

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

GENDER STUDIES DEPARTMENT

**Participation of Angolan Refugee Women in Aid Programmes at Meheba Refugee
Settlement (1985-1997)**



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BY

ROSE KAMUNGU

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261728
the Requirements of a Master of Arts Degree in Gender Studies**



DEDICATION

To all refugees of the world, you shall also enjoy the peace of God one-day.

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APPROVAL

DECLARATION

I, Rose Kamungu, declare that this dissertation

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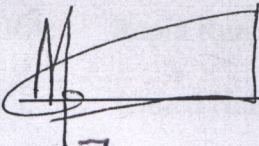
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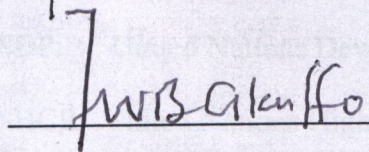
APPROVAL

This dissertation by **Rose Kamungu** is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Gender Studies of the University of Zambia.

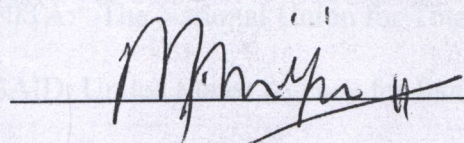
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ACRONOYMS

AAR:	Association to Aid Refugees-Japan
FAO:	Food Agricultural Organisation
FFW:	Food for Work
GAD:	Gender and Development
IFAD:	International Fund for Agricultural Development
JRS:	Jesuits Refugee Service-Zambia
LWF:	Lutheran Word Federation
MHA:	Ministry of Home Affairs
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organisation
PRA:	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RRA:	Rapid Rural Appraisal
UN:	United Nations
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR:	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNITA:	The National Union for Total Independence of Angola
USAID:	United States Agency for International Development.
WFP:	World Food Programme
WID:	Women in Development

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ABSTRACT

This is a study of the participation of Angolan refugee women in relation to their male counterparts in aid programmes at Meheba Refugee Settlement. It examines the types of aid programmes designed for refugees at the Settlement. The study also investigates the level of refugees' participation in aid programmes. Furthermore, it analyses the benefits obtained and problems faced by refugees in the different aid programmes.

This study had a number of sources of information. First, the refugee women and men who formed the majority of the sample were the main source of primary data. Second, the officials dealing with refugees at both Meheba Settlement and the Lusaka Offices also contributed greatly to the primary data. The secondary data on the other hand came from various sources as well namely: books, magazines, published and unpublished articles and reports.

The general findings of the study at Meheba Refugee Settlement were that there were a number of aid programmes designed for refugees. The findings however demonstrated that most programmes at the settlement were for men and a few were for women. Furthermore, most aid programme for men had more benefits than those aid programmes for women. Of more concern was the observation that none of the aid

programmes designed specifically for women benefited them financially. There were also more gender-related problems that affected or hindered women from participating fully in the various aid programmes at the Settlement. The findings from Meheba therefore called for not only for new programmes but more on the gender sensitisation programmes among the programme facilitators, donors, and also the refugees themselves in order that they may appreciate the value of improving women's participation in development programmes.

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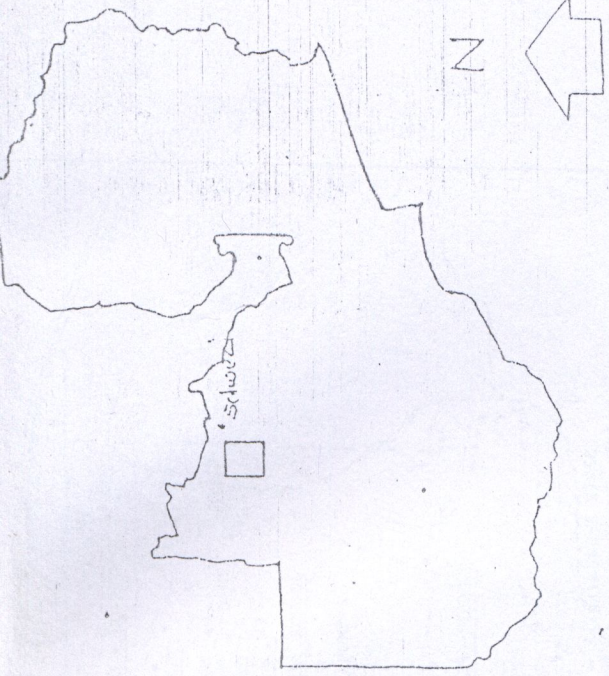
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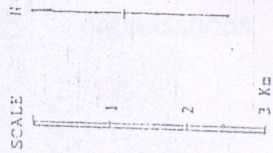
KEY

- Forest
- Settlement area
- River
- Road (Tarred)
- Maintained road



MEHEBA REFUGEE SETTLEMENT INFRASTRUCTURE

- MAIN HIGHWAY
- MAIN SETTLEMENT ROAD
- SECONDARY SETTLEMENT ROAD
- FOOTPATH
- SETTLEMENT BOUNDARY
- STREAM
- MARSH
- WELL WITH PUMP
- WELL WITHOUT PUMP
- DISTRIBUTION CENTER

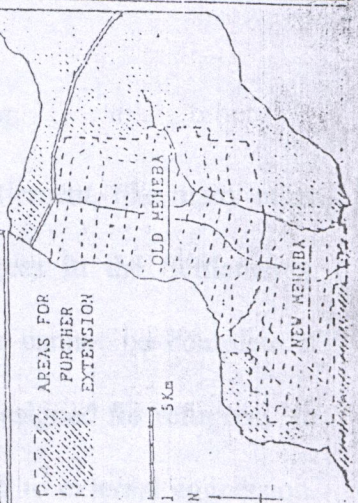


PLAN OF MEHEBA SETTLEMENT

AREAS FOR FURTHER EXTENSION



N



CHAPTER ONE

1.0 BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The Angolan refugee women at Meheba Refugee Settlement, like many other refugee settlements, form the majority of the refugees in the Settlements. Achieving self-reliance among the refugees therefore cannot be complete if women are not actively involved in aid programmes designed for refugees. In this study, a refugee refers to every person who owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in her/his country of origin or nationality is compelled to leave her¹/his country of origin or nationality (OAU, 1969), and relocate herself/himself in another country. Aid programmes in this study will refer to any project or activity, which was started (may still be supported or may not) by the operating organisations. A private programme will refer to any project or activity, which was primarily started by the refugees, and receive no support from the operating organisations.

Refugees in most settlements go through the three main phases namely: emergency, participation and repatriation. The emergency phase is the first phase aimed at saving the lives of refugees in times of influx in a host country. Thus, this phase is primarily concerned with the distribution of handouts to new arriving refugees. Among the things distributed are food, cooking utensils, clothes, blankets and hoes. Of all those items given to refugees, food is given at least for two cultivating seasons. Meanwhile, participation in this study

¹ The female pronoun has been missing in the OAU definition

refers to both quantitative and qualitative, that is, the number of refugees involved in the aid programmes and also the extent to which refugees were involved at every stage of an aid programme respectively. Repatriation on the other hand is the process of helping refugees to go back to their countries.

The continuous influx of refugees especially in Africa has led to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to shift its emphasis (in dealing with the refugee problems) from handouts to long-term solution. This was to be done through the promotion of active participation of refugees in aid programmes. For instance in Zambia, in 1985, UNHCR engaged in the programme of involving refugees in aid programmes at Meheba and Mayukwayukwa Settlements. The aim for adopting this approach was to reduce the refugees' dependence on handouts and instead promote self-reliance.

Although both refugee men and women have to struggle to have their lost socio-economic status restored, it is often worse for women. For example, Javier Perez de Cuellar, the then Secretary General of United Nations, observed the critical position of refugee women and commented thus:

“...But no-one has to struggle to achieve equality in worse conditions than refugee women, who have become refugees against their will... and are vulnerable to acts of violence and sexual harassment in exchange for their basic needs” (UNHCR, 1991: 10).

Unfortunately, though statistics have shown that “up to 80 per cent of the world’s 15 million refugees are women and children (UNHCR, 1991:10, Martin, 1988:1) in most settlements, the aid programmes designed for refugees are often focused on the male refugees. The potential of refugee women as sources of solutions of their problems have not been recognised and utilised (Rindner 1982) in many settlements. However, failure to recognise women’s significant role in the household economy and the special needs and particular vulnerability, has contributed not only to women being disadvantaged but also to most programmes being unsustainable.

The main aim of this study was to investigate the level of participation of Angolan refugee women in aid programmes at Meheba in relation to men. The study period under investigation was between 1985 and 1997. The year 1985 was chosen in particular, because this was when the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) decided to do away with “handouts” and instead promote “self-reliance” among refugees through refugees’ active participation in aid programmes.

1.2 ORGANIZATION OF THE PAPER

This paper has five chapters. Chapter one includes the background and the problem of the study. In this chapter there is also the rationale, the objectives of the study and theoretical framework. Literature review is presented in chapter two. The methodology of the study and the geographical location of Meheba Refugee Settlement are presented in chapter three. The presentation of

the findings on the different operating organizations at Meheba is in chapter four. In chapter five, the findings on the refugee respondents and recommendations made are discussed. Finally, the conclusion of the study is in chapter six.

1.3 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

Several studies carried out at Meheba Refugee Settlement have investigated the level of refugees' participation in aid programmes and problems affecting such participation and benefits obtained. Such investigations however, did not take into account the gender dimension of the problem. This study is therefore significant because it sought to investigate the level of participation of refugees in aid programmes from a gender perspective. The findings of this study shall contribute a gender perspective on the same subject to the existing body of knowledge.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main objective of the study was to find out the level of Angolan refugees' participation in aid programmes at Meheba Refugee Settlement. Specific objectives were to:

- i. investigate the types of aid programmes designed by different operating organisations at Meheba Refugee Settlement;
- ii. analyse the level of Angolan refugee women's participation in aid programmes in relation to their male counterparts;

- iii. establish the extent to which refugee women benefited from aid programmes as compared to men;
- iv. Investigate the problems affecting the level of participation of Angolan refugee women in aid programmes in relation to refugee men.

1.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

An investigation of the refugee women's level of participation in aid programmes at Meheba has shown that there was generally low level of participation among the women compared to men. The findings also demonstrate that most aid programmes designed for women were domestic and reproductive oriented unlike those for men which were public and productive oriented.

In studying the problem of refugee women's participation in aid programmes, it was useful to look at the different theoretical approaches in the feminist discourse. This study will highlight the various theories that have tried to explain the status of women in society. The study concentrated on theories of patriarchy and some postmodern theories. These theories are described in detail below:

The term 'patriarchy' has been used within Post-1960s feminism to refer to the systematic organisation of male supremacy and female subordination. The theories of patriarchy are explained by three main approaches.

First, the theories of patriarchy are explained by the historical approach. The historical approach feminists have used the term patriarchy to identify the historical emergency of systems of male domination. For instance, Lerner (1986) traces the historical development of special structures including the family, which justified and continues to be used to sanction women's subordination. She points out that women were crucial and central players in creation of society but that their contribution has been marginalised in history and contemporary society. This exclusion of women from history affected the psychology of men and women. The patriarchal system, she argues, came about through changes in kingship organisation and economic relations coupled with religion and state bureaucracies. Mies (1986), also pointed out that the term patriarchy signifies the historical emergency of particular forms of inequality between men and women. The search for the origins of patriarchy has led many feminists back to the work of Friedrich Engels, who in his work "The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State," attempts to account for the 'world historic defeat of the female sex.' Engels argued that women lost power with the historical shift in the importance of production (the production of tools, food, and commodities of exchange) over reproduction (reproduction of the species, childbirth and child rearing).

