can choose to have the interview in English or French/Swahili as an interpreter will be available for translation.

Risks and discomforts
There will be no danger to you or to your household if you participate in the study. It may however be hard for you to share your experiences living in the camp. You will be free not to answer any questions that may make you feel uncomfortable. If you experience some discomfort after the interview and wish

to seek support, I will arrange for counselling with a professional person of your choice, including a social worker of the NGOs or Ministry of Public Services, Labour and Social Welfare or a priest.

Are there any benefits for joining the study?
You will not receive any money or gifts for your participation. Your contributions will assist me in reconsidering the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in the refugee camp. It is envisaged that the study will make recommendations to improve the sustainability of your livelihood.

Participants' rights
Participation in the study will be your own choice. If you agree to take part in the study, you will be free to withdraw from the study at any time if you so wish, without any negative consequences for yourself and your household or occupation.

Confidentiality
I will use the information that you share in writing a report on the study for the University of Pretoria. Your name will not appear in any of these writings; instead, I will use a pseudo name in place of your name so that others will not know who you are. If there is any specific information you share it will be protected in the presentation of findings so that it cannot be traced back to you. Only the researcher will have access to the voice recordings which will be filed with a protected pass word code. Findings will also be used for conference papers and publication in scientific journals. After I have completed the study, I will submit all the information to the University of Pretoria where it will be safely kept for 15 years, after which it will be destroyed. If the data is used during this period, it will only be for research purposes.

Any questions?
If you have any questions or would want me to explain anything further, you are welcome to phone or text me on +263775684450. You can also send me an email on the following address: raytaruvinga3@gmail.com

CONSENT DECLARATION

I, _____ (write your name) hereby agree to participate in this study.

_____   _____
Signature participant   Date

_____   _____
Signature researcher   Date

Appendix 7: Informed Consent Letter for Interpreters

05/12/2019

Researcher: Raymond Taruvinga
Email: raytaruvinga3@gmail.com
Tel: +263775684450

Informed consent letter for interpreters

Introduction
My name is Raymond Taruvinga. I am a doctoral student in social work at the University of Pretoria. I would like to invite your participation as an interpreter in my doctoral study. If you are willing to render your services, you will need to give your informed consent and to subscribe to a code of ethics that respects participants' rights as are outlined in this form. Please take time to read through this letter as it gives information on how the study will be conducted and the rights of the study's participants.

Title of the study
Reconsidering the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp

Goal of the study
To utilise an ethics of care perspective to reconsider the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp.

Procedures
Your assistance as a French and/or Swahili interpreter will be required by the researcher who will conduct one-on-one interviews in English with refugees in Tongogara camp. It is anticipated that each interview will take about one hour or slightly more to complete. The interviews will be voice recorded so as to ensure that the researcher does not miss any important information.

Risks and discomforts
There will be no danger to participants or their households, if they participate in the study. It may however be hard for some participants to share their experiences. As such, participants will be free not to answer any questions that may make them feel uncomfortable. If needed,

the researcher will refer participants to professionals of their choice for counselling or consultation.

Benefits
You will receive an agreed upon incentive for your services as an interpreter. However, there are no monetary or other rewards for participants in this study. It is envisaged that the study will make recommendations to improve the sustainability of refugees' livelihoods.

Participants' rights
Participation in the study is entirely voluntary and participants will be free to withdraw from the study at any point, if they so wish, without any negative consequences for themselves and their households.

Confidentiality
Please note that all information that is gathered in the study must be treated as confidential. Participants' names and other personal information or what has been discussed during the interview may not be given to anyone and will not appear in the publication of the research findings in a manner that will identify them. If there is any specific information shared by a participant, it will be protected in the presentation of findings so that it cannot be traced back to them. I will use the information that participants share in writing a report on the study for the University of Pretoria and for academic journals. After I have completed the study, I will submit all information to the University of Pretoria where it will be safely kept for 15 years, after which it will be destroyed.

