



Minimum standards and
essential needs in a
protracted refugee
situation

*A review of the UNHCR
programme in Kakuma,
Kenya*

Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit

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Scope and methodology

The purpose of this report is to analyse the way in which UNHCR manages protracted refugee situations and, on the basis of this analysis, to suggest an appropriate UNHCR response to such situations. It uses Kakuma camp, north-western Kenya, as a case study through which to undertake its analysis.

The review has been undertaken by the UNHCR's Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit (EPAU) in close collaboration with the Africa Bureau. It responds to an identified operational need, and its empirically grounded findings are intended to inform future planning, programming and policy-making processes.

These findings are based on field visits and extensive interviews with key actors from UNHCR (Headquarters, Branch Office, Sub-Office), refugee communities, implementing partners, donors and others, and on a review of available literature. The review also draws upon earlier research on Kakuma, in particularly a draft report produced in 1999.¹ All of these stakeholders have had some involvement in the Kakuma programme, and some are deeply involved in, and affected by, it. Most of the details and many of the ideas in this report stem from the people interviewed. One of the merits of the report lies in its having benefited from the knowledge of persons involved in many aspects of Kakuma, and in its attempt to consolidate, distil and move forward with this knowledge.

A list of persons consulted in conjunction with this report is annexed. While all have been helpful, a special word of gratitude is extended to the UNHCR personnel in Kenya – Kakuma, Nairobi and Dadaab – who were open, frank and helpful to the mission.

¹ Aida Haile-Mariam. 'Case study – Kakuma refugee camp: First Draft', Geneva: PCS-DOS, November 1999.

Executive summary

1. UNHCR's mandate to protect refugees is absolute, but the financial means with which it is expected to do so are relative. When a hapless refugee population remains in exile and without resolution to their plight, the resource issue becomes especially acute. In Kakuma, Kenya, some 65,000 persons of various nationalities have been refugees for nearly a decade, and are now in a position in which their essential human needs are rising, while resources, and UNHCR's capacity to meet these needs are shrinking. Using Kakuma as a case study, this report suggests that when analysing a refugee situation, UNHCR should move away from using 'minimum emergency standards' as a benchmark for progress, and focus instead on the more elastic concept of 'essential human needs'. Such an approach enables UNHCR to conceptualize a situation in a comprehensive and needs-based manner, and to base future fund-raising and partnership plans upon the resulting, holistic picture.

2. Current UNHCR planning talks of minimum standards, the attainment of which is often conceived of as the goal of a given UNHCR intervention. The term 'minimum standards' does not have an official UNHCR definition; however, it is usually taken to mean the basic protection and assistance standards laid out in the *Handbook for Emergencies*. These standards are absolute and, if not met, will seriously affect a person's health and could lead to death.

3. Minimum standards are thus baseline standards that ensure human survival. At the start of an emergency, affected populations that have access to minimum protection and assistance – provided by an international organization, government, host population or other entities – have access to life itself. When a person flees for his or her life, a plastic shelter, a jerrycan of water and a container of maize meal provided in a camp far from home may be exactly what that person needs. Five years on, though, and those same minimum standards that once protected a life will, if unchanged, contrive to stifle it.

4. This report argues that when planning refugee operations, UNHCR should think in terms of essential *needs* rather than minimum *standards*. Essential needs are those elements required to lead a safe and dignified life. They both comprise and go beyond minimum standards, and are time and context elastic. While at the start of an emergency essential needs may be congruent with minimum standards, over time essential needs will grow, as refugee lives become increasingly intolerable unless they are able to enjoy a wider range of human rights, and are enabled to develop their human functions and capabilities. Eventually, a refugee situation becomes incompatible with, and obstructive of, the enjoyment of such rights, and a durable solution is ultimately required in order to enable refugees to aspire to such a state.

5. Thus, the essential needs analytical approach is premised upon universal human rights, while being grounded in a refugee situation reality. It enables UNHCR to move away from a static and – in the long-term – inappropriate

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minimum standards perspective, and towards one that accounts for evolving human needs. This report does not purport to offer a full-blown essential needs model, but should rather be viewed as complementary to other efforts within UNHCR, such those being explored by the Organization and Methods Section, and the community development approach.

6. Kakuma camp, a forlorn agglomeration at the best of times, has been subjected to drastic measures taken by UNHCR to comply with financial prioritization requirements. The amount spent per refugee annually has dropped from \$ 54 in 1997 to \$ 42 in 1999. The refugees are in a terrible state. And yet, minimum emergency standards have, by and large, been attained. This report argues that part of the problem in this case is the focus on attaining minimum standards, rather than essential needs, and that one of the main effects of prioritization has been to lock UNHCR into unproductive emergency management mode. Planning on the basis of the latter enables UNHCR to obtain a clearer perspective on what the refugees themselves need – rather than what an international agency manual prescribes – and would disentangle it from a debilitating cycle of reactive, minimum standard planning.

7. Developing an essential needs profile of a refugee population provides a full-spectrum picture of it. Through having this picture in front of it, UNHCR is in a position to develop comprehensive plans that account for current refugee needs and look towards a durable solutions future. It identifies current and future needs, and highlights gaps in attaining them. Responsible for protecting and assisting refugees, and finding solutions to their plight, UNHCR is thus armed with an analytical tool that enables it to hone its current response, and plan flexibly for the future.

Introduction

8. Since the Persian Gulf Crisis in 1991, UNHCR has been very visibly associated with a series of high-profile emergencies, and has generally given them priority over its other work.² Scenes of mass movement dominate the media, while protracted situations are covered in the arid reports of international agencies, more readily evoking fatigue than funds. Yet if emergencies require an extraordinary response and exceptional measures in order to avert mortalities, protracted situations also affect human lives, and often concern groups of people who have no entity other than UNHCR to turn to for their protection and material assistance needs.

9. In such situations, how does UNHCR prioritize needs? Does it attempt to maintain minimum standards for a given refugee population? Or is it more valid to address their essential needs, needs that are not necessarily congruent with minimum standards, and that may vary over time? How does UNHCR approach the hosting populations, particularly if their own material conditions are themselves sub-standard? Given its mandate for refugee protection, and its often de facto responsibility for ensuring the well-being of large populations over several years, what should constitute an appropriate UNHCR response to such situations?

10. This evaluation was undertaken in order to respond to some of the above concerns, in particular to provide a solid means of responding rationally and efficiently to insistent resource pressures. Beginning in 1997, and in effect with renewed vigour in 2000, budget cuts have forced UNHCR to embark upon major prioritization, or cost-cutting, exercises. The cuts effected in this context have been deep and debilitating, and they have been perceived as affecting disproportionately non-emergency, non-European programmes. For UNHCR to insist upon this fact has not been enough; hard evidence and solid analysis of prioritization's direct consequences upon the lives and well-being of refugees was needed. Eight year-old Kakuma camp, north-western Kenya (population 65,000), was chosen as a first case study review of the issue.

11. Prioritization has, indeed, hurt the refugees in Kakuma. This report argues that the damage is superficially less than might be expected, and yet, in a longer-term perspective, more debilitating than first appearances suggest. Superficially less in that minimum standards, as per UNHCR institutional usage, are to a large extent met. However, this paper contends that the focus on minimum standards is limiting, and that UNHCR should instead address the issue of meeting essential refugee needs – needs that both comprise and, as a function of time and context, go beyond minimum standards. By scrambling to fulfil emergency minimum standards in the

² UNHCR's emergency handbook, for example, states that '[by] definition, the needs of a refugee emergency must be given priority over other work of UNHCR.' (UNHCR, *Handbook for Emergencies* (second edition), Geneva, August 1999.

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face of funding cuts and an increasing refugee population, UNHCR has become ensnared into an unproductive emergency management mode, one that has inhibited its ability to plan according to refugee needs. Only by clearly analysing the situation in terms of essential needs, and formulating a comprehensive, variegated and inclusive vision, can UNHCR hope to be forceful in its response to refugee needs, and in conveying these needs to a wider group of stakeholders.

12. The report is divided into five sections. The first takes a snapshot of Kakuma – describing the camp itself, and the delicate asylum status of the refugees, which has been exacerbated by UNHCR prioritization pressures. The second section examines the notions of minimum standards and essential needs by defining them, and then demonstrating why an essential needs focus enables more powerful and precise planning and response. The third section embarks upon a sector by sector analysis of Kakuma, using the minimum standards/essential needs nomenclature to identify weak spots in Kakuma, with a particular emphasis on the consequences of prioritization. The following section discusses the condition of the local community, and UNHCR's relationship with it. Finally, drawing together some of the different strands presented in the previous chapters, and going beyond them, the last section sketches out the elements of an appropriate response to meeting essential needs in a protracted refugee situation.

Conditional asylum

The refugees in Kakuma enjoy freedom from refoulement, and a certain level of assistance. However, the conditions of their stay are so restrictive that what once enabled refugees in flight to enjoy protection now constrains them, and curtails their ability to live in dignity and realize their full human capabilities. Prioritization hit Kakuma at a time when the programme was ripe for reorientation, and served to freeze funds and management practices, resulting in a 'rampant emergency' even in the absence of mass inflows.

Saving lives

13. At Kakuma camp today, some 65,000 individuals enjoy safety from violence and persecution in their respective countries of origin. On Kenyan soil, they benefit from being allowed to remain there, and to not be forcibly sent back to their home countries. Together, these two elements – asylum and *non-refoulement* – provide the refugees with their crucial first line of protection, and rescue them from persecution and possible death. As the United Nations agency mandated to protect refugees, ensuring that asylum and *non-refoulement* are respected constitute UNHCR's sine qua non. As a member of the international community and a signatory to the main refugee instruments, respecting asylum and *non-refoulement* are Kenyan government obligations. In Kakuma, UNHCR fulfils this essential part of its mandate, and the government respects its international obligations.

14. The importance of this state of affairs should not be understated. Refugees are deemed deserving of *international* protection because their own state is unable or unwilling to provide national protection. To cross a border is to avail oneself of the protection of another state. Sudanese, Somalis, Ethiopians and others in Kakuma have all benefited from this particular element of international law, that allows them to cross a border and thereby enjoy protection. Around the world, there are examples of states that do not uphold *non-refoulement*, and forcibly expel refugees to their home countries and thus to situations of danger. Less obvious, but equally egregious, is the pervasive denial of access to asylum practised by many countries; in such cases literal *non-refoulement* may be observed but entry to such countries, several of which are amongst the world's most opulent, is barricaded. Kenya has both allowed the refugees at Kakuma asylum (it recognizes them as *prima facie* refugees) and has not refouled any of them.

