

# **IS HOPE THE LAST TO DIE?**

## **Research Study On The Situational Analysis In The Dadaab Refugee Camps**

© Ana Ljubinkovic

*This research is dedicated to  
The Somali people in the Dadaab Refugee Camps*

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Somali refugees have been staying in Daadab refugee camps for last 12 years following the outbreak of the civil war in Somalia in 1991 when President Syad Barre was overthrown. While over 100.000 Somali refugees are residing at the camps, the Somali peace process has been ongoing for the last two years here in Kenya between the representatives of the different warring factions. The immediate outcome of the peace process was the development of Transitional Federal Government. However, shortly after formation the Government split into two sections currently residing in Jowhar and in Mogadishu. Although the cleavage is officially linked to the disagreement regarding the location of the capital city, it is gradually becoming apparent that the cleavage is rather associated with the intricate and obscure interests of the two sections of the Government.

At present, Somalis in Daadab are, once again, in a difficult position. On one hand, they are eager to end their over-prolonged stay in the refugee camps and they are conscious that the donors' interest in the Dadaab refugee camps is decreasing year after year. On the other hand, news from the home country are indicating that peace is still far away and that fighting continues in several regions of Southern Somalia. In the context of this complex situation, it is important to find out plans that Somali refugees are making their future and discover their attitudes towards eventual voluntary repatriation to their homeland. Special focus of this study is on women, youth and elderly and on the differences in attitudes between these three groups.

## INTRODUCTION

### ABOUT CARE KENYA

CARE Kenya, a UNHCR's main implementing partner in refugee programs in the Dadaab refugee camps of North Eastern Kenya has been in operation from 1991. The UNHCR registered refugee population is 132,944<sup>1</sup> with the Somali refugees being the predominant nationality with a population of about 97%. The other 3% of these comprise of the Sudanese, Ugandans, Ethiopians, Eritreans, Tanzanians, Rwandans, Congolese and the Burundians. Other implementing partners are GTZ/BMZ, UNHCR partnering cooperation, WFP, NCCCK, MOH, Handicap International and the Government of Kenya.

For the past 12 years CARE Kenya's Refugee Project main activities have been focussing on the provision of Water, Education, Community Services, Food, Micro Finance and assistance to the host community. Other support services under CARE are, Administration, Mechanical service unit, Procurement, Human resources, Security, finance and the MIS.

CARE Kenya is part of CARE Canada, which in turn is one of the 10 National Members of CARE International. CARE International has a presence in over 60 countries, which enables CARE Kenya to be part of the global development force.

Working in close collaboration with partner organizations, the Government and the private sector, CARE Kenya currently incorporates our mission which is to reduce poverty at household levels and to provide relief in emergencies into action. Currently, it has established four sectoral priorities, namely HIV/AIDS; Civil society engagement; Commercialization of smallholder agriculture and Disaster relief and mitigation.

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<sup>1</sup> UNHCR 31<sup>st</sup> August 2005

### CARE VISION

We seek a world of hope, tolerance and social justice, where poverty has been overcome and people live in dignity and security.

CARE International will be a global force and a partner of choice within a worldwide movement dedicated to ending poverty.

### MISSION AND CORE VALUES

Within the CARE International system, CARE Kenya reports to CARE Canada. Over the last 34 years, CARE Kenya has provided humanitarian and development assistance to numerous Kenyan communities. Working in close collaboration with partner organizations and the Government. Our mission is to serve individuals and families in the poorest communities, facilitating lasting change by:

- Strengthening capacity for self-help,
- Providing economic opportunity,
- Delivering relief in emergencies,
- Influencing policy decisions at all levels, and
- Addressing discrimination in all its forms.

Over the last 34 years, CARE Kenya has provided humanitarian and development assistance to numerous Kenyan communities. Our core values are justice, excellence, commitment and respect. See the program overviews section for more information.

## PROBLEM STATEMENT

The Somali refugees have been staying in Daadab refugee camps for last 12 years following the outbreak of the civil war in Somalia in 1991 when President Syad Barre was overthrown. While over 100.000 Somali refugees are residing at the camps, the Somali peace process has been ongoing for the last two years here in Kenya between the representatives of the different warring factions; headed by IGAD, International organisations like the United Nations and the Government of Kenya representatives seconded from the refugee secretariat and the Ministry of Home affairs. The immediate outcome of the peace process was the development of a Transitional Federal Constitution Charter, which was adopted and recognized by all delegates. From this charter, the President of Somalia and the Prime Minister were elected. Likewise members of parliament were elected representing the five major clans of the Somali people (Daarood, Isaaq, Hawiye, Dir and others who represent the minority clans).

It is from this basis that the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia was formed. After operating in Kenya for few months the newborn Governemnt split into two sections. One section of the government, known as “Mogadishu section”, relocated to Mogadishu while the other section, including the President Abdullahi Yussuf, regarded the capital as unsafe and decided to relocate to Johwar only recently. Although negotiations between the President and the members of parliament are still in process it is gradually becoming apparent that the cleavage between the two section of the Government is due to intricate and obscure interests rather than representing a mere disagreement regarding the location of the capital.

At present, Somalis in Daadab are, once again, in a difficult position. On one hand, they are eager to end their over-prolonged stay in the refugee camps and they are conscious that the donors’ interest in the Dadaab refugee camps is decreasing year after year. On the other hand, news from the home country are indicating that peace is still far away and

that fighting continues in several regions of Southern Somalia. In the context of this complex situation, it is important to find out plans that Somali refugees are making their future and discover their attitudes towards eventual voluntary repatriation to their homeland. It is from this standpoint that the research will be carried out to get the perception of the Somali refugees in Dadaab.

## OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

The objectives of the study are based on two different sources. The first source is TOR prepared by PDU office in DMO. The second set of objectives is a result of discussion between the CARE Kenya's Refugee Project Senior Program Manager and myself held in Nairobi Office prior to the field research.

### TOR OBJECTIVES

The main purpose of this study will be to establish perceptions of the Somali community, especially women, youth and elderly, on the peace process taking into consideration the following:

- Global trends on the peace process and the current thinking of refugees on this situation.
- Durable solutions in relation to the donor interests for the people of Somalia
- The establishment of the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia currently in operation
- The role of the Government of Kenya on the refugee situation and its stand on the refugee bill

### FURTHER OBJECTIVES

- Collect information regarding the education/skills that different parts of the Somali community have
- Capture and analyze attitudes and feelings of the Somali community towards their future both in terms of the acceptable destination and in terms of the future activity
- Individuate the differences between the attitudes expressed by different classes and subclasses of the interviewees and attempt to unfold the reasons behind such differences.

## METHODOLOGY OF STUDY

This study was conducted in all of the three Dadaab refugee camps, namely Ifo, Hagadera and Dagahaley. Total amount of time spent in the research was eighteen days, excluding travel to and from Kenya.<sup>2</sup> Two days were spent in CARE Offices in Nairobi in discussing the research framework and TOR and developing the research questions. Field research in Dadaab refugee camps lasted 10 days: 4 days in Ifo camp, 4 days in Hagadera camp and 2 days in Dagahaley camp. In the course of the field research 77 people were interviewed, 25 of them were women, 25 were youth and 27 were elderly. In the context of this research, the three groups were not regarded as homogeneous but rather presenting potential internal split-ups and variations. Women, for instance were subdivided in single, married, educated, illiterate, those having an IGA and those entirely dependent on food rations. Similarly, youth were subdivided in the Standard 8 dropouts, form 4 leavers and those who never attended formal education. The subgroups of the Elderly were: educated and not educated. Once the data were collected in the field according to such classification and sub-classification of the interviewees, the report was compiled in the DMO office and the findings were shared and discussed with the Senior Manager in CARE Offices in Nairobi.

