



A Qualitative Study of a Grass Roots and Faith-Based Peace and Reconciliation Program in Kakuma Kenya

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Executive Summary

The United Refugee and Host Churches (URHC) is an association of Christian churches in the Kakuma Refugee Camp (Kenya) and the surrounding community of Turkana. Originally founded in 1996 as the United Refugee Churches, this group has been working to improve the lives of refugees by unifying the member churches around a theology of trust, service, and sacrifice. In 2013 the International Association for Refugees contacted the Humanitarian Disaster Institute (HDI) at Wheaton College to discuss the possibility of independently validating the work of URHC and the contribution to the community. The response was a team of faculty and graduate students who, for one week in March 2014, interviewed church leaders, URHC members, and selected NGO (non-government organization) staff in the Kakuma Refugee Camp and community. The interviews were formally analyzed for established and consistent themes in the work of URHC. These themes were confirmed with representatives of URHC upon a return trip to the camp. The analysis documented eight themes reflecting strategies used by URHC, and further validated them on a return trip to the camp. These themes are:

- Community Building – Creating a sense of community, including perceived purpose and communal support, among the members.
- Community Organization – Creating roles, structures, and organizational units that carry out the tasks and strategies of URHC, resulting in a single point of contact for the member churches.
- Conflict Resolution – Containing, preventing, and resolving conflict at the family, church and community levels.
- Education – Formal programs of education to equip people for the ministries of URHC and build support for the community. Education includes formal education at the Kakuma Interdenominational School of Missions as well as multiple workshops and informal training, ranging from preparing teachers to business skills to family roles.
- Trust Building / Transparency – Formal approaches to avoiding corruption, avoiding conflict-generating rumors, and building trust among members and the URHC leadership.
- Services for the Vulnerable – Targeted programs for the most vulnerable among the community, starting with widows, single mothers, children, and the disabled.
- Communication – Systems for communication as an essential aspect for avoiding conflict, building trust, and supporting community
- Women's Issues – Building respect for and equipping women through education, developing role models, and proactively engaging women in education and leadership roles.

We conclude the report with recommendations for building upon the work of URHC and for next steps in this initial study.

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I. Introduction

According to the Kakuma News reflector, Kakuma Refugee Camp is located in Turkana District of the northwestern region of Kenya, 120 kilometers from Lodwar District Headquarters and 95 kilometers from the Lokichoggio Kenya-Sudan border. This is a semi-arid region and known to be a challenging place to live. Kakuma Refugee Camp serves refugees who have been forcibly displaced from their home countries due to war or persecution. It was established in 1992 to serve Sudanese refugees, and has since expanded to serve refugees from Somalia, Ethiopia, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Uganda, and Rwanda. According to current UNHCR statistics, the camp population stands at just close to 180,000 refugees. In 2007, Kakuma Refugee Camp hosted 21% of the total refugee population in Kenya.¹

The United Refugee and Hosts Churches (URHC) is an association of churches within and around the Kakuma Refugee Camp in Turkana, Kenya. This association was reputed to have implemented strategies that made it possible to bring together a diverse group of churches and work together for the benefit of the people in the camp and in the Turkana community. This report describes the results of a systematic effort to document the work of URHC, describe the strategies and activities it engages in, and generally communicate to the world the novel and impactful work of this association. The immediate aim of this study is to objectively report the work of URHC, and the longer term aim is to determine if there are strategies that might be implemented by others in the service of greater peace, better care for refugees, and reduction in conflict.

II. Importance

This assessment of the work of URHC has considerable importance for the areas of peace and reconciliation, strategies for community intervention and development, and also for the area of trauma care. According to the UNHCR Program Director in Kakuma, Kakuma Camp is one of the most stable in the world. While there are certainly many reasons for this, if it can be established that the work of URHC has made a contribution to community peace and improved mental health, and that contribution involves replicable strategies, then there may be methods that can benefit other displaced people and communities.

¹ Kakuma News Reflector – A Refugee Free Press, <http://kanere.org/about-kakuma-refugee-camp/>

This is consistent with recent trends toward community-based approaches to peace and trauma care, and may serve to support and advance those approaches. Particularly for trauma care, where the population (refugees) has extreme rates of complex trauma coupled with limited resources for care, it is not possible to intervene directly with all who may need such care. Systems and community level interventions offer hope for expanding care, and may even have advantages (e.g. such as through peace and reconciliation programs, education, or other programs that improve community stability and safety) over traditional person level care approaches. It is hoped that effective community strategies, such as those that are the subject of this report, offer insights that can lead to improved services for entire communities. Finally, the project also illustrates the engagement of a faith community with the larger camp in a way that unites rather than divides, that seeks to serve rather than alienate, produces unity rather than isolation, and, most importantly, peace rather than conflict. These are lessons that could have application to many different scenarios.

III. Background²

In 1996, a group that included John Kaissa (currently project coordinator with the Lutheran World Federation, and interviewed for this background information), as well as four pastors and assistant pastors from various churches, started a church fellowship in Kakuma, Kenya. As that fellowship grew, they decided to make contact with other pastors in the refugee camp to see if they may offer support. There were several Christian churches in the camp at that time, predominantly from the Anglican, Episcopal, and Catholic faiths.

In 1997 the original group decided they needed a pastor to lead their growing fellowship, and so they were joined by a Pastor Tito, a Burundian living and pastoring in the camp at the time. Under the direction of Pastor Tito, the group focused on supporting and starting churches in the camp, and formed the United Refugee Churches (later, United Refugee and Host Churches) to foster unity among these churches, with Pastor Tito as the chairperson of the newly formed association. The leadership began with inviting pastors from various denominations for meetings. They began talking to them about working together as a body of churches and forming a council of churches/pastors so that they felt support and could share resources. One of the main drivers for this early association was the issue of visitors to the camp. Visitors were interested in coming to the camp and meeting with churches, but when they came if

² Note: It is not within the scope of this report to provide a complete history of URHC. We discuss some of the events in the development of URHC only to provide an indication of the time required for this program to develop.

one church received them, it would start a competition. This was tied to a second issue around the separation of churches in the camp and lack of a societal (camp) role. The church members and leaders didn't understand their role in society (according to URHC). Cooperating on receiving visitors demonstrated how this cooperation reduced competition and conflict, and started the group to think of other ways they could cooperate and promote peace.

One initial area of emphasis for the United Refugee Churches was education. They started by holding workshops and other training meetings, which grew into a formal program called the Kakuma Interdenominational School of Missions (KISOM). KISOM awarded certificates to people once they completed a series of courses in bible and theology. In 2003, KISOM received development support from a group in the US and formalized much of the training and certificate requirements. Graduates returned to their home countries (mainly in Sudan) and started or worked in churches in their home community. In some cases, the certificate was accepted as evidence of formal education and graduates were able to find employment in government and the private sector.