Constraining rights

15. Inside Kenya, however, the 65,000 Kakuma refugees (and a further 126,000 in Dadaab), enjoy neither basic freedoms available to nationals nor the somewhat restricted but still generous rights enshrined in the 1951 Convention. Their right to asylum in the country is, implicitly but emphatically, premised upon their complying with certain restrictive conditions. Essentially, the refugees are confined to the

Kakuma camp area: they are not allowed to move freely outside of it, and they may not seek education or employment outside of it.

16. UNHCR tends to accept such trade-offs, mainly because, in an emergency, a camp *is* protection. In times of mass influx, a state may well have legitimate security concerns, and would thus find it necessary to screen and cordon off large populations of foreigners. To insist upon immediate freedom of movement for a large *prima facie* refugee caseload would probably be counterproductive as it would both antagonize most host states, and would make it harder for UNHCR to respond effectively, and to gauge accurately the size of the caseload.

17. Over time, however, the camp that ensures the right to life obstructs the rights to liberty and security of person.³ As one refugee put it: 'in which condition am I protected?'⁴ In analysing the situation at Kakuma, and UNHCR's response to it, the fact that 65,000 persons are confined to a small area in an arid corner of Kenya, with scant legal access to integration (economic or otherwise) opportunities, is dominant, and permeates all aspects of management and future planning. This is not to say that a refugee might not choose to stay in a camp, even if there were no movement restrictions. Nor is it suggested that all host governments should always be asked to grant refugees freedom to move and be employed immediately – this might have to be a gradual process, that accounts for host government security and socio-economic impact considerations. Means of addressing this issue are dealt with later in this report. Nonetheless, it must be recognized that, were this constraint lifted, the range of choices available to both the refugees and UNHCR would be greater and pose less of a financial burden.⁵

Untimely austerity and emergency management mode

18. The pressure on UNHCR as an organization to prioritize its activities in order to effect economies hit particularly hard in 1997, and continues in 2000.⁶ Prioritization is not necessarily negative, it can stimulate both 'fat trimming' and

³ 'Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.' (Art. 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights)

⁴ Kakuma, 15 February 2000.

⁵ Several commentators have recognized the restrictiveness of a camp environment in general, and of the camps in Kenya in particular. Verdirame, in an article that concentrates on Kakuma, maintains that 'human rights cannot be represented in refugee camps.' (55) Heymann argues that '[by] accepting the practice of "parking" refugees in camps when there are no permanent solutions available, refugee "protectors" indirectly allow refugee rights to be violated while focusing their discourse/efforts on the violations of these rights in the country of origin.' (10) Crisp and Jacobsen offer a more nuanced view that acknowledges some positive aspects of camps. (References: Guglielmo Verdirame, 'Human rights and refugees: the case of Kenya', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1, 1999, p. 63; Noëlle Heymann, 'International protection in refugee camps: the case of Kenya', unpublished *mémoire*, Geneva, October 1999; Jeff Crisp and Karen Jacobsen, 'Refugee Camps Reconsidered,' *Forced Migration Review*, vol. 3, December 1998. Oxford: Refugee Studies Programme.

⁶ As UNHCR's Assistant High Commissioner put it in 1998: 'whereas there has been a tendency to view the 1997 and 1998 situations as temporary phenomena, there should by now be no doubt that we have entered a period with permanently and significantly diminishing resources.' ('Prioritisation 1999,' internal memorandum from Søren Jessen-Petersen to selected UNHCR senior managers, 22 December 1998.)

creative approaches to programming. Some such positive actions were taken in Kenya: for example, the more comprehensive application of community self-management (especially in Dadaab) and the entry of independently funded non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (such as the Netherlands Olympic Committee).

19. On the whole, however, prioritization has had a corrosive impact on programmes in Kakuma. This impact has not necessarily been in terms of minimum standards, as currently conceived, although it has constrained some life-sustaining activities. It struck Kakuma in 1997, when the camp was out of the emergency phase, and was due for a reorientation in its programming emphases and modalities. That should have been the moment for the office to take stock of the situation, and plan realistically and efficiently for the medium-term. Instead, the shock of prioritization forced the sub-office to maintain spending at 1997 levels, even as the refugee population both increased in size and evolved in terms of its requirements. Thus, in 2000, UNHCR spent around \$ 42 per refugee, compared with nearly \$ 55 in 1997.⁷

20. Prioritization has been viewed as a negative process, in Kenya as throughout UNHCR, because of the manner in which it is practised rather than because of any substantive disagreement with the notion of an organization setting priorities in its programmes. Were the exercise done conscientiously, 1997 should have been a moment for the office to undertake a hard-headed assessment of the situation, and to propose an essential needs based programme and budget. Instead, the current budget level was peremptorily frozen, and cuts were requested. Keeping to a 1997 budget level that was based on an emergency response, and that failed to account for camp population increases, ensured that the programme in Kakuma remained on an emergency footing long after the emergency had passed. With a budget and staffing level that were shrinking relative to the size of the caseload, it is no wonder that the office has had to be reactive, and to take stress-laden decisions.

21. The consequences of this have not only gravely affected the well-being of the refugees, but have also led to long-term and in-built inefficiencies and diseconomies in programme management across the board. Funds are needed to cope with more refugees, and to make sensible medium-term investments, and yet the office is told to hold to an arbitrary figure, and to attempt to whittle it down further. Extra posts are not authorized, stretching human resources and forcing the staff to work long hours and on weekends. The mass influx emergency long over, Kakuma still operates in a state of what one UNHCR official termed a 'rampant emergency'.⁸

⁷ Source: A Haile-Mariam.

⁸ Interview, Nairobi, 9 February 2000.

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Beyond survival

22. Essential refugee needs comprise minimum standards, but also go beyond them, and evolve over time. Focusing on minimum standards rather than essential needs constrains the whole picture, and inhibits the elaboration of a forceful response to meeting the full and legitimate spectrum of refugee needs.

23. This report argues that one of the main casualties of prioritization in Kakuma has been the ability of UNHCR to meet essential refugee needs. By and large, minimum standards have been attained, and human survival, at least, is safeguarded. However, the safety, well-being and dignity of the refugees are not assured, and in some cases are deteriorating. Taking a segmented, essential needs based approach would help lay out the problem and set the parameters for future response planning. What, then are essential needs, how do they differ from minimum standards, and why are they important?

24. Neither essential needs nor minimum standards are clearly defined in UNHCR operational protocols, although elements of both are to be found in various internal and external documents. For the purposes of this report, the terms shall be defined as follows:

25. Minimum standards pertain to those sectors (security, shelter, water, food, health, sanitation) upon which human survival depends, and which, if not met, will seriously affect a person's health and could lead to death. Minimum standards are absolute inasmuch as they vary only slightly to account for different physical needs.

26. Essential needs are those elements required to lead a safe and dignified life. They both comprise and go beyond minimum standards, and are relative in that they vary as a function of time and context.

A pragmatic distinction

27. The distinction between the two is important, and has a direct impact on a given situation analysis, and in the elaboration of a response that is both appropriate and efficient. Given its emergency focus, and 'can-do' response attitude, UNHCR as an organization expends much of its energy on ensuring that minimum standards are met. As such, it has already prioritized refugee needs, and decided that it must focus its energies on saving lives through upholding *non-refoulement*, establishing camps and furnishing adequate humanitarian assistance. At the start of a mass outflow, this is an appropriate response that is concentrated, pragmatic and efficient, as these are standards that can realistically and rapidly be met. The problem is that, long after an emergency is over, these same stripped-down standards transform into programme objectives. And during a budget crunch, the pressure mounts to pare them down further.

28. An essential needs approach is holistic and sensitive to time, and makes the gamut of refugee needs more transparent. It contextualizes prioritization by showing the full range of gaps, and the economies already practised in a given operation. In accounting for a comprehensive set of needs, it identifies those entities (governments, agencies, refugees) that should be responsible for them. Given that UNHCR tends, *faute de mieux*, to assume responsibility for such needs, this is an important function.

29. The distinction between minimum standards and essential needs is made for technical reasons. It is an attempt to render explicit the notions that underpin what is often UNHCR's first prioritization step, i.e., the jettisoning of essential needs in favour of minimum standards. This should not suggest that essential needs are beyond UNHCR's mandate. Many of them fall squarely under it. A refugee is a person deserving of international protection because he or she is unwilling or unable to seek such protection from his or her government. The international refugee instruments are all grounded in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and its affirmation of the principle that 'human being shall enjoy fundamental rights and freedoms without discrimination.'⁹ Individual articles in the 1951 Convention are more specific, and set liberal standards on such matters as employment, freedom of movement and access to courts.

30. A 1981 UNHCR Executive Committee conclusion defines 16 'minimum basic human standards' that asylum-seekers should enjoy pending arrangements for a durable solution. These 16 standards stipulate, *inter alia*, freedom of movement;¹⁰ treatment in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the need for asylum-seekers to 'receive all necessary assistance and be provided with the basic necessities of life'; and recognition as persons before the law enjoying free access to the judicial system.¹¹

31. UNHCR has also codified a number of these standards, usually in response to Executive Committee member state initiatives, into ambitious guidelines. These guidelines, which are widely disseminated to UNHCR staff members and implementing partners, cover such topics as refugee women, refugee children, the environment and education.

32. Strictly, then, when UNHCR speaks of minimum standards, it should be referring to a much wider and higher range of standards than those concerned with life-saving protection and material assistance. This paper, however, makes its own minimum standards/essential needs distinction for three main reasons:

33. Institutional practice: given its focus on mass flow situations, UNHCR in practice focuses in the first instance on saving lives, and applies the survival standards laid out in its *Handbook for Emergencies*.

⁹ 1951 Convention, preamble; 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention, preamble.

¹⁰ Restrictions are permitted if 'necessary in the interest of public health and public order.'

¹¹ Executive Committee conclusion 22 (XXXII)-1981, 'Protection of asylum-seekers in situations of large-scale influx'.

34. Time and context: if the legal refugee instruments prescribe an absolute set of standards, it must nonetheless be recognized that needs change according to time and context. Thus, in an emergency, minimum standards will be synonymous with essential needs; over time, however, needs expand. Defining essential needs flexibly and dynamically, as grounded in minimum standards and aspiring to universal human rights standards, furnishes a more practical analytical and planning tool.

35. Inclusiveness: meeting all essential needs of a long-term refugee population is beyond the capacity and mandate of UNHCR. But as the lead agency for coordinating international action for protecting refugees, UNHCR is the agency of reference and guidance. As such, it should develop comprehensive plans that it can present to others (governments, UN and non-governmental agencies, refugees) with a view to initiating a coordinated, variegated and multi-actor response.