In synchrony with the research subject which focuses mainly on the feelings, attitudes and thoughts of the Somali people towards their future and in accordance with the agreement stipulated between CARE Kenya and myself, the investigating method was multidimensional and flexible rather than rigid and predetermined. The main techniques included in-depth and standard unstructured interviews, life stories, participant observation, informal conversation and spending time with people. Attention was also given to interviewees' body language and non-verbal communication.

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<sup>2</sup> For a detailed timetable see Appendix 1

In all of the Dadaab camps CDWs and the ‘Somali links’ contacted the members of the relevant groups - Women, Youth and Elderly - prior to the researcher’s arrival and assured their availability for the interview on the pre-established days. Upon the researcher’s arrival, short introductory meetings were held at the beginning of each day with the members of relevant interviewee groups. After an introductory group meeting, interviews were held on a rigorously individual basis with the aim of diminishing cross influence of the opinions expressed and assuring the confidentiality within the refugee community.

However, about half of the interviewees were not those planned and invited by the CDWs and the ‘Somali links’. In several cases the turn up of the interviewees was below the planned number and it was therefore necessary to find additional interviewees in the blocks, among the people at the market or among the patients waiting for the medical attention in the GTZ compound. Additionally, some of the interviewees were the members of the community who had heard about the research by the word of mouth - “afka khadal” – and volunteered to be interviewed.

Most of the interviews were conducted with the help of interpreter except in the cases of educated youth who are fluent in English. During the interviews, the researcher was taking detailed notes both about verbal content of the interviews and about non-verbal communication. Due to the time limit imposed to this research, notes were preferred since tape-recording requires a lengthy process of transcription and translation of the audio material. It is therefore important to note that wherever the direct speech of the interviewees is quoted in the Findings sections of the research, the quotation reflects the interpreter’s translation of the interviewee’s speech.

## STUDY FINDINGS

When subject of a study comprises human beings, their feelings, thoughts and attitudes, the process of classification and structuring of the findings becomes rather difficult. Every individual and every aspect of his or her inner world is a universe in itself and even the most accurate presentation of the data is destined to leave certain portion of the subjective reality out of the domain of cross-individual understanding. Bearing this in mind, every attempt will be made in the context of this study to take into consideration even the most subtle and delicate indicators of interviewees' emotional states and mental structures relevant to the objectives of the study. These include body language, changes in tone and color of the voice, face expressions, pauses in speech and absences of answers as much as the answers provided.

Since one of the main aims of this research is to capture and analyze the differences between the attitudes of women, youth and elderly towards their future destination and activity, the interviewees and their responses are structured according to these three groups. Furthermore, each group is subdivided in different categories according to different features that are expected to influence individual's attitudes towards the future.

The category of Women is subdivided in six sub-groups: married women with IGA, married women without IGA, single mothers with IGA, single mothers without IGA, disabled women and women with professional skills. It is hypothesised that women with IGA are more initiative enterprising compared to women without an IGA. Similarly, it is hypothesised that married women are more likely to follow the decisions of their husbands while single mothers can more freely construct their decisions. It was also of particular importance to discover the attitudes of women with professional skills as they could greatly contribute to the future of Somalia in case they wanted to return. Finally,

the views of the disabled women were taken into consideration in order to discover future coping strategies of the most vulnerable segment of women as a group.

The sub-sectors of Youth are five: youth who completed secondary education, youth who have never been to school, youth from ELP, youth with vocational training and disabled youths. In case of Youth, the sub-classification criterion is mainly linked to the level and type of education as it is hypothesized that the education represent one of the main determinants of their plans for future. All the sub-sectors were planned to be gender balanced.

Finally, the group of Elderly is subdivided in five educated elderly, uneducated elderly, elderly who had income generating activity before coming to Dadaab, elderly who never had income generating activity and disabled elderly. Although elderly people are not likely to initiate new enterprises in the future, it can still be hypothesized that their level of education and past working career can influence their perceptions and attitudes towards the future. As in the case of Youth, all sub-groups were planned to be gender balanced.

One particular dimension of the investigation crosscuts the two older groups of the interviewees, women and elderly. This dimension is linked to the occurrence of trauma in Somalia at any point during the war prior to the arrival to Dadaab refugee camps. The hypothesis is that the presence of traumatic event deeply affects individual's attitudes towards his or her future both in terms of the further location and in terms of future activity as well as shapes individual's views of Somalia's future.

The next section of this chapter presents 9 tables in which the data collected in the field are summarised and classified according to the camp, group, subgroup and the attitudes towards the future. Presentation of the tables is followed by more detailed discussion and analysis of the findings.

TABLES OF FINDINGS

## WOMEN

**Ifo Camp**

<b>Name and Age</b>	<b>Socio-demographic attributes</b>	<b>Trauma in Somalia</b>	<b>Skills/ Education</b>	<b>Plans for future activity</b>	<b>Acceptable Destination</b>
Anab Abdi Bare Age: 38	Disabled + Leukemia	Not mentioned	Previously shop keeper in Somalia	Doesn't know	Anywhere incl. Somalia if peaceful
Zeinab Mohamud Duale Age: 26	Widow, 3 children (one from rape) Psych. prblms	Husband killed and she was raped	Shop keeping which she learnt from husband	Education or Shopkeeper or tailoring	Anywhere except Somalia
Fatuma Farah Age: 50	Mentally disabled daughter	Not mentioned	Collecting firewood, making mats and small business	Doesn't know	Anywhere but as a refugee she cannot decide
Nurto Yussuf Age: 25	Divorced, 1 daughter + 4 sister's children	Sister killed	Selling vegetables	To educate all the children	Never and never she will go to Somalia
Muslumo Abdi Age: 30	Married, 7 children	Not mentioned	Farming	Farming	Somalia if peaceful
Habso Suleiman Age: 30	Divorced	Father and brothers killed	None	Start education	Anywhere except Somalia
Lul Mohamed Iman Age: 30	Single mother, 1 child from rape	Father killed, problems with step-father	Selling vegetables, cooking, washing clothes	Study English if possible	Peaceful country except Somalia
Sahra Abdi Ali Age: 33	Divorced, 5 children	Raped in Somalia	Selling veg. Tea shop	She would start business	Anywhere except Somalia
Deko Age: 40	Married, 5 children	Raped, her mother killed, looted	Anti-FGC & human rights advocacy, mats, cooking	Introduce Somali food in America	America

Rukiyo Hassan Age: 40	Married, 5 children, security problem	Not mentioned	Teaching tailoring, awareness campaigns	Work in NGO's and teach tailoring	Somalia if peaceful
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### Hagadera Camp

Name and age	Socio-demographic attributes	Trauma in Somalia	Skills/ Education	Plans for future activity	Acceptable Destination
Shakoran Hassan Noor, 30	Married, 3 children	Not mentioned	Housework	No skills but could do business or farming	Somalia if peaceful
Hawo Mohammed Gorad, 27	Married, 5 children	House destroyed by bomb	Standard 5	Fetches water and sells it to wealthier refugees	Neither Somalia nor Kenya
Amino Ibrahim Hafow, 22	Divorced, 2 children	Not mentioned	Standard 2, sells veg. at the market	Tailoring course	Somalia if peaceful
Ahado Barise Emoy, 45	Widow, 6 children	Husband and mother were killed	Business, tea and sambusa shop keeper	To attend courses for gaining skills	Neither Somalia nor Kenya
Fatumo Nune Abdi, 37	Divorced, 2 children	Property looted	Housework	Children will work for her	Neither Somalia nor Kenya
Adey Iman Aden, 28	Widow, 1 child	Not mentioned	Tailoring + started adult literacy course	Teach tailoring	Better place
Khadijo Gudle, 40	Divorced, 6 children	2 sons, 1 daughter killed by UNOSOM fire	Adult literacy, anti FGC, HIV course	Children will get education and work for her	Neither Somalia nor Kenya
Asli Abdi Mohamed, 50	Divorced, 8 children	Not mentioned	Housework	Desperate to get any job in the camps!	Any better place
Dahir, Abdi, Rassin, ?	Widow	Mother in Somalia poisoned by militia, husband killed	Started tailoring and now adult literacy	Continue tailoring course	She will never go back to Somalia