Right of access to the researcher
If you have any questions or would want me to explain anything further, you are welcome to phone or text me on +264775684450. You can also send me an email on the following address: raytaruvinga3@gmail.com

Consent declaration

I _____ hereby acknowledge that I have read and understood the contents of this letter and voluntarily agree to render my services as an interpreter in a manner that respects participants' rights.

_____   _____
Signature interpreter   Date

_____   _____
Signature researcher   Date

Appendix 8: Interview Guide for Refugee Participants

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SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Refugees

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Goal of the study: To utilise an ethics of care perspective to reconsider the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp.

Biographical/ profile information

Gender of participants: Male ☐   Female ☐   Other ☐

Family/ household detail? (size of household, head of household etc.): ……………………….

Country of origin? (rural or urban origin): …………………………………

Duration of stay at the camp? …………………………………

Level of education? ……………………………………….

Type of income generation activity/ies in the camp? …………………………..

Questions:

1. What type of aid do you currently receive for the income generating activity/ies that you are engaged in and on what basis do you receive/qualify for this aid?

   - Probe for views on frequency/duration of support and how the support is used to generate income.

2. How do refugees participate at various phases of the income generation activity?

   - At activity planning/design
   - Implementation stage

- Evaluation stage

3. What outcome are the income generation activity/ies meant to achieve?

    - Probe both for perceived purpose and personal goals.

4. In what ways have your living standards been improved from the income generation activity/ies?

    - Capacity to consistently generate own income

    - Access to basic needs: nutrition, education, health etc.

    - Capacity to accrue savings

    - Probe for other aspects pertaining to quality of life, e.g. sense of purpose, enhanced self-worth, relationships within family, camp community, and with Zimbabwean citizens.

5. What kinds of challenges have you faced in the course of undertaking income generation activity/ies?

    - Probe for contextual challenges, i.e. location, social, economic, political, cultural challenges;

    - Probe for views on own shortcomings.

6. How are such challenges detected, communicated and addressed?

    - How attentive are support agencies to problems?

    - How conversant are they with the nature and extent of problems?

    - Level of stakeholder responsiveness to communicated challenges

7. What is helping you to succeed in your income generation activity/ies?

    - Prove for contextual resources/opportunities in the local, social, economic,

political environment

- Probe for personal strengths.

8. Does the income generation activity/ies you are currently engaged in match your field of expertise?

    - Probe for preferred type of income generation
    - Compare with means of income in country of origin

9. Weighing the challenges and opportunities discussed above, how suitable are current income generation activitiy/ies in making your livelihood sustainable?

10. What kind of alterations (if any) need to be made to the aid in order to make income generation successful?

11. To what extent can you sell and market your products outside the boundaries of the camp?

12. In what ways do you think living outside of a camp would make your life easier or harder?

13. In general, what are your views about the encampment policy in Zimbabwe?

    - Probe for reasons why participant thinks the Zimbabwean government pursues and encampment policy
    - Probe for the extent to which participant considers the encampment policy to be justified

14. Is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix 9: Interview Guide for Frontline Service Providers

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Front-line Service Providers

Goal of the study: To utilise an ethics of care perspective to reconsider the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp.

Biographical information

Gender of participant: Male ☐   Female ☐   Other ☐

Months/years of experience in Tongogara: Months: ………   Years: …….

Questions:

1. What is your job title and duties in the organisation?

2. What is your organisation's mandate [from who] to refugees?

    - Probe for level/degree of responsibility

    - Source of funds

    - Conditions (if any) from funders

3. What kind of hand-on/frontline work do you do with refugees and other stakeholders?

4. What is the nature of support provided to refugees undertaking income generation activities by your organisation?

    - Probe for frequency of support, impact evaluation, and how the support is used by refugees to generate income.

5. What outcome do you expect to achieve with the income generation activities in Tongogara refugee camp?

- Probe on weather sustainability is part of expected outcome

6. How do refugees participate at various phases of the income generation activities?

   - At activity planning/ design

   - Implementation stage

   - Evaluation stage

7. In what ways have refugee living standards been improved from income generation activities?

   - Capacity to consistently generate own income

   - Access to basic needs: nutrition, health etc.