Minimum standards: survival, and the humanitarian imperative

36. Minimum standards are about ensuring immediate physical survival, and exemplify the humanitarian imperative: ‘the belief that all possible steps should be taken to prevent or alleviate human suffering arising out of conflict or calamity.’¹² They are based on absolute standards that, if not met, will result in serious harm or death. While the attainment of minimum standards is not always a directly stated objective of UNHCR interventions, it underpins emergency interventions, and, as a concept, is crystallized in the toolbox section of the *Emergency Handbook*. The emphasis on such standards is not made in ignorance of the wider range of rights and standards applicable to refugees, but rather as a means of focusing energies, and putting in place the exceptional measures required to mount an immediate, appropriate and extraordinary response.¹³

37. The *Handbook* standards, known and applied by most UNHCR staff members who have worked in emergencies, are listed in table 1. In addition to the UNHCR standards, the Sphere project, a programme of the Steering Committee for Humanitarian Response (SCHR) and InterAction with Voice, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA), has developed a set of ‘minimum standards in disaster response’. These standards, which are listed by sector, derive from the experiences and guidelines of a broad range of humanitarian actors, including UNHCR. They are grounded in the humanitarian imperative, and the prime motivation of disaster response is defined as being ‘to alleviate human suffering amongst those least able to withstand the stress caused by disaster.’¹⁴ As this compilation is relatively new, and

¹² This definition is derived from principle 1 of the Humanitarian Charter (Sphere Project, *Humanitarian charter and minimum standards in disaster response*, Geneva, 2000.)

¹³ The UNHCR *Emergency Handbook* definition of an emergency is ‘any situation in which the life or well-being of refugees will be threatened unless immediate and appropriate action is taken, and which demands an extraordinary response and exceptional measures.’ It defines the aim of UNHCR’s emergency response as being ‘to provide protection to persons of concern to UNHCR and ensure that the necessary assistance reaches them in time.’ None of the above is meant to suggest that the *Handbook* does not recognize that refugee needs go beyond minimum standards – it does; nonetheless, they constitute its primary focus.

¹⁴ *Code of Conduct for the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and NGOs in Disaster Relief*.

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overlaps substantially with the *Emergency Handbook*, this paper primarily draws upon the UNHCR standards.¹⁵

Illustration 1: Sample emergency indicators

Crude mortality rate	normal rate emergency programme under control major catastrophe	0.3 to 0.5/10,000/day <1/10,000/day >5/10,000/day
Clean water	minimum survival allocation minimum maintenance allocation	7 litres/person/day 15-20 litres/person/day
Food	minimum food energy requirement for a populations totally dependent on food aid	2,100 kcal/person/day
Shelter	minimum shelter area minimum total site area	3.5 m ² /person/day 30 m ² /person/day

38. While this paper argues that, in a protracted situation, UNHCR should move beyond minimum standards, it is worth asking whether, paradoxically, emergency minimum standards are not in fact higher than those pertaining to long-term situations. There is both a heightened sense of urgency and visibility in emergencies, and an expectation that in the post-emergency phase refugee needs will somehow lessen, perhaps through limited local integration and self-reliance.¹⁶

Essential needs: beyond survival

39. Human rights, which are needed to live a life of freedom and dignity, and human development, which is the process of enlarging people's choices by expanding human functionings and capabilities, are global benchmarks by which to judge an individual's life. Refugees, like all people, are entitled to both. However, while such rights are universal, in practice it is not possible to begin to benefit from most of them unless one is first benefits from a state's protection. And a refugee, by definition, does not enjoy national protection until a durable solution is found for him or her, at which point he or she ceases to be a refugee.

40. While refugees are entitled to enjoy all human rights, the nature of asylum and the absence of national protection precludes them from doing. Yet locking them into a situation in which only minimum survival standards are applied (or aspired to) is inhumane and, even in a refugee camp context, unnecessarily constricting.

¹⁵ Sphere defines minimum standards differently from this paper; a minimum standards is the 'minimum level (of service) to be attained in humanitarian assistance.'

¹⁶ See the UNHCR *Emergency Handbook* again, and its assumptions regarding the probable evolution of a refugee situation: 'Outside contributions required to reach [minimum standards] will, however, naturally be reduced as the refugees become more self-reliant.' (6) This notion that refugees will become self-sufficient over time is persistent, and has negatively affected planning and budgeting in Kakuma.

Essential needs is an intermediate concept that accounts for evolving needs without proposing an unfeasibly high standard as an immediate goal.

41. The essential needs concept, as used in this paper, recognizes that while solutions may not be possible in the medium-term, refugee needs go beyond minimum Standards. In the absence of a durable solution, what might essential refugee needs be?¹⁷

42. In a refugee context questions of development and human capabilities are put on hold – the situation is supposed to be merely temporary, after all. Given that a durable solution is the surest way to begin meeting essential needs, and that in many refugee situations there are no obvious durable solutions, it is still possible to determine essential needs as they apply to the situation as it stands. Bearing in mind the need to ensure human survival, to achieve greater efficiency in managing programmes, and the need to plan for the moment when durable solutions are possible, the following might comprise some elements of essential needs in a protracted situation:

- i. Minimum protection and assistance standards.
- ii. Measures to improve the quality and standard of life within the camps, and to provide refugees with a greater degree of control over their affairs. Such measures could include the improvement of facilities within the camps, more diverse programmes being offered, and the greater use of income-generation and community self-management projects.
- iii. Measures designed to enhance the capabilities of the refugees, help restore a sense of dignity, and equip the refugees with skills and capabilities to help them once a solution has been found to their plight. Education, training and loan schemes are some examples of such measures, as are *démarches* that enable the refugees to obtain greater access to local markets and communities.
- iv. Durable solutions, and the pursuit of full human rights and human development.

Measuring need

43. This paper proposes a way of conceiving operations in favour of refugees. Its intention is not to invent a new system of measuring progress and impact, but rather the framework through which they should be judged. It is thus complementary to other initiatives in the house, in particular the Organization and Methods Section's pilot results-based management system.

¹⁷ Approaching the issue from a broad, non-refugee specific perspective, economist Amartya Sen notes that in order for development to occur, those 'unfreedoms that leave people with little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency' must be removed. The persistence of such freedoms leads to what he terms 'capability deprivation.' (Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, p. xii, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999.)

Global disparities in refugee assistance

44. Refugees are in general unfortunate; for refugees in Africa, the continent with the most refugees, there is a perception that they are worse off than other refugees because assistance levels for them are low, and because many tend to be forgotten, victims of what the previous UN Secretary-General termed 'orphan conflicts'.

45. That disparities in assistance standards exist is well-known, and has been raised – to little effect, it would seem – by UNHCR at various relevant fora.¹⁸ What should UNHCR do to combat it? Attempts to make quantifiable comparisons of amounts spent per refugee in different situations are likely to teeter on technicalities, and on the notion of relative versus absolute deprivation.¹⁹ This paper suggests that the issue is best tackled by building a picture of essential needs, and identifying gaps and responsibilities. Funds should be provided not merely as a means of redressing NorthSouth imbalances, but because specific and legitimate needs exist and must be met. Situations must not be forgotten merely because they have gone on for too long, and do not seem to qualify for extraordinary emergency assistance.

46. In any case, an African refugee seeking asylum in an African nation may not want the same treatment that a European refugee seeking asylum in a European country receives. African refugees at least benefit from a liberal refugee regime, one that enables large groups of persons fleeing conflict access to asylum. While refugees inside European countries may receive a generous package of assistance, many other persons fleeing persecution are never able to make it into these countries owing to formidable entry barriers. It should also be recalled that much of the assistance provided in the former Yugoslavia was not for refugees, but to war-affected populations, in part to prevent them from crossing borders and seeking asylum elsewhere.

¹⁸ The High Commissioner raised the issue recently at the Security Council, where she said 'What is provided to refugees in Africa, including food and basic survival items, is far less than other parts of the world. This is unacceptable.' (Briefing to UN Security Council on the situation of refugees in Africa, 13 Jan 2000 (XXX)). A joint UNHCR/World Food Programme (WFP) statement made on 28 February 2000 drew attention to 'dramatic' funding shortfalls for humanitarian operations in Africa; on the same day, the Assistant High Commissioner drew the attention of the Humanitarian Liaison Working Group to assistance disparities between Europe and Africa, with refugees in the former receiving ten items in their food basket at a cost of \$ 0.53, while African refugees received five items, for which only \$ 0.15 were spent.

¹⁹ To quote Sen again, this time paraphrasing Adam Smith (1776): '*...relative deprivation in term of incomes can yield absolute deprivation in terms of capabilities. Being relatively poor in a rich country can be a great capability handicap, even when one's absolute income is high in terms of world standards. In a generally opulent country, more income is needed to buy enough commodities to achieve the same social functioning.*' (89)

The human impact

47. Broadly speaking, minimum standards, as defined above, have been attained in Kakuma. In some cases, camp standards are better than those that prevail in either the countries of origin or the host country. As a recent appraisal by a major donor remarked concerning the Kenyan camps: '[overall] the quality and management of basic services provided to the refugees is as good as anything the appraisal team has come across in similar operations elsewhere.'²⁰ And yet, the most apparent and prevalent mood in Kakuma camp today is a sense of despair and low self-worth. As one Somali refugee in Kakuma put it: 'we are like hyenas here, with no dignity left.'²¹ Able-bodied and adequately fed individuals lead lives of indolence and sporadic violence, while UNHCR, weak national entities and a limited number of NGO partners (principally the International Rescue Committee (IRC) and the Lutheran World Federation (LWF)) respond in firefighting mode. Broadly speaking, this situation is a result of (i) restrictive asylum conditions; (ii) the sheer length of the refugees' 'temporary' situation; and (iii) the shock of prioritization and its accompanying ethic of reaction and 'short-termism'.

Illustration 2: comparative minimum standards indicators

	Emergency min. standard indicators	Kakuma	Ken	Sud	Som
Crude mortality rate	<1/10,000 /day	0.2/10,000 ./day	--	--	--
Food (kcal/person/day)	2,100	2,100	1,970	2,395	1,566
Shelter min. (pers)	3.5 m ²	4.7 m ²	--		--
Sanitation	1 latrine/20 pers or 1 latrine/ family	1 latrine/15 persons	--		--
Water, (litres/ person/day)	survival: 7 maintenance: 15-20	23	--		--
Tap stands	1/200 pers, not more than 100 m from user shelters	1/126 pers, some ½ km from ref. shelt.	--		--
GDP ²² /expend. per refugee (\$) ²³	--	148	334	296	176

Sources: *Handbook for Emergencies*, UNHCR, IRC, WFP, UNDP *Human Development Report 2000*, Michael Hopkins and Jawahir Adam, *Somalia Human Development Report*.