Maryan Digale Isak, 40	Widow, 1 child	Husband and children killed	Housework, now sells sugar at the market	To get education	Doesn't want to even remember Somalia
Amina Shide Gabow, 28	Widow, 5 children	Herself wounded, husband killed, two children dispersed	Standard 4, housework	To bring up the 3 children	Not Somalia
Amina Hashi Diri, 28	Widow, 3 children	Mother and father killed by bomb	Standard 7, in Somalia working in Water Ministry	Has health problems and cannot do anything	Somalia only if complete peace

### Dagahaley Camp

Name and age	Socio-demographic attributes	Trauma in Somalia	Skills/ Education	Plans for future activity	Acceptable Destination
Anab Abdi Ibrahim, 40	Divorced, 4 children	Herself raped, husband and brother killed	GTZ trained midwife but works as GTZ cleaner due to lack of funds	Wants to work as midwife	Not Somalia; Kenya if she can work as midwife
Asho Awil Mohammed, 25	Divorced, 2 children	Not mentioned	Standard 3	Doctor	Somalia
Maryan Ali Shire, 36	Married, 36 children	Not mentioned	Standard 8 + many trainings in DDB, now works in CDS	Continue working for the community in Somalia	Somalia if peaceful

YOUTH**Ifo Camp**

<b>Name, Age and Sex</b>	<b>Skills/ Education</b>	<b>Present occupation</b>	<b>Plans for future activity</b>	<b>Acceptable Destination</b>
Ahmed Sheikh, 18, male	Form 4, peace education, counseling training, teacher, interpret.	Teacher in upper primary	University degree	Somalia if peaceful
Zeinab Yussuf Hassan, 18, female	Standard 8, typing course	Studying typing	Typist	Somalia if peaceful
Muhadin Abdi Saney, 25, male	Standard 8, tailoring course	Quran teacher in camps	Pilot	Somalia if peaceful
Nado Hassan Hussein, 21, female	None, busy with sister's children	Looking after sister's children	Studying	Anywhere except Somalia (father killed)
Hassanweli, 25, single	Primary school, metal welding and molding	Working in garage run by refugees	Gain more skills, become engineer	Somalia if peaceful
Fatuma Abdi Abib, 19, female	None	Weighting flour at the market	Study	Anywhere except Somalia (parents killed)
Mohamed Salat Mursal, 23, male	Secondary school, second best student	Teacher, chosen to study in Canada but haven't passed medical examination	Study in Canada	Canada
Abdikani Abdiahmed, 23, male	Primary school, mechanic course	None	Become a full mechanic	Any where incl. Somalia but only if full peace prevails

**Hagadera Camp**

<b>Name, Age and Sex</b>	<b>Skills/ Education</b>	<b>Present occupation</b>	<b>Plans for future activity</b>	<b>Acceptable Destination</b>
Limy Mohamed Ibrahim, 19, f	Standard 4,	Attending tailoring course	Finish tailoring course and study more about tailoring	Somalia if government goes back
Ilyas Ismail Jamac, 21, m	Completed standard 8, peace education medical training	Attending typing course	To get any job even utensils washer but dreams to become doctor	Somalia if peaceful (mother does not want to go back)
Maryan Ibrahim Hassan, 18, f	Standard 8, STD, HIV, and ANTI -FGC trainings	Voluntary assistant nurse at GTZ	Study more and become a doctor	Somalia if peaceful (now situation is terrible)
Khadra Abdirahman Ahmed, 19, f	Standard 8, HIV, peace education sanitation and medical training	Nurse at GTZ	Get a medical training and become a doctor	Somalia if peaceful but at present the situation is very bad.
Abdikadir Mohamed Ali, 25, m	Form 3, vocational school: typing admin and clerk, computer college	Sells items at the market, from he income paid for computer course	To develop himself, marry, get children, work in health sector and be happy	Kenya if he can work but prefers other countries
Omar Kassim Omar 23, m	Form 4, ELP, reproductive health, peace education	Somali link in CDS Hagadera	University and help develop Somalia + help his siblings	Somalia if peaceful
Abdikadar Mohamed Abdisamad 22, m	Standard 8, computer course, CD course, ELP	Micro finance assistant, CDW	Study Sociology	Somalia if peaceful

**Dagahaley Camp**

<b>Name, Age and Sex</b>	<b>Skills/ Education</b>	<b>Present occupation</b>	<b>Plans for future activity</b>	<b>Acceptable Destination</b>
Siad Mohamed Abdi, 25, m	Form 4, peace education, reproductive health, anti-FGC	None	Wants to go to university to study public relations	Not Somalia or Kenya, wants resettlement (parents killed in Somalia)
Idris Aden Jidhaye, 28 m	Standard 8,	Works for GTZ as MSG: trains people on gardening and farming	Gain more skills	Not Somalia because “man who killed my father is still in Somalia”
Felis Matal Shire, 20, f	Standard 8 and 2 years English language private school	Somali link at CDS	Continue education and help Somali community	Somalia if peaceful
Halimo Daqani, 20, f	Standard 8, breastfeeding and counseling course, NCKK	None	Become a counsellor	Would accept to go to Somalia even though father was killed there
Asha Abdi Warsame, 18, f	Housework	None	Embroidery skills	Somalia
Abdiraghe Abdukahi Ali, 21, m	Standard 8	Working with GTZ in environmental awareness	Study further and do many courses	Somalia only if it becomes completely safe place
Idilo Hassan Mohamed, 18, f	Standard 8, peace education red cross, ELP, social research course	Volunteer in Red Cross, working on tracing people	Study more and become a Doctor	Somalia if peaceful
Morgay Garane Sheikh, 23, f	Standard 8, peace education course	Works in Red Cross on tracing people	Study more and become a Doctor	Wherever UNHCR tells her to go
Salat Mohamed Salat, 26, m	Standard 8, project manag., com'ty health, computer	CDW	Pursue higher education, business administration	Somalia if there is peace
Abdilatif Sheikh Omar, 25, m	Form 4, library course	Primary school teacher	University	Not Somalia (parents killed), Kenya if he can get ID

ELDERLY**Ifo Camp**

<b>Name, age, sex</b>	<b>Education/ skills</b>	<b>Trauma in Somalia</b>	<b>Plans for future activity</b>	<b>Acceptable Destination</b>
Muhamed Yakub Hassan 52 male	Was shop keeper and live stock keeper, now small business in Ifo market	His brothers, sisters and close relatives killed	Small business	Somalia only if completely peaceful (Recently 5 relatives killed in Somalia)
Mowlid Mahad Yussuf 65 male	Farmer	Not mentioned	Doesn't have plans, just waits to see what will happen	Doesn't believe there will ever be peace in Somalia
Khadijo Amin Ali 60 female	Farmer	Refugee in Corioli for 15yrs, tortured there	To go where UNHCR is	Prefers to be a refugee in Europe
Hussein Jama Noor 60 male	Farmer and businessman	Refugee in Corioli for 16yrs, son and wife killed there	Depends only on God's wish but is tired of being a refugee	Wants to go to "another country, it can't be worse than here"
Hersi Farah Mohamed 71 male	Shopkeeper	Tortured by militia, brother killed, property looted	Manual jobs or shopkeeper	Somalia only if property returned and killers brought to justice
Muhamud Mohammed Digale, 44, male	Farmer	Militia made his arm disabled	Teach farming skills	Doesn't want to go to Somalia bcs his torturers are still there
Mahat Muhammed Aden, 45, male	Businessman and shop keeper	UNOSOM took his 9yrs old daughter away and he never saw her again	Only wishes to find his daughter	Somalia if there is Government who can help him find his daughter
Ahmed Mahdi Mohammed, 52, male	Farming and cook	11 yrs refugee in Corioli, was severely beaten there	Not sure	Not Somalia but would accept integration in Kenya
Aden Ali Abdi 50, male	Farmer, now disabled	Not mentioned	"Beggars cannot ask"	Somalia if there is peace

