Participation, Networks and Agency in Sheltering Processes

A case study of Bhutanese Refugees in Nepal

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December 2012

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MSc Thesis Chair Group Knowledge, Technology and Innovation

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Masters in International Development
Specialization: Communication, Technology and Policy

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Thesis code: COM80433
Thesis in Communication and Innovation Studies

Supervisor
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December 2012

Acknowledgements

Summary

The central overarching theme which sparked this research was that of sheltering as a global issue. From this, it emerged that there is a need for disaster affected populations to be involved in sheltering processes which affect their lives. The objectives of the research were to raise awareness of the extent to which disaster affected populations are involved in sheltering and to contribute to shelter project planning which will take their needs into consideration. The main question and three supporting questions which guided this research were:

How are refugee populations involved in processes of sheltering?

- How do refugees obtain information in relation to sheltering processes?
- How do refugees obtain materials and assistance in relation to sheltering processes?
- How do refugees view sheltering processes they are part of?

The theoretical framework supporting this research was based on the three concepts of participation, networks and agency. In relation to these concepts, the sheltering processes of transitional sheltering, relocation and resettlement also contributed to the framework. Methodologies used in data collection were participant observation, semi-structured interviews, informal interviews, group interviews and additionally a survey was administered. The research took place in the Bhutanese refugee camps in South-Eastern Nepal and was based in the Beldangi II camp.

The main results of the research were firstly that refugees actively participated in all sheltering processes even though they often faced limited options to do so. Secondly refugees relied on multiple and dynamic networks to meet their informational and material needs. Lastly, refugees displayed significant agency in relation to sheltering processes despite not perceiving themselves as having this agency. Main contributions to theory from the research were firstly an alternative approach to viewing participation and secondly that networks are dynamic and changing systems rather than static and fixed. Lastly, in relation to agency, events perceived as more important stimulated more actions related to agency, the level of agency varied between refugees and overall refugees did not express awareness of their own agency.

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Acronyms

ASK	Assistant Store Keeper
BRWF	Bhutanese Refugee Women's Forum
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CMC	Camp Management Committee
CMO	Camp Management Officer
CS	Camp Secretary
DFID	Department for International Development
FA	Field Associate
FDM	Food Distribution Manager
GoN	Government of Nepal
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
IPI	Incentive Pool in Charge
IPW	Incentive Pool Workers
ISSC	Incentive Shelter Sub-Committee
LWF	The Lutheran World Federation
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
SF	Shelter Foreman
SH	Sector Head
SSH	Sub-Sector Head
SK	Store Keeper
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WFP	World Food Program

1. Introduction

1.1. Sheltering as a Global Issue

There is without doubt a severe need for shelter present in the world today. According to the United Nations as of 2005 there were 1.6 billion inadequately housed people world-wide, approximately 100 million of which were completely homeless (UN, 2005). These numbers mean that the inadequately housed represent more than 20% of the world's population, and the homeless combined make up the entire population of more than one European country. The fact is however that the majority of the world's sheltering needs are located in the global south and those suffering from a lack of adequate shelter tend to be the poor and marginalised. The governments of many of these countries appear unable or unwilling to cope with sheltering issues and subsequently international humanitarian organisations often take a leading role in addressing these needs.

Documentation giving guidelines as to sheltering responses date to at least thirty years ago (i.e. Shelter after disaster, UNDRO 1982), yet sheltering as a field in its own right (though very much present in the humanitarian world) was not explicitly recognised for many years. Recognition of the field seems to have come about with the formation of the cluster system in 2005 by the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) of the United Nations (UN). The emergency shelter cluster was one of nine (now eleven) clusters (UNMIT, 2012) and the cluster lead is jointly taken by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent (IFRC). These two agencies are well known for their work in sheltering and the IFRC recently established (in 2010) the Shelter Research Unit (SRU) based in Luxembourg, specifically focused on the issue of sheltering.

The need for new or improved shelter emerges amongst a variety of contexts. In urban contexts for example, sheltering needs arise in metropolitan slum areas, such as those linked to Mumbai, Nairobi and Rio di Janiero. If there is a focus within sheltering however, it is within the context of disaster. While the number of disasters world-wide may not have increased in the past thirty years, the number of people affected by disasters has (CRED as cited in Gould, 2009). Disasters can typically be labelled as one of three types: natural, man-made/induced and as a result of armed conflict (Frerks, et.al., 1999). Although quite self-explanatory in their own right, it is worth pointing out that the line between the different types of disasters is not always clear. Landslides for example, although a natural disaster, can also be induced by humans as a result of deforestation. Additionally, countries that are already experiencing disaster due to armed conflict may simultaneously experience a natural disaster, as was the case with Sri Lanka when it was hit by the Indian Ocean tsunami in 2004.

In addition to the different types of disasters, there are other factors that need be taken into consideration in relation to shelter response. Whether it is an acute or chronic disaster, rapid or slow onset, whether the affected area is urban or rural, whether or not the affected population is displaced, the varying land rights of those affected and the scale and time-span related to the disaster are some examples. The bottom line is that there is a need for appropriate attention to the sheltering needs of the affected population no matter the background, type of disaster, or complications involved. In providing an appropriate response, there are a variety of shelter responses which can be utilised.

Shelter is now typically referred to as one of three types, emergency, transitional, and permanent. These different shelter responses in turn can be seen as linked to different phases in the disaster response cycle, such as emergency relief, and recovery/reconstruction. Although these shelter responses and phases are often referred to separately both in requests for funding and program management, the reality is that it is often difficult to define when one phase ends and another begins. Additionally, throughout the different phases it is important to note that shelter refers not only to a given product, but also one or more processes as it entails an evolution from emergency shelter to durable solutions which may take years (Shelter Centre, 2011). The different types of sheltering processes which play a role in this research will be explored in further detail in Chapter two. The above story sets the scene for this research which is based on processes of sheltering. What is perceived as missing in this global scope however is how individuals play a role in these processes and meet their sheltering needs.

The role of the individual in relation to sheltering is viewed in this research as participation. It is often written that there is a need to better stimulate local communities participation in shelter processes (Corsellis et al., 2008; Aysan, et al,. 2010). It has also been noted that most modern development programmes contain participatory elements, though they tend to be honoured more on paper than in practice (various as cited in Mody, 2003). In sheltering processes (which significantly affect people's future) the participation of disaster affected populations is no less important. Humanitarian emergencies, which often initiate shelter projects and related processes are often highly intricate in nature and influenced by a variety of factors, some of which were explored above. In such complex environments it seems to be that even though local perspectives are recognised in writing as important, in practice there is often a lack of user participation in all stages of shelter programmes or projects (Ruskulis, 2008 as cited in Lyons, 2010).

When a transitional housing product for example is selected as the most appropriate response, a lack of user participation and involvement in relation to the transitional housing provided by humanitarian organisations may lead to housing that is not adequate for family for a number of reasons, amongst them family size and cultural appropriateness. This can have impact on the inhabitants in a number of ways, one of which is contributing to a lack of feelings of ownership (Ruskulis, 2008 as cited in Lyons, 2010) by the inhabitants towards their new dwelling which may manifest through expressions of dissatisfaction with the sheltering processes. Another consequence of beneficiaries being left with homes that do not meet their needs is that livelihood possibilities may be significantly impacted. This problem also presents itself in relation to shelter responses involving relocation or resettlement. People relocated or resettled from one place to another may not only lose livelihoods, but can also face feelings of alienation and disconnection in a new environment.

What this introduction to sheltering and more specifically, sheltering within the context of disaster has brought to light is that not only are there higher numbers of people affected by disasters which results in higher demands for shelter as a fundamental human need, but additionally that there is a need for affected populations to be involved in the sheltering processes which affect their lives. Failure to adequately involve affected populations can ultimately affect the overall "success" of sheltering processes. As such, it is considered essential to address the procedures behind affected population's involvement in sheltering processes to improve the success of shelter projects. Identification of refugee participation in sheltering

processes as the research focus subsequently led to the research questions presented in the following section.

1.2. Research Objectives and Questions

In carrying out research on how disaster affected populations are included in sheltering processes the objectives of this research are as follows. Firstly, the research aims to give insight to raise awareness of the levels of affected population participation related to sheltering. Secondly, this research aims to contribute to shelter process planning that will take the needs of disaster affected populations into account. Given the discussion on research interest and related objectives outlined in section 1.1, this research is centred on the following research question and sub questions:

How are refugee populations involved in processes of sheltering?

- How do refugees obtain information in relation to sheltering processes?
- How do refugees obtain materials and assistance in relation to sheltering processes?
- How do refugees view sheltering processes they are part of?

This research was undertaken from the perspective that reality is constructed, fluid and constantly changing. As a result a grounded theory approach to the research was seen as most appropriate. Grounded theory is an approach or method which calls for the continual interaction between data collection, analysis and theory during the research process (Bowen, 2008). In relation to this approach, the research initially used what can be called sensitizing concepts. As opposed to definitive concepts which provide instructions on what exactly to see, sensitizing concepts instead suggest directions in which to look (Blumer, 1954 as cited in Bowen, 2008). What this has meant in practice is that the original sensitizing concepts which provided guidelines for the research were altered as a result of the data collected.

In exploring the research questions given above, the use of a theoretical framework composed of perceived interrelated concepts was determined necessary to focus both the data collection and analysis. The original sensitizing concepts were participation, stakeholder negotiation (within this networks and households), ownership and transitional sheltering. Some of the original sensitizing concepts proved to still be relevant, as in the case of participation and networks, and additionally, the concept of agency emerged as central to the research. It is thought helpful to briefly explore how the research questions given tie into the concepts that make up the analytical framework of this thesis.

The main research question "how are refugee populations involved in processes of sheltering" is seen as relating directly to participation. Generally speaking, when someone is involved with a process, that person is by default participating in the same process. Sheltering processes influence many aspects of refugee lives, and refugees can be seen as participating in any number of ways. Participation (as will be elaborated upon in section 2.1) can range from simply listening to initiating projects (Bass, et. al., 1995). This makes it particularly relevant as a framing concept for this research. Participation can lead to programmes being effective, ensures that those affected by programmes have a chance to be part of processes, can lead to emancipation and empowerment of particular groups in society and can contribute to accountability in development staff (Leeuwis and Ban, 2004). Critiques of participation approaches include that

they are expensive, take a lot of time (for all parties involved), may reinforce unequal power relations, raise expectations and prevent responsibility being taken for projects (ibid).

Within participation and closely connected, lie the concepts of networks and agency. Networks, in their most basic of forms (elaborated upon in section 2.2) are the connections between people. In obtaining information, materials and assistance, people need to interact with other people, and therefore networks came into play. Some networks (such as caste and family) individuals are born into, while others (such as neighbours, work or organisation contacts) are formed in a more interactive manner. Networks are linked to participation as who an individual is connected to can influence the potential participation within sheltering processes. Linked to networks, and equally influential in relation to the research questions is the concept of agency.

Agency is basically the ability of people to make decisions which alter the environment around them. Considering that utilizing one's agency can lead to the access to information or materials and assistance, and a lack of agency to an inability to access these resources the concept is seen as fundamental in guiding this research. Additionally, having, or not having agency is also a matter of perspective, both from that of the refugees themselves, and the other stakeholders involved in the sheltering processes linked to the refugees. This links to the third sub-question of the research which has to do with how refugees view the sheltering processes happening around them. To better clarify how the three framing concepts are seen as present and interacting with one another as well as the related sheltering processes, figure 1 below is presented to help visualise the interface.

Figure 1.Conceptual Visualisation

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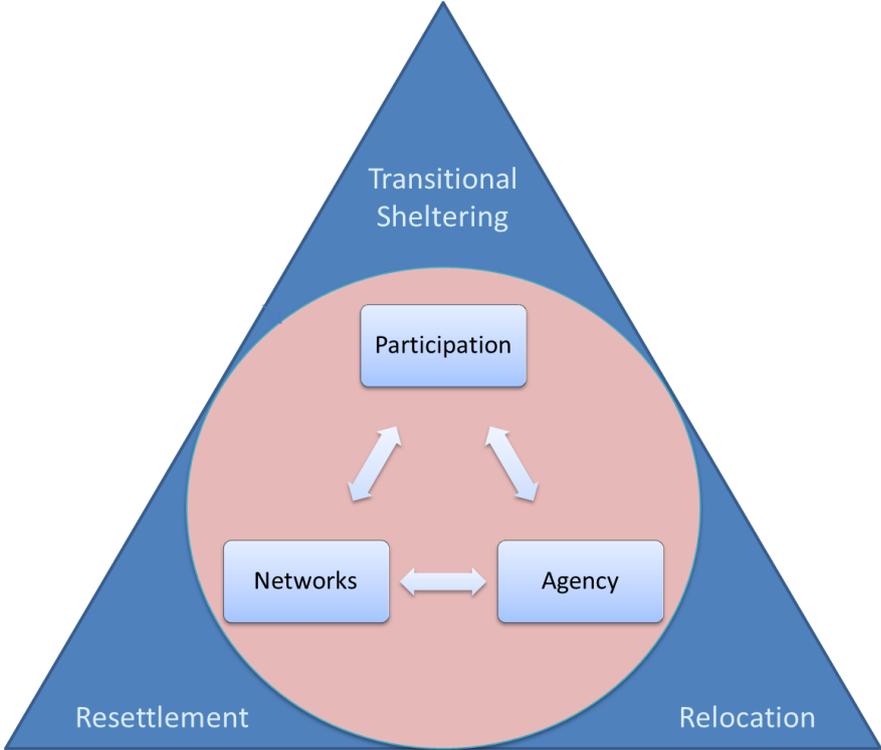
1.3.   Structure of the Report

This section serves to give a brief outline of how this thesis is structured. This first chapter is designed to introduce the overarching issue of sheltering, the problem presented and the questions and objectives related to this research. Additionally, the related theoretical framework used is briefly introduced. Chapter two further explores the different components of the theoretical framework chosen. Chapter three then presents the background of the case of the Bhutanese refugees in Nepal and delves into the methodologies utilised in data collection and analysis. Chapters four, five and six cover the results of the research structured by the findings in the field. Finally, Chapter seven presents the overall conclusions drawn from the research, and offers discussion and reflection on the research.

2. Analytical Framework

This chapter presents the analytical framework which was used in analysing the results of the data gathered in this research. The three concepts of participation, networks and agency are central to this framework. Given the focus of the research on sheltering, the three sheltering processes of transitional sheltering, relocation and resettlement which were identified as prominent in the research context also contribute to the theoretical approach.

2.1. Participation

Development was, prior to the 1970s, "often defined in terms of the adoption of new behaviours or technologies (Mody, 2003:210)". This dominant paradigm was referred to as the diffusion model. In the 1970s Latin American scholars began deconstructing this model and it came to be seen as an extension of domination. Subsequently they called for more egalitarian and responsive approaches to development (Mody, 2003). This then lead to participatory approaches gaining momentum in the 1980s and 1990s and they have since then evolved into a rich field (ibid). What this means however, is that participatory approaches, and the associated concept participation now are used in a wide range of fields and are accompanied by a dizzying array of related literature. To help focus the concept, this research will draw primarily upon participation literature from sustainable development and communication for development. This choice is made as these foci are seen as having the most relevance to the proposed research.

Participation is most often seen as both a wanted and essential element in development programming. Referring specifically to organising change Leeuwis and Ban (2004), with the support of several other authors give four main reasons why an interactive (participatory) approach can be seen as beneficial. It is recognised that organising change is not the same thing as development programmes and the context addressed in the research is not specifically the site of development programmes as it is a protracted (emergency) refugee situation. However, from my perspective as a researcher development programmes attempt to cause different kinds of change within societies. Additionally, given the extended nature of the situation in the research context, the situation no longer refers to a simple emergency situation despite its initial status as such. Thus Leeuwis and Ban's approach is seen as appropriate for this research. It is helpful here to point out that the authors use the specific term interaction (not participation), which here is taken to refer to participatory approaches. Leeuwis and Ban (2004) firstly say that a participatory approach is pragmatic, which means that interaction is needed for programmes to be effective. Secondly, participation is ideological in that those affected by programmes have a wish, right or duty to be a part of change processes. A third positive point the authors give is political and states that participation is seen to help emancipate and empower particular (disadvantaged) groups in society. A last point authors make is that participation gives development staff more accountability and makes their work more legitimate from an ethical standpoint.

Balanced in their appraisal however, Leeuwis and Ban (2004) also point to several problems associated with interactive (participatory) approaches. The authors give an extensive list of potential problems, a selection of those seen as the most significant disadvantages are addressed here. One of the problems that is seen as most noteworthy is that these processes can be take a lot of time, and be expensive for parties involved. This could be a significant reason why humanitarian and development organisations do not fully commit to participatory measures in

programming. A second problem is that participation may be influenced by and reinforce unequal power relations and/or capacities to participate that already exist within a context. Thirdly, interactive processes can also both raise high expectations and at the same time may not help to generate tangible results. One last significant problem that the authors pose is that these processes may prevent people from taking responsibility in projects. This can be seen as particularly problematic when negative results are had. Despite the problems that Leeuwis and Ban (2004) outline, they are not against participatory processes, but rather point out that these problems should be recognised and more attention should be paid to process facilitation, insight into factors affecting productiveness and pre-existing conditions that may exist.

As mentioned above, the concept of participation is very broad, and participatory development has even been described as a separate paradigm in its own right (Botes and Van Rensburg, 2000). According to an International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) study that spanned 200 projects, participation can mean anything from listening to communities defining, implementing and monitoring projects themselves (Bass, et. al., 1995). Despite the obvious complexity of the concept, it is thought useful to if not specifically define what participation is, at least frame how participation can potentially manifest in this research.

To begin this process, Bass et. al., (1995) has adapted the work of several authors (see Bass et. al., 1995:24) to create a typology of participation as shown in Table 1 on the following page. According to the author, as programs moved down the list (from lower to higher numbers) they also moved from medium to highly effective status. Participation types 1-4 are overall not seen as sufficient on their own to achieve sustainable development (Bass, et. al., 1995).

Table 1. Typology of Participation

Typology	Characteristics of type
1. Manipulative participation	Participation is simply a pretence, with 'people's' representatives on official boards but who are unelected and have no power.
2. Passive participation	People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. It involves unilateral announcements by an administration or project management without any listening to people's responses. The information being shared belongs only to external professionals.
3. Participation by consultation	People participate by being consulted or by answering questions. External agents define problems and information gathering processes, and so control analysis. Such a consultative process does not concede any share in decision-making, and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views.
4. Participation for Material Incentives	People participate by contributing resources, for example labour, in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Farmers may provide the fields and labour, but are involved in neither experimentation nor the process of learning. It is very common to see this called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end.
5. Functional Participation	Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals, especially reduced costs. People may participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project. Such involvement may be interactive and involve shared decision making, but tends to arise only after major decisions have already been made by external agents. At worst, local people may still only be co-opted to serve external goals.
6. Interactive Participation	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local institutions. Participation is seen as a right, not just the means to achieve project goals. The process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systemic and structured learning processes. As groups take control over local decisions and determine how available resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.
7. Self-Mobilization	People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used. Self-mobilization can spread if governments and NGOs provide an enabling framework of support. Such self-initiated mobilization may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power.

Source: Bass, 1995

What these seven typologies illustrate is that many different kinds of participation can manifest dependant on the project and the organisation(s) involved. Linked to these different typologies, it is important to distinguish at what stage in participation takes place. The basic stages of most development projects can act as a guide in identifying where participation takes place. These stages are generally: identifying problems, setting goals and objectives, program design, program implementation and assessment. From the perspective of the disaster affected populations however, the distinction between the stages is not always this clear and this is taken into account in this research. Something else to take into consideration is at what level participation takes place. This could be at government, province, community, household or individual level. It appears that most participatory literature refers to community level participation although it is not always clear which level is the focus. Some research (i.e. Botes and Van Rensburg, 2000), refers explicitly to community participation as a distinct concept,

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while others (i.e. Bass, et. al., 1995) make no such division in their writing. While not discrediting governmental, provincial, community or household level participation (and they are no doubt relevant to the context of the research), the focus of this research is on participation at the individual level.

According to Bass, et. al., "over the past three decades, many development projects and programmes have failed where activities have been designed with little or no reference to people's needs or priorities, nor to their knowledge and skills (1995:21)." It can be drawn from this as well as the above discussion on participation that although complex and difficult, participation is an essential and challenging endeavour in development (Botes & Van Rensburg, 2000).

A final useful distinction in relation to participation is that the concepts of participation and involvement are often used interchangeably in development and communication literature. Although the two will also not be explicitly distinguished between in this research, it is thought useful to give insight as to how insight into involvement from a development of information systems (IS) can add depth to the use of the term participation. According to Barki (1989,1994), participation is more along the lines of the activities performed during a systems development. Involvement on the other hand is described more as a psychological state and refers to the importance and personal relevance which a system has to its user (Barki, 1994). As such, participation as it is referred to in this thesis not only refers to participation (actions), but also to involvement (feelings and emotions) which people have in relation to sheltering. As will be further discussed in the chapters giving the results of this study (four through six) feelings and emotions played an important role in sheltering processes in the camps.

Participation is linked closely to the central focus of the research: the involvement of refugees in sheltering processes. Participation is seen as playing a key role in relation to the success of each of the three sheltering processes focussed on in this study. As previously referred to, it is thought useful to take participation into account as it occurs across different stages and levels. It was not possible within the scope of the research to address all stages and levels in which participation takes place. As such, a selection was made and the current (implementation) stage and the individual in sheltering processes are given the main focus. Other process stages and levels are however given attention as appropriate. If participation is linked to the success of sheltering processes, then insights into the ways in which disaster affected populations are participating can provide valuable feedback to the organisations that include participation as part of their mandate. This being said, a concept which is linked to participation and further enriches the analytical framework in this thesis is that of networks, which is addressed in the following section.

2.2. Networks

Networks as a concept has been linked to a variety of topics and referred to in a variety of terms such as knowledge networks, social networks and communicator network (Long, 2001). However, all of these seem to be commonly included under the banner of social networks. Social network analysis according to Monge (in Shultz, 2010) has only come into being in the last fifty years, but has experienced remarkable growth and interest. The field spans "a variety of social science disciplines including anthropology, management science, organisational psychology, political science, social psychology, sociology, and human communication (Monge in Schultz,

2010:299)." Given the focus of this research on different aspects linked to communication between actors involved in sheltering processes, this research will draw primarily upon literature from the field of human communication.

Networks can be seen in the most basic sense as the connections that people form with one another. According to Gilchrist (2000), networking is both skilled and strategic as well as a normal aspect of human activity and is essential to survival when access to resources is unpredictable or restricted. Environments favourable to network activities are characterised by diversity, autonomy, 'voluntary' choices, risk and turbulence and in these situations communication and cooperation tend to be based on personal relationships instead of formal rules and regulations (Gilchrist 2000). Actors who play a direct or even indirect role in the existence of the individual can be seen as making up the networks which that individual is connected to. The general description given above is relevant and indeed, considered essential in understanding what networks are, but it is useful to delve further into the concept.

Several levels of analysis have been identified in connection to networks, and Monge (in Schultz, 2010) gives four different levels: personal networks, group networks, organisational networks and inter-organisational networks. Burt (1980 as cited by Monge in Schultz, 2010) identifies personal (or ego) networks as the communication ties that individuals maintain with others and sand says that these contacts "are likely to vary considerably from individual to individual (p. 301)." Group networks refer to the "patterns and structure of people who communicate more with each other than they do with the rest of the people in the larger network (Alba, 1982 as cited by Monge in Shultz, 2010: 302)." Organisational networks deal with the structural differences of organisations (Monge in Schultz, 2010) and inter-organisational networks refer to how communication relations manifest between organisations (Lincoln, 1982 as cited by Monge in Schultz, 2010).

Though all interesting and valid in their own paradigms, this research will focus on personal networks. Personal networks according to Monge (in Schultz, 2010) connect people to contacts which span the "full range of human experience" (p. 308) and people use their personal networks to accomplish many different things in life. Certain aspects of an individual's network may be preselected, for example by family or community background, but others have to be developed from scratch such as friendships or occupational relations (Long, 2001). According to Long (ibid), networks are significant not only because they can provide access to certain essential resources, but additionally for the "flow of information and for the support they may offer for various courses of action (p. 135)." In discussing these flows of information and support, the role of formal and informal networks becomes relevant.

References to formal networks are often found in literature linked to the organisational level of network analysis (i.e. Allen, James and Gamlen, 2007; Marschan, Welch and Welch, 1996). Formal networks can be seen as referring to communications between links in an organised system. An example of this may be that between an accounting and human resources department within a particular organisation. According to Cross et. al. (2002 as cited in Allen, James and Gamlen, 2007) informal social networks are made up of the innumerable personal communications and connections which spread knowledge and information amongst individuals. Informal networks would although seemingly outside of the sphere of formal networks often, according to Lominitz (1988), run underneath and even parallel to formal hierarchy. It is not assumed in any way that one form of network (formal or informal) is better

or provides more advantages than the other, but the distinction between the two provides an additional lens from which to view the manifestation of networks through.

Networks are typically viewed as beneficial yet it is also insightful to cover some of the potential drawbacks. Long (2001), referring specifically to career mobility, asserts that being involved in a specific network of relationships may in fact carry negative consequences as dependence on specific relationships tends to impose restrictions or boundaries and rule out certain decisions all together. Long refers to career mobility in his work, but it is thought that this may apply in other circumstances, such as access to particular resources. Another drawback linked to social networks is that when a network is "relatively dense", it can "hinder the absorption of new information and the quick adaptation to changed circumstances (Long 1984b:23 fn 14 as cited in Long 2001: 181)." Another interesting and potentially disadvantageous role within networks is that of gatekeepers. Gatekeepers as described by Long (2001), are those individuals or groups who "often become the socio-metric starts of a defined network of social ties, as well as the points of articulation with wider social fields (p. 180)." These gatekeepers play a tactical role in not only expediting the flow of certain types of information, but also in blocking that information (ibid). Notwithstanding these drawbacks, it is undisputable that networks play a central role in many aspects of people's lives.

Although most people are connected to a large amount of people, it has been indicated that "the typical person depends on approximately 25 family members, close friends, neighbours and co-workers for social support (Pattison and Pattison, 1981 as cited by Monge in Schultz, 2010:320)." Social support is then defined as "a network or configuration of personal ties where affect and/or instrumental aid is exchanged (Albrecht and Adelman 1984:4 as cited by Monge in Schultz, 2010)." Monge then in turn goes on to define social support networks as those networks people sustain to augment their welfare and cope with difficult events as they arise (Monge in Schultz, 2010). In addition to this close social support network, in the context of this research contacts of a more formal nature such as camp or government officials also play a significant role in refugee well-being.

Networks can also be seen as a valuable source of social capital to households. Social capital, according to Portes (1995 as cited in Long, 2001) refers to "the capacity of individuals to command scarce resources by virtue of their membership in networks or broader social structures (p. 132)." In this research, the role of networks takes on an important role in securing what is considered a habitable shelter, and maintaining, upgrading or changing the structure over time. Additionally, securing information and assistance in relation to other sheltering processes such as relocation and resettlement can be seen as almost always involving network connections. Networks are therefore considered a vital element influencing the ability of individuals to meet their sheltering, relocation and resettlement needs. As such this lens will provide valuable insight into the how people utilise their various networks in relation to sheltering processes.

According to Long (2001), networks become key in processes instigated by human agency for "gathering information, forming opinions, legitimising one's standpoint, mobilising resources and for bridging, defending or creating social and political space within or transcending specific institutional domains (p. 89)." Many of these actions mentioned apply very directly to the involvement of refugees in sheltering processes. Relatedly, the concept of agency mentioned by

Long is closely tied to networks and is the last of the three central concepts in this thesis. Agency is examined in the following section.

2.3. Agency

The concept of agency finds its roots in sociology. According to Giddens (1984:1-16 as cited in Long 2001), "agency attributes to the individual actor the capacity to process social experience and to devise ways of coping with life, even under the most extreme forms of coercion (p. 16)." What this means is that people are capable of processing and coping with all that that is thrown at them in their lives. Long (2001) says that in addition to processing their own and other's experiences, agency is also the capacity of those actors to act on those experiences. Giddens (1979 as cited in Long 2001) supplements this by adding that in taking action, at any time the actors could have taken a different action (for better or worse). Agency furthermore implies knowledgeability in which experiences and desires (whether consciously or not) are automatically interpreted and then internalised leading to "the capability to command relevant skills, access to material and non-material resources and engage in particular organising practices (Long, 2001:48)." This means in essence that knowledge manifests itself in the taking of actions.

Rosengren (2000) more specifically identifies agency as the capacity of people to exercise choice "within existing societal and social structures", to act differently, "sometimes even to the extent of transgressing the limits established by those structures (p. 64)". He breaks agency down into three characteristics of the actor: 1) Intentionally exercising some kind of power; 2) choosing between alternatives and; 3) reflecting on the consequences of acting (ibid). Between Giddens, Long and Rosengren it is interesting to note that there is some disparity as to whether actions taken are conscious or not. Long (2001) specifies that all actors operate primarily from an implicit rather than explicit point, Giddens says that they monitor their own actions to a certain degree (1984 as cited in Long, 2001) and Rosengren (2000) sees the choices made and actions taking as originating from conscious deliberation and actions.

An additional element of agency is that it involves the way people manipulate elements (both restrictive and enabling) by utilizing "discursive and organising practices, in an effort to enrol each other in their various endeavours or 'life projects' (Long, 2001:89)." The author further says that the very capacity to act means that others are willing to "support, comply with or at least go along with particular modes of action (p. 112-3)." What the above discussion of agency says is that agency is not a solitary action, but rather involves other individuals as well as societal structures in the environment of the individual exercising agency. Long states this somewhat more emphatically by saying that agency "is embodied in social relations and can only be effective through them (Long, 2001:17)." Effectively, human agency does not exist in an individual without the involvement of others. As stated at the end of section 2.2 agency ties in strongly to the concept of networks. In fact, agency entails the generation and use or manipulation of social networks (Clegg 1989:199 as cited in Long 2001) and is critically dependant on the involvement of others (Long, 2001). An important supplementary note related to agency and networks is addressed by Leeuwis and Ban (2004) who state that "availability and access to particular knowledge can enhance or limit a social actor's capacity to exert a particular type of agency (p. 109)." Although the author's are positive and identify knowledge as something to help a person in their dealings with events in their surroundings, it also becomes apparent

that not having access to certain knowledge or information can hinder a person's ability to deal with circumstances.

Another useful link to the concept of agency is feelings and emotions, which are most often addressed in psychological literature. According to Turner, when employing theoretical interpretation of social action analysis one "must go beyond the consideration of knowledeability, consciousness and intentions to embrace also feelings, emotions, perceptions, identities and the continuity of people across space and time (1992:91 as cited in Long, 2001:18)." Given this it appears that feelings and emotions have the potential to provide further insight into the rationale of people taking certain actions (utilizing their agency). It is also seen as intrinsic within human nature that feelings and emotions have an influence over daily activities and that an exploration of these fundamental aspects of human nature in collaboration with that of agency will be valuable.

The above discussion has given many different components of what makes up what is called agency. In applying this concept to the involvement of refugees in sheltering processes, an abridged definition of agency will be used. This is agency as the capacity of social actors to process and act upon different events in their life worlds, making conscious and unconscious decisions based upon the societal structures around them and the perceived effects of those actions. Having explored the three central concepts which make up the foundation of the analytical framework for this research, I now turn to a discussion of the related sheltering processes.

2.4. Sheltering Processes

This section covers transitional sheltering, relocation and resettlement from the perspective of sheltering processes. These processes supplement the three concepts discussed thus far in the chapter and provide insight from a shelter perspective to the analytical framework used in this research.

Transitional Sheltering

Transitional sheltering is something that has come to play a part in the emergency and development scene (related to housing) only in the last decade. It is recognised in this research that transitional shelter is a relatively new concept, and it is related to processes that still need further development in order to meet the needs of the populations it is intended to assist. Both the products and processes associated with transitional sheltering hold a unique position in that they are applied both in emergency and recovery/reconstruction phases of disasters. Before delving into how transitional shelter(ing) is viewed in relation to this research, emergency and permanent shelters are briefly defined to provide context.

Emergency shelter typically refers to that provided during the relief period immediately following a disaster and lasting approximately six months, although duration varies. Emergency shelters are typically associated with tents of varying types, and seen as very temporary solutions. With the advent of transitional shelter however it is less clear where emergency shelter ends and transitional begins. Permanent shelter or housing on the other hand, can be seen as that which is built to last, for example ten to twenty years. Similar to the case of emergency shelter however, the boundary of where transitional ends and permanent begins is not always clear. Take the situation in some refugee camps such as Dadaab or Kakuma in Kenya

for example. The people in these camps have been living there for decades and although these camps were initially defined and constructed as temporary, generations have been born and whole lives lived out there.

Although it has been recognised that the boundaries of the different types of housing are blurry, it is nevertheless necessary to attempt to define transitional sheltering as it will be viewed in the context of this research. Transitional shelter has been defined as the following.