²⁰ Department for International Development, UK (DfID), 10.

²¹ Interview, Kakuma, 15 February 2000.

²² 1998 figure, in 1995 dollars (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)).

²³ This figure, which is approximate, includes UNHCR, WFP and the IRC (non-UNHCR sources) expenditure, and excludes administrative overheads. It does not include LWF non-UNHCR funds, as these were not made available to the mission.

48. This chapter provides an aperçu of the general situation at Kakuma on a sectoral basis. It does not purport to be comprehensive – locally based actors have a much clearer sense of the details. Rather, it highlights the general state of affairs in each sector, with reference to minimum standards and essential needs, and touches upon appropriate UNHCR responses.

Protection

49. As we have seen, the refugees in Kakuma benefit enjoy the baseline minimum standards that apply to refugees: asylum and *non-refoulement*. Beyond that, the situation is dismal, as persons who have fled violence in their home countries find themselves confronted with violence in the country of asylum. Unlike in their own countries, flight alternatives in the country of asylum are minimal.

50. Jeff Crisp has described the different forms of violence that that occur in the Dadaab and Kakuma camps; while not easily quantifiable, it is rampant.²⁴ The principal reason for this state of affairs lies with the policy that requires heterogeneous refugee populations to be confined to camps in remote, poverty-stricken and chronically insecure regions of the country. Some of the factors exacerbating the situation, though, are related to the nature of programmes for refugees, and the effects of funding cuts.

51. Life in the camps is constrained at the best of times. For the disproportionately large numbers of male adolescents, and for others, there are few salubrious outlets for their energies. When funding cuts affect such activities as education, sports and cultural activities, people are left with more time on their hands, less creative stimulation and frustrations about the future. Cuts that have hit loan schemes have been equally pernicious. A limited pool for loans, and the need, dictated by funding cycles, to keep payback periods short, has resulted in there being little money to be earned legally by most of the camp denizens. That such a situation has encouraged petty crime is hardly surprising.

52. Another protection-related activity that has been badly hurt by funding cuts has been in the operation of the reception centre for new arrivals. The current state of the centre, in the words of one UNHCR staff-member, puts ‘organizational credibility at stake.’²⁵ The centre as it stands is basically a fenced enclosure near the immigration office in Lokichokio where new arrivals are registered and then sent on to Kakuma. There is a water point, but apart from that the refugees are expected to fend for themselves in terms of food and shelter – the minimum standards they should be able to expect. And upon arrival in Kakuma, owing to cutbacks in the shelter programme, many new arrivals are forced to spend their nights in communal shelters or with established refugees.

²⁴ Jeff Crisp, ‘A state of insecurity: the political economy of violence in refugee-populated areas of Kenya’, UNHCR Working Paper no. 16, Geneva, December 1999.

²⁵ Interview, Nairobi, 9 February 2000.

Water and sanitation

53. When judged by emergency standards, water supply at Kakuma – 23 litres/person/day – far exceeds the minimum survival allocation (7 litres/person/day) and even the minimum maintenance allocation (15-20 litres/person/day).²⁶ It would appear that water standards surpass national standards – in the period 1990-96, only 53 per cent of Kenyans had access to safe water.²⁷ There are some problems related to water collection – if water points are located far from a family's tent, girls have to walk longer distances, and are thus more vulnerable to attacks. Household water storage facilities are also limited, forcing women to make several trips daily to the water points, exposing them to the above-mentioned dangers.

54. In terms of sanitation, there is an average of one latrine per 15 persons; adequate by emergency standards (1 latrine/20 persons), but undignified for persons who have been in one place for several years.

Food

55. As with water, so too with food outputs – the refugees receive, on average, 2,100 kcal of food daily, in line with WFP/UNHCR minimum standards (2,100 kcal/person/day) and superior to the Kenyan national average (1,970 kcal/person/day).

56. Determining the food ration is largely outside of UNHCR's purview, except in the matter of complementary food items. Nonetheless, it is fair to comment that while calorie content may be sufficient, the refugees are not entirely satisfied with the package, and find themselves compelled to sell a portion of their ration in exchange for other vital foodstuffs.²⁸ As it stands, the camp is entirely dependent upon mass food distributions. The fact that some refugees consider it necessary to trade part of their ration, at an energy loss, for nutrients indicates that the food basket is not well calibrated. In particular, the general ration is 'grossly deficient' in vitamins A, B2, C, niacin and iron.²⁹

57. Thus in order to meet minimum nutritional requirements, refugees in Kakuma are compelled to sell or barter a portion of their food ration. Casting the issue in terms of essential needs, one needs to account for the fact that the refugees at Kakuma have very few legal choices of obtaining food available to them: they are not allowed out of the camp, and within it, animal husbandry is forbidden, and agriculture unfeasible. Providing them with an unvaried and non-traditional diet for years does nothing to enhance human dignity and sense of self-worth.

²⁶ This output has been affected, though, by the recent regional drought.

²⁷ United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Human Development Report 1997*. The comparable figures for the main countries of origin are 27 per cent (Sudan) and 69 per cent (Somalia).

²⁸ This is evident from a cursory look at the markets that have sprung up in and around the camp. And Save the Children Fund (SCF) report provides a detailed analysis of the ways in which different categories of refugees consume and trade elements of their food ration (Alexandra King and Sonya Lejeune, 'Household food economy update of Kakuma refugee camp, Turkana District, North-West Kenya,' Nairobi, SCF-UK, 1997).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pg. 21.

58. Mass food distribution is an inherently short-term affair; one does not usually expect to have to continue such distributions for years. Perhaps, stepping back from emergency management mode, other distribution systems might be considered, such as ration shops in which refugees could 'purchase' food with their ration cards, and have the flexibility to select those items they require. In terms of complementary food items, there may be some possibilities of purchasing items from the local population – meat and dairy products from the pastoral Turkana could be one example.

59. A related assistance element concerns the distribution of household items, including the kitchen sets necessary for the preparation of food. Funding for such items was cut as a result of a prioritization decision that favoured only 'life-saving' activities, and the refugees have not received a proper distribution of such items since 1996.³⁰ This forces refugees to either make do with less, or sell part of their valuable food ration in order to be able to cook the rest.

Shelter

60. The shelter programme is a prime victim of prioritization and short-termism: eight years after the initial influx, refugees huddle under strips of blue plastic sheeting. Portable and relatively inexpensive, plastic sheeting is the iconic UNHCR emergency response material.³¹ It is not, however, a viable medium-term shelter solution. Yet in Kakuma, stable, long-term refugees continue to be given plastic sheeting, and then replacement plastic sheeting, year after year. This is both expensive in the long-run, and inadequate for non-emergency human needs, and it exemplifies the emergency mind-set.

61. Personnel on the ground are acutely aware of this problem. One innovative scheme has been attempted – a technology transfer from Afghanistan to Kenya of sun-baked brick housing. The scheme is not perfect, but it represents a creative and economical approach to dealing with budget cuts and the need for less transience. Sadly, this modest scheme was not, at February 2000, faring well in budget planning, and mounds of sun-baked bricks were lying exposed and idle, ready to dissolve in the next downpour.

62. Although figures are hard to come by, it seems that the number of square metres/person/shelter is 4.7,³² just above the *minimum* requirement. At a more macro level, it should be noted that Kakuma, with 65,000 refugees, is a large camp, and much above the *Emergency Handbook* recommended (if infrequently heeded) standard of 20,000 refugees per camp.

³⁰ Haile-Mariam, 10. Soap is the only non-food item to have been retained.

³¹ See, for example, the cover of the *Handbook for Emergencies*, which is swathed in one such sheet.

³² This is based on there being 308,004 m² covered by shelter in the camp.

Health

63. In the health sector, the emergency indicators are under control. Yet here, too, reactive programming reigns. The health centre is permeated by an air of transience. Thus the structures are lightweight, there are no x-ray machines, the lab is inadequate and the focus is on primary, rather than preventive, health. As with shelter, this is neither economical nor beneficial to the refugees. Constant referrals of patients for x-rays, and dispatch of their blood and other samples to Nairobi, is not cheap, and in the long run exceeds the costs of purchasing an x-ray machine or upgrading the lab.

64. Beyond that, the opportunity to contribute to the region is being missed. The Kakuma health centre is essentially a 'retail' installation, in that it bypasses existing national institutions and is manned externally. It would make more sense to think in 'wholesale' terms, and work through the Kenyan Ministry of Health. Local Turkana make abundant use of the centre already, so there is clearly a need for it. By constructing a permanent structure and incorporating the centre into national health plans, UNHCR would vividly demonstrate a positive spin-off of the refugee presence. It would also be more likely to attract development funds, which would not be available for a transient facility. The point is not that the health programme is being run in opposition to the national programme – it is not – but rather that UNHCR does not use this linkage to national priorities strategically, and as a selling point to attract funds from different (development) sources.

65. One part of the health sector – reproductive health – furnishes a positive example of the advantages of specialization. Reproductive health is managed by a national NGO, the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK). The advantages of having them take on this sector are that they are Kenyan, and thus have staying power; they know their specialization and pursue it vigorously; and they are able to sell themselves around their specialization and reputation, and attract independent donor dollars.³³ They also see their birth control activities as helping to prevent conflict: by increasing the value of individual children, parents are less liable to send them off to war.

Education and vocational training

66. With this and the next item, income generation, we move more firmly into the domain of the Kakuma refugee population's current priority essential needs. Official UNHCR policy recognizes the importance of education; as one recent document noted: 'access to education is a fundamental human right of all refugee children, and serves as an important protection tool on the ground.'³⁴

³³ DfID is providing them with GBP 75,000 for 2000.

³⁴ UNHCR, 'Refugee children and adolescents: a progress report', Geneva, 7 February 2000, Standing Committee document EC/50/SC/CRP.7. UNHCR's Africa Bureau also recognizes the importance of education as a protection and capacitating tool (see UNHCR Africa Bureau, 'UNHCR policy framework for Africa: 2000-2001', Geneva, February 2000).