**Hagadera Camp**

<b>Name, age, sex</b>	<b>Education/ skills</b>	<b>Trauma in Somalia</b>	<b>Plans for future activity</b>	<b>Acceptable Destination</b>
Fatuma Mohamed Ibrahim, 50, f	Nomad and camel keeper	Relatives killed, camels looted	Rely on children	Not Somalia
Halimo Hassan Omar, 50, f	Farmer, now selling sambusa at the market	Husband killed when he opposed her rape	Develop sambusa business	To stay in the camps
Ladan Olow Abdi, 50, f	Selling vegetables	Two sons killed	Hopes nothing	Only resettlement would help
Fatuma Yerrow Salah, 70, f	Cattle keeper	Not mentioned	She is too old, daughter will provide for her	Maybe Somalia if peaceful
Maryan Omar Adan, 45, f	Tea shop and selling clothes	Brother physically and mentally disabled due to militia attack	Develop her business	Not Somalia
Ali Ahmed Abdullahi, 60, m	Shop keeper	Not mentioned	Relies on children but also shopkeeper Qur'an teacher	Somalia if peaceful
Mohamed Awal Abdi, 50, f	Nomad and farmer	Brothers and relatives were killed, property looted	Not sure	Somalia if peaceful, but very skeptical about peace
Said Abdi, Hussein, 48, m	Secondary agriculture school, farmer	Not mentioned	Secondary school teacher	Not Somalia
Duale Hassan Ali, 70, m	Farmer	Injured in an accident with UNOSOM car	Not sure	Somalia if peaceful

**Dagahaley Camp**

<b>Name, age, sex</b>	<b>Education/ skills</b>	<b>Trauma in Somalia</b>	<b>Plans for future activity</b>	<b>Acceptable Destination</b>
Abdi Aden Sahal, 70, m	Farmer and livestock keeper	Wounded by bomb while fleeing	Cannot do anything because disabled	Resettlement
Bare Muktar Abdi, 75, m	Farming and livestock keeper	Previous wife killed and 8 children dispersed		Not Somalia
Abdi Hussein Ali, 60 m	Livestock keeper			Somalia if peaceful
Mohammed Jama Korani, 50, m	Farmer	Whole family killed	Hopeless	Not Somalia
Hassan Abdi Sebtow, 45, m	Driver, carpenter, engineer	Brother killed on his farm and farm looted	Not sure	Kenya if he cannot get any third country
Aden Bashir Kabir, 45, m	Driver, now works with CARE in logistics	Sister raped, father killed	Continue similar job	Kenya
Khalif Koshin Roble, 50, m	Farmer	Elder brother, son and daughter killed	To farm	Kenya
Daud Hassan Bulle, 57, m	Farmer and shopkeeper, attended CMH seminar	Brother and son killed, property looted	Not sure	Maybe Somalia although not so happy about it
Fian Abdullahi Mohammed, 55, f	Weaving mats and other items + gender, human rights, reproductive health	Husband, mother, father killed, property looted	Continue raising awareness	Not Somalia

## WOMEN

Majority of women interviewed in the three camps arrived to Dadaab in the early nineties ('91-'94), followed by the late arrivals ('99-present) with middle time arrivals ('95-'99) representing the smallest group. This indicates that the majority of families, shocked by the outbreak of violence and initial traumatising decided to leave Somalia at the early stage of war in order to prevent further suffering. The families who decided to stay in Somali after the outbreak of war cultivated hopes in peace for several years; however, after almost a decade of war, their hopes were scattered and another wave of refugees arrives to Dadaab after 1999. Independently of the arrival date, the level of formal education among women appears to be very low. Out of 25 women who were interviewed, only one has completed Standard 8 and six of them attended primary education for few years, ranging from Standard 2 to Standard 7. The most common skill that the women reported to have is housework: cooking Somali food, washing clothes, sweeping and taking care of the children. These are the skills that women have occasion to practice and master even in the camps. Other mentioned skills like shop-keeping, tailoring, farming and selling agricultural products were mainly mastered in Somalia and then put aside after arrival to the refugee camps. However, most of the women are sure that once given the opportunity, they would be able to utilize the skills that they have never forgotten.

Despite of the certainty that the women express regarding possibility of future revival of their small-scale business and farming skills, it was very difficult to access and understand their perceptions on where and how such revival will be possible. Very often during the interviews, when questions regarding the ways and possibilities of future application of such skills were asked, women could not provide rational answers and would appear embarrassed, nervous and distressed.

### Where women see their future?

Out of 25 interviewed women, 11 would like to go to a better place including Somalia but only if full peace prevails in their country. Fourteen of the interviewed women vow that

they will *'never and never'* return to Somalia regardless of the situation there. It is very significant to note that the willingness to return to the homeland is in all cases except one directly proportional to the presence of a traumatic event in Somalia. Eleven of the interviewed women did not mention presence of a direct traumatic event in Somalia and all of them are ready to return once the peace in their home country becomes complete and stable. However, their perceptions on when this will happen vary according to different degrees of pessimism. Some of the women assert that nobody can help Somalia and that only God can bring peace. Following quotations illustrate the widespread pessimism regarding peace process in Somalia:

*- Some people in the camps listen to BBC and pass information to me. There is no peace in Somalia. Lack of peace is due to tribalism. Somalia will continue to be chaos. I don't know what could be the solution. (A. A. B.)*

*- I don't think that peace will be soon because they are always killing each other and not negotiating. (S. H. N.)*

*- If peace comes, I will go to Somalia on foot; I will not wait for UNHCR to tell me to go. But I don't think peace will come soon.*

The most optimistic answer was the following:

*- The situation in Somalia is now very bad and it will be difficult to bring peace. But if the Government is supported, then peace will come. (R. H.)*

Some women admit that although they are willing to return to Somalia if there is peace, they are no longer following news about Somalia. They explain that they are tired of following news when nothing is changing about Somalia. If peace prevails, they will anyway hear it from the people in the camps.

Thirteen of the fourteen women who reported direct traumatising in Somalia will not go back to Somalia under any circumstances. Z. M. B.'s husband for example was killed in front of her and she was raped. She became pregnant out of the rape and the child is now with her in the camps. The fact that the father of the youngest child is the killer of the father of two older children has affected her psychologically. When she asked for advice

in the counseling center, she was told that she does not have any problem and that counseling is only for mentally ill. She asserts:

*- I cannot go back to Somalia, I cannot face that country because of what happened, I cannot even face that place.*

Similarly, A. A. I. who was raped in Somalia and whose husband and brother were killed, says:

*- I cannot go back to Somalia because after sustaining all those injuries I still have that shock and fear.*

A. S. H. lost her husband and three of her children were dispersed in Somalia. She says:

*- Even if there is peace in Somalia, I cannot go there because it is a place where my husband is killed and where my children went missing.*

M. D. I. whose husband and children were killed says:

*- I don't want to go back to Somalia if there is peace, I cannot even remember Somalia. It is a place where my husband and children were killed.*

For the women who sustained trauma in Somalia, the very mentioning of repatriation evokes painful memories; they twitch their hands, tremble and discretely wipe off tears. They often feel that after narrating the tragic event the question of whether they would like to go back is improper. That is why so many times instead of answering my question they pose one to me: If the members of your family were killed somewhere, would you like to go back to that place? It is obvious that in cases of severe and unattended traumatising the victims developed strong association between the traumatic event and the place of the occurrence. This link appears to be so intense that it suggests a presence of reflexive cerebral neurological connection. Therefore, it is particularly important to address psychological health of trauma victims professionally and to avoid exposing the victims to the thoughts of repatriations at least for the time being.

