A different Africa
spatial information design for a safer refugee settlement

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis was to explore the spatiality’s affect on refugee’s sense of safety in the Osire refugee settlement in Namibia. The gathered empirics together with previous research and theories should lead to a design for a spatial information system. The system should contribute to peoples’ understanding of their environments’ whole structure as well as showing the way to the health centre and the police station, thus increasing their sense of psychological and physical safety. A wish was also to breathe life into the point of intersection of spatial information design and human science.

The methods used to enable this were first and foremost a field study in the settlement to experience and acquire first-hand information. In addition observation, introspection and several interviews were conducted.

As a result I established safety to be an issue that could be solved with spatial design. Refugees expressed that not knowing your environment or finding your way leaves you scared, uncomfortable and confused. With the use of a spatial information system safety can literally be created, as demonstrated in the design proposal. The conclusion is that much could be done to spatially solve complex issues as long as it’s addressed from that perspective.

Keywords: Namibia, Osire refugee settlement, spatial information design, field study, safety, wayfinding, colour coding
Preface

To most of us Africa is presented as an amazing place with extraordinary nature and unique animal life. Safaris, elephant riding, sand board surfing and exotic food is a part of that and that is indeed a part of Africa, but there is also a different part that may not be the only accurate one, but is most certainly a part of the complete picture. That part reveals lives of people, who are afraid to leave their shelters, receive maize meal mixed with dead flies and have to rely on other peoples’ benevolence in order to survive. That is the part of Africa that I will address in this project.

You might feel that the problem with refugees’ sense of security shouldn’t be solved with spatial information design, but with peace. I agree that this would be a dream scenario, but realistically peace cannot be declared overnight. Even if there were to be peace, it would take many months for ramifications to spread and situations caused through war or fighting to be resolved. Naturally I would rather see people not having to flee to refugee settlements at all, but until then I believe it’s important to work with safety for the current refugees and asylum seekers in parallel to ongoing peace work. The subject is also of relevance to safety in catastrophe camps, which by the very nature of the disasters that create them, cannot be prevented in the same way. In other words, I would prefer that these studies were not required, but felt that, with peaceful resolutions still not forthcoming, the need for such studies remains.

Thanks to Håkan Wannerberg who inspired me to this subject, to my always positive supervisor and all the other teachers, family and fantastic friends who stood behind me and whom without I never would have had the courage and patience to carry this study through. I also wholeheartedly want to thank all operating organizations in the Osire refugee settlement, the government of Namibia and all the refugees that I’ve been in contact with for your kindness, hospitality and cooperation. My gratitude also to others in Namibia for making me feel at home in a country so far from my own. Thanks for easing my stay and helping me complete this thesis.
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1. Introduction

This chapter addresses the thesis’ background, problem formulation, aim, demarcation and research questions. A few pictures and a map are included to aid understanding of the settlement area.

1.1 Background

The background to this bachelor degree thesis was my desire to work within environments that have real meaning to people in need in Africa. To narrow down the topic from such a potentially wide scope, I chose to study the sense of safety amongst refugees, with the main focus being on the Osire refugee settlement in Namibia. The settlement is located close to Otjiwarongo in Namibia and covers an area of about 2 km by 5 km in total. It hosts about 6 700 refugees (Haikali, P, 2010), but is still receiving about 30 new refugees a month (Tjivirura, 2010). The governmental owned settlement is an open one, which means that people are with approval allowed to leave if they wish. Besides the Ministry of Home Affairs and Immigration, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education, UNHCR, WFP and AHA are active there (Haikali, P, 2010). People who come to a refugee settlement have most likely been put under a lot of stress and have experienced their security being taken away from them. They have experienced things most of us cannot even imagine and therefore have a greater need than most of feeling a sense of safety and security.

1.2 Problem formulation

Safety is an issue in so many contexts. Refugee settlements are not an exception. Several asylum seekers in the Osire refugee settlement claim that they cannot find their way especially in the dark, are afraid to leave their shelters at night and expressed feelings of insecurity in their environment.

My hypothesis was that people often feel unsafe in environments that they don’t understand or know how to orientate themselves in. This insecurity contributes to increased stress and therefore, the environment in a refugee settlement must be tremendously clear and logical, so that it can contribute to a greater sense of safety. The exterior spatiality should show the way to medical care and security. Spatial figuring in combination with information design could thus be a possible solution to the problem if it is designed from the basis of in-depth knowledge of both the location and of the people who will use it.

In this thesis I have studied the Osire refugee settlement to find out how the refugees orientate themselves and what features relate to their sense of security, or lack thereof, in order to present a proposition for a spatial information system in the settlement. The system should help define the environment and thereby create safety. The focus is directed towards refugees’ psychological safety. This feeling of safety cannot be parted from physical security, since the two are inter-connected and will therefore also be taken into consideration.

The environment isn’t the only influence that affects peoples’ orientation skills and sense of safety. There are other obvious influences and I’m aware of the complexity in humans’ behaviour and their feelings, but in this study I have chosen to focus on the environment since the
spatiality has a crucial role to play in the establishment of safety and security.

1.3 Aim
The aim was to create a proposition for a spatial information system in the Osire refugee settlement in Namibia. The intention is not to criticize the current camp management, but to propose improvements. The system should contribute to peoples' understanding of their environments' whole structure, new arrivals’ in particular, as well as directing the way to the health centre and the police station. Through a clear spatial information system the refugees’ sense of security increases.

A wish was also to breathe life into a subject that, to my mind, should be explored to a greater extent. This study can therefore be taken to be the start of continuing research into the point of intersection of spatial information design and human science.

1.4 Demarcation
Political and economical influencing factors that could seem to govern why the settlement appears the way it does has not been taken into consideration, nor has economical viabilities been dealt with as far as the proposal is concerned. The design proposal concerns the Osire refugee settlement in particular. It is not necessarily applicable to other settlements. However, it can by all means lead to a discussion basis or a starting point for the development of other settlements. The reason for the demarcation is being due to the possibility of maintaining focus on the main issue.

1.5 Research questions
- How can you make people in the Osire refugee settlement in Namibia feel as safe as possible by using spatial information design?
- What signifies the sense of safety for the refugees?
- How do they orientate themselves today?

1.6 Abbreviations and concept definitions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AHA</td>
<td>African Humanitarian Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camp</td>
<td>A temporarily solution for a crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally Displaced People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRC</td>
<td>Norwegian Refugee Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sida</td>
<td>Swedish international development cooperation agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations’ High Commission for Refugees</td>
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<tr>
<td>WFP</td>
<td>World Food Program</td>
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Asylum seeker: As soon as you arrive and register at a refugee settlement you become an asylum seeker. As an asylum seeker you do not have the same legal rights as a refugee.

Community: The area in a camp or a settlement, where the shelters and houses of the refugees are located.

Refugee: In order to become a refugee you have to make an application and go through several interviews to be qualified. By law, this process should take no more than 90 days, but sometimes that is not the case. Once you have been granted your refugee status you are allowed to apply for a temporary permission to leave the camp.
are also allowed to apply for resettlement, repatriation or hosting in a third country. No one can force a refugee to leave a refugee camp.

**Repatriation**  Going back to your native country  
**Resettlement**  Becoming a citizen of the current country  
**Settlement**  A permanent solution for crises

### 1.7 Map and pictures of Osire refugee settlement

To get a general understanding of what the settlement looks like I have gathered a collection of a map and pictures in figure 1 and 2 below. This gives a glimpse of what it’s like at the Osire refugee settlement in Namibia.

*Fig. 1 Aerial photograph of Osire refugee settlement*
Fig. 2 Photo collage of Osire refugee settlement
2. Theoretical basis

Current theories that this thesis is partly based on are presented in this chapter. They relate to communication design, spatiality, wayfinding, colour, visual perception, information design and camp management. To eliminate sources of error I have used several theories from different disciplines that overlap and complete each other.

2.1 Communication design

Fiske, professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, Department of Communication Arts in USA deals with different communication theories (1990). He presents different theories and discusses them without taking sides, which makes it easy to approach the subject with open eyes. There are several communication models and I have chosen not to use a specific one, but their general principles. I work on the supposition that communication is a process whereby you transmit messages, in contrast to create and exchange meanings (Fiske, 1990).

In all communications there is a sender, who wants to say something, and a receiver who are supposed to understand the meaning. Everything that unintentionally gets in the way of that is referred to as “noise”. The message is being sent via a channel, for instance light waves and sound waves, through a medium, for instance presentational media (e.g. voice, body language), representational media (e.g. written documents, pictures, decor) or mechanical media (e.g. phones, televisions). The advantage of using representational media over mechanical is that you avoid the technical constraints and it is not as easily exposed to noise (Fiske 1990).

A concept in question is accessibility and it is of interest to contemplate to whom the message is accessible, to prevent segmentations (Fiske, 1990). Two other relevant concepts are redundancy, which makes a message clear and entropy, which can be described as maximum unpredictability. “Redundancy thus primarily concerns the communication efficiency and the elimination of communications problems” (Fiske, 1990, my translation). Redundancy and entropy could be changing. For instance, a design could start out as unpredictable, but further on develop its own conventions and increase redundancy. “Structuring a message according to known patterns or conventions is a way of reducing entropy and increasing redundancy” (Fiske, 1990, my translation).

In life there are certain unwritten rules and conventions, or codes if you like. All codes rely on conformity and mutual use of the users. There are behaviouristic codes and denoted codes. When it comes to the latter, perception of the reality is a kind of decoding process. Perception “is a question of identifying significant differences and by that identify units (...) Then it becomes a question of perception of the relation between these units, so that they could be seen as one unit” (Fiske, 1990, p.94). The reality could be seen as a social construction in that regard.