> *"Transitional shelter provides a habitable covered living space and a secure, healthy living environment, with privacy and dignity, to those within it, during the period between a conflict or natural disaster and the achievement of a durable shelter solution."* (Corsellis & Vitale, 2005:11)

The main underlying idea of transitional shelter is that it provides a bridge between emergency shelter and a permanent housing solution. Many advantages can be seen in transitional sheltering such as a reduction in overall costs related to sheltering and longer lifespan associated with the shelters provided. However, it is well recognised that there is little consistency between and amongst organisations in relation to transitional sheltering projects. Take for example the six different Red Cross and Red Crescent national societies actions in Aceh as assessed by Asyan et. al. (2010). The authors mention several discrepancies such as different criteria for beneficiary selection, different conditions related to the shelters (i.e. no alterations of the structure within the maintenance period) and varying levels of associated infrastructure.

Transitional shelter is not only a product, but often also seen as a process. The Twelve assistance methods given below are all possibilities which can be considered part of a transitional shelter response.

Household NFIs	Loans	Information Center	Vouchers
Shelter NFIs	Community labour	Technical expertise	Direct labour
Cash	Contracted labour	Capacity building	Transitional shelter

Source: Transitional settlement and reconstruction after natural disasters (Corsellis et al., 2008).

In the context of this research, several of the assistance methods mentioned above were seen to be used. These included household NFIs, shelter NFIs, community labour and transitional shelter. Transitional shelter was the assistance method directly investigated however during the course of the research many references to the other assistance methods were made and are also considered relevant.

Relocation

Relocation as a concept within the field of development can be applied to various aspects of the movement of peoples, such as their own countries or to other countries for reasons other than those associated with disasters. The term in this research however will be referred to specifically from a disasters perspective. According to Department for International Development (DFID) Shelter After Disaster publication (2010), relocation is defined as "a process whereby a community's housing, assets and public infrastructure are rebuilt in another location (p. 113)." The same publication advises that "relocation should only be considered as a last result, and even then, only following comprehensive assessments and feasibility studies

(ibid)." Basically, according to guidelines, a disaster affected population should only be moved from their area if absolutely necessary for their own safety. Such a situation could be for example imminent danger from natural causes or conflict. If unavoidable, DFID advises that relocation "should be kept to a minimum, affected communities should be involved in site selection and sufficient budget support over a sufficient period of time to mitigate all social and economic impacts (ibid)." However, despite this advice, Uscher-Pines (2008) predicts that due to current trends it is likely that we will continue to see high levels of population displacement.

From literature, it appears that the issue of relocation after disaster has primarily been researched from a psychological perspective. A critique of the available literature relating to the health of disaster relocated populations offered by Uscher-Pines (2008) in her systematic literature review suggests that the research that is done is often not of the highest quality and lacks historical background. In addition the author states that not much is known about health outcomes (often the focus) linked to post-disaster relocation nor which groups within a population could be most vulnerable. Despite these valid conclusions, it should be noted that in her research Uscher-Pines eliminated studies with qualitative results, and the articles reviewed leaned heavily (63%) towards results from developed countries. It appears that very little (if any) research has been done as to the effects of relocation on conflict affected populations.

In the case associated with this research there were originally seven refugee camps, three of which have been closed (and the inhabitants relocated) and two more administratively absorbed into one of the two remaining camps (although they still remain physically separate). Given the existing situation and that relocation is still on-going, relocation is a highly pertinent theme within this research. In reference to this relocation, UNHCR (2010) refers to the move as "camp consolidation". LWF, the implementing partner of UNHCR in relation to the relocation process however, refers to the process as "relocation" in their quarterly newsletter (2011). Referring to the definition given at the beginning of this section, it is not exactly clear whether the situation qualifies as relocation or not. The communities housing and assets were shifted, but the public infrastructure already existed in the receiving camps and as such was not shifted along with the refugees and their belongings. Nor were refugees necessarily allowed to take all of their assets with them when they moved as there were restrictions as to what could be moved. Additionally, although members of each camp identify with members of their camp as their community, not the refugee population as a whole (Daniels, 2012) it could conversely be argued that the Bhutanese refugees as a whole make up one community. Thus, given the context within which this research takes place the definition of relocation that is used in this thesis is "a process in which a community living in one location are shifted to another location." Having established a working definition of relocation, the final sheltering process of resettlement is now examined.

Resettlement

Unlike the sheltering process of relocation which spans voluntary movement of populations affected by all sorts of disasters, resettlement in its very nature is specific to refugees. Additionally, contrary to the literature available on relocation, resettlement literature is a bit broader. Again, mental health garners a significant focus (i.e. Weine, 1998; Kia-Keating, 2007) but literature from several other fields such as law (i.e. Cort, 1997), politics (i.e. Shlaim, 1986)and migration studies (i.e. Robinson,1998; Wright, 1981) is also prominent. Although there is a multitude of data available, little of the research done on resettlement originates from a communications perspective. What resettlement is, and where the concept comes from is most

clear in organisational literature (for example originating from bodies of the United Nations) and law. This literature provides the basis for how resettlement is defined in this research.

Resettlement, although present since the international refugee protection system was formed, has evolved in the ensuing decades (UNHCR, 2011). Between the two World Wars for example, it was used in the 1920's to resettle White Russians who had fled to China and in the 1930s to resettle Jews and others fleeing the Nazis (ibid). After the period after World War II, refugees scattered throughout Europe voiced valid fears about returning to their countries of origin and as a result many (over a million) were resettled (ibid). Resettlement was for a time, a wide-spread solution to refugee situations. Partially in reaction to seeing a large increase in the number of refugees aiming to resettle and recognizing that reasons other than safety played a key role, it became necessary to streamline the process. After the implementation of the Comprehensive Plan of Action (CPA) in 1989 relating to Vietnamese emigration, large-scale resettlement use declined (UNHCR, 2011). The focus at this point turned away from resettlement and more to voluntary repatriation as a durable solution (ibid).

The United Nations (UN) recognises three "durable solutions" in reference to refugees. These are voluntary repatriation (returning to their homeland), integration (into host community) and resettlement (moving to a third country) (Singer, 2006). When the first two options are not possible, then resettlement as a final option is pursued (ibid). This is a very small percentage (less than 1%) of the world's refugee population (ibid).

UNHCR currently defines resettlement as involving:

> *"the selection of and transfer of refugees from a State in which they have sought protection to a third State which has agreed to admit them – as refugees – with permanent residence status. The status provided ensures protection against refoulement and provides a resettled refugee and his/her family or dependants with access to rights similar to those enjoyed by nationals. Resettlement also carries with it the opportunity to eventually become a naturalized citizen of the resettlement country* (UNHCR, 2011:3)*."*

So in the process of resettlement refugees are moved from one state to another, with the intention that the receiving state will provide a permanent living place and includes refugees having access to all the benefits received by the other citizens of the state. For clarification, the reference to refoulement in the definition above refers to the principle of non-refoulement, fundamental to refugee law. This principle originates with the 1951 Convention, which established the definition of refugees and established baseline principles for refugee protection (Feller, 2001). What it means is that "no refugee should be returned to any country where he or she is likely to face persecution or torture (Goodwin-Gill as cited in Rodger, 2001:II)." Resettlement to another country helps to uphold this principle. In opposition to transitional sheltering and relocation, resettlement is not a temporary fix, but a long term solution.

In the context of this research, resettlement plays an extremely strong role. The refugees living in the camps have been refugees for around twenty years, and there is little to no possibility of returning to their country of origin (see Chapter three for further explanation). There has also been resistance on the part of the host government to naturalise or absorb such a large population, and as such integration into the host community is not currently an option. Thus, the logical solution from the perspective of the organisations supporting the refugees is moving them to a third country. The idea of resettlement was originally strongly opposed by the refugee

population, and there was a strong counter movement to repatriate to Bhutan. Over time however, this movement faded and the refugees began resettling in greater numbers. The process of resettlement to third countries is still taking place in the research context and remains very relevant.

3. Methodology

This chapter presents the background related to the research context, the decisions made during the research process as well as the research methodologies and analysis employed. The research was a case study undertaken with an ethnographic approach and a people centred and holistic perspective. As such, the qualitative methodologies employed were considered most appropriate and receive the most focus. Upon arrival in the field and initial assessment of the context, the decision was made to augment the qualitative data already planned with quantitative data collection in the form of a survey.

3.1. Case Background

This section introduces the reader to the specific context within which the research took place. This means the country in which the research was done, the organisation which facilitated the research, background on the refugees and how they came to be in their current situation. All of these as well as an overview of the camp structure are offered to give insight into this unique situation.

Nepal and Collaboration with Lutheran World Foundation

The site for the research was selected based upon the researcher's topic of interest, the involvement of refugees in sheltering processes. This required a context in which multiple sheltering processes were in effect. Additionally, the accessibility of the location and the feasibility of the research to be conducted independently were also influential in the site selection. The context selected for this research was that of the Bhutanese refugee camps in the area of Damak, Nepal. It is acknowledged that there are other locations that would also be conducive to conducting the same research.

Nepal is a country of some thirty million people, bordered by India and China in the geographic region of Asia (CIA, 2012). The official language of Nepal is Nepali, and approximately 80% of the population are Hindu's although they come from various ethnic groups (ibid). In 1951 the country ended its system of hereditary rule and instead established a cabinet system of government, then in 1990 became a multiparty democracy framed as a constitutional monarchy (ibid). In 1996 Maoist extremists led an insurgency which led to ten years of civil war (ibid). Although a solution through peace negotiations was reached, the political situation in Nepal remains unstable.

During the time of the research, there were multiple protests staged and "bandh" (strike) days, in which many services (such as banks and gas stations) were unavailable and cars not allowed on the roads. Organisation vehicles did not seem to be hindered by the bandhs, but it was mentioned several times that service providers (such as those bringing the bamboo for the building of shelters) experienced delays. The protests were based around the promise (as a result of peace talks) to draft a new constitution. No agreement was reached on the constitution and the constitutional assembly whose job it was to write it was dissolved toward the end of May while I was there. Although not unsafe for travel by locals or foreigners at the time of research, Nepal remains in a sort of political limbo.

In conducting the research, I sought collaboration with The Lutheran World Federation (LWF) as one of the organisations active in the refugee camps. LWF is an religious (Christian) based

international organisation active in 79 countries around the world. The organisation was founded in 1947 in Sweden (LWF(b), 2012). One of locations in which LWF is active is Nepal. LWF Nepal works together with The Department for World Service (DWS) which is the humanitarian and development arm of LWF. LWF Nepal was founded in 1984 and has three offices in Nepal: the head office located in Kathmandu, and two regional field offices; one located in the East (Jhapa district) and the other located in the West (Kailali district (LWF (a), 2012). Some contact was made with the head office in Kathmandu regarding arrangement of a camp permit, but most collaboration was with the Eastern Nepal field office in Jhapa. LWF Nepal works with "marginalized and disadvantaged communities…in the areas of relief and rehabilitation, advocacy and networking, empowerment and organisational development (ibid)." This means that LWF Nepal not only contributes to the Bhutanese refugee camps but also to other projects throughout the country.

LWF Nepal is currently responsible for the distribution of non-food items, care and maintenance of the shelters in the camps and is the primary focal point for camp relocations. The LWF Nepal Jhapa office has a main office located in the town of Damak, and additionally offices in each of the camps where their camp staff work on a daily basis. Workers from LWF travel to and from the camps each day by LWF vehicles. These vehicles also transport the staff from other organisations. Contact with LWF Nepal was initially made through another student researcher who had previously conducted her research in the area. LWF then agreed to provide practical support and the results of the research would be shared with the organisation in return. There was no financial agreement between LWF and myself.

In practice this collaboration meant that LWF assisted with securing permission for me to do research in the camp, provided office space (upon demand) and access to office equipment in the Damak office as well as giving me an office at the camp to use for the duration of my research. In addition various documents were procured upon request and transportation was also made available to me upon request. To provide further insight into the setting in which the research took place, I briefly explore the historical background of the refugees and how they came to be in the current situation.

Background on Bhutanese Refugees in Nepal

The first people who claimed to be Bhutanese refugees made their way across the eastern border of Nepal in late 1990 (Hutt, 2003). By 1993, their numbers had risen to 80,000 (ibid) and by 1996 there were 100,000 Bhutanese refugees in Nepal (Weijers, 2011). How these refugees came to be in Nepal is indeed an interesting story as Nepal and Bhutan are not neighbouring countries (see Figure 2). It is generally agreed that the Bhutanese refugees in Nepal are of Nepali origin (Weijers, 2011), however the historical accounts and dates of migration (to Bhutan from Nepal) differ.

Many say that the majority of Bhutanese of Nepali origin migrated to Bhutan at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century. However, this is disputed by both the Bhutanese of Nepali origin (who claim migration began as early as the seventeenth century) and the Bhutanese government who claims migration continued up until the 1980s (Hutt, 2003). Regardless of the exact time of migration to Bhutan from Nepal, the situation as it developed remains relevant to the Bhutanese refugees in Nepal.

Figure 2. Map of Bhutan and Neighbours
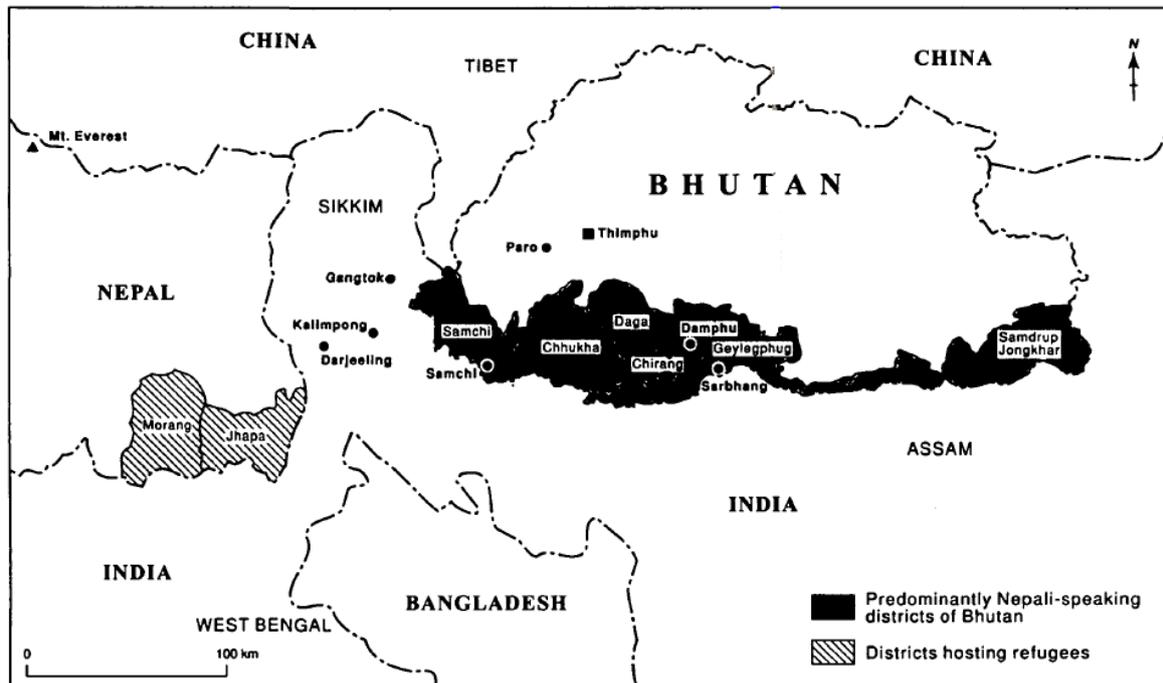
Source: Hutt, 2003

The Bhutanese government aspires to attain a single cultural identity for the realm, yet it is in fact multi-ethnic (Hutt, 2003). There are roughly three ethnic categories divided by geographical regions: the Ngalong in the west, the Sharchop in the east and the Lhotshampa (those of Nepali origin) in the south (ibid). Although the Ngalong are recognised to be a minority, since 1961 a polished form of the Nagalong language (Dzongkha) has been the national language (ibid). Another interesting note about the divide between the populations is that their divide is not only ethnic, but also linguistic and religious. "Ethnic Nepalis speak Nepali…and are mostly Hindus, while ethnic Bhutanese speak a variety of Tibeto-Burmese languages, including Dhongkha, and are Buddhists (Hutt, 2003:7-8)."

After the 1970s, the Bhutanese state gradually began to embrace a more 'one nation, one culture' vision (Hutt, 2003). This manifested in the enforcement of new rules and policies relating to things such as clothing (having to wear the Drukpas national dress), language (no more Nepali), and even qualifications for citizenship (Weijers, 2011). Although there were demonstrations against these measures, they continued to proliferate. Eventually, the Lhotschampas (Bhutanese of Nepali origin) were presented with two choices: staying in Bhutan, but as lesser citizens unable to follow their traditional way of life, or fleeing the country to Nepal (Hutt, 2003). Many chose to leave the country, returning to where their cultural and linguistic roots originate from. This is how the current Bhutanese refugee population came to be present in South-Eastern Nepal.

Since the 1990's, the refugee situation has developed into a stalemate that has resulted in some of the refugees now being in the camps for about twenty years. Despite having had more than fifteen rounds of bilateral talks to resolve this issue, no solution to their situation has been reached (Weijers, 2011). Essentially, the Bhutanese government will not allow the refugees to return to Bhutan and the Nepalese government will not allow the refugees to be assimilated into Nepal. Resettlement to third countries was first offered by the United States in 2006 (IRIN Asia,

2006 as cited in Weijers, 2011) and was initially faced with strong resistance. After the resettlement of some key political figures in the camps, the tide shifted and resettlement then picked up speed. See Table 2 below for overview of change in camp population. Resettlement as a key focus in this research and will be addressed in greater detail in Chapter four.

Table 2. Total Camp Population

January 2008	March 2012	January 2015 (projected)
107,810	51,772	18,748

Source: UNHCR (personal communication, June 8, 2012)

There were originally seven camps in total spread over two districts (Jhapa and Morang). These camps were Goldhap, Timai, Khudunabari, Sanischare and Beldangi I, II and Extension (also called Beldangi III). The Beldangis are administratively considered one camp, and are sometimes called "Belcity" by the refugees. At the beginning of this research there were five camps (counting the Beldangi's separately) remaining, one in the process of being closed down. The inhabitants of that camp were being relocated to the remaining camps. The closing of this camp (Khudunabari) was completed in May 2012 while this research was still in process. As such, there are now four camps (two administratively) currently remaining, all located in the district of Jhapa. It is planned that as the camp population shrinks even further due to resettlement, there will eventually be only the Beldangi camp s left (LWF, personal communication, June 7, 2012). Now that the basic situation of the Bhutanese refugees in Nepal is clear, I introduce the the different organisations that play a role in the camps along with an outline of the structure in the camps themselves.

Camp Structure

Refugees in the camps are not allowed to work outside of their camp, own animals, nor have electricity in their shelters (Weijers, 2011). However, in practice none of these rules were observed to be strictly enforced. Services provided in the camps are food rations, non-food items, housing, medical, drug treatment, psychological care, and education. There are several different organisations responsible for administering these various services. The Government of Nepal (GoN) represented by the Refugee Coordination Unit (RCU) along with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) play a major role in the running of the camps with support from several other Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Community Based Organisations (CBOs). NGOs present include Association of Medical Doctors Asia-Nepal (AMDA), Caritas, Happy Nepal, the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), Lutheran World Foundation (LWF),), the Transcultural Psychosocial Organisation (TPO), and the World Food Program (WFP). CBOs present are the Bhutanese Refugee Women's Forum (BRWF), and the Bhutanese Refugee Children's Forum (BRCF). Each of the NGOs and CBOs mentioned above has a different focus and function within the camp. In addition, there are many partnerships between organisation on both an on-going and project based basis.

The basics of the camp structure (as described by an LWF employee) are represented in Figures 3 and 4 on the following page. The depth and scope of this research did not extend to an in-depth investigation of all of the different organisations present, nor significant investigation as to the role of the refugee organisations (BRWF, BRCF). Nonetheless, it is believed that these figures give a good indication of camp structure.

Figure 3.Refugee Camp Formal Structure
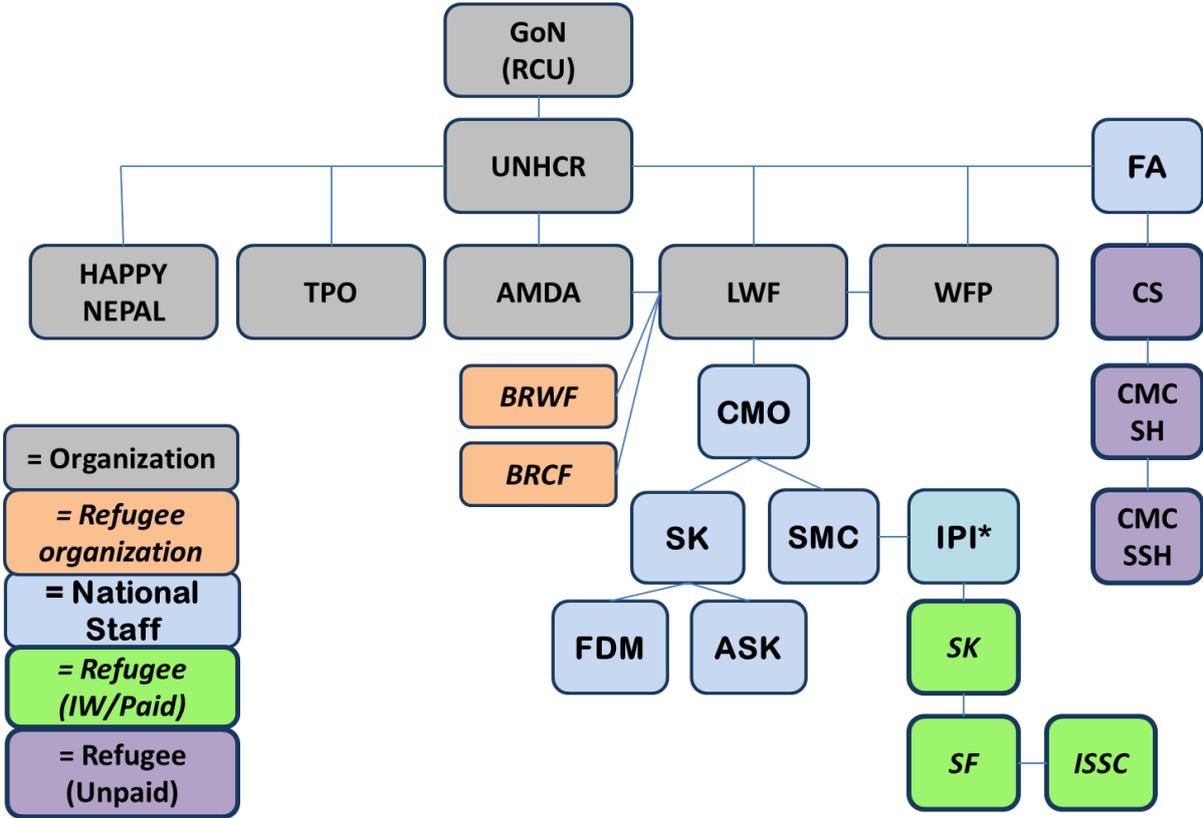
*See diagram for IPW

Figure 4.Incentive Pool Workers Structure
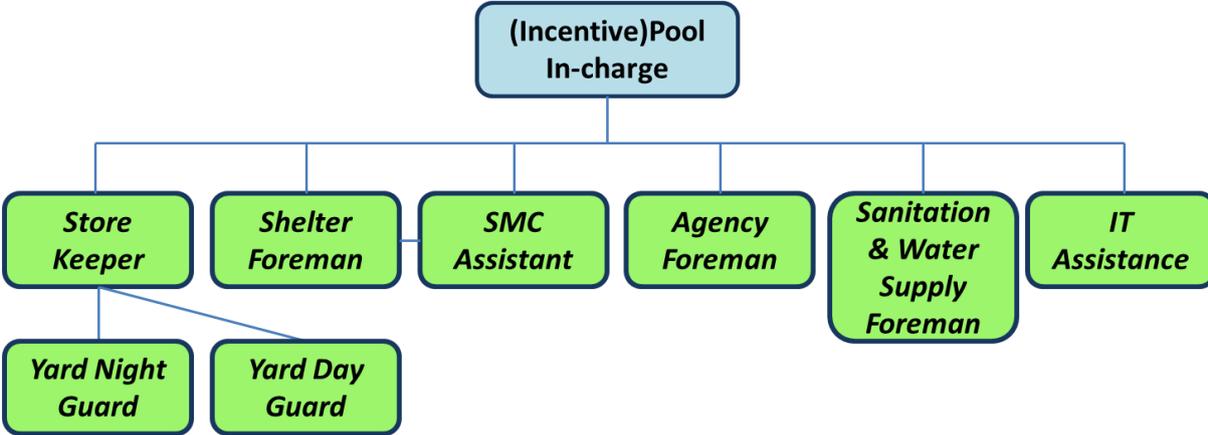
The national staff positions (blue in Figure 3 and 4), paid refugee positions (green in Figure 3 and 4) and unpaid refugee positions (purple in Figure 3) form the backbone of camp organisational structure. The Field Associate (FA) is the UNHCR representative in the camps, monitors all implementing partners and oversees the Camp Management Committee (CMC). The Camp Secretary (CS), linked to the FA is an elected refugee and oversees and supervises the CMC. The Camp Management Committee (CMC) is made up of refugees in elected (unpaid) position and helps to deal with disputes and other general matters within the camp. The Sector Head(s) are part of the CMC and each responsible for the oversight of their own sector. In Beldangi II there were at the time of research nine sector heads responsible for each of the nine

sectors A through I. Sector Heads are considered the second step for the general refugees in relation to dealing with official matters. Sub-Sector Head(s) (SSH) are also a part of the CMC and are each responsible for the people in their individual sub-sectors. They are considered the first step for the people when they have a problem which requires official attention, for example connected with their hut. There were reported to be thirty-six sub-sector heads in Beldangi II at the time of research. It should be noted here that the CMC in Beldangi II was made up of Sector Heads and Sub-Sector Heads from both Beldangi II and Beldangi III.

The Camp Management Officer (CMO) is in each camp an employee of LWF and national staff (of Nepali citizenship). The CMO is responsible for the monitoring of food and non-food items, both food and shelter. The Shelter Management Clerk (SMC) is also LWF national staff and is responsible for shelter and non-food items and the records associated with these. The Store Keeper (SK) is LWF national staff paid by WFP and responsible for the distribution process. The Assistant Store Keeper is also LWF national staff, also paid by WFP and assists the SK. The Food distribution Manager (FDM) is LWF national staff and deals with food related issues and handles registration (related to rations) of refugees.

The Incentive Pool Workers (IPW) work with the SMC and is made up of several different groups of refugees who are paid an incentive to do different kinds of work related to different needs within the camp including but not limited to water and sanitation and construction of huts. A basic outline of some of the different roles is given in Figure 4 above. Heading the IPW is the Incentive Pool In-Charge (IPI) who is LWF national staff and responsible for overall management of the group and coordinating with anyone outside of the group that the IPW may need to collaborate with. Incentive workers to build the huts are, according to a group discussion held with IPW recruited on a daily basis and it is often not possible to find enough workers willing to work for the incentive offered.

The above is not intended to be (and indeed is not likely) a fully exhaustive list of all positions held by organisational staff and refugees in the camp. It does however give insight into the general camp structure and the most important/influential positions and how this structure plays a role in the day-to-day functioning of the camp.

3.2. Camp Selection

When the research began in April 2012, there were three refugee camps still in operation. These were Khudunabari, Sanischare and Beldangis. The Beldangi camp(s), although administratively referred to as one camp consists in practice of three separate camps; Beldangi I, Beldangi II and Beldangi Extension. At the beginning of the research period, I was able to visit all three of the camps. Khudunabari camp was approximately 60km away from where the researcher was based and in the process of being shut down and as such not an option. At the end of May 2012, the relocation of the people from this camp was complete and it is no longer in operation. Sanischare camp was located approximately 25km away from my base in Damak and accessible primarily by agency vehicles. I wished to remain as independent from the organisations present as possible in conducting my research and from my perspective this meant not arriving at the camps in agency vehicles. As such, the Beldangi camps situated 10km away from Damak were chosen as the research location. Apart from my initial visits to the camp, I accessed the camps while conducting the research by means of bicycle.

The choice was made to seek a translator from the refugee community as I believed that someone who was part of the community and lived in it would have more insight into the existing situation in the camps from personal experience. This is also called an "emic" perspective and relates to the social world someone of someone who is a participant in it (Green and Thorogood, 2004). Given the social context and taking input from another researcher who had been in the field for six months into consideration, a female translator was also given preference. A translator was found, but then she then elected to take a job outside of the camp for a higher salary. A second translator option arose as a result of asking around in the Beldangi itself. After an interview, the translator (who was from the Beldangi II camp) agreed to the terms of the work agreement that I proposed and signed a contract. I offered a salary in the range of that earned by other incentive workers within the camp. Given that the decision had been made to collect quantitative data, an additional two research assistants were sought. The translator assisted in finding appropriate assistants whose primary task was to administer the survey. These assistants were also from Beldangi II. As the research is not considered to be of a sensitive nature and the translator and assistants were most familiar with their home camp, the location of the research was decided as Beldangi II. After training and one week of administering surveys, one assistant left because of his family situation, so the translator and one assistant remained my primary help in conducting the research.

On the next page is a map of the layout of the camp when it was first built (Figure 5). It is recognised that the quality of the figure is not optimal and the references difficult to read, however this was the only accurate depiction available of the camp. It is also recognised that Figure 5 is from when the camp was originally constructed and the layout is not a completely accurate representation of the current situation. The purpose this diagram serves however is to give the reader a visual representation of how the camp is laid out in its entirety. The little squares on the drawing represent individual huts, and the road on the Southern end (bottom) of the map represents the road separating the refugees from the local community. The camp is split into nine sectors (A-I), each comprising of four sub-sectors (1-4). So sector A (for example) has sub-sectors A1, A2, A3 and A4. There are thirty-six sub-sectors in Beldangi II. The number of huts per sub-sector is not tracked by the organisations, but rather the total number of families and people living in each sub-sector. As of April 2012 the population of Beldangi II was 16,226 with 51.5% being male and 48.5% female (LWF, personal communication, May 24, 2012).

Figure 5.Map of Beldangi II

3.3. Observation

Observation in a generic sense can be seen as the action of simply watching something or someone. It also refers to the observer making comments and remarks. According to Green and Thorogood (2004), observation is "the 'purest' form of data is that gathered from naturally occurring situations, in which behaviour and responses to it can be observed in situ (p. 148)." To gain better insight into the context within which the research was taking place, the first two weeks of the research focused primarily on observing. This meant not only becoming familiar with the town of Damak, where the researcher was located, but additionally interacting with some of the organisations active in the area and visiting the various active refugee camps.

According to Lofland (1971, as cited in Green and Thorogood, 2004), "participant observation is a route to 'knowing people' rather than 'knowing about them' (p. 148)." What this means is that in addition to interacting with various people, what those people were actually doing in different circumstances was of particular interest. As implied by this distinction, there are different levels of observation. Gold identified four ideal types (see Figure 6 below) seen to take place on a spectrum ranging from complete observer to complete participant. The complete observer may never actually be in the research context, such as someone viewing photos taken in the field. The complete participant on the other end of the spectrum is someone who is completely emerged in the situation, for example in this case, one of the refugees living in the camps.

Figure 6.Gold's Ideal Type of Research Roles
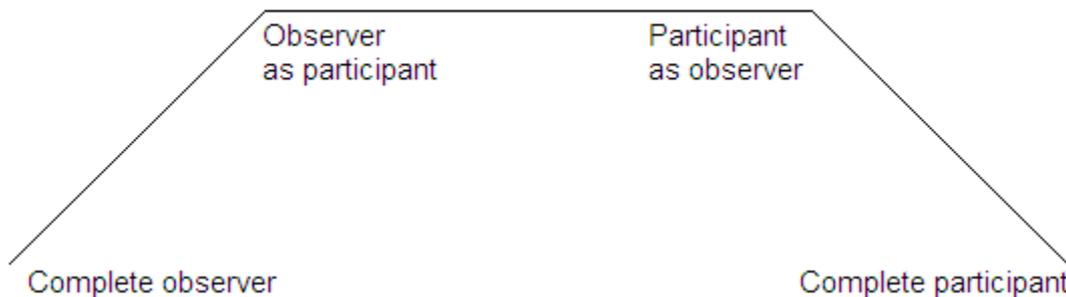
Source: Green & Thorogood, 2004, p. 150.

I placed myself on this spectrum as varying between observer as participant and participant as observer, with the former taking the more dominant role. According to Green and Thorogood (2004) these roles signify a situation in which the researcher participates more or less in the field they are studying. In this role I was able to both observe and interact with not only the research subjects but also the situations surrounding them.

Observational methods, according to Green and Thorogood (2004) "allow the researcher to record the mundane and unremarkable...features of everyday life that interviewees might not feel were worth commenting on (p. 148)." This methodology was highly insightful in a research context that was completely unfamiliar to me. With critical reflection upon my own assumptions along with input from my translator and other refugees as well as LWF workers in the camp I was through observation able to build a better picture of the whole situation as it existed in the camp(s).