Majority of the women including those ready to return to Somalia if peaceful, refuse to be integrated in Kenya. The reasons for this refusal are various:

*- My people are not in Kenya and I don't have a job here. (F. N. A.)*

*- Climate is very bad here. I cannot get used to it. (A. B. E.)*

*- I don't want to be integrated here because economic situation is not good. In a good economically prosperous country, I would be able to learn more and have a good life. (H. M. G.)*

Such answers appeared somewhat unconvincing to the researcher and the interview question was therefore changed. Only after changing the questions it emerged that majority of women actually do not understand the concept of integration in Kenya. According to their understanding, integration into Kenyan society equals being thrown out of the refugee camps without an identification card and without any means of support. And to make it worse, women do not perceive Kenya as a hospitable place: they feel that Kenya is to blame for their “imprisonment” within the borders of the refugee camps and for prohibiting them to farm around camps. Many women have also heard stories about corruptibility and harsh behavior of Kenyan police while some of the women have personally experienced problems with the police.

However, after the first couple of days the interview question was changed and instead of mentioning ‘integration into Kenyan society’, interviewees were asked whether they would accept to stay in Kenya if they were provided ID cards and means of subsistence i.e. jobs. Majority of the interviewees now agreed that it could be a possible way out of the refugee camps, however, a heavy shroud of doubt was still present. It was observable that the interviewees felt very suspicious that such proposal might be an empty promise and a trap to expel them from the Dadaab refugee camps and take the ration cards away from them.

#### How can women develop and utilize their skills in the future?

The skills of the women can be divided into 4 groups: housework/manual jobs, small-scale business, farming and advocacy/awareness work. Among the 25 interviewed women there was one who was water technician in the Water Ministry in Somalia but is no more able to work due to health problems with in abdominal area. Another interviewee is a trained midwife but works for GTZ as a cleaner due to the lack of financial resources.

Although all interviewees declare to be capable of doing housework, for 10 of them it represents the only skill. Nine of the 25 women have skills in small business such as tailoring, shop-keeping, and tea and sambusa selling. Six women attended CARE seminars and courses including adult literacy course and three of them were trained by CARE in advocacy and awareness rising. One woman was farmer in Somalia.

The most striking feature about women's attitudes towards future developments of their skills is rather unrealistic approach of some of them as opposed to total hopelessness of some others. When asked what they would like to do in the future, many women provide answers that do not match their present skills/education level. Some of the middle-aged women with no formal education said that they are planning to become medical doctors while one woman is hoping to become a pilot. It appears that women with least education/skills are having more unrealistic plans compared to women who attended some kind of formal training. Moreover, women who do not want to go back to Somalia have more unrealistic plans compared to those who are willing to return. This is explainable with the fact that without much contact with the outside world, many women have erroneous perceptions of European and North American countries while they are familiar with the situation in Somalia. Another type of incongruous planning is characteristic for the women who never attended CARE trainings. They usually justify their non-attendance with looking after children and housework. However, they express the desire to attend trainings in the future but do not explain how situation regarding children and housework will permit them to do so.

Several explanations can be advanced regarding unrealistic and incongruous plans expressed by the women. Firstly, without much contact with the outside world, many women have erroneous perceptions of European and North American countries while they are familiar with the situation in Somalia. Women who hope to go to a 'third country' usually assume that they will automatically be able to start education and easily find good jobs.

Second explanation throws some light on the way women perceive present chapter of their life. When a middle-aged illiterate woman asserts that she can start from primary education and become a medical doctor, not only she is certainly unaware of the duration of education process but she is also not considering the fact that the time is passing while she is being a refugee in Dadaab. In other words, for many women the time has frozen from the moment they arrived to Dadaab. That gives them hope and courage to think that once they come out, the life will start from where it stopped around a decade ago.

Thirdly, it appears that for women it is more important where they live rather than what they do. This is perceptible from the ways they answer to these two different sets of questions. It appears that they have already constructed their ideas about which places would be preferable for them to live in while questions about their future activity often surprises them and it is evident that they construct answers on the spot. In several occasions, after providing initial answer regarding future plans of activity, interviewees were asked whether they thought of these plans before or made them at the moment of the interview. About half of the women asked this question replied that they just created an answer for the interview as they feel ashamed to admit that they do not have an answer.

In contrast to such unrealistic planning, some other women are hopeless. They often invoke a Somali proverb ‘*A beggar cannot ask for anything*’ and they perceive the situation so desperate that the solution goes beyond human capabilities. Following is a typical answer:

*- I don't know what could be the solution. I cannot say anything about future because it lies in God's hands. I cannot say I can do this or I can do that because all depends on God. (A. A. B.)*

Women who are willing to return to Somalia, on the other hand, plan to utilize the skills they already have. Women who attended advocacy and rising awareness trainings provided by CARE are very eager to expand their work outside the camps and possibly

work in NGO's in Somalia in order to help develop their country. Even in these cases, the prerequisite for their return is complete peace.

When asked in which way CARE could help them expand their skills, some of the women were visibly irritated and said that many people asked them the same question before but no assistance ever arrived. Other women gave very general answers such as 'organizing courses', 'providing education' etc. This clearly indicates resignation and lack of confidence in CARE's willingness and/or ability to help them. Several women said that they have never heard about micro finance schemes, or any courses offered by CARE. Some women complained that *'when CARE organizes courses, only 40 people can participate, and what do you think how much is that compared to the number of refugees?'*

Women who face psychological or security problems due to past or present events in one way or another indicate that at the moment they are not able to plan their future. They report being affected by Murug or Fikir, the two psychological conditions that could be translated as respectively depression and anxiety. Z. M. D. who appeared emotionally absent during the whole interview states:

*- Life in Dadaab is not that bad but something is wrong with my personality. Before I remove this psychological problem it is difficult for me to think about the future, to do business or learn.*

Some of the women see their future in the hands of their children. That is why they invest all their efforts in educating children who are expected to take care of the mother once they grow up.

In summary, interviewed women have confidence in their capabilities to revive and expand their skills as well as to study. This confidence in personal capacities is in a striking contrast with their perception of external factors and facilities that could support their personal development. They do not feel there is much worth in applying their skills

within confines of Dadaab because the refugees do not have contact with the outside world. S. A. A. says:

*- I cannot do anything because I am restricted to this camp. I thought of applying to micro finance but even if I get it, I don't know what to do with that money.*

In this respect, it is important to notice that for majority of women the worst thing about being a refugee is *'being like in prison'*.

At the same time, majority of women do not expect to leave Dadaab in the near future. Their hopes of peace in Somalia appear scattered and the chances of resettlement are very slim. It is no wonder then that their dreams about the future tend to go well beyond the painful confinement of the reality they live in.

## YOUTH

The category of youth can be subdivided into several groups according to different criteria. Since the age bracket of Youth is 16 to 25, some of the youth have remembrance of their country of origin while others do not remember at all. Another criteria are sex, educational level and present occupation. Out of 25 youths interviewed, 14 are male and 11 are female. Five of the 25 youths completed secondary education (all male), 1 youth completed vocational training, 1 youth completed Primary school and mechanic course, 14 youths completed primary school (7 male, 8 female), 1 youth attended up to Standard 4 (female), and 3 youths never attended school (all female).

Youth appear to be quite active and dynamic. Out of 25 interviewees, 17 were working at the time of the research and 2 of them are unpaid volunteers, assistant nurse at GTZ and assistant at Red Cross. Furthermore, out of 25 interviewees, 17 attended seminars and trainings provided by CARE or GTZ such as: peace education, HIV/AIDS, counseling training, typing, reproductive health, tailoring, ELP, CD, MSG etc.

Where the youth see their future?

Quite differently than women, youth are more concerned with their level of education and future work rather than where they will live as long as the place is peaceful. Many of the interviewees accept to return back to Somalia if it becomes completely peaceful. Sixteen youth, independently of sex and educational level, agreed that once peace prevails, they would return to their home country and contribute to its development. In all the cases except one, these are the youth that either do not remember Somalia or they did not witness any traumatic situation there.