2.2 Spatiality and wayfinding

Mossberg, professor at Gothenburg University, works with economics, marketing and experience design amongst other things. She puts great emphasize on how our surroundings affect us and writes that:
[t]he human has a great fundamental need to get clearness in what spatial situation she’s in. That is a condition for the human to be able to relate herself to their environment, find their way and experience safety. If the room in some way feels undefined it will affect us negatively and insecurity takes form. (2003, p. 133, my translation)

Even if in the above context Mossberg is describing interiors, the principle can be converted to exteriors and sums up the main theory of this thesis: safety can be created with spatial design. This theory describes spatiality in general, but Mollerup, another professor that shares this view of the spatiality’s impact on people, particularizes how the science of it can be used to directing the way. Mollerup is professor of Communication Design at Swinburne University of Technology, Melbourne, Australia and professor of Design at Oslo National Academy of the Arts, Olso, Norway. He has written a book called Wayshowing (2005) in which he, among other things, describe wayshowing strategies. Even though Mollerup admits that the culture of the receiver has a great influence, he establishes that no matter what strategy you use, all of them build on reading the environment. One strategy is track following where you simply follow visible directional signs or lines, which is the most basic way of wayfinding. In order for signs to work they need to communicate the signifier’s message to the signified and also be visible, correctly placed and understandable (Mollerup, 2005).

2.3 Colour and visual perception
The National defence research establishment’s department of human sciences has published the report “Colour as a carrier of information” (Derefeldt & Berggrund, 1994) that gives an overall understanding of the subject, relevant to this thesis. They write that the colour experience, as all other kinds of experiences, is affected by people’s expectations, previous experiences and learning. The same colour can look different also depending on its background’s spectral composition and luminance.

In the dark humans cannot experience any colour at all. All we can see is different shades of grey (Derefeldt & Berggrund, 1994). However blue and green is experienced lighter in the dark than in the light, unlike red and yellow. Whether a colour is perceived as fluorescent is controlled by the ambient luminance and the spectral composition (Derefeldt & Berggrund, 1994).

In colour coding for categorizing of information people can keep a number of 7±2 colours in their short time memory and the four primary colours: red, green, blue and yellow are easier to remember (Derefeldt / Berggrund, 1994). However, as far as possible colour coding should follow our natural colour associations. Something else to take into consideration is the fact that about 8-10 % of the male population, in different countries, is red/green colour-blind which means that you cannot distinguish the colours (Derefeldt & Berggrund, 1994). One of the advantages of using colour is that it’s visible from a longer distance than other graphic elements. When using colour it’s important to work with contrasts: “colour contrast between signboard and its background gives the sign its target value, the ease with which the sign is spotted”, “colour contrast between signboard and sign content makes the content legible”, “colour contrast between different signs may facilitate visual differentiation between different types of messages” and “colour contrast between different content elements within a sign may facilitate differentiating between different types of messages” (Mollerup, 2005, p. 161)
2.4 Information design

Information design is a broad topic and includes all the above subjects. However something that has been left out up until now is the gestalt principles. Derefeldt & Berggrund explain the gestalt principle of similarity: “Elements that looks like each other are consolidating into a group” (1994, my translation). Lipton, journalist and information designer, also writes about similarity and encourages grouping related information and designing content people can perceive “which they must do before they can comprehend it” (2007). She goes on to describe the importance of contrast, as Mollerup (2005), and the principle of figure/ground: “Make the content prominently emerge from (contrast with) its background, and keep the background in the background, never intruding” (Lipton, 2007). Two other important principles, mentioned by Lipton (2005) are the ones of hierarchy and of emphasis, the latter implying that the most important elements in the foreground stand out from the rest. When it comes to helping people find their way clearly the design should be consistent and with colour and symbols you can inform nonverbally (Lipton, 2007). To make people get your message you also have to be selective in choosing information.

2.5 Camp management

The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) is a non-governmental organization, established in 1946, which provides assistance, protection and durable solutions to refugees and internally displaced persons worldwide. The NRC has developed guidance for camp management in cooperation with other organizations. This cooperation makes the theory more trustworthy, as does the fact that the material is being used in camps. I have chosen to select the parts of the guidance that consider the spatial work out. The NRC's “Camp management toolkit” (2008) describes how a Site Development Committee (SDC) can be formed to deal with all spatial issues. It helps with the camp set-up and once that is done the SDC can change focus to developing the camp gradually. The NRC guidance directs that an address system for the shelters should be developed to facilitate planning and allow identification of people and writes that “symbols, pictures or colours in conjunction with written names or numbers will make it easier for children and non-literate people to find their way around the camp” (2008, p. 202). Furthermore, it's recommended that all “roads and pathways (...) should, where possible, be provided with some lighting during the night for security reasons” (NRC, 2008, p. 207).
3. Methods

In this chapter the scientific methods of use in the thesis are presented, given grounds for and being discussed.

I have chosen to approach the subject from a broad perspective, to encompass as many points of view as possible. For that reason I have been in contact with people with different backgrounds and standpoints as well as from various relevant authorities. To get this kind of varied perspectives I have used a methodical triangulate (Merriam, 1994). This means that several different methods are used so that the strengths of each method complete the others’.

3.1 Field study

The understanding of the received spatial messages is often coloured by the receivers’ culture (Mollerup, 2005, p. 41) and because of that you cannot present a solution unless you have investigated the targeted culture and met the actual people. Therefore, I have carried out a field study, through which you can generate an understanding of the people and the environment on a deeper level. You can use diverse methods and be in contact with several people. The downsides are on the other hand the difficulty of generalizing data, the influence of the interviewer and the risk of making a description rather than an analysis. Nevertheless it’s a suitable and relevant method of acquiring information in this scenario. I spent three weeks in the settlement and a total of eight weeks in Namibia. I chose only to spend the days in the settlement and the nights at a nearby farm, which has an effect on my total impression. I didn’t get to fully experience the kind of lives that the refugees lead. However, it’s important that everyone can find their way, newcomers in particular. It is also recommended by Gustavsson (2008) to maintain a distance from the data for the sake of the analysis. I tried to find a balance between the desirable closeness to the object of study and the necessary distance in the analysis of data and to avoid to “go native” (Gustavsson, 2008), where the researcher becomes too involved. This approach was well suited to my work and although it would be interesting to actually live in the settlement that would result in a totally different study with another outcome.

3.2 Introspection

Introspection, which implies self-observation (Gustavsson, 2008) was performed in both day and evening time to experience the settlement and to observe the light settings. For safety reasons I travelled by car with a police officer during the evening. I consider introspection to be a well suited method as my intention was to create a proposition for an environment customized to new arrivals. Nevertheless introspection is not entirely equivalent to the refugees’ understanding, but it gave me a pre-understanding for the situation and a basis for the interviews. It is therefore through this method I acquired the information upon which the results rest, with the emphasis being on the outcome of the interviews. A disadvantage with the method is that no outsider can criticize the gathering or analysis of data. Since introspection has been complemented with interviews sources of error have decreased though (Gustavsson, 2008)
and a proposition for people with a background that differs from my own could be made (Gustavsson, 2008).

I used an interactive introspection, which means that I initially experienced the settlement on my own, followed by interviews with asylum seekers and discussion with them to compare experiences. Documentation is important to achieve distance to your material (Gustavsson, 2008) which I accomplished through recording of my observations and thoughts by maintaining a journal, as well as capturing the physical surroundings by taking many photographs.

### 3.3 Qualitative interviews

I chose to speak to many different people to get to the very core of the problem and to look for patterns. As many different survey units as possible in a qualitative selection helps to acquire nuanced knowledge (Holme & Solvang, 1997, p. 104). Informant interviews (Holme & Solvang, 1997) mean that you interview people who stand outside the studied phenomenon, but have a lot to say about it. That method was used on interviews with the Ministry of health, the Police, UNHCR and AHA in Namibia, who are all involved in Osire refugee settlement. To get an insight prior to the trip to Namibia and a different perspective to those given by already involved organizations I also interviewed a representative of Sida in Sweden. Sida has a lot of experience of different aid issues and cooperates with Namibia in general, but not with Osire refugee settlement in particular. However, I gained valuable general knowledge and good prior knowledge on how settlements are being planned.

In order to understand the asylum seekers point of view I carried out respondent interviews: interviews with people who are involved in the studied phenomena (Holme & Solvang, 1997). The interviews were individual, to makes sure that interviewees were not affected by group pressure and other social interferences (Holme & Solvang, 1997). The structured interviews questions were open questions, written down in advance to ease the translation for the interpreters. The questions were designed to open the conversation specifically, then broaden out into general topics and finally probe deep (IDEO – HCD field guide, 2009). The six interviews with asylum seekers were 30-60 minutes each and were recorded.

All interviews were in English either with or without volunteer interpreters. My mother tongue is Swedish and because I realize that there might have been linguistic errors in the interviews, partly from my side, partly from the translators’ and partly from the interviewees’, I have chosen not to remark on vocabulary or fine nuances, but to see to the big picture. The interviews made without interpreters allowed me a closer relation to the interviewee and for studies to come I would recommend that or, where possible, professional interpreters are utilized.

The interviews were not executed immediately, but the study started out from “empathic design” (IDEO – HCD toolkit, 2009), which implies that you experience the environment yourself and get accustomed to the situation before the interviews take place, so that you can communicate with higher quality. The interviews followed “in context immersion” (IDEO – HCD toolkit, 2009) which means that you speak to the people in their right environment. That means that you meet people on their platform, where they feel secure and unnecessary distractions don’t play a crucial part. Holme & Solvang (1997) also emphasize the environmental context’s influence.
I shared my experience of the introspection with the asylum seekers to compare understandings. “This mutual sharing of experiences brings out insight far richer and deeper than if it was a strict division between the research role and the respondent role” (Gustavsson, 2008, p. 178, my translation). A potential risk was that my point of view might influence the interviewees and to avoid that I waited until the end of the interview before I shared my experience with them.

The refugees’ representative helped me to get in touch with new arrivals from as wide selection as possible in terms of origin, age and gender. A representative selection of interviewees wouldn’t be of interest, since the result of the study should lead to a design proposal customized to a wide range, rather than a representative one.

My ethical standpoint in the matter of the interviews with asylum seekers is that I have chosen not to reveal their identities during the course of this study. To make them feel comfortable and be able to trust me I did let them know that they would stay anonymous and that their integrity would be protected. For that reason information about names and ages has retained in my hands.

Qualitative research is interested in “how people create meaning in their lives, what they experience and how they interpret these experiences and also how they structure their social reality” (Merriam, 1994, p. 31, my translation), which suits my study very well. A disadvantage with qualitative methods is on the other hand that the reading of data will neither be unequivocal or comparable (Holme & Solvang, 1997). However, the method gives a deeper understanding of the people and the environment, which is vital to answer the research questions. Unlike quantitative methods,

[qualitative research starts out from the fact that there are many realities, that the world isn’t objectively constituted, but rather a function of perceiving and interplay with other people. The reality is a very subjective story that needs to be read rather than met. Opinions and comprehensions instead of facts constitute the foundation of perceiving. (Merriam, 1994, p. 31, my translation)]

Qualitative researches work on the supposition that “the significance derives from peoples’ experiences and that that mediates through the researcher’s own experiences of the situation. A researcher cannot be put outside of the studied phenomena” (Merriam, 1994, p. 31, my translation).