In carrying out observation in the field, observations were recorded by means of daily field notes. These consisted both of particular things noticed in the moment of interaction with others as well as observation and reflective notes taken often at the end of a day in the camp. These observations took place for example, at the LWF Damak and camp offices, walking around in the camp, being inside individual refugee huts and during bike rides to and from the camp.

Observation can "provide a wealth of case study material for following up in interviews (Green and Thorogood, 2004:149)." This was definitely the case in this research as the initial interview guide (later used in the semi-structured interviews) was completely reconstructed after the first two weeks of observations. Not only this, but observations also contributed to continued adjustment during the interviews and the construction of appropriate group discussion guides.

Later in the research process, when interviews were taking place, observations on actions being taken by the research participants, interactions between refugees and particular details associated with individual huts provided valuable insight which complemented other research methods. Additionally, as a result of input from refugees and observations the survey went through several versions before reaching its final format. In the stage of data analysis, field notes on observations made provided very specific information in written format. This could not have been reconstructed in a reliable manner from memory. In can therefore be concluded that observation was an invaluable tool in this research and greatly influenced data collected through the other methodologies applied.

3.4. Interviews

Interviews are a widely used method of data collection in qualitative research. According to Green and Thorogood (2004), an interview is essentially "a conversation that is directed, more or less, towards the researcher's particular needs for data (p. 93-4)." This means that interviews can vary substantially in the extent to which they are directed. Green and Thorogood (2004) identify interviews as ranging from structured (commonly used in surveys) to informal (natural conversations) with different typologies that the authors recognise as in practice somewhat interchangeable. As the perspectives of interviewees were identified as of primary importance in this research, the main method of data collection was chosen to be interviews.

Semi-structured Interviews

The majority of the interviews conducted in this research were semi-structured. According to Case (1990), semi-structured interviews are often perceived as less intrusive than structured interviews and encourage two-way communication. Semi-structured interviews are conducted using an interview guide and leave room for the interviewee to introduce new topics. It is important in semi-structured interviews to phrase interview questions as open ended (not able to be answered with a simple yes or no) which also facilitates the emergence of new topics not pre-determined or biased by the perspective of the researcher.

In carrying out the semi-structured interviews, an interview guide was constructed prior to the entering the field. Once entering the field, the interview guide was considerably altered to reflect the actual situation that was encountered. Throughout the research, this second guide was a primary resource, but I gave ample room to the interviewees to express their viewpoints and sometimes chose to pursue lines of thinking brought up by interviewees. I did however, at all

times keep the aims of the research in mind and guided the interviews back towards the topic of interest as necessary.

During construction of a schedule for interviewing, it was decided that the most feasible in relation to the research time period would be to collect all interviews from one of the nine sectors in the camp. As the camp sectors are not arranged in any particular manner (i.e. according to caste), it is believed that selection of one sector is still representative of the camp as a whole. The sector in which the semi-structured interviews would take place was chosen at random. The sector selected was sector A, and it was decided that between 8 and 10 interviews would be conducted in each of the sub-sectors (again to provide a more representative sample of the sector as a whole). The initial aim was that one hut out of every ten huts would be interviewed; however this soon became impossible due to the set-up of the huts and the amount of empty or closed huts. Huts were still selected somewhat randomly, yet sampling of the interviewees was purposeful in looking for a variety of structural differences in the huts and the aim to interview refugees of different ages as well as approximately the same amount of men as women. It was decided not to interview camp residents below the age of eighteen as they were not born when the families first came to the camp, unlikely to have been involved in the initial building of the huts and likely to have little input into decision-making within the household. All but one of the refugees approached for an interview agreed to be interviewed, and one person to be interviewed was not present during the three times the hut was approached.

In total, 36 interviews were carried out with refugees. Eleven interviews were conducted in sub-sector A1, 8 in sub-sector A2, 9 in sub-sector A3 and 8 in sub-sector A4. The interviews were structured to be individual interviews, and most of the times this was successful. However, given the social context, it was often the case that an interviewee's husband or wife, or even a neighbour wished to contribute to the interview as well. I did express at the beginning of the interviews that one person should be responsible in the interviews, but to contribute to the comfort of the interviewees (and given that the topic was not considered sensitive), input by others was also recognised. All interviews with refugees were voice recorded with the permission of the interviewees.

In Table 3 below, an overview of the basic information associated is given to provide insight into the overall demographic makeup of the interviewees and the interviews. Note that in the five interviews where more than one interviewee gave significant input, the both interviewee's data has been used for the statistics given in the table. Given the number of combined interviews, the total number of interviewees is given as 41 although 36 interviews were carried out. Percentages and interview times have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

Table 3.Details for Semi-structured Interviews

% Female*	% Male*	Age range	Average age**	Average interview time
56%	44%	19-80	42.3 years	34 minutes

*These are the adjusted percentages given 41 interviewees. Non-adjusted percentages based upon the 36 interviews and the person most dominant in the interview are 53% for women and 47% for men.
**This is the adjusted age given 41 interviewees. Non-adjusted average age is 42.2 years.

Six organisational interviews were conducted on a formal basis and five out of six were able to be voice recorded. The sixth was not recorded due to the preference of the interviewee but extensive notes were taken. The organisational personnel interviewed were from IOM, LWF and

UNHCR. In was chosen to interview staff from these organisations as they are those most involved in sheltering processes in the camps. Interviews were arranged ahead of time, and separate interview guides were prepared depending on the focus of the person to be interviewed. All interviews were conducted with persons who had considerable influence within their organisation, primarily as supervisors/officers. Of the six interviews, one was done with UNHCR, two with IOM, one with LWF camp staff and two with LWF Damak office staff. Interviews with staff from organisations were not scheduled until near the end of the research as I wished to remain unbiased by their perspectives when interviewing refugees. Although the semi-structured interviews conducted both with refugees and organisational personnel provided the bulk of the data for analysis, informal interviews also provided valuable insights as will be covered in the following section.

Informal Interviews

The second type of interviews utilised in this research was informal interviews. Green and Thorogood (2004) identify informal interviews as those which "are more like natural conversations that happen fortuitously in the field, in which data are gathered opportunistically (p. 94)." Throughout the research, I identified seventeen informal interactions/conversations as informal interviews. Ten of these took place with various organisational staff, two with another researcher and five with refugees.

The data from these interviews did not necessarily become a part of the formal data analysis process (although some did). Many of these interviews became apparent as such in referring back to my field notes and reflection upon the research methodology. It was noted that informal interaction tended to put the other parties at ease and often sensitive or controversial topics were talked about more freely in such a setting. In the formal (semi-structured) interview settings, it was very clear at times (especially on the part of the organisations) that certain topics were not welcomed and the interviewees were much more careful of what they said. Ultimately, the multiple informal interactions helped me to form not only a more accurate overall picture of the context within which the refugees are living, but also deeper insight into the existing organisational perspectives. Different insights altogether were gained through the group interviews which are discussed next.

Group Interviews

In addition to semi-structured interviews and informal interviews, group interviews were also held during the course of the research. Green and Thorogood (2004) identify group interviews very broadly as "any interview in which the researcher simultaneously gathers data from more than one participant (p. 123)." The advantage of a group interview, according to the authors in contrast to one-on-one interviews is that "they provide access to how people interact with each other as well as with a researcher (p. 124)." As in one-on-one interviews, group interviews are also broken down into various types. It is not considered productive to delve into the various types of group interviews possible, but rather to briefly describe the type of interview selected and the rationale behind this choice.

The type of group interview that was used in this research is identified by Coreil (1995 as cited in Green and Thorogood, 2004) as a natural group. What this means is that the interviews took place with groups that already existed in the community independent of the research itself. The choice was made to interview these natural groups as in the initial observation period it became

very apparent that there is significant structure within the camp itself and these groups could give a much different sort of insight into this structure and how it operates within the camp situation. Namely, input from a more structurally formal perspective than found in the individual interviews. These groups were also identified as having the potential to impact sheltering processes within the camp and thought important to take into consideration as network connections are one of the central concepts of this research.

In this research four group interviews were held with between 7 and 19 participants each and in time ranging from 53 minutes to 1 hour and 5 minutes. The interviews were carried out with BRWF, IPW, SHs and SSHs. Note that in the group interviews with SHs and SSHs representatives from both Beldangi II and III were present. The basic information regarding the group interviews is found below in Table 4. Three group interview guides were created; one for BRWF, one for IPW and one for the SHs and SSHs. These guides were created prior to conducting the interviews based upon the research goals and the knowledge I had accumulated about each group and its role in the refugee community. See Appendix 2 for the full interview guides.

Table 4. Details for Group Interviews

Interview #	Group	Attendees*	Length of Interview
1	BRWF	+/- 12	53 minutes
2	IPW	16-19	1 hour & 1 minute
3	SH	+/- 8	58 minutes
4	SSH	+/- 7	1 hour & 5 minutes

*In every group interview there were times that people came in and out for various reasons. Sometimes excuses and explanations were given; mostly people just came and went as they pleased.

The above three different types of interviews described in this section bring the qualitative methodology section of this chapter to a close. The remaining method of data collection which was used is that of the survey which was conducted and is explained in the following section.

3.5.   Survey

Combining qualitative and quantitative methodologies is not unheard of, and in fact research that involves the integration of both types of research has become more common in recent years (Bryman, 2006). There exists in the quantitative-qualitative debate, a school of thought linked to those called *Pragmatists* who promote integrating methods from both within a single study (Creswell, 1995 as cited in Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005). Additionally, (Sieber 1973 as cited in Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005) says that researchers should use the strengths of both techniques in order to better understand social phenomena.

The decision to add a survey to the research methods already planned was reached in the field as a result of seeing the complexity of the context. The idea behind conducting a survey was that it would add a broader perspective of what is going on in the camps and complement the results of the qualitative data being gathered. As this was the goal, a sample survey was seen to provide valuable input to my research. A sample survey according to Poate and Daplyn (1993) may be for the purpose of obtaining a general base of information in relation to a certain area. The area in this case was that of Beldangi II refugee camp. Since the camps are not structured in any particular manner, and most of the refugees originate from a similar region in Bhutan, surveying in Beldangi II is seen as giving base information relating to the Bhutanese refugees as a whole.

In construction of the survey, I utilised my translator as a continual feedback system as to the appropriateness and understanding of the questions included. Not only the translator, but the two research assistants who were to administer the survey also gave feedback and helped with refining it to the final version. The survey was additionally administered to three different households (not in the sectors which would be surveyed) to both test its effectiveness and give the assistants practice as they were not experienced with survey administration. In its construction, the survey went through a total of five different versions.

The process continual review of the survey seemed somewhat exhaustive and repetitive at times, but on each review changes were made and the questions were fine tuned to the specifics of the location. Despite its time-consuming nature, the continual adjustment that the survey went through in its creation is seen as having had an essential impact on its end quality. In line with this approach, Poate and Daplyn (1993) say that the final number of questions listed should be reviewed as many times as possible. The final version of the survey as created in English was then translated into Nepali. Once the initial translation was completed, it was checked by another native (Nepali) speaker, and further changes were made to make it more precise. Due to the availability of computer equipment and time limits, the end version is both in English and Nepali. Although this makes the form itself rather cluttered, it greatly facilitated accurate data processing on my part as I do not speak Nepali.

The survey is composed primarily of closed questions. Closed questions, according to Poate and Daplyn (1993) are those in which the respondent's answer is restricted to a particular range of options. The survey is constructed of seven different sections and has 75 questions in total. The sections of the survey were: initial observations, general, household, relocation, resettlement, building and maintenance, changes to living space and opinion on living space. Each survey was estimated to take approximately one hour to complete. A full copy of the final survey can be found in Appendix 3.

It was decided that 160 surveys would be conducted. This sample size would reflect approximately 1% of the camp population and be statistically significant while also being feasible within the limits of the research being conducted. The sectors selected for administering the survey were selected at random from a bag. One assistant was to do 80 surveys in sectors B and E, and the other 80 surveys in sectors H and I. Ten surveys were to be administered per sub-sector, for a total of 40 per sector. No accurate list of hut numbers was available, and the locations of the refugees were known to change or be different from official records. Huts surveyed were selected randomly. Initially the assistants were instructed to go to every 10th hut, but it was soon realised that due to the different set-up of each sector within the camp, this was not always possible to do in an exact manner. Assistants were to instructed to interview household members above the age of eighteen and to survey approximately the same amount of males and females, regardless of age. The method in which the huts and survey respondents were selected is, despite the rather informal method of sampling not considered to be biased. In the end 159 surveys were conducted.

I had regular (at the beginning daily) contact with the assistants administering the survey. The surveys that had been completed were gone through by me and the translator on a daily, and even later when daily meetings were not necessary, a minimum of two times a week. This made it possible to identify problems and correct them very quickly. One problem for example was that questions were simply not answered on the survey. In this case the assistant was asked to

return to the huts where they had done the survey and ask the person interviewed for the answers to the missing questions. The data collected from the surveys was entered into an excel sheet by myself on a continuing basis throughout the research period. Having now explained the different methodologies which were utilised in carrying out this research, I turn to how the data collected was analysed.

3.6. Data Analysis

It is important to preface a description of how I carried out data analysis with the recognition that this research in its whole was a translation process. What I mean by this is that during the research process, beginning with the decision of a research focus through the presentation of the results, I as the researcher have made interpretations based on my own background and training. This is as much in relation to what is important as what was being said and how to follow up on or analyse that information. Although many efforts have been made to make this research as scientifically rigorous as possible, I recognise that there is always a degree of subjectivity involved in research. The process of translation between the refugees and me appear at several points during the research process. Though these may not be exhaustively representative, I explicitly recognise translation in the questions asked during the data collection process, transcription of interviews, the selection of data to use and the interpretations of that data that I have made.

Green and Thorogood (2004) describe a continuum of data analysis from the perspective of Plummer (1983:11). This continuum ranges from that in which analysis takes no account of the subjective experiences and empirical data are not much used to a simple editing of life history accounts in which there is no explicit interpretation and the story is said to 'speak for itself' (p. 197). The data analysis which I chose is in line with Green and Thorogood's approach (somewhere in the middle of Plummer's continuum), and uses empirical data but goes beyond simply reporting the accounts given by people. The type of data analysis used in this research was primarily thematic content analysis. Thematic content analysis is a common method of qualitative data analysis and according to Green and Thorogood (2004), analyses the content of data in order to categorise recurrent or common 'themes' (p. 198). From identified themes, codes which fall under these are developed and used to label collected data to organise it.

The first step in the data analysis process was the transcription of interviews. In doing this, I chose to use denaturalised transcription. Denaturalism is according to Oliver, Serovich & Mason (2005), a transcription practice in which the "idiosyncratic elements of speech (e.g., stutters, pauses, nonverbal, involuntary vocalizations) are removed (p. 1)." Naturalism on the other hand is transcription in which "every utterance is transcribed in as much detail as possible (ibid)." As the translation of the interviewees responses from the translator were often full of grammatical errors and sometimes made little sense when written verbatim, I decided to use denaturalisation in interview transcription. Denaturalisation is still working with a "full and faithful transcription" (Cameron, 1996:33 as cited in Oliver, Serovich & Mason, 2005:4) but the accuracy of this method has to do with the substance of the interview, or the "meanings and perceptions created and shared during a conversation (Oliver, Serovich & Mason, 2005:4)." This method of transcription while still presenting the most accurate translation of the interviewees was seen as both facilitating understanding of the interviews and the data analysis process for this research. In total, thirty-six individual interviews were transcribed along with four group interviews and five organisational interviews.

The second step in data analysis was to create the first general codes for organising the results of the research. As there was a relatively large amount of qualitative data collected, it was decided that a structured way of analysis would be most advantageous and feasible through the use of a specialised software program. As such, the software program Atlas.ti, which according to Casimir, Tobi and Barrett (2010) "is flexible and supports many data types"(p. 6) was chosen to facilitate and organise the data analysis process. All transcripts of semi-structured interviews, group interviews, as well as in-formal interview notes, and field notes were uploaded to the program. All of the data was then read through, and initial codes created under the emerging themes that became apparent upon review. These codes that were identified on a first review were then further refined based upon the focus of the research and grouped together. Based on these groupings, the structure of the results for this thesis was developed.

Quantitative data was analysed separately from the qualitative data. Data from the 159 surveys was entered by the researcher into an excel sheet on an on-going basis. When it came time to analyse the data, it was realised that the format in which the survey data was presented was incompatible for data analysis. As such, the data sheet was restructured to facilitate the simple analysis desired. For every question in the survey overall results related to percentages, means or averages were calculated and presented in a separate data sheet. The questions whose results matched up with qualitative data codes were identified and were then later used to complement the qualitative results of the research. Having described how the different methodologies and data analysis process for the research, I now present the results of my research.

4. Relocation and Resettlement

This chapter and the following two chapters present the results of the data collected for this research. The results are structured around the main themes relating to sheltering of refugees that emerged during the data analysis process. These themes emerged first from the refugees themselves, and then were further focused upon them in the research because of their relevance to refugee involvement in sheltering processes. This chapter presents the results related to relocation and resettlement and Chapters five and six go deeper into both these processes and related issues. Even though relocation and resettlement were outlined in Chapter two, this introduction explores further how the processes manifested in the Bhutanese refugee camps.

First, I present an interesting language related phenomenon that presented itself in reference to sheltering processes followed by why this chapter is structured the way it is. Next, an explanation of the origin of the relocation process is given along with a description of what has happened thus far in the camps and how relocation works in practice. Moving onto the topic of resettlement, the origins of the process in the camps and the controversy surrounding it is given. The different steps refugees go through in the resettlement process is given along with who is involved is provided. For the remainder of the chapter, the results of the research are presented.

What is useful to note in beginning the presentation of the results for this research is the language used in relation to sheltering processes. When talking about relocation, this specific term is used only by organisations and their representatives, whereas refugees themselves used the term "shifting" to refer to the process. When referring to resettlement however, both organisations and refugees used the term resettlement and talked about the "process" which refugees were going through to resettle. It is interesting that for one sheltering process refugees implemented their own terminology, whereas for another process they adopted organisational terminology.

Chapter Layout
The topics of relocation and resettlement emerged during the research as playing an important part in the camps and in the refugee's lives. Unprompted, many interviewees wanted to talk about how they had shifted from another camp or how far they were in their resettlement process. The original interview outline which was focused more on the huts themselves was altered to include these topics. Both relocation and resettlement later emerged as central in the first round of data analysis. Codes relating to each of the processes were identified and it became clear that in connection to the topics two groups of actors emerged as dominant. These two groups were the organisations and the refugees themselves (sometimes with influence from their informal connections).

The different roles these two groups played in relation to the processes, their interaction and perceptions then led to the structure of this chapter. The different roles and relationships that emerged related to relocation and resettlement, created the three sections in this chapter. Sections one and two subsequently deal with the roles played by the organisations and the refugees (along with their informal connections) in relocation and resettlement processes. The last section, while building upon the results of these roles and what they imply, also gives insight into the position refugees place themselves in relation to the processes.

Relocation

Relocation, as has been said, is moving people from one location to another and usually is done only in the case that the current environment is considered unsafe. When first initiated, a dialogue was said to take place which included the refugees and the local community. However in the end the GoN along with UNHCR were the ones who made the decision to consolidate the existing camps (LWF, Community Service Officer, Personal communication, June 7, 2012). This decision is seen to stem from the resettlement process which started in 2006. As the refugee population began to shrink, seven camps were no longer deemed necessary, nor practical. Beginning in 2011, the camps began to be consolidated, starting with the closing of Goldhap camp. It is indicated that at least one large fire also contributed to the closing of Goldhap. After this, Timai was closed, and the Khudunabari camp finished closing in May 2012. As the refugee population continues to shrink due to resettlement, it is planned that Sanischare camp will also be closed and those refugees will be moved to the remaining group of Beldangi camps.

Relocation of the refugees at the point of this research was expressed from an organisational perspective as an established process. The closing of Khudunabari was after all the third camp to be closed. When speaking to organisation representatives, this process was described as something quite orderly and with a set of well-established practices to carry it out effectively. The process was described to take place in a number of steps. First, a notice of where a group of refugees (linked to for example 25 huts) were going was prepared by the central office (of LWF), in cooperation with UNHCR. LWF was the organisation that was delegated to be in charge of the relocation process. Then refugees received a visit from someone going door to door informing them they will be shifting and asking them to bring their ration and refugee identity cards to the office to prepare documents for shifting (LWF Staff, Personal communication, June 4, 2012). This process was carried out by LWF in cooperation with the RCU. People were also notified of the materials they could take, where they would be shifting to and the condition of their new hut (ibid). Refugees were informed a few days in advance when they would be expected to move, and then literally broke down their huts and packed their whole lives into trucks to move to their assigned camp. Picture 1 depicts the process of a hut, its inhabitants and contents relocating as witnessed in Khudunabari camp. The process of relocation is of course slightly more complex, but the outline above gives a good general overview and more detail will be given as becomes relevant throughout the chapter.

Picture 1.Shifting of Khudunabari Hut

A.   *Foundation of shifting hut*   B.   *Hut contents being loaded into truck*

Some problems associated with relocation that became apparent in the research were the bandhs (strikes) which affected movement of the moving trucks, the lack of clarity (from a refugee perspective) as to the moving process and the separation of people from their families. Having briefly outlined the process of resettlement as it was taking place in the camps; I now turn to the topic of resettlement.

Resettlement

Chapters two and three have given some indication of what resettlement is and how it applies to the situation of the Bhutanese refugees in general. Here more detail is given to facilitate understanding of the results which are to be presented. Resettlement as a solution for the protracted situation the refugees are in came into effect in 2006. Many rounds of talks had been initiated with the government of Bhutan, without positive results, and the GoN was also unwilling to absorb such a large amount of refugees. Accordingly, resettlement was proposed as a longer term or "durable" solution for the refugees.

According to organisational representatives, resettlement was initially met with fear and resistance by the refugees because they did not know what it was, and there was a strong movement within the community to repatriate to Bhutan. The tide slowly changed when some key activists within the camp took the option to leave the camps for a third country. Many refugees began to indicate their interest in resettling and subsequently leaving the camps. The operation is now the largest operation in the world (UNHCR Resettlement Officer, Personal communication, June 8, 2012). There are still those refugees however, who have not applied for resettlement, and it is not clear from an organisational perspective (and also not from the refugees) what will happen with those who do not wish to do so. The hope that was expressed by an organisational representative was that eventually when a much smaller amount of refugees are left in the camps that the GoN would re-consider absorbing these into their community. There is at this moment however no definite answer as to what the solution for the remaining refugees will be.

The resettlement process for the Bhutanese refugees is inordinately complex and involves many different steps. However, a basic outline of how it works and who is involved is considered insightful. The process described here comes from information gathered in interviews with different organisational staff. The first step is that refugees fill out and turn in (either to the office or various UNHCR staff members) a declaration of interest form in which they indicate which family they would like to resettle with. This information is then entered in a UNHCR database so trends can be monitored for use in later information campaigns. Refugees are then called for an interview on a first come, first serve basis unless there is a special situation (i.e. disability, vulnerability), and in such a situation that case is fast forwarded. An assessment of needs and the background of the refugees are carried out by UNHCR and information relating to all aspects of the family is collected. At this point it is discussed with the refugees which country the application will be submitted based on where the family ties are the strongest. It is here in the process that any complications (i.e. polygamy, custody issues, and unaccompanied children) are identified.

Once the case is cleared by UNHCR, the case is prepared for submission and several documents are filled out and submitted. This process is quite comprehensive and takes some time on the organization side. Cases are then submitted to IOM who call the refugees in for pre-screening and collect more information as well as photos and fingerprints from the refugees. After this, the

refugees have an interview with the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) in the case of the United States, or with a similar agency from other countries. Then refugees go through a medical check to make sure they are healthy, participate in cultural orientation (which lasts a whole week), and then are scheduled for departure. Cultural orientation consists of a number of elements, including the cultural norms of the country and what kinds of jobs are available. The course is designed to prepare the refugees for life in their new country and there are different orientations given for the various countries of resettlement. Refugees must additionally take an oath at several points (4-5 times) during the process saying that they are telling the truth. The process from turning in the declaration of interest form until departure at this point takes approximately six months, if no problems or complications arise. Some of the problems associated with resettlement identified were delays due to different issues relating to family situations and separation of families.

4.1.   The Role of Formal Channels

When talking about formal channels associated with relocation and resettlement, these are represented mostly by organisation representatives. The primary organisation role in relation to relocation is played by LWF who collaborates with UNHCR and the RCU to actualise the process. LWF staff are responsible for (amongst other tasks) taking care of the paperwork for leaving one camp and registering at another, scheduling which families move when, and organising transport for the refugees and their huts from one camp to another. For resettlement, the first point of contact for most refugees is with a representative of UNHCR and as their "process" (another organisational term adopted by many refugees) progresses, they also come into contact with IOM staff. Despite the dominant role played by organisation representatives, Sub-Sector Heads and Sector Heads also appeared in relation to both processes.

Relocation
As was implied in the introduction to this chapter, organisations play a very dominant role in the relocation process of the refugees. To begin with, it was the decision of UNHCR and the GoN to consolidate the camps. Organisations (primarily LWF) not only informed the refugees as to when they would move, and required them to provide paperwork for the process, but also provided transportation for the move and told refugees what they were allowed to bring or not to bring with them.

> *"This means their kitchen utensils, their personal materials are allowed. But animals, pet animals, which they don't have also, these are not allowed. And bamboo, if it is green bamboo it is not allowed. Otherwise normally, their belongings. Their personal belongings, their family belongings are allowed."*
> *-LWF Community Service Officer*

National staff were not however the only ones that were a part of this process. Other formal representatives as well as incentive refugees and volunteers from the community were also involved.

> *"The people going door to door were national staff and incentive staff. In addition there was a task force committee from the CMC that helped with the relocation. These people were volunteers. Some of these were assistant sub-sector heads."*
> *-LWF Camp staff*

The quote above indicates that although the organisations had the lead role in deciding what would happen and when, there were other formal channels that also played a part in the shifting process. Corresponding to the role that the organisations and refugees in formal positions took upon themselves in the relocation process, refugees also referenced the formal channels which influenced them when shifting.

> *"From the sub-sector head and sector head we heard news of the shifting."*
> *-Female, 21 years old*
>
> *"Organisation people used to just give the paper to fill the one form for shifting. And we used to fill that form for shifting and we shift here."*
> *-Female, 45 years old*
>
> *"The organization people they just informed us in this date you have to shift from here to here. They inform us about the shifting, but they did not give the actual date and time, then we are just moving in emergency. For example when the people are sick and we have to call an ambulance to take them to the hospital."*
> *-Male, 38 years old*

What the above indicates is firstly that the refugees heard news about the shifting and the procedures they needed to follow from the organizational staff or those refugees that are a part of the formal structure of the camp. They did not seem to see themselves as having a lot of control over the process of shifting, but rather that they should just do what the organisations asked of them. Although refugees can be seen as participating in the process by filling out the forms for shifting and breaking down their huts for the moving process, they for the most part displayed little agency in relation to relocation.

Problems with Relocation

Occasionally problems associated with the shifting from one camp to another were mentioned in relation to official roles. Most of the time, the complaints had to do with the condition of huts provided by the organisations (also briefly dealt with in section 6.1). Another problem voiced was that of families becoming separated from one another during this process.

> *"My father and mother, they are too old, they can't work. They just shifted in Sanischare camp, and now I shifted in Beldangi…We applied for our parents to be here in Beldangi, but the LWF staff, or the shifting community did not listen to my voice."*
> *-Female, 60 years old*

The above quote is from a refugee who wanted to shift to the same camp as her aging parents. She said that even though she asked to be moved to the camp with her parents, the request, according to her was ignored by the organisations. Here again, a lack of agency is expressed from a refugee perspective. An obvious difference in perspectives is displayed here as in organizational interviews, it was portrayed that the organisations did work to link families together during the shifting process.

> *"And also they look, you know, family linkage. If there is some people they are supposed to come in Beldangi side, or to Sanischare camp, they just look their family linkage. And so far possible they try to arrange them together with their relatives."*
> *-LWF Community Service Officer*

Organisational representatives indicated that in the case that a family had problems with the shifting process they could complain to the organisation, and efforts would be made to resolve their complaint.

> *"They cancel the resettlement and give that spot to another family that is waiting to shift. Then they would write to the central office with the reason why the family rejected the spot they were shifting to. They they would prepare again for shifting that family to a different place."*
> *-LWF Camp staff*

It seems that although restricted in some senses related to the relocation, refugees were indeed given the option to refuse moving to a location if they found it unacceptable. Whether the refugees themselves were aware that they could refuse to move was not clear however as no refugee interviewed mentioned it. This indicates a disconnect in communication between the implementing organization (LWF) and the refugees being shifted. The end result, even in the case of refusal to move to an assigned location could result in a change of end point, would still be the same, shifting from their current location. It was clear that refugees saw themselves as not having much influence over where they would be shifted to.

Resettlement
The reality of the situation of the Bhutanese refugees is that their own government refuses to accept them back (and has indeed not taken one refugee back in all rounds of negotiations), and the GoN is at this point unwilling to grant them the rights of citizens. Since they are not able to go back, and their current situation is still considered temporary, a third option was sought out by organisations involved with the refugees, and that solution was to move to a completely different country. Not just one other country, but eight other countries are currently accepting Bhutanese refugees in different amounts. The bulk of them however are resettling to the United States. The resettlement process, as compared to the relocation process firstly has been taking place over a longer period of time, and secondly seems to provide more options where the refugees are concerned.

Both UNHCR and IOM play dominant roles in the resettlement process. UNHCR is with whom the refugees begin resettlement and they take a number of actions. Some of these are informing the refugees of what resettlement is, providing application forms and staff to collect the forms, collecting initial information during an interview and sending out a mobile counselling unit to contact those refugees who they identify as having a rough time making a decision about resettlement or don't want to go. According to a UNHCR Resettlement Officer interviewed, 75% of those who are visited by this mobile counselling unit either change their minds about resettling or re-engage in the process. Those from the mobile counselling unit are in each camp one day per week. There is additionally one official representative of UNHCR based in each camp, the FA.

Once refugees have been cleared by UNHCR, they are then referred to IOM who takes over the process (unless there are any complications which will be addressed later in this section). IOM takes further actions in relation to the refugee resettlement process including information sessions in the camps, calling refugees in for additional interviews, fingerprinting and medical checks. At the camp refugees are able to participate in information sessions or visit the IOM representative who is in the camp one day per week for individual case information. For other

interviews/meetings refugees are called in to the Damak office. Appointment slips indicate to the refugees when they are to go to the office.

> *"We send invitation slips. So we print out an invitation slip that has their case number, their name and the date when they are coming and why they are asked to come. We hand them to OPS, operations and they distribute them in the camps."*
> *-IOM Supervisor*

These appointment slips received by operations are located at a specific spot in the camp which is one that the refugees are said to know, and they go there to collect the slips. That is, unless there is a last minute change or appointment opening, and in this case appointment slips are delivered directly to the refugees huts. After getting to a certain point in their process, refugees additionally have a final interview with DHS in the case of the United States, or a similar government branch from the receiving country.

What the above says about the organisational role in resettlement is that they take a strong lead in the resettlement process. Occasionally, the role of formal channels in resettlement was recognised by the refugees.

> *"At first when we heard about the resettlement, in that time we can find anywhere in the camp because every person they have the form. If we ask in the CMC office as well they give form for resettlement."*
> *-Female, 21 years old*
>
> *"We just agree for resettlement and we just sign in the UNHCR and we ask, the IOM and UNHCR people they ask about the Bhutan. How you leave Bhutan, why you are here and why you want to go? Why you want to resettle? They ask that kind of question, and they take our photo, and we are now waiting our DHS."*
> *-Male, 48 years old*

What is indicated by the discussion of formal channels is that the organisations take a powerful role in the resettlement process, and this is evident in way that the entire process runs. Other than organisation representatives, others in the formal structure (refugees) were not referred to as part of the processes themselves. The assertive role of the organisations is demonstrated for example if refugees do not applied for resettlement, or have withdrawn their application, they are visited by organisation representatives who try to get them to re-engage in the process. In this sense, the formal channels related to resettlement reflect the overall agenda of the organisations.

Problems with Resettlement
When the resettlement process was going smoothly, refugees placed less emphasis on the formal roles but rather focused on the process of resettlement itself. However, when speaking of problems refugees sometimes referred specifically to the organisations in relation to their problems.

> *"Our file is in UNHCR only. And the UNHCR they don't forward our file to the IOM because due to the mixed marriage. Because of the mixed marriage our process is late. We applied for resettlement three years ago."*
> *-Female, 28 years old*

> *"Our process will be forwarded in IOM after my daughter gets her refugee ID card."*
> *-Female, 46 years old*

Problems refugees talked about in relation to resettlement stemmed from a number of issues including multiple, mixed and minor marriages, divorce and lack of refugee identity cards. Mixed marriages, to clarify, are those between Bhutanese refugees and those of Nepali (or other, often Indian) origin. Refugee identity cards, also an issue in the camp for those family members who were outside of the camps during the census that was taken give refugees the right to claim their status as a refugee and to receive rations in the camps.