Some feminists have questioned the purpose of tracing the origins of women's subordination and have challenged the notion that any conclusive evidence can be produced about the roots of patriarchy.

The second approach is the materialistic approach. This approach seeks to elaborate an explanation of how patriarchy works in terms of different activities of women and men in society. This approach is close to the Marxist theory. For instance, Christine Delphy (1984) maintains the marxist perspective in her analysis, but applies this to the expropriation of women's labour by husband within the household. According to her, there are two modes of production, that is, Industrial (capitalist exploitation) and family in which women's labour is exploited by men. Delphy also argues that men benefit from women's provision of domestic services and unpaid child-rearing within the family and also their production of certain goods for use and exchange.

Delphy has been criticised for misuse of the marxist concepts, her generalisation based on French peasant households to elaborate the theory of patriarchy. She has also been criticised for reducing marriage to a labour contract, ignoring ideologies of love and romance which play a role in the decision to marry (Barrett and MacIntosh, 1979).

Like Delphy, Sylvia Walby (1986,1990) explains patriarchy from a materialistic point of view. Her argument is based on an analysis of the six structures of patriarchal society namely employment, household production, the state, sexuality, violence and culture. She outlines the way the structures have changed from private form in the nineteenth century based upon 'households

production' to their more public forms in the twentieth century based principally in public sites such as employment and state. She believes that in all these six structures women have been oppressed.

Walby fails to explain what exactly constitutes a structure of patriarchy. In her analysis some structures are more clearly conceptualised than others, for instance, paid employment and culture.

The third approach is the psychoanalysis approach. According to Mitchel (1974) psychoanalytic theory could help explain the deep rootedness of patriarchy through an understanding of the unconscious. Mitchel relates to the role of the father in the family, to patriarchal power in society more generally. She argues that the broader patterns of patriarchal exchange of women and men in society are produced within the individual psyche. According to Mitchel, the valuing of the male over the female is something internalised, not as a conscious belief that we have been socialised to accept, but in the formation of our earliest sexual identities which take place through unconscious as well as the conscious process (Stacey, 1993, 56).

The psychoanalysis approach has been criticised on the basis that women can not be totally and successfully fixed within a patriarchal definition of femininity since identity is often disrupted by the unconscious desires. This approach is also limited by its focus on the psyche and fails to see any political significance in such a psychological-based theory of the individual.

Despite the criticisms leveled against theories of patriarchy, they have contributed greatly to our understanding of male-female relationship in society. These theories were also important to this study because they were helpful in understanding the origins of sexual division of labour, women's subordination and sex role stereotypes among the Angolan refugees at Meheba.

African feminists have argued against generalising the problems of women. According to them, apart from patriarchy, women in Africa have also suffered from poverty, colonialism, structural adjustment programmes, imperialism and so forth, which the other women in the Industrialised countries may not have suffered. They further point out that African women have experienced problems other than patriarchy, due to certain aspects of African culture such as polygamy, bridal wealth and genital mutilation.

Maria Nzomo (1995:131-141) agrees with the arguments of the other feminists in Third World Countries that the habit of national and international development planners and aid agencies of lumping all the Third World women together as one category, that is poor and vulnerable, was misleading and patronising. According to her, the struggle for democratisation in Africa has led to the increase in the poverty level especially among the Third World women. She argued that the implementation of the World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programme had undercut many of the advances made by the Third World women in the 1970s and had increasingly thrown many women into the

rank of the poor. According to her, poverty was linked primarily to the question of women's economic empowerment.

Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) have affected Angolan refugees at Meheba, like any other rural people. This was because the designers of aid programmes at Meheba adopted the existing social structures of the host country (Zambia). Thus, like the rural women, refugee women had low levels of income because they were often in unpaid domestic activities unlike most men who were in paid aid programmes.

Of importance also to this study are two GAD analytical tools namely sexual/gender division of labour and access to and control over resources and benefits, (Overholt, et al, 1985). The advocates of the GAD analytical tools argue that before implementing any programme there is need for the facilitators of the development programmes to analyse sexual/ gender division of labour. According to them, such an analysis would help the programme designers to know how the type of work done by women and those done by men would affect the new programme and how such programmes would affect the work of each sex group. Similarly, it is important that the facilitators have knowledge of the level of women's and men's access to and control over resources and benefits within the society. Such knowledge is important because it would assist the programme designers know in advance how the new programme would help increase women's access to and control over resources and benefits.

The two GAD analytical tools were important to this study because they helped in analysing the level of refugee women's participation in aid programmes and also their access to and control over resources and benefits compared to their male counterparts.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

To find relevant literature that was related to the subject of this study was quite difficult. This probably could mean that there have been few studies that were carried out on this subject especially in Zambia. A review of the literature of the studies carried out on the involvement of women in development programmes, (for rural women in general and refugee women in particular), indicate a low level of participation among women compared to men.

The situation of rural women has been similar in most Third World Countries including Zambia. This section will present the literature reviewed on the involvement of rural women and refugee women in development programmes in Third world Countries with a particular emphasis on Zambia. The literature on the level of rural women's participation in development programmes in Third World Countries in general and Zambia in particular will be discussed. Similarly, the refugee women's level of participation in aid programmes in Third World Countries in general and Meheba in particular will be also discussed.

A study carried out by Longwe (1990) on the situation of women in Africa in the post UN Women Decade demonstrated that a high proportion of the development projects in Africa were funded by United Nations (UN) agencies and that at policy level the commitment of these agencies was serious. In her

report, Longwe stated that the actual implementation of the projects concerned with women's development had been slow. One of the examples that Longwe gave was the 1984 UNDP survey of all UN agency projects in a sample of four Third World Countries namely: Rwanda, Yemen, Indonesia and Haiti. The findings from all these countries showed a small proportion of projects incorporating women's development. Table 1 below shows part of the findings of the survey.

Table 1: Degree of Women's Participation in Development Programmes (1984)

Degree of women's Participation	Number	Per cent
Project activities which entirely concern women	9	3.5
Project activities designed to include women	33	13.0
Project activities which affect women but provide no direct participation	152	59.8
Project activities of no immediate interest to women	60	23.6

Source: Inter-organisational Assessment of Women's Participation in Development, Evaluation Study No. 13. 1984, New York: UNDP

Longwe (1990) observed that the very large proportion of projects (almost 60%) affecting women had no provision for the women's direct participation. Meanwhile, there were only 13 per cent out of all the projects, designed to include women. This shows how serious the exclusion of women is in rural development programmes. The situation of refugee women is often not far from that of rural women since both groups are often affected by similar social, cultural and economic structures.

Longwe (1990) also observed that, women's role as food producers had often been overlooked especially by the UN agencies concerned with promoting agricultural development. Of interest were the 1984 figures on the level of participation of women in Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) and International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). This is shown in Table 2

Table 2: Participation of Women in FAO and IFAD Projects (1984)

Degree of Women's Participation	Per cent of Projects In Each Category	
	FAO	IFAD
Projects of exclusive concern to women	4.1	0
Project activities designed to include women	5.4	0
Project activities which affect women but provide no direct participation	45.9	100
Project activities of no immediate interest to women	44.6	0

Commenting on Table 2 Longwe (1990) was alarmed by the figures for IFAD, with all of its projects affecting women but none of them including direct participation of women. Similarly, FAO had many programmes almost 46 per cent, which affected women but provided no direct participation among the

women. In addition, almost 45 per cent of all programmes run by FAO had no immediate interest to women. It can be concluded that over 90 percent of all FAO programmes had no deliberate provision of involving women. This gives a clear picture of how, various organisations, which were responsible for rural development activities, mainly focused on men leaving out women. It is not surprising therefore, that statistics show that rural women form the majority in the unpaid activities. Of late, the emergence of Food For Work (FFW) programmes, which are slowly becoming active and taking the place of welfare activities have been mainly dominated by women. This has often been so because most women, having failed to produce enough food for their families find no choice but to work for food.

For example, a survey carried out by Chen and Ghuznavi (1978) in Bangladesh on Food For Work (FFW) programme showed that when the programme was initiated in parts of Southern Asia, many of the women who sought work were those with dependents and with little or no financial help. One survey covering 303 female worker families in a Bangladesh FFW programme found that 33% were headed by widows, and 14% by divorced and deserted women. Almost half the women were the sole income earners of their families, and all except seven had dependants. Commenting on the Bangladesh findings, Agarwal (1981) argued that lack of employment among women, especially as it relates to poverty among women had significant implications. She added that in such instances, employment projects for the poor would be misdirected where those needing work were women heads of households, but the projects in their

content, location and period of work availability often took no account of women's positions. Agarwal (1981) therefore recommended a feasibility study among the target group before any project is designed and implemented.

Longwe's (1990) research was important to this study because it shows that although rural women, just as refugee women, form the majority in farming; they are often left out of new farming techniques. The result of this has been that their productivity in farming has often been quite low forcing them to be actively involved in food for work programme. It is difficult however to know the types of projects that Longwe (1990) was referring to in both Table 1 and Table 2. The present study tried to close this gap by investigating on the types of aid programmes designed for women and men at Meheba.

Also of related interest is a review of literature on various scholars who have written on "Women in Development in Africa". They have brought out an interesting dimension, which portrays most rural development programmes as being biased against the rural women. They pointed out that although in the African context, women were typically responsible for cultivating the subsistence food crops, the promotion of new rural earning-schemes (cash crops, poultry-keeping etc) for the men, by national and international agencies,

had in a number of instances adversely affected the household women. According to some authors, the rural women, while continuing with their responsibility of producing the family's subsistence food, were also required to contribute obligatory labour to their husbands' new activities (Boserup, 1970;

bukh, 1979; Hanger and moris, 1973; Mbilinyi, 1972; UNECA, 1972; Wilde, 1967). These authors also added that any extra cash income generated from cash crops often belonged to the men alone (Mbilinyi, 1972; palmer, 1977; Wilde, 1967; Bukh, 1979). They further pointed out that such money tends to be spent by the men largely on their personal needs like drink, clothes, radios and inputs for their fields with relatively little flowing to women (Bukh, 1979; Hanger and Moris, 1973; Consortium for International Development, 1978). These authors further argued that in some instances, women's income and consumption was even noted to have decreased in absolute terms, as they often had less time and energy to devote to their independent productive activities (Hanger and Moris, 1973; Palmer, 1977; Bukh, 1979).

This is a further explanation as to why most women, refugee women inclusive, resort to Food For Work (FFW) because their food crop production is often affected by other commitments such as that of rendering labour to their husbands' activities and also attending to their domestic chores. The short fall of the above reviewed literature is that it only considered the married women making it difficult to know how the new rural earning-schemes affected the unmarried women. This study however, did not only consider the married women but also the unmarried women inclusive of the widows, divorced and singles.

Studies carried out in Zambia on Women in Development (WID) also demonstrate a similar trend as that from other Third World countries. For

instance, Longwe (1988) in her report of the consultancy undertaken for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) on the subject 'Improved Development Policy for the Increased Integration of Women in the Development Process in Zambia' brought out a number of constraints hindering women's level of participation. First, Longwe (1988) pointed out that the overall finding of the study was that the need for women's increased integration in the development process had been largely overlooked in the UNDP Fourth Country programme in Zambia. The writer stated that the main problem had been the failure to recognise women's issues at the stage of Programme and project formulation such that general development projects seemed to have been classified as "not affecting women."