3.4 Observation
In the settlement I conducted an observation to get a general idea of the settlement itself and the ones living in it. “Observation means that we for a longer or shorter time are together with (or located directly adjacent to) members of the group we will explore. (...) Through observation we will try to capture the total living situation of those we observe” (Holme & Solvang, 1997, my translation). I made a direct, continuous monitoring observation, with the awareness of that people might change in behaviour once they realize that they are being observed. No matter how you conduct an observation, you will affect your social environment. However, I did not study an activity, but was interested in people’s behaviour only in general as well as the spatiality. In open observations the “researcher is in that world, but not a part of it” (Holme & Solvang, 1997, my translation). The
observation was structured with flexibility to the situation, which amounted a great opportunity to find relevant data and also allowing the context to control what I saw, in order to determine what to study further in more detail. My role as an observer was passive and I took notes meanwhile, to get an accurate experience without the influence of distortions in memory. Since the observation ran on and off throughout the entire field study the sources of error decreased.
4. The design process

This chapter describes the design process itself, from the introducing of the subject to the final design proposal and also the background of the choice.

IDEO is a design and innovation consulting firm that consists of professors in several disciplines. Their Creative Director Jane Fulton Suri has a theory about design processes and of how different challenges require different approaches. She means that research could provide a great base for understandings, but when it comes to creating something that does not already exist; a more radical innovation is required. We need to apply creativity, energy and enthusiasm. A powerful tool that we have is our intuition and we can use it “to bring creative energy to the synthesis of confusing and conflicting information” (Fulton Suri, 2008). Certainly intuitions could be wrong and need therefore to “be informed by experience and tempered by continual doses of reality” (Fulton Suri, 2008). Fulton Suri writes that:

effective research is not just about analysis of objective evidence (...) it’s also about the synthesis of evidence, recognition of emergent patterns, empathic connection to people’s motivations and behaviours [sic!], exploration of analogies and extreme cases, and intuitive interpretation of information and impressions from multiple sources. This type of approach is now often referred to as ‘design research’ to differentiate it from purely analytic methods. At its core, design research is about informing our intuition.

(Fulton Suri, 2008)

A design research, such as mine, is qualitative and interpretive, which is its strength but that also opens up for ambiguity and nuance, which you have to be aware of when conduction this kind of research. In this thesis I have started out from HCD field guide and toolkit (IDEO, 2009), developed for innovations in the world. I used it in my design process as well as letting it influence the methodology. HCD is short for Human Centered Design and also for Hear, Create and Deliver, which indicates the intended process. Within the framework of this thesis I have worked through two of the three steps; the deliver step falls outside the scope. Irregardless the entire process is described below.

4.1 Hear

In the first step you are supposed to assemble stories and inspiration from people and prepare and carry out field research (IDEO – HCD toolkit, 2009). I introduced myself to the subject and prepared for the field study by reading about and choosing methods, interviewing a representative of Sida, browsing through inspirational literature and reading about wayfinding systems, camp management and field methodology. Later on I left for Namibia and carried through the field study. I gained access to the settlement via the Ministry of home affairs, which in turn informed the settlement administrator. I became acquainted with the different organizations in the settlement and started my field work. In the field I conducted several interviews, an observation and introspection. I implemented the guidelines of the “hear phase” which aims to “equip the
team with methodologies and tips for engaging people in their own context in order to understand the issues at a deeper level” (IDEO – HCD toolkit, 2009). In my eight weeks in the country I also tried to get to know the cultural context that I found myself in. Along the road I had to change my plans several times because of different circumstances, but in the end I managed to gather the information I needed.

4.2 Create

In the create phase you “translate what you heard [sic!] from people into frameworks, opportunities, solutions, and prototypes” (IDEO – HCD toolkit, 2009). To make sense of data and identifying patterns in the empirics, I went back home to Sweden which helped in distancing myself from my experiences. One big issue was also to narrow down the topic. I approached the subject from a broad perspective, which in reality means that you end up with lots and lots of data. It was a good way to approach the main issue though, but required a bit of time. The thesis could have gone in many different directions and I had to make a choice what to focus on. To be able to do so, I visualized the interviews with the asylum seekers and picked out keywords and regular responses to work on. Then I researched into literature that addresses colour, visual perception, camp management, spatiality, wayfinding, information design and communication design. Parallel to that, I studied the outcome of the other interviews, my observation and introspection; interpreting the material.

This phase involves an iterative process. You work from “concrete to more abstract thinking in identifying themes and opportunities, and then back to concrete with solutions and prototypes” (IDEO – HCD toolkit, 2009), as shown in figure 3 below. A particular challenge was to achieve as much as possible but with using as few and as simple means as possible, whilst engaging in the iterative process, I feel that I managed to accomplish this.

4.3 Deliver

The next step would be to continue the deliver step, in which you realize your design. Before that, though, it would be suiting and crucial to involve the implementing organizations in Osire refugee settlement and the government of Namibia, to get feedback and discuss improvements of the design. The deliver step includes financial plans, capability assessment and implementation planning. “Implementation is an iterative process that will likely require many prototypes, mini-pilots and pilots to perfect the solution and support system” (IDEO – HCD toolkit, 2009). In this step you calculate feasibility and viability and in addition you evaluate the outcomes to learn from it and to assess and plan for the future.

Fig. 3 Human Centered Design graph (IDEO – HCD toolkit, 2009)
5. Result

This chapter addresses the result of the empirics, collected mainly in Osire refugee settlement. For more details, see appendix 1-9.

5.1 Visualization of interviews with asylum seekers

The layout of the visualization has been designed based on questions from the interviews. The selection of questions closely relates to wayfinding and the sense of safety and is dealt with in the rest of the chapter.

<table>
<thead>
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Figure 4 Chart of interviews with asylum seekers
5.2 Field orientation

Wayfinding is an issue in Osire refugee settlement. Five out of six interviewed asylum seekers claimed that they could not find their way during the night or that they don’t walk around in the dark at all out of fright. Four of the asylum seekers expressed that they found themselves confused in the dark, a viewpoint also shared with police officer Mr. Haikali, F. (2010). However neither Mr. Tjivirura, Mr. Banda at UNHCR nor Ms. Haludilu, Mr. Ahorukomeye and Mr. Kanivete at the Ministry of health (2010) have observed wayfinding to be a problem. When I asked the three representatives of the Ministry of health particularly about wayfinding in the dark, all of them did acknowledge that it could be hard to find ones way to the health centre, especially for new arrivals, because it’s very dark in the community. The refugees arrive at different times of the day, one-by-one or in a group (Mr. Banda, 2010).

One of the asylum seekers said that not knowing the area scares her and another claimed that she was afraid to leave the shelter for the same reason and that she feared that she might end up in trouble if she went to the wrong place. None of the asylum seekers knew the responsibilities of each organization and only four out of six knew where all of them are located. Mr. Banda at UNHCR claimed that it could be that asylum seekers and refugees do know where to go, but would prefer speaking to one of the organizations in particular (2010). One asylum seeker who did feel that she knew the area said that it made her feel calm.

During my evening introspection I found it confusing to orientate myself around the settlement. It was extremely dark and I couldn’t detect either signs or symbols. Once a few blocks into the community, the lights from the police station were not visible. To me, it was just as dark in all directions, even though it was a full moon at the time. Along the main road were a few street lights (see figure 5). Police officer Mr. Haikali, F. said that during the night there are lights by the police office so that people can find their way, but during my introspection accompanied with him, he was surprised how dark it was and said that it would be confusing in the dark even if you were used to the area (2010). He also mentioned that the settlement isn’t a violent place in terms of crime. When I reached the police station I found it difficult to make out which building was which since they all looked the same to me. The landscape is very flat so it is not possible to get a proper overview. At the health centre there were armatures with incandescent lights on the building but not on the sign (see figure 6). The door on the gable was open, and the main entrance, which was better lit than the one on the gable, was closed. The gate to the health centre was closed, but there was a guard around the clock.

![Fig. 5 View from the main road](image1)

![Fig. 6 View of the police station](image2)
5.3 The sense of safety
All of the six asylum seekers described that the feeling of security is very important to them. When I asked about what makes them scared I got such responses as not knowing the area, being in a war, that your family is in danger and crime. What makes them calm and happy was the opposite: peace, security, protection, the absence of crying, guns and death and hospitality, safe places and being able to think. They also expressed that their family is important to them. As for the future they dreamed of good schools for their children, jobs for themselves and their beloved ones, independence and the possibility to leave the settlement.

5.4 Wayfinding strategy
Six out of six asylum seekers would ask for directions or to be escorted if they couldn’t find their way, even though two of them expressed that they found it hard to communicate with others in the settlement. That wayfinding strategy was also confirmed by Ms. Haludilu at the Ministry of health who said that it’s a part of the African culture and for that reason there is not a great need for structure (2010). However, the asylum seekers also claimed that being unable to find ones way makes you uncomfortable, scared, and uncertain whether you will be treated well and can even make you not leave your home out of fear.

5.5 Overall signs, colours and symbols
According to Mr. Landiech at Sida signs are usually installed for people to find their way, but refugees very quickly learn that by heart (2010). However, he continued to explain that it’s very important for people who are unfamiliar with the environment to easily find their way to hospitals etc. as well. In Osire refugee settlement there are no symbols or free-standing signs, but a few official buildings are marked with their names on them. The only other wayfinding system is the shelter’s numbering structure (see figure 7 and 8). Every shelter is marked with two numbers: one indicates the block and one indicates the house.

The colour of official buildings is based on its sponsor or is simply a colour for no specific reason (Mutwa, 2010). The police station is pale yellow and the officers’ uniforms are blue. The health centre is white and red and the staff’s clothes are white. The shelters surrounding the official buildings are made from muted yellow-brownish sand from the area. When it comes to what colour that comes to mind when thinking about the health centre and the police station, the asylum seekers either didn’t think of any colour or gave a wide range of answers. Colours of the health centre that figured were white, red and yellow. For the police station it was blue, green,
camouflage blue and white. No one could think of symbols for the police station, but two mentioned a cross as a symbol for the health centre.