In 2009, Pastor Tito became seriously ill and died later that year. The leadership of the URC transferred to a Pastor Gatera, who had been mentored by Pastor Tito. Pastor Gatera continued the work started by Pastor Tito, with an increased emphasis on formalizing methods, training, and emphasizing service to the most vulnerable in the camp. Pastor Gatera also spearheaded the effort to include churches from the host community in the URC, subsequently renamed the United Refugee and Host Churches (URHC) later that year.

In the summer of 2013, the International Association for Refugees (IAFR) contacted the Humanitarian Disaster Institute at Wheaton College to discuss the possibility of a project to document the work of the United Refugee and Host Churches. Anecdotal reports coming from visitors to the camp indicated that this group was contributing to the peace and quality of life of refugees within the camp. Further, in what was considered a highly unusual report, the group was also reaching outside the camp to serve the surrounding host community. This raised numerous questions, including:

- Would it be possible to document whether the reports were accurate, and if so, exactly what activities were employed to achieve this impact?
- Would it be possible to identify formal methods that would have the potential to be replicated elsewhere?

- Specifically regarding service to the host community, how had this come about, and was it an exceptional or isolated event, or part of a larger and sustainable strategy?

A pilot trip took place in November 2013 to determine if there was sufficient evidence, and access to the evidence, to suggest that a study was feasible and would have a reasonable chance of answering the questions posed above. A team of four, hosted by IAFR CEO Tom Albinson, visited the camp for one week in November 2013. The team interviewed URHC leadership and selected members, members of NGOs working in the camp, and selected members of the host community. The design of the project was discussed with URHC, and they agreed to participate as co-leaders of the project. Specifically, URHC agreed to assist with interpreters, coordinating meetings, providing space for interviews, and scheduling. The HDI team would have autonomy in designing the interview protocols and in the analysis of the interviews, and then jointly review the findings with URHC and incorporate their input in the report.

The conclusion from the pilot trip was that the anecdotal reports were credible and that there was more than sufficient evidence to warrant a formal qualitative study.

At this stage, the question was raised as to whether the team should also study the impact of URHC. It was decided that the focus should first be on determining whether the activities of URHC were formal and consistent, and whether they could be clearly identified before turning to the question of impact. Put another way, we would first address whether there was something measurable that could reasonably produce an impact before addressing the issue of measuring those impacts.

In December and January of 2014, a small project team was formed as part of the Applied Research Lab of the Humanitarian Disaster Institute. In addition to one faculty leader and two graduate students at HDI, other department faculty and graduate students provided input into the program. The team developed interview protocols and made arrangements to return to Kakuma in March 2014.³

IV. Selected Literature

The literature on faith-based, grass roots peace and reconciliation movements is quite limited, likely because they are so few such movements and the work so complicated. For example, Hubbard (1999) noted that when local constituents engage in peace building and conflict resolution, they then face the challenging task of convincing their own supporters to accept the agreement. This is particularly true in

³ This project was funded in part by a grant from the Department of Psychology at Wheaton College.

Northern Kenya, which is traditionally a pastoral community with a high rate of conflict over access to grazing, ownership of livestock, and a high rate of theft (Berger, 2003). Convincing people to set aside traditional and aggressive ways of protecting their interests is an extraordinarily difficult task. Aukot (2013) specifically notes the long-standing conflict between refugees and local Turkana people, exacerbated by support given to refugees without consideration for the impact on the local tribes. His opinion is that local integration, while needed, is simply not possible (p.79). Intriguingly, the work and success of URHC stands in contrast to these selected reports. As noted, URHC is an integrated organization, is expanding its presence in the surrounding community, and is reaching out to other faith groups. In the pages that follow, we describe the specific strategies that we found that set this group apart from what has been reported in the past.

V. Method

The project began during the November 2013 during which the collaborative design of the project was presented to URHC leadership. Members of the leadership team were engaged as co-implementers of the project and co-interpreters of the data. The URHC would also select people for interviews, manage the interview schedule and logistics. They also reviewed the design of the project, contributed to the interview protocol, and participated in the analysis and report.

During a visit in the Kakuma Refugee Camp between March 8 and 15, 2014, the team conducted a total of 24 interviews with various members of URHC, the URHC leadership, a convenience sample of representatives of NGOs in the camp (See appendix), and UNHCR Kakuma program leadership.

A protocol was developed based upon initial information on the nature of the URHC ministries gained during the November visit. This information described URHC as emphasizing service to others, use of conflict resolution strategies, and ministering to people outside the camp borders. The protocol targeted these areas in part, but also explored other perceived benefits of URHC in the lives of camp members. The protocol was used for all interviews. There was no theoretical model or existing protocol used in the development of the interviews. A variation on the standard protocol was created for interviews with women, given the initial information that women had experienced particular attention and benefits from the URHC programs. A sub-set of women from member churches were interviewed to determine if they perceived any of these reported benefits.

Interviews with NGOs and other agencies were brief and focused on whether they were aware of URHC, if so, what they had observed, and if they were aware of any benefits to the camp in general or to the refugees or NGOs that might be attributed to URHC.

Interviews were all transcribed from audio to text and then imported into NVIVO software for analysis. Analysis involved reviewing every interview and assigning segments of the interviews to one or more strategic themes or categories. The analytic team generated an initial set of categories based on expected strategies. These categories were periodically reviewed by the team and revised as needed.

In defining categories, we focused on the following criteria:

- a. The strategies should be formal and replicable tactics conducted by URHC to achieve its goals.
- b. The strategies were systematic, meaning they involved specific actions that were defined and taught by URHC, and not independent or ad hoc actions by an individual.
- c. The strategies were observed and reported by at least two individuals in separate interviews.

The team identified eight strategies (next section) from the interview data. Four of these strategies were described as foundational, meaning they created an environment that made other strategies possible. These foundational strategies, and why we think they are foundational, are described following the list of strategies.

A draft report was generated describing the eight themes and sent to the leadership team at URHC. Due to the challenges in communicating, the team elected to hold the report until a return trip to Kakuma when the team would be able to meet with the URHC leadership and discuss the findings. This meeting took place in October 2014 and was done in two steps. First the report was read to the leadership group and areas of question or clarification were noted. If these areas involved simple corrections or clarifications, they were addressed in the meeting. The leadership was then encouraged to meet separately to discuss the report and also ensure comprehension among people for whom English was not their first language. A second meeting was held after four days and the report reviewed and discussed again. Following the debrief meeting with the leadership, the team interviewed the leaders as a group regarding any additional specific activities related to any of the themes. This was to assist in designing future replication projects as well as to assist those interested in these themes to see more precisely how they were implemented. This information is included in the appendix.