67. Kakuma compares favourably with refugee camps in, say, Guinea or Pakistan. In 1999, 25,000 students were enrolled in schools at Kakuma – a decent figure when measured with other camps, and even other developing countries. In Somalia, one of the refugees’ countries of origin, for example, only about 20 per cent of the primary-school-aged population is enrolled in school, and actual attendance is much less.³⁵ In Kakuma, around 36,500 children (0-17 years age group), or two-thirds of the eligible population, receive some form of education.³⁶

68. But are these the standards by which Kakuma should be judged? UNHCR guidelines suggest that levels should be roughly equivalent to national ones. By those standards, Kakuma fares poorly. Per capita expenditure on education in the camps, for example, was \$25 in 1999; the national figure was some \$200, or eight times as much.³⁷ Secondary schooling facilities are sparse, do not cover all the years, and reach a mere 1,800 students.

69. Beyond that, education is of special importance to a refugee. For people who may have lost all material possessions, education is the most portable asset, the one most likely to enable the refugee to thrive upon attainment of a durable solution. Depriving a refugee child of education in a closed camp such as Kakuma can be devastating, for there are few other edifying alternative activities for a refugee child to pursue there. And education at least provides hope for an uncertain future; an absence of education leaves the child with bleakness today, and dullness tomorrow.

70. Those familiar with Kakuma, both humanitarian aid workers and the refugees themselves, are nearly unanimous in vouching for the importance of education in the camp. In a dusty, violent camp, the sight of lanky adolescents walking through the camp, holding hands while learning mathematics, is hope personified.³⁸ The refugees are aware of education’s importance, and as communities encourage their youth, boys and increasingly girls, to study. The Sudanese, in particular, have been attempting to turn their years in exile into a time in which they can acquire valuable skills, perhaps with a view to forming part of the ‘core cadre of skilled personnel’ who are to power civil society in what the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement terms ‘the New Sudan.’³⁹ A number of graduates of both the schools and vocational training programmes in Kakuma have already gone back to Sudan, often in the employ of organizations working in south Sudan.

71. Vocational training also provides refugees with a set of skills. In 2000, some 500 refugees were benefiting from vocational training programmes. The programme, which is run by the NGO Don Bosco, is well managed. It runs on its own (mainly German government) funding, and is not financially supported by UNHCR. Those

³⁵ *Somalia human development report 1998*.

³⁶ Email from Nairobi, 5 November 1999.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Interview, Geneva, 29 February 2000.

³⁹ Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM), *Peace through development in the Sudan*, 2000.

involved in the programme are emerge with a set of valuable skills. Some find work in the camp, but many others are engaged by NGOs working in southern Sudan.⁴⁰

Income generation

72. Income-generating schemes in Kakuma are *not* about enabling refugees to become financially independent individuals. Given the prevailing conditions, and the movement restrictions, anyone confined to a place like Kakuma is rendered automatically dependent upon some form of hand-out. However, income-generation and loan schemes do instil valuable skills in refugees, permit them to enjoy a limited degree of financial autonomy, and introduce money into a scantily monetized environment. As surveys such as the SCF-UK Household Food Economy Assessment demonstrate, incentives play a critical role in enabling refugees to exercise some element of choice and control over items they deem necessary to their lives.

73. The 1997 prioritization exercise, with its stipulation that programmes be restricted to life-saving activities, effectively forestalled UNHCR involvement in this sector. This only exacerbates the refugees' condition. They are dependent upon the largesse of the international community, yet, as their stay endures, there is an expectation of their somehow becoming self-reliant. Total self-reliance is impossible, but any moves towards partial independence are nipped in the bud. Instead, loan schemes are run on a small scale, with short turnaround times, by NGOs using their own, limited, funds. The extent of such schemes is circumscribed, and their range – essentially small camp-based businesses in a cash-strapped and saturated market – uninspiring.

74. Monetization is not without dangers, for the love of money – in the opinion of some refugees interviewed – could be at the root of strife in the camp. Creating haves and have-nots in the financially arid and socially explosive climate of Kakuma could engender resentment and violence.

Community management

75. It should already be clear that Kakuma is an artificial human settlement. It has no economic logic, and, with its mix of nationalities, no obvious community management structures. Hierarchies transplanted from the countries of origin persist, but are tenuous in the absence of previous resource ownership patterns that enabled traditional leaders to exert control.

76. As an organization, UNHCR is 'committed to the principle of participation by consulting refugees on decisions that affect their lives.'⁴¹ Both Kakuma and Dadaab

⁴⁰ A forthcoming report examines the related activity of peace education, elements of which were pioneered in Kakuma camp (Marc Sommers, *Peace education and refugee youth*, forthcoming).

⁴¹ UNHCR Mission Statement. UNHCR's 'Medium-term plan for 2002-2005' stresses that '[in] the provision of ... assistance, UNHCR's concerns are that assistance, where possible, is delivered in such a way that it involves the recipients.' (EC/50/SC/CRP.4). There is also a move within UNHCR to adopt a community development approach to refugee situations. This differs from the community services

incorporate a more expansive version of this commitment – of involving refugees in the ‘planning, execution and monitoring of assistance operation’ – in their programmes. In comparison with other sectors, UNHCR and NGO partner efforts have been impressive, and show clear results. Refugee communities are well-organized, and participate in the planning of assistance deliveries, and in strategic planning – the latter infrequently encountered in refugee programmes. UNHCR has gone further than merely involving existing leaders, it has actively attempted to redress inequalities by promoting the role of women, and encouraging multi-nationality associations. It has even involved itself in negotiating peace amongst different factions; in the case of intra-Sudanese fighting, the ‘Kakuma peace’ elaborated with UNHCR is reported to have exerted a positive influence over related fighting in the Sudan.⁴² Handing over management responsibilities to communities also helps stem what some implementing partners in Kakuma see as UNHCR ‘overmanagement.’

77. In Dadaab, CARE has taken community self-management seriously. Viewing funding cuts as an opportunity, they instituted a comprehensive regime of using voluntary refugee labour in key sectors such as food distribution and sanitation. The idea is to empower refugees by putting them in charge of operations that ultimately benefit them.

78. Like income generation, community management is an intuitively good idea, in line with UNHCR policies, refugee needs and cost-cutting imperatives. However, it is also a concept that is subject to misuse. Given the circumstances, the refugee community will not be able to exert more than light management over its affairs as the laws determining the conditions of their stay in Kenya and their means of sustenance are controlled by others (government of Kenya, in collaboration with UNHCR). UNHCR should make a realistic assessment of what sectors it can reasonably expect refugee communities to take control of, and then delegate. At present, refugee participation is synonymous, in some quarters, with free labour. It is hard to see how having a refugee take on what is essentially a ‘McJob’, but without even a minimum wage, prepares the refugees for their return.

UNHCR management

79. As mentioned above, funding pressures have forced UNHCR to make do with far fewer resources than are necessary. To partially compensate, staff on the ground feel morally obliged to work long hours and assume massive responsibilities, sometime over matters in which they have limited expertise. One result of the consequent pressure-cooker atmosphere thus created has been to mire the office in an artificially prolonged state of emergency management.

80. Another consequence has been in the relationship between UNHCR and its implementing partners. Being reactive, and under constant obligation to reduce

approach in that it does not objectify the refugee as a person for whom something is being done, but rather views refugee involvement in the design and implementation of programmes as integral to their success.

⁴² Interview with Norwegian People’s Aid (NPA), Kakuma, 13 February 2000.

THE HUMAN IMPACT

spending, UNHCR has not developed a cohesive vision on managing Kakuma. At the same time, UNHCR's reduced funding base has forced implementing partners to look elsewhere for funds. While not a bad thing in itself, coupled with UNHCR's weak overall vision, this has rendered UNHCR management tenuous and strained.

MINIMUM STANDARDS AND ESSENTIAL NEEDS

UNHCR, refugees and the local community

81. In February 2000, a visitor to Kakuma would come upon scenes of extreme poverty and deprivation. Groups of withered and soiled adults, their hair tinted orange from malnutrition, approach aid workers with beseeching gestures. Their children, naked and dirt-smearing, play outside ramshackle shelters. One of the few signs of hope in the area is the bags of wheat recently distributed by the international community. These poor people see signs of development in their vicinity – roads, wells, a health post, schools, sports facilities – and they even have access to some of them, yet they are acutely aware that they are not the targeted beneficiaries of such facilities, and are on the margins.

82. If there is such a notion as the humanitarian imperative, or simple charity, surely it should apply to this unfortunate group. Refugees are protected and assisted by the international community because their own states will not do so. But the people described above are not refugees – they are Kenyans in their own country. The settlement is Nadupan, which predates Kakuma, and which is populated by the Turkana people. With their semi-nomadic lifestyle, their attachment to cattle, their elaborate hairstyles and disdain for clothes, they would, in a less enlightened era, have been termed ‘noble savages.’ Instead, at the dawn of the 21st century, they are fast losing their traditional pastoral means of livelihood while simultaneously finding themselves excluded from national development priorities. Add to this situation a regional drought, and one finds the Turkana with seemingly no choice other than to become displaced from their normal abodes, congregate in Kakuma, and beg for assistance from another, more ‘privileged’ marginal community: the refugees. In UNHCR parlance, they are assigned a low position in the category of persons of concern, and become ‘locally affected populations’.

83. Much is made of the perceived negative impacts of refugees upon their hosting communities – to the extent that it has become a regular feature on the UNHCR Executive Committee agenda.⁴³ In Kakuma, however, one could argue that the net impact of refugees upon the region has been positive. The Kakuma Turkana and their displaced brethren have access to all the facilities available to the refugees (primary education, health, boreholes, vocational training) apart from food (with the exception of emergency distributions effected by UNHCR during the drought

⁴³ The most recent paper in this vein was presented to the 18th meeting of UNHCR’s Standing Committee: UNHCR, *Social and economic impact of massive refugee populations on host developing countries, as well as other countries*, Geneva, Standing Committee document EC/49/SC/CRP.21, 9 June 2000. A recent *Economist* article, however, acknowledges one example of positive spin-offs from a refugee presence. Speaking of Kosovan refugees in Albania, it states that ‘[far] from damaging the fragile economy, the refugees provided an unexpected boost. Aid...was diverted and sold. Hotels and people renting out rooms did a roaring trade... Truck and taxi drivers, shopkeepers and warehouse-owners all did well out of the Kosovo war too.’ (‘Albania: Fresh Start’, *The Economist*, 29 April 2000).

period) and shelter. The few educated Turkana also profit in that they are given preference over others in the hiring of national staff. The local authorities also benefit, as UNHCR has provided vehicles, and funds to construct the District Officer's residence, and has equipped and funded the local constabulary. It is hardly surprising, then, that Kakuma town has increased in size from 5,000 inhabitants in 1991 to some 40,000 in 2000.