   - Capacity to accrue savings

8. In your experience as a frontline service provider, what are the challenges you face in the implementation of income generation activities in the Tongogara Refugee Camp?

   - Probe for views concerning contextual challenges, i.e. location, social, economic, political, cultural challenges;

   - Probe for views concerning the beneficiaries of the income generation activities, e.g. their outlook, attitudes, skills levels.

9. Considering the challenges we just discussed, what policy, implementation or other forms of changes can be made to adapt income generation activities for sustainable livelihoods?

   - Probe for proposed changes specific to aid offered by the organisation

10. What are current opportunities/resources enabling refugee income generation?

   - Probe for views concerning contextual opportunities/resources in local, social, economic, political, cultural environment.

- Probe for views concerning the beneficiaries themselves such as personal skills, connections, business competences etc.

11. Weighing the challenges and opportunities discussed above, how suitable are current income generation activities in making livelihoods sustainable?

12. To what extent can refugees market and sell their products outside the boundaries of the camp?

- How are social and business networks/contacts used and strengthened for the income generation process?

13. In general, what are your views about the encampment policy in Zimbabwe?

- Probe for reasons why the participant thinks the Zimbabwean government pursues an encampment policy;
- Probe for the extent to which the participant considers the encampment policy to be justified or thinks should be changed.

14. Is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix 10: Interview Guide for Management Staff

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Managerial Staff

Goal of the study: To utilise an ethics of care perspective to reconsider the framework of aid for sustainable income generation in Zimbabwe's Tongogara refugee camp.

Biographical information

Gender of participant: Male ☐   Female ☐   Other ☐

Months/years of experience in Tongogara: Months: ………   Years: …….

Questions:

1. What is your job title and duties in the organisation?

2. What is your organisation's mandate [from who] to refugees?

   - Probe for level/degree of responsibility

   - How does the organisation obtain resources to provide for refugees?

   - Conditions from external funders

3. What is the nature of support provided to refugees undertaking income generation activities at Tongogara refugee camp?

   - Probe for frequency of support, and how the support is used by refugees to generate income.

4. What outcome do you seek to achieve with the income generation activities at Tongogara refugee camp?

5. How do refugees participate at various phases of the income generation activity?
   - Activity planning/design

- Implementation stage
- Evaluation stage

6. In what ways have refugee living standards been improved from their income generation activities?
   - Capacity to consistently generate own income
   - Access to basic needs: nutrition, health, education, etc.
   - Capacity to accrue savings

7. What challenges does your organisation experience in supporting refugee income generation activities?
   - Probe for views concerning contextual challenges, i.e. location, social, economic, political, cultural challenges;
   - Probe for views concerning the beneficiaries of the income generation activities, e.g. their outlook, attitudes, skills levels.

8. Considering the challenges we just discussed, what kind of aid, policy, and implementation adjustments would you make to adapt income generation activities for sustainable livelihoods?

9. What are current advantages/resources/opportunities which help refugee income generation?
   - Probe for views concerning contextual opportunities/resources in local, social, economic, political, cultural environment.
   - Probe for views on factors concerning the beneficiaries themselves such as personal skills, connections, business competences etc.

10. Weighing the challenges and opportunities discussed above, how suitable are current income generation activities in making refugee livelihoods sustainable?

11. What kind of alterations (if any) need to be made to the aid that your organisation provides in order to make the livelihoods of refugees sustainable?

12. To what extent can refugees market and sell their products outside the boundaries of the camp?

- How are social and business networks/contacts used and strengthened for the income generation process?

13. In general, what are your views about the encampment policy in Zimbabwe?

- Probe for reasons why the participant thinks the Zimbabwean government pursues an encampment policy;

- Probe for the extent to which the participant considers the encampment policy to be justified or thinks should be changed.

14. Is there anything else you would like to add?