UNHCR representative had not become aware of people not finding their way despite the lack of a wayfinding system since the settlement is so small and all the organizations are located close to one another (Tjivirura, 2010).

5.6 Spatial planning

There are several guidelines regarding camp management distributed by different organizations. These guidelines are usually implemented and deal amongst other things with practical standards. There are a lot of parameters to take into account when planning a camp. The problem is that you don’t have much time to do so and reorganizing a camp that has been spontaneously established is extremely difficult. “Managing a camp it’s about managing a kind of artificial city and that has to be comfortable enough for the people to survive” says Mr. Landiech at Sida (2010). Camps are usually designed in blocks and sub blocks with one access road and small roads in the camp. The reason for this constellation is related to protection (Landiech, 2010). The Osire refugee settlement is structured in that way and has all the organizations located close to each other on one side of the settlement, while the community itself is on the other side. There is also a piece of land for cultivation for the refugees to use. The different organizations do not share a common building and Mr. Tjivirura and Mr. Banda at UNHC prefer it that way because of the sensitive information they hold that shouldn’t be shared with everyone. The reason for not sharing a building, though, is because the different organizations came to the settlement at different times and started to build their offices step by step (Banda, 2010).

It’s very important not to make a difference between different blocks in the settlement’s community. If there is, it’s more likely for inhabitants to point their possible rage against a certain block. Anything that can be used discriminate against someone can be dangerous (Landiech, 2010). Each block should also have the same access to utilities. It’s impossible to keep track of people without structure and that could even lead to death (Landiech, 2010). UNHCR is making an annual evaluation of the settlement and based on the result, improvement plans for the next year are being made (Tjivirura, 2010). The assessment model comes from “Practical guide to the system use of standards and indicators in UNHCR operations” and NRC’s “Camp management toolkit”. It’s a fine balance to develop the settlement just enough, because if it becomes too developed it might encourage the refugees to stay in the settlement instead of going back to their native countries (Banda, 2010). All implementing organizations are in close cooperation with each other and sit every month to discuss all kinds of matters, and spatial matters are something that has been brought up during these meetings (Banda, 2010).

Mr. Landiech at Sida emphasized the importance of lights at night for a safer community (2010). Lights close to the latrines is also crucial for safety reasons, since it is a place where rapes usually occur. Another effect of not having lights by latrines is that children might be too scared to go there in the night, which leads them to defecate in other places which results in a huge sanitation problem and diseases will easily spread (Landiech, 2010). Nevertheless, there are no lights by the latrines in the settlement. They are built and used for 4-5 months before they are blocked and a new one is built in another place (Tjivirura, 2010).
6. Analysis

This chapter deals with the result of the empirics in relation to the theory. The outcome aims to underlie the principles of the design proposal.

6.1 Wayfinding

If you feel that you can find your way that can make you feel calm, according to one of the interviewed asylum seekers, which is also confirmed by Mossberg who means that if man do not find clearness in their ambient spatiality insecurity will occur within them (2003). However, not all of the asylum seekers felt that they could find their way or know the area, which according to them results in a discomfort, insecurity and uncertainty. This is an issue that hasn’t come to the representatives’ of UNHCR or Ministry of health attention (Banda, 2010; Tjivirura, 2010; Kanivete, 2010; Ahorukomeye, 2010; Haludilu, 2010).

When it comes to helping people find their way clearly the design should be consistent and with colour and symbols you can inform nonverbally (Lipton, 2007). To make people get your message you also have to be selective in choosing information (Lipton, 2007, p. 218). No matter what wayfinding strategy you use, all of them build on reading the environment. One strategy is track following where you simply follow visible directional signs or lines. All interviewed asylum seekers would ask for directions or to be escorted if they couldn’t find their way, even though two of them expressed that they found it hard to communicate with others in the settlement. This wayfinding strategy was also confirmed by Ms. Haludilu (2010).

In order for signs to work they need first of all to exist. They also need to communicate the signifier’s message to the signified and be visible, correct placed and understandable (Mollerup, 2005). According to Mr. Landiech at Sida (2010) signs are usually installed for people to find their way, but in the Osire refugee settlement there are no symbols or free-standing signs, although a few official buildings are marked with their names on them. The advantage of using representational media, such as signs, over mechanical is that you avoid the technical constraints and are not as exposed to noise (Fiske 1990). Something to keep in mind when it comes to that is to keep the message as clear as possible and to reduce redundancy. That can be achieved by structuring a message according to known patterns or conventions. To whom the message is accessible should also be taken into account (Fiske, 1990).

6.2 Spatial planning

The NRC’s “Camp management toolkit” (2008) describes how a Site Development Committee (SDC) could be formed to deal with all spatial issues. No such committee exists in the settlement, however all implementing organizations are in close cooperation with each other and sit every month to discuss all kinds of matters (Mr. Banda, 2010). As previously mentioned, it’s important not to make a difference between different blocks in the settlement’s community. Anything that can discriminate against someone can be dangerous (Landiech, 2010) and in the settlement all the shelters and blocks do look like each other. Structure in a settlement is crucial to keep people healthy (Landiech, 2010). The Osire refugee settlement’s structure separates all organizations and the
government from the community. This constellation has both pros and cons. The distance to walk to the health centre for instance is further for some of the displaced people, but the closeness of the offices enables the wayfinding process. When it comes to numbering of shelters in the Osire refugee settlement the system consists only of written numbers (Banda, 2010). Symbols, pictures or colours as a complement to that would make it easier for children and non-literate people to find their way around the settlement (NRC, 2008).

6.3 Lighting
Interviewed asylum seekers stated that they cannot find their way in the dark and that they don’t walk around at all out of fright. They expressed that they can find themselves confused in the dark, which police officer Mr. Haikali, F. (2010) also agreed with. It’s recommended by NRC that all roads and pathways are provided with lighting during the night for security reasons (NRC, 2008). Also Mr. Landiech at Sida emphasized the importance of lights for a clean and safe community (2010). Security was important to all of the asylum seekers and they referred to safety in terms of peace and protection.

During my introspection in the dark I found the area confusing and had a hard time orientate myself. Many places in the settlement looked the same to me and I couldn’t make out the structure. The only lighting that I noticed was by the main road and the health centre, but it was not visible from within the community. Representatives of the Ministry of health were asked particularly about wayfinding in the dark and all of them did acknowledge it to be a problem for new arrivals (Haludilu, 2010; Ahorukomeye, 2010; Kanivete, 2010).

6.4 Colour coding
The colour scheme in the settlement is as follows: the shelters are yellow-brownish, the police station is pale yellow and its staff’s clothes are blue, the health centre is white and red and its staff’s clothes are white. When it comes to colour and symbol association to the health centre and the police station, some asylum seekers couldn’t think of any colour or symbol at all or gave a wide range of answers. Derefeldt & Berggrund (1994) write that the colour experience is affected by people’s expectations, previous experiences and learning. The same colour can look different also depending on its background’s spectral composition and luminance (Derefeldt & Berggrund, 1994). Currently the colour of official buildings is based on its sponsor or is a colour for no specific reason (Mutwa, 2010).

The gestalt principle of similarity makes people draw parallels to similar objects and see them as a unit (Derefeldt & Berggrund, 1994; Lipton, 2005). Fiske also complies with this and writes that that is what perception is all about (1990). In colour coding, based on that principle, a number of 7±2 colours can be used and red, green, blue and yellow are the easiest to remember (Derefeldt & Berggrund, 1994). However, as far as possible colour coding should follow our natural colour associations. In the dark humans cannot experience any colour at all, but different shades of grey. However, blue and green is experienced lighter in the dark than in the light, unlike red and yellow (Derefeldt & Berggrund, 1994). One of the advantages of using colour is that it’s visible from a long distance. When using it it’s important to work with contrasts (Mollerup, 2005) and keep the gestalt principles of hierarchy and of emphasis in mind (Lipton, 2005).
7. Design proposal

Based on empirics and theory a design proposal has been compiled and is described and visualized in this chapter.

All environments are complex in their layout and so is the Osire refugee settlement. Many things could be done to spatially solve different problems. However I have focused on two main issues. The first one is that it’s hard for some new arrivals in Osire to understand their environment’s whole structure and the second one is that it is even harder for them to orientate themselves in the dark. Humans have a fundamental need to understand the spatial situation they’re in, in order to find their way and feel safe (Mossberg, 2003). No matter in what way you (try to) find your way, it’s built on reading the environment (Mollerup, 2005). Asylum seekers claim to be scared to leave their shelters at night and prefer to stay inside. Not knowing the area scares them and makes them feel uncomfortable. There are some lights next to the police station and the health centre, but the real problem starts when you need to find your way from inside the community at night. The community itself is just as dark in all directions and it’s difficult to orientate oneself there. The two issues will be dealt with separately below.

For obvious reasons the health centre and the police station are the two most important places to locate and are therefore the focus. Other official buildings could be added to the wayfinding system; however no more than 7±2 categories should be included for the sake of our memory (Derefeldt & Berggrund, 1994). If there is a proper wayfinding system it enables wayfinding and makes people comfortable and emotionally safe enough. Both physical and psychological safety can be achieved.

7.1 Understanding your environment’s whole structure

The issue of not understanding your environment’s whole structure can be solved by a colour scheme that differs from today’s. Currently the buildings are coloured based on the sponsor. For instance UNHCR financed buildings are white and blue. Instead they could be coloured by categories. The similarity factor makes people understand that the buildings have a connection to each other (Derefeldt & Berggrund, 1994). For safety reasons the settlement’s blocks should maintain a unified colour scheme (Landiech, 2010), but the official buildings can comply with a colour scheme. In other words, the police station could be in one colour and the health related buildings in another, regardless of sponsor. One of the interviewed asylum seekers mentioned that she was scared to go someplace only to find out that she wasn’t allowed to be there and end up in trouble. Another one said that he was scared of law breaking actions. If the public buildings were coloured by categories it would be easier to understand that you are allowed there. Other advantages of using colour as an information carrier is that it’s visible from a longer distance than other graphic elements (Mollerup, 2005) and you can communicate nonverbally (Lipton, 2007) which benefits children and non-literate people (NRC, 2008).