As can be noted from Longwe (1990) UNDP survey on the four Third World Countries and also the 1984 FAO and IFAD programmes discussed earlier on, there were many programmes which affected women but did not provide for their direct participation. It could be from such a background that Longwe (1990) suggested that 'The 1987 UNDP policy statement on this subject required the integration of women as participants and beneficiaries... in all its projects.'

Second, Longwe (1988) stated that the findings of the study demonstrated that in all the projects there was insufficient participation of women in the development process: a lack of involvement in needs assessment, project

formulation, implementation and evaluation. She therefore recommended an increased level of women's participation at each stage of the project cycle.

Third, Longwe (1988) brought out the issue of low level of understanding of women's issues amongst the personnel concerned with project implementation both within the government administration and the concerned United Nations (UN) agencies. She argued that the situation of women in Zambia suggested a general and serious need for various forms of training in the recognition of women's issues, and in addressing these issues in all aspects of project planning and implementation.

Longwe's (1988) report is important to this study because it demonstrates that the problem of low level of women's involvement in development projects does not only apply to refugees, rather it is a general women's problem not only in Zambia but in most Third World Countries. This situation needs serious gender sensitisation programmes not only for the governments but also the international aid agencies.

Keller's (1984) study on "The integration of Zambian Women in Development" further shows a disadvantaged position of rural women.

Keller's (1984) report included her survey of all development projects in Zambia, which involved women. The aim was to assess the projects' contribution to women's development. This survey was also to assess the policies and the level of commitment of the various sponsoring agencies

(whether UN, bilateral, government or NGO). Keller's (1984) report found that a high proportion of these projects had low level of women's participation. This was because they were concerned with improving women's performance in their sex-stereotyped domestic role, rather than addressing their problems and needs as food producers (their main economic role in Zambia, as in the rest of Africa).

This was also true about the aid programmes designed for refugees at Meheba. The operating organisations also adopted the existing division of labour. Keller's analysis of women's projects in Zambia as being "low-level" in terms of women's development suggested a need to reconsider the best way of involving women in productive activities rather than promoting the existing division of labour which are often biased against women.

The literature reviewed on the level of involvement of refugee women in aid programmes demonstrated a low level of women's participation similar to that of the rural women in most Third World Countries. Harrel-Bond (1986) for instance, in her study among the refugees in Yei District in Sudan, observed that though rural women were responsible for food production, the staff excluded the women from agricultural training and access to labour saving improved technologies, seeds and fertilisers. The result was that most refugee women's production level was poor. In addition, active participation of women in farming was hindered by other factors; one of them being that most married refugee women were not given land as they were expected to be dependent on



their husbands (Maluma, 1986:56). These factors often had a bearing on the level of crop production among the women.

Berar-Awad (1984) in her study on the selected handicraft projects in refugee settlements, also noticed that in terms of income generating projects, women were directed to undertake production irrespective of whether a market was available or not. As such, most refugee women's projects turned out to be unsuccessful. Similarly, products from women's aid programmes at Meheba lacked ready markets, making it difficult for them to benefit financially.

In addition, Taft (1987:19) observed that income-generating ventures by refugee organisations had faced cultural constraints. She pointed out that due to these cultural constraints, the Afghan refugee women in Pakistan participated little especially in large-scale projects such as carpet weaving and embroidery.

Meanwhile, Harrel-Bond (1986) observed that under representation of refugee women in decision-making was also another problem hindering the development of refugee women. Harrel-Bond further argued that lack of communication due to little or no education among the women hindered them from participating in decision-making. The reason being that all leaders had to be English speaking persons, a requirement which most women could not meet.

Related Studies done on refugees were quite significant to this study because they showed that the level of participation of refugee women in development

programmes was being hindered by a number of factors similar to those observed in this study. Most of these studies however, focussed on problems faced by women without showing the extent to which women benefited from such programmes. This study did not only focus at the problems faced by refugee women and men but also on the benefits obtained by women in relation to men.

A similar study as that done by Harrel-Bond (1986) was carried out by UNHCR (1992) in which it was reported that UNHCR had developed a new policy for refugees after the 1985 Decade for Women. The policy considered the special situations and resources of refugee women in the context of assistance projects. It recognised that women's needs were not necessarily the same as those of men. Thus, the policy established was aimed at including women in planning and implementing projects. Despite the above measures, few women served as administrators and planners or were deployed to the fields by 1992. Only 209 women compared to 525 men were employed by UNHCR as professional staff members (UNHCR, 1992). Like other UN donors who failed to recognise the need for actively involving women in decision-making in the development programmes, UNHCR has often failed to involve refugee women in most of its programmes especially at decision-making level. The UNHCR (1992) study helped us understand the extent to which UNHCR involved women in decision-making. This study on the other hand went further to demonstrate the extent to which the operating organisations dealing with refugees involved women in decision-making positions.

Studies carried out at Meheba Refugee Settlement however seemed to give an encouraging report about the level of participation of refugees in programmes and benefits that they obtained in return. An example of such a study is one by Mwanza, (1995:55-75) on the “Economic Contribution of Angolan Refugees to Zambia.” He examined the net economic contribution of Meheba Refugee Settlement in Solwezi District. First, he showed that most refugees in the old Meheba were self-sufficient in terms of staple foods and cash crops. Second, Mwanza (1995) demonstrated that Meheba contributed significantly to the agricultural produce of the province. He added that in 1987/88 agricultural season, Meheba was the biggest producer of Soya beans in the District of Solwezi. And that Meheba was a great supplier of vegetables to Solwezi town and major towns on the Copperbelt Province.

Mwanza (1995) further compared agricultural productivity of the Meheba Refugee settlement to that of the government planned rural settlement. The arguments he brought out were that the success of Meheba could have been attributed to good planning, adequate rainfall, good soil, and refugee commitment to agriculture. Lastly, he showed that the refugees were not draining the government of Zambia’s financial resources since the UNHCR and other humanitarian organisations financed them in foreign exchange. He concluded by stating that Zambia had benefited from the presence and agricultural productivity of the refugees in Meheba.

Mwanza's (1995) study was of interest to this research because it also focused on Meheba Refugee Settlement. His study however had a number of gaps, which needed to be addressed by this present study. One of such gaps from Mwanza's study was that the report was not gender desegregated making it difficult to know the level of refugee women's participation in agriculture especially in cash crops production and also how the women benefited from such agricultural activities. Furthermore, Mwanza's (1995) study concentrated on studying the refugee's agricultural activities leaving out the other types of activities. This study has included other aid programmes designed for refugees at Meheba.

2.2 Summary

The literature reviewed on both rural women and refugee women revealed that rural development programmes had been generally biased against women. This is shown through the general low level of women's participation in the development programmes including those, which were directly affecting women. In both cases (that is, rural women and refugee women), the problem of women was probably worsened by the agencies responsible for the development programmes because of their lack of deliberate effort to break the existing social structures by incorporating women in productive programmes.

Instead, women have often found themselves in unpaid and domestic oriented activities. As it will be noted later, the situation of refugee women at Meheba was not far from that of the women in the reviewed literature.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the methodology used to collect data for the study. In this chapter the researcher considered the choice of the sample, the sample size, the sampling procedure and the data collection. In addition, the field research site and its geographical location are also described in detail.

3.2 Sample/Sample Size

The sample for this study was collected from the population of Angolan refugees at Meheba Refugee Settlement. The Angolan refugees in this study refer to those Angolans who ran away from the war in Angola to seek refuge in Zambia. The Angolan refugees were chosen not only because they were the majority but also because they were the first settlers at Meheba (Sapao, 1996:68). It was felt that having been at Meheba for a long period of time, the Angolan refugees would have a lot to say on their experience concerning the level of participation in aid programmes. The total sample size of these refugees was one hundred comprising fifty women and fifty men. Although looking at the total population of the Angolan refugees at Meheba which stood at 27,719 by 1997, the sample size may appear to be quite small, the researcher could not go beyond this sample size because of the limitation of time and resources.

Nevertheless, with this sample, adequate information was collected to portray the general picture of women's participation in aid programmes at Meheba in comparison to their male folk.

The sample also included relevant officials from the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA), Lutheran World Federation (LWF), Association to Aid Refugees (AAR: Japan), World Food Programme (WFP) and Jesuit Refugee Service in Zambia (JRS). Initially, JRS was not included because the researcher did not know about it until the time of the actual field research. Furthermore, the researcher had intended to have at least two officials from each of the above-mentioned organisations. However, this was not achieved for some of the organisations such as JRS, WFP and LWF. JRS' Lusaka's office was mainly concerned with the urban refugees and partially with the rural refugees like those at Meheba. As such, no official was interviewed at JRS's Lusaka office. Meanwhile, WFP had no representative at Meheba by the time the researcher was collecting data at the Settlement, as such only interviewed one official from Lusaka office. Although, one or two officials were intended to be part of the sample from UNHCR, efforts to sample someone failed because representatives from this organisation believed that the information needed for this research could be better gotten from LWF since this was the main implementing organization. On the other hand, at LWF, the officials were reluctant to participate both at the Settlement and at Lusaka office. Instead they gave the researcher the LWF annual reports. Thus, instead of sampling twelve relevant officials, six from Meheba and six from Lusaka, the researcher only managed to have seven respondents from all the different operating organisations, at least those which were co-operative.

3.3 Sampling Procedure

The study used a systematic random sampling procedure to sample the refugees. Meheba Refugee Settlement had sixty-six roads. Using a random sampling procedure ten roads were sampled. Among these roads sampled from the 66 were 6, 10, 13, 18, 20, 25, 36, 37, 41 and 48. Initially roads 56 and 62 were part of the sampled roads. The last two roads were later replaced because they were very far from the main road. Although, the researcher managed to reach most of the other roads on foot, accessing these two roads was not only tiresome but also risky for the researcher since she was female.

From the ten roads, ten houses were systematically sampled at least after every two houses on either side of the roads. The researcher had to resample some houses in cases where houses for non-Angolan refugees were sampled. Then, five men and five women from different households in each of the ten roads were purposively sampled. All the refugee respondents were the heads of households or wives to the heads of households in cases where the women were married.

In sampling the relevant officials from different operating organizations (both at Lusaka offices and at the offices at Meheba Settlement), a purposive

sampling procedure was used.

3.4 Data Collection

Data was collected using interview schedules and questionnaires. In addition, focussed group discussions and informal interviews with the refugee women and men were conducted. The interview schedule comprised of both structured and semi-structured questions. This instrument was used to collect data concerning all the objectives of this study. The interview guide assisted the researcher to collect information on the level of participation of women and men in the aid programmes; the data on the benefits they obtained from the programmes and also the problems they faced. The interview schedule was preferred because most of the Angolans could not read or write. In addition, the face to face interviews also allowed a further probing for clarity and extraction of detailed information from the refugees.

The second instrument that was used in this study was the questionnaire. This involved both closed ended and open-ended questions. Like the interview schedule, the questionnaire collected data concerning all the four objectives of the study. Initially, the researcher had intended that the officials fill in the questionnaire. However, it was later decided that the researcher administers the questionnaire by conducting face to face interview with the officials. The face to face interviews with the officials enabled the researcher to probe further and collect rich information for the qualitative part of the study. The interviews also allowed the researcher to observe the interviewees' points of emphasis. This too contributed to the richness of the qualitative data.