These problems were not necessarily problems to the refugees themselves until they engaged in the resettlement process as certain requirements had to be met in relation to resettling to third countries. To give an example, marriage to multiple women is part of their culture, but receiving countries only recognise a man as being married to one woman. Another problem talked about by more than one interviewee was that part of their family was going to one country, and another part to a different country.

> *"We are just moving different country and I have two children. Because they are disabled and I want to go Canada. And my sister-in-law and brother-in-law they want to resettle in United States."*
> *-Female, 28 years old*
>
> *We want to resettle in the United States but there some of the family they just already resettle in Australia and we are just separated from each other and it makes me quite unhappy. Yeah we want to resettle in Australia and we asked the organization, the IOM, when we talk. They say oh you have to just go to the United States, not Australia. You can't go to Australia, you have to just go to United States. And we have the process now for the United States.*
> *-Female, 35 years old*

A point that merits mention here given the above quotes is that the formal roles of the organisations and the quotas (the amount of refugees they are willing to take) of the receiving countries. This has an influence on where the refugees end up resettling to. For example, the United States takes a large number of refugees (in the 1000s), but the Netherlands on the other hand takes very few (around 200) per year. It was expressed from the organisational perspective (as was the case for relocation) that family linkage was done to connect people as well as possible.

> *"We bring them in for what we call US tie-counseling, that's if they have family that's already in the US. We have to know who that person is and where they are so that we can assure that the case gets to that location."*
> *-IOM Supervisor*

The quote above refers directly to those refugees resettling to the United States. It was not made explicitly clear how this process also takes place in relation to resettlement to other countries. It was claimed however that the organisations working to resettle the refugees were making a concentrated effort to resettle refugees with their families. At the same time, the reality is that not every refugee can go to the same country and as a result some refugees see themselves being separated from those they consider family. One last interesting point to make in relation to resettlement issues is that every time there is a complication or change in the status of a case (i.e. a birth, marriage or death), the case moves from IOM back to UNHCR and must go through a

verification process by both the GoN and UNHCR before going back to IOM, which causes delays in the case.

The main issue that is seen with the resettlement problems that arise is that there is little that refugees seem to be able to do about their situation. The control of the situation (for example what is considered a complication in the case) is within the hands of the agencies assisting with resettlement and the surrounding bureaucracy. What refugees are able to do is to report any issues as quickly as possible to the organisations and to show up to their appointments. This indicates participation on the part of the refugees, but in line with the expectations of the organisations involved, not their own.

What can be concluded from this section is that formal channels in relation to relocation and resettlement are represented primarily by organisational representatives, and sometimes also refugees within the formal camp structure as in the case of relocation. When facing problems in relation to relocation, refugees did not express that they had much agency in the situation. Similarly, in complications related to resettlement refugees did not perceive themselves as having much control over their situation. Refugees additionally demonstrated awareness of the role the organisations played in relation to these two processes.

4.2. Self, Household and Informal Networks

As the previous section explores, formal channels, and namely organisations play a major role in both relocation and resettlement processes. As in every communication exchange however, there are always at least two parties involved. In relation to these processes, refugees, their households and connected informal networks also have an influence, which is the focus of this section.

Relocation

With three of the camps already closed a significant amount of people that were surveyed (36%) and interviewed were refugees who had shifted camps. As a part of official relocations refugees reported that they filled in official forms which were requested by the organisations involved and prepared themselves and their family to shift camps.

> *"Organisation people used to just give the paper to fill the one form for shifting. And we used to fill that form for shifting and we shift here."*
> *-Female, 45 years old*

Once notified by the organisation as to their departure date from their home camp (2-7 days before the moving date), refugees were expected to break down their huts and be ready to load all their belongings into a truck early in the morning of their departure.

> *"Short time, we have to just actually, to move from Khudunabari to here, we get just the what you say, list no? In the list they just give us the time. Time. They will just mention the time there. Within this days you have to shift from here to Beldangi. So in that, as per the time mentioned in the list we have to manage everything yourself. So after that, when the time is come you know we have to just shift from Khudunabari to here."*
> *-Male, 36 years old*

> *"Two or three days before shifting. We knew we were shifting but the particular date and time only two days before shifting."*
> *-Female, 21 years old*

During observation in Khudunabari camp, a refugee who was in the process of shifting his hut talked to me about how he had been working for days to get ready for the shifting, and said that he would have to work an additional 15-16 days on his new hut to make it suitable to live in as it is not big enough and lets the wind through. Other refugees also indicated difficulties with the moving process.

> *"Space, yeah. One truck for two house, two huts. So that is why it is difficult to add just the things in the trucks."*
> *-Male, 36 years old*

Others however said that the process was fine for them, and that they had experienced no difficulties when shifting.

> *"We haven't faced any difficulties when shifting because we are in double hut and the organization gives one truck to us to carry our things."*
> *-Female, 28 years old*

These experiences indicate the range of experiences different refugees had in the shifting process. According to the survey conducted, most people (96.6%) said they shifted huts for official reasons, although some also said they moved to be closer to friends or family members. In interviews refugees also sometimes referred to shifting huts (within the same camp) because of over-crowding in their own hut, inconvenient location or because of the bad condition of their hut.

> *"In Beldangi I we are just in a trouble because the hospital and this ration store and the school they are just far from our house. Our house was near by the river and for that we are shifting in Beldangi II."*
> *-Female, 31 years old*

> *"We got the hut materials but only in the A hut because that A hut is our hut number. But due to the overpopulation in my hut it is difficult to stay in one hut and we just separated here...someone else was living here before we shift here and they are just already resettled and we shift here."*
> *-Male, 48 years old*

Sometimes shifts between camp locations happened as well, as in the case of women moving to the hut of the man they married. This is part of Bhutanese (and I was informed also in Nepali and Indian) culture that the woman is expected to leave her family's house to join her husband in his or his family's' home.

> *"I am just sister-in-law of this house. I am from Beldangi I. I am just newly married here."*
> *-Female, 25 years old*

> *"My real home is Goldhap camp, but I just married with a Timai boy. I lived only one year in Timai."*
> *-Female, 21 years old*

So although most moves were official, it is of interest that refugees at times moved (or shifted) of their own accord. Not only that refugees moved of their own accord, but amongst those that relocated some also claimed that once they arrived in their new hut, it was not of a good standard. In this case some of them requested to be shifted to a different hut (sometimes more than once) until they had a hut that was from their perspective acceptable to meet their family's needs.

> "And we came here and after just arriving here, we did not get the comfortable house. Actually we got there at first, which was very bad. It was not good to stay there. So that is why we request to the uh, sub-sector head…We request him to manage us a good one. So after requesting him, he provided us another one, but that was also not good, so I request to what is this, the CMO and he gave us this one, and we managed everything and he just provide us the bamboo 30 pieces bamboo and two panel. And all these things we have to just manage by ourselves."
> -Male, 36 years old

What the above signifies is that refugees were active participants in the relocation process, even though the participation seems to be of a restricted nature as eventually refugees had to shift no matter what they wanted. As three camps were closed, there was little chance to be able to stay in their original location. However, although refugees followed the guidance of the relocating agencies, people experienced things differently, and some refugees utilised their agency in the relocation process. In doing this refugees requested to move huts via formal channels, built up the huts they were assigned, or took things into their own hands and moved into huts emptied by resettling refugees. On the other hand, refugees did not perceive themselves to have agency in relation to whether they shifted or not, and there was a marked difference in the perspectives of the organisations and the refugees as to what actions were possible.

Refugees and their households did not achieve the shifting process without the help of those in their surroundings, namely, their informal networks. The main way which refugees' informal channels came into play in relation to the relocation or shifting process was in relation to the actual moving process itself. This took place primarily during the breaking down of huts, loading and unloading of the trucks. The same refugee at Khudunabari who I spoke to while he and his family were loading their belongings was also helped by his friends, and others he knew. Looking at the large amount of things to be loaded, it was clear that shifting would be practically impossible to do without the help of others. Even the organisational shifting process recognised the help of the other community members in the shifting process as one family member and three community members were allowed to travel with the truck full of belongings while the rest of the family made the trip in a bus with other shifting families. In interviews, people also mentioned the help of others in the shifting process

> "We ask the friends to help. Ask to just load the things on the bus or the truck. So all the friends help us to load the things. And here also to download, unload also, all the friends just help us to bring up everything from truck to house."
> -Male, 36 years old

What this means is that in addition to participating in the relocation process and utilizing their agency to meet their own needs, refugees additionally made use of their informal networks to assist them in the process.

Resettlement

The resettlement of the Bhutanese refugees is the largest in the world, and around 50,000 refugees have moved to third countries since the process began in Nepal. This means that many of the refugees remaining in the camps are seeing neighbours, friends, relatives, and even parts of their own household leave the camps behind for life in a third country.

> *"I have no more friends in this camp now. They are all resettled."*
> *-Male, 33 years old*
>
> *"Many of my relatives are resettled in third country."*
> *-Female, 46 years old*
>
> *"We are twelve in our family, but half of them already resettled in third country. Three of us are living in this hut. We also have a resettlement process. We just had the photo and are waiting for the medical."*
> *-Female, 21 years old*

Most refugees surveyed (80.5%) and many that were interviewed said that they had applied for resettlement. Despite the mass resettlement process that is happening, there are still those who have not applied for resettlement yet, and those that do not intend to resettle. A fellow researcher shared that approximately 10% of refugees had not expressed interest in resettlement, and this was confirmed in organisational interviews.

One young man who acted as my morning guide around Khudunabari, told me that he was currently studying and teaching yoga as well as doing volunteer work in the refugee community. When I asked about whether he had applied for resettlement he told me that he wanted to spend a few more years in Nepal. It seemed that he was not ready to leave the country he had grown up in for another at this point in time. Other refugees gave different reasons for not yet applying for resettlement.

> *"Uh, I'm planning to just go there. Not fixed yet. So you know I have to still think about it."*
> *-Male, 36 years old*
>
> *"No. My new wife, she doesn't have this refugee identity. Mixed marriage. They just take the photo, but the organization didn't give photo still."*
> *-Male, 43 years old*
>
> *"No. We haven't applied. I asked to resettle, but my husband beat me and said he would marry another woman. Father and mother-in-law and my husband's family are already resettled but my husband doesn't want to resettle, and I want to resettle. And that is the problem...I am in process of divorce. When my divorce is clear I get another hut, separate hut. And I think I will apply after that."*
> *-Female, 21 years old*

As can be seen, there are a variety of reasons for refugees having reservations about resettling to third countries. One of these reasons is wanting to return to their country of origin, Bhutan. These refugees still hold onto the hope of returning to their homeland, despite the many failed attempts by UNHCR and the GoN to negotiate their return. Even some of those refugees who said

they had applied for resettlement said that they preferred to return to their homeland, but that was not a possibility.

> *"I want to return back to my country. Because my half of my family they already resettle in third country and they just force me to resettle. I have a daughter and daughter-in-law they are already resettled in USA. And they are just calling to me, they just force."*
> *-Male, 72 years old*
>
> *"We are talking about repatriation and third country resettlement because some of us want to resettle and some of us want repatriation."*
> *-Beldangi Incentive Pool Worker*

Linked to the issue of refugees wanting to return to their homeland, is the fact that there are refugees who have not decided whether or not to apply for resettlement, or did apply and have since then stopped their process. Sometimes the reason for this was given as other members of the household do not want to resettle.

> *"The other side of the family they call us, it's good, you have to come here. But my husband and my other family members don't agree to resettle because my husband's family has not applied for resettlement, they just stay here. No one just resettles."*
> *-Female, 48 years old*
>
> *"First of all we want to ask our family members if they are interested or not and then we will apply. My sons they want to resettle but I don't want. That's why, because my son's age is not above than twenty-one years, and afterwards our son just get twenty-one age, then we apply."*
> *-Male, 43 years old*

As in the case of relocation, there are others from refugees and their households' networks involved. However, this is less in a physical sense, but more in relation to listening and information exchange.

What the discussion on resettlement in this section has demonstrated is that although the majority of refugees make the choice to participate in the process, there are also those that chose not to. This is a clear indication of agency on the part of the refugees. In this manner, refugees recognise that there are other options besides resettlement, and some therefore choose to take their time before making such a life-altering decision.

What can be concluded from this section is that relocating refugees both participate in the process and enlist those in their informal networks to help them accomplish the moving process. Additionally refugees utilise agency once arriving in their new camps either by requesting new housing or moving of their own accord. Refugees however did express a lack of agency in relation to their knowledge of the possibilities present in relation to the shifting process. It was also noted that refugees do not move for official reasons only. In relation to resettlement, it can be concluded that refugees, although faced with a significant proportion of their community resettling, continue to make their own decisions (or avoid making a decision) as to whether they want to resettle. The final section in this chapter now addresses how refugees express their feelings relation to relocation and resettlement.

4.3. Refugee Feelings about Relocation and Resettlement

Relocation and resettlement: two sheltering processes that have significant impact on the lives of the refugees that are a part of them. In regards to these life-altering processes, refugees were often open in expressing their feelings related both to relocation and resettlement.

Relocation

Most refugees expressed unhappiness or discontent with having moved to Beldangi II from their original camps. Sometimes (which will be covered further in Chapter six) this was because of the hut condition or location itself. On other occasions however, refugees displayed negative feelings particularly in relation to moving away from familiar surroundings and people they knew.

> *"Our hut is nearby this road, and it's quite difficult to live in the side of the road. And in Timai I know everyone, I know every places of the Timai, I visited there. But in Beldangi I don't know where I have to go, I have no relatives, no neighbors, no friends. In this rainy season, I heard that this year the water struck here and it's difficult to just walk from the hut."*
> *-Female, 30 years old*
>
> *"I feel unhappy because we are in there since from 19 or 20 years ago and we know everything about the Khundabari. We have relatives, neighbours and others."*
> *-Female, 46 years old*

Refugees indicated their attachment to their home camps and the familiarity they felt there in relation to where services were as well as the rules of the camp and the atmosphere of the location. However, not all opinions expressed were negative in relation to the shifting process. Some refugees displayed quite a neutral (even passive) attitude in relation to the situation.

> *"We feel very, what to say…neither happy nor sad. We are compelled to come here, no? Agency has to just bring us here. So because of that we are just compelled, just forced to come here. Because all the peoples were just transport from Khundabari to Beldangi, so in this way we came here."*
> *-Male, 36 years old*
>
> *"I just spend more time in that camp. In Goldhap or Timai camp I know my relatives. I have many friends there, they are just around by us. But here we are new, and but now it's ok because I know some of my relatives here also."*
> *-Female, 21 years old*

On the other end of the spectrum were those refugees who said they were happy or at least contented with the shift to Beldangi from their original camp. It must be said however that these refugees appeared to be in the minority.

> *"I feel happy."*
> *-Male, 48 years old*
>
> *"It's good. I haven't faced any problems or difficulties."*
> *-Female, 28 years old*

What the above indicates is that refugees were well aware of the changes that they were making by shifting camps. It points to many refugees placing importance upon their networks of relatives, friends and neighbours in addition to their physical place of residence (both hut and

location). What is also evident is that refugees were able to see positive sides of shifting and look towards a future in their new situation.

Resettlement

Similar to in the case of relocation, refugees expressed a variety of feelings about resettling to third countries. Some of the refugees were positive about resettlement because of the opportunities they see for themselves. These refugees saw possibilities for themselves in relation to potential citizenship, being able to have an identity in this third country that they were moving to. Other refugees expressed optimism towards living conditions, jobs and healthcare which they considered better in the resettlement countries than in the refugee camps. They talked about not knowing about the future but indicated that despite this uncertainty and potential difficulties, life for them in a third country would be better than living in the refugee camps.

> *"I feel happy to resettle…There the job opportunity and health facility are good. The environment is also good as compared to the Nepal."*
> *-Female, 26 years old*
>
> *"I feel very happy because we got the opportunity to resettle in USA. Because in here we lost everything in Bhutan, and in Nepal also. Now we are going for resettlement and I think our future will be good."*
> *-Male, 32 years old*
>
> *"We are just travel many years in this camp, and we are jobless, we are identity-less here. Our relatives and neighbors, they are just already resettled there. And I want to resettle there because we got job opportunities there. I want to go very fast."*
> *-Female, 46 years old*

Refugees not only referred to opportunities for themselves, but also in relation to the benefits that their children would get as a result of resettling. In fact, refugees who weren't particularly enthusiastic to resettle themselves often cited their children as a motivation for resettling because at least their future would be better as a result.

> *"I know about third country resettlement. In third country the futures of our children will be good, we got the job opportunities there."*
> *-Female, 46 years old*
>
> *"It's good for my children and my children's future. We are uneducated and I haven't learned even to write my name also. And it takes more time or more years to learn their language. And in the period of the learning process we may just die. But I think it's good for my children because they are just studying there. They have their future there."*
> *-Male, 41 years old*

The refugees' were aware of their situation in the camp as compared to other people and places. They knew what their living standards and opportunities are like in comparison not only to those in the local community, who are located literally across the road from the camps, but additionally related to the people living in the city of Damak and the occasional westerners (such as myself) doing research amongst them. Their outlook also points towards an optimistic view of the future and a desire to be reunited with friends and family who have already left the camps.

Refugees hereby showed eagerness to participate in their own future by making a choice to resettle and expressed the importance of not only their immediate household but their community and informal networks.

Other refugees expressed not only mixed feelings about resettling to third countries, but also the sentiment that they felt that they had no other choice than to resettle. This appeared to be for a number of different reasons, including people they knew moving away, their lack of perceived future in the camps. From an organisational perspective it was expressed that at the moment there was no other solution for the refugees, and this was reflected in refugees' comments on resettlement.

> *"I feel quite happy, also quite unhappy because I have just resettle in one day because we don't have anything here, we have just not anything here. We have to just resettle."*
> *-Male, 48 years old*
>
> *It's quite good but now the third country resettlement, so my relatives, my neighbors, they are just all resettled. It feels quite unhappy to me and I think I have to, need to also resettle."*
> *-Male, 34 years old*

There were those on the opposite end of the spectrum from the positive, futuristic oriented refugees who very clearly expressed that they did not want to resettle. Although they said they did not want to go, these refugees also expressed the sentiment that they felt like they had to leave because there was no other choice for them. Reasons for not having a choice were either the situation they were currently in in relations to their family (complications, parts of family not wanting to leave) or that they saw many others around them moving away and as a result also felt pressure to resettle.

> *"Yeah, I got information, but sometime uh I feel I have to go, but sometimes when I hear some stories from my friends then I feel I don't want to go there."*
> *-Male, 19 years old*
>
> *"Yeah, because I have to go for resettlement because my wife and all my children they want to go for resettlement... Actually I am not interested, but all my family and relatives they want resettlement so I too have to go."*
> *-Male, 42 years old*
>
> *"And here also everyone went for resettlement and I think me too I have to resettle in third country."*
> *-Female, +/-82 years old*

It seems here that refugees were not always sure what the best course of action to take was. Some seemed to be waiting to see if perhaps a solution would be reached with Bhutan, or they would eventually able to remain in Nepal. In relation to this indecision, it seemed that a strong connection to personal networks continued to play a role. The less of their network remains around them, the stronger the need to make a choice in relation to resettlement became. When refugees say that they "have to" resettle they indicated a lack of perceived agency, that they currently didn't see any choices before them, but at the same time, their actions spoke otherwise. In not signing up for resettlement or stopping their process refugees portrayed indecision, which meant that they actually had a decision to make between different options.

Other than those who were happy, had mixed feelings or felt that they had to resettle, there were also refugees who expressed uncertainty and sadness in relation to the process. Their sadness was linked to separating from family members, leaving the country they have been in for the past two decades, or giving up the chance to return to their home country.

> *"They fill the form of resettlement, third country, and I see the many of my neighbors and relatives they just fill the form, and in that time they feel so happy, but when they leaving this place they are starting to crying. And I feel so unhappy in that time."*
> *-Male, 72 years old*
>
> *"I don't know my future. If all my neighbors they just resettle, in that time I don't know what I will do. But I want to just stay here."*
> *-Female, 57 years old*

What refugees' unhappiness in relation to resettlement or wanting to stay in Nepal says is that not only were refugees comfortable with expressing what they wanted, but this expression was an indicator for agency. If the refugees were able to say they did not feel happy about the resettlement process, then it is likely that they also had not taken the option to date to resettle, demonstrating their agency. This first action (choosing not to apply for resettlement) may lead them eventually to getting what they want, which is not to resettle.

What can be concluded from this section overall is first of all that the Bhutanese refugees are not a homogeneous group, but rather a group filled with variety of opinions and desires. In relation to relocation it became apparent that refugees valued their informal networks and where those were located in relation to themselves as much as their hut and its position. Refugees expressed a variety of wishes both for themselves and for their families in relation to resettlement and despite a lack of perceived agency, were often through their actions utilising their agency in relation to resettlement.

General Conclusions
What can be concluded from this chapter is first of all that although referred to separately in both refugee and organisational interviews, the processes of relocation and resettlement are connected to one another. Resettlement can in fact be seen as the reason that the relocation process began. It is unlikely that without the dramatic decrease in camp population that the relocation process would have begun. Relocation has had influence on the lives of the refugees, but resettlement played a far more dominant role. This seems logical as the move from a camp a day or less travel away within the camp is a far less drastic change than moving several thousand kilometres away to a completely different country and culture.

In section one it was concluded that formal channels were represented primarily by organisations and refugees (contrary to organisation perspectives) did not see themselves to as having much agency in either relocation or resettlement processes. Section two drew the conclusions that refugees actively participated in relocation and recruited others to help them with the process. Refugees also were seen to utilise agency in a number of ways once moving to their new locations and it was recognised that refugees did not always move for official reasons. Lastly it was concluded that refugees utilised their agency in deciding to resettle or not. Finally in the section above I concluded that Bhutanese refugees are a heterogeneous group and expressed different feelings both about relocation and resettlement. Formal networks were concluded to have the most influence on refugees both in relation to relocation and resettlement,

but informal networks also played a role. Agency, although not always perceived by the refugees, is often demonstrated.

5. Information Exchange

This chapter is focused on the theme of information. Information is, although not always tangible, something most people depend on for their daily existence. The focus is not solely on general information in this context, but that which is particular to refugee shelters (huts) and the sheltering processes of relocation and resettlement. There was significant reference to information on relocation and resettlement in Chapter four above, and also appear in this chapter in relation to information. Other aspects relating to these processes were already detailed in the previous chapter.

In the introduction of this chapter I first present a brief overview of how and why this chapter is organised the way it is. Then some background is given as to what information is in relation to sheltering processes in the Bhutanese refugee camps. To give further insight, an outline of what forms information takes, where and from whom information originates is also given. Lastly it is important to note some problems associated with information on the different sheltering processes.

Chapter Layout

One of the three prominent themes which emerged during data analysis was that of information. In talking about information, refugees often talked about who was related to information on sheltering processes as opposed to what exactly the information was. From this distinction it became clear that not only were the refugees both senders and receivers of information, but seeking information or expressing a lack thereof was also important. As a result, the chapter has been divided into four sections, the first three relating to sending, sharing and, seeking information, and the last dedicated to a narrative of knowing or not knowing about sheltering related information.

Information in the Refugee Camp

There were many different kinds of information presented through a variety of media encountered in this research. On the organisation side there were flyers, posters, a radio program, announcements and organisation employees whose job it was to go to individual huts as well as workers who were based in the camps. There were meetings of the organisations, the CMC, IPW, different community organisations (such as BRWF and BRCF), as well as those made up of community members. Additionally there was information exchanged through e-mail and telephone. The content of information often had to do with rations, materials for huts, relocation, and resettlement. Information came from inside the camps in the form of refugees talking to one another, or to organisation representatives. Information that was also considered to be "within" the camps was that coming from the various organisations that were involved even though the organisations and their representatives were at times not physically inside of the camp. Refugees however also talked about getting information from sources outside of the camps. What this referred to was primarily those friends, neighbours or relatives who had resettled to third countries. The mediums of telephone and internet facilitated this communication. The exchange of information in relation to sheltering processes in the camps is very clearly tied to the different networks of refugees.

A large amount of information which was provided to the refugees originated from organisations. The organisations which played the most prominent role in relation to sheltering in the camps were UNHCR, IOM and LWF as well as the RCU as representative of the GoN. The

specifics of who provided what information will be given further on in the chapter. The organisations involved in the sheltering processes were the only ones who were observed to use printed media to convey information. Refugees did however have access to computers and as such online media. In exchanges of information it was interesting to note that often depending on the source of the information, there was different value assigned to it. Information coming from organisations was portrayed by the organisations and their employees as reliable quality and sufficient quantity. This perspective was not always shared by the refugees in the camp. Similarly, refugees who talked about information from other refugees also portrayed it as reliable, yet this perspective was not shared by the organisations.

There were also problems associated with the large amount of information exchange present in the camps. One of these problems was that refugees there were differences in the perceptions of whether information was enough and in relation to getting access to it. An additional problem was that the exchange of information between different actors was not perceived the same way. This refers to for example, the perception of organisational representatives on the exchange of information between refugees.

5.1. Sending Information

When it comes to sheltering processes, in this case primarily relocation and resettlement, there was a lot of information sent out. Sending information, as it is seen is this context is one person or group providing or giving to information to one or more others. This was often done by the organisations present. Some of the information sent had to do with who to talk to, how and when to take actions related to the processes and where the location was where they could get further information. For example, when to have a meeting with UNHCR or IOM staff relating to a household's resettlement process, or what documents to bring to that meeting.

This section explores how (primarily) organisations communicated information to the Bhutanese refugees in Nepal in relation to sheltering processes. Information relating to the process of relocation is primarily linked to LWF. Information on sheltering processes given by the organisations is focused on the issues of resettlement and relocation. Resettlement information is provided by both UNHCR and IOM to the refugee population. Refugees who were involved in the CMC and those who have resettled already also provided information to other refugees. I first look at how relocation was connected to the sending of information.

Relocation
As relocation has been described in some detail in Chapter four, it is not thought necessary to repeat here the details of how the process came about or the principle actors. What has not been addressed before however is that organisations involved in the process claimed to have consulted with the refugees prior to the beginning of the actual shifting. Focus group discussions and semi-structured household interviews were conducted to gain insight into the refugee perspectives prior to relocation. These actions were initiated by UNHCR and implemented by LWF.

> *"So when there was focus group discussion, there were refugees representing children, women, and their leaders, their teachers. So every bulk refugee group was represented in these discussions. So by this way, and there was also an information campaign to the general refugees. So by this way everyone was informed earlier and their direct consent was taken."*
> *-LWF Community Service Officer*

What this indicates is that from at least one organisational perspective, refugees were considered to be well informed and to have given their consent as to what would happen in relation to shifting.

> *"Before starting the shifting process we went with the community and then our LWF and UNHCR also this task force organised an information campaign to the community. And then they were informed about the process that like this they will be shifted and this will be the option. Vulnerable people will be treated in this way. You will be given this type of hut, and logistic arrangement, other arrangements will be there in that way. So every process was informed to the community before starting this process."*
> *-LWF Community Service Officer*

During the shifting, notice of which huts would be shifted and when was displayed on a noticeboard and it was expected that refugees would come to check when they were moving. The people carrying out the distribution of this information were national staff, incentive refugees and volunteers. This means that at least some refugees knew a bit earlier than others what was going to happen in relation to shifting. Although this outline indicates that refugees were asked for their input before the shifting process began, this does not mean that refugees had much influence, and it is unlikely that their opinions were able to stop or significantly change the shifting process.

Although most of the information sent is from the organisations and their representatives, there are also members of the refugee community involved in this process. Sub-Sector and Sector Heads who are members of the CMC are information sending points for refugees. Other refugees in the formal structure of the camp who were seen as involved with the relocation were the Incentive Pool Workers (IPW). Members of the IPW are also refugees, yet unlike the CMC members were paid a small "incentive" by the organisation(s) to work in their community. They, like the CMC members did not have control over what information they receive, or when it is received from the organisations. Additionally, their tasks of relaying information are not always pleasant.

> *We know the problems, we are in middle. We are in middle and it's a headache sometimes because from the camp people and the office people also we have to listen to all their things.*
> *-Beldangi Incentive Pool Worker*

CMC and IPW members often find themselves in a middle position between the refugees and organisation representatives. Although they receive information earlier and have more direct connection with organisation representatives, it does not seem that CMC or IPWs have any more influence in relation to the relocation process than the average refugee. They did however have the ability to exercise their agency in certain ways. They scheduled and conducted meetings according to their wishes and made themselves available based on their own terms for the general population of refugees that they saw themselves as serving. CMC members saw

themselves as volunteers serving their community and play an important role when people seek information (covered in section 5.3.). CMC members sent information on all topics important for the people of the camp, including the processes of shelter and non-food items, relocation and resettlement. IPW workers, although paid, also seemed to see themselves as volunteers working for their community. The CMC and IPWs here indicated a formal network connection outside of the organisations from which information was distributed.

The organisations, primarily LWF in this case can be seen as taking the leading role (or at the top of the information chain) in sending information to the refugees. They were not however the only ones involved. Refugees participated in the focus groups and household interviews that were conducted in relation to the process, and were given the opportunity to volunteer or gain an incentive. The actual level of participation here however can be seen as relatively low since any influence on the process was bound to be limited by the organisations in charge of the process. At the highest, this participation could be seen as a level four or five according to Bass's hierarchy of participation. Agency manifested here in relation to people's choice of whether to go to the office when they were asked to for the relocation process, and what information (such as the location of family or relatives in other camps) to share with the organising parties in return.

Resettlement

Turning to the topic of resettlement I now take a look at who sent information and of what kind relating to this sheltering process. From data collected during both organisational and refugee interviews, it appeared that much of the information sent to refugees originated from either IOM or UNHCR. The information they provided was presented in a number of ways, including posters, pamphlets a daily radio program and information sessions. Radio programs relating to all manner of resettlement issues are presented on a daily basis. From the use of these varied media of communication it appeared that these organisations put quite some effort into providing the refugees with information on resettlement.

> *"We try to be as open as possible with communication. We have a video, or audio recording that we play in the mornings that spells out the whole process and the information that we will be asking for. We also have that on the radio that's broadcast in the camps although a lot of people never listen to it. So yeah, we always try to make sure that it's clear."*
> *- IOM supervisor*

The above quote, besides outlining information provided at the Damak offices (which were separate from the camps), also referred to the radio program, and pointed out that many people did not make use of the information that is provided by the organisation. The lack of use of this method is again demonstrated in the following:

> *"It's not as effective as we would like it to be. We always remind them when they come here for any activity. We always tell them listen to the radio, make sure you listen to the radio. We always broadcast at the same times, between 6:30 and 7:30 a.m., and between 6:30 and 7:30 p.m. listen to the radio during those times."*
> *- IOM supervisor*

This perception on the part of the organisations that the radio program was not effective was confirmed by the interview data. Despite the claim that most refugees knew about the radio

program, not once (and information received from the organisations was specifically asked about) did I hear from the refugees about these programs. What this actually demonstrated was refugee's agency in deciding at what level they wished to participate in the organisation information sharing activities, i.e. by turning on their radio or not. This of course assumes that each refugee had heard about the radio program, and that refugees were in possession of a radio. An IOM supervisor interviewed informed me that whenever refugees came in for counselling, they were reminded of the radio programs and to listen to them (personal communication, June 7, 2012). Since only 10,627 of the refugees have said they are not interested in resettlement (UNHCR Resettlement Officer, personal communication, June 8, 2012) it can be inferred that most refugees have been in contact with the organisations at least once and have therefore heard about the radio programs. Data from the survey confirms this as 96.2% of refugees said they had spoken with an organisation representative in relation to resettlement. Also, according to the survey conducted, 88% of refugees had a radio in their household. Not only that, but while conducting interviews in the camps, it was very common to hear the radio playing. This information implies that refugees made a conscious decision not to access the information via radio that the organisations were sending.

Information sessions were another manner in which IOM and UNHCR provided information to the refugee population. These information sessions were more prevalent in the early stages of the resettlement process, but have decreased in number as they are no longer deemed as necessary by the organisations.

> *"In the early part of the operation there was a lot more emphasis placed around information sharing. UNHCR and IOM had joint information campaigns in the camps to make sure people had the correct information. And then once people came on board, we cut down those activities. Now our information people are only in the camps sporadically."*
> *– IOM supervisor*
>
> *"Earlier we used to have these group information sessions about the resettlement program when the program first started here. It was like, you know, awareness. But uh, now that we're past the peak of the resettlement program the need for that is really not as compelling as it used to be."*
> *– IOM supervisor*

Between 2009 and 2011, UNHCR alone held 50-56 focus group discussions per month (UNHCR Resettlement Officer, personal communication, June 8, 2012). And this number does not include those that were additionally given by IOM in relation to resettlement. The UNHCR information sessions were held with different groups of people, such as the vulnerable (such as women and children) and some were country specific. At a particular point it was determined that the refugee population had reached "information saturation" as people stopped showing up to the sessions, and now there are only 4-5 information sessions given per month (ibid).