High contrast to the background, in this case the surrounding environment, makes an object appear to stand out and be more visible (Lipton, 2007). Currently the shelters surrounding the official buildings are made from muted yellow-brownish sand, as is the ground. To create high contrast to that, the colours should be bright and distinct. Blue and green is
experienced lighter in the dark than in the light, unlike red and yellow. However, as far as possible colour coding should comply with our natural colour associations (Derefeldt & Berggrund, 1994). Since the health centre is already partly coloured red and one of the asylum seekers related red to the health centre, it would be a natural colour choice. Regarding the police station two of the asylum seekers associated blue to it and the fact that some of the police officer’s clothes are already coloured blue would make it easily related to the police. The four primary colours: red, green, blue and yellow are also the easiest to remember (Derefeldt & Berggrund, 1994). Figure 9-12 below exemplifies the concept visually.

![Fig. 9a The health centre – before](image1) ![Fig. 9b The health centre – after](image2)

![Fig. 10a The health centre – before](image3) ![Fig. 10b The health centre – after](image4)

![Fig. 11a The police station – before](image5) ![Fig. 11b The police station – after](image6)
7.2 Wayfinding in the dark

In the dark humans cannot experience colour (Derefeldt & Berggrund, 1994) and it’s recommended that roads and pathways are well lit during the night (NRC, 2008). However another solution that is also sustainable is photofluorescent colour. Bright, photofluorescent colour applied to directional signs along paths in the settlement could function as a wayfinding system. Photofluorescent pigment activates by solar cells and become self-luminous in the dark, or in other words, "glow-in-the-dark" paint. This could be painted on direction poles countersunk along different paths around the settlement, leading to the health centre and the police station. By that wayfinding would be enabled both in the day and in the night. There hasn’t been a colour coding system in the settlement before, which therefore could be perceived as unpredictable for long-term refugees. With time, though, it will become clearer. This reasoning is supported by Fiske, who also means that structuring a message according to conventions increase redundancy (1990).

Since the paths on some places share the same route it’s important that the colours differ from each other and can be distinguished. Red/green colour blindness is very common (Derefeldt & Berggrund, 1994) and therefore the colours should not be combined in this context. To get wholeness in the wayfinding system the colours should match the colour scheme; i.e. blue for the police station and red for the health centre.

A free-standing sign, emphasizing what building it is, with the text “health centre” or “police station” in fluorescent colour would comply with the gestalt principle of hierarchy and emphasis (Lipton, 2005) and further reinforce and clarify the message. The use of non-technical items makes it more accessible and reduces noise (Fiske 1990). The system is accessible in both daytime and in the night, thanks to the fluorescent colour. However, when it comes to the signs in front of the buildings account has not been given to non-literate people, children or visually impaired people. The use of symbols for instance could solve that problem and is recommended as further research. Figure 13 below exemplifies the concept visually.
Fig. 13 Wayshowing in the dark
8. Discussion and conclusion

In this chapter I will reconnect to the research questions and the aim of the thesis, define a conclusion and suggest further research in the subject.

8.1 Reconnection and discussion
The aim of this thesis was to study a refugee settlement in Namibia in order to get to the heart of the matter of what affect the spatiality has and could have on people’s sense of safety and also to design a proposal for a spatial information design system. Through field study, observation, introspection and interviews, I mapped two different issues that could be solved with spatial information design. The first one was that people in the settlement didn’t understand their environments’ whole structure and the second one was that they couldn’t find their way in the dark. I also found that refugees and asylum seekers largely solve problems with people, not things, which answer the research question: How do the refugees orientate themselves today? Still, asylum seekers expressed that not knowing the area makes them scared, uncomfortable and confused. My hypothesis, of how an unclear environment produces insecurity within us, was met and I also did establish that safety can be created by spatial design. The spatial matters in a settlement could be handled by a site development committee, but that is currently not in place at Osire refugee settlement. Instead, all implementing organizations are supposed to shoulder that responsibility together, but it’s hard to come to a spatial conclusion to complex problems without the knowledge and specific task assignments. In my interview questions I also received the following reply to one of the other research questions: What signifies the sense of safety for the refugees? They expressed that safety is very important to them and related to it in terms of peace, not being assaulted and being in a safe environment. All in all they were grateful for not being in war. Another thing that came up in the interviews was the refugees colour association. They either didn’t associate any colour to the health centre and the police station or they gave a wide range of answers. The reason for that could have to do with the fact that there is currently no categorized colour coding system in the settlement and colour experience is affected by expectations, previous experiences and learning (Derefeldt & Berggrund, 1994).

By analyzing empirics and relying on previous research and theories I have come to a result, upon which the design proposal lies. The outcome of the proposal answers the main research question: How can you make people in Osire refugee settlement in Namibia feel as safe as possible by using spatial information design? The design proposal’s keystones are a uniform colour coding system that regulates the colour scheme of the health centre and the police station. In addition, photofluorescent colour that recharges with solar cells should be painted to directional signs along different paths in the community. With that proposal I intended to clarify the structure of the settlement and help the refugees finding their way and by that also increasing their sense of safety.

8.2 Conclusion
Refugees and asylum seekers are in a great need of safety, both psychological and physical. Therefore I find it justified and important to implement a wayfinding system that can release some of their stress and
fear. Even though financial issues are often the determining factor I hold that anything that could increase the sense of safety should be prioritized.

My conclusion is that spatial information design can indeed be a solution to the safety issue in the Osire refugee settlement, based on empirics and previous theories, and I sincerely hope that by completing this thesis I have managed to breathe life into the point of intersection of spatial information design and human science. Optimistically this study is the start of further research on the topic.

8.3 Further research
The next step of this thesis would be to complete the last phase of the HCD model: deliver (IDEO – HCD toolkit, 2009) that includes financial plans, capability assessments and implementation planning. The design proposal should also be presented to, and developed further with, the operative organizations in Osire refugee settlement and the government of Namibia.

In addition it would be interesting to carry the proposal forward and take visually impaired people into account, as well as including the use of symbols. Exactly how the self-luminous directing poles will be designed and where they are supposed to be located is also yet to be decided. Possibly a try-out could be made as a last step after which all that is left is the implementation of a new wayfinding system in the Osire refugee settlement in Namibia.
9. List of references and figures

This chapter will give an account for literature, verbal and electronic references and also a list of figures.

9.1 Literature references

For titles in other languages than English, my English translation is given in brackets.


9.2 Verbal references

- Ahorukomeye, James (2010), community counsellor at Osire health centre, interview on April 16th, 2010
- Banda, David (2010), assistance field officer at UNHCR for Osire, continuous interviews on April 14th - May date, 2010
- Haikali, Filemon, (2010), police officer at Osire police station, continuous interviews on April 14th - May 21st, 2010
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April 16th, 2010
• Landiech, François (2010), program officer of Sida, interview in
Stockholm, Sweden on March 30th, 2010
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Appendix 1

Interview with Sida

The interview was with François Landiech, program officer at the division for humanitarian assistance at Sida. The individual interview took place in a public area in Sida’s headquarter in Stockholm on March 30, 2010 at 1-2 p.m. The interview has been sound recorded.

Mr. Landiech started by telling me that there are several guidelines regarding camp management distributed by different organizations. Sida supports for instance NRC and UNHCR. These guidelines are usually implemented and deal among other things with practical standards. Functions that are important to include in refugee camps are shelters, health care centres, rubbish disposals, water posts, cemetery, showers and latrines with connecting washbasin, food distribution, non-food item distribution (blankets, cooking device etc.), sanitation and schools.

“Managing a camp it’s about managing a kind of artificial city and that has to be comfortable enough for the people to survive” said Mr. Landiech. Safety is also very important. UNHCR’s Refugee Convention is to protect refugees, but when it comes to IDPs it’s not the same. They are under protection of their government and have often fled because of national conflicts, of which the government could be a part. That leads to poorer protection and therefore it is crucial that especially IDP camps have a protection plan in the camp management strategy.

UNHCR has long experience with the planning of camps, ever since the Second World War when there were millions of refugees in Europe, and they have standards for the building of these camps. These standards have been compiled in “The Spere project” and in “NRC Camp Management Toolkit”. The first thing that you should do when planning a camp is to look for a safe place that is not going to add to the vulnerability of the people, where you can find water, but sometimes in an emergency you don’t have time to find that. You also have to get the landowner’s permission to set up a camp. When you set up a camp you almost never know for how long it will last, which makes the planning complicated. Some camps host 200 000 people for many years and by then it has become a permanent settlement. People may in that case establish market places, places for their animals, cultivation and churches, depending on how long they stay there.

Both closed and open camps exist, which controls whether or not the refugees are allowed to leave the camp. That is regulated by the country’s laws.

Camps are usually designed in blocks and sub-blocks with one access road and small roads in the camp. The reason for this constellation is related to protection. There might be people who are against the refugees and they could hide in the camp or hide weapons there. It’s also impossible to keep track of people without structure and that could lead to death. Mr. Landiech told me a story from his own experience in Congo, where the camp was lacking in structure. They found an old woman, in charge of two children. The woman was too old to have managed the walk to the food distribution centre in time which had led to the children being severely under-nourished. One of them even died and the reason for that is that the camp management didn’t know about them. Mr. Landiech has seen many cases like that and emphasizes the importance of structure. If everything works out the way it’s supposed to there are blocks with tents and every tent is marked with a letter indicating the block and a number indicating the tent. In that way you can keep track of everyone and their specific
needs. To replan a camp that has been spontaneously established is extremely difficult. So it’s better to find a place, prepare properly and then fill the blocks one by one.

There are a lot of parameters to take into account when planning a camp. The problem is that you don’t have much time to do so, because when you do that people are waiting to move so it has to be done as soon as possible. When you start up a camp you can do the ground work and mark the roads. And then people start to move in and improvements have to be made after that. Culture should be considered as much as possible, otherwise problems may occur. Showers and latrines should be separated for men and women. Guards raping refugees is a big problem and that often happens when people are going to the shower or latrine. Therefore there should always be lights next to these places. Without lights the children will be scared to visit the latrines at night and will simply defecate around the house and then you have a sanitation problem. So that is a very important issue. What is also important is the cooking area. It cannot be too close to the house because then you will be overcome by fumes or smoke. So therefore you usually have common cooking areas which decrease the risk of fire. Firewood is a problem and refugees often steal it from the surrounding farms, which isn’t safe because of the risk of being raped.