84. Nonetheless, many Turkana feel embittered by the refugee stay in Kakuma. The refugees represent an alien and unsolicited presence. Unlike other countries of asylum, where close ethnic or even kinship ties might exist between locals and refugees,⁴⁴ this is not the case in Turkana, and the locals do not 'host' the refugees in any meaningful way. The refugees bring benefits, but the Turkana are so disadvantaged that such benefits may serve only to remind them their underprivileged status. They are unable to take advantage of even the trickle down economic effects of the refugee and international presence in Kakuma – instead, Kenyan merchants of Somali origin come from elsewhere to establish businesses in the town, and Kenyans from Nairobi arrive to execute administrative and technical tasks. They feel short-changed, and their prevailing, hurt, attitude is perhaps exemplified by this remark made by a Turkana to UNHCR: 'we gave you this land, so give us some of your food.'⁴⁵

85. In such an atmosphere, it is easy for local politicians to stir up populist resentment against refugees and international organizations, a path that has been taken by some Turkana representatives in Nairobi.⁴⁶

86. With limited and shrinking resources, UNHCR has gone a long way towards helping the local community. UNHCR provides surrogate national protection for the refugees in Kakuma. It seems – through a combination of 'mission creep', humanitarian considerations and a linkage with refugee protection – that UNHCR is assuming a similar role with regard to the Kakuma Turkana.

87. UNHCR efforts in this regard have been worthy, and line with refugee protection principles – an angry local population could be mobilized against the refugees. Yet despite the protection element inherent in these interventions, they are clearly beyond UNHCR's ambit. Money is certainly an issue, but so too is management: as one UNHCR staff member put it, they feel that not only are they managing 65,000 refugees, but another 40,000 locals as well.⁴⁷

88. The locals are keenly aware of positive impacts of the refugee presence in Kakuma, and many expressed their own views on how to make this presence profitable to both refugees and Kenyans. The Kakuma District Commissioner, for

⁴⁴ To cite just a few examples: Pashtoon Afghans in Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province; Sierra Leoneans in Guinea; southern Sudanese in Uganda; and Kosovar Albanians in Albania.

⁴⁵ Interview, Kakuma, 17 February 2000.

⁴⁶ In a novel reading of national responsibilities, the President, too, has called on humanitarian relief organizations such as UNHCR and Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS) to assist needy Turkana through the provision of water, and medical and education facilities. This was the case during his February 1999 visit to Lokichoggio and Lodwar.

⁴⁷ Interview, Kakuma, 16 February 2000.

example, suggested that some skilled refugees might be encouraged to run a *matatu* (taxi) service within the district – this would not only provide refugee employment, but would fill a sorely needed gap in the district.⁴⁸ The Turkana paramount chief recognized the development potential of international assistance, and in an interview with the mission requested that funds be used towards irrigation rather than relief.⁴⁹ Many other Turkana approached this author regarding the establishment of large-scale, irrigated farming projects involving both refugees and Turkana; as several of them put it, in apparent reference to a previous bilateral mission to the region, if the Israelis can make the Negev bloom, than could not UNHCR help in the greening of north-west Kenya?

89. If the idea of the UN refugee agency running large-scale deep-well irrigation projects seems odd, it is a testament to the hopeless situation prevailing in Turkana, and to the perverse hope of modernity that Kakuma camp represents. Turkana is, as a regular Kenyan newspaper series attests, ‘the forgotten frontier’.⁵⁰ UNHCR cannot and should not assume a ‘Turkana caseload.’⁵¹

90. However, it does occupy a strategic and at present critical position in relation to them. This paper maintains that UNHCR’s response to a Kakuma-type situation must begin with the articulation of a comprehensive and segmented vision. That vision must account for the local population. In Kakuma, this should entail a maintenance of current policies that allow locals to access refugee services, and the raising of the profile of Turkana-specific issues. UNHCR is not responsible for them. But as the most influential agency in the region, it is aware of the their plight and, in a worst-case scenario, vulnerable to their threats.⁵² Thus it has an interest in raising their profile, and suggesting projects in which the government, donors and/or the private sector might be interested in pursuing – preferably in conjunction with refugee stakeholders.

91. The hook it should use is that of interest convergence between refugees and locals. We have already seen how the refugee presence in the district has, on balance, been beneficial. UNHCR should make more of this fact,⁵³ and suggest other schemes, even modest ones, that benefit both sides, and that are not necessarily run by UNHCR. UNHCR’s strength does not lie in the total amount of funds it brings in to Kenya – the planned 2000 UNHCR budget for Kenya, \$ 23 million, constitutes

⁴⁸ Interview, Lodwar, 16 February 2000.

⁴⁹ Interview, Kakuma, 15 February 2000.

⁵⁰ This *Daily Nation* series, which covers the drought in Turkana, has brought the issue into the public eye, and has raised funds from *Nation* readers to assist Turkana. At least at some level, then, the Turkana gain support from their fellow citizens, which is not the case with the refugees.

⁵¹ It is pertinent to note, given UNHCR’s involvement with a wide spectrum of displaced populations, that many of the Turkana in Kakuma would fall under the wider UN internally displaced person (IDP) definition, which includes victims of natural disasters such as drought, but not under the UNHCR IDP definition.

⁵² The multi-million dollar Operation Lifeline Sudan, based in Lokichokio, some 50 kilometres north of Kakuma, provides little more than a few water points to the local population. In early 2000, it fell victim to a series of protest actions staged by local Turkana.

⁵³ Sub-Office Kakuma did make a step in this direction in a series of three workshops on international protection held in Turkana (June 1999), in which it produced a list of UNHCR interventions that have directly and indirectly benefited the Turkana.

MINIMUM STANDARDS AND ESSENTIAL NEEDS

around 5 per cent of 1997 net official development assistance.⁵⁴ Rather, it has at its disposal a leadership and coordinating role in Kakuma, and the moral backing of the refugee regime, and some amount of influence from its Executive Committee member states. Viewed from this angle, wheat-fields in the Turkana desert becomes at least a less remote or unfeasible prospect.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ The *Economist Intelligence Unit* 1999 country profile for Kenya cites the total development assistance figure for 1997 for Kenya as \$ 456.8 million.

⁵⁵ The notion of assisting non-target proximate populations is not unique to the humanitarian world; the multinational Shell, for example, has belatedly recognized the importance of being on good terms with such populations, and today spends tens of millions of dollars on the Ogoni people affected by oil operations in the Niger delta.

Towards an appropriate response

92. To respond appropriately to a protracted refugee situation such as Kakuma, UNHCR must develop a vision that includes meeting essential refugee needs and planning for their futures (including both intermediate and durable solutions), and that recognizes that other actors too (host communities, donor states, development agencies, private sector) have responsibilities, interests and needs. In the absence of, and in preparation for, a durable solution, such a response should have as its objective the rebuilding of exiled and traumatized communities, and enabling human beings to develop their capacities to the fullest extent possible.

93. A foreign visitor to a refugee camp almost anywhere in the world will soon be approached by refugees requesting the visitor to help and, more poignantly, to alert the rest of the world to their plight. In February 2000, a letter was handed to this mission from a 'forgotten and voiceless' community. The address they supplied was 'Kakuma refugee camp, c/o UNHCR.'⁵⁶ For these people with shelter, but no home, UNHCR has the humbling responsibility of protecting and aiding. It is, thus, the entity which must ensure that (i) the refugees do not perish, (ii) their condition of asylum does not itself become a component in their suffering and (iii) solutions are found to their plight. In Kakuma, while UNHCR has been able to meet the first goal, it has been hobbled, through a combination of financial constraints and a limited, minimum standards approach, in its ability to meet the second and third objectives.

94. We return to our original question: in a protracted refugee situation, how does UNHCR prioritize refugee needs, and activate an appropriate response to meeting them? This report has examined the issue of minimum standards versus essential needs, and suggests that the latter is a more apposite measure to use in preparing a response to a refugee situation. Essential needs being wide-ranging, and subject to variation amongst groups and individuals, it is necessary for UNHCR to develop a comprehensive and forceful vision that realistically analyses the situation, and then presents a variegated, flexible and inclusive plan of action.

95. UNHCR must consider developing for situations such as Kakuma both an ideal budget and an ideal vision. The two may appear too expensive, and beyond UNHCR's mandate and control. But UNHCR is the agency mandated to provide international protection to *all* refugees, be they in emergencies or protracted situations. It should be recognized that the implementation of such a budget and vision will, initially, be aspirational. But through clearly stating needs, highlighting responsibility gaps and convincing other actors of their interest in the situation, it can serve as a powerful tool for advocating and eventually realizing the fulfilment of refugee futures.

⁵⁶ Ethiopian refugee community, 17 February 2000.

96. What are the objectives of a UNHCR response to refugees? By mandate, UNHCR must provide refugees with international protection, and work towards permanent solutions to their plight. These responsibilities are global, and guide the organization's work in Kakuma as in Kosovo. There is, however, a risk that in stating the objectives thus, without elaboration, the dynamism of a possible response is lost. Protection may seem assured (*refoulement* is not occurring) and solutions distant. In UNHCR programme terminology, caseloads in this situation are provided with 'care and maintenance'.

97. This paper suggests that UNHCR objectives in such cases be restated so as to focus on meeting essential refugee needs. These needs include, in the first instance, protection, and, ultimately, durable solutions. By classifying these as essential needs – an expansive term – UNHCR avails itself of a dynamic analytical tool. Refugee needs are seen in the context of general human needs – essentially, that of being able to lead a life with dignity, and to exercise one's capabilities to the fullest extent. Protection is needed to staunch the initial wound resulting from the rupture between a citizen and his or her state, while durable solutions are the decisive step in enabling the restoration of a life with dignity. In the interim, refugees need more than mere care and maintenance (of what?).

98. Until a refugee becomes fully assimilated into and protected by a state – his or her own, or a new national community – he or she is unable to enjoy all the rights that accrue to citizens of a state. Nonetheless, the refugee's need for a life with dignity remains, as do many of the elements that comprise a 'normal' existence.

99. Taking into account the liminal, but hardly short term, situation of refugees in a Kakuma-type situation, UNHCR, in effecting an appropriate response, must both let go – give more responsibility to the community; and tighten the rein – develop a comprehensive plan. Such a response should be visionary, variegated and refugee-oriented, i.e., it must be comprehensive and inclusive, customized to respond to different needs, and be focused on the best interests of the refugees.

A vision

100. How should Kakuma evolve, and who is responsible for ensuring that it does so in an appropriate manner? At present in Kakuma, as in many other long-term refugee camps world-wide, UNHCR operates a care and maintenance programme that, in addition to being intrinsically static, is further hobbled by prioritization pressures. The modus operandi is reactive and geared towards preserving minimum standards in the face of eroding resources. Pressures emanating from Geneva and donor capitals hit UNHCR in Kenya, which in turn cuts back on funding for locally based implementing partners, which, of course, ultimately affects the refugees.