The questionnaire allowed the researcher to collect data on the types of aid programmes that were designed for refugee women and men at Meheba. Also information on the benefits and problems faced by refugees was obtained using this instrument. The questionnaire further helped the researcher to collect data on constraints that the operating organisations faced and their future plans. The researcher also learned by using this instrument, information on the extent to which the operating organisations were coordinating at Meheba. Like the interview guide, the questionnaire through interviews allowed the researcher to probe further for clarity and extraction of some detailed information from the officials.

Focus group discussions were held among various groups of women and men according to their sex. The focus group discussions made it easier for the respondents to express themselves freely amidst fellow refugees. It was not so difficult for the researcher to gather respondents for the group discussion because refugees at Meheba became curious especially when they saw a stranger writing something at their neighbour's home. They willingly gathered around the researcher ready to answer questions and then in turn asked if the researcher had plans of helping them.

Focussed group discussions allowed the researcher to obtain rich data on the benefits obtained by refugee men and women in the different aid programmes and also the problems they faced in these programmes.

3.5 Field Research Sites

Meheba Refugee Settlement, the subject of this study was established in 1971 to cater for refugees from Angola. The first Angolan refugees who settled at Meheba came from Lwatembo Refugee Settlement in North-Western Province and Mayukwayukwa Refugee Settlement in Western Province.

Lwatembo Refugee Settlement was opened in 1966 to cater for Angolan refugees. In order to prevent any conflict arising from the on-going competition over resources between the refugees at Lwatembo and Lwatembo community, the government moved the refugees to Mayukwayukwa Refugee Settlement. When Lwatembo was finally closed at the beginning of the 1970s, its Angolan refugee population was moved to Meheba (Banda, 1987:30).

Mayukwayukwa Refugee Settlement on the other hand was opened in 1968. Due to space limitation, however, its refugee population has remained under three thousand, the excess population always being transferred to Meheba Refugee Settlement.

Meheba Refugee Settlement is located about seventy-five kilometres South-West of Solwezi, the provincial capital and one of the six districts that constitutes the North-Western Province. The settlement lies at an altitude of between 700m and 1000m above sea level. Meheba Refugee Settlement had a suitable climate for farming. The average rainfall of between 1000mm and 1500mm per annum was recorded in 1986. Because the rains in Solwezi

district are often reliable, all areas in the district including Meheba Refugee Settlement are suitable for crops under rain-fed cultivation (Sapao, 1996:4).

However, the soils at Meheba were said to have high aluminium content, which made them toxic to plants (Chanda, 1995:44). These characteristics imply that the soils of the settlement could not support permanent agriculture. The fertility of the soils declined rapidly under agricultural utilisation and many refugees mostly men had adopted a type of shifting cultivation (Chitemene).

Meheba Refugee Settlement is divided into two geographical areas namely Old Meheba and New Extension, which was started in 1987 (Sapao, 1996:1). The Settlement had two main gravel roads, from which branched off into smaller but all weather roads along which the refugees' huts/ houses are built. These villages are also grouped into six different zones ranging from zone A to F.

On the west of Meheba Refugee Settlement is Meheba River, a natural boundary after which the settlement is named. Meanwhile, Mafwe River marks the South-Eastern part of Meheba. The area around these two rivers serves as cultivating fields especially for refugees in the new extension who do not only run away from small fields but also from infertile land.

This study preferred Meheba Refugee Settlement as a field area to Mayukwayukwa because Meheba has more Angolan refugee population than the later settlement. Thus, it was assumed that Meheba Refugee Settlement's population would help represent the Angolan refugees' population in settlements better than Mayukwayukwa.

3.6 Angolan Refugee Population

The Angolan refugee population in Zambia was estimated at 99,621 in December 1989 and formed the bulk of Zambia's share of Southern Africa asylum seekers, which stood at 138,000 people in 1995 (Hansen, 1995:76). Even at Meheba Refugee Settlement, the Angolan refugees still form the majority of the population. By 31st December 1997, the population at Meheba was as follows: 27,719 Angolans, 3,526 Congolese, 904 Rwandese, 145 Burundese, 29 Ugandans, 14 Namibians, 12 Sudanese, 3 Nigerians, 1 Zimbabwean, 1 Somalian, 2 South Africans and 4 female Zambians (LWF Annual Report, 1997:5). The four female Zambians became refugees by virtue of getting married to Rwandese refugees.

It is important to mention here that the above mentioned statistics on the population of refugees was not grouped according to gender, making it difficult to know how many females and males formed the population. In addition, lack of proper statistics on women often does not only make them invisible but also forgotten when designing aid programmes for refugees. This study was important because it tried to close some of the gaps left by the other studies.



CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DIFFERENT OPERATING ORGANISATIONS DEALING WITH REFUGEES AT MEHEBA REFUGEE SETTLEMENT

This chapter attempted to bring out the different types of aid programmes designed for refugees. In doing this, a brief discussion of the various operating organisations at the Settlement and their main responsibilities in the welfare of refugees will be considered. An attempt is made to answer the question “Do the operating organisations at Meheba work in coordination?” Furthermore, basic problems faced by the different organisations and their future plans are also discussed. The operating organisations which were considered included Lutheran World Federation (LWF), Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA), Association to Aid Refugees (AAR: Japan), World Food Programme (WFP) and the Jesuit Refugee Service in Zambia (JRS).

4.1 LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION

The Lutheran World Federation (LWF) is one of the operating organisations at Meheba. It is a Christian organisation involved in the welfare of refugees. It started operating at Meheba in the 1980s. During this period, it served as a leading implementing organisation at the settlement. On February 15th 1996, the organisation was for the second time appointed by UNHCR to run both Meheba and Mayukwayukwa Refugee Settlements. Hence, in the same year, an

agreement was signed among the three parties namely LWF, UNHCR and the Zambian government.

4.1.1 Types of Aid Programmes Offered by LWF

When LWF resumed the role of a leading implementing agent in 1996, its primary aim was to prepare ground and execute the repatriation of more than thirty thousand Angolans (LWF, 1996:13). Despite the fact that the planned repatriation did not take place, LWF went ahead and completed minor repatriation activities such as “road rehabilitation, making transit centres with water points, pit latrines and security points’ (LWF Annual Report, 1996:13). LWF did not only end at the repatriation efforts, rather it was also involved in the care and maintenance programmes, which helped to impart in refugee’s skills necessary for use in their countries. (LWF, 1997: 13).

During this study, the researcher found that LWF was running a number of development programmes for refugees. First, there were aid programmes designed for women namely: tailoring, baking and programmes relating to health issues such as nutrition and family planning. Second, LWF had designed programmes for men, among them were carpentry, auto mechanics, water project, bee keeping, and environmental rehabilitation. Finally, this organisation had programmes designed for both women and men and these programmes included among others farming, tailoring association, hammer mill association, and Fuel effective stoves. LWF was also involved in spearheading

refugees to participate in decision-making programmes. From the types of aid programmes designed for women, it is clear that LWF was concerned with improving women's stereotyped domestic roles, which often fail to improve women's economic status because they tend to be unpaid activities. On the other hand, men's activities were public oriented with potential of benefiting them financially. It is high time organisations dealing with refugees started involving men in domestic oriented activities so as to release women from the domestic chores and promote their active participation in more productive roles.

4.2 MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

Ministry of Home Affairs is a government institution and it has a responsibility to render services to refugees seeking asylum in the country. Thus, since the inception of Meheba refugee Settlement in 1971, Ministry of Home Affairs has been involved in the welfare of refugees at the Settlement. Information on the activities carried out by the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) was obtained from two Refugee Officers. One of these was based in Lusaka while the other one was at Meheba Refugee Settlement. By the time of this study, the refugee officer based at Meheba had worked with the Ministry for three years while the one in Lusaka had worked in the same capacity for four years. These refugee officials are involved in the welfare of refugees from the emergency stage to repatriation stage.

4.2.1 Types of Aid Programmes Offered by MHA

The Ministry ensured that the following services were provided for the refugees:

- Land location (Meheba)
- Security (Zambia Police)
- Schools (Buildings and Teachers)
- Health facilities and services (Clinics and medical Staff)
- Agriculture (Extension Services).

Although the programmes offered by MHA affected refugees, most of them did not provide for their direct participation apart from being beneficiaries. This approach is related to the Welfare hand out approach based on the assumption that the “vulnerable groups” ought to be passive recipients of development programmes. It was such assumptions, which UNHCR was attempting to get rid of, when it opted for a participatory approach because the former approach was creating a dependence syndrome among the refugees. By ensuring that all refugees who are qualified are given an opportunity to work in various activities offered by this organisation, refugees’ participation in aid programmes under MHA could be promoted and thereby reduce the dependence problem.

4.3 ASSOCIATION TO AID REFUGEES

The Association to Aid Refugees (AAR: Japan) is run by the Japanese. The Association started operating at Meheba Refugee Settlement in 1984. Much of the information about this association and its responsibilities at the Settlement were obtained from the Coordinator of the Association based in Lusaka as well

as the Project Manager¹ based at Meheba. At the time of this study, the project manager at Meheba had worked with AAR for two years while the former had been with the Association for eight years. Like the other operating organisations at Meheba Refugee Settlement, AAR had designed a number of programmes for refugees. According to the officials interviewed, all AAR's programmes were designed by donors in Tokyo (Japan) and were then made available to refugees at the Settlement. The officials added that all the programmes were open to both females and males except for those activities meant for women's clubs.

4.3.1 Types of Aid programmes offered by AAR

The programmes designed for refugees were under two categories namely aid programmes designed for women and those designed for men. Similar to LWF, programmes designed for women at AAR were tailoring and those relating to health issues. Meanwhile, those for men were carpentry, metal work, and water and sanitation activities. Other programmes offered by AAR were community education/scholarship and farming. Like LWF, AAR's programmes for women were also concerned with promoting women's domestic roles. On the other hand, men were in public and productive activities. The AAR programmes are similar to the Rapid Rural Appraisal

(RRA) approach adopted by the WID approach because in both cases the

¹. It must be noted here that the project manager was refugee man. None of the refugee women had such a position at Meheba.

outsiders instead of the insiders (refugees in the case of AAR) were not involved in needs assessment and designing of the development programmes. Such approaches have failed to achieve active participation among the target group. AAR could address this problem by adopting the Participatory Rural Appraisal as suggested by David and Craig (1997). The Japanese in this case would be expected to be facilitators of the programmes rather than being active participants in programmes meant to promote refugees' active participation.

4.4 WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME

The World Food Programme (WFP) is a United Nations agency, which has been operating at Meheba since the Settlement was opened in 1971. According to the Food Aid Monitor, WFP was responsible for the provision of basic foods such as cereals, cooking oil, salt and supplementing foods like high energy, protein and sugar (HEPS). This organisation gave these handouts to refugees for two cultivated seasons. Meanwhile, a long-term provision of food was given to the vulnerable groups such as the old, orphaned, widowed and unaccompanied children.

4.4.1 Types of aid programmes offered by WFP

Unlike the other operating organisations at Meheba, which had designed programmes for women and also those for men, WFP had specific activities, which were directly related to its core function as a food distributor. These activities included food management, distribution and administration. These activities also involved managing of warehouses, storekeeping and food

monitoring. According to the Food Monitor interviewed at WFP, this organisation preferred women to be in-charge of all the programmes. Among all the other organisations at Meheba, WFP seemed to be different because it allowed more women into decision-making positions in its activities. WFP's activities however, were similar to the aid programmes designed by other operating organisations at Meheba because it was also concerned with improved women's domestic roles.