When planning and managing the camps it is crucial to involve the refugees themselves and not just leave them bewildered with a plan they do not play a role in. Usually the refugees chose their own leaders, one a block. And then they have a kind of refugee committee together with the management. It’s important to involve both men and women. Without a refugee committee it would be chaos. Much information could be sent out via that.

Usually you have an information system for managing the camp. The information system is built a lot on the refugee committee and the camp management board, including all the organizations in the camp. They meet and exchange information. But you can also have other systems: megaphone, loudspeakers, notice boards or one person in charge of information in each block. Again, the refugees have to be involved and then it will be sustainable.

When I asked how the refugees know where to find the hospital, I was told that signs are usually installed, with printing in the refugee’s language, but people very quickly learn to find their way. However, I was told that it is very important for people who are unfamiliar with the environment (journalists, donors and people from their home country) to easily find their way to hospitals and those kinds of places. When I asked about why there aren’t any differences in aesthetics in different parts of the camp I got the explanation that if you easily can see a difference it is easier to consider that area as a group and it would thereby be easier for people from outside the camp to point their disapproval at a specific group. Anything that can discriminate someone can be dangerous.
Appendix 2

Interview with UNHCR

The interview was with the two representatives of UNHR: David Banda and Tobias Tjivirura. Mr. Banda is assistant field officer and Mr. Tjivirura is senior database administrator at UNHCR for Osire. The continuous interview took place at UNHCR’s office at Osire refugee settlement in an open office environment on April 14th - May 21st, 2010. The interview has been sound recorded.

The interview started with me explaining what I study and the intention with my project. The settlement opened officially in 1992, but Mr. Banda said that people lived in the area even before that. Mr. Banda is responsible to report back to the UNHCR office in Windhoek and explained that it is UNHCR’s duty to make sure that the program agreements of the settlement are being implemented and in addition assure that the government provides protection according to the agreements. They are also offering refugees and asylum seekers counselling sessions and help to organize resettlement or repatriation. At the moment most of the refugees are interested in resettlement. In order to be resettled you have to make an application and then there is a process of at least six months to be followed through, when it’s being decided whether or not your application will be approved.

The main purpose for UNHCR is to find durable solutions and make sure that the people don’t stay refugees for too long, stated Mr. Banda. The durable solutions, however, depend a lot on the willingness of other governments. It’s preferred that the refugees go back to their own country and if that isn’t possible, be resettled or hosted in another country. The settlement’s mutual goal is that all the Angolans should go back, because there is now peace. The goal was that there should be 2500 Angolans left in 2005, but there are still close to 5000. The new goal is that this year 1000 Angolans could go back and for next year 2500 could go back. This year 200 refugees will be resettled in Namibia and 1000 are repatriated. A recent investigation showed that about 98 % of the Angolans want to stay in the settlement or be resettled in Namibia. They claim that it is too bad in their country to go back, social services for instance such as medical care, proper roads and schools. 100 % of people from Rwanda said that they want to stay in the settlement. The ones that mostly want to stay in the settlement are people from the Great Lakes region.

Mr. Tjivirura continued to tell me that UNHCR is making an evaluation every year and based on the result, improvement plans for the next year are being made. The assessment model comes from “Practical guide to the system use of standards and indicators in UNHCR operations” and Norwegian Refugee Council’s “Camp management toolkit”. Currently there are trees being planted and environmental friendly stoves are being installed as an improvement to the settlement. In addition to that environmental friendly latrines have been set up, but that is very expensive. It’s a fine balance to develop the settlement just enough, because if it becomes too developed it might encourage the refugees to stay in the settlement instead of going back to their native countries. In May 2010 there will also be an environmental assessment of the impact there has been on the surrounding area. The refugees might have taken trees for fire woods etc. from the nearby farms. This assessment will be done in cooperation with the farmers.
I asked about the procedure for new arrivals and Mr. Banda explained that the refugees arrive both during the week and weekends, at different times of the day. Sometimes they come one-by-one and sometimes they come in a group. How they travel there is different every time, but it is the government’s responsibility. When they arrive they have to register at the police and then go to AHA to get an introduction, get food and non-food items and to be allocated a place to stay. Then they have to register at UNHCR and after that they are supposed to apply for their refugee status at the settlement administrator’s office. When you arrive at a refugee settlement you immediately become an asylum seeker, unless there are lots of people arriving at the same time, then you get a refugee status. That means that you are entitled to much more and have different opportunities. If you are an asylum seeker, on the other hand, you have to apply for a refugee status and that process could take 90 days or more. If they want to leave they need a travel permit. A refugee could be resettled in Namibia (their status changes from refugee to citizen of Namibia), repatriate (return to their home country), be hosted in another country or chose to stay in the refugee settlement. In order to be resettled you need some kind of proof that it’s impossible to return to your native country.

When it comes to the refugees shelters Mr. Tjivirura informed me that they have to build them themselves. Public buildings are on the other hand built by outside contractors distributed by different sponsors, he said.

Important functions in the settlement, according to Mr. Banda, is the health care centre, the schools, the police station, the settlement administrators office, the women’s’ centre and the youth centre. When I asked, Mr. Tjivirura told me that there are no signs or any other kind of wayfinding system in the settlement. There are only the names of the organization written on the main buildings. Mr. Tjivirura stated that it is working and that people know how to find their way since the settlement is quite small and all main houses are located close to each other. He didn’t think that people would get lost. When the refugees arrive they are introduced to the area, so they do know the locations of the organizations, however not who provides which services. Sometimes people don’t want to know that either because they prefer talking to UNHCR for instance. David referred UNHCR to a big brother or sister of the refugees. When I asked what improvements that could be made Mr. Banda mentions flyers with information about UNHCR for instance.

I asked if they would prefer all the organizations to share an office building, but Mr. Tjivirura do not think that that would be a good solution, because UNHCR have sensitive information that they don’t want to share with the government. The reason for not being together, however, is just because different organizations came at different times and started to build their offices step by step.

I got information about the settlement’s population and received some maps of the area. When I asked about the latrines I was told that they are built and used for 4-5 months before they are blocked and a new one is built in another place. Mr. Tjivirura told me that if they don’t know the refugee’s language they use interpreters to communicate. The area is structured in a way which separates the implementing organizations and the ministries from the community. I asked Mr. Tjivirura how many refugees there were in 1992 and he wasn’t sure but said that it was approximately 25 000 and that is also the maximum amount of people there has ever been in the settlement. He also expressed that he had noticed people not using facial expressions as much.
Mr. Banda didn’t know who did the original spatial design of the settlement and when I asked who is currently responsible for moving organizations from one building to another and other spatial planning he said that that is a collective decision made by all implementing organizations.
Appendix 3

Interview with the Ministry of home affairs & immigration

The interview was with Paulus Haikali, settlement administrator of Osire settlement and the interview took place at his office at Osire settlement, with David Banda present, on April 14, 2010 at 10.30-11.00 a.m. The interview has been sound recorded.

Mr. Haikali told me that Osier refugee settlement is a settlement, not a camp. A camp is a more temporary place and Osire is no longer temporary but permanent. There are different offices at Osire: Ministry of Home Affairs, Police office, UNHCR, AHA, Health centre and Ministry of Education. There is also a women’s centre and a youth centre. Currently there are ± 6 700 people in the settlement, but a total of ± 8 000 refugees in the entire country. When new refugees arrive they have to register at different offices. People in Osire receive food monthly by WFP distributed by AHA. They also provide people with non-food items. Then I and Mr. Haikali travelled by car to be introduced to all the office’s leaders, in order to make cooperation easier for all of us.
Appendix 4

Interview with AHA

The interview was with Gladstone Mutwa, shelter officer at AHA. I made continuous interviews on April 14th - May 21st, 2010.

Mr. Mutwa told me that new refugees are first to register at the police, then they go to the warehouse to get food and non-food items. If they are lucky, they can stay with relatives, otherwise they have to stay at the new arrival centre until they have built a house of their own. After that they are suppose to register at UNHCR and on their way there, they are shown where the health centre is. You are allowed to stay at the new arrival centre for approximately three months, until you have a house of your own. During the rainy season the time limit is extended.

There is a woman centre in the settlement and there used to be materials to use, but not anymore, Mr. Mutwa told me. He continued to tell me that the kids have to take the initiative with activities at the youth centre if they want to be at the youth centre. I was told that there hasn’t been any break in attempts at the warehouses and that people in general are grateful for what they have. The food distribution per person per month is 12 kg maize meal, 1,8 kg beans, 1,5 kg corn soya blend, 0,65 kg vegetable oil, 0,75 kg sugar and 0,15 kg salt. You also get 250 g of soap every month and women who work get more. When you first arrive at the settlement you receive a mattress, pots and so on. The last clothing delivery was in about 2003 or 2004. I was informed that it is hard for refugees to get jobs outside the settlement. They need a work permit or employers could take advantage of them and not pay them enough. Sometimes, nearby farmers come to the settlement to buy food or visit the health centre, Mr. Mutwa said.

I asked about why the schools had different colours and I received the response that it depended on which organization had donated them. The colour of the health centre and many other buildings had no reason.

The refugees build their own houses out of sand that is shaped into bricks and left to dry in the sun. Unfortunately it doesn’t result in good quality houses and massive renovations or rebuilding has to be done within a year.

Mr. Mutwa told me that they didn’t have a Site Development Committee. Spatial planning decisions are made by a committee with representatives from all the implementing organizations which meet once a month. The committee makes all kinds of decisions, not just spatial ones. If there is a spatial planning problem the question is raised, otherwise it is not discussed.
Appendix 5

Interviews with the Ministry of health

I made interviews with three representatives at the health centre during. They all had different job assignments which provided me with three different perspectives.

Interview with Pitrina Haludilu

Pitrina Haludilu is the Health project officer of Osire refugee settlement and the interview took place at her office on April 15 at 2.30 pm

Ms. Haludilu believes that people can find their way easily to the health centre because it is such a small settlement and people communicate with each other. Africans are very friendly and see strangers that they have just met as family. Therefore there isn’t the same need for structure. New arrivals register at the police and the committee also goes there to meet them. There is also a development committee that walks around in the community with information and that can also bring sick people to the health centre. There are six people that come to the office every morning to prepare themselves and then they go out in the community to inform about an outbreak or whatever is needed. 22 people inform about HIV and aids. There are life style ambassadors that inform youths about safe sex etc. That is working because they can see that they have managed to get more students to attend classes for instance.