In the findings, the list of themes and their description came entirely from the interviews. URHC leaders endorsed this list and had no changes to the overall descriptions. Details regarding the implementation, including examples, were supplemented from the debrief meetings with URHC leadership.

VI. Findings

Based on the information from the interviews, we defined eight strategies that were discussed by multiple interviewees and represent a deliberate and formal strategy by URHC. A strategy was considered formal if it was linked to a formal structure, such as the school (KISOM) or a community structure (the zone structure), or if it was tied to a specific method that was taught to and implemented by multiple people. Individual efforts or ad hoc activities were not considered to be formal strategies.

Four of these strategies are seen as foundational in that the other strategies are enabled by the success of the foundational strategies. This is explained further later in the report. Foundational strategies are communication, education, trust building, and serving the vulnerable.

Several of the strategies have two or more components. A component is defined by a variation in strategy created to address a specific sub-group or setting. For example, there are different approaches to conflict resolution depending on whether the focus is on a marital conflict or a community wide conflict.

1. Community Building

One of the priority aims of URHC is to reduce barriers between people and their group (tribes, churches). Several interviewees described how people were grouped by tribe and denomination and would previously (before the existence of URHC) not cross into another group. Community building refers to efforts to eliminate those barriers and develop a community environment where people can move between groups without fear.

The outreach and cooperation with the Turkana community churches and people is one significant aspect of this community building. Initially suspect of the association, there are now several Turkana community churches that are members of the URHC. They participate equally in all URHC resources, leadership and programs. The services to the vulnerable now includes the larger community, not only people in the camp, and the children's program distributes food to children irrespective of whether they

live in the camp or community. Our report that they no longer fear moving between camp and host community churches since they have become one community through this shared mission.

In addition to reducing fear between groups, community building also emphasized promoting unity through education emphasizing shared beliefs, service without regard to tribe or belief, and reducing geographic barriers through specific initiatives outside of the Kakuma Camp to the surrounding Turkana community. One example was the effort by URHC to acquire a well for the IDP camp in Kakuma⁴. While still incomplete, the project was an example of the URHC effort to serve the entire IDP camp without respect for faith or tribe, but simply because they are seen as vulnerable and in need. The following interviewee statements illustrate this strategy:

- a. “In the past the churches had no bonding together, there was no coming together, we were independent. The Bible Baptist were independent. We present our own denomination, we were not a single church.”
- b. “When they serve us they come in as the peacemakers. So maybe when you have lost some family, maybe I have lost my brother or my cousin, they come in and make you feel as though you are all one, as though you are not alone. You have all come together.”
- c. “Yes, that is what he says. They preach together so there are no longer national boundaries between the preachers. Because they are together: the Congolese, the Somalis, Burundi, all the divided countries come together because of URHC.”
- d. “First, the greatest obstacle they faced in the camp was that everyone had their own church. The Burundi had a church, the Somalis had church, and everyone was off to themselves. Each church just focused on their own tribal background and culture. Time after time the leadership of URHC came with a problem of bringing the people together and then in time they became one thing. They have given up their traditional ways of worship.”

URHC leaders described how their community-building efforts began by simply inviting pastors of different nationalities in the camp to meet and discuss unity between their churches. After discussing the theological importance of unity in the Christian church, the pastors agreed to work together in

⁴ The IDP (internally displaced persons) camp is a separate entity from the Kakuma refugee camp, located in the surrounding community.

encouraging congregants to visit other churches. These visits helped to break down fears around crossing denominational and tribal boundaries and built up a sense of belonging to a larger community.

Community building is based on a foundation of justice in the management of resources and treatment of members together with faith in the integrity of the URHC. For example, the leadership spoke of making sure that in distributing resources they receive a share for their own church after others have received theirs so there is no risk of people perceiving leaders as looking out for their own interests at the expense of others. Some of the methods described and observed in community building included:

- Teaching a sense of purpose through service;
- Teaching a concept of one church that cuts across the boundaries in local churches;
- Reducing barriers between churches so people can move between them without fear;
- Emphasizing areas of agreement in theology to create a common purpose and mission;
- Managing resources in an open manner that promotes trust and ensures justice in distribution; and
- Providing guidance and support to members churches so that there is a clear benefit to being a part of the larger community association

2. Community Organization

The community building efforts of URHC required putting certain structures and roles into place. We called these efforts “community organization”, and they refer to the creation and implementation of formal structures. URHC has a formal structure (described below) that emphasizes “zonal leaders” who are elected by the pastors within a zone and report to the council of elders who attend to the specific needs of the respective zones and facilitate accurate communication (an essential part of the conflict prevention and resolution effort, described below). They also have an executive committee, faculty for the school (KISOM), and are incorporated as a not-for-profit organization. These organizational structures create a formality and sustainability to the work of URHC.

At this time, URHC is organized into six zones. The zones plan the training needed for their local community and bring those needs to URHC. URHC then coordinates local needs and develops programs in response. One reason this structure is important is because distance is a major barrier to programs and communities in the camp. Local zone meetings make it easier to bring people together.

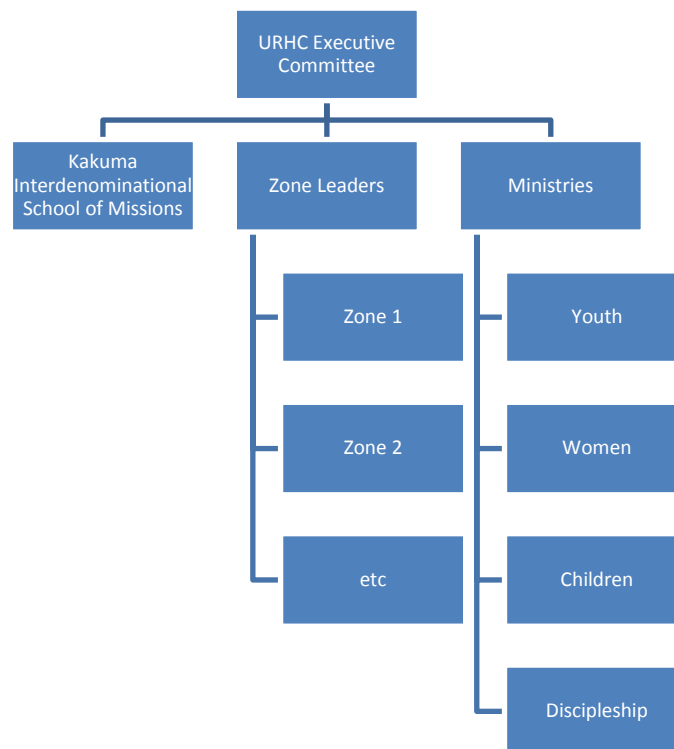
- a. “So, you know we are living in the community, and the members of the community observe our lives on a daily basis and know what we do. Every community is organized according to

the way they came. An example is my community, the Burundi community, we have a Council of Elders, and there is a Council of Elders in every community. So what they do now they elect a community Council of Elders and they put a pastor on the Council so the pastor can help them. Like me and my community, I was just appointed to the chairman of the Council of Elders. So whenever they sit down, they consult me and ask if they are handling it the right way or not.”