4.5 JESUIT REFUGEE SERVICE IN ZAMBIA

Jesuit Refugee Service in Zambia (JRS) like the other operating organisations at Meheba was also running different programmes for refugees and had been operating at the Settlement since 1980. The JRS worked with the refugee's community to establish a grass root training and consultancy service for integrated rural development. Through the cooperation that JRS had established with Meheba, a more viable option for urban refugees and asylum seekers was created. JRS was also working with skilled refugee trainers to prepare Angolan refugees for eventual return to their war devastated country (Newsletter, March 1998). Information from this organisation was obtained from the Assistant Project Manager (a male Angolan refugee) based at the settlement. At the time of this study, he had worked with JRS for a year.

4.5.1 Types of Aid Programmes Offered by JRS

JRS had the following programmes for women namely tomato drying and cooking oil making, while those for men were tiles making, shoe and bicycle

repairing. Meanwhile, farming/gardening was designed for both women and men. Similar to the programmes designed for women by the other organisations at Meheba, JRS also had programmes for women and these were domestic oriented and those for men were public oriented. A gender sensitive training among the officials dealing with refugees as Longwe (1988) suggested would help change their attitudes concerning the types of aid programmes designed for women and men.

4.6 Coordination among the Various Operating Organisations

An interview with the different officials from various operating organisations revealed that almost all organisations coordinated when implementing community activities such as road construction and rehabilitation. Meanwhile, LWF being the main implementing organisation worked in coordination with MHA and UNHCR at least in almost all the programmes they designed. It is interesting to mention that most of the programmes run by ARR were done independent of the other organisations. The purpose of analysing the extent of coordination among refugees was to know if there was any duplication of efforts in the activities offered by the organisations. It was difficult to come to a conclusion regarding whether there was duplication of work at Meheba because those organisations, which offered similar programmes, did so from different areas of the settlement and to different groups of people.

4.7 Problems Faced By Various Operating Organisations

Generally, one of the problems which was brought out by almost all the operating organisations was inadequate funds to acquire the needed resources for refugees. On the other hand, an official from WFP felt that resistance among the refugees to accept that their term of receiving handouts was over had remained the major draw back in their efforts to reducing handouts. He also pointed out that lack of transport to ferry foodstuffs to Meheba was among the problems faced by the organisation. The promotion of an active participation of women and men in sustainable aid programmes would reduce their dependence on organisations' free resources. In addition, an early involvement of refugees into sustainable development programmes would reduce their dependence on handouts.

4.8 Future Plans for the different Operating Organisations

Almost, all the operating organisations were planning to reach a time when refugees would achieve economic self-reliance. To achieve this, most of the operating organisations were planning to improve on the utilisation of local resources and to establish aid programmes in areas where there were none. The officials were further looking forward to improving the funding system of the projects at the settlement so as to allow them diversify the programmes for refugees.

None of the future plans stated above by the different officials indicated that there would be a deliberate effort to change the gender division of labour at the

settlement and thereby improve on active participation among women. There is need to develop a deliberate policy, which would encourage women into more productive public oriented activities. Further, men should be sensitised so that they are also involved in the domestic oriented activities to lighten the workload of women and give them more time to be in other activities.

4.9 Summary

It has been demonstrated in this chapter that the operating organisations had actually implemented UNHCR's programme of involving refugees in aid programmes in order to reduce their dependence on hand outs. This chapter has shown that there were various aid programmes, designed for refugee women and men. There was a gender bias against women though in types of aid programmes designed for refugees. This chapter has further shown that the operating organisations worked in coordination mainly during community activities. There were some of the operating organisations, which worked independent of the others. The researcher has shown in this chapter that despite the implementation of similar aid programmes by different organisations, the issue of duplication of efforts could not arise at Meheba because such aid programmes were implemented in different places for different target groups. Problems and future plans of the different organisations at Meheba have been discussed in this chapter as well and the researcher has also made a number of recommendations. The chapter that follows will discuss the findings of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 FINDINGS ON THE LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION OF REFUGEES IN AID PROGRAMMES AT MEHEBA REFUGEE SETTLEMENT

This chapter is discusses the findings based on the objectives of the study. In presenting the findings, this chapter will first discuss the general characteristics of the respondents, which had a direct impact on the level of participation of women in relation to men in various aid programmes. Second, the researcher will attempt to address the different objectives of the study starting with the level of participation of refugees in the different aid programmes. The discussion will then show the similarities and the differences in the benefits obtained by women and men, and also the problems that each sex group experienced in their various aid programmes.

The data in this study is presented in tables. Frequencies and in some cases percentages were used to analyse the data. In addition, using descriptive statistics and cross-tabulation, the findings of the study are explained and discussed. Data analysis was mainly done manually.

5.1 GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

5.1.1 Age Distribution

The Angolan refugees interviewed at Meheba included fifty refugee women and fifty refugee men. The ages of these refugees were from sixteen and above.

Table 3 illustrates the age distribution of the respondents.

Table 3: Age Distribution by Sex

Years	Females		Males	
	Frequencies	Per cent	Frequencies	Per cent
16-20	1	2	1	2
21-25	9	18	12	24
26-30	5	10	9	18
31-35	9	18	8	16
36 and above	26	52	20	40
TOTAL	50	100	50	100

Source: Field data

Table 3 shows that the majority for both female and male refugees, that is, 26 females compared to 20 males, were 36 years old and above. However, women outnumbered men in this age category.

The minority of the respondents, for both sexes, was between the ages of 16 and 20, that is one respondent for both sex groups. The reason for having the lowest number of respondents in the above age category is because the

researcher was considering only heads of households or wives to heads of households. This made it easier to compare the privileges that the female and male heads of households and married women in involvement in aid programmes. The findings from Meheba therefore indicate that the majority of the respondents who were heads of households or wives to heads of households were above 20 years.

Age affected the level of participation in certain aid programmes. Most women especially and those above the age of 36 felt that programmes like tailoring and baking were meant for young people and not for the elderly. The women in this age group automatically excluded themselves from tailoring and baking, the most common programmes for women at Meheba. However, this was not really the case among the male folk who freely participated in any programmes designed for men.

5.1.2 Marital Status

Marital status, like age, had an impact on the level of participation among the women and men at Meheba. Marital status of refugees is shown in Table 4.

5.1.3 Table 4: Marital Status by Sex

Status	Females		Males	
	Frequency	Per cent	Frequency	Per cent
Single	3	6	10	20
Married	29	58	36	72
Separated	-	-	-	-
Divorced	9	18	2	4
Widow	9	18	2	4
TOTAL	50	100	50	100

Source: Field data

Table 4 indicates that there were more married men (36 out of the total of 50 men interviewed) than women (29 out of the total of 50 women interviewed). Unlike their male counterparts, most women at Meheba found it difficult to remarry after the death of their husbands or after divorce. This can be observed from the difference in the number of women and men who indicated that they were divorced or widows/widowers. This is shown in Table 4 which demonstrate that there were more women (9 from the total of 50 women interviewed) than men (2 out of the 50 men interviewed) who said that they were widows. Similarly, there were 9 women compared to 2 men who said that they had divorced. An interview with some women revealed that most widows or divorced women who had children had problems finding spouses.

Table 4 also indicates that there were more men (10 from the total of 50 men) than women (3 out of the total of 50 women) who stated that they were single. However, further probing revealed that all the single males had no children compared to all the single females who said they were single mothers. This status of the women put them in a disadvantaged position because their level of participation was limited as they had to attend to the children unlike the single men who had no other responsibility apart from taking care of themselves. It also indicates that women refugees tend to carry their children when they flee their countries, while men tend to be on their own.

Marital status affected the level of participation among the women differently. For instance, most married women at Meheba enjoyed some privileges which most unmarried female heads of households could not enjoy for some reasons. Some of the factors brought out by unmarried women, which hindered their level of participation, were:

- lack of male labour to assist them in farming,
- lack of access to own land (common among the divorced),
- long distances to new farming fields and also lack of security for women to walk such distances without the company of their husbands or male relatives.

5.1.4 Formal Education

Lack of formal education, as cited by Harrel-bond(1986) affects the level of participation especially among the women who often form the majority of the

illiterate group. The formal education for the interviewed refugees is shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Formal Education Levels by Sex

	Females		Males	
Level	Frequency	Per cent	Frequency	Per cent
Primary	21	42	20	40
Secondary	3	6	12	24
College	2	4	7	14
University	-	-	-	-
No Schooling	24	48	11	22
TOTAL	50	100	50	100

Source: Field data

Table 5 indicates that the highest level of education that was attained by both women and men was college level. However, there were more men (7 out of all men interviewed) than women (2 out of all women interviewed) who stated that they had reached college level.

Table 5 also shows that there were more women (24 out of all the women interviewed) than men (11 out of all men interviewed) who said that they had no formal education. Though illiteracy was high for both the female and male respondents, it was worse for females. Table 5 indicates that 90 per cent of all female respondents had a qualification below secondary level compared to 62 per cent of all males who had the same qualification. High illiteracy among the

refugees in general and refugee women in particular at Meheba Refugee Settlement was also noted as one of the constraints hindering them from participating in certain aid programmes.

5.1.5 Place of Birth

The interviews with refugees at Meheba indicated that they were born in Zambia, Angola or Zaire. Meheba Refugee Settlement is rural set up and so farming was one of the main programmes in an attempt to achieve self-reliance among the refugees. It was observed however that most refugees, who indicated that they were born in Zaire unlike their colleagues, pointed out that they had problems in participating in farming. Unlike the refugees born in Zambia and Angola, those born in Zaire had no background of farming. This was a serious indication that refugees at Meheba were not a homogeneous group needing similar type of development activities.

This is similar to what the writers of the theories of difference pointed out that the cause of women's oppression differs from place to place and time to time. For instance, Nzomo (1995) argued against the habit of the national and international development planners and aid agencies lumping Third World women together as one category. However, in as much as one agrees that women's oppression differs from place to place, there is need for women to work together in the fight against oppression as pointed out by International feminists. Similar to Avitah Brah's argument, a refugee woman needs to

coordinate with fellow refugee women and/or any other woman through workshops, seminars and sharing of information and experiences.

5.2 LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION BY REFUGEES IN AID PROGRAMMES

Meheba Refugee Settlement, like any other organised settlement, had put in place a variety of programmes for its inhabitants to actively participate in. Prior to 1985, programmes such as decision-making and farming were already in existence. However, the year 1985 marked the beginning of a massive campaign for promoting refugees' active participation in different programmes designed for them. As already pointed out, UNHCR felt that donations were defeating its efforts to make the refugees self-reliant" (UNHCR, 1996,24). As such, the focus of all the operating organisations at Meheba Refugee Settlement (as already discussed in the previous chapter) was to create as many programmes as they could afford to increase refugees' level of participation.

5.2.1 Differences between Women and Men's Level of Participation in Various Aid Programmes

In this section the researcher discusses the level of refugees' participation in aid programmes. It must be mentioned that there were three distinct types of programmes namely: aid programmes designed for women, those designed for men and others were for both men and women. Apart from the aid programmes, women and men at Meheba were involved in private activities. As each of the different types of programmes is discussed, the researcher shall also attempt to discuss the benefits obtained by refugees as well as the problems

they faced. Related information from other sources such as that from the interviewed officials and from documents shall be discussed under each aid programme. The level of women's participation in aid programmes is shown in Table 6 and that of men is shown in Table 7

Table 6: The Level of Participation in Aid Programmes Designed for Women by Different Organisations

Programmes	Response by Women		Total
	Yes	No	
Tailoring	10	40	50
Baking	4	46	50
Cooking Oil Making	7	43	50
Tomato Drying	6	44	50
Mother Attendance	2	48	50
Others*	30	20	50
AVERAGE TOTAL	10	40	50

Source: Field data

- Other activities include some of the private activities rather than the aid programme in which men were involved in namely beer brewing and selling of foodstuffs.