It is a bit hard to find your way to the hospital at night because it is so dark, Ms. Haludilu thinks. In order to find your way you would need to get help from someone that knows the area. She can’t think of any spatial improvements as she has never thought about that as a solution for health related problems. However, she emphasized that there could be problems that she doesn’t see since she might be blind to flaws.

Interview with James Ahorukomeye

James Ahorukomeye is a community counsellor that works with HIV. The interview took place in a counselling room in Osire health centre on April 16, 2010 at 11.00-11.15 am.

Mr. Ahorukomeye thinks that it could be hard to orientate oneself in the health centre, but it is ok since it is so small. The staff try to great people when they enter the door to show them where to go.

At night it is not so hard for the refugees to find their way to the health centre because the area is so small. New arrivals could find it challenging to find their way to the hospital at night though. However that is not a problem that has come to Mr. Ahorukomeye’s attention. He believes that people know what kind of help that could be provided by the health centre.

He also informed me that people from the health centre are walking through the community during the day to inform them about where the health centre is located and about medical information.

Interview with Isaias Kanivete

Isaias Kanivete is head nurse at Osire Health Centre and the interview took place at his office on April 16, 2010 at 11.15-11.45 am.
Mr. Kanivete expressed that he didn’t think that it’s hard to know where to go once you arrive at the hospital because there is a sign that tells people where to go and there is also a guard outside that can help new arrivals. The guard is there around the clock. There is a main entrance facing away from the community that should be used and from that entrance you can see an A4 sized paper with instructions of where to go. But if you use any other entrance, there is no information at all.

The hospital has four promoters that walk around the community everyday with information and also bring sick people back to the health centre. He thinks that people could easily find their way to the hospital in both daytime and at night. They have lights there at night. However it is too dark in the community.

A spatial problem that he has discovered is that young school girls don’t want to be seen when they come to the hospital for family counselling if they are pregnant for instance. The girls also want to see a specific nurse or doctor, so they come and look for that person and returns another time if that person isn’t present. Girls tend to want to see someone who isn’t well known in the community. However, the staff have confidentiality obligations.

There are no signs on the door to say which matters are being taken care of in that room. However, since the health centre is small, people know by now where the HIV-tests are taken and so on. The health centre has tried to deal with these matters by having everyone go to the same reception, but still, people know what goes on in what room.

I asked whether or not it would be possible to have the same equipment in every room so that you don’t know what patients are there for. I was then told that the patients also know who in the staff works with what. So in order to provide total anonymity the staff would have to be trained and more equipment would have to be bought. He thinks that that would be very good.

In 2004 the HIV-testing rooms were added as an extension to the existing building. The plan was to create a separate entrance to that section, in order for people to be anonymous. However, now people know what you are there for if you use that entrance. The staffs are still adjusting to this extension. The health centre follows the directions of Ministry of health.
Interview with the police

The interview was with Filemon Haikali, police officer of Osire refugee settlement. I made continuous interviews on April 14th - May 21st, 2010.

Mr. Haikali claimed that it is easy for people to find their way to the police station. All new refugees have to register at the police and people from the nearby farms know about the police from before, since it has been there for longer than the settlement. At night there is electricity so that people can find their way. We decide that I can do an evening study that weekend, accompanied by him. He said that even he doesn’t feel entirely safe at night, but emphasized that you don’t anywhere. I asked about why there weren’t more lights at night and he said that it all has to do with finances.
Appendix 7

Introspection

On April 18th, 2010 I performed introspection in the evening in the settlement. It was a full moon which made it a bit lighter than normal. I was accompanied by police officer Mr. Filemon Haikali and we travelled by car throughout the settlement and stopped from time to time so that I could step outside and observe the lighting. This approach was recommended for safety reasons by Mr. Haikali.

At the health centre I noticed armatures with incandescent lights on the building but not on the sign. The door on the gable was open, and the main entrance, which was well lit than the one on the gable, was closed. The gate to the health centre was closed, but there was a guard who asked if he could help me. Inside the health centre it was very light. There were no instructions on where to go.

A short distance into the settlement I couldn’t see any lighting whatsoever. So it was impossible to follow the light. You have to know the place in before in order to find your way. Mr. Haikali said that even if you are used to the area it can be confusing to find your way and added that it’s probably harder to find your way if you are use to another kind of environment. He also said that if something happens, people usually go to their neighbour or to their block leader. He said that he wasn’t aware that it was as dark as it actually was. I experienced it to be extremely dark. It was impossible to see where to go when I was in the middle of the settlement. The landscape is very flat so it wasn’t possible to get an overview of the settlement. All of a sudden someone showed up just a meter from me without me noticing him before and I got scared. It was completely dark. From the new arrival centre I could see lighting at the big school and it would also be possible for me to follow the light to the main road. Along the main road were a few street lights. However, when I got closer to the police station and the main road I was confused about which building was which. Some private houses had lights in them and that was confusing to me as a newcomer. Altogether I was confused as soon as I stepped out of the car and tried to orientate myself. Mr. Haikali told me that the settlement used to be more unsafe because there were gangs that fought each other in both day time and at night, but not anymore. I was informed that the police go on patrol every night. Mr. Haikali didn’t think that there was a lot of crime compared to the number of people staying there. He told me that the refugees are not provided with flashlights and that new arrivals probably need someone to guide them, but the old ones could find the police station blind folded. He also thought that Osire refugee settlement is better than others and that the police take part in most of the meetings in the settlement with all the other implementing organizations.
Appendix 8

Interviews with asylum seekers

I made six interviews with six asylum seekers; three women and three men, all relatively new in the settlement. I used an interview template and in most cases an interpreter assisted me.

Interview template

I do not work for the government and all information that is being given to me, will not be possible to trace back to you.

1. Age, gender
   (Could you show me your home?)
2. Do you live with your family? What kind of house?
3. For how long have you stayed in the settlement?
4. Where are you from? From a city or a countryside?
5. Are you a refugee or an asylum seeker?
6. Do you have a job?
7. Do you have cultivation?
8. Do you feel that you can communicate well with people in the settlement? Why/why not?

9. What makes you happy?
10. What makes you feel calm?
11. What scares you?
12. How do you feel about the future? What are your hopes and dreams?
13. Could you tell me about the culture in this settlement? Are there any unwritten rules or habits?

14. Could you tell me about your experience from when you first arrived?
15. Why did you have to come here?
16. Have someone been given you an introduction and shown you around the area?
17. Do you have friends or family that lived in the settlement when you arrived?
18. When you first came here, did you live in a house of your own, with family or at the new arrival centre?
19. What are your thoughts about the settlement right now?
20. Do you feel safe here in daytime? Why do you think that is?
21. Do you feel safe here in evenings and at nights? Why do you think that is?
22. Do you feel that you can find your way to all the places that are important to you?
23. How does that make you feel physically and emotionally?
24. Why do you think it is that you do/don’t know the area?
25. Can you find your way in the settlement when it is dark? How do you do that?
26. If you want to go to a certain place in the settlement, but don’t know where it is, what would you do?
27. Do you know what organization is responsible for what?
28. How do you know that? Why do you think that you don’t?
29. Do you know in what buildings the different organizations are located?
30. Have you seen anyone walking around in the community with information about the health centre? Have you spoken to them?
31. Do you know where the police station is located?
32. Do you know where the health centre is located?
33. Could you describe the way in words? Could you draw a map?
34. What colour do you associate with a health centre? Why?
35. What colour do you associate with a police station? Why?
36. Could you draw a symbol that you associate with a health centre? Tell me about it.
37. Could you draw a symbol that you associate with a police station? Tell me about it.
38. Have you ever visited the health centre?
   What entrance did you use?
   Did you know where you were supposed to go when you stepped into the building?
   How did that make you feel physically and emotionally?
   How did you find out where to go?
39. Do you know what kind of procedures or counselling sessions that are performed in what room at the health centre?
40. Do you know which nurses or doctors it is that performs what procedures or counselling sessions?
41. Would you feel embarrassed to go to the hospital with a personal problem? Why? Would that stop you from going at all? Why not?
42. I experienced the settlement to be very dark in the evening and I found it hard to find my way around the area. Can you recognize yourself in that? Tell me about it.
43. When I was rather close to the police station, I could follow the light, but I was still uncertain of what building was the police station. Have you experienced that? Tell me about it.
44. Is there anything that you would like to add?

If you have anything that you would want to add, I will be at the UNHCR’s office until Friday and if I’m not there at the moment, someone there will know how to reach me.

**Interviewee 1**

*The interview took place in the new arrival centre in Osire refugee settlement on April 20, 2010 at 9.45-10.30 am. During the interview children were running around in the room, listening and observing. For this interview I used interpreter 1. The interview has been recorded and I also took notes.*

Interviewee 1 is a man that lives at the new arrival centre with his wife and two children. He came to Osire three days before my interview. He arrived with and is also staying with his family. He comes from a city in Rwanda. He was still an asylum seeker who has no job or cultivation. He feels that he can communicate well with others in the settlement because there are many others who speak his language. I asked if it is a problem for him not to know English he answered that he can learn it in school. The feeling of being protected and secured and peace makes him happy. He feels calm when he is given a safe place to stay and feels protected. What makes him scared is when his family is in danger and there is a war. He says that when he will get his refugee status he will feel okay and have another plan for his future. He doesn’t know so much about the culture yet, since he is a newcomer. When I ask if he can tell me about his first impression of the settlement he answers that people communicated easily and were building
houses. He came here because he was afraid when there was a war. No one has shown him around the area; just to the place where he was suppose to stay and the two market places. At the point of his arrival he didn’t know anyone in Osire. He came to the new arrival centre when he first arrived at the settlement. He thinks that the settlement is better than going back to his own country. He doesn’t know if he feels safe in daytime because he is a newcomer. He isn’t afraid at night. He feels safe because so far no one has threatened him or assaulted him. He doesn’t know if he can find his way to all important places since he is still a newcomer. He finds it hard to find his way in the area when it’s dark outside. If he doesn’t know how to find a certain place, he would ask someone to escort him. He doesn’t know what different responsibilities the different organizations have. That is because he hasn’t been here for long and no one has told him. The only places he can find his way to is to the police and to the food distribution place. He hasn’t seen anyone walking around with information about the hospital, but he knows about the hospital. He cannot draw a map of how to get to the health centre, but he can show the way and points the direction. The colour that comes to his mind when he thinks of the health centre is white because he has seen the clinics. He thinks of the police officer’s clothes when I talk about the police – blue. He doesn’t want to draw a symbol of neither the police nor the health centre. He has never been at the hospital because no one in his family has been sick. He does not know what goes on in what exam room or what nurses or doctors it is that perform certain procedures. He would have to ask. He wouldn’t feel ashamed to go there if he had a personal problem because he wants to heal. He cannot recognize himself in my experience because he can find his ways. When I asked if there is something he would like to add, he expressed that he would want better protection.