- b. “First of all in a zone, the work they do as a zone leader, if there is in need of helping, for example like the orphans, like the widows, which is an hour from the URHC, they wants to organize in those zones to know those who are concerned [i.e. zonal leaders address local needs]. Then secondly, if there is like seminars, which are planned and in those different who’ve I’ve said, they’re the ones who are motivating people. Just in that zone to be able to participate in those activities. That is all.”

The organization design is shown in graph #1, below:

Graph #1: URHC Organizational Structure



The zonal structure impacts the community in multiple ways. Because travel is difficult within the camp, and the camp covers a large area, the zones improve communication and reduce the need to travel to a central location. Zones also distribute planning by pushing educational planning and programming to the zone level.

Photo #1: URHC Members Participating in Workshop



3. Conflict Resolution

Containing, preventing, and resolving conflict was a major focus of URHC described by many interviewees. URHC teaches specific conflict resolution methods that emphasize an appeal to beliefs (setting an example, modeling faith), standards for behavior in families and for leaders, communication (countering rumors with accurate information), and exercising the trust and authority of the URHC to intervene and act as a trusted arbitrator. We grouped the conflict resolution work of URHC into three sub-categories because we saw them as involving three distinct methods.

One story shared with us illustrates the challenges of conflict resolution, and how it is intertwined with other efforts. In 2002, URC (not yet URHC) received a donation of an electric organ for use in a church. Since, it could not be divided amongst the churches, it led to serious conflict within URC. The conflict was fueled by rumor, a lack of transparency, and the inability to treat everyone equally. From that experience, URC learned that they needed to only accept donations that could be distributed, to emphasize open and proactive communication to contain rumors, and to ensure fair distribution even to people who are unable to attend a meeting where resources are shared. This latter part ensures people do

not suspect that they are left out when resources are shared. The experience taught URC the importance of practices that prevent conflict as well as resolve conflict, with an emphasis on trust and communication. It also illustrates another important quality of organization, which is the ability to learn and apply what is learned to policy and practice. URHC's handling of this event lends credibility to their organizational structure and durability.

Sub Category - Church Conflict

Conflict between and within churches might involve a conflict between a pastor and church members, between church leaders, or between churches. In these cases, the URHC leadership may directly intervene in the problem and guide people to some resolution. The URHC leadership report that this is the primary arena in which they are often called to intervene, typically when there is conflict between church leaders. The conflict seems to primarily arise in regards to: 1) doctrinal differences between churches, 2) financial issues, particularly when the means of handling money in a church is not communicated clearly, and 3) church constitutions, or lack thereof. The URHC may then provide consultation on the biblical structure of leadership within the church and distribution of responsibilities, helping individual churches to formulate clearly written constitutions.

- a. "There is sometimes in the church, even between couples that when they try to help them then when the problem goes beyond the church, that is when they now the URHC can be called to come in and help. So there is a program also time when the church, there is a disagreement to the level whereby the church, they want maybe to cut the church into two, or division. So when it reach in that level, most of time we go to the URHC to come in so that they may just bring them together ... the church and those ones are been happening in several occasions."

"What we are saying is what happened. So there is a church which had such problem of fighting each other over leadership. Then the URHC, they come together as the committee, they went and called them, they argued them, they advised them, then the church continued ..."

Sub Category - Community Conflict

Community conflict includes conflict between different groups within the camp or between camp members and people outside the camp. The strategy for managing community conflict involved URHC using its communication system to contain rumors that could lead to an explosive escalation of the conflict, and then exercising its role as a trusted broker to intervene and solve the conflict. The URHC

leadership report that this level of conflict resolution has been increasingly unnecessary over the past ten years. There are multiple reasons for a decline in conflict, and we are not able to attribute this to any specific cause. In an interview, the UNHCR Kakuma Program Director confirmed this decline in community conflict and suggested reasons for this decline may include intermarriage between camp and community residents and other reasons. Determining the contribution of the URHC to this decrease in conflict will be an important subject of a future study.

- a. “So the pastor who was killed was a Congolese man from the Nazareth and the reason he was killed was not clear but some people say that it was maybe he had a conflict with somebody who revenged against him. But those things are not clear because it was a person from one side and another side wanted revenge, but now the pastors from URHC community came together with the pastors from the refugee camp and discuss the issue so the situation would not build with them fighting because there was too much tension in the community. So the pastors, they talk to them and after that the situation was calm.”
- b. “So when we talk to people first of all our strategy is to first of all talk among the church members. We say to them, "Here is the message." If they go back to the community, then they should tell them that an incident like that could happen. And even sometimes some thieves come in and kill somebody, and it's not on the community, it is an individual issue not a communal issue, that makes all the difference. If somebody does something as an individual, which is on that individual, and we should not treat it as something that is a collective issue. It should be treated as an individual issue. So therefore that one issue did not move across the community to go against others but let those concerned with security deal with the situation and see who was involved. It doesn't mean that this community has to attack another community. Maybe it is an individual problem. So the way we talk to the pastors is to speak to them about the communication and then they send the communication to the community, talking to them about the situation.”

Sub Category - Family Conflict

Conflict between parents and children and between couples is most often addressed at the local level by the elder or community advisor. The advisor both responds to requests to assist with conflict, but can also intervene without a request when he or she becomes aware of a conflict. Typically, advisors meet with individuals separately first, and then as a group. In an example that illustrates the approach of this group, there was a case of a man who physically assaulted his wife to the point that she required hospitalization.

The elders were going to the man to turn him over to the local police, but when the husband heard of this he left the camp in order to avoid arrest.