Table 6 shows a general low level of participation among women in all the aid programmes. For instance, the table demonstrates that among all the programmes designed for women, tailoring had the highest level of participation having 10 women only from the total of 50 women interviewed. Tailoring programme had more participants than the others because it was one the oldest programmes and it had more centres at Meheba than the other aid programmes for women.

Table 6 further demonstrates that women were also involved in the following programmes namely cooking oil making, tomato drying, baking and mother attendance having 7, 6, 4 and 2 women respectively from all women interviewed. Of all these programmes mother attendance had the lowest level of participation. The reason for this was lack of incentives among the participants to improve their participation. Even though mother attendance was considered among the aid programmes, it hardly received any financial or material assistance from the various operating organisations as most aid programmes did.

Table 6 further demonstrates that all the programmes designed for women were domestic oriented, and health related activities. For example, according to LWF report, by 1997, there were twenty-eight women's clubs with nine hundred and eight members at Meheba Refugee Settlement (LWF, 1997: 9). The main focus of these clubs was to discuss matters of health and nutrition, home economics, family planning, women leadership and protection against sexual harassment from their male counterparts. This is closely related to Keller's (1984) report in which she pointed out that many projects designed for women were mainly concerned with improving their performance in their sex-role stereotyped domestic roles which often failed to improve women's social and economic status because of being unpaid work.

Similarly, the official at AAR pointed out that they had established women's clubs and the main activities involved were tailoring and health issues. Another

issue of concern was that membership on paper at AAR was about sixty-five but regular members were reported to have been less than fifteen. The attendance dropped even further during the cultivating and harvesting seasons. This was another gender problem, which Siachitema (1995) also observed in her study at Ukwimi Refugee Settlement. This shows that the other activities, which took most of the women's time, were often ignored when the women's club activities were being designed in refugee settlements or camps.

This situation calls for the analysis of the sexual/gender division of labour and the type of work done by men and women before implementing any development programme in the target society. Such an analysis would help the facilitators know how the intended programme would address the problem of lack of time among women by reducing their workload. For instance, new farming technology would help women reduce the time they spend at their farms giving them a privilege to be involved in other productive activities. In addition, encouraging male labour into subsistence farming would also allow women to have more time to participate in other new development programmes.

Most women who were not participating in any of the women's programmes stated that they could not do so because the programmes did not offer much profit, others said they hardly had time and still some reported that their husbands could not allow them. Most of those who were above the age of 36

reported that most women's aid programmes were meant for young women and not the elderly women.

On the other hand, those who participated in women's programmes, although they too strongly sited some of the problems mentioned by the former group, they still felt that they had something to gain from women's clubs. Further probing from these women revealed that most of them were participating in these programmes because women's clubs served as socialising places. Some women said, 'we rarely have time to meet as women outside the clubs and so clubs bring us together.' Some refugee women in the women's clubs at Ukwimi Refugee Settlement had a similar view like the latter group for they too believed that women's clubs brought the women together (Siachitema, 1995).

Though socialising in itself is important, if it becomes the prime objective of meeting in the aid programmes meant to improve self-reliance then the programmes have missed their intended goals. Improving incentives for women in the aid programmes would improve the level of participation and consequently their socio-economic status. Having discussed the level of women's participation in aid programmes the researcher will now discuss the level of participation of men in aid programmes designed for them. Reasons as

to why these programmes were mainly dominated by men will be also discussed.

Generally, the findings at Meheba on the aid programmes designed for women has indicated a close relationship to the theories of patriarchy which explains the women oppression to lie primarily in the systematic organisation of male supremacy and female dominance. Similar to the arguments of the writers of patriarchy, women at Meheba were mainly involved in unpaid domestic oriented activities unlike their male counterparts who were in public productive activities as shown in the discussion below.

Table 7: The Level of Participation in Aid Programmes Designed for Men by Different Organisations

Programmes	Males Respondents		Average Total
	Yes	No	
Auto-mechanics	18	32	50
Carpentry	20	30	50
Bee keeping	5	45	50
Environmental Rehabilitation	16	34	50
Metal Work	4	46	50
Bicycle Repairing	6	44	50
Roof Tiles Making	9	41	50
Shoe Repairing	12	38	50
Water Project	13	37	50
AVERAGE TOTAL	14.3	35.7	50

Source: Field data

A comparative analysis of Table 6 and Table 7 shows that although the level of participation was low for women and men as they were both below the average the number of respondents, the level of that of the latter group was almost double above that of the former. Table 7 for instance shows that carpentry programme which had the highest level of participation among all the aid programmes for men had 20 participants, while Table 6 shows that tailoring had only 10 women. Like tailoring programme though, carpentry had more participants than the other aid programmes because it was among the oldest programmes and had many centres at the settlement. In addition to the above mentioned attractions, carpentry had other incentives which were not in any of the aid programmes for women. For instance, all the 20 men who reported being in carpentry stated that they had certificate training in carpentry. Other sources of information on refugees' participation in aid programmes, also revealed that in 1997 alone, forty-two refugee men were trained in carpentry at Meheba (LWF, 1997:10) from different centres. Since the programme started, an average of approximately 25 men had been trained each year at the Settlement.

Furthermore, it was reported that carpentry training programme at AAR had started in 1984 and an average of 20 students was trained every year. Unfortunately, according to an official interviewed at AAR, very few women were involved in carpentry training. For instance, the 1997 intake in carpentry training programme had trained two women only out of the total of twenty-five students. Apart from the training, participants in carpentry programme had

other privileges such as receiving allowances during training and free set of carpentry tools after the training. The official interviewed at AAR stated that women's activities, unlike men's were hardly budgeted for and so they could not afford to offer the women similar conditions as those found in men's activities.

Table 7 further demonstrates that auto mechanics had the second highest level of participation with 18 men having reported being involved in the programme from all the refugees interviewed. The official interviewed at LWF pointed out that the initial responsibility of Auto mechanic programme was to repair/maintain the transport facilities within the settlement. As such, the programme had created job opportunities not only to refugee men but also to Zambians around the settlement. A formal training was introduced in auto mechanics at Meheba in 1994. Like Carpentry programme, since the inception of the training programme in auto mechanic, it was reported that only 3 women were trained in the programme compared with an average of 30 men trained each year.

Table 7 also shows that the third highest level of participation was in environmental rehabilitation programme. Out of all refugees interviewed, 16 men reported that they were involved in this programme. Like the other aid programmes designed for men discussed earlier, LWF and AAR ran environmental rehabilitation. There was an in built trend in both organisations of involving only men in this programme. For instance, the pictures on the

1996 LWF Annual Report cover shows a man planting trees (LWF, 1996). The picture therefore demonstrated that what was in the mind of the cover designer were a male refugee when planning a programme. Similarly, AAR did not make any deliberate efforts to include women in this programme despite the fact that the problem of environmental degradation affected women more than men. This is what Longwe (1990) in her report was referring to when she stated that most programmes, which affected women, did not provide for their direct involvement. This trend has a gender implication on women in that, it denies them an opportunity of being directly involved in decision-making concerning the progress of such programmes, and consequently the programmes fail to address their needs. Expecting women to be only beneficiaries of the development programmes implies going back to the welfare approach of giving free handouts to the so-called “vulnerable groups”. This is contrary to the GAD approach, which advocates for an active involvement of every target group member at every stage of a development programme.

In addition, Table 7 shows that there were 13 men out of all refugees interviewed who said they were in water project. This project, like the other programmes for men provided training and job opportunities for most men at Meheba. Although external experts did most of the planning and technical work, men had an opportunity of being trained in water wells repairing. For example, in 1997, Meheba had thirty-two sessions, and seven hundred and twenty refugees were trained in water wells repairing (LWF Annual Report, 1997:7). All the 13 men who had said they were in water project, stated that

they had been trained in water wells repairing. At AAR, the purpose of introducing water project was to install and renovate water pumps within Meheba Refugee Settlement. Thus, most refugee men unlike their female counterparts acquired basic skills especially on how to repair the broken down wells at AAR just like at LWF.

Although the 1997 report mentions refugees in general as being involved in this project, the pictures on the cover of the 1996 LWF Annual Report demonstrates men installing or repairing water wells. Meanwhile, women were shown drawing water from the wells (LWF, 1996). This was similar to the case of the environmental rehabilitation programme discussed earlier on. The pictures on the cover of the report imply that it was only men who could be involved in the installation or repairing of water wells. This was further observed from the information collected from the refugees that none of the interviewed women reported having been trained in repairing water wells at Meheba. Issues of water and environment affect women more than men in most societies because women are the ones who are involved in collecting firewood and fetching water. As such, any shortage of trees or water would have a serious repercussion on the lives of women who would have to spend even more time walking long distances in search of such basic needs. Thus, aid programmes aimed at reducing women's workload should invite their active participation, even more when such programmes have financial gain. Such a venture would not only improve women's level of participation in aid programmes but also would boost their economic status.

Apart from being gender bias, the water project had another problem of importing inappropriate technology. This made it quite difficult for the locals (refugees) to attend to the broken down water wells not only because the spare parts were expensive to acquire but also because refugees had no adequate technical know-how. As a result, the researcher found that most water wells were broken down at Meheba during the time of this study. This problem could be addressed by ensuring that the local resources were used, instead of importing inappropriate technology, which only created dependency syndrome on donors.

Table 7 further shows that there were programmes namely shoe repairing, roof tiles making and bicycle repairing which had 12, 9 and 6 men participation respectively. All these programmes were under JRS. For programmes designed for women and those for men at JRS, the participants received general training and they were also given the needed raw materials by the organisation. The approach of giving free resources to refugees might be good in the short term while in the long term it may create a dependence syndrome. Such tendencies could be avoided if refugees could be allowed to have not only access to resources but also even more control over such resources by providing credit facilities and establishing a stable market system to boost development programmes, which are sustainable.

Bee Keeping is also shown on Table 7 as having 5 men from all the respondents interviewed. Information collected further shows that in 1997, local beekeepers with ten hives each were identified and they were assisted with extension advice and support (LWF, 1997:15). It is interesting to mention that though women were not directly involved in bee keeping programme, they did benefit from this programme by buying honey, which they used for making the 'famous' sweet beer. Although beer brewing was not an aid programme, there was something that could be learnt from this activity was that programmes designed for refugees ought to have a way of benefiting either of the sex groups socially and economically without leaving one group behind.

Finally, Table 7 demonstrates that among the aided programmes, metal work had the lowest level of participation. There were only 4 men who stated that they were in metal work. One of the reasons for having low participation in this programme was that at the time of this study the programme was still new and had one centre only at AAR.

During this study, AAR was offering certificate training to men in metal work and an average of 6 men were trained at least each year. Among the different items made in metal work was the scotch carts. These scotch carts were being rented out to refugees within the settlement and were used to ferry items like firewood, crops from the fields or any goods to be sold at the local markets.

Men who were under metal work training or those men employed in metal work had the privilege of using scotch carts free of charge.

One of the problems brought out by those involved in metal work was that they often failed to handle some of the technical work in their programmes because most of the spare parts used in this programme, like those in water project, were imported from Japan. As such, the expatriates did most of the work in this programme and refugees were mainly involved in general work.