Some of the rather typical observations regarding the place vs. activity planning as expressed by the youth who are willing to go back are:

*- I am not so much interested in the situation in Somalia because my priority is education and I do not care where I live, whether in Somalia or in any other place. Where I go doesn't matter, what matters are education and peace. (A. S.)*

*- In Somalia there is no peace but if there is peace, I would like to go there. If there is no peace in Somalia, then I can go to any place where there is peace. (M. A. S.)*

*- I would like to go to any place if it is peaceful, even Somalia if full peace prevails. But what is most important is that I get more education and become a doctor if God wishes.*

Youths, no less than women, are disillusioned about the peace process in Somalia. Some of them explain that they followed the situation on the news for some time but that they now lost the interest. E. I. J. says:

*- I am not following news and I am not interested because there were so many meetings and they all failed. Every time they say Somalia become peace, but it becomes even worse. Now in Mogadishu tomatoes are more expensive than souls.*

K. A. M. who is a nurse in GTZ says:

*- If there is peace in Somalia, I would go there but situation in Somalia is now terrible. Just 3 days ago a grandmother arrived from Somalia with a 4 months old baby, all the rest of the family was killed only the grandmother with the youngest grandchild escaped to Kenya. The baby died yesterday.*

A. O. M. shares similar pessimism:

*- I have little hope for the government in Somalia. Every time there is government in Somalia those in the Government only plan to take money from the international community but don't care about peace.*

It is very important to note that several youth show their concern about the difference between the way international community perceives the peace process and the reality in Somalia. They are aware of the fact that such situation may lead to premature/inadequate repatriation and provoke further suffering of Somali refugees:

*- World is now aware that Somalia has government but according to what we hear, there is no Government. They are manipulating each other and it is very difficult for them to agree. Their aim is not to rebuild the country but everyone has his own plan. (O.K.O.)*

Youth who do not want to go back to Somalia are 9 out of 25<sup>3</sup>. Their reluctance to go back to Somalia is, as in the case of women, linked to the presence of traumatic event.

*- I was 5 years old when my parents were killed. I am only thinking about present and not future. I would like to live in a better place but I don't want to go back to Somalia because I remember the death of my parents. I have that phobia.*

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<sup>3</sup> In two out of nine cases researcher has doubt that the stories were not entirely genuine as interviewees appeared staged and gave almost uniform answers.

*- Even if there is peace there, and I lost my family, what is the reason I should go there? Those who forced me to run on foot to Kenya have to stand in front of the law. I have lack of appetite for Somalia. I am thinking of staying in Kenya if I don't go to a third country.*

Evidently, youth are more willing to return to Somalia compared to women. However, youth are disillusioned about the peace process as much as women are and they are concerned that international community may mistakenly assume that because Government formally exists this mean that situation in Somalia has changed. Those youths who sustained trauma in Somalia are, as much as women, reluctant to go back. However, while the women contort in pain when remembering the trauma, youths despair more often translates into anger.

#### How can youth develop and utilize their skills in the future?

Youth are greatly concerned about their future in terms of education, skills and employment possibilities. This is most likely a result of great efforts done by CARE to promote and raise awareness about the importance of education. However, these efforts are not matched by the financial capabilities of the agencies operating on the ground and as a result many youths are finding themselves in a frustrating position whereby they strongly believe that education is the key to their future and yet it is unavailable for them. Several socio-psychological theories and experiments show that such situation of dissonance between aspirations and the reality are particularly disturbing.

Regardless of their present educational level, youth are united in their request for further education. Those with secondary education would like to go to Universities; those with primary school would like to proceed to secondary schools. Youths that attended vocational trainings would like to gain more skills in the relevant areas. As in the case of women, higher the level of present education, more realistic are the plans for the future. Form four leavers have precise ideas of what they would like to study and what they

would like to do. These ideas correspond to their present level and type of education. However, they are aware of the fact that their study choice has to be determined by the donors interests rather than by their personal choice. A. S. says:

*- I completed Form 4 and many course like NCKK, peace education, counseling training etc. I had good grades but no scholarship. I would like to go to University for science, biology, for example chemistry or math, but I cannot decide which subject to do because I depend on scholarship so whatever I get I will do.*

Some of the primary school leavers express fairly unrealistic plans, similarly to the women. However, they seem to be aware of objective obstacles that their plans may encounter and they promptly present a backup plan in case in case the former doesn't work.

Z. Y. H., an 18 years old primary school leaver who completed typing course says:

*- For future, I would like to study for a Doctor. If Somalia gets peace I will go back. If I go back I will work as a typist.*

In a similar manner, Quranic teacher M. A. S. who attended primary school and tailoring course and is planning to start computer course, explains:

*- My wish is to become a pilot (smiles). But if I go back to Somalia I would like to do things that I learned here, tailoring or computer teacher.*

Youths who attended vocational training are also very eager to expand their skills. The passion of A. A. who completed one year mechanic training was particularly impressing as he repeatedly stated that his biggest dream is to become a 'full mechanic'. He applied for CARE course and is waiting for the reply.

In conclusion, for youth it is more important what they do then where they live as long as there is peace. Quite a number of them have patriotic feelings and have much enthusiasm about going back to Somalia and working on developing their country, once it becomes peaceful. However, they are disillusioned about the peace process and they are

additionally worried that the international community may mistakenly assume that the situation in Somalia is currently improving.

Since youth as well as women state that their ideal, and often unrealistic, plan is to become a doctor or a pilot, this choice of ideal professions deserves a line of thought. We may analyze such choice through the symbolical values of these two professions. Pilot is the master of airplane and airplane is in common thought always associated with a bird. In almost every culture the bird is a symbol of unrestrained freedom. No wonder then that people who feel like 'living in jail' dream to fly freely across the sky.

In similar manner, while wishing to become doctors, youth and women attempt to subvert their often-humiliating position of helpless receivers. They dream of becoming themselves the ones who help others and, once again, medical profession has always been associated with a symbol of altruistic help per excellence.

### ELDERLY

During 10 days of field research, a total number of 27 elderly people were interviewed. The main sub categories of the elderly are linked to sex, presence of traumatic event in Somalia and their skills/educational level. Out of 27 elderly people, 19 were male and 8 were female. Twenty-one of them were exposed to traumatic events in Somalia, while only 6 have not reported direct traumatisation. Major influx of elderly people arrived to Dadaab in the early stages of the war in Somalia ('91-'92), in total 18 individuals out of 27. In the middle period of the war ('95-'98), only 1 individual arrived, while in the late war period 7 elderly arrived to the refugee camps. Out of 27 elderly people, 2 could not recall their arrival year. As in the case of women, it can be hypothesized that many individuals and families decided to leave Somalia at the early stage of war in order to prevent further suffering. Those who remained in Somalia after the outbreak of war for some time nurtured hopes that peace will arrive to the country. After those hopes were scattered, another wave of refugees arrived to Dadaab.

Elderly people predominantly have very low level of formal education. As majority of the elderly are originating from Southern Somalia, the main skill and pre-Dadaab occupation of the interviewees is farming. Three interviewees were nomads in Somalia, 6 were small-business keepers and one was a secondary school teacher. Two elderly people out of 27 have income generating activities and two work at present as drivers for CARE. Two elderly, one man and one woman attended CARE seminars and courses on gender, human rights, reproductive health etc.

Where the elderly see their future?