- a. “URHC also is involved in matters concerning families. When sometimes the wife and husband have conflict, when we know that, and even if they go to [an NGO], they may refer the cases to us. We asked them if they have a pastor and they say yes to have their pastor should help.”
- b. “Those who are having a conflict, those who have a divorce, they give them the idea to come together again. First they pray for them, then they advise. First they hear from the men, then they also hear from the women. If they have a mistake, then they give them some ideas and help them to resolve.”
- c. “About the time some pastors in this, the men and women fight in the night, they do not live in peace in their homes, so URHC went to them and visited with them personally. I found a pastor and his wife were the causes some of the founding fighting, and they went to them and counseled them and got them back together.”

4. Education

Education is one of the fundamental strategies of URHC. Education began as a means for equipping refugees to become missionaries and pastors, and expanded to also become the means through which URHC creates unity, teaches standards for behavior, and advances the role of women. The attention to women stands out and is addressed as a separate strategy.

- a. “There was a time they teach us a lesson about comfort. Sometimes they organize big occasions, such as when someone is getting married, and they teach us about staying together and teach us about thinking about your wife and supporting one another, and sometimes they teach us about psychology like the one you did about psychology. They talk about counseling and psychology. They teach us many different things.”
- b. “Yes, yes, they also, when we have a seminar, we are the ones who teach the women and people from our community. We teach both the women and the men. Sometimes we meet together and sometimes the women sit alone without men and we talk alone.”

- c. “Well, we teach specially like pupils how to live peacefully how to live at their home, with their children, and assist one another and how they will also be always closer to the church whereby they will live in peace always. Only when they are in the church mostly. And we teach them how to serve also their children and how they also may help themselves in working, in other organizations. And there’s a lot of teaching of that, really of the pupils, how the man should know the wife, what she might feel to like at this moment. And how the wife might know the husband. This woman, she, the husband wants what? There’s some part of secret when we talk about it to them. And they should not always live like forcing each other. You know? They should do everything in peace. And they must know their home is the church of Christ. They must know themselves, they are the church of Christ. So we teach them how to know themselves, where they are belong to in every service upon the earth here. And that is mostly what we do for the pupils.”
- d. “Like my church where I lived in Kakuma in zone 3, there is a girl, a little girl who went there. He came back motivating others showing them how the teachings which they got helped them and she continued telling others that ___ you may plan ahead so that next time all of us may go and join that training. And she tried also to advise them about concerning what was taught from the seminar. As the way the youth should conduct themselves in here in the camp as an example. And she encouraged them that they should come together and help some vulnerable people, or vulnerable youth. And they showed them also that the strength of the church is youth. Then the youth should be number one in any activity in the church.”
- e. “So another thing, because those teachings which we receive in terms of leadership. And even youth. And even the teachings for couples. Like those of couples, it helps us to know how we can live peacefully in the homes and even help others, even those who don’t come to church, the neighbors to counsel them and can live peacefully. Another important thing is that every, every section, they have their own teaching concerning the, which can help them to grow spiritually in that area. Example: on couples, they show them that the first thing is to complement each other to grow. And even they show finance, how they can move their finance together and plan together whatever they want to do as a family. They show us that the first church is the church at home. So because

the church at home, which the family each is very good, then also the church at large it also, it is also strong. So briefly we are taught many things in different levels, that is what I can say about that briefly.”

- f. “So the most thing I learned is that I learned how a leader should be, and also how a leader should help others to come up as leaders also. That is the main thing I learned, the way I can be, the leader should be. And the way the leader should bring up other leaders ... to become leaders, not to have in leadership. So what also I learned again from a different ____ is how to prepare the future leaders, because I may not stay there forever. So I learned out and prayer other leaders so that the time I will not be there, God’s work may continue.”

There are several means for delivering education, including local workshops, the Kakuma Interdenominational School of Missions and the Bible Training Center (actually a series of workshops for training pastors rather than a physical Center). Themes of unity in mission, responsibility to the community, service, and similar topics are central to these training programs and advance the core concepts of URHC.

5. Trust Building and Transparency

Trust is the foundation for the credibility of URHC and the source of its authority to manage the distribution of resources, confront and prevent conflict, and advance the interests of vulnerable people. URHC leadership emphasize that trust is the foundation of their ministry. Transparency is one of the main strategies for building trust. Meetings are open and regularly communicated across the camp. Resources are managed in an open way, with leaders attending to their own interests last. Transparency is not only about making information available, but also about making the sacrifices of the church community transparent so as to not arouse suspicion. URHC’s Jean Pierre Gatera notes, “Without transparency, the ministry will not grow...it is the basic in ministry,” suggesting that the continued growth of URHC is evidence that they are building trust.

- a. “You cannot command people to trust you or obey you, you need to earn it. You have to earn trust you have to earn respect. You can only earn trust and respect through what you are doing. So from there than the people decide to respect you. Then they decide to involve you in their matters but first they need to see who you are, they need to see you have compassion, you have a heart, before they can come to you for help.”

- b. “Yes, yes, they have learned to trust because whenever they deal with the NCCCK, it is transparent when they have something. Even if you are not there, they will keep it for you. That is a trust that they have built. It is transparency. There is no evidence that there is anything that is hidden.”

Photo #2: Blackboard from pastor’s workshop on tithing. The chart in the picture shows how to calculate a 10% tithe from the weekly food allotment. This was part of a workshop on tithing conducted in November 2013 when the Kakuma Camp was anticipating a 20% reduction in their food allotment. The workshop emphasized how to continue a tithe even after the reduction. The board and notes from the meeting were all displayed publically.

Church Name AB
Members of Church = 200 ppl

Type of Item	Size	Quantity	Price per kg	Total
1. unga	3kg	40 x 3	120F	
2. Rice	1	3	30F	90F
3. Oil	0.5	10 x 5F	50F	
4. Pulse	1	0.35	20F	7F
5. Salt	1	1	20	20F
6. Soap	1	1	20	20F
Total				305F

Weekly income for AB Church
 $3 = m \times TE \quad 200 \times 305F = 61000F$
 Tithe for AB church: $\frac{1}{10} \times 61000F = 6100F$

6. Care for the Vulnerable

Care for the vulnerable is a fundamental area of service for URHC. It links to their effort to establish trust, and also as a way to demonstrate a core tenant of their faith. Vulnerable people are served simply on the basis of being disadvantaged or at high risk for harm, and served without respect for any external factors, such as faith or tribe.

Currently, service to the vulnerable focuses on widows and single mothers (as distinct from women in general, who are also served), children, and youth (adolescents and young adults). Additionally, URHC is planning to implement a program to serve the medically and physically disabled.

The resources for serving those in need comes from URHC member tithes. People are asked to tithe from food that they have not yet consumed. This food is stored by URHC, and every three months it is distributed to those most in need, without respect for faith or membership. This distribution includes members of the Turkana community who are seen as in need, and includes other resources, such as clothing, when possible. Distributing food to members of the community has been controversial, but it is defended by URHC as part of their commitment to serve those in need without respect to location.