The general findings on the programmes designed for refugee men at Meheba are also similar to the theories of patriarchy because they empowered men in productive activities. This shows a serious patriarchal trend among the officials dealing with refugees and also among the refugees themselves.

5.2.2 Private Activities in which women and men were engaged in at Meheba

It is of interest to note also that there were more participants in private activities than in the aided programmes. In this study private activities refer to any activity initiated by refugees, without any assistance from any of the operating organisations at Meheba Settlement. There were 30 women and 40 men respectively who stated that they were involved in private activities. Among such private activities in which women were involved in were beer brewing and selling of foodstuff and other domestic chores such as food processing, drawing water and caring children, husbands and relatives. Meanwhile, men were involved in plank making, bricklaying and fishing at the Zambezi river.

There were a number of different factors, which contributed to having more refugee women and men in private activities than in aid programmes. First, refugees in private activities had the privilege of choosing the activities that they wanted to be involved in unlike those in aid programmes where almost all activities were identified by the facilitators or the donors. In addition, women and men in private activities did not only have access to resources but also had control over them contrary to those in aid programmes where the facilitators or donors controlled the use of the resources. Furthermore, refugees in private activities reported that they had access to and control over the cash they made in their activities. It was unfortunate though that most married women still felt that they did not have much control over the money they made in beer brewing and in selling of foodstuffs since their husbands often decided on how the money was to be spent.

There is still something though that could be learnt from the refugees' private ventures at Meheba. Among other things the lesson is that, if there could be a deliberate policy of adopting the GAD participatory approach among the refugees as opposed to WID top-down approach, there would be an improvement in the level of participation among refugees and consequently in their benefits.

5.2.3 Aid Programmes Designed for both Men and Women

From the interviews the researcher had with the refugees at Meheba, the following were some of the aid programmes which were said to have attracted

both men and women. These were farming, food for work and food distribution, tailoring association, hammer mill association, fuel effective stoves. Unlike in aid programmes designed for women and those for men, aid programmes designed for both men and women had a slightly higher level of participation generally as shown in Table 8.

Table 8: The Level of Participation in Aid Programmes Designed for both Men and Women by Different Organisation

Programmes	Women			Men		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Farming	42	8	50	25	25	50
FFW/food distribution	25		50	3	47	50
Tailoring Association	2	48	50	9	41	50
Hammer mill Association	1	49	50	7	43	50
Fuel effective stoves	9	41	50	3	47	50

Source: Field data

5.2.3.1 Farming

Table 8 indicates that there were more women compared to men who stated that they were involved in farming. That is, out of 50 women interviewed, 42

women compared to 25 men from the 50 men interviewed, said they were involved in farming. However, further probing revealed that the majority of the women and few men in farming were only growing cassava. Cassava was the main staple food for the Angolans at the time of this study. The majority of the men in farming in contrast to the women were producing cash crops such as maize, sweet potatoes, sunflower or beans apart from cassava. Although most women said they were in farming, they were not as productive as the few men who were producing cash crops. If anything, most of the women who indicated that they were in cash crop production were among those who had indicated that they were married. The production of cash crops had a negative impact on most married women as observed by various authors such as (Boserup, 1970, Bukh, 1979, Hanger and Moris, 1973, Mbilinyi, 1972). These authors, like the finding of this study, argued that most married women involved in cash crops spent more time on their husbands' fields and less time in their subsistence crop fields.

The writers of patriarchy theories have argued in the similar way. For instance, Delphy argued that in the family, women's labour is exploited by men and that men benefit from women's production of certain goods for use and exchange.

Other factors, which contributed to the low productivity among the female farmers, are discussed below. Such constraints included: poor soil, small plots, limited market and lack of transport, lack of tools, field mice, lack of labour power and land.

Poor soils and small fields

Most refugees at Meheba complained of having small plots and poor soils for farming. These problems affected both the male and female refugees but the extent of the impact differed between the two sexes. As a result of having small cultivating fields and infertile soils, a number of refugees especially men found alternative ways of farming such as shifting cultivation (Chitemene) which helped most of them to grow cash crops at Meheba. Although a few women managed to adopt this system, the majority could not afford because of other obstacles. For instance, most women said they could not manage walking long distances to new fields as they were also expected to carry children with them.

Additionally, most women complained that the chitemene system required much labour especially when cutting down trees at new fields. Furthermore, most refugee women were afraid of the Zambians who were sometimes hostile to the refugees farming outside the Settlement arguing that the fields along the rivers were for Zambians and not for refugees. This made it very difficult for the female refugees, especially those who were not in the company of their husbands or male relatives, to farm in the fertile fields along the rivers. In addition, most divorced women complained that they neither had access to nor control over land and farming tools after divorce.

Although the majority of married women had access to resources such as land, farming tools and inputs and labour. They had no control over the resources

and benefits. Most husbands had control over such resources making it difficult for women to claim for the resources after divorce.

It is important that the facilitators have prior knowledge about which group of people in the target society has access to and control over resources. Such information would help programme designers to predict how the new development programme would help improve the situation of the disadvantaged group (often women) on issues of resources distribution. The provision of farming credit facilities at Meheba would also contribute positively towards the problem of poor soils among the women.

Lack of Ready Market

Most of the farmers at Meheba, especially the refugees who produced cash crops, complained of having limited market for their produce. Additionally, lack of transport facilities to enable them take the produce to outside markets like Solwezi or Copperbelt made the situation even worse. As such, most of the farm produce such as sweet potatoes and maize for the 1997/98 season were being sold to truck smugglers at a give away price. The respondents complained that they sold their 25kg bag of sweet potatoes at six hundred Zambian Kwacha (K600) and yet the same bag was going at about three thousand to four thousand Zambian Kwacha (K3, 000 – K4, 000) elsewhere such as in Solwezi and Copperbelt. Meanwhile, a 90kg bag of maize was being sold to the same smugglers at ten thousand Kwacha (K10, 000) and yet outside the settlement the same bag of maize was about double the amount.

The lesson learnt from this is that some of the policies of the host countries, such as that of liberalised economy, as adopted by Zambia, have an impact on the lives of not only the citizens but also the refugees seeking refuge in that country. It would be helpful therefore that, as programmes for refugees are being designed, the existing policies in the host countries are assessed in order to measure their impact on the objectives of the planned programme/s. This would avoid designing of programmes for refugees, which would fail to achieve their desired goals.

Field Mice

The attack of cassava crop by field mice affected the female farmers most because they were the chief growers of this staple food crop. These farmers complained that the field mice were cutting the roots of cassava. The problem was serious because it meant the loss of the stems, which were often used when planting cassava in the succeeding season. The gender implication associated to this problem was that of an increased workload among women, who in addition to their domestic routine chores, had to find other sources of food in times of food insecurity at home. Diversifying the farming activities to other crops, or/and rearing of small animals such as rabbits, poultry or fish would

reduce women's dependence on one crop. Also, sensitising the men on the issue of food security in homes that it was not the primary responsibility of women but rather of both men and women for those who are married would greatly address the problem.

5.2.3.2 Food for Work/Food Distribution

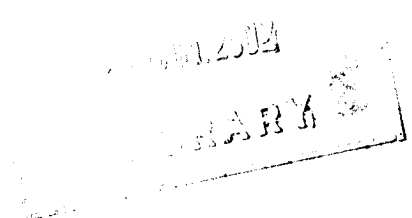
Table 8 further demonstrates a big gap in the level of participation between women and men in food for work /food distribution programme. Out of all the refugees interviewed, there were 25 women compared to only 3 men who stated that they were involved in this programme. According to the Food Aid Monitor, World Food Programme involved 50 to 70 per cent of women in their activities. Chen and Ghuznavi (1978) in their study in Bangladesh also reported that the majority of the participants in food for work programme were single women who had no one to support them. One of the reasons for having more women in this WFP's programmes was that this organisation, preferred women to be in-charge of food management, distribution and administration. Thus, more women than men at Meheba were managing the food warehouses, and they also formed the majority of storekeepers and food monitors.

Although the programmes offered by WFP, like Keller (1984) in her report stated, were concerned with improving women's performance in stereotyped domestic roles, there is something that other organisations could learn from WFP. For instance, WFP contributed to improving the economic status of women because most programmes in which women were involved in at this

organisation offered them some wages. It was still important though that WFP

involved not only women but also men in these programmes so as to challenge

the existing gender division of labour, which restricted women to domestic chores.



5.2.3.3 Lorena Fuel Effective Stoves

Table 8 also shows that there were more women compared to men in the fuel effective stove programme. Out of the total number of all refugees interviewed, 9 women compared to 3 men said that they were participating in fuel effective stoves programme. However, the researcher observed that all the three men were stove instructors employed by LWF and their services were paid for. Meanwhile, all the women who were in this programme, except one, were volunteers and did not earn any income.

Although the Lorena fuel effective stove programme was important in an attempt to reduce women's workload of fetching firewood, it lacked incentives, which would have promoted the active participation of women. Unlike men's programmes, no certificate training or allowance were offered to women in Lorena fuel effective stove participants in order to motivate their morale.

5.2.3.4 Tailoring and Hammer Mill Association

Table 8 demonstrates that the majority of the participants in tailoring and hammer mill associations were men. Men dominated these two programmes because of the free sawing machines and hammer mill respectively, which were given to the potential members of the associations. The criteria used to choose members of the Associations was not gender sensitive because it did not stipulate clearly the percentage of women and that of men needed to constitute

the Association. As a result, the programme ended up benefiting more men than women.

5.2.3.5 Decision-Making

It would be interesting to discuss the involvement of refugees in decision-making at Meheba Refugee Settlement. This programme was already in place prior to the period when most aid programmes were being established at the settlement. For example, in 1980, refugees were encouraged to participate in the administration of the settlement (Sapao, 1996). For the sake of having a good administration, the settlement was divided into seven units/villages. Each of these units comprised a number of roads. Along each of these roads, refugees had their farms and built huts/houses. The main purpose of dividing the settlement into these units was to allow a 'formal refugee representation system which was centered on the seven chiefs¹' (Sapao, 1996) in the settlement. Unfortunately, the use of the chiefs in the road representations automatically excluded women because the Angolans are a patrilineal family and all the chiefs were men. This confirms that the Angolans were following the patriarchal life style even back home in Angola. As Mies (1986) argued, the systematic organisation of male supremacy and female subordination among the Angolan refugees could be explained from a historical point of view.

It is for this reason that it is important for the facilitators to understand the group they are dealing with so as to eliminate the existing structures which may have a negative effect on women and men at the refugee settlement.

¹ The Angolan refugees at Meheba were coming from a Patrilineal Family system that was the reason why all chiefs were men.

It was not until 1992, under the administration of Care International that women were included in the roads representation (Sapao, 1996). Thus, most of the committees formed within each road involved both men and women. In addition, both men and women worked as community development officers and also as community workers. The researcher observed that although women were involved in leadership positions, their influence in decision-making was not much since men still occupied the top positions in most of the operating organisations. For instance, all the relevant officials (that is those who were directly involved in the planning and designing of refugee programmes) who were interviewed in this study were men. This shows that the trend of under representing women in decision-making positions had not improved much since mid 1980s when Harrel-Bond (1986) also observed a similar trend among the refugees at Yei District in Sudan. A similar situation was also reported in UNHCR's (1992) study that more men than women constituted the professional staff members of UNHCR.

It is unfortunate that despite the effort made by CARE International to change the social structures of the Angolan refugees at Meheba, the other organisations such as AAR and LWF perpetuated the trend. This was so because they adopted the same structures that the Angolans had back home, that is, confining women to domestic oriented activities which failed to improve their socio-economic status. Meanwhile, men were given an opportunity to operate in productive and public oriented activities.