101. Rather than tread through this diffuse and debilitating system, UNHCR should put the onus back with the relevant states – donors, host and countries of origin – who are ultimately responsible for the refugees. If it develops the above-mentioned full budget for an 'ideal' refugee programme, then at least the full picture of needs for and responses to Kakuma could be viewed holistically and, with concerted follow-up, even met.

102. In view of its refugee protection mandate, UNHCR should be the agency responsible for elaborating a draft vision. However, after this initial step, all concerned entities should work on subsequent drafts in order to ensure ownership and comprehensiveness. This would be in line with recent UNHCR senior management recognition of the importance of the 'donor-supported trend towards specialization in the international humanitarian sector.'⁵⁷

103. Other linkages should be established with development agencies, in particular UNDP. The private sector is another arena to venture into. It is clear from the evidence of trade in the camps, and the extensive barter that occurs after food distributions, that some needs are being met through the market. Instead of ignoring or even discouraging this, UNHCR should look into ways of enhancing these activities. The area of interest convergence between refugees and local populations, dealt with above, also forms part of this sector.

104. Significantly, the articulation of a vision, with its elements of segmented population and outside linkages, would allow stakeholders, actual and potential, to see the whole picture, and to buy into it. A whole process of self-censorship occurs before budgets are presented to donors. These budgets are then seen to be timid and perhaps worthy of further cuts. Part of the problem is that UNHCR is not *seen* to be working dynamically in favour of the refugees. Much good work is being done in the camps, but by the time donors read about it, it is either lost, or appears ad hoc and uninteresting. A cogent vision would enable the product – a comprehensive refugee programme – to be 'sold' more effectively.

The segmented, targeted approach

105. Refugee settlements are diverse places. Kakuma, with its mix of nationalities, may be exceptional, but all camps comprise different groups of people with assorted needs and abilities, and who might wish for different outcomes. In an emergency, it may be necessary to look at the population as a bloc, and apply a quantity management approach.⁵⁸ Nine years on, it is more efficient to segment the population. In so doing, UNHCR can identify specific needs, and work efficiently towards them.

106. For example, the issue of resettlement preoccupies much of the camp population. In the absence of other solutions, it seems that the burning desire of 80,000 persons is to move to Miami or Toronto. Given the lure of resettlement, and the limited number of places on offer, UNHCR officials tend to harbour negative feelings towards resettlement. As a result, fewer people are sent for resettlement

⁵⁷ UNHCR, 'Report of the Senior Management retreat on emergency management, Chavanne-de-Bogis, 15-16 February 2000.'

⁵⁸ Even in emergencies, however, UNHCR recognizes the importance of understanding diversity in a refugee population. The *Handbook for Emergencies*, citing a widely disseminated 'People-Oriented Planning' principle, advises: '[to] plan and manage an emergency response effectively, the social and economic roles of refugee women, men and children must be properly analyzed and understood to see how these roles will affect and be affected by planned activities.' (7)

than there are places on offer, to the dissatisfaction of both the resettlement countries and the refugees.

107. What UNHCR should do in such a situation is to clearly identify segments of the population for whom resettlement is a viable option, and then swiftly process them. This is finally being done with Sudanese unaccompanied minors and Somali Bantus (in Dadaab) – groups recognized as being in need of resettlement.

108. Other groups may have other needs. Some Somalis, for example, may be able to repatriate. Efforts assisting them to do so are under way; these should both be accelerated, and given wider publicity. The current, small-scale cross-border programme provides a means of pursuing this goal. Recent moves in the direction of having a cross-border operation for Sudanese refugees could help for those specific groups for whom repatriation is an option. At present, a number of refugees trained in the camps do make their way back home, usually with humanitarian agencies working in their home regions.

109. Some segmentation may be on a smaller scale. At present, small groups of refugees are able to benefit, on an ad hoc basis, from various opportunities in the cultural sector – artists travel to South Africa, for example, or football players join Kenyan leagues. Pursuing this avenue more vigorously would benefit refugees, and also help in preparing them for life beyond the camp.

110. If UNHCR is demonstrably able to segment the population and begin targeting the different groups, it has something to show; i.e., it can clearly show stakeholders that there are certain groups in the camp who can benefit from solutions, and that UNHCR is doing its utmost to ensure that they do.

111. Segmentation is not all hopeful; in Kakuma, there are still new arrivals coming in, and these groups, too, must be protected and assisted, perhaps by means of a more traditional UNHCR emergency response.

Rebuilding communities and enabling human capacities to develop

112. Rebuilding communities attempts to account for essential refugee needs in the short-term. It concentrates on the present by making life more pleasant in the camp, and on the future by providing refugees with the skills, frame of mind and perhaps organizational groupings to enable them to fully and rapidly make the most of an eventual durable solution.

113. This approach is already in place – sometimes implicitly, and in the face of funding shortages and little support. A dedicated cadre of staff from the various agencies working in the camps recognizes the utility of this approach. A multi-tiered system of refugee self-governance is already in place, to generally positive effect. This should be pursued further, with a view to both enabling refugees to assume more control over their fates, and allowing UNHCR to run the programme more efficiently and with fewer resources.

114. One avenue worth exploring would be the greater use of municipal management techniques. This paper contends that in some domains UNHCR must let go. It should not micro-manage the camp; instead, it would benefit from seeking urban planning expertise in order to bring about a situation in which the refugees

themselves assume as much responsibility as they realistically can over the running of the camp. In those areas where skills are lacking, training schemes could be established with a view to forming a skilled refugee cadre, equipped with talents that would also serve them well upon the attainment of a durable solution.

115. Other elements involved in rebuilding communities include some activities that are already in place, and should be expanded: education (including post-primary), income generation activities, sports and the arts.

116. Any initiatives in the domain must be tempered by the reality of the situation, i.e., the limits of such an approach, and impossibility of anything more than limited self-management and economic independence, must be acknowledged.

117. Enabling the development of human capacities entails essentially a time-elastic human rights approach. All human beings, refugees included, are entitled to certain basic human rights. At any given moment, prevailing conditions will prevent many of these rights from being met. Ultimately, refugees need a durable solution in order for them to fully begin to lead fulfilling lives in which their human rights are guaranteed. UNHCR recognizes this, and makes reference to durable solutions in any significant policy statement, as it must in the elaboration of any future vision.

118. Focusing on the development of human capacities enables a certain dynamism in programming. A durable solution may be out of reach, but human capacities can be worked upon at any point. Thus a programme for a protracted refugee situation could concentrate on developing refugee communities and the individuals that comprise them, both for their current well-being, and in preparation for a future durable solution.

MINIMUM STANDARDS AND ESSENTIAL NEEDS

Annex 1

Kakuma camp, Kenya: Basic facts⁵⁹

Kakuma camp was founded in July 1992 in response to the entry into Kenya of some 23,000 Sudanese refugees, of whom around 13,000 were unaccompanied boys. It has since grown in size and diversity, and currently hosts in three locations some 65,000 refugees originating from nine different countries (around two thirds are Sudanese; other large groups include refugee from Somalia and Ethiopia) and affiliated to around 18 major ethnic groups. The three sites are located in Turkana district, in the northwestern Rift Valley Province.

Assistance

Owing to the harsh environment and tight restrictions on refugee movement and employment, the population at Kakuma camp is almost entirely dependent upon outside assistance, which is provided principally by the UN and some international and Kenyan NGOs.

Food: WFP attempts to provide 2,100 kcal/person/day. Distributions are effected twice monthly. WFP estimated net food needs in 2000 for refugees in Kenya stood at \$ 5.5 million..

Shelter: New refugees are provided with plastic sheeting and wooden poles for use as shelter. Degradation caused by sunlight and termites necessitates frequent replacement of these items. A mud brick shelter project is being piloted. The camp has approximately 25,700 shelters, which cover some 308,000 m².

Water and sanitation: There are 300 water points and 513 water taps. Approximate daily water output per point is 5,050 litres. There are 4,500 latrines.

Health: There is one hospital and five health posts.

Education: Some 19,000 children receiving some form education in one of Kakuma's 22 schools. Only 28 per cent of those enrolled are female.

⁵⁹ Sources: UNHCR, Kakuma refugee camp: Camp profile; Sub-Office Kakuma Report on 1999 Operations; WFP, Status of 2000 food aid needs and shortfalls (relief operations); UNHCR, Letter of Instruction 'Care and maintenance Assistance to Sudanese and Ethiopian refugee in Kakuma, Kenya' (10 January 2000).

Humanitarian actors

Government of Kenya: Ensures the physical safety and security of refugees and provides land for their settlement. The provincial authorities, with UNHCR support, provide additional security personnel.

UNHCR: Coordinates protection and assistance efforts, in collaboration with government of Kenya, UN agencies and others. While most projects are undertaken by UNHCR implementing partners, certain activities, such as flight services, refugee transportation and medical evacuations are directly implemented by UNHCR. There are 20 UNHCR staff (4 international, 13 national and 3 UN Volunteers).

World Food Programme: Supplies and transports all basic food commodities to the extended delivery point, as per the global UNHCR/WFP memorandum of understanding.

Lutheran World Federation: Implements camp management activities, including food distribution, storage and distribution of non-food items, lorry management, education, shelter, water and sanitation, and community services.

International Rescue Committee: Manages health/nutrition services and implements programmes for the disabled.

National Council of Churches of Kenya: Reproductive health care programmes.

Netherlands Olympic Committee: Implements sports programmes.

Don Bosco: Vocational training.

Jesuit Refugee Services: Counselling, alternative healing and income generation.