Compared to women and youth, elderly people appear to be the group who is most reluctant to return to Somalia. Out of 27 interviewees, 18 declared that they will never go back to their homeland. However, elderly are also the group with major occurrence of direct traumatisation: twenty-one individuals out of 27 reported a presence of a traumatic event in Somalia. Very interestingly, it therefore appears that elderly people have the major percentage of the individuals who were exposed to direct traumatisation and yet are willing to return to Somalia. This is explainable through the fact that in several cases trauma was not incurred by Somali militia but by UNOSOM actions. For instance D. H. A. who is ready to return to Somalia if peaceful recalls:

*- I was in a commercial vehicle when UNOSOM vehicle arrived and they crushed us, my head and leg were injured, I still have scars here. They didn't give us any assistance, I was transported to the hospital by donkey cart belonging to Somalis.*

M. M. A. 's daughter was in Italian military hospital during UNOSOM time and when the Italian contingent changed location, they took his daughter with them and he never saw her again. He hopes that Somalia will soon have central and efficient Government who will help him find his daughter:

*- I hope Somalia will soon be peaceful and the Government will be there, if there is Government in Somalia I will go back and ask Government to look for my daughter.*

Elderly people whose trauma was provoked by Somali militia are not willing to back to Somalia for at least two reasons. One is because their homeland evokes traumatic memories while the second one is because their perpetrators are still walking freely and they could be encountered again. Following examples of the interviewees' responses illustrate these two types of reasons:

*I don't want to go back to Somalia because people who made my hand like this (points at his mutilated hand) are still there. (M. M. D.)*

*- I cannot go back to Somalia because the person who killed my brother and took my farm is still there. In Somalia victims and perpetrators are walking together on the streets! If I go back, there will be only two options: either I will kill someone or someone will kill me. (H. A. S.)*

One of the most vivid and introspective explanations is provided by F. A. M. whose husband and parents were killed by militia:

*- I will not go back to Somalia even if there is peace because I have passed so many problems there.... I feel that it is my soul who is refusing to go back.*

It is important to note that, like several women, elderly who were traumatized in Somalia are not only afraid of their own traumatic memories but have also more or less rational fear that the same people who harmed them in the past will harm them again.

All of the interviewees who are willing to go back to Somalia are ready to do so only at the condition of full peace across entire Somalia and the presence of a stable government:

*- I would like to go back to Somalia if there is peace. But if there is no peace I will not go back even if UNHCR tells me to go back. Recently, 5 of my relatives were killed in Kismayo, I received the information through radio in Somalia. (M. J. H.)*

*- If there is peace I will go back but I am very skeptical that peace will come. I am following the news from the radio and every time I hear so and so is killed. (M. A. D.)*

From the answers provided by the elderly people, it appears that majority of them, unlike youth, are not willing to go back to Somalia. Like in the case of women, and some youth, the unwillingness to return is directly proportional to the incurrence of trauma in Somalia except in the cases where the trauma was inflicted by foreign intervener. Like youth and women, elderly who are willing to return to Somalia will accept repatriation only in the case of complete peace in all Somali territories. However, the current perception of the situation in Somalia is, like among the women and youth, very negative.

Elderly people, like women and youth do not understand the concept of integration in Kenyan society, what it entitles them to and what they can expect out of it. However, being even more dependent than the women and largely incapable of work, elderly people are mostly unwilling to be integrated in Kenya even if provided ID cards.

#### How can elderly develop and utilize their skills in the future?

Out of the three groups, elderly have the lowest level of education and their skills are mainly linked to farming and livestock keeping. They appear rather frustrated that those skills are not applicable in the refugee camps. Several elderly people reported that they tried to farm on the terrain surrounding the camps and they were managing to grow agricultural products; however, their initiative was stopped by the UNHCR following the complaints of the local community and the decision of the Kenyan Government. This decision appears absurd to them considering the vast uncultivated land surrounding the camps.

Elderly people, quite expectedly, are not planning to gain new skills in the future. Several of the elderly interviewees are confident that once given the opportunity, they will revive their farming, kettle-keeping or small-business skills. M. J. H.'s answer illustrates such position:

*- If I go back to Somalia, I will do business, I still have those skills. If not, I can still do manual work.*

However, the largest percentage of the elderly interviewees is expecting their children and grand-children to provide for them in the future. That is why they also value the education of their children as it increases the chances of the children getting good jobs.

*- There is very little I can do in the future. I will depend on my daughter. (F. Y. S.)*

*- I tried my best to send all my children to school and they will provide for me in the future. (A. H. A.)*

A particular category within the group of elderly is represented by individuals who were refugees in Somali refugee camp 'Corioli' for over a decade prior to coming to Dadaab. These elderly people have been refugees for almost thirty years now. They all assert that situation in Corioli prior to civil war was better than the one in Dadaab because they were free to move outside the camps. Although certain level of interiorisation of refugee identity is observable, there is still strong willingness to start a new life outside of the refugee camps. Their ideas on where and how to do that are still a little bit confused.

In conclusion, elderly see their future either in the hands of their children or depending on the revival of their skills. They are very unmotivated to start any income generating activity in the camps because as M. J. H. states:

*- To start business activity, you need capital and access to goods. These are not available when you live like in jail.*

According to some of them, even gaining skills in the camps is 'useless'

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE ATTITUDES OF THE WOMEN, THE YOUTH AND THE ELDERLY

Women, youth and elderly have different feelings, thoughts and attitudes on some issues while they agree on some other. One of the major points of divergence is the issue of repatriation. As numerous examples of typical answers illustrate, youth are the group who is most willing to repatriate, followed by women, while elderly are the least willing to return to Somalia. As this difference emerged at the very early stages of the research, all the three groups were asked to explain this divergence after they provided their individual answer regarding repatriation. It is very significant to note that all the three groups provided almost identical explanation of this divergence. It is useful to look at some of the answers:

*- It is because old people know what is the system in Somalia and they experienced the problems there. Young people don't know the problem of Somalia. (F. M. I. – elderly)*

*- I think the children are eager because they only heard 'Somalia', but they never saw the problems. But older people experienced the situation. Young people only heard 'Somalia' over the radio, they heard there is a country called Somalia but they never experienced the situation like us. I think you will never see an elderly person coming here and saying he wants to go back. It is very difficult! (B. M. A.- elderly)*

*- The youth grew up here and never knew about the problem that happened to Somalia. It is because of that innocence that makes them to say they would go back. They know nothing about the problems of Somalia. (F. A. M. – elderly)*

*- The elderly have seen the problem but the younger have not seen it, they just heard about it. (A. A. M. – woman)*

*- My mother doesn't want to go back because she still has that remembrance, that her husband was killed and her first-born was smashed by pump. But I, I was very young. (E. I. J. – youth)*

It is apparent that all three groups are aware that there is a big difference between being involved in a traumatic situation and hearing about such situation from others. They all agree that individuals who experienced trauma are more likely to avoid similar settings in the future while individuals who have only heard about traumatic situations are more willing to experiment and perhaps contribute to a change. However, it is also important to note that if youth are willing to go back to Somalia, it is precisely because of the women and elderly. Women and elderly do not transmit only negative images of Somalia to their young ones. As it has been proved several times both in psychological theories and in empirical research, individuals who experience expanded traumatic situation are likely to idealize the pre-traumatic period. It has been already demonstrated in some other research on Somalia that the majority of people tend to idealize the pre-war situation in their country. Following answers from a youth and from an elderly confirm this stance:

*- People say that Somalia was the nicest and most prosperous country; it was the best in Africa until the war, but then it changed completely. (A. S. – youth)*

*- Somalia was better than any country, there is no country that has everything like Somalia, we had good animals, good agriculture, fish, fresh water and air and most beautiful girls. But now everything is destroyed by war. (elderly – research conducted in DDB in June 2005)*

As majority of the youth has never seen Somalia themselves, their opinions and attitudes are constructed on the basis of the accounts of their parents and grandparents. These recounts are characterized by two opposite images of Somalia: one is an idealized pre-war situation while another one is dark and unbearable remembrance of war. It is not surprising then that the youth more or less subconsciously expect that once the war is over and peace is installed, Somalia will return to its former splendor. As much as the reluctance of the elderly to return to peaceful Somalia can be regarded as ‘unrealistic’ and linked to their personal traumatisation, the eagerness of the youth to repatriate can also be considered idealistic. As some of the elderly point out, the new generations growing up in

Somalia know nothing else than war and it will be difficult to convert them into peaceful citizens. Youth in Dadaab however do not seem adequately aware of that.