- a. “We’re looking at new areas, like the ministry for children, were looking at other areas and like the ministry from others, and now we are looking at ministry for widows and for orphaned children, street children and also for the disability children. We are putting things better as we go.”
- b. “How to give, how to give. Also like us in the church, we should learn how to give. If God is our provider, we also will teach our church how to give. And the other terms of, yeah. And that is a church should also not live with fear. Yeah. Cause why I say this, because sometime I may say, “Ah, if I give this, where am I going to get it?” Yeah. no. For us, we should live freed, free, knowing our God is our provider; our God is our God who is rich. Help our peoples in the church to know all these sides. No matter of fear again. Our home, the right home is in heaven, whereby we live a peaceful life there. And that is how we help the pupils in the churches how to live. And that is now how we have seen there is a great change.”

7. Communication

Communication is seen as fundamental to an effective program, and is one of the foundational areas of programming. Conflict often erupts when rumor replaces fact, and people sort themselves into sides based on geography and tribe. A communication system is essential to distribute accurate information to counter rumors, and also to communicate when URHC leadership is addressing a dispute. Communication is also basic to trust and transparency.

In order to communicate across the camp and membership, the URHC secretary has the cell number of all church and zone leaders in the camp. SMS messages are sent regarding meetings and important events. Due to the unreliability of technical systems, the secretary persists in contacting people until there is verbal or SMS confirmation that the message has been received.

Zone leaders are also essential components of this communication system. URHC works through the zone leaders who are better able to address the language barriers that exist in the camp (See appendix for list of languages) and are also more aware of and sensitive to doctrinal issues between members (See appendix for a list of denominations in URHC). The zone leaders first assess the situation, talking to local pastors to find out specifics of the issue at hand. The URHC leadership then learns about the situation from the zone leader before entering in for conflict resolution.

- a. “Communication has improved, not sure what to call it, communication is accessible. We have phones, and with those phones, they can call me, so when there is something we need to do, we can call one another. We can be together and plan what to do. Even the people outside the camp, they can communicate they can have access to what’s going on.”
- b. “Communication helps to build trust in this way: someone who is not knowing the venue (*agenda?*), the venue of our organized meeting, then when the meeting gets closer, someone can call you. They can remind you and so you know what is taking place and you’re not left out.”
- c. “Sometimes the zone leaders, what I mean by the zonal leaders is that people who are in charge of those zone areas, they put things down in that letter, and anyone can go there and see the letter, and so if I can’t go, someone from my church can go, and they can tell me about the meeting and what’s in the letter.”

8. Women’s Roles

In addition to specific groups of women being treated as a vulnerable group (widows and single mothers), the needs of women in general are advanced through targeted efforts of URHC. First, women are actively recruited to attend the school, KISOM. They recognize that simply allowing women to attend the school

is insufficient given the cultural pressure against women receiving education. Therefore, the URHC actively recruits and supports women receiving formal education and receiving certificates of completion.

Secondly, the URHC supports the leadership of women in a variety of roles. Gender is not a condition for any role in URHC, and women are actively recruited for these positions. For example, women are pastors as well as the wives of men who are pastors, and both are seen as distinct roles that should be acknowledged and supported. Women also receive education from the NGOs operating in the camp, such as from Jesuit Refugee Services who provides training for community counselors. These counselors are then in turn supported by URHC in using that education to serve the camp.

URHC leaders report that they recognize they are competing with cultures and traditions that discriminate against women, either explicitly or implicitly, by emphasizing the traditional domestic role of women. Such cultural expectations limit the time women have available to serve in other roles. The URHC does not limit membership of churches that deny women leadership opportunities. Instead, they see this as an opportunity to teach and influence these churches to adopt views more respectful of women. For example, URHC described one strategy where women who are experienced in teaching and preaching will be sent to churches that traditionally do not accept women in leading roles within the church. Through repeated experiences of hearing and learning from these women, URHC leaders hope that such churches will become more accepting and open of women in leadership roles, both within and outside of the church. The URHC leaders report many churches who have changed their stance on the subject of women in leadership, placing women in leadership positions within their own churches after joining the URHC. While this is not a requirement for the URHC churches, the URHC is clear with members that women leaders may be sent to speak in churches, regardless of their own stance on the matter.

- a. “In their homes and in their church and their church, they encourage other women. In their home, they take care of their husbands, and bearing fruits in their community, to be a good example among other people, even in the church to be active in the work. You involve yourself in the work of the church, so you can be an example to other women how they can be more involved.”
- b. “They encourage women to go to school because for women to go to school is very hard. Some refuse because they say they don’t have time. But URHC encourages them to go to school then they go and they finish and they get a certificate. Also, to do the work of God, women, some women are lazy and the work of God, you tell them to go to the

church and get involved and they say they don't have time. URHC encourages them and tells us to encourage them. They say we will help you can also do the work of God."

Several interviewees noted how women who are a part of URHC are different from others in the region.

- a. "Them in URHC, their behavior is not the same as those mothers outside. In the URHC women, they are treated well because they do get some services like education in terms of giving them, teaching about their families, educating the ways of getting something, like maybe they can even taught some good things of living with other people in that area. And even teaching about the good wives in a biblical way, in the Bible way than those women's who they are not learned themselves. They do not have ideas. They are neglect themselves."
- b. "When they are teaching the other mothers in the church, they are re-building and strengthening their faith. Their testimony from outside the mothers who are coming in the church, they also encouraging. Sometimes you go wrong and when there is somebody who come and give your testimony, you found that you are rectify yourself, you repent, your testimony. Through the assembly who can teach you. You are also being taught because you teach them, you become a teacher. You also learn some good things from them, you strengthen yourself. You become courageous."
- c. "The training, they can be offered if they have been teaching that training. The training would elevate them. (Will elevate them? Is that what you said?) The trainings, if we give them trainings, many trainings. (It will elevate them?) The skills of that trainings. It can give ... if you have askings of doing something, the training it can help. If it is helpful for you with that training. "

In addition to education concerning theology and roles, women are taught business survival skills.

- a) "It can make them maybe, for instance, maybe we can teach them about business. In that business it can continue having many, many skills so that it can develop a business that can run."
- b) "For example, business like selling and buying. They will get a loss. Definitely you will say that they benefit, that they put somewhere or knowing that have kept somewhere, it can make me to succeed my business again instead of working loss, it can get so that I can earn

something in terms of the business. And that is the teaching that and from there it can balance on the other side, like the other time it was lost, this time I get the profit.”