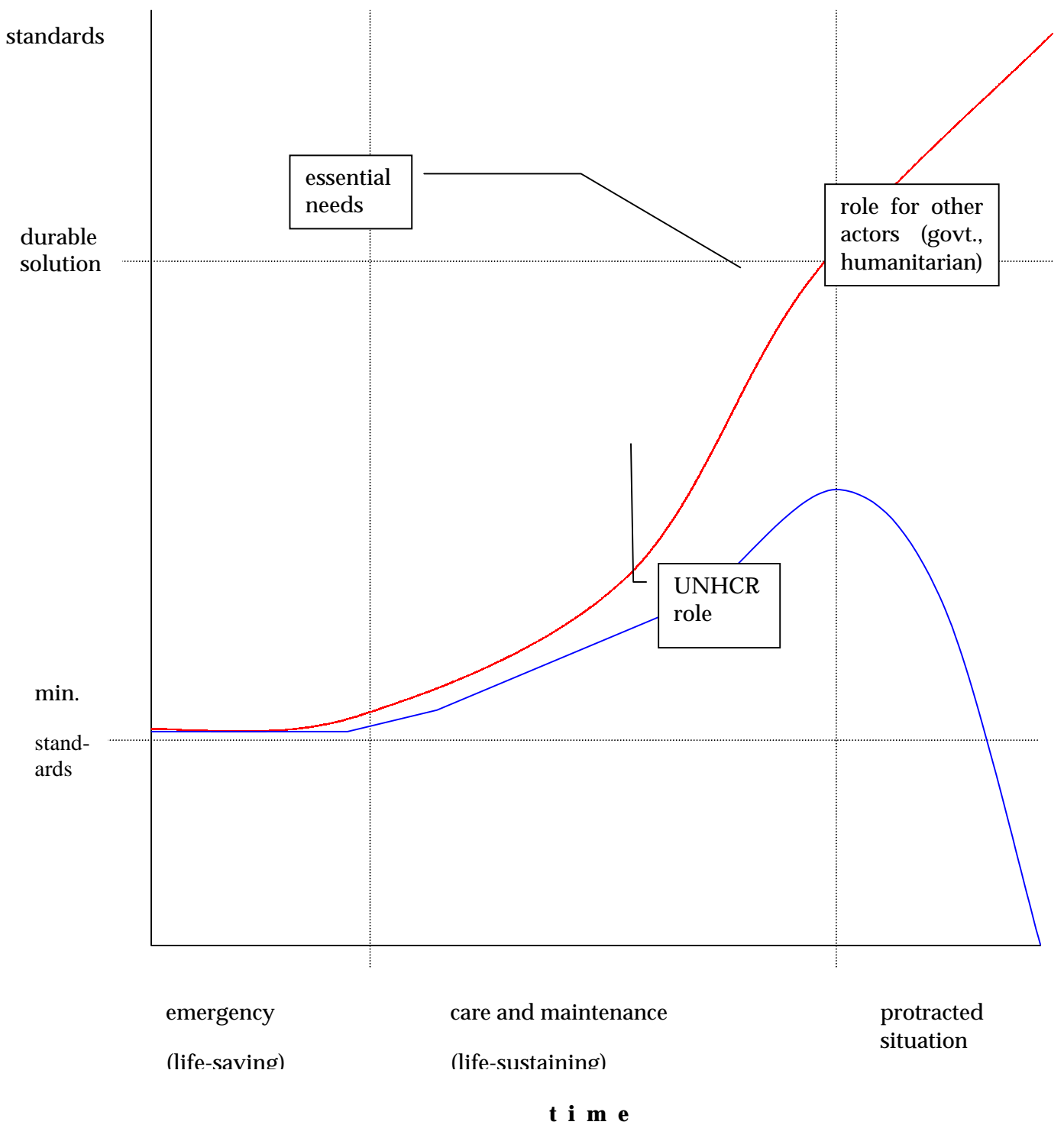
Kenya Red Cross: Tracing and family reunification.

Solar Cookers International: Promotion of the use of solar cookers.

Kenya Girl Guides: Promotion of guiding/scouting activities, and distribution of charitable donations.

Annex 2

Illustration 2: Essential needs over time: an idealized representation



This graph illustrates increasing essential needs in relation to time, and with regard to UNHCR's role. In the emergency phase, minimum standards and essential needs are congruent. Once life conditions have been stabilized, however, other needs, such as those involving freedom of movement, education and livelihoods, rise to prominence. If UNHCR limits its focus to meeting minimum standards, it will be missing a swathe of refugee needs. Its role is thus shown to increase, but it is also recognized that during this period UNHCR alone will not be able to respond to all essential needs, and other actors need to step in. At a certain point, essential needs reach a point where they cannot be met in the absence of a durable solution. If none is forthcoming, this graph suggests that the situation can be termed a 'protracted refugee situation.'

This graph is, of course, merely a schematic visual aid. It does not represent the evolution of all refugee situations, and it overstates UNHCR's importance by not recognizing the roles played by refugee coping mechanisms and local populations in meeting refugee needs.

Annex 3

Persons consulted

This evaluation has benefited from the insights of a wide range of persons, in the form of oral interviews and written comments. Many individuals helped with the evaluation; those who extended exceptional assistance – in the form of interviews and written comments – are listed below. Their time and efforts are acknowledged with gratitude.

Kakuma

Refugee representatives: in addition to numerous one-on-one meeting, the evaluation met held group interviews with Sudanese, Somali and Ethiopian refugee representatives.

National representatives: the evaluation met with the Kakuma District Officer, the Nadupan Turkana paramount chief, as well as Turkana groups from Kakuma/Nadupan.

UNHCR: Saber Azam, Julianne Duncan, Yasin Hamid, Grace Ngenye, Margaret Ogol, Modey Veronica.

Ben Atube (IRC), Bonaventure Barasa (NCCK), Ibrahim Hatibu (IRC), Marit Hernaes (NPA), Stephen Keverenge (IRC), Moniek Leoffen (NOC), Kamene Mutambuki (LWF), Chidi Ogbonna (WFP), Joel Onyango (LWF), Dorothy Pilkington (LWF), Armin Pressman (Don Boscoe), Joyce Riunau (NCCK), Siyad Samatar (GTZ), Dr Wahome (IRC), Joseph Witya (IRC), Jenty Wood (IRC).

Nairobi

UNHCR: Kwame Boafo, Max Funa, Tsehaye Jacob, Robert Kuenstle, Milicent Mutuli, Pia Phiri, Shelly Pitterman, Daniel Tshitungi, Roger Vivarie, Ahmed Warsame, Joanna Wedge.

Shariffa Keshavjee (Girl Guides Kenya), James McAnulty (US Embassy).

Geneva/elsewhere

UNHCR: Amelia Bonifacio, Jeff Crisp, Khassim Diagne, Yacoub El-Hillo, Michel Gabaudan, Aida Haile-Mariam, Kyaw Z. Hla, Suzanne Kindler-Adam, Javier Lopez-Cifuentes, Sajjad Malik, Ilunga Ngandu, Henrik Nordentoft, Alain Peters, Karl Steinacker, Chris Talbot, Greg Wangerin.

Nan Buzard (Sphere), Barbara Harell-Bond (American University Cairo), Shalini Mehan.

Lokichokio

Carl Howarth (OLS/Unicef), Frances Keri (UNHCR), John Noble (OLS/Unicef).

Lodwar

Peter Mooke (District Commissioner, Turkana District)

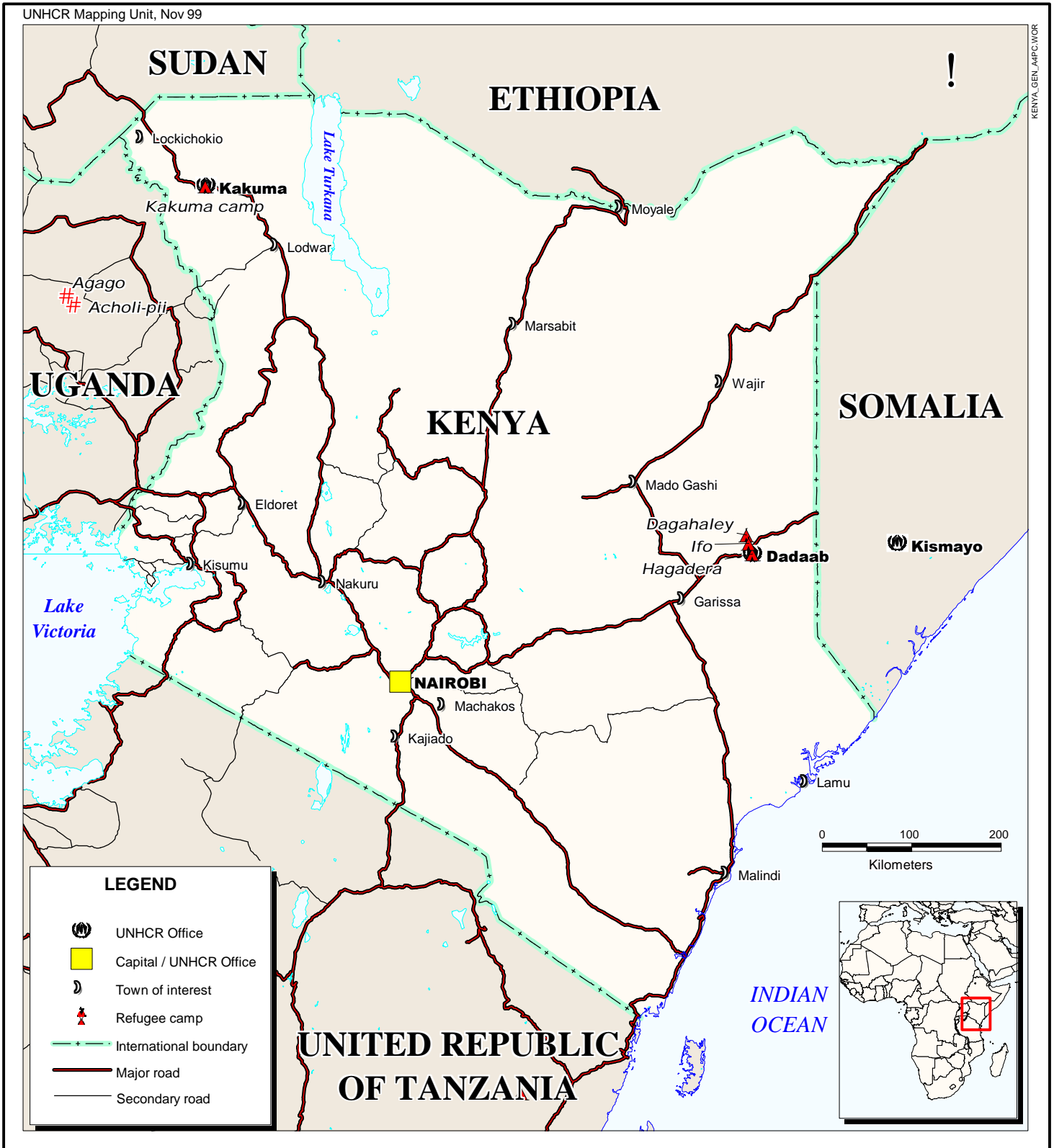
Dadaab

Refugees: Sheikh Mohamed, Sheikh Yusuf, Simon

UNHCR: W. Collins Asare, Kazuhiro Kaneko, Shana Kaninda.

Günter Boussey (MSF Belgium), Syphrines Olilia (CARE Kenya).

KENYA, GENERAL MAP



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