What is interesting here is that despite the large amounts of information said to be distributed by the organisations, refugees in interviews did not mention these information sessions. What this implied is similar to what was concluded about radio programs; that people knew of the existence of the information provided by the organisations in information sessions, but exercised their agency in not attending the sessions offered. It also indicates that there was not a high value assigned by the refugees to these information sessions.

Connected to the organisations which provide information in the camps (and central to distributing that information to the general refugee population) were the Sector and Sub-Sector Heads. As described in Chapter three, these refugees form a part of the formal camp structure, and are elected but unpaid members of the refugee community. Sector and Sub-Sector Heads are perhaps the first of the refugees to receive information from the organisations. Once they have received information, they in turn called meetings in their specific sectors to both distribute information and to answer any questions that the people may have.

> *"We will get the information from the organisation like UNHCR, IOM, YFC, and the Nepal and what we report, what they inform us we report to the people in the community. We used to help by informing people about programs and telling them to go."*
> *–Beldangi Sub-Sector Head*
>
> *Also in our, this fortnightly meeting we invite their representatives, CMC representative and also their sector head and also if they have some questions then they will raise to the task force and we will clarify them. And then they will go to the community and also they will communicate to the people.*
> *-LWF Community Service Officer*

The meetings held by the Sector and Sub-Sector Heads were a different (yet still formal) channel through which information was sent to the refugees in the camp. The use of this channel indicates recognition on the part of the organisations that other community members are a valued source of information for refugees.

The focus in this section has admittedly been on the organisations involved in sheltering processes within the camps. This is simply because sending information emerged from the data as mostly originating from organisations and their perspectives. The other sections in this chapter deal with sharing information and seeking as well as knowing and not knowing, angles from which the organisations play a much less central role. The representation of organisational perspectives is thought to provide balance to the report. What can be concluded from this section is that organisations send a lot of information to the refugees, much of which seems from a refugee perspective to not be recognised explicitly as important. Refugees displayed agency in deciding to listen or not to the radio programmes offered and choose whether to attend information sessions held by the organisations or meetings of their own community held by Sub-Sector and Sector Heads.

5.2. Sharing Information

Besides the information sent by organisations and CMC or IPWs, refugees also shared information with each other. What is meant by sharing of information is that unlike the sending of information, this is a two way process. It involves both the sending of information as related to in the above section, but additionally to receiving information. In sharing, there is also interaction between those communicating. In the case of the Bhutanese refugees this meant contact not only with those inside of the camps, but also those outside. Those "inside" the camp are seen as those sources who were either literally within the camp, or embedded in the structure of the refugee context, such as organisational workers in nearby Damak. Inside of the camp situation refugees shared information with various others including those in their immediate household as well as relatives, friends and neighbours. What is meant by those

outside of the camp primarily means those refugees who have resettled to third countries. It is recognised that some sharing is also likely to occur between refugees living in the camps and members of their household who are living outside of the camp yet still in Nepal or India. These interactions however were not investigated (nor arose) in the research and were not in themselves seen to have bearing on the research.

Refugees additionally shared information with those within their formal networks such as CMC and IPW members as well as organisational workers both in the camps and in Damak. This sharing could take place for example when refugees visit the organisation offices in Damak, go to information sessions in the camp or receive visits from organisation representatives in their homes. Refugees were sometimes visited in relation to the relocation (what they needed to do and where to find information on the process) as well as resettlement (through the UNHCR mobile counselling unit for example or if they could have an earlier/different appointment time).

It should be noted that although information sharing seemed to be key in the camps, it was not explicitly talked about as such, and information in general seemed to cover the whole spectrum covered in this chapter without distinction. The interpretations of exchanges made are however considered to be an accurate interpretation of the camp situation. Information sharing in relation to sheltering processes emerged as linked to three areas; the shelters themselves, resettlement and relocation.

Relocation
As was addressed in section 4.1, in relation to relocation, refugees appeared to get most of their information from the involved organisation(s) linked to the process. When talking about this information, refugees referred to receiving information from the organisations and how this came about.

> *"Short time, we have to just actually, to move from Khundabari to here, we get just the what you say, list no? In the list they just give us the time. Time. They will just mention the time there. Within this days you have to shift from here to Beldangi. So in that, as per the time mentioned in the list we have to manage everything yourself. So after that, when the time is come you know we have to just shift from Khundabari to here."*
> *-Male, 36 years old*
>
> *"We know the particular hut number and sector in Khundabari itself in RCU office and when we shift here in A2 itself, in hut 25 first. Then again we shift in this hut."*
> *-Female, 46 years old*

Little was said however about the information that the refugees then shared with the agency. From organisational interviews however, it appeared that they had a lot of information about the refugees. For example, when shifting refugees, knowledge was expressed by one LWF officer that not only how many huts had to be shifted was known, but also how many people were associated with that hut and whether one or more persons in that hut had a resettlement process. This was particularly in relation to a vulnerable family who are perhaps more closely monitored, but it demonstrates a certain knowledge base. This can also be linked to the expectation that refugees were register any births, deaths, marriages or other change in family status at the camp offices.

Although refugees did not appear to see themselves as having much input in relation to the shifting process, it was indicated from an organisational perspective that LWF was open to be approached by members of the community to communicate about their problems.

> *"But sometimes you know if the community comes to us and they propose to us for this and that then we see if we need to take any special arrangements for them or not."*
> *-LWF Community Service Officer*

This indicates instead of a one-way process, the interaction, or at the least possibility for interaction between the shifting refugees and the implementing organisations in relation to problems during the relocation process.

Refugees mostly did not refer to the name of the organisation(s) involved in shifting them. Although the GoN and UNHCR were organisational forces behind the actualisation of the relocation process, it was LWF who took the lead role in carrying out most of the practical details of completing the camp closings.

> *"But main task is, we are, LWF is responsible for this shifting purpose overall."*
> *-LWF Community Service Officer*

LWF was seen to involve a lot of time, energy and resources in to the camp relocation. For example, when I first took a trip to Khudunabari, the LWF officer I was with took the time to specifically go and visit a vulnerable family (the children were disabled) to talk to them about the shifting process. They were concerned because they saw all the people around them shifting away, but they were not getting to shift. This was because one member of the household was resettling, and according to the LWF officer that process needed to be complete before they could be moved. He did however take the time to personally go and talk to this family and explain to them what was happening. What this situation demonstrates a sharing of information between organisational staff and the refugees in the camps.

In relation to relocating camps, it seems that refugees depended almost exclusively on information that they received from the organisation involved. This was indicated not only by the strong organisational role in the process, but the lack of reference to fellow refugees as sources of information in regards to the process. On the other side, once shifted it was sometimes expressed by the refugees that were relocated that the location they moved to was less than ideal. This was not based on their own personal experience as some had only been there a few days, but rather originated from those refugees who lived in the area the refugees moved to.

> *"Other peoples say also. They know this May 3, rain falls no? In that time they know. Around the house there is more water stuck here. They know."*
> *-Male, 42 years old*

This information from others in the area indicates communication between those newly moved to an area and those already established there. People who had moved to a new area expressed trust in the opinions and other information shared with them by fellow refugees living around them. This indicates a certain reliance by refugees who relocated on those in their new surroundings. These people around the newly relocated refugees then begin to form new links in

the informal network of the refugees. There were also problems that people faced in regards to the quality of the hut which they were shifted to. This issue will be addressed in Chapter six.

Resettlement

When it comes to resettlement, and the sharing of information, refugees referred both to interactions with relatives, friends and neighbours, but additionally with UNHCR and IOM. The way in which information is shared is varied. On the organisation side, sometimes the information given to the refugees was in printed form, but many times also in the form of direct contact with the refugees. This contact could take place either Damak offices of UNHCR and IOM, or in the camps themselves.

> *"The IOM or UNHCR they just give the pamphlet or the book to us. And we heard information about resettlement from the organisation and the IOM just have a meeting in the sector about the third country resettlement. We got information from there."*
> *-Male, 48 years old*

Refugees do not however just get their information on resettlement from one source. Connections both inside and outside of the camps also interact with the refugees and information was gained from these interactions. This information exchange between refugees in relation to the resettlement process is definitely recognised from an organisational standpoint according to the representatives talked to.

> *"When people decided to resettle, they also communicated with the people remaining in the camp and people started to get information this way."*
> *-UNHCR Resettlement Officer*

This simply indicates that the organisations recognised they are not the only source of information on resettlement for the refugees. However, as indicated in section 5.1, this information can also be at odds with the information provided by the organisation. A UNHCR officer interviewed said that people were more likely to listen to their relatives or neighbors, anyone but the agency in relation to what is happening with resettlement processes. This says that people placed high importance upon the information received in their interactions with their personal networks.

Refugees did often talk about interactions with their relatives, friends or neighbours, and the information they received through those channels. These interactions were most often said to be with other refugees who had either applied for resettlement as well, or had already resettled.

> *"Some of the friends said that no don't come there, some of the friends, oh, come here. We are so late to come here. Anyhow we have to just come from there, it's quite good to stay in the USA. In this way there is just listening from the friend also."*
> *-Male, 36 years old*

The above not only refers to refugees getting information from non-organisational sources, but also recognises discrepancies in the reports received from those who have resettled. This means that despite the facts they hear from organisations, people wanted to hear stories from their friends and family as to the reality of life in a third country. In doing this however, refugees likely got a variety of feedback as individuals have different experiences when resettling. Some got good accounts in relation to resettlement, and others were told that life was difficult in another

country. The point is however that refugees wanted more detail on what their life would be like in a new country and interact with those in their networks to do so.

Although many of the refugees indicated contact with those in their personal networks who had resettled, it was occasionally the case that refugees said they were not able to get in contact with their family who had moved away. In comments from the survey it also came up that people wanted more information from their family who had moved away.

> *"And some of them didn't get information also because they have no phone contact with each other, to their family"*
> *-Beldangi Sector Head*

Refugees expressed a lot of connection to their personal networks and a dependence on information from these networks which seems to play a role in the perceptions of resettling to other countries and the conditions there. Although many expressed little problem in contacting their family who had moved away, there were also those who struggled to keep in contact with their connections. Without contact with these connections it appeared more difficult for refugees to get the information they would like in relation to the resettlement process. Some refugees implied that without information from those who had resettled they would not know about resettlement. Indeed, some refugees claimed not to have received any information on the process.

> *"We haven't received any information about the third country resettlement."*
> *-Male, 43 years old*

It was not common however, for refugees to express getting no information whatsoever. Most of them indicated getting information through contact with formal or informal sources, and usually a combination of the two. In support of this, the survey data collected indicated that 96.2% of refugees said they spoke to an organisation representative about resettlement. Despite getting information, many refugees (83.6%) who had spoken with someone at an organisation said that they would like more information. Not only this, but many refugees were specific about the information that they wanted to get with 69.2% for example saying they would like to know more about jobs in third countries. Another area where refugees expressed that they wanted more information was in relation to their family that had already resettled.

What the discussion of information received by refugees brings to light is that there are conflicting views as to how information is received during sharing but also related to perceived discrepancies in the information itself. Refugees share different information with various people within their personal and formal networks. In receiving information, refugees can be seen to exercise their agency in a number of ways, such as whether or not to attend meetings distributing information, and making choices about what to do from this information. It is deduced from this that some refugee's sense of agency is markedly less than others as they appear not able to get access certain relevant information. Refugees could additionally make the choice to do something with the information they receive during sharing or not, and whether to go in search of more information (which will be discussed in the next section).

5.3. Seeking Information

In addition to the first two sections on sending and sharing information, seeking information also emerged as a central topic related to the theme of information. As was referred to in section 5.2 above, people sometimes did not get the information that they felt they needed. This was particularly expressed in relation to the organisations involved in sheltering processes. Based upon people's information seeking behaviours, this section has been divided into two sections. The first of these is information seeking relation to refugee shelters (their huts). The second is information seeking in relation to the process of resettlement.

Information on Huts

Imagine how it would be to flee your own country, come to a foreign country, and live in a plastic tent for months before getting a slightly more stable living arrangement. The temporary or transitional living situation for the Bhutanese refugees turned into two decades of living in bamboo huts in the refugee camps. Refugees, having very little resources of their own, were of course interested in information regarding the hut, or home they were to live in and how it would be constructed and maintained.

Data gathered from the survey confirmed this perspective as 86% of refugees said that they wanted more information about the building of their hut. Additionally, 89% of the refugees who said they wanted more information also said that they actively looked for more information. The information that the overwhelming majority (97%) said they wanted was information in relation to hut materials. This is not to say that no information was received by the refugees, in contrast, all refugees surveyed said they did receive information before the building of their hut. Almost all refugees additionally said that they got their information from speaking to organisation representatives, and most (91%) said that the information that they did get was useful to them. What is significant here is that the information the refugees got was according to them, not enough.

An interesting addition to the seeking of information by refugees is that most (91.3%) of those who actively looked for information said they went to a CMC member to help them. This indicates a strong tendency to rely on formal channels to provide them with information related to their huts. What is indicated thus far from the data is a strong presence of agency on the part of the refugees. This manifests itself in the refugees taking action to seek answers to their questions instead of waiting to see what comes next.

A remarkable difference between the quantitative and qualitative data arose during the exploration of these results. While the majority of the evidence provided in this section has come from the survey data, very little in relation to information seeking emerged from the qualitative data collected. Most references by refugees to their (or those of others) huts were made in relation to more tangible matters, such as the location or materials which will be covered in Chapter six.

Resettlement

Relating to resettlement, also a life influencing process, refugees expressed that they did not have enough information to meet their needs by seeking out information on the issue. In order to get this information, refugees used multiple resources, including those who forma part of their formal and in-formal networks. Formal informants were primarily those associated with the sheltering organisations According to an IOM supervisor interviewed, in the month of May

alone there were approximately 1800 queries from refugees about resettlement. In interviews talking to the organisations about resettlement information was also raised.

> *"I talked in Damak office, in UNHCR"*
> *-Female, 46 years old*
>
> *"No I haven't asked my sub-sector head…I will ask the organisation directly."*
> *-Male, 33 years old*

Reference to talking to organisations about resettlement processes was additionally prevalent amongst those who had resettlement complications or special circumstances.

> *"My sister just married with the one lady and her husband is just lost and she has the children. She get married with another guy and she leave the children in my parents house. For this reason I just went to UNHCR and IOM many times but they are not concerned with my problem."*
> *-Male, 33 years old*
>
> *"Already my husband's family talked with the UNHCR when they prepare for resettling. Now I haven't talked to anyone. After finishing my divorce process I will just talk with them."*
> *-Female, 21 years old*

Refugees however did not only talk about information that they sought out from organisation representatives, but also from those within their informal networks such as relatives, friends or neighbours. As in the previous chapter, these contacts were often those refugees who had already resettled to third countries, or were in the resettlement process themselves.

> *"I spoke to those who already resettle in USA on the phone. Friends, relatives. We just talk about that first time. After a few times it's quite difficult to be here because we are just, we are from Nepal. The culture and tradition are different. But after some time its fine."*
> *-Female, 21 years old*

What the exploration in this section makes clear is that there is definitely agency in the actions of the refugees as they sought information. Refugees made choices on from whom, when and where to seek the information which they desired. Not only did they actively seek out information, but in doing so refugees utilised both their formal and informal networks in the process although informal networks in this case played a dominant part. This use of multiple sources indicates that refugees were aware of the options that are available to them and able to consciously focus their information seeking behaviour.

Not only qualitative data, but also survey data indicated information seeking behaviour on the part of refugees and what specifically they wanted to know in relation to resettlement. 83.6% of the refugees surveyed said they would have liked more information, and all of those said they also actively sought more information. Surveyed refugees also referred specifically wanting information on jobs in third countries where they would be resettling to. What was not able to be determined from qualitative interviews, was the extent to which refugees sought information from those in their informal networks. Almost all refugees who wanted more information said they went to their neighbours, and many (60%) also sought information from friends. Only a very small percentage (5.3%) claimed they went to an organisation for information on resettlement. Considering however the amount of inquiries made to IOM in a given month (as

given earlier), it would seem that there is sometimes discrepancy between what is said and what is done by the refugees.

Based on the discussion in this section it can be concluded that sources of information vary based on the kind of information the refugees wish to attain. In relation to information about their shelters organisations appear to be the central resource for refugees. In relation to resettlement, it appears that refugees used both formal and informal networks to get information, but attributed the most value to that information gained through their informal networks. It also has become apparent that although refugees did seek information on resettlement from organisations in regards to their resettlement processes, the common perception is that their information needs were not fully met in this manner. Refugees then wanting more information continued to actively seek information via their informal networks in the form of relatives, friends and neighbours.

5.4. Knowing and Not Knowing

It should be abundantly clear from the previous three sections in this chapter that there were extensive amounts of information distributed, shared and sought out by means of different mediums and methods by various stakeholders within the camps. What is now interesting to explore is that although there were many refugees who seem to have significant knowledge in relation to sheltering processes and how these influence them, there were also many who did not, or claimed to not have knowledge related to the same processes. Whereas some refugees professed knowledge on where information relating to their huts came from, where they were resettling to and awareness about their future in those countries, there were also those who professed a lack of knowledge.

It is not possible to outline every contradiction or mismatch as to what topics refugees claimed knowledge or lack thereof, but a few topics relevant to the research have been pulled out to provide examples of what is meant by knowing and not-knowing. The first of these is knowledge about the shelters, huts or homes within which the refugees live. There were those who expressed knowledge of where to go to get support or materials from the supporting organisations. Some refugees were not only very clear in the location of where they needed to go, but also as to the name of the organisation they identified as being connected to the issue.

> *"We just talked with staff of UNHCR. Those that work in the field in the camp."*
> *-Female, 46 years old*
>
> *"We just ask LWF for materials."*
> *-Female, 28 years old*

On the other hand, there were those who were vague, or claimed that they didn't know which organisation was providing them with support. This was their perspective after approximately twenty years of being supported by the same organisations. Others knew the names of the organisations, but expressed a lack of knowledge about what the organisation did in practice.

> *"I don't know which organisation provided everything for us, I don't know."*
> *-Male, 69 years old*

> *"I don't know. I don't know the Nepal government and UNHCR what they do. The UNHCR and the other organisations they have to just give me the ID card or they have to just register me because I have all my family they are living in refugee."*
> *-Male, 60 years old*

A second topic which emerged in relation to having or not having knowledge was related to the dominant theme of resettlement. When it came to discussing resettlement, there were those refugees who asserted knowledge of their process, including some detail expressing their awareness of what the process of resettlement entails.

> *"We are twelve in our family, but half of them already resettled in third country. Three of us are living in this hut. We also have a resettlement process. We just had the photo and are waiting for the medical."*
> *-Female, 21 years old*

In contrast to this, there were refugees who expressed a lack of knowledge about their resettlement process. As has been previously described, although taking an average of six months the resettlement process for some refugees can take quite some time. This offers a partial explanation for why refugees did not know where they were in the process. Sometimes though, a lack of knowledge seemed to stem from the interviewees place in the family structure.

> *"That resettlement form was filled by my son, I don't know."*
> *-Female, 55 years old*

A third topic that became apparent in relation to the known and unknown was that of refugees' futures. The future as a topic can be seen as something that in the camps has been a concern for quite some time. Ever since arriving in the camps, refugees had been in an uncertain position as to where they will be in six months, two years, or even ten years into the future. Given this more or less global uncertainty that has been present in the camps since their foundation, it is interesting to see how some refugees reacted differently to the idea of their future. For some, the future was something known and looked forward to. Others expressed a lack of knowledge, but remained positive, and still others expressed the future as something unknown and associated with fear.

> *"I know about third country resettlement. In third country the futures of our children will be good, we got the job opportunities there."*
> *-Female, 46 years old*
>
> *"If we resettle there, our future made bright there. We are just listening by others but actually we don't know what's there and what about our future."*
> *-Female, 21 years old*
>
> *"I don't know where I have to go. If I stay here, how is our future? If I resettle also, how is our future? We are staying here, we left everything in Bhutan itself. Now we are staying in this small hut. Sometimes I want just something. In that time I don't have any money to buy it. Sometimes I want to eat something. I like to eat something but I don't have anything, I can't earn money. I can't know how to speak also."*
> *-Female +/- 82 years old*

What this section has demonstrated so far is the significant variety that can be found within the refugee population. Whereas some refugees expressed helplessness or inability to influence their own futures (a lack of agency), others seem to see themselves as aware of the current situation and able to act upon it, expressing their agency. Having knowledge, or at least expressing the perception that they have knowledge indicates different levels of not only agency, but also of network connections. Knowledge, or information, is seen as being influenced by networks and it appears that some refugees had stronger networks connections than others as they were able to access information.

In survey data and observations for example, men were predominantly heads of households and as such had more interaction with organisational representatives. After an initial organisational meeting (at least in regards to resettlement), the head of the household is used as a primary contact. This means that this person in the household received information before the others. A UNHCR representative interviewed said that information still does not make it to some members of households due to filtering by the head of the household in regards to what he or she deems as important for their family. What this means that information did not make it to everyone in the household equally and that some refugees participated more in sheltering processes than others.

In group discussions, it was also observed that the majority of the CMC members (holding formal positions within the camp structure) were predominantly male. This indicates that in at least two situations involving the creation of or interaction with formal networks, men had greater chances to participate in camp life. This participation, as in the form of CMC members in turn allowed them access to more information. CMC members are then in turn central focal points within their community and can be seen as having the broadest networks which also makes them privy to more information and connection with organisational representatives.

What can be concluded from this section is that both perceived and actual knowledge varied amongst the refugee population. These are both linked to perceived and actual agency. Participation within camp life is linked more knowledge and also an increased sense of agency. It is thought that in relation to sheltering processes men had higher chances than women of gaining access to information and therefore sense of agency. Those in formal positions within the camp structure also are seen as having broader networks and subsequently access to more information.

General Conclusions
There have been many conclusions reached over the course of this chapter, and as such, this last segment serves to both summarise and give a refresher as to the results related to information exchange within the camps. Section one, on sending information concluded that much information was sent by organisations, but not explicitly recognised by the refugees as important. Refugees displayed agency in relation to choosing to receive the information sent. Section two concluded that refugees shared information with people in both informal and formal channels and repeats that agency is expressed in the decision to attend or not attend events where information is available. Refugees were also concluded to have different levels of agency.

In section three it was concluded that refugees use different sources of information based on the type of information they wish to access. Relating to shelters organisations are central sources, but in regards to resettlement personal networks play a clearly dominant role. Refugees are seen

to still seek information from organisations, but did not attribute much significance to it as they see their information needs as not being met in this manner. Information seeking overall was concluded to be an active and conscious process. Lastly, in the above section relating to knowledge or lack thereof, actual knowledge was concluded to vary in the refugee population. More participation was linked to a higher sense of agency and men are seen as having higher chances of getting information through participation in the camp formal structure and relatedly as having higher sense of agency. Having summarised these conclusions, the last theme within the results is addressed in the following chapter.

6. Materials and Assistance

Chapters four and five have laid out the results from the research in relation to resettlement and relocation as well as information flows. This chapter presents the last of the research results linked to materials and assistance. In introducing this topic, the chapter layout is first given. Then what materials are and what types are used in relation to the refugee huts, as well as where these materials come from and how they get to the camp is explained. I then take a quick look at the standards for constructing refugee huts and how they are personalised after their rather uniform construction. This is followed by my definition of assistance in relation to this research and the forms it takes as well as who it is given by in the context of refugee huts.

Chapter Layout
During the time spent in the camp, it became clear that the refugee community was not individualistically centred as many western communities are with everyone depending upon themselves or at the most immediate family members for support. When conducting interviews in the camps and asking about the construction and repair of huts, the refugees talked a lot about the help they got from others around them. This theme then also emerged as quite prevalent from the beginning data analysis. Eventually, codes that initially focused just on assistance were split into two fields, one relating to assistance, and the other materials. These two groups were then again broken down into who was giving (or being asked for) the materials or assistance.

As a result of this process, it became apparent that refugees distinguished quite clearly between the different groups of people who were providing the materials and assistance. They were additionally quite vocal about how they felt about the situation surrounding their hut and related materials. Based upon these insights, the four sections of this chapter came into being. The first three sections deal with the different ways refugees organise themselves and utilise different networks in getting materials and assistance. The last section stands apart, as it deals with the feelings the refugees have in relation to their huts and the related materials. It is however seen as insightful and necessary addition as it brings the overall perspective of the refugees to the existing situation.
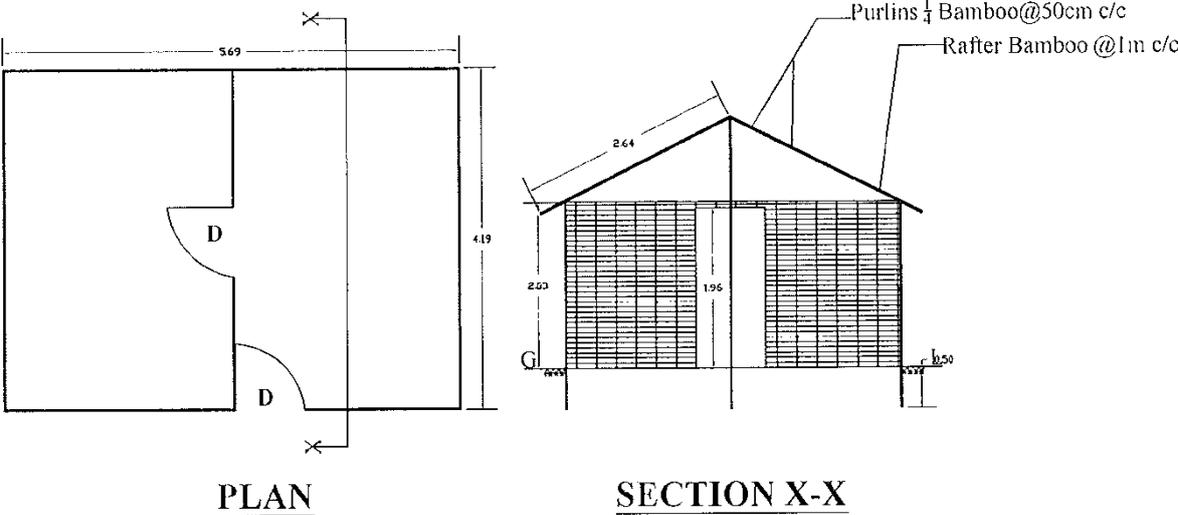
Materials
Materials, in this chapter refer to those physical items which are used to build, repair, or maintain the refugee huts. The most commonly used materials were bamboo, plastic (sheeting), mud and wire. Additionally, materials such as rope and concrete were also seen to be used. It is recognised here that although the research directly focused on the hut structures themselves, some materials served multiple purposes. For example, bamboo is not only used in construction of the huts, but additionally for making furniture, fences, animal cages or hanging cribs for babies as well as for firewood. Despite the overlapping uses of some materials, what will define them as such is that they directly contribute the construction, maintenance or repair of the huts (transitional shelters) of the refugees. Other household items, such as wooden furniture, electronics and non-food items (provided by the organisations) are not included as materials as they were not explicitly dealt with in the research and it is not possible to draw conclusions based on the limited references within the data. Many, but not all materials which are needed for the building and maintenance of huts were supplied by LWF. For a full list of hut materials used by LWF to build a new hut see Appendix 4. The next step here is to look at where the materials came from, and how they got to the camps.

In relation to the official provision of hut materials, there was quite a process involved. In brief, there is an assessment of costs and an advertisement for needed supplies by LWF. Then a bidding process was held in which different companies throughout Nepal (and sometimes India) applied and LWF looked for who could procure the desired materials for the best price. After approximately one and a half months, the company with the winning bid transports materials to the camps in cooperation with LWF. This timeframe is of course provided that everything goes according to plan. Some of the problems associated with materials in the camps were delays due to the strikes happening throughout the country and not having enough to cover the materials demand caused by the relocation and at the same time the needs of the other refugees for their regular maintenance and repairs.

LWF constructs huts according to the SPHERE standards followed by UNHCR. This means that with a family size of up to 8, one hut is given. For a family of 9-17, two huts, and for a family of 18 or more, three huts. Huts are 5.5m x 4m in design and are constructed with occasional 4m firebreaks at intervals between huts. According to an LWF contact, the actual number of huts is not tracked, but rather the population itself and the number of households (defined by refugee ration cards), so it was not possible to get an exact number of huts present in Beldangi II. See Figure 7 below for a plan of the huts. Imagine row upon row of these huts constructed with minimal space between them. This gave the feeling of a city made up of with housing from villages.

Figure 7.Hut Plan (LWF)

When the camps were first established, refugees lived in emergency shelters of either plastic sheets or tarpaulin. From here, they were assigned to different camps, and got materials to build their own huts. For the refugees who are still in their original camp, they built their own huts and either apply to LWF to get materials for repair or manage to get their own materials (the how of which will be discussed later). For the refugees who are shifting in from the other camps, there are two possibilities as to the hut they would end up in. The first was to settle in a hut that has been vacated by refugees who have resettled to third countries. In this case, an assessment of the hut is done by LWF incentive workers and any necessary repairs are made before the refugees arrive. A second possibility is that the refugees would be assigned to a hut was newly built in anticipation of their arrival.

After moving in, refugees put in partitions to make different rooms, and typically huts were seen to be divided into 2-4 rooms. Generally speaking, there was a sitting room (which often is also someone's sleeping space), a bedroom, and kitchen in each hut. Some variations amongst the huts included washrooms as part of the hut, a storeroom and a "room for god." Inside, huts were decorated in different manners, such as covering the walls in paper, colourful posters or pictures on the wall or different floor coverings. Outside, some houses had fences, were painted, or had small gardens or flowers around their huts. Additionally there were various external structures such as washrooms, toilets (constructed by organisations) or work spaces. Despite the somewhat uniform construction instructions/standards of the huts, in my experience, not one hut was exactly the same as another. See below for some pictures illustrating the variety found in the camp.

Picture 2.Inside of Huts
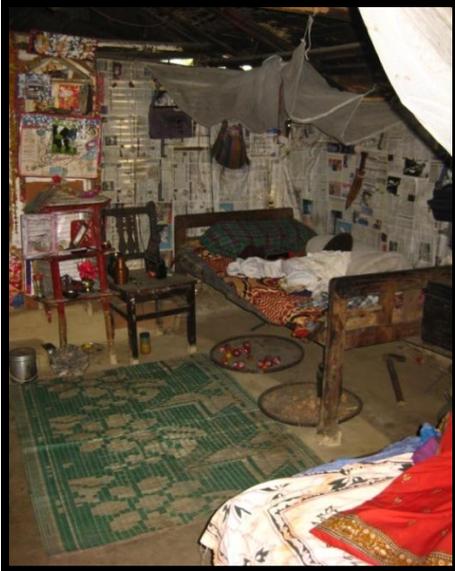
A. *Sleeping room*   B. *Kitchen area*

Picture 3.Outside of Huts

A. *Flower garden*   B. *Washing place*

At the beginning, when the camps were set up it seems that refugee's primary source of materials were the organisations. In the current camp situation however, refugees not only got their materials from the organisations (and according to them, progressively less), but additionally from the market by the entrance to the camp, from Damak, or from the surrounding forest area.

Assistance
For the most part assistance is referred to conjointly with materials. However, it is worth defining how assistance differs from materials and who the sources of assistance are. Assistance, unlike materials, is often not in the form of a physical item, but rather in the form of help, and sometimes money. The sources of assistance identified in this case were organisation workers, organisational incentive workers, other community members (working for an incentive), other (extended) family members, friends and neighbours.

Assistance took many different forms in relation to the refugee huts. These were identified as providing materials, breaking down huts for relocation (and helping with unloading trucks on the other side), carrying supplies from the organisation or market to the hut location, with actual construction or repairs, and as loans or remittances. It was very apparent that refugee households depended quite often on help from others. Without assistance from those outside of their immediate household, refugees would have problems being able to complete necessary tasks such as moving or maintenance and repairs on their huts.

6.1. Getting Materials and Assistance through Formal Channels

When talking about formal channels in relation to materials and assistance in the camps, organisations and refugees within the formal structure of the camp (as was outlined in Chapter three) play central roles. The organisation that was mainly responsible for providing materials is LWF and they were responsible not only for distributing materials, but also making sure these were available for the building of new huts for refugees relocating from the closing camps. LWF employees and incentive refugees were not however, always the first to be approached regarding materials and assistance.

Formal Channels
Refugees who wished to get materials for their huts indicated that they first went either to their Sub-Sector Head, or Sector Head.

> *"We just write the application first, and we have just give the subsector head and the subsector head just asks to sign for the sector head and they used to just give in the office."*
> *-Male, 20 years old*
>
> *"Yeah I ask my problem to the sub-sector head about my hut condition, my roof condition and all condition and they will ask to the LWF or UNHCR."*
> *-Male, 33 years old*

Refugees interviewed said that this was just the way that they did things, to ask their Sub-Sector Head, who would then relay their request(s) (which are required to be in the form of a written application) to the Sector-Head who then would go to LWF, who decides whether they get the materials or not. However, the main formal source related to getting materials was not clear as other refugees said they contacted the organisation or their representatives directly.