Women also report finding themselves in a different relationship to the community as a result of support and education from URHC. Women report feeling empowered to take care of themselves and to be more active in the community and in their homes. They are taught that they are equal to men, at least in the church, and encouraged to create support groups to help and support one another.

- a. “Apart from that, the woman has been good relationship. They found that they welcome people from the other side. There was a conflict when the refugee came to our place. There were that differences. But now when the group of United Refugees has come, it unite us and even they welcome some mothers there. They give them experience their life. And also they share that what they also give them strength and they found that they have changed their community. The community has changed because they were staying in a culture, it was a cultural community. But now it become cross-culture to know Christ well and to become the wife without the nationality.”
- b. “Empowerment, sometimes that will become a challenge for them. It become one of the challenge through empowerment, business empowerment through the activity they become engaged so that they can get survival outside. It become sometimes even in the United, sometimes they can miss some because they can go out and look for the areas where they can get maybe at least making construction for houses, to make some food for the children. Empowerment is not there for the women.”
- c. “Yes before we came to the church, we are treated different women. They were saying that a woman doesn’t have voice to stand in front of people or to talk, but when we become a Christian now, we are equal. There is no women in the church and there is no men. We are all the same. If you can stand in front of people, you can—if you are able to preach the Bible, you can stand and preach the Bible. And now there are some women that become pastors now. So I have seen no difference in the church now. We are the same.”
- d. “They treat them equally. They give them leaderships in the churches, sometimes they can lead a program in the church, they can teach Sunday schools. They can teach the mothers, they can teach even the husbands, encouraging them in the how to care for their families.”

- e. “They treat equally compared to the men because in the initiative, they are also given the positions. They can teach in the church. They can lead the church. They can rearrange, all the things that men can do in the church, like preaching. They have been treated equally.”
- f. “You know sometimes in the family maybe a woman with her husband, maybe they will have conflict between husband and the woman. So sometime we do sit as women and encourage ourselves, how can we take care of our homes and the kids in the family. We are just encouraging each other to take care of the family and then have peace with our children.”

The training and support extends to basic health issues as well as business skills.

- a. “In URHC, there is different challenge of trainings. They are taught as the mothers to be good health.”
 “Yes to get health for themselves, personally, hygiene, and the environment. They are teaching also about staying together with the husbands. That is proper. You stay well with your family. They teach them also how to live to the other neighbors and other people in the community.”

Foundational Strategies

There are four strategies that were the focus of URHC at the start of their work and which appear to have created the climate needed to develop the other strategies. These four are: 1) Trust Building / Transparency; 2) Communication; 3) Serving the Vulnerable; and 4) Education

These four strategies are considered foundational because they established the reputation of URHC and put into place qualities of relationship (trust, service) and mechanisms (education, communication) that enabled the later strategies. These are strategies that focus on the community culture and environment, and are based on a set of values that include respect, openness, service, and empowerment. These values are central to the faith of the URHC members. For example, these same values are taught in church services and in the KISOM School. Linking faith, values, and community culture creates a powerful message that engages people at a personal level.

This alignment of faith, values and community raises an interesting question regarding whether these strategies can be transferred to communities and cultures of different faiths. Certainly there are examples

of Christian communities that do not teach these same values and life practices. We suggest that the core values are not unique to Christian theology, but the formal and grassroots effort to link values, faith, and behavior is a unique effort of the URHC. Further, that linkage could be carried out by different groups and faiths, and potentially to the same benefit, if foundational values and strategies described here are included. Put another way, the four fundamentals of trust, communication, service and education (empowerment) are even more engaging because URHC has a well-developed supporting theology. This supporting theology makes these fundamentals even more influential and engaging, because it emphasizes connection to basic personal values. Other groups might develop their own theology in support of these fundamentals.

VII. Kakuma Refugee Camp NGOs

In an attempt to independently validate some of the reports we received, we interviewed several of the NGOs operating in the Kakuma Camp regarding their awareness of and observations about the work of URHC. In general, NGOs must be very careful in working with any faith-based group so as to not appear to favor one group over another. They are able to, and willing to, open their services to faith groups in a non-preferential manner, and URHC associated people have participated in these training programs.

URHC has received assistance from some NGOs in the form of legal guidance and aid with forming their association. Other NGOs were aware of URHC to the extent that they knew it existed, but had no direct observations.

Most of the NGOs we interviewed were interested in the work of the association and saw potential in working with a grass-roots organization to expand the support for basic mental health services, especially in the area of complex trauma. Several indicated an interest in being aware of and possibly coordinating with such a program if it developed.

VIII. Other Camp Groups

While we were in the camp conducting our interviews we had the opportunity to meet with a friend of URHC who is a member of the Muslim community in the camp together with the URHC director. The Muslim community member observed that URHC was having a positive impact in the camp, that URHC was open to communication with other faith groups, and that they had been successful in bringing in outside resources. The discussion focused on the possibility of a trauma care training program, and the

potential for including other faith groups if such a program came about. URHC expressed interest in this and a willing to make such a program open to all faith groups. One strategy recently discussed involved URHC establishing a program to address child abuse in the camp, and to recruit members of all faiths, including the Moslem community, to participate in this program.

IX. Impact

The quantitative assessment of impact was not within the scope of this project, but we did note numerous examples of outcomes from the work of the URHC. We will describe some of those impacts here that we believe can be examined and quantified in a follow-up study.

- **Quality of life.** This is the most striking example of impact. Numerous people reported having a greater sense of peace and purpose. In one church meeting, in calling for donations from the members, the pastor asked the congregation how many people felt “poor,” to which no one raised their hand. This would be easy to dismiss as group pressure, but we are reminded of the work by sociologists Smith and Davidson (2014) who studied numerous examples of generosity and found that when people give they develop a greater sense of peace and well-being about their circumstances. This emphasis on giving something no matter what you have is in line with the phenomena Smith and Davidson studied and consistent with their findings. Thus, it seems reasonable to link at least one aspect of increased peace in the camp to the work of the URHC.
- A second aspect of quality of life is security. Numerous subjects reported being able to move between groups without fear, greater cooperation between groups where previously there was conflict, and an overall decrease of fear and conflict in the camp. We would not suggest that such improvements are due solely to the URHC, such changes are complex and many agents, such as the NGOs, work hard at developing peace. However, at least some aspects of this peace, such as the ability for people to move between church communities without fear, appear to be an outcome of the explicit community building of the URHC.
- The quality of life for the most vulnerable among the refugees may, to a yet to be determined degree, also be attributed to the URHC. Single mothers and children in particular are sought out for assistance and have benefitted from the work of the URHC.
- Another area that is related to quality of life is reduced conflict. This is related to security, and again many agents work on reduction of conflict, but the URHC programs are directly aimed at family conflict as a root cause of larger conflict. We also note that some of the URHC members helping with conflict benefitted from training programs, such as the Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS)

community counselor program which has trained a number of URHC members. In this case, it appears that the URHC programs may have added functionality to the services of NGOs like JRS.