The involvement of women in decision-making is one of the critical areas of concern in the world of women's movement because it affects among other things the level of women's access to and control over resources and benefits of a development programme. Unless women are empowered to be active in influencing the course of the development programmes and the benefits of such programmes, the efforts of UNHCR of promoting self-reliance among refugees will remain unachieved.

5.3 Summary

In this chapter, a number of issues that have been addressed. The study has shown that there were differences in the level of participation of refugee women and men in the various aid programmes designed for them. Women's level of participation in productive aid programmes was generally lower than men's were. This study has also shown that the patriarchal trend was also evident in the findings on refugees' level of participation in aid programmes at Meheba. It has further demonstrated that because of the top down WID approach adopted by most of the operating organisations, both men and women hardly participated at every stage of the development programme. The study has also shown that there was a disparity on the extent of access to and control over the benefits and resources between women and men. Women's access to and control over resources and benefits were limited. This study has also shown that the findings were close to the theories of difference that women are not homogeneous and hence, they require different solutions according to the need. It has been generally recommended that there is always need to have an

assessment of the types of work done by refugees, who has access to and control over resources and benefits before implementing any aid programme at the settlement. The researcher has also made various recommendations as each of the different variables was being discussed. The next chapter discusses the conclusion of the study in some detail.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

In this paper, the researcher had four main objectives which were being investigated namely types of aid programmes designed by different operating organisations at Meheba Refugee Settlement, level of participation of refugee women and men in aid programmes, benefits obtained and the problems they faced by refugees. In this chapter, the researcher will discuss the conclusion of the study following the above mentioned objectives. In addition, the researcher will also show the relationship between the literature reviewed and the findings of this study. Finally, the researcher will conclude by showing the achievements made and the failures of implementing the UNHCR's programme of involving refugees in aid programmes.

This study has shown that various aid programmes were designed for refugees at Meheba as was planned by UNHCR in 1985. These programmes were mainly under three categories as follows: Programmes designed for women, those designed for men and others designed for both sexes. It has been observed in this study that almost all programmes designed for women, as reported by Keller (1984) and Siachitema (1995), were concerned with improving women's sex stereotyped domestic roles. While those for men were mainly public oriented. One of the recommendations made to this regard has been that operating organisations need to analyse the gender division of labour of the women and men in the target society before implementing any new programme/s. The aim for this is to ensure that programme designers have

prior knowledge of the work done by the different sexes in order to predict how the new programme would affect such a division of labour and vice versa.

In discussing the level of refugees' participation in aid programmes this study has shown a general low level of participation among women in aid programmes designed for women than the level of participation of men in aid programmes designed for men. On the other hand, women outnumbered men in programmes designed for both sexes. The study has revealed that the majority of the women in aid programmes for both sexes were in domestic oriented and unpaid activities contrary to men who were few in this category but in productive programmes. An analysis of the level of participation from a qualitative point of view has demonstrated that the extent of participation for both women and men was limited because most organisations adopted the top down WID approach when implementing the aid programmes. This approach excluded refugees from participating at most of the stages of an aid programme. Longwe (1988) pointed out that improving women participation in aid programmes would be achieved if women were involved at every stage of the project cycle.

This study has also discussed the benefits that the women and men obtained from the various aid programmes they were involved in. It has been demonstrated in this study that men had more incentives in their aid programmes than women had. These incentives included among the other things certificate training, allowances, free carpentry tools and some wages. In

addition men had more control over the benefits they had access to than the women had. In order to address this problem of lack of access to and control over benefits, it has been recommended in this study that the facilitators ought to analyse the women's and men's extent of access to and control over benefits before implementing the new organisation/s. Such an analysis would have a greater impact on determine how the new programme would address the problem of the disadvantaged group (women).

The researcher has further shown that there were disparities in the problems that women and men faced with the bias towards women. The study has demonstrated that most women, unlike their male counterparts lacked control over most of the productive resources such as land, labour, time, farm inputs, which in turn had a negative impact on the active participation of women in aid programmes. In addition, this study has shown that most characteristics of the refugees such as marital status, level of education, age, to mention a few had a negative impact on women's level of participation in productive aid programmes. It has been recommended in this study that analysing women and men's extent of access to and control over resources is important because such knowledge would help programme designers know how the new programme would address the problem of the disadvantaged group who are often women. The above recommendation however would not be fully implemented unless the donors, programme facilitators and any other stakeholder in the welfare of refugees is gender sensitised as Longwe (1988) also suggested in her study.

Another important issue, which has been addressed in this study, concerns the involvement of women in decision-making positions. This study has shown that although women were involved in decision-making at community level, men still dominated the higher positions in decision-making. This study has demonstrated that most of the officials involved in coordinating the refugee programmes in almost all the operating organisations were men. The researcher has concluded that it was for this reason that most of women's needs were not fully met. To address this problem the researcher has again called for a gender sensitisation programme among the officials dealing with refugees.

Finally, it can be concluded from this study that UNHCR 's objective of involving refugees in aid programmes had some achievements and some failures which needed to be addressed if full participation and self reliance was to be attained among both women and men. Some of the Achievements, which have been highlighted in this study, include the implementation of the different types of the aid programmes. In addition, though the level of men's level of participation was generally low, the programme had managed to achieve men's access to and control over some resources and benefits. In other words, most of the men who were involved in the aid programme had succeeded improving their socio-economic status. On the other hand, UNHCR's efforts of promoting self reliance among refugees and refugee women in particular, was still far from being achieved at Meheba because this study, like most of the studies that have been reviewed, has demonstrated that

women were still not fully integrated into productive aid programmes. Unless aid programmes at refugee settlement become gender sensitive, full participation among refugees will never be attained.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to improve the socio-economic position of refugee women there is need:

- For institutions working with refugees to have gender sensitisation programmes for officials and refugees themselves through workshops, seminars and information sharing in order to eliminate the patriarchal trend among the stake holders;
- For institutions dealing with refugees to have deliberate policy of involving women in all decision making positions;
- To reduce women's work load by encouraging men to be actively involved in domestic chores and child rearing in order to give women more time to be involved in productive activities;
- For institutions dealing with refugees to have an analysis of sexual/gender division of labour, types of work done by women and men, the level of access to and control over resources and benefits. This would help the facilitators to know how a new programme would assist improve the position of the disadvantaged group.

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APPENDIX A

AN INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE REFUGEE RESPONDENTS

Introduction

The main aim of this study is to investigate the level of Angolan refugee women's level of participation in aid programmes in relation to their male counterparts at Meheba Refugee Settlement. I request that you should be very open to give me your views on the different questions that I will be asking you. Be ensured that all that we shall discuss will be not traced back to you. It is hoped that the information that I will obtain from you will help the different operating organisations at Meheba to be gender sensitive and also improve the level of refugee women's participation in aid programmes in Settlements.

SECTION A

1. Sex

- i. Male ()
- ii. Female ()

2. How old are you?

- i. Between 14 and 20 years
- ii. Between 21 and 25 years
- iii. Between 26 and 30 years
- iv. Between 31 and 35 years
- v. Above 36 years

3 What is your marital status?

- i. Single ()
- ii. Married ()
- iii. Seperated ()
- iv. Divorced ()
- v. Widow ()
- vi. Other.

Specify.....

4. What is you highest educational level?

- i. No schooling ()
- ii. Lower Primary ()
- iii. Grade 7 ()
- iv. Junior Secondary ()
- v. Grade 12 ()
- vi. College ()
- vii. University ()

5. What are you doing for your leaving?

.....
.....

6. How long have you been at Meheba?

- i. Less than 5 years
- ii. Between 6 and 15 years
- iii. Between 16 and 25 years
- iv. Between 26 and 35 years
- v. Above 36 years

SECTION B

7. Which aid programme at meheba have you participated in?

.....

8. Why are you participating in the one/ones you have mentioned?

.....

9. Why do you not participate in the other aid programmes available in the Settlement?

.....

10. What exactly do you do your self in each programme you are participating in?

.....

11. What problems do you face in each programme you are participating in?

.....

12. What do you think could be done to solve the problems that you have mentioned?

.....

13. What benefits do you obtain from the the programmes you are participating in?

.....

14. In which ways do you think you could improve the benefits you are obtaining from the programmes you are participating in?

.....

15. Would you like to participate in programmes that you are not participating in now?

.....

16. In which ways would you think you would benefit from programmes that you are not directly involved in?

.....

17. What else would you like to add on that would be important for this study?

.....

18. Do you have any Question? If yes ask.

.....

THANK YOU FOR YOU COOPERATION

APPENDIX B

A QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE OFFICIALS FROM DIFFERENT OPERATING ORGANISATIONS BASED AT MEHEBA AND LUSAKA

Introduction

The main aim of this study is to investigate the level of Angolan refugee women's level of participation in aid programmes in relation to their male counterparts at Meheba Refugee Settlement. I request that you should be very open to give me your views on the different questions that I will be asking you. Be ensured that all that we shall discuss will be not traced back to you. It is hoped that the information that I will obtain from you will help the different operating organisations at Meheba to be gender sensitive and also improve the level of refugee women's participation in aid programmes in Settlements.

SECTION A

1. Sex

- i. Female ()
- ii. Male ()

2. Name of organisations

3. The position you hold in the organisation

.....

4. For how long have been working with this organisation?

.....

5. What is the organisation's main responsibility in the welfare of refugees?

.....

6. Does your organisation work together with other organisations at Meheba?

- i. Yes ()
- ii. No ()

▪ If yes specify

▪ If no why

SECTION B

Types of Aid Programmes

7. Mention the aid programmes that you have designed for:

- i. Refugee women
- ii. Refugees men
- iii. Both women and men

8. Level of participation

- i. What exactly do refugee women do in programmes you designed for women?

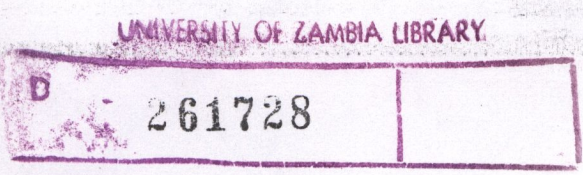
-
- ii. What exactly do refugee men do in programmes you designed for men?
.....
- iii. What exactly do refugee women and men do in programmes you designed for both women and men?
 - women.....
 - Men

9. What problems do you have that affect the implementation of the aid programmes at Meheba?

 i. How do you intend to solve them ?

10. What are your future plans?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION



APPENDIX C

AN INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR A FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS WITH REFUGEE WOMEN AND MEN AT MEHEBA

Introduction

The main aim of this study is to investigate the level of Angolan refugee women's level of participation in aid programmes in relation to their male counterparts at Meheba Refugee Settlement. I request that you should be very open to give me your views on the different questions that I will be asking you. Be ensured that all that we shall discuss will be not traced back to you. It is hoped that the information that I will obtain from you will help the different operating organisations at Meheba to be gender sensitive and also improve the level of refugee women's participation in aid programmes in Settlements.

SECTION A

General Characteristics of the Group

1. Sex
2. Age
3. Marital
4. Educational level

SECTION B

1. What types of programmes are designed for your sex group? Why?
2. What role do you play in the aid programmes?
3. What problems do you face in your aid programmes?
4. How do you intend to solve the problems?
5. What benefits do you obtain from aid programmes you are involved?
6. How do you intend to improve the benefits from the aid programmes designed at Meheba?
7. What else would you like to add on that would be important to this study?