> *"If we need the hut materials for the repairment, then we ask the organisation. We just give one application to the organisations and they give the hut materials to us."*
> *-Female, 46 years old*
>
> *"For maintaining the roof and for other materials we have to write the application to the CMO."*
> *-Male, 34 years old*

Asking organisations directly was not only talked about to in relation to getting materials, but also for assistance, such as in shifting to another hut when the hut the refugees lived in was seen as in too poor of condition to live in.

> *"We just asked to the CMC member to shift the hut. We just ask the RCU and the UNHCR people to shift our hut."*
> *-Female, 46 years old*

Information gathered from the survey correlates with this information. 98.1% of those surveyed said that an organisation was most responsible for building the hut they live in now and 99.3% and said that most of their materials for the building of their hut came from an organisation. Relatedly, 99.4% of those surveyed said that most of the materials for major repairs came from organisations and 91.1% said that responsibility for major repairs belonged to organisations. What this indicates is that overwhelmingly refugees looked to the organisations in relation to securing materials for their huts.

The situation portrayed here is one of refugees who used multiple formal means to access materials which they deemed necessary to maintain their huts. Participation in this case, lies mostly in the hands of those embedded within the official structure of the camp. These refugees (elected by their peers or hired by the organisations working in the camps) have a more active ability to influence the procedures associated with materials and assistance within the camp, to communicate, and have their opinions heard by organisation (national) staff outside of the refugee community. Individual refugees are seen as having more of a passive participatory role here as they mostly defer to the officials they approach with their needs and individually are not able to make a difference in the way materials and assistance are dealt with within the camp.

Agency presents itself in relation to getting materials from formal sources in that the refugees are seen to utilise the options they see as most fit given their individual situation. This could be in relation to submitting an application for materials, following up on a request for materials, or gain assistance with moving huts. The different formal options refugees referred to were Sub-Sector Heads, Sector Heads, organisations (LWF, RCU, UNHCR) and their representatives (i.e. CMO). Not only do refugees express agency in choosing between official options, but also in the conscious decision to make use of formal resources instead of (or in addition to) other available options. In making use of their formal choices, refugees are also making use of their networks through those people embedded in the official structure of the camp to meet their needs. These formal networks are seen as very important to the refugees in the camp situation as without them it would seem that refugees would be at a distinct disadvantage and have difficulty in getting supplies that are to them essential for maintaining their huts.

Problems with Formal Channels
Despite the fact that official means of getting materials and sometimes assistance were indeed recognised and important, a problem referred to often by the refugees interviewed was how long it took to get materials through formal means.

> *"After three or four months it takes. If it's rainy season only they will give so fast, or in time, but in winter season, we have to wait for four, five, six months also."*
> *-Male, 20 years old*

An option offered by an organisation interviewee however was that if a hut condition was really so terrible, that the refugees are given the option to move to a new hut (LWF SMC, Personal communication, June 5, 2012). This may seem like a logical solution from an organisational perspective, but in a community where households depend not only upon themselves but also upon their other surrounding family, friends and neighbours, from a refugee perspective this could be seen as a last solution only to be taken if every other option fails.

Another problem was that sometimes refugees were simply not able to get materials or assistance through formal means. This may have been because the problem they referred to was not seen as urgent enough by the organisation, or simply (as indicated in the introduction of this chapter) that there were not enough materials available to cover everyone's needs.

> *"I just asked many times, but when I ask they just say oh you will get, you will get. Always they say that, but I haven't got."*
> *-Female, 57 years old*
>
> *"Before we get our hut materials after 3 or 4 years but now we are not getting our materials in that time. They say because of the shifting process from the other camps the materials are lacking. There are no materials that's why we haven't gotten our materials."*
> *-Female, 53 years old*
>
> *"When we ask extra materials from them, they say we have already given to you, it is sufficient for you. But to us, not sufficient."*
> *-Male, 34 years old*

Another common complaint amongst the refugees was that when their original hut was built by the organisation, or repairs done by organisation incentive workers the work was not of good quality.

> *"First of all the organisation they built this roof and the outer wall, but inside we made by ourselves. It's not good to stay those house which was made by the organisation because it's not good but we just repair ourselves."*
> *-Female, 21 years old*

What happens as a result of it taking a long time to get the materials requested, not getting what they see as sufficient materials or not getting materials at all, was that refugees then looked for other ways to get what they need.

> *"It's our duty to ask to the organisation for the hut materials but if they didn't give for us and we have to buy from the market also."*
> *-Male, 43 years old*
>
> *"First we ask the organisation for bamboo to repair our hut. But if they don't give in that time we have to buy the bamboo."*
> *-Male, 32 years old*

As indicated here, one of the most prominent ways to get materials outside of formal means was that refugees and those who live in the same hut as them sought the materials themselves. This topic will be covered in the following section.

What can be concluded from this section is that refugees made use of different formal options in relation to their getting access to materials. These included organisational as well as refugee connections. Refugees varied in which connections in the formal structure of the camp they utilised, and ultimately, formal networks played a significant role, but were not the only means by which refugees got the materials and assistance they saw as necessary.

6.2. Role of Self and Household in Getting Materials and Assistance

The most important role in getting access to materials and assistance in relation to their huts can be seen as being played by the individual refugees themselves, and their immediate household. That is, the other people that live in their same hut, or adjoined hut. To understand more about the Bhutanese refugee family, I first give some observations on family makeup and roles from my experience within the camps. This section then explores the different ways in which refugees utilised themselves and their households as assets to gain what they saw as needed in relation to their huts.

The Refugee Family
Generally speaking, in the Bhutanese refugee community, the head of the household is male (95.6% per survey results). There are however exceptions, mostly in the case that a woman is widowed. Even then, the oldest son (as was the case in one of the interviews) may assume the role of the head of the household. Self-reported family size (as per the survey conducted) ranged from two to thirteen people with an average of 5.6 per family and an average of three children. Given the Sphere Standards for the amount of people per hut, this means that one family could occupy more than one hut. Families interviewed lived primarily in one or two huts (usually conjoined), and only one interviewee's family had three huts.

Roles within the families were roughly divided as follows. These deductions are made from my observations and interviews and it should be noted that there are always exceptions to what is seen as the norm. The head of the household is responsible for such things as making sure the hut is in liveable condition, that the family has enough to eat and usually acts as the official representative when dealing with matters involving the organisations. Within the household the women are responsible for the everyday tasks such as sweeping and smearing the floors (with a mud/dung combination) cooking, cleaning and washing the clothes. Use of the kitchen is very particular and usually only the wife in the family (and sometimes her mother or sister if she is sick) is responsible for the kitchen. Men who were unmarried or otherwise living singly (as in the case of one refugee whose wife and children had already resettled) are usually cooked for by other family members although they sometimes indicated cooking for themselves. When it came

to young people in the camps, several references to high alcohol consumption, drug use and delinquency as a result of unemployment or "idleness" were made. Children in the camps are typically in school during the day as education up to high-school level is provided within the camp. Mid mornings in the camp swarms of children can be seen heading home to eat lunch either with their family or with that of a friend.

Working on Huts

In relation to materials and assistance, it seemed that there were two main ways in which people showed themselves (and family living in the same household) to be their own best asset. These are in working on repairs and maintenance to their huts (assisting) themselves, and working outside of the huts (which often means outside of the camp) to earn money for required materials or assistance. In the first sense, when asked about who made both major repairs and did regular maintenance, people often identified themselves. Relating to the building materials, refugees commonly said that they went out and bought these materials themselves.

> *"We build by ourselves, but the organisation gives the full bamboo and some plastic to us and we build by ourselves. It's not sufficient to build our hut by…huts and we have to work outside the camp in village side and we have to earn money and we have to buy and we have to make."*
> *-Female, 45 years old*
>
> *"Some materials only are given by the organisation, but mainly we made by ourselves by buying the materials."*
> *-Male, 48 years old*

Materials for building the huts were referred to as being bought in the local market (at the entrance to the camp) or the village as well as in the town of Damak itself. When asked how they got the materials to their huts from the town, refugees replied that they brought them by bus or bicycle. When biking to the refugee camp, I also saw refugees carting supplies out by means of a rickshaw (someone else on a bike taking them out there) or simply walking. Inside of the camp it was common to see refugees carrying building supplies. Picture 4 below shows some refugees carrying their building materials.

Picture 4.Refugees Preparing Bamboo for Transport to Hut

Refugees also claimed ownership for the building of their own huts. This was not only in the case of refugees remaining in their camp of origin, but sometimes even the case when refugees had been provided with a new hut upon shifting to the camp from another camp.

"When we were here, no hut was built by the organisation. We built by ourselves. When we arrived here, we put a tent, this plastic tent, and we lived in the tent. The organisation gave the hut materials and we made by ourselves."
-Male, 32 years old

"The organisation just built a new hut here, but the incentive workers they didn't work good here and the hut condition was not good. And we make again by ourselves, we repair."
-Female 60 years old & Male 38 years old

"Yes. So, to get the comfortable, to sit comfortably, we have to make by ourselves. Otherwise you know the agency will not take care. If we want to just stay, you want to just sit in comfortable you just have to just do yourself. We will provide something, you do yourself."
-Male, 36 years old

This information is also backed up by data gathered from the survey. In relation to regular maintenance, 98.1% claimed that they themself and their immediate family were most responsible. When it came to the materials involved however, 72.7% said they got materials for regular maintenance from organisations, and 41.1% said these materials originated from themselves and their immediate family. In the case of major repairs however, 91.1% (as given in section 6.1) said organisations were most responsible, yet at the same time 77.8% said they themselves were most responsible. Materials for these repairs were seen as mostly (99.4%) coming from organisations, but 29.7% of refugees also claimed that they and their immediate family were most responsible for those materials. What this data means is that for the act of maintenance, refugees undoubtedly saw themselves as responsible. It also means that for major repairs, and all of the materials involved with both maintenance and repair were seen as coming from both sources. Refugees gave themselves ample credit for the role they played in building and maintaining their own huts.

Picture 5.Refugees Working on Huts

A.   *Refugees constructing hut.*   B.   *Refugee working on hut roof panel*

Maintenance and Mud

An interesting case presented itself in relation to the hut maintenance material of mud. In surveys, interviews and observations, mud was identified to be an important material for maintaining huts. Floors in refugee huts are primarily composed of a mixture of cow dung and mud. The floor wears down due to people walking around inside. To maintain the floors the refugees cover the worn out floor with a mixture of mud and cow dung, a process they call "smearing". Dependant on the refugees, this is done daily or at the very least once a week. Although mud is a key ingredient in this process, no organisation currently supplies it to the refugees.

The question then arose...where does this mud come from? When asked about it, refugees replied that they got mud from around their huts, or from the nearby forest area. During the interviews it became apparent that taking mud from the forest is actually illegal. Two interviewees recounted being chased from the forest while collecting what they considered a necessity of daily life by forest guards. These forest guards don't want the refugees to collect mud from the forest as it is not environmentally friendly. Despite this risk of being chased (and it was never said what would happen if they were caught), these interviewees stated that they continue to get their crucial mud from the forest.

What the above exploration indicates is that refugees are on a daily basis participating in the process of transitional sheltering by repairing and maintaining their huts. From the perspective of Leeuwis and Ban this participation can be seen as positive as it seems to be contributing to those affected by the process being part of the process of change. The network apparent in this section is that of the household, to a certain extent a pre-determined group who support each other in this case by creating a satisfactory living space for all. Agency is also present in many forms here, as evident from the different kinds of materials used (i.e. mud that is not provided by organisations), to different methods of transporting the materials (foot, bicycle, bus etc.) which

are chosen. This agency in different areas connected to their huts also links back to participation as refugees are empowered by their involvement in the transitional sheltering process to make their own decisions.

Working

The second dimension of how refugees and their immediate families are involved in securing materials and assistance in relation to their huts is by going to work. Although money was primarily what refugees worked for, there were also occasional references to receiving partial materials or foodstuffs as payment for work. Interviewees reported many different occupations, such as bicycle repair, hat maker, jewellery maker, knife maker, labourer, restaurant worker, teacher, and wool maker. According to the survey however, the biggest profession in the camp was working as a labourer (45.3% of those surveyed), followed by teacher (17%). As described in the following excerpt, there are options to work both inside and outside the camp, even though the latter is technically against the law.

Working Inside vs. Outside the Camp

It is obvious to refugees that working to earn money of some kind is necessary to make ends meet. This means to get extra food, buy clothing (also not supplied by organisations), and to buy additional hut repair materials. There are in the most basic sense, two options for work for the refugees, either work inside or outside of the camp. Working inside of the camp basically means working for one of the organisations as an incentive worker, or doing incentive building work for other refugees. Positions such as a teacher or labourer are common. Working outside of the camp gives more options for work in relation to the skill learning available, such as in the construction of concrete buildings in Damak.

The main difference from a refugee perspective however is in the amount they are paid. Incentive workers within the camp told me they earned from 1,750 to 2,850 rupees per month (the equivalent of 17.50-28.50 euros per month) dependent on their skills. On this scale, my 18 year old interpreter made a bit more than the most skilled of them. Working outside however, refugees referred to earning up to 10,000 rupees per month, more than triple the amount they would make doing the same work in the camps. This work takes refugees away from their families, may disrupt resettlement process and has no guarantees as the refugees are not legally allowed to work. However, many continue to take the risk. Why? Because the financial benefits are simply too big to be ignored.

As a personal example, the first interpreter that was hired decided not to take the job. I offered 3,000 rupees (30 euros) per month as that was the going rate in the camps for incentive workers. This young woman decided to take another job opportunity as she would make 7,000 rupees (70 euros) per month working at a private boarding school. The camp was several hours away from the camp, and she would only be able to come back once every few months, but she told me her family responsibilities were such that she had to take the higher paying job.

Biking to the camp on the weekdays, I became aware almost immediately that I was one of the few going into the camp in the morning and that there were literally hundreds (I counted) of refugees streaming into Damak on a daily basis to work. Not only was this very obvious from an observational perspective, but interviewees also reported to working in Damak, another area of Nepal, or even as far away as India.

> *"Some of my family members some they go to work in Damak and some used to go in our village. Or the villagers ask them to work in the field."*
> *-Male, 72 years old*
>
> *"I used to work in Siraz for teaching."*
> *-Female, 25 years old*
>
> *"I just worked as labour in India."*
> *-Male, 42 years old*

Although many refugees worked outside of the camp, there were also those who worked inside of the camps, such as the women who wove wool, or the organisation incentive workers. Some skills for professions could even be learned inside the camp. The community based organisation BRWF for example had a program that teaches its members how to do tailoring work. It should be made clear though, that despite many refugees working, both inside and outside of the camps, there were those who are without work. Some of the men interviewed said that they worked before but not now, and others that it was difficult for them to find work.

> *"We don't have any work here. No one give us job. No work."*
> *-Female, +/- 82 years old*
>
> *"I'm a general person. No work. Jobless."*
> *-Male, 36 years old*

In the case of the women, a common reason for not working was that they stayed at home to take care of the children or the house. Sometimes women referred to their husbands being the ones to earn money which indicated at least one source of income for the household.

> *"I don't do anything because I have a small baby, but my husband he works in Damak."*
> *-Female, 21 years old*
>
> *"Housewife. For caring baby."*
> *-Female, 31 years old*

In working, refugees earned money to spend on things they see as necessary. Refugees surveyed reported that their major purchases (at least in the last six months) were related to food, clothing and education. However, several interviewed also referred directly to spending money earned through working on their huts.

> *"It's not guaranteed that I will go away from my home because I have to go for the work because to build my house or to manage my house participation I have to work."*
> *-Male, 42 years old*
>
> *"We just work in nearby the village and we just get the money and we used to buy the bamboo and the other materials to build the hut."*
> *-Male, 28 years old*
>
> *"My brother-in-law and my son they just go for the work sometimes and they used to just buy the materials. And my husband, sometimes he works in the village and he asks something, and they just bring."*
> *-Female, 45 years old*

By bringing money from outside the camp into the camp and using it to buy materials and improve or maintain their huts, refugees were actively participating in the development of the camp, or otherwise put, the transitional sheltering process. This participation can also be seen to exist outside of participation stimulated by organisations present and out of the refugees own initiative. The variety of occupations held by refugees both inside and outside of the camp points again to significant agency. Refugees made decisions for themselves as to what they were physically capable of, how far they wished to go from their families and even how much they wanted to earn through work. Although from a research perspective there are many different points where agency is seen to be used on the part of refugees, it was not clear from the research as to whether the refugees themselves see the choices that they made as independent.

What can be concluded from this section is that refugees depended heavily on themselves and immediate household in getting access to materials. They additionally saw themselves as a main source of assistance when it comes to building and repairs and took action in carrying out maintenance and repairs on their huts. Refugees also often took action by seeking out jobs in order to earn money. This money was spent on many things, often including materials for repairs and construction or building. When individuals and their families were not able to get access to the materials and assistance that they saw as necessary via formal networks or their own means they then turned to the others around them. These were their informal or personal networks, which are addressed in the following section.

6.3.   Getting Materials and Assistance through Informal Channels

As formal networks and the refugees themselves and their immediate families played a role in getting access to maintenance and assistance, so did informal or personal networks. Although refugees gave themselves much responsibility in relation to building and repairing their own huts, it was clear that it was not always possible to do it alone. Sometimes there was more work than could be done by the family, or the refugees were simply not healthy or strong enough to do the work themselves. In these cases extended family, friends and neighbours often played a role. In this section how informal networks contribute to assistance and materials related to huts is explored. Several different ways in which these informal networks contribute were identified. These were labour in the form of carrying materials for huts, building the huts, loans and for those outside of the camps, sending remittances.

Collective Nature of Refugee Community

What merits mention before delving into this topic however is the overall collective nature of the Bhutanese refugee community. What is meant by this is that asking for and giving assistance was portrayed as a simple fact of everyday life. This is not to say that the individual does not exist, just that the individual often seemed less important than the household and refugee community as a whole. This was deducted from observations and interviews. When walking around the camps, people were often seen in groups, and when interviews were conducted, it was common for other family members, friends, or just those standing around to come over and see what was going on, even to the point of just walking into a hut where the interview was being conducted. Refugees being interviewed did not seem to see this as particularly special or intrusive. Also, refugees often talked about "we" and not "I" and seemed to prefer talking about what their family or household needed instead of what they individually wanted. This collective orientation was also referred to directly in reference to assistance and materials for huts. Refugees seemed to see it as perfectly normal that they were helped out by those around them and would give that help in return.

"They are my neighbours and relatives and they help me, and when they ask help from me I have to help them. But we spend little amount for tea and food for them."
-Male, 43 years old

"They are not biological relatives but I met them because sometimes I want support from my neighbours and they also want my support so I just call someone uncle, someone aunty, someone brother, someone sister."
-Male, 33 years old

"When we want help, they help. Then when they need help we help to build the house. Neighbours"
-Female, 25 years old

"Yeah, they help me, and we chose to help them. My neighbours and relatives."
-Male, 69 years old

Helping out others in return for help themselves was not the only means in which the collective nature of the Bhutanese refugees was apparent. As is described in the boxed story below, refugees were also aware that others may not have as much as they do.

Altruism in Action

In the camp community, much as in any other community, there are those who have more than others. Altruistic behaviour or that of giving to others simply for the sake of giving without the expectation of something in return is something that is less seen and understood in Western individualistic cultures. However, in the Bhutanese refugee camps, altruistic behaviour arose on more than one occasion during the research period.

One of these was evident in the choosing of research assistants. My translator relayed to me that she had specifically chosen the two young men from her computer students as potential assistants due to their disadvantaged situations. One of the assistants came from a single parent household, and the other's family was quite poor. The translator did not appear to gain anything for herself by presenting these as assistant candidates as they salary had nothing to do with hers. The societal awareness of this young refugee was impressive.

> Another case was apparent when an interviewee told that he and his wife were very poor and that they could not even afford enough blankets to keep them warm in the winter. He said that they had to ask relatives and other people to help them, and that he and his wife got furniture as well as other supplies such as blankets given to them by people who were resettling. Other refugees reported buying furniture and other household items from resettling refugees, but this man and his wife were given them with no demands made upon them in return.

The collective nature and reciprocity of refugees as well as their displays of altruism point to a community that actively participates in its own development through the actions of individuals and groups. Without refugees helping each other as they currently do, it would be impossible to maintain the camp as it is now based on contributions from the assisting organisations only. Despite this communal factor, it is also apparent that personal networks also play a role in how materials and assistance is attained when needed. Not only those that are relatives or friends play roles, but also those neighbours and "other people" form part of refugee's personal networks.

Physical Assistance

A very small amount of refugees said that they got materials either for regular maintenance or major repairs from others besides themselves or the organisations. This indicates that informal networks were utilised mainly in relation to assistance. The most prevalent way of assistance refugees said that they received from others in their informal networks was that of labour. This labour assistance meant either helping with the transport of materials to the huts or in the actual construction or repair of huts. In these contexts, refugees referred to help specifically from their relatives, friends and neighbours.

> *"Our, you know, my friends they help me to just bring this bamboo here. So many friends you know. I asked them to just help me. To bring this bamboo from there, so all the friends you know, there are so many friends. They help us to bring the bamboo here."*
> *-Male, 36 years old*
>
> *"My previous husband's hut condition was not good. When I arrived there, then we just repair our hut there. And all our neighbors we asked the neighbors to help and I cooked the food and gave tea and other things. And neighbors helped to build the house."*
> *-Female, 25 years old*
>
> *"We asked our relatives and neighbours."*
> *-Male, 43 years old*

This was also confirmed by the survey data collected as refugees said that other family, friends and neighbours helped to build their current huts. Although much labour was referred to as being reciprocal (when I need it is given, and when you need it I will give), this was not always the case. On several occasions refugees said that they paid others to help them with building. These others were often those in their immediate networks, such as relatives.

> *"We asked relatives to build and we just paid the money."*
> *-Male, 69 years old*

> *"Some of them they ask us. We have relatives who have nothing in their home, whose conditions are poor. Then we have to pay. They help maximum for one day only."*
> *-Male, 72 years old*

Not only relatives, but other community members were sometimes paid to help with the building or repair of huts.

> *"If we ask someone to help we have to pay money. If the relatives are around us they will help, but if there is no relatives then we have to pay the money."*
> *-Male, 72 years old*
>
> *"When we repair this hut, my husband was so sick in that time and we ask the incentive workers to build our house. We pay 3000 rupees for the incentive workers. And my one son he works outside the camp in Pokhara and sometimes in Kathmandu and he earns money and he gave money to just repair the house."*
> *-Female, 48 years old*
>
> *"I ask the incentive workers to repair the house…They were from camp itself."*
> *-Male, 60 years old*
>
> *"They are from the refugee community. They just also don't have anything and need to work and can't go outside the camp for work."*
> *-Female, 21 years old*

An interesting manifestation of organisational language in relation to their huts is that refugees tended to call anyone who received money for doing work an incentive worker. In order to get the money to pay incentive workers, refugees not only worked (as was explored in section 6.2) but also turned to others for help with this. There were two main ways in which refugees get monetary assistance. The first way was by getting a loan from others within their networks.

> *"Bamboo. Uhhh….I ask to my friends to just for the money. I got the financial help from friend also."*
> *-Male, 36 years old*
>
> *"Not sufficient. It's not sufficient to just run our home, our family. Sometimes I ask my relatives and friends loan for some days, for some months."*
> *-Female, 55 years old*
>
> *"We asked someone for money, and when we earn, we will return it…Here I haven't asked anyone because everyone is new, and in Khundabari, there is my one neighbor. I ask her."*
> *-Female, 45 years old*

When asked how they paid back these loans interviewees said that they did seasonal labour work and then were able to pay back the people they had borrowed money from. What the above indicates is that refugees were actively involved in the transitional sheltering process, either by themselves repairing, recruiting others to help them, or earning money to pay incentive workers to do the repairs for them. All of this indicates a significant level of involvement in relation to their huts.

Remittances

The second way in which refugees received monetary assistance was through remittances. Remittances are money sent from people outside of the area or country. In the case of the Bhutanese refugee camps, remittances usually arrived via a Western Union outlet, of which I was told there are 40-50 in the area. The people sending remittances in this case were most often those Bhutanese refugees who have already resettled to a third country. At the time of research, about half of the original refugee population had already resettled.

According to the survey data collected 79.1% of the refugees received remittances from people outside of the camp. Most remittances were reported to come from other family (79.2%), but also from friends (25.6%) and neighbours (16.8%). Remittances were quite significant as the average received amount was reported as 2,200 rupees (22 euros) per month and the average refugee earning was 3,146 (around 31 euros). Imagine around a 60% increase in disposable income to meet your family's needs. A UNHCR staff member I spoke with said that two million dollars (if not more) flows through the camp yearly. These remittances made a difference in refugees lives.

> *"Yes, sometimes. Many relatives are already resettled in third country, and sometimes we get some remittances."*
> *-Male, 34 years old*
>
> *"Sometimes they send. Because as per day they are in problem because they have to work. Some of my family, they don't have job there either and it's impossible to ask every month or every time. And sometimes they send little money."*
> *-Female, 21 years old*
>
> *"My relatives and my family just send some remittances to me and I have just spent for my house."*
> *-Male, 34 years old*

In exploring how refugees both get and give help to others in their informal networks, and get loans and remittances which helped to pay for both materials and assistance in relation to their huts several things became clear. The first of these is that refugees used their agency to decide which of their network nodes (and often more than one) to activate in finding people to help them when they need it. Second, they choose whether to pursue physical or monetary help from these networks. And these decisions work. Whichever means they used to recruit their informal networks to help, refugees managed to get what they needed in the way of materials and supplies for their huts. These actions point to personal networks playing a significant role in daily existence. There was no case encountered during the research where a refugee said that they were unable to get the basic necessities or that they had no one to help them.

What can be concluded from this section is that firstly, refugees participated in the transisitional sheltering process. They utilised their informal networks to gain assistance in getting materials to their huts and in the construction process itself. Secondly, monetary assistance was also given in the form of loans or remittances from those within refugee's personal networks. In the case that refugees get money from those within their networks, they sometimes used it not only to secure materials but also to pay for the assistance of other (incentive) workers within the refugee community. This section and the two preceding sections have explored the people and means related to materials and assistance. What has been implied at times, but not specifically

addressed is how refugees feel about these things. This is covered in the last section of this chapter below.

6.4. Refugee Feelings about Huts and Materials

The huts that refugees live in are not just transitional shelters to them. These structures have been their only homes for around the past two decades. It is only natural that after so much time that some feelings are attached to the huts and relatedly to the way they are able to maintain them. Feelings and emotions are in this research considered to be present when verbally expressed in references to being happy, sad, excited, bored, etc. This section explores the variety of feelings and emotions expressed by refugees in relation to their huts and associated materials and assistance. In general, refugees expressed emotion about two different aspects of their huts: the huts in general, and the materials received for the building/repair of their huts (connected to the organisations). Additionally, it is interesting to take a look at how the refugees in official positions feel in relation to the building of huts and supply of hut materials.

Feelings about Hut
In expressing general feelings about the huts themselves, refugees often said that they were not satisfied, or unhappy with their current hut.

> *"How can I say to you, I can't tell. In Bhutan we had everything. Very good hut, we had this good buffalo, this all things. We had the plant of nuts, walnuts, apple, orange. But here we have to just sit in this small hut. I feel unhappy."*
> *-Male, 69 years old*
>
> *"I do not feel happy. Because we think that I have to shift to another place because the place is not good. The house is too small, it's not sufficient to our family. And these walls and this roof are not, just not good."*
> *-Male, 42 years old*
>
> *"I feel unhappy because we are living in this small hut which is too hot and we don't have electricity, fan and the other things. Now it's too hot, if we had electricity and fan it's good for us."*
> *-Male, 33 years old*
>
> *"I don't know, sometimes I feel quite unhappy by seeing my hut….Yeah because sometimes we fall in the problems. Because in rainy days it's too hot and in rainy day the rain just enters inside our house."*
> *-Female, 55 years old*

As is apparent from the quotes above, many times the complaints linked to their huts were linked to the size of the hut, or things the refugees considered wrong or missing. What these quotes indicate is that refugees were aware of the situation they are in, and compare it both to what they had before in Bhutan, but also additionally to what they saw in the local community (i.e. electricity). During the months of research, the average temperature was thirty-six degrees, and it was not unusual to see people walking outside with umbrellas to protect themselves from the heat. Inside the huts, the black plastic provided by the organisations for roof construction often seemed to intensify the heat. The most common complaint heard however was about rain coming inside of peoples huts.

While it is true that there were more complaints about huts than otherwise, there were also refugees who responded more positively.

> *"Something is better than nothing. We have this hut, we just feel happy."*
> *-Male, 34 years old*
>
> *"We build by ourselves. We feel just happy."*
> *-Female, 28 years old*
>
> *"All things are good because we made by ourselves."*
> *-Female, 27 years old*

The negativity and complaints about the hut expressed by the refugees points to clear recognition of their situation in the camps and how much better some considered life before. On the other hand, the positivity expressed by some of the refugees indicates an appreciation of what they do have, and even a pride from some refugees in relation to their capacity to build their huts themselves.

Feelings about Materials

Apart from feelings about their huts in general, refugees also expressed feelings about the materials that they got, and sometimes a related sentiment about the organisation involved in providing the materials.

> *"I feel very unhappy because when the rain was here all the water just enter inside my home. The condition of the hut is not good. We have no money, no income or sources of income and we can't buy the bamboo and other materials to build it. The organisation is also not responding to us."*
> *-Female, 31 years old*

Dissatisfaction was also expressed about the quality of the huts and additionally in relation to the amount and quality of materials provided. Here also the negative views were linked to the role of the providing organisation(s).

> *"The organisations give the little amount of bamboo and little plastic for us but the shifted people they just have already their home and I feel quite unhappy because the organisation gives the too small bamboo, it doesn't work well."*
> *-Male, 69 years old*
>
> *"Yeah, so about that. I feel quite sad you know. Some of the people got very good house. Some of the people got same or bad condition, poor condition house. And same thing we have also."*
> *-Male, 36 years old*
>
> *"I feel unhappy because given materials are not sufficient. And if we don't stay here there is no place to go. In other places, we don't have other places to go. We have to struggle."*
> *-Female, 55 years old*

What is indicated by the quotes here is not only negative, but also that the refugees were aware that those refugees shifting from other camps are provided with new huts, whereas those who are in their original huts must struggle to maintain their hut in a liveable condition. Refugees whose original camp was Beldangi II seem to regard refugees shifting here as getting a better

deal, however there were also complaints from interviewees who had relocated that the quality of the hut they moved into was bad.

Similar to the situation recognised in relation to the feelings refugees had in general about their huts, not all refugees saw things negatively. There were those who viewed the organisations and how they are providing for the refugees positively.

> *"I feel very unhappy to be a refugee and be here, but then also the organisations they are trying to help us. For us it is good because the organisation is looking for us."*
> *-Male, 32 years old*

Data from the survey indicated that most people (93%) felt either a little unhappy or very unhappy about the regular maintenance on their hut. Considering that refugees see themselves as the most important in carrying out regular maintenance, this seems to indicate that refugees are not happy with the work that they themselves do. On the other hand, 94.8% of refugees also said they were either a little unhappy or very unhappy with the major repairs on their hut. Over 90% of refugees saw organisations as responsible for major repairs on their huts, which indicates discontent with the organisations. What is the general underlying theme here though, is unhappiness. It is quite possible that if refugees are generally unhappy about their situation in the camps that this unhappiness carries over into their perceptions of other aspects connected to the situation.

Official Refugees Feelings
A final aspect of the feelings of refugees is that of interest is that of those refugees in official roles within the camp.

> *"If some people from the camp are talking about their problems with us and when we hear the particular people say they don't listen our problems we feel quite guilty and angry."*
> *-Beldangi Incentive Pool Worker*
>
> *"Yes. We don't have anything to give them but we have to apply application for the organisation but they are not listening in that time I feel unhappy."*
> *-Beldangi Incentive Pool Worker*
>
> *"We feel very unhappy for these problems. The organisation people they see the status of the refugee problem of how they are living here and we just raise the voice of the people, but they are neglecting our problem. They are just not caring for the refugee people."*
> *-Beldangi Sector Head*

Why the case of the official refugees stands out from those in the general community that were interviewed relates to the range of emotions expressed. Not only that, but these refugees expressed feelings about the situation of others, and not their own situation. Of course, as in every example this far, it should be pointed out that not all feelings expressed were negative.

> *"As we are elected by the people we are happy to serve them. Problems with the agencies and societies just social service. We are happy."*
> *-Beldangi Sub-Sector Head*

Feelings and emotions of the refugees as has been laid out in this section link theoretically to agency. If people are primarily negative about their huts and the materials and assistance linked to their huts, this could in fact provide more incentive to take action to correct these problems. Indeed, people taking action to correct the problems they had with their huts was witnessed. When people talked about their hut roofs leaking, they also talked about repairing their roofs. Insufficient materials were often cited as a problem, but as explored in sections 6.2 and 6.3, refugees found ways to solve this problem as well. What can be concluded from this section is that although many refugees expressed negativity in relation to their huts, the materials and organisations providing the materials and inability to provide services, these problems were also actively being solved by refugees. Additionally, there were those in every example who saw positive side of their situation and have the potential to contribute to others positivity by sharing their achievements or views.