Another area of divergence is the importance that women and elderly on one hand and youth on the other, attribute to future location and future activity. While for women and elderly it is more important where they will live, youth gives primary importance to their education, skills and future occupation. This is explainable through the fact that women and elderly feel more dependent on the environment, having lower level of skills/education and therefore prefer to live in an environment that can provide for their necessities. Quite differently, youth feel that if only they get possibility of expanding their skills/education, they will be able to provide for themselves wherever they are.

All three interviewed groups are in complete agreement regarding two issues. Firstly, they do not want to return to Somalia if the peace is not complete in all regions of the country. Several quotations on this issue have already been shown and they confirm that none of the interviewees are willing to expose themselves to insecure situation. Second point of unanimous agreement concerns the present situation in Somalia. All interviewees regardless of age, sex or educational level assert that situation in Somalia is still the same as it was before TFG was formed.

When it comes to plans for the future activity, youth are much more optimistic than the women and the elderly. However, women and the elderly support educational enthusiasm of the youth as they will take care of their parents and grandparents in the future. In this regard the three groups are not in contrast.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING FUTURE DESTINATION OF THE REFUGEES:

1. Individuals who sustained trauma in Somalia have not received adequate attention and since the trauma has not healed, they are horrified of returning to the place where trauma occurred. These individuals should not be exposed to the idea of repatriation before they receive full and professional psychological support.
2. In connection to the previous recommendation, it appears that notions such as 'victimisation' and 'dependency' became very popular among CARE workers. It is assumed that numerous refugees like to see themselves as victims, are not sufficiently active and are only expecting external help. This might be true at the present stage, but it is precisely a result of their trauma not being acknowledged and properly addressed. In order to break the vicious circle it is necessary to first publicly acknowledge that majority of the refugees are trauma victims and then show to the refugees psychological strategies of coping with the trauma.
3. With the possibility of peace being reinstalled in Somalia, it would be good to prepare youth to the challenges of the post-conflict situation. It is recommended to teach the youth not only how to re-build their country's technical and technological structure but also how to deal with deep psychological wounds inflicted upon individuals and groups in their home country.
4. It is recommended to organize meetings between youth and older groups of the society with the aim of discussing their possible destination. However, such meetings should be guided by professional psychologist in order to avoid any conflict or feeling pressurized by any of the participating groups.

5. If the idea of integration in Kenyan society is realistic, refugees should be informed about it in a systematic and coherent way. Otherwise it appears to provoke unnecessary anxiousness among the refugee population as they fear it.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING TO FUTURE ACTIVITIES OF THE REFUGEES

1. All of the interviewed groups express desire to improve their skills and increase their educational level. However, some of the groups, especially women, do not attend courses and seminars already provided by CARE. It is therefore recommended to try to reach these more passive individuals and avoid the situation whereby few individuals attend all the courses while others do not attend any.

2. It is recommended to provide further education to eligible students. In cases where this is not possible, it is recommended to properly address their frustration and feeling of failure.

3. It is recommended to organize activities which would give due value to various expressions of Somali language. Numerous refugees feel offended that some of the CARE and other staff reside for years in the Dadaab but have not learned 'even one word of Somali'. It is likely that Somalia people would greatly enjoy organizing a language course for non-Somali speakers. This would also give them opportunity to be on the giving side. It would probably be nice for the refugees to participate in various competitions such as waving mats and baskets or poetry competition. Symbolic awards can also be distributed to the winners and competitors.

4. It is always necessary to bear in mind that the refugees live in an exceptionally uninspiring environment. This is particularly true for women and the elderly who, having experience of non-refugee life, often feel like in jail. It is recommended to try and increase their motivation on on-to-one basis and find individually suitable activities.

## LIMITATIONS

Besides common limitations that to different extent accompany every field work, some of the main limitation specific to this research were:

- Field work coincided with UNHCR resettlement selections which induced many interviewees to assume that the researcher had decision powers in the resettlement process.
- The last part of the field research coincided with the initial days of Ramadan and many of the refugees, especially women, were busy with the preparations and therefore were not willing to be interviewed. Because of this, the number of women interviewed in Dagahaley was much smaller than planned.
- It was not possible to rigorously respect the age brackets of the three groups of the interviewees as the age brackets in Somalia culture are dictated by individual's marital and other status in the community rather than by numerical age. Therefore, alterations to age brackets were tolerated.
- Due to the employment of only one researcher, it was not possible to contemporaneously interview youth and their elder family members in order to have more precise insight into differences between their attitudes towards their future destination. Such method would probably provide interesting information regarding the issue.

## APPENDIX 1

RESEARCH TIMETABLE

<b>Date</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Activity</b>
22. 09. 05	CARE Nairobi	Discussing the research framework and TOR
23. 09. 05	CARE Nairobi	Developing interview questions and research timetable proposal
24. 09. 05	Travel to Dadaab (road)	Travel to Dadaab
25. 09. 05	DMO	Discussing interview questions and finalizing the research timetable with PDU office
26. 09. 05	Ifo	Interviewing Women
27. 09. 05	Ifo	Interviewing Youth
28. 09. 05	Ifo	Interviewing Elderly
29. 09. 05	Hagadera	Interviewing Women
30. 09. 05	Hagadera	Interviewing Youth
01. 10. 05	Hagadera	Interviewing Elderly
02. 10. 05	Ifo	Interviewing traditional Somali Doctor and herbalist
03. 10. 05	Hgadera	Visit to the UNHCT verification process
04. 10. 05	Dagahaley	Interviewing Youth
05. 10. 05	Dagahaley	Interviewing Elders and Women
06. 10. 05	DMO	Compiling the Report
07. 10. 05	DMO -morning Travel to Nairobi -afternoon	Compiling the Report Travel
08. 10. 05	CARE Nairobi	Discussing the findings with the Senior Manager
09. 10. 05	CARE Nairobi	Finalizing the Report

## APPENDIX 2

CATEGORIES AND SUBCATEGORIES OF THE INTERVIEWEES

<b>Women (age 25-50)</b>	<b>Youth (age 16-25)</b>	<b>Elderly (age 50+)</b>
Married Women with income generating activities	Youth (m and f) who completed secondary education	Educated elderly people
Married Women without any activity	Youth who have never been to school	Uneducated elderly people
Single mothers with income generating activity	Youth from ELP	Elderly who had income generating activity before coming to Dadaab
Single mothers without income generating activity	Youth with vocational training	Elderly who never had income generating activity
Disabled women	Disabled youths	Disabled elderly
Women with professional skills (e.g. nurse, teacher etc)		

## APPENDIX 3

### INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Are you married/single/widow/divorced?
4. How many children do you have?
5. When did you arrive to Dadaab?
6. From which area in Somalia?
7. How long ago did you arrive in Dadaab Refugee Camps ?
8. Have you attended any education in Somalia? If yes, which?
9. What was your occupation before coming to the camps?
10. Were you good in that?
11. Was that activity providing you good life?
12. Have you attended any education provided by CARE? If yes which?
13. Have you attended any courses/trainings/seminars provided by CARE?
14. If yes, how did you benefit from the knowledge?
15. Can you please describe the major difference between life in camp and outside?
16. What is the worst thing about being a refugee?
17. Please describe your daily life in the refugee camps?
18. How do you provide for clothes, food, and other necessities? Where does your income come from?
19. Do you have any income generating activity?

20. Do you feel that you depend on other people/organisations?
21. How does it feel to be dependent on these people/organisations?
22. How does this dependency affect you?
23. How do you think the dependency will stop if you move to other location?
24. What would you like to do in the future?
25. What are your skills?
26. Do you think these skills are useful in the place you would like to go?
27. Have you acquired any skills during your stay in the camps?
28. How do you think you could use your skills in order to achieve better life?
29. What is now the situation in Somalia?
30. How do you get news from Somalia?
31. Do you think peace will come?
32. Why?
33. What should international community do about it?