- There are also instrumental impacts attributable to URHC, chief among these being education. Many people we interviewed expressed developing a sense of purpose in their lives as a result of education, and further, that such purpose has brought with it a sense of hope. People are trained for specific roles in the church and community and as a result feel their lives in the camp have a new purpose, as compared to the sense that life in the camp was life on hold.

X. Implications and Conclusions

We concluded our interviews and review with URHC leadership by asking the leadership, in their experience, what has changed in the camp since URHC was established. They noted three primary changes:

- An overall decrease in violence in the camp;
- A general increase in cooperation across denominational groups (which are also tribal groups); and
- A decrease in fear of different groups of people.

Form these interviews and discussions, our initial conclusions are:

1. URHC has clear and specific strategies that they are applying both in the camp and in the larger community.
2. While we cannot yet document the full extent of impact, nor quantify that impact, it is clear that URHC has had an impact on a number of people in the camp. The programs of the URHC have clear and specific targets and observable impacts, many of which are noted in this report. Thus, our findings provide support for a follow-up study to measure the impact of URHC.
3. The URHC program is a classic example of a grass roots, community based effort at peace and reconciliation. As such, it provides examples of how grass roots efforts in other areas might be promoted, as well as illustrating how NGOs might align with the work.
4. Given the trust and reputation established by URHC, there is a significant opportunity to serve the camp through equipping the URHC to train people in community-based trauma care. Developing a training program in this area, in cooperation with the NGOs focusing on mental health (such as JRS) would seem likely to be of benefit.
5. In particular, the impact of giving and demonstrating generosity is a counter-intuitive finding that nonetheless has much support in the social science literature. This could be another area of study

to quantify how such a ministry has benefitted the members of the camp as well as the churches themselves.

6. Our emphasis on the success of URHC should not be taken as discounting the work of the UNHCR and the contracting NGOs working in the camp. URHC operates in an environment that made their work possible. They received training from NGOs, and find the NGOs open to supporting them, training them, and generally working together. This is a community collaborative approach to community work that warrants further documentation.

XI. Recommendations

Given the community climate that has been promoted by URHC, we see several opportunities for learning from, building upon, and disseminating the story of URHC. These may include:

- Develop and implement a community-based trauma care program aimed at building capacity for trauma care among selected individuals who are a part of URHC (and potentially other faith groups).
- Develop the strategies used by URHC into a guide that can be tested in a second setting, determine if the strategies may be transferable, and identify the conditions that make this transfer possible.
- Develop curricula on theology and pastoral care for implementation within KISOM. This will strengthen the teaching at KISOM and extend the program to the next area requested by URHC leadership: training in trauma-focused pastoral care.

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Appendix A: The Churches, Nationalities and Languages of URHC

URHC Member Churches as of 2014 and Location
(Camp Location, i.e. Kakuma 1, 2, 3 or 4, and/or URHC Zone)

1. Presbyterian Church of Sudan (Kakuma 1)
2. Episcopal Church of Sudan (Zone 1)
3. Winners Chapel Church
4. Calvary Pentecostal Church
5. Kenya Assemblies of God
6. African Inland Church
7. Family Pentecostal Ministry
8. Worldwide Church of God
9. Episcopal Church of Sudan (Kakuma 3)
10. Cornerstone Church
11. Baptist Church of Sudan (Kakuma 1)
12. Sudanese Church of Christ (Kakuma 1)
13. Sudanese Church of Christ (Kakuma 3)
14. Episcopal Church (Kakuma 1, Zone 3)
15. Episcopal Church (Kakuma 3)
16. PEFA
17. Adonai Oromo Evangelical Church
18. Methodist Church of Sudan
19. International Pentecostal Holiness Church (Kakuma 1, Zone 1)
20. International Pentecostal Holiness Church (Kakuma 1, Zone 2)
21. International Pentecostal Holiness Church (Kakuma 1, Zone 3)
22. International Pentecostal Holiness Church (Kakuma 2)
23. International Pentecostal Holiness Church (Kakuma 3)
24. Evangelical Lutheran Church (Kakuma 1)
25. Ethiopian Evangelical Church
26. Bethel Gospel Church
27. Friends Church
28. United Christian Church (Kakuma 1)
29. United Christian Church (Kakuma 2)
30. Kenya Christ Gospel Ministry (Kakuma Town)
31. Kenya Christ Gospel Ministry (Nadaya Town)
32. Release Pentecostal Church of Kenya (Kakuma Town)
33. Release Pentecostal Church of Kenya (Native 1 Town)
34. Ebenezer Fellowship Center (Kakuma 1)
35. Bible Baptist Church (Laorunp'ove Town)
36. Grace Revival Center (Kakuma 3)
37. Bible Baptist Church (Kakuma Town)
38. Anglican Church of Sudan (Kakuma 1, Zone 3)
39. Fountain of Life International (Kakuma Town)
40. Evangelical Free Church of Sudan (Kakuma 1)
41. Christ United Church (Kakuma Town)
42. Episcopal Church of Sudan (Kakuma 1)
43. Presbyterian Church of Sudan (Kakuma 2)
44. Release Pentecostal Church (Nadapal Town)
45. Fountain of Life Church International (Nakwangat Town)

46. Full Gospel Church of Kenya (Town)
47. Grace Communion International (Kakuma 1)
48. Evangelical Lutheran Church (Kakuma 3)

Churches Applied for Membership

49. Baptist Church (Kakuma Town)
50. Baptist Church (Kakuma 2, Phase 2)
51. New Apostolic Church (Kakuma 2)
52. Free Methodist Church (Kakuma 2)
53. Redeemed Christian Church (Kakuma 1, Zone 4)
54. Pentecostal Church (Kakuma 2, Phase 2)
55. Faith Home Church (Kakuma Town)

Nationalities Represented Within URHC

1. Burundi
2. Rwanda
3. Congo
4. Ethiopia
5. Somali
6. South Sudan
7. Eritrea
8. Uganda
9. Kenya

Major Languages Spoken in the Camp

1. Kiwyarwanda & Kirunadi
2. English
3. Swahili
4. Arabic
5. Dinka
6. Nuev
7. Kiganda
8. Somali
9. Amava (Ethiopia)
10. Oromo
11. Moro (Nuba)
12. Turkana
13. Bari (Equatoria)

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