General Conclusions

As several conclusions have been given throughout the course this chapter, it is thought helpful in closing to review the main deductions. In section one it was concluded that formal networks play a significant but not exclusive role in refugees getting materials and assistance and that the refugees made use of different formal connections in this process. In section two refugees were identified as their own best asset and utilised agency in doing different work to earn money for buying materials. Relatedly, refugees participate in the transitional sheltering process by building, repairing and maintaining their own shelters. Lastly, section three concluded that informal networks are important to refugees and they use them to get both labour and monetary assistance related to their huts. Finally, in this section the negative feelings and emotions expressed by refugees were concluded to be not simply a problem, but also a potential catalyst for refugees to take action in solving their own problems. This concludes the summary of the conclusions reached for this last chapter of results reached through my research in the Bhutanese refugee camps.

7. Conclusion and Discussion

In this last chapter of my thesis I present overall conclusions, discussion and reflection in related to the research. Section one gives a more in-depth analysis of the results in line with the theoretical framework introduced in Chapter two and referred to throughout the results. This helps to place the research results in relation to theory and within a broader spectrum of research. Sections two and three discuss and reflect upon the methodology, data, and my experience in the field. This final chapter has the overall intention of providing clarity as to the research results and providing answers to any lingering questions the reader may have.

7.1. Conclusions

This section brings the results previously presented into focus by analysing them in a more in-depth manner related to the theoretical framework guiding this research. In doing this, I believe it useful to first return to the original research interest and questions and provide a brief summary of the results that were drawn in Chapters four through six. I then discuss how the learning from this research contributed to the theory that helped frame it and finally draw overall conclusions.

Revisiting the Aims of this Research

The original aim of this research was to investigate how refugees participate in sheltering processes. In relation to this aim, the objectives of the research were first of all to contribute to the awareness of affected populations' involvement in sheltering, and secondly to contribute to shelter process planning that takes disaster affected population's needs into consideration. The main research question and sub-questions posed to provide insight into the research aim were as follows:

How are refugee populations involved in processes of sheltering?

- How do refugees obtain information in relation to sheltering processes?
- How do refugees obtain materials and assistance in relation to sheltering processes?
- How do refugees view sheltering processes they are part of?

With that being said, a summary of the results reached in this research are addressed in the following sub-section.

Summary of Results

Chapter four on relocation and resettlement concluded that refugees are a heterogeneous group with different feelings about the sheltering processes. Formal networks are represented primarily by organisations although informal networks also play a role. Refugees were seen to actively participate in relocation and actively recruited others in their networks to help them in the process. Refugees displayed agency regarding relocation and resettlement although they did not see themselves as having much in relation to either process.

In Chapter five I dealt with the theme of information and the various ways it was present in the camp. Much information was concluded to be sent by organisations, but not explicitly recognised as important by the refugees receiving it. Refugees were seen to display their agency in relation to information and events relating to information yet also displayed different levels of agency

relating to the topic. Actual or displayed knowledge was seen to differ between refugees and the connection was made that higher participation is linked to a higher sense of agency and access to more information. Refugees both shared information with people within their formal and informal networks and used different sources to get wanted information based on their needs. Organisational networks were seen as more prominent in relation to relocation, whereas personal networks were identified as more influential in relation to resettlement. As in Chapter four, information from organisations was not expressed as important.

In addressing materials and assistance, Chapter six concluded that refugees participated significantly in the transitional sheltering process as they not only built their own huts but additionally repaired and maintained them. Refugees also utilised agency in working for the money to purchase materials or pay others to build or repair their huts. Formal networks were identified as important, but did not play an exclusive role relating to materials and assistance as informal networks were also important in getting labour and money to contribute to the building, repair or maintenance of the huts. These conclusions from each chapter are individually interesting, but together provide a clearer picture which is presented below.

Overall Conclusions

In this section I reflect on how the individual conclusions drawn throughout the thesis (and presented in summary above) fit together and relate to theory and look at what was learned about participation, networks and agency based on this research. In bringing the individual conclusions from the different chapters together, three main conclusions became clear. The first conclusion is that refugees actively participated in sheltering processes even though their options to do so were limited. The second main conclusion is that refugees did not rely solely on any one network to meet all of their informational or material needs, but rather were seen to use a combination and utilise networks in a dynamic manner based on the information or materials they sought. The last significant conclusion from this research is that refugees displayed considerable agency in relation to sheltering processes yet they did not perceive themselves as having agency.

These conclusions were not made in isolation from one another, but instead, like the concepts which framed this research, interacted with one another. Refugees utilised agency in deciding to participate and their networks were used in that participation. The networks that refugees possessed were seen conversely to influence the feelings of agency that refugees expressed, and this then related to their levels of participation. This interaction of the different processes is presented graphically in the theoretical diagram presented in Chapter two. That being said, I now turn to the learning on theory that was gained in relation to the results from this research.

Participation

In Chapter two the range of participation was discussed and the complex nature of the concept of participation was presented. Ultimately, participation can mean anything from listening by refugees, to the refugees implementing projects of their own. Bass's (1995) typology of participation was offered as a useful tool for seeing where refugees fall on the spectrum of participation. What was also presented was that different participation takes place at different stages in the development process. While the above is still seen as useful, what became clear as a result of this research is that Bass's explanation of participation does not sufficiently cover the complexity of participation. The hierarchical form Bass presented is static and presents different levels of participation as isolated from one another. The reality in the refugee camps was that

different levels of participation were present at the same time and participation varied amongst the refugees. This will be further elaborated upon throughout the rest of the discussion on participation results.

Participation was claimed initially to play a key role in all three of the sheltering processes present in the camp. This was indeed the case, and here I discuss how participation manifested in each one of the sheltering processes focused upon, and what this can mean for participation as a concept. In relation to transitional sheltering, it was seen that refugees were actively involved from the beginning of the process. Refugees received instructions from the organisations as to where they were to go, received materials for their huts, and but then were expected to build their huts on their own, which they did. This can be seen on Bass's scale as a mix ranging from passive participation (refugees being told about decisions already made by others), all the way up to functional participation (as refugees helped to achieve the building of the huts at a reduced cost to the external agencies).

A while after the camps were established, a group of incentive workers (IPW) was formed. Although paid by the organisations deal with the sheltering needs of the refugee population, they are also (for the majority) a part of the refugee community. The formal structure in the camp, in which elected officials acted as intermediaries between their community and the organisations also displayed a higher level of participation on the part of the refugees. The participation seen by these refugees in relation to transitional sheltering can be seen as ranging from a level 2-5 on Bass's hierarchy. However, this range of participation was often mixed, and the separation between different levels of participation was not clear in refugee actions. Refugee participation however, was limited as their influence on the process was relatively minor and organisations continued to have significant influence over the process.

In talking about the relocation process, refugee participation was there yet was much more dominated by organisations than in the case of transitional sheltering. Relocation can be seen as a part of transitional sheltering process as refugees were moved from one transitional hut to another, yet the difference here was that they moved from a hut built by themselves (or maybe incentive workers in the case that they could not manage it themselves) to a hut that had already been built for them. Participation here can be seen as ranging from a 2-3 on Bass's scale as the relocation process. Again, a clear distinction between the levels of participation was not observed. It must additionally be said that although refugees were consulted during the process, there was little influence from them on the process as decisions had already been made at organisational level. Refugees did participate in that they themselves packed up their huts, but this participation was limited as they were told what they could and could not take with them as well as the time that they would move, and where they were to move to. Members of the refugee community were listened to and allowed to give their input, but they did not ultimately have much say in the end result of the project. Ultimately, participation in relocation was seen to be at a much lower level than in transitional sheltering.

In connection to the process of resettlement, participation was present in that refugees literally were given the choice of whether to participate in the process or not. It was witnessed that there was strong persuasion from the organisations to get the refugees to participate (not only information campaigns, but also repeated individual hut visits) in this process. This process is difficult to place on Bass's hierarchy of participation. Refugees themselves did not initiate the resettlement process, however they do have the choice to take part in it or not, and also whether

to continue that participation (by going to organisational meetings, providing requested information etc.) over the course of their resettlement process. What limits the level of participation of refugees in this case is that they must meet organisational requirements (such as the amount of marriages, lack of previous serious criminal record) in order to remain a part of the process.

What the learning from the research adds to theory on participation is that unlike what was presented by Bass's hierarchy of participation, it is not always possible to identify one kind of participation. What was displayed in the refugee camps, in all of the sheltering processes, was a mix of different kinds or levels of participation. Many times this participation was initiated by organisations, but it would not have been possible without the active cooperation of the refugees, which ties into their agency. What this research also adds to theory is that different individuals within populations were seen to participate at different levels. For example a sector head participated in different activities related to transitional sheltering than one of the regular refugees in his or her sector. On the other hand put these two refugees in the process of resettlement and they have approximately the same level of participation. The complexity of different levels of participation is not clearly indicated in current participation research and the results from this research present an opportunity view participation in a more interactive and less stationary manner.

What is proposed as a different manner in which to view participation is presented in the diagram below. What this figure represents is three different groups of participation (passive, active and influential) that have the potential to exist both separately and in overlap with one another during the different stages of a development project, or in this particular case, sheltering process.

Figure 8.Participation Interaction
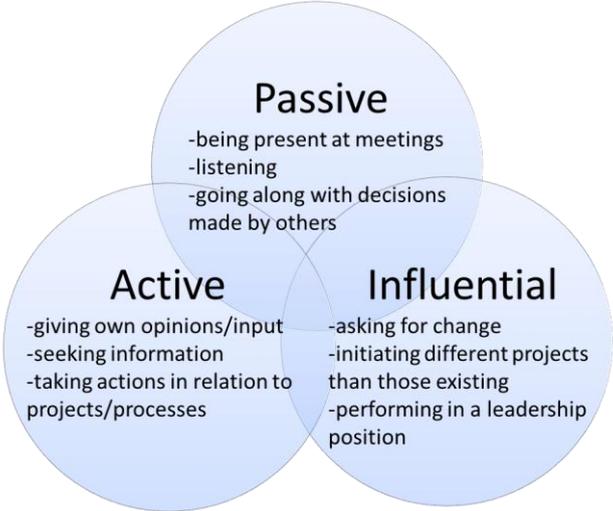
The above diagram is presented as a possible entry point for a new way to interpret participation. It is recognised as being in a beginning stage and any comments or additions based on other research are welcome.

Networks
In Chapter two, what networks are (connections which people form with one another) and the reality that they are likely to vary between individuals was recognised. Different types as well as

benefits and potential drawbacks were outlined. Then personal networks were defined to be the focus within the research and informal networks were identified as sometimes existing in parallel with formal networks. Networks were also identified as essential elements (for example in relation to resources and information) and indeed, a natural manifestation in human interaction. During the research, both informal (personal) networks and organisational networks were seen as playing a significant role in the different sheltering processes. Additionally the interaction of multiple networks emerged along with the insight that networks are subject to considerable change over time. This will be referred back to in discussion of the different processes.

To begin with, transitional sheltering demonstrated that people used both their pre-defined personal networks (for example their immediate households) as well as extended personal networks and formal network connections to get access to materials and get assistance in relation to building, repairing or maintaining their huts. Refugees were seen to utilise multiple networks, often in relation to the same goal. For example, requesting materials from the organisations through their Sub-Sector Head or Sector Head while at the same time seeking loans from those in their surroundings, and using remittances from resettled refugees or working for money themselves to pay for the materials or incentive workers. Informal networks here are seen as very clearly contributing to what Portes (1995 as cited in Long, 2001) refers to as social capital (or how well people can get resources through their networks or social structure). Without these informal and formal networks, refugees would not be able to assemble the resources necessary to keep their huts in adequate condition. Due to the relocation process, refugees were shifted away from their known habitat, and then were seen to make new connections with those around them who became a new support network.

In relation to relocation, refugees often had to rely on information from those within their formal networks (organisation representatives and those working with them) for information related to the shifting process. At the same time, refugees themselves utilised their personal networks to help them with the physical moving process when they had to break down their huts and move all their belongings to their new location. Refugees in the process of shifting would not have been able to complete the process without help from those in their informal networks as the organisations did not offer assistance in this manner. Monge (in Schults 2010) stated that social networks help people to deal with difficult situations, and this was the case in this situation. Formal networks provided information and a truck to move things, and but the informal (or social) networks of the refugees facilitated the move itself. In this aspect, there is an overlap in the functions of the different networks and the use of more than one was deemed necessary in order to complete the shifting process.

Lastly, when it came to the resettlement process, refugees were also seen to use different networks to get the resources which they needed. Information, although often gained (and sought) by the refugees through formal sources (usually the involved organisations UNHCR and IOM) was not assigned a high value. Refugees then utilised another source at their disposal, their informal networks and sought information from relatives, friends and neighbours within the camps as well as from those same groups who had already resettled to third countries. Refugees were seen here to be using multiple networks again in a conscious manner to gather as much information as possible relating to their future. This is also in line with what Monge (in Shultz, 2010) perspective that social support networks are used to augment people's welfare and help them to deal with difficult events.

The main additions to theory from the results of this research are that firstly it is clear that more than one network play a role in how refugees get access to the materials and information that they need. Although some reference in research is made to the parallel nature of networks, this research contributes that networks not only run in parallel to one another, but additionally overlap in certain areas. This means that from a refugee perspective utilisation of multiple networks was seen as necessary to achieve goals. This overlap may provide the wanted results but also can lead to information from networks contradicting each other. The second main addition of this research to network theory is that it became apparent due to the situation in the camps networks were not stable. Due to relocation and resettlement processes, the people around refugees were changing on a continual basis and they adapted to changing locations or others moving away by adding new connections in their networks. What this means is that both personal and formal networks are actually dynamic and changing systems rather than static and fixed.

Agency

Chapter two defined agency as the capacity of actors to process social experiences and figure out ways of coping with them as well as their ability to act in such situations (Giddens, 1991, 1979 as cited in Long, 2001). Agency was additionally seen to imply knowledgeability and the interpretation of this leads to actions taken to secure various materials, skills or other practices. Basically, agency is the ability of people to choose an action, most often within their existing societal and social structure, but at times even overstepping those limits (Rosengren, 2000). In utilising agency, people by necessity recruit others to their cause, which implies that others are willing to contribute to these actions in some way (Long, 2001). The feelings and emotions of people were seen as having the potential to influence why they do or do not take certain actions.

That being said, I turn to how the results of this research can contribute to theoretical views on agency. In relation to transitional sheltering it was concluded that refugees demonstrated considerable agency in relation to the organising of materials, repairs and maintenance on their own huts. This was clear as refugees utilised different means and methods such as those people surrounding them to contribute labour or loans, and their own labour or choice to work to earn money (in different jobs). Most of these actions, such as asking other community members for help, were within their own social structure, but other actions pushed the boundaries the structures imposed by the supporting organisations. An example of this was violating the prohibition to work outside of the camps as refugees nonetheless took action and engaged in different money earning activities outside of the camps, expressing their agency.

Refugees agency in relation to relocation manifested itself primarily in the stage where they were settling into their new huts. Little agency was perceived in refugees in relation to the shifting process. Refugees did not perceive themselves to have much say in the shifting process and seldom were seen to take actions that were contrary to the established framework created by the organisations of what should be done. The feelings and emotions often expressed by refugees in a negative manner in relation to the shifting process coincided with their lack of perceived agency. This implies that there is a stronger connection between people's feelings and emotions in relation to situations where there is potential for agency how much agency is perceived to be possessed.

Lastly, in relation to resettlement, refugees displayed considerable agency, primarily relating to their information seeking behaviours, the decision to stay in Nepal for the time-being, or to

apply for resettlement. Some of the refugees even withdrew applications for resettlement or became non-active in their process after beginning. This situation is in contrast to the agency taken on the part of the refugees in relation to relocation, also a process heavily influenced by organisations. The insight offered into theory here is that dependant on the perceived importance of the change, different levels of agency are utilised. Such an example as given earlier, is that the shift from one camp to another is less than a day's travel away and far less intimidating and confronting than moving across the world to a strange culture. What this says about theory is that if an event is perceived as very important, then agency plays a more dominant role than in situations seen as less important.

What the results of the research in relation to agency additionally contribute to theory is an awareness of discord between agency that was clearly expressed (in the taking of actions) and led to refugees gaining access to resources, and that of their expressed agency (very little). Refugees seldom expressed taking actions or making decisions for themselves. Rather, they referred to these things as things that they had to do, or needed to do just to get by. Basically, a discrepancy emerged as to what was interpreted on the part of the researcher (from a theoretical perspective) and what was expressed by the refugees in relation to the actions they took. This insight contributes to theory as the link between agency and the reasons or underlying perspectives as to how and why agency related actions take place are not clearly explored. Another contribution from this research to theory on agency is the insight that different people within the same environment displayed varying levels of agency. Lastly, the research shows that there is an impact on agency in situations where there is considerable organisational influence.

Having given how this research has contributed to theory, I now turn to the final section of this thesis which discusses and reflects upon the conclusions drawn and the research overall. Here I offer my critical view on the use of theory, methodologies and the context within which the research took place.

7.2. Discussion

In this section I first cover how theory was influential in this research followed by critical thoughts on the methodologies employed. I then relate to the context within which this research takes place and the implications of the research for future research which may takes place in similar circumstances.

Theory
The first thing that should be noted in discussion about theory related to this research is that the research topic itself was exploratory in nature. Theory that was identified as appropriate did in fact link primarily to development programmes as this is a protracted situation and from my perspective is no longer considered an emergency situation. The research context in fact habituated a strange middle-ground that has not been dealt with much in research. Nonetheless, it was identified that theory from development as opposed to emergency response was the most appropriate, and this approach has been confirmed as such throughout the course of the research.

The role of theory in this research was threefold. In the first instance, it helped to frame the proposed research in a coherent and focused manner. Secondly, after entering the field and adjusting to the reality there, theory offered further insight as to how the various sheltering

processes observed connected to one another in the research context. Finally, as a result of theory influencing the focus of the research, the results from this research also emerged as having valuable contribution in relation to theory as outlined in the section above.

The contribution to theory offered by this research is firstly that one kind of participation in not always possible to identify and often multiple kinds exist within sheltering processes and more broadly in relation to humanitarian and development projects. The second contribution to theory offered by this research is that networks of refugees were often seen to overlap, at times interact and even contradict each other which offers insight into the interaction of multiple networks. Looking at the research results through a network lens also brought to light that networks within the refugee community shifted and changed instead of remaining stable and unmoving. A critical point in relation to the conclusions drawn about networks is that although they were identified as dynamic and changing, exactly how networks were formed, and at what rate this change occurred was not learned from the research. This will come back in my reflection in relation to topics for future research. Lastly, this research contributed that people's agency, although perceived from a research perspective in the actions they took, were often not reflected in the refugees own perspective.

Without the use of theory to structure both the entry point for this research it would have been all but difficult to find focus within the research as such a variety of interesting topics emerged in the field. Additionally, without the theoretical framework to guide the data analysis, it is doubtful that the results which emerged would have done so as clearly. Overall, theory has value, not only in the academic world, but additionally provides clear results related to the research context in relation to the refugees involvement in the different sheltering processes based on the data collected.

From a theoretical perspective it is interesting to explicitly refer to a contradiction which arose during the research. This was a fundamental difference in perspective displayed between the refugee and organisational representatives spoken to. From an organisation perspective actions were taken in so many ways to make sure that everything ran smoothly for the refugees and to meet their needs. They also expressed a desire to be open with information and provide a long-term solution for the situation of the refugees in the camps. The refugees on the other hand, although some exceptions did reflect on things positively most often wanted to talk about problems or short comings that they saw, their unhappiness and what it was caused by. Even when thanking me for listening to them, refugees often said than you for asking about our problems, or listening to our problems. This negative perspective indicated that although organisations were positive and spoke about their efforts extensively; this was not reflected by the population they are aiming to serve.

Methodology
In critically reflecting upon the methodologies chosen in this research, a number of issues arose which could have been addressed better. The first of these is the combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies. What was seen in the data analysis process is that there could have been better coherence in both the content and structure of the survey to match up with the qualitative methodologies employed. More questions could have been for example geared towards actions or decisions made by refugees in relation to the sheltering processes. A more open formatted survey allowing refugees more expression in their answers is also seen as

potentially more compatible (although more labour intensive) in relation to the predominantly qualitative approach I took.

In the survey itself, some of the questions were discovered in retrospect to be a bit ambiguous and could have been interpreted in different manners. This was evident for example in relation to family. It was not clear what the distinction from the refugees was between family, relatives and extended family, and at times they seemed to blend them all together. Additionally, in one or two questions, not doing something (for example working) was not offered as an option. In the data analysis process, this emerged then as a contradiction between survey data and qualitative data as per survey people all had jobs whereas quite a few people talked to said they were out of work, or had no profession in particular.

A third reflection on the methodologies associated with this research and how they were carried out is that the depth of the interviews could have been improved. During data analysis, it was identified that there were opportunities for follow-up questions, such as about people's feelings, or why they made decisions, or more questions about who they asked for help or information and why. More probing by the researcher on these issues would have contributed to a richer data set from which to analyse the research.

Finally, in relation to the group interviews which were conducted, it is recognised that the interviews were all conducted with groups already existing within the camp structure. What could have offered valuable insight into the context would have been to have interviews with groups of regular refugees who were not part of this structure. This may have given further insight into the community and it's interaction as well as refugee perspectives within a group situation. In giving these reflections however, I would like to clarify that these issues are not seen as having severely impacted the results of the research. They serve to critically reflect on the results reached and create space for improvement and focus in future research.

Research Context
The context of the Bhutanese refugees in Nepal is considered to be a unique situation. Not in the amount of refugees because there are clearly protracted refugee camps in Africa that are of a much bigger size, but in the combination of sheltering processes present, the population makeup and the refugees relation to the local community. The sheltering processes present which combine transitional sheltering, relocation and resettlement is different from any other known situation. The transitional sheltering itself is not seen as particularly unique as other refugee situations exist where the refugees build their own huts after being provided with emergency aid from concerned organisations. What makes the Bhutanese refugee population different is that they are currently the largest resettlement movement in the world, sometimes with even higher resettlement in a year than the entire continent of Africa. Not only that, but many within this population have also experienced relocation from their original camps where they were for an extended period of time. Lastly, the camp formal structure contains a high number of refugees, which is different. Elected refugees are central figures to the refugee population, and the supporting organisations rely on them considerably as intermediaries and help in running the camps.

The camp makeup is also different from many of the protracted refugee situations in Africa where camps are made up of several nationalities. Residents of the camp are primarily Bhutanese, with a few Indians and Nepalese thrown in as a result of mixed marriages. This has a

result on the cooperation and harmony within the camp. Related to the local population, refugees have a very similar cultural background and have many of the same values, for example in relation to the caste system and marriages as well as other traditions as the local Nepalese. They also speak Nepalese, which eases their communication and interaction with the local people from the area and enables them to find work outside of the camps..

Despite these differences however, there are also some similarities with other refugee situations such as those where the population speaks one language, or refugees fleeing from conflict situations which involve them moving several different times (even between camps) before arriving at one that is stable for them, and then resettling from there. What this means is that it may be possible for some of the conclusions reached as a result of this research to be applied to others in which refugees are involved, however not at this point. This is the case because this research was unique in nature, and very little similar research has been done in other contexts. As such it is unknown as to how this research compares to others. I am additionally of the perspective that each situation is in its own right a unique context, and strongly recommend that each context be given its own consideration before globally applying the results from this research.

7.3.   Reflection

In this final section of my thesis I reflect critically upon my role as a researcher in this context, some limitations of the research and offer some potential topics for future research. This research was (as mentioned above) of an exploratory nature and although some insight into the field was gained beforehand through written materials and the experiences of others, what exactly would be encountered in the field was unknown. In reflecting upon my role as a researcher, this section is broken into three sections related to my adjustment to the context in the field and lessons learned; limitations faced during the research and finally some topics which I have identified as interesting for future related research.

Adjustment to the Field and Lessons Learned
In entering the research context, I was armed with my research proposal. This presented over a month of work to prepare myself on how to approach the research context from a theoretical and methodological perspective. Although I knew the reality in the field would be different, I was nevertheless surprised at how much the situation differed. To start off with, my focus was on the shelters themselves, and it quickly came to light that the processes of relocation and resettlement were also major sheltering processes present. This presented a multiplicity of sheltering processes to be dealt with at one time.

One of the lessons I learned from this was flexibility. Constantly needing to adjust or alter my plans in regards to timing (pretty much nothing happened when I had planned it to) as well as content was at first very challenging and frustrating, but has turned out to be a valuable skill. As a result of this field research I gained valuable insight into working with the Bhutanese refugees and how they approach issues. Their communal perspective as well as way of dealing with everyday life in the camps was both humbling and impressive.

I also learned a lesson in the nature of organisations during this research. As I did not want to bias myself to an organisational perspective, I deliberately left organisational interviews to the end of my research period. This was just to learn how hard it is to pin down organisational representatives for interviews, an important lesson for future research endeavours.

Limitations

Despite the extensive amount of data I was able to collect in a relatively short amount of time, I did face some limitations in the course of this research. The first of these limitations was the amount of time for the research process. This prevented some interesting issues, such as the use of organisational language on the part of refugees from being further explored. Another issue that would have been interesting to explore was that of the discrepancy in perspectives on the sheltering processes between organisational workers and the refugees such as that of the options available to refugees when relocating.

A second limitation of the research which is recognised is that of the time in which the interviews were carried out. For the most part, interviews were conducted between 9am and 3pm on weekdays. These were times when many male members of the households who worked were not at home. Although this was not identified as an issue within the research results, it is important to recognise.

A final limitation which was faced was that of getting information from organisations involved with sheltering processes. This should be prefaced by saying that LWF did provide me with all documentation that was asked for at various times during the process, including hand-writing data from log books for me. From other organisations however, I was not able to get a single document. I did ask for information several times during interviews, but was told that this information was only for their internal use and not to be given out to others. This was rather disappointing as the organisations collect large amounts of data in relation to their daily procedures and this would have been complementary to the research done.

Topics for Future Research

What I see as a fitting topic for ending this paper is a consideration of topics for future research. In conducting my own research some very interesting although not always directly related topics arose which I believe would merit research both in the context of the Bhutanese refugees, and in relation to other protracted refugee situations. The first of these topics emerged as a result of the conclusions drawn on networks. Networks were seen to change amongst the refugees as a result of the shifting and resettlement processes, and then refugees referred to forming new networks with those around them. How and when networks are formed as well as when they change was however not a focus within the research. Investigating the formation and change within the refugees networks would be an interesting and worthwhile topic for future research.

The next topic I would like to suggest for future research is to investigate the situation of refugees who have resettled to third countries. This research would investigate refugees' expectations and their interpretations of the realities of life in a new context as well as whether and how support from the resettling agency transitions into their new environment. A third topic that I see as important for future research is the effect of the long-term refugee presence in the host community. This would be interesting to investigate not only in reference to when the refugee population was at its peak, but also now that the refugee population is declining. The primary topic of interest I see here is the difference between the two populations in relation to access to facilities and socio-economic opportunities/status. A final topic of interest for further research would be related to the identity of those refugees born in the camp. As some of the refugees have been in the camps 21 years, there is now a whole generation who has been born in the camps without Bhutanese, nor Nepali citizenship, without the ability to pursue education

beyond high-school and without right to pursue a job or career of their choice in Nepal. Research on this topic could provide fascinating insight into how protracted refugee situations influence entire generations.

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Appendices

Appendix 1.Individual Interview Guide

<u>Background</u>

- Introduce self (researcher from the Netherlands interested in shelter). Explain that I am not from any agency, but would like to interview them about their house. Make clear that although section and hut number are taken for our records, all information will be confidential and not shared with any organisation. Ask if they would do an interview, and if positive, permission to voice record the interview.
- Ask to take a tour of the house and note the materials that the hut is made of (walls, roof, foundation), how many rooms there are, and the purpose of the room. Also note additional items such as bicycles, solar panel (can also ask), radio, stove, small garden plot etc).
- Can you tell me how about yourself? When did you come to Nepal? How long have you been living in this camp? Have you always lived in this camp? If not where?
- Are you the head of the household (if not, who is?) How old are you? Are you married? How many children do you have?
- What is your religion?
- What is your occupation? Main source of income? Other income generating activities? Do you receive remittances from people who have resettled to other countries? Ask how much income per month is without remittances and also how much received monthly in remittances.
- How many other people live here? Are there others who sleep here regularly or eat here?
- Are there other members of your family in the camps? If not, where are they, and do you have much contact with those outside the camps?
- Have you applied for resettlement? Can you tell me about your process and the information you have received? If you haven't applied for resettlement, why? What happens to someone's house when they resettle?

<u>Building and maintenance</u>

- Did you build this building? If no, who did? Were different parts built by different people?
- How did you come to be living in the different places that you have lived in the camps (if in more than one)?
- What do you know about how this hut was made (if not self-made)?
- Were you a part of the building of the hut? If yes, how?
- How long did it take before you were able to live here?

<u>Changing of shelter</u>

- Can you describe what the hut looked like when you first moved in?

- What changes to the inside have been made since it was finished? Why, and who made them?
- What changes to the outside have been made since coming here? Why, and who made them?
- Have changes to the structure (i.e. added rooms) been made why and by who?
- Can you describe the process of adding/changing things to the hutt?
- What resources or materials were necessary to complete the changes you have made and how did you get them?
- Are there rules related to changing your hut? Can you describe them to me?
- What other changes will you make to make to this shelter and what will enable or restrict you in making these changes?
- Who is primarily responsible for the routine maintenance on the building you live in and how often does it take place? (same question about major repairs) Where do the materials come from to do this? How do you feel about the maintenance and repairs?

Information received/desired

- What kind of information have you had from the organisation who helped build this shelter?
- What information has the organisation asked from you?
- What information have you actively looked for/asked for and who did you ask?
- What questions would you ask the organisation about the place you live in?

Overall satisfaction

- How do you feel about the hut you live in?
- In which ways does the hut meet household needs?
- What aspects of the hut could be improved?
- How do you feel about the place where you live?
- Do you have any questions or other comments for me?

Appendix 2.Group Interview Guides

A. BRWF Interview Guide

- Introduce self and research topic (shelter and how refugees are involved with building and changing their shelters). Is recording ok?

- Ask for them to introduce themselves.

- Can you tell me about BRWF and how it came to be?

- What activities/tasks is BRWF responsible for?

- How do you feel about your role in the community?

- How is BRWF involved in the building, maintenance or extension of huts?

- How do you see the relocation from Khudunabari impacting the camp?

- What effects of resettlement are you seeing in the community? In comparison to other agencies?

- How are you involved (personally) in building/maintenance/extension of huts?

- How do you see the other organisations role in this – shelter/hut building?

- How do people get materials for maintenance/repairs and who do they go to? (other group)

B. IPW Interview Guide

- Introduce self and research topic. Ask for brief introductions.

- What do incentive workers do? What does that involve?

- Can you tell me how IPW was formed and it's role?

- What role do you play in the building of huts in the camps? I know there are different roles, but what?

- Please explain the structure and roles within IPW.

- What are the interactions with inhabitants of the huts like?

- How do you interact with other organisations present in the camp?

- How do you see your role in the refugee community?

- What materials are households provided with and at what intervals?

- Who pays you? If different people, when?

- Who gives you orders?

- What training did you receive for doing the work you do?

- Who decides when repairs will take place?

- Who does work on your huts?

C. SH/SSH Interview Guide

- Introduce self and research assistant as well as research topic. Explain that translator will be translating so if they can speak one at a time it would make things easier for us. Ask about recording.

- Ask them to introduce themselves.

- Can you tell me how you came to be sector heads/sub-sector heads?

- What are your responsibilities as sector head/sub-sector head? Can you give examples?

- How much of your time does this task/your responsibilities take?

- What do you see as your role in the refugee community?

- How are you involved with people's huts?

- How do you interact with different agencies in your role as SH/SSH?

- What do you think of the relocation from the other camps?

- How does the relocation affect your jobs?

- What do you think about third country resettlement?

- How has resettlement impacted your work?

- In what ways do you see resettlement affecting the (your) refugee community?

- If they talk about problems – ask how they would change/make it better.

Appendix 3.Survey

Version 5

Shelter survey –Beldangi II

The information collected via this survey will contribute to the Master's thesis of Johanne Garland, an independent researcher fromWageningen University in the Netherlands. Respondent's names will not be used in the reporting of findings, nor will names of respondents be known to others outside of the researcher and her assistants. The information collected from this survey will not affect individual resettlement processes in any way.

तपाईंलाई यो जानकारी गराउन चाहान्छौं कि यो एउटा अनुसन्धान हो। जसमा नेदरल्याण्ड बाट आउनुभएकी जोहाना गारल्याण्डले शरणार्थी शिविरको बारेमा अध्ययन गर्दै हुनुहुन्छ। यो एउटा युनिभर्सिटी बाट आफ्नो पढाइको लागि आउनुभएकी हो। यहाँ कुनै पनि संस्था बाट आउनुभएको होइन। तपाईंहरूको मनमा लागेका सबै कुराहरु निर्धक्क साथ भन्न सक्नुहुन्छ। तपाईंले दिनुभएको सबै जानकारी गोप्य राखिने छ। जसमा तपाईंहरूको नाम समावेश गरिने छैन।

Date: मिति

Assistant: दीपक

Survey #: अनुसन्धान

Sector/sub sector/house #: सेक्टर हट नम्बर

Mark each choice with a√. To indicate and incorrect answer that should be disregarded, place a black line through the answer (√). If you have questions, please ask the research assistant who is administering this survey.

प्रश्नको उत्तर लेख्दा आफ्नो उत्तरलाई कुराहरूमा ध्यान दिनु होला जसमा उत्तर गलत गोलको उत्तर गलत गोलको निर्देश अनुसार चिन्ह लगाउनु होला। यदि नबुझेको खण्डमा अनुसन्धान प्रमुख लाई सोध्नु होला। धन्यवाद।

Initial observations

This section to be filled in by research assistant. यो भाग सहायक अनुसन्धानकर्ताले नै भर्नुपर्नेछ।

1. What material(s) are the walls of the hut made out of? भित्ता
   तपाईंहरूको [illegible] छाप्रोको के के सामग्रीले बनाइएको हो?
   - a) Mud माटो __
   - b) Bamboo बाँस __
   - c) Other अरु केही __ (please describe व्याख्या गर्नुहोस्
2. What material(s) is the roof of the hut made out of? छाना
   तपाईंहरूको छाप्रोको के ले बनाइएको हो?
   - a) Thatch खर __
   - b) Bamboo बाँस __
   - c) Plastic sheet प्लास्टिक __
   - d) Other अरु केही __ (please describe व्याख्या गर्नुहोस्।
3. What material(s) is the floor of the hut made out of?
   तपाईंहरूको छाप्रोको भुईं के ले बनाइएको हो?
   - a) No floor (dirt) जमिन र माटो __
   - b) Mud माटो मात्र __
   - c) Mud with thin concrete layer सिमेन्ट र माटो __
   - d) Solid concrete सिमेन्ट मात्र __
   - e) Other अरु केही __ (please describe व्याख्या गर्नुहोस्)
4. What is the general condition of the hut? (Choose one number) अवस्था
   समग्रमा तपाईंहरूको छाप्रोको कस्तो [illegible] छ?

1	2	3	4	5
Excellent	Good	Ok	Poor	Very poor
धेरै राम्रो	राम्रो	ठीक	नराम्रो	धेरै नराम्रो।

5. What problems are visible? लघाइहरुको घरमा ख्वान अबल्याहरु के के हुन्?
   a) Holes _____ प्वाल
   b) Rotting bamboo _____ अकुको बाँस
   c) Sagging/leaky roof _____ छानामा प्वाल
   d) Other _____ अरु केही _____ (please describe _____ ब्याख्या गर्नुहोस्)

6. What furniture is in the hut? लघाइहरुको घरमा के के सामानहरु हुन्?
   a) Bed _____ पलंग। ओछ्यान _____ (give number if more than one _____) एकता भन्दा बढी?
   b) Table _____ टेबल _____ (give number if more than one _____) कतीता भन्दा बढी भे?
   c) Chair or stool _____ कुर्सी _____ (give number if more than one _____) एकता भन्दा बढी?
   d) Other _____ अरु केही _____ (please describe _____ ब्याख्या गर्नु दिला)

7. What extra things are there in the house have? लघाइको घरमा अरु सामानहरु के के हुन्?
   a) Bicycle _____ साइकल _____ (give number if more than one _____) एक भन्दा बढी भे
   b) Radio _____ रेडियो _____ (give number if more than one _____) एक भन्दा बढी भे
   c) Mobile phone _____ मोबाइल फोन _____ (give number if more than one _____) एक भन्दा बढी भे
   d) Electrical outlet _____ बिजुलीको प्लग _____ (give number if more than one _____) एक भन्दा बढी भे
   e) Solar panel _____ सोलार प्यानल _____ (give number if more than one _____) एक भन्दा बढी भे
   f) Television _____ टेलिभिजन _____ (give number if more than one _____) एक भन्दा बढी भे
   g) LCD _____ एलसिडी _____ (give number if more than one _____) एक भन्दा बढी भे
   h) Sewing machine _____ सिलाई गर्ने मेसिन _____ (give number if more than one _____) एक भन्दा बढी भे
   i) Fan _____ पंखा _____ (give number if more than one _____) एक भन्दा बढी भे
   j) Other _____ अरु केही / _____ (please describe _____) ब्याख्या गर्नु

General

8. Age _____
   उमेर _____

9. What is your gender?
   लिंगता
   a) Male _____ पुरुष _____
   b) Female _____ महिला _____

10. Who is the head of your household? परिवारको घरमूली
    लघाइको घरको मूल मान्छे को हुनुहुन्छ?
    a) Self _____ लघाइ आफै _____
    b) Husband _____ श्रीमान _____
    c) Wife _____ श्रीमती _____
    d) Other _____ अरु केही _____ (please describe _____) ब्याख्या गर्नुहोस्

11. What is your marital status?
    लघाइ बिवाहित का अविवाहित हुनुहुन्छ?
    a) Never married _____ अविवाहित _____ (go to question 14) प्रश्न न १४ मा जानु |
    b) Married _____ बिवाहित _____
    c) Divorced _____ छुट्टाभे भएका _____
    d) Widow _____ श्रीमान वा श्रीमती नभएका _____

12. How many children do you have?
    लघाइको कति बच्चा छन् हुन्?

13. Are these children all from one marriage? लघाइको सबै बच्चा लघाइको आफ्नो श्रीमान वा श्रीमति पट्टीक हुन्?
    a) Yes _____ छ। _____
    b) No _____ छैन / _____

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14. What is your religion? (may choose more than one answer)
    तपाई को धर्म के हो?
    a) Hindu ___ हिन्दु ___
    b) Buddhist ___ बौद्ध ___ ___ (go to question 16)
    c) Christian ___ क्रिश्चन ___ ___ (go to question 16)
    d) Kirat ___ किरात ___ ___ (go to question 16)
    e) Other ___ अरु केही ___ ___ (please describe ___ प्रश्न न ९ मा) (go to question 16)
    अथवा व्याख्या गर्नुहोस्

15. What is your caste?
    तपाई को जात के हो?
    a) Brahamins ___ बाहुन ___
    b) Cheetri ___ क्षेत्री ___
    c) Vishya ___ वैश्य ___
    d) Sudra ___ शुद्र ___

16. What is your occupation?
    तपाईको आयास्रोत के हो।
    a) Agriculture ___ कृषि जाति ___
    b) Labor ___ मजदुर ___
    c) CMC member ___ स्वास्थ्य कर्मचारी ___
    d) Teacher ___ शिक्षक ___
    e) Self-employed ___ स्वरोजगार गर्ने ___
    f) Other ___ अरु केही ___ ___ (please describe ___ व्याख्या गर्नुहोस्)

17. What is your monthly income (excluding remittances)? ___ (give amount in rupees)
    तपाईको परिवारको मासिक आम्दानी कति छ। (पैसामा लेख्नु होस्)

18. What are your major sources of income? (may choose more than one answer)
    तपाईको आय को मुख्य स्रोत के हो।
    a) Occupation (as given in #16) ___ प्रश्न न १६ मा जन जस्तो ___
    b) Remittances ___ रेमिटेन्स ___
    c) Other ___ अरु केही ___ ___ (please describe ___ व्याख्या गर्नुहोस्)

19. Do you receive remittances? तपाईले रेमिटेन्स रकम प्राप्त गर्नुहुन्छ?
    a) Yes ___ छ ___
    b) No ___ छैन ___ ___ (go to question 22) प्रश्न न २२ मा जानु होस् ।

20. Who sends you remittances? (may check more than one answer)
    तपाईलाई रेमिटेन्स कसले पठाउँछ।
    a) Children ___ छोरा छोरी ___
    b) Parents ___ बुवा आमा ___
    c) Other family ___ अरु परिवार ___
    d) Friends ___ साथी ___
    e) Neighbors ___ छिमेकी ___
    f) Other ___ अरु कोही ___ ___ (please describe ___ व्याख्या गर्नुहोस्)

21. How much do you receive in remittances per month? ___ (give amount in rupees)
    तपाईले रेमिटेन्स बाट महिनाको कति प्राप्त गर्नु हुन्छ।
    महिनामा कति रेमिटेन्स

22. What were your major purchases related to in the last six months? (may choose more than one answer)
    विगत छ महिना भित्र तपाईले विशेष रुपमा खर्च गर्नु भयो?
    a) Food ___ खाना ___
    b) Clothing ___ कपडा ___
    c) Education ___ शिक्षाखर्च ___
    d) House repair ___ घर निर्माण ___

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e) Travel यात्रा यात _____ ___

f) Other अरु केही _____ ___ (please describe <याल्या जानुहोस् |

Household

23. How many people are there in your family? ___ (give whole number)
तपाईको परीवारमा कति जना हुनुहुन्छ ?

24. Is there anyone else temporarily living outside this hut?
के तपाइको परीवारका कुनै सहदस्या घर बाहिर बल्नुहुन्छ ?
a) Yes छन् _____ ___
b) No छैन । ___ (go to question 26) प्रश्न न २६ मा जानुहोस् |

25. Who is living outside the hut? (may choose more than one answer)
काम बाहिर को बल्नुहुन्छ ?
a) Daughter ___ धारी _____ ___
b) Son ___ छोरा _____ ___
c) Husband ___ श्रीमान _____ ___
d) Wife ___ श्रीमति _____ ___
e) Other family ___ अन्य अरु परीवारको
___ सदस्य ___ (please describe <याल्या जानुहोस्)
f) Other अरु काेही _____ ___ (please describe <याल्या जानुहोस्)

26. Is there anyone else who slept here last night?
के तपाइको घरमा यहाँला रात कोही अरु बसेको थिया |
a) Yes ।यिया _____ ___
b) No थिएन ___ (go to question 28) प्रश्न न २८ मा जानुहोस् |

27. Who slept here last night?
को बसेका थिया ?
a) Friend (s) साथी _____ ___
b) Neighbor(s) छिमेकी _____ ___
c) Other family अन्य अरु परीवारको
___ (please define ___)
सदस्य <याल्या जानु होस् |
d) Other अरु काेही _____ ___ (please define ___)
<याल्या जानुहोस्)

28. How many people eat here often? ____ (give number)
तपाइको परीवारमा प्रायः खाने कति जना हुनुहुन्छ ?

29. Do you share food rations with people outside of your family?
के तपाइ अरु सँग खाना बाड्नु हुन्छ ? तपाईको परिवार बाहिर अरुसँग रासन बाढ्नुहुन्छ ?
a) Yes हुन्छ _____ ___
b) No हुन्न ___ (go to question 31) प्रश्न ३१ मा जानु होस् |

30. Who do you share food rations with?
खाना सँग को सँग बाड्नु हुन्छ ?
a) Friend (s) साथी _____ ___
b) Neighbor(s) छिमेकी _____ ___
c) Other अरु काेही ___ (please define ___)
<याल्या जानु होस् |

Relocation

31. When did you first arrive in Nepal? (month and year ___)
तपाइ पहिलो पटक कहिले नेपाल आउनु भएको हो ?
सुरुमा कहिले आउनुभयो ?(महिना र साल)

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32. Which camp did you first live in? पहिलो

तपाई सेवाकबाट आरए कुन क्याम्पमा बस्नु भया ?

a) Goldhap _____ गोल्डाप _____
b) Timai _____ तिमाई _____
c) Khundabari _____ खुन्दाबारी _____
d) Shanischare _____ शानिश्चरे _____
e) Beldangi I _____ बेलडाङी १ _____
f) Beldangi II _____ बेलडाङी २ _____
g) Beldangi extension _____ बेलडाङी ३ _____

33. How long have you lived in the hut you live in now? _____ (give amount of time)

अहिले बस्नु भया बस्न गरेको कति भया ?

34. How many huts have you lived in? _____ (give number)

तपाइँत कति वटा घरमा बास गर्नु भया ?

If more than one, go to question 35. If only one, go to question 38.

थया एउटा भन्दा बढी भए प्रश्न नं ३५ मा जानुहोस /

35. What was your reason(s) for moving huts? (may choose more than one answer)

तपाइ घर सार्नुको कारण किरण के हुन ?

a) Official move _____ अफिसियल सार्ने _____
b) To be closer to friends _____ साथी को नजिक हुन _____ (go to number 38) प्रश्न ३८
c) To be closer to family _____ परिवार लग नजिक हुन _____ (go to number 38) प्रश्न ३८
d) For better job/economic opportunities _____ आर्थिक स्रोतलाई _____ (go to number 38) प्रश्न ३८
e) Other _____ अरु के हुन _____ (please define _____) (go to number 38)
व्याख्या गर्नुहोस / प्रश्न ३८ मा जान

36. If the moving process was not of your own choice, how clear was the shifting process?(Circle one number)

थया असाइनमेन्ट जया आफुले चाहेनभएको ठिक्का पनाभएको नस क्लेर

1	2	3	4	5
Very clear	Clear	Ok	A little unclear	Very unclear
धेरे साफा	साफा	ठिक	थोरे नसाफा	धेरे नसाफा

37. Were you asked for your opinion on the shifting process by the involved organization?

असाइनमेन्टमा तपाई आफ्नो राय दिनुहुन्छ था दिनुहुन्न

a) Yes _____ हुन्छ _____
b) No _____ हुन्न _____ (go to question 38) _____

38. At what point in the shifting process was your opinion asked?

थया असाइन भएकोमा कहिले राय दिनुहुन्छ असाउन हुन हुन छ

a) Before the shifting began _____ अगाडी _____
b) During the shifting _____ गर्दा कहिले _____
c) After the shifting _____ सकिदा _____

Resettlement

39. Have you applied for resettlement?

तपाई पुन:स्थापना लागि दरखास्त अनुभएको छ /

a) Yes _____ छ _____
b) No _____ छैन _____ (go to question 42) प्रश्न नं ४२ मा जानु होस /

40. Where did you apply to go?

कहा जान अनुभएको छ ?

a) Australia _____ अष्ट्रेलिया _____
b) Canada _____ क्यानडा _____
c) Denmark _____ डेनमार्क _____
d) Netherlands _____ नेदरल्यान्ड _____
e) New Zealand _____ न्युजिल्यान्ड _____

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f) Norway _नर्वे_
g) United Kingdom _यूनाइटेड किंग्डम_
h) United States _युनाइटेड स्टेट्स_
i) Not specified _पाइन देशा_ ___ (go to question 42) _प्रश्न ४२ मा जानुहोस् ।_

41. Why did you apply to go here? (may choose more than one answer) _कसिल जान चाहनु भएको छ] के कारणले यहाँ जानुहुन्छ ?_
    a) Family are there _परिवार अहेर_ ___
    b) Friends are there _साथि अहेर_ ___
    c) Economic opportunity _आर्थिकको लागि_ ___
    d) Stories heard from others _अरुले भनेको सुनेर_ ___
    e) Other _अरु केहि_ ___ (please define ___) _व्याख्या गर्नु_

42. What information have you received about the resettlement process? (may choose more than one answer) _तपै ले ले पुनर्वासको बारेमा के जानकारी पाउनु भएको छ ?_
    a) Spoken with an organization representative _संस्थाको प्रतिनिधिसंग कुरा भएको_ ___ (Which organization? ___) _कुन संस्था_
    b) Listened to announcement from organization _सुचना बाट_ ___ (Which organization? ___) _कुन संस्था_
    c) Received a visual flyer _चित्रको बाट_ ___ (Which organization? ___) _कुन संस्था_
    d) Received written material _पत्रको पहेर_ ___ (Which organization? ___) _कुन संस्था)_
    e) Other _अरु केहि_ ___ (please define ___) _व्याख्या गर्नुहोस् ।_

43. Is there other information you would have liked to receive? _तपै लाई पुनर्वासको बारेमा अरु केहि जान्न चाहनुहुन्छ ।_
    a) Yes _छ_ ___ (please describe ___) _व्याख्या गर्नुहोस् ।_
    b) No _छैन]_ ___

44. Did you actively look for more information on resettlement? _के तपाई जानकारी पाउन खुब खोजी हुनुहुन्छ ।_
    a) Yes _छ_ ___
    b) No _छैन_ ___ (go to question 46) _प्रश्न ४६ मा जानुहोस् ।_

45. Where did you go to find more information on resettlement? (May choose more than one answer) _के बाट कसरी पाउन चाहनु हुन्छ ।जसले पुनर्वासको बारेमा यो जानकारी कहाँ गएर लिनुभयो?_
    a) CMC member _सिएमसि सदस्य_ ___ (please describe ___) _व्याख्या गर्नु होस)_
    b) Direct family _परिवार_ ___
    c) Neighbors _छिमेकी_ ___
    d) Friends _साथि_ ___
    e) Other _अरु कोहि_ ___ (please describe ___) _व्याख्या गर्नुहोस्)_

46. What will happen to your hut when you resettle? _तपाई पुनर्वास अरु ठाउँ गएको झुप्रो के गरिन्छ ?_
    a) Extended family will move in _ठुलो परिवार आउँछ ।_ ___
    b) Friends or neighbors will move in _साथि वा छिमेक_ ___
    c) Internal items will be sold _भित्रि मोल [बिक्री हुन्छ)_ ___
    d) Other parts of the hut will be sold _अरु भाग [बेच्छ हुन्छ)_ ___
    e) The whole hut will be sold _पुरै झुप्रो बिक्री हुन्छ)_ ___
    f) An organization will take the hut _संस्थाले लिन्छ)_ ___
       (Which organization? _कुन संस्था)_

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g) Other _आफ्नो___ कोही_
   (please describe _छ्याप्या__ गिनुहोस् /_) _____ —

Go to question 48. _प्रश्न ४८ मा जानुहोस् /_

47. Will you apply for resettlement in the future? (skip question if already applied for resettlement) ___
_तपाई (वहाँले) भविष्य मा पुनर्वासको लागी इच्छा_ /
a) Yes _ः जाहुँ_ _के आवश्यक बेला तपाई पुनर्वास ∧ पाइन इच्छ |_
b) No _ः अहिले_
c) Maybe _ः कुनै_

Building and maintenance

48. Who was most responsible for building the hut you live in now? _____
_तपाई (वहाँ) बस्नेहुने अहिले को भकाल का लागी इच्छ /_
a) Organization _अहिल्या |_
b) Incentive workers _कामदार_ —
c) Self and immediate family _परिवार_ —
d) Other family _अन्किल_ —
e) Friends _साथी_ —
f) Neighbors _छिमेकी_ —
g) Other _अन्त कोही_ ___ (please define _____)
   _छ्याप्या गिनुहोस् /_

49. Were there others involved in the building of the hut you live in now? _अन्य हुन्छ /_
_तपाई (वहाँ) को भकाल काम अन्य गरी/_
a) Yes _अरु_
b) No _अरुहैन_ ___ (go to question 51) _प्रश्न ५१ मा जानुहोस् /_

50. Who also helped in building the hut you live in? _____ _अन्यो तपाई बस्नेको छाप्रो निर्माण गर्ने ?_
a) Organization _अहिल्या_ —
b) Incentive workers _कामदार_ —
c) Self and immediate family _परिवार_ —
d) Other family _अन्किल_ —
e) Friends _साथी_ —
f) Neighbors _छिमेकी_ —
g) Other _अन्त कोही_ ___ (please define _____)
   _छ्याप्या गिनुहोस् /_

51. Where did most of the materials to build the hut you live in come from? _____
_तपाई (वहाँ) का सामग्री कहाँ बाट आयो ?_
a) Organization _अहिल्या_ —
b) Incentive workers _कामदार_ —
c) Self and immediate family _परिवार_ —
d) Other family _अन्किल_ —
e) Friends _साथी_ —
f) Neighbors _साथी/छिमेकी_ —
g) Other _अन्तकोही_ ___ (please define _____)
   _छ्याप्या गिनुहोस् /_

52. Who arranged the building of the hut you live in? _____ _मिलाई इच्छ /_
a) Organization _अहिल्या_ ___ (Which organization? _____)
   _कुन अहिल्या_
b) Incentive workers _कामदार_ —
c) Self and immediate family _परिवार_ —
d) Other family _अन्किल_ —

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e) Friends _____
f) Neighbors _____
g) Other _____
                   ___ (please define _____)

53. What information did you receive about the building of the hut you live in now? (may choose more than one answer)
    a) Spoke with an organization representative   ___ (Which organization? _____)
    b) Listened to announcement from organization   ___ (Which organization? _____)
    c) Received a visual flyer   ___ (Which organization? _____)
    d) Received written material   ___ (Which organization? _____)
    e) Other _____   ___ (please define _____)

54. When did you receive information about the building of the hut you live in now? (May choose more than one)
    a) Before the hut was built _____
    b) During construction of the hut _____
    c) When the hut was complete _____

55. Was the information you received about the building of your hut useful to you?
    a) Yes _____
    b) No _____

56. Is there other information you would have liked to receive on the building of the hut you live in?
    a) Yes _____ (please describe _____)
    b) No _____ (go to 59)

57. Did you actively look for more information on the building of the hut you live in?
    a) Yes _____
    b) No _____ (go to question 59)

58. Where did you go to find more information on the hut you live in? (May choose more than one answer)
    a) CMC member _____ (please describe _____)
    b) Direct family _____
    c) Neighbors _____
    d) Friends _____
    e) Other _____ (please describe _____)

59. What do you consider regular maintenance for the hut you live in?
    a) Smear the floor _____
    b) Repair leak in roof _____
    c) Other _____ (please define _____)

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60. Who is most responsible for regular maintenance on the hut you are living in?
দৈনিক দাগা বলাউতে নিকাসার কা হুল হুবে ।
- a) Organization __সংস্থা__ _____ (Which organization? _____)
  কুন সংস্থা
- b) Incentive workers __কামদার__ _____ —
- c) Self and immediate family __পরিবার__ —
- d) Other family __সুফলত__ _____ —
- e) Friends __স্বাস্থ__ _____ —
- f) Neighbors __ছা অল্প__ _____ —
- g) Other __আরো কাহি__ _____ — (please define _____)
  ব্যাখ্যা গর্নুহস ।

61. What materials are used for regularly maintaining the hut you live in? (May choose more than one)
দৈনিক দাগা বলাউতেকা লাগা কুন কুন সামাগ্রীকা আবট্যক পছ ।
- a) Bamboo __বাঁশ__ _____ —
- b) Thatch __ওঁলা__ _____ —
- c) Plastic sheeting __প্লাইটিক__ —
- d) Mud __মাটি__ _____ —
- e) Concrete __সিমেন্ট__ _____ —
- f) Rope __ডারি__ _____ —
- g) Other __আরো__ _____ — (please define _____)
  ব্যাখ্যা গর্নুহস

62. Where do you get the materials for regularly maintaining the hut you live in?
দাগা বলাউতে সামাগ্রী কাঁহা বাট পাউনে হুবে ।
- a) Organization __সংস্থা__ _____ (Which organization? _____)
  কুন সংস্থা
- b) Incentive workers __কামদার__ _____ —
- c) Self and immediate family __পরিবার__ —
- d) Other family __সুফলত__ _____ —
- e) Friends __স্বাস্থ__ _____ —
- f) Neighbors __ছা অল্প__ _____ —
- g) Other __আরো কাহি__ _____ — (please define _____)
  ব্যাখ্যা গর্নুহস ।

63. What is your overall feeling about regular maintenance? (Circle one number)
সমগ্রমা দাগ দাগা বলাউতা বারে অনুভব হুবে ।

1	2	3	4	5
Very happy	Happy	Ok	A little unhappy	Very unhappy
ধেরে খুশি	খুশি	ঠিক	অল্প নখুশি	ধের নখুশি

64. What do you consider major repairs for the hut in which you are living?
দাগামা মুরম্মত কে কুন বলাউকে পছ ।
- a) Repairing holes __পুরাল্প__ _____ —
- b) Replacing roof __ছানা__ _____ ✗ —
- c) Replace walls __কাঁধ__ _____ —
- d) Make mud wall stronger __টানা__ _____ —
- e) Other __আরো কহি__ _____ — (please define _____)
  ব্যাখ্যা গর্নুহস

65. Who is most responsible for major repairs on the hut you are living in?
তপাইকো দাগামা মুরম্মত কুরাহরু বলাউতা কেকো বরা নুহাকো হুবে ।
- a) Organization __সংস্থা__ _____ —
- b) Incentive workers __কামদার__ _____ —
- c) Self and immediate family __পরিবার__ —
- d) Other family __আরো কহি__ _____ —
- e) Friends __স্বাস্থ__ _____ —

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f) Neighbors ___চার্জন___
g) Other ___অন্য কাহা___ ___ (please define _____)
___ঝামেলা ঠিকুলে)___

66. What materials are used for major repairs on the building you live in? (May choose more than one answer)
___থাইয়া ঘরখা কুরাইয়া বলাইন কন কন সামগ্রা বাড়িছেন।___
a) Bamboo ___বাঁশ___ ___
b) Wood ___কাঠ___ ___
c) Thatch ___ছাউ___ ___
d) Plastic sheeting ___পলাস্টিল___ ___
e) Mud ___মাটি___ ___
f) Concrete ___সালিন্ত___ ___
g) Rope ___দঁড়___ ___
h) Other ___অন্য কুঁহি___ ___ (please define _____)
___ঝামেলা তত্ত্ব হুঁল)___

67. Where do you get the materials for major repairs on the hut you live in?
___ঘরখা কুরাইছে বলাইন সামগ্রা কুঁহল দিচেন)___
a) Organization ___সংস্থা___ ___(Which organization? _____)
___কুন সংস্থা___
b) Incentive workers ___ইনসেন্টিভ___ ___
c) Self and immediate family ___পরিবার___ ___
d) Other family ___আত্মান___ ___
e) Friends ___সাথী___ ___
f) Neighbors ___চার্জন___ ___
g) Other ___অন্য কুঁহি___ ___ (please define _____)
___ঝামেলা তত্ত্ব হুঁল___

68. What is your overall feeling about major repairs to the hut you are living in? (Circle one number)
___থাকন ঘরখা পুরা বলাইছে কেমন অনুভব হুঁলো।___
12   3   4   5
Very happy   Happy   Ok   A little unhappy   Very unhappy
___থেল খুশি___   ___খুশি___   ___ঠিক___   ___আত্ম দুঃখ___   ___থেল দুঃখ___

Changes to living space

69. What internal (inside) changes have been made to your living space? (may choose more than one answer)
___থাইছে ঘরা ভিতলে কী কী বলাইন হুঁচে)___
a) Partitions added ___পাটা বিয়ান___ ___
b) Walls covered ___দেলাল ঢাকা___ ___
c) Walls painted ___রঙ কলান___ ___
d) Decorations or pictures ___ছবি___ ___
e) Furniture ___ফার্নিচার___ ___
f) Other ___অন্য কুঁহি___ ___ (please describe _____)
___ঝামেলা তত্ত্ব হুঁল)___

70. What external (outside) changes have been made to your living space? (may choose more than one answer)
___থাইছে বাহালা ঘরা কী কী বলাইন হুঁচে)___
a) Paint ___রঙ___ ___
b) Other wall decorations ___দেল সাজান___ ___
c) Hanging decorations ___ঝুলন্ত সাজান___ ___
d) Pot plants ___টবগাছ___ ___
e) Garden ___বাগান___ ___
f) Fence ___বেড়া___ ___
g) Other ___অন্য কুঁহি___ ___ (please describe _____)
___ঝামেলা তত্ত্ব হুঁল)___

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71. What structural (building) changes have you made to your living space?

घरको (घलामा चपाईंले शरिरक्य पर्रावितल के के ये ।

- a) Kitchen _गोल्घा क्याो)_ ___
- b) Toilet _च्छी_ ___
- c) Extra bed room _सात कोठा_ ___ (give number if more than one ____) _हुव्या अंकमा ल 20्_
- d) Veranda or porch _कोरेडी_ ___
- e) Store room _स्टार कोठा_ ___
- f) Sitting room _बढ्दै कोठी_ ___
- g) Higher mud walls _घरका माटो_ ___
- h) Other _अरु कडी ।_ ___ (please describe _व्यारणा अनुहृत ।_)

Opinion on living space

72. How do you feel about the hut you live in? (Circle one number)

सहरमा अलगबिया चपाईंको धारा क्लल नगर्दछ्

1	2	3	4	5
Very good _धेर राम्रो_	Good _राम्रो_	Ok _ठीक_	A little bad _थोर नराम्रो_	Very bad _धेर नराम्रो ।_

73.

के घरले चपाईंमा परिवार्क आवश्यक हुन हुन्छ ।

How well does the hut you live in meet your family's needs? (Circle one number)

1	2	3	4	5
Very well _धेर धेरै हुँ_	Well _धेर हुँ_	Ok _ठीक_	Not so well _हुदन_	Not at all _धेर हुदन ।_

74. How safe does the hut you live in feel? (Circle one number)

चपाईंको बिचा सुरक्षित नगर्छ

1	2	3	4	5
Very safe _धेर सुरक्षित_	Pretty safe _धेर ब_	Ok _ठीक_	Not so safe _थोर_	Very unsafe _धेर थोर ।_

75. How do you feel about the size of the plot your hut is on?

_चपाईंको धरालाई जमिनमा सन्तुष्ट हुँ हुन्छ_

1	2	3	4	5
Very satisfied _धेर धेर_	Satisfied _धेर ज_	Ok _ठीक_	A bit unsatisfied _थोर_	Unsatisfied _धेर थोर ।_

If you have any additional questions or comments, please give them here.

भिन्न वा थाहिक घरलाई र चपाईंलाई भएका सक लोगका अरु व्यारणा गर्न अनुहृत ।

Thank you for your participation!

चलभवाद सहाहिगलको लागि ।

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Appendix 4. Hut Materials and Cost

Lutheran World Federation Nepal
Department for World Service Geneva
Regional Office East
Bhutanese Refugee Project, Damak Jhapa
QUANTITY AND COST ESTIMATE

Camp/Site: _Beldangi camps;_ Project: _Nwe Huts Construction work with Sandwich panel Roof._ Target: 1no shelter.

Item nos	Description of Works	No	L	B	H	Quantity	Unit	Particulars	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Remarks
	The refugee shelter single hut size is considered as - 5.5m x 4m in the design.												
1	Bamboo work:												
	a. Central post	3	4.05	0.00	0.00	12.15		Bamboo 8"x8mtr	no	35.00	75	2,625.000	
	b. Side post	8	2.90	0.00	0.00	23.20		Bamboo 6"x8mtr	no	41.00	65	2,665.000	
	c. Main beam (Ridge & side)	7	6.50	0.00	0.00	45.50		300gauge black plastic	kgs	4.20	149.16	626.472	
	d. Cross beam	7	4.00	0.00	0.00	28.00		16gauge GI wire	kgs	3.75	110	412.500	
	e. Rafter bamboo @ 1m C/C	8	2.75	0.00	0.00	22.00		33gauge GI ridge cover 8'x1.5'	nos	2.00	175	350.000	
	Total					130.85	rm	33gauge GI ridge cover 7'x1.5'	nos	1.00	175	175.000	
	Bamboo					22.00	nos	Suttee 5 ply	kg	1.50	75	112.500	
	f. Purlins 1/2 bamboo @ 50CM C/C	12	6.50	0.00	0.00	78.00		Skilled Manpower	pd	20.00	60	1,200.000	
	g. Spanel tie split bamboo both side	6	3.50	0.00	0.00	21.00		Unskilled	pd	24.00	50	1,200.000	
	Total					99.00	rm	Skilled for OJT Grade - C	pd	0.15	60	9.000	
	Bamboo					6.00	nos	Pitha - 9' long 12" girth	bundle	16.00	293	4,688.000	
2	Bamboo ekra wall construction					6.00	nos	Bata - 16' long 13" girth	bundle	3.00	210	630.000	
	Outer wall	2	9.50	0.00	2.10	39.90		Cost for one hut				14,693.47	
	On gable wall	2	2.00	0.00	1.20	4.80							
	Total					44.70	m2						
	Bamboo					48.00	nos						
3	Bamboo panel roof					36.40	m2						
	Bamboo	2	6.50	2.80		30.00	pd						
4	Skilled labour Grade C for OJT 30 nos for 5 months												
a	300gauge black plastic - 4.2kg/hut												
b	16gauge GI wire - 3.75kg/hut												
c	5ply sutly - 1.50kg/hut.												
d	33gauge GI ridge cover - 8' x 1.5' size - 3nos.												
e	Pitha @ 16 bundle/hut - 9' long 12" girth												
f	Bata @ 3 bundle/hut - 16' long 13" girth												

Prepared by
Infrastructure Officer
Date:

Checked/Recommended by
Project Manager
Date:

Approved by
Regional Program Coordinator
Date:

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