Interviewee 2

The interview took place in the new arrival centre in Osire refugee settlement on April 20, 2010 at 10.30-11.10 am. During the interview children were running around in the room, listening and observing. For this interview I used interpreter 1. The interview has been recorded and I also took notes.

Interviewee 2 is a 32 year old man who lives with his wife and five children at the new arrival centre. When I talked to him he had been in the settlement for four days. He comes from the countryside in Rwanda and is still an asylum seeker. He has neither a job nor cultivation. He can communicate well with people in the settlement, but not knowing English is a problem and he needs to learn it. The settlement makes him happy because there is no war there and people are not crying. He becomes calm when there is peace, no guns and no death – like in the settlement. He is not afraid here because there is no stress here. He will gain hope when his children are in school, are being protected and have peace. He doesn’t know about the culture, habits or unwritten rules in the settlement yet. Before he arrived he was told that the chief of the settlement is a good person. When he came there he was given a mattress and food to eat. He came there to get peace. He did not get anyone that showed him around the area. He knew two people that lived in the settlement when he arrived. When he first came to Osire he lived at the new arrival centre. He thinks good of the settlement since there is no provocation. He feels safe at daytime because he has not experienced any threats or assaults here. He also feels safe at
night. He is not that familiar with the area and he hasn’t tried to get to know it because he has been tired up until now. He does not like to walk around in the night and hasn’t because he has an eye problem. If he doesn’t know the way to a certain place that he wants to visit, he would ask someone to escort him. If he gets lost he looks for a place that he has passed before so that he can get back on track again. He doesn’t know what organization is responsible for what. It is because he hasn’t received an introduction, he believes. He knows how to find his way to the police, to the food distribution place and to the settlement administration and no place else. He hasn’t seen anyone walking around in the community with information about the health centre. He knows how to find his way to both the health centre and the police station. He can describe how to go to the health centre and did also draw a map. Health centre colours that come to his mind are white and yellow and for the police station colour is green. He doesn’t want to draw a symbol of neither the police station nor the health centre. He has not been to the health centre. He does not know what goes on in what room or what procedures different doctors perform. He wouldn’t be ashamed to go to the health centre because he wants to be healed. He thought that it could be confusing to find his way in the dark, as I thought. If he loses his way he walks back to the place he started at and tries again. I also thought it was confusing to know what building is what and he had experienced that too. When I asked him if there was something he wanted to add he told me that he still is a newcomer. He lives with own family and another family in a room that is too small. He wants to know where he can stay and he wants his children to be able to go to school.

**Interviewee 3**

*The interview took place in the new arrival centre in Osire refugee settlement on April 20, 2010 at 11.15-12.00 am. During the interview her husband was present in the room and by the end of the interview her children came in to leave their school things. The husband interfered sometimes and got into a discussion with her, but I could not understand in what way she was affected by that. For this interview I used interpreter 2. The interview has been recorded and I also took notes.*

Interviewee 3 is a woman that lives with her husband and two children at the new arrival centre. She has been in the settlement for two months. When she left her country she was living in Kivo in Congo. She is still an asylum seeker and has neither a job nor cultivation. To avoid problems she prefers to stay home and doesn’t go out so often. It’s because of her situation and the process that she went through. She is happy for being in the country and in the community where she gets free food, her kids can go to school for free and she can visit the hospital free of charge. That also makes her feel calm. What she is afraid of is a secret, she said. For the future she wishes that God will help her husband and help her get a job and study and that they can leave this place and that her kids will be alright and have a better life. She doesn’t know so much about the culture, since she stays at home most of the times, but she does know that the tribalism is too much. Her experience from when she first arrived was that she was trying to avoid problem with the police and kept quiet. She had to leave her country because of the war. No one has shown her around the area and she didn’t know anyone when she arrived. She came to the new arrival centre when she arrived and has been staying there ever since. She is not yet building a house of her own. She doesn’t know so much about the
settlement yet, but she has heard rumours that the settlement will close. She feels safe during daytime because of the police but at night she feels unsafe because the door and the windows are not so safe. She finds it very difficult to find her way on her own if no one shows her. Not knowing where to go makes her feel uncomfortable. She doesn’t know the area because she has stayed in most of the times to avoid problems. If she goes somewhere, someone might tell her that it is wrong to be there and she wants to stay out of trouble, so she rather stays inside. If someone shows her the way, it will make her feel happy. If she would want to go somewhere, but didn’t know the way, she would ask someone to escort her there. She does not know what organization is responsible for what. The only organization that she knows where it is located is UNHCR because she went there to get her picture taken and the warehouse. She believes that she doesn’t know where the other organizations are located because she didn’t get an introduction and is a new arrival. She has not seen anyone in the community that walks around with information about the health centre. She only knows in what direction it is, not exactly where it is. She knows how to find the health centre. She does not want to draw a map, but she explained the way in words. She doesn’t know what colours she associates with neither the police station nor the health centre. She does not think of any symbols either. She had been at the health centre once and she used the main entrance. She didn’t know where to go, but she saw others sitting and waiting so she decided to do the same thing and sat down. She doesn’t know what goes on in the different rooms at the health centre or what different tasks the doctors and nurses have. She would not be embarrassed to come to the health centre if she had a personal problem because she wants to tell the doctor about her problem and get help to be healed. I said that I thought it was hard to find my way around the area in the evening, but she said that she didn’t find it so hard since she memorized where the warehouse was and went from there. I said that even if I could follow the light in the evening I thought that it was hard to know what building was what. She said that that had happened to her too. She wishes that God helps her to get out of the settlement and gives her a good future. Then she expressed that she is grateful for being given the opportunity to tell me what was in her heart and that she believes that is an act of God that I came.

Interviewee 4
The interview took place in the new arrival centre in Osire refugee settlement on April 20, 2010 at 12.10-12.40 pm. The interviewee asked specifically to be interviewed. At the end of the interview her children came into the room. For this interview I used interpreter 2. The interview has been recorded and I also took notes.

Interviewee 5 is a woman who lives with her husband and four children at the new arrival centre. When I met her she had been in the settlement for 6 months and originally comes from a city in Congo, from a city. She is still an asylum seeker with no job or cultivation. She can communicate well with others in the settlement and she is currently learning English in school. She says that there is nothing that makes her happy. Her current living situation makes her feel calm. Nothing scares her, because she trusts UNHCR to help her. For the future she wants her children to get a good education. She has not yet observed any culture, habits or rules in the settlement in general. Her experience from when she first arrived is that she used to cry all the time, but here she feels happy. She had to come
there because of the war. No one has given her an introduction and showed her around the area. She did not know anyone that lived here when she arrived. When she first arrived she came to the new arrival centre and is still staying there. When I ask what she thinks about the settlement she says that only God knows. She feels safe during daytime because of UNHCR, but at night she does not feel safe because of the way she is living and because it is so dark and there is no electricity. She can find her way around the area because she has been trying to memorize her environment. Knowing the area makes her feel calm. She can find her way around the area because she has been trying to memorize her environment. She can also find her way in the dark because she has been living here for a few months now. If she wants to go somewhere and doesn’t know where it is, she would ask for directions. She doesn’t know what organization is responsible for what or where they are located. It is because she has not had any interest of going there. She has not seen anyone from the health centre with information. She knows where the police station is located. She knows where the health centre is and describes the way orally and draws a map. Colours that come to her mind when she thinks about the health centre is red at the bottom and white on the top. Colours for the police she has not a clue. A symbol for the health centre is a cross, but she doesn’t know for the police. She has been to the health centre and used the entrance on the gable. When she came into the building she didn’t know where to go and had to ask. Not knowing that made her feel that she was missing something. She doesn’t know what goes on in the different rooms or what tasks different doctors or nurses have. She would not feel embarrassed to go to the health centre with a personal problem because she wants to tell them her problem and get healthy. I said that I thought it was hard to find my way in the dark and she had experienced that several times too. I said that at the evening I could follow the light, but I was still confused what building was what. She could recognize herself in that too, but she has learned to find her way better the longer she has stayed. In the end she wanted to add that they have no proper toilets and they suffer from the situation.

Interviewee 5

The interview took place in the interviewee’s courtyard on April 21, 2010 at 12 am -1 pm. During the interview there were some people passing by now and then. Her husband was doing the interpretation. In the beginning he tried to answer for her, but when I asked him to stop, he did let her answer on her own.

Interviewee 5 is a woman who only stays with her husband, but also has two children. She lives in a house that is owned by a member of the Methodist church. At the time of the interview she had been in the settlement for two weeks. She comes from the countryside in Zimbabwe and is an asylum seeker without job and cultivation. She finds it hard to communicate with people in the settlement because there are so many languages spoken. Before she came to the settlement she was trying to learn English in school. She will be happy when she gets employed. She is calm when she can think much. Not knowing the area scares her. Her dream for the future is to have a job on her own and depend on her own. There is a culture from where she comes, but in the settlement there is none. Her first experience from when she arrived is that life is tough here, for example there is no proper sanitation. People here are just sitting and
waiting for their shares and do not work. She herself does not move around a lot. She had to come to the settlement because she was looking for her husband and life in Zimbabwe was very tough. She has not been getting an introduction and has not been shown around the area. When she first arrived she didn’t know anyone. When she arrived at the police station she asked if she could speak with anyone from church and that’s how they got in touch. That was the first and only place they have stayed in. She is currently not building a house of her own. She wants to get to know the settlement now and see what life there is all about and then decide whether or not she wants to move to another place. She feels safe in the settlement in both daytime and at nights because of the presence of her husband and other people. She can find her way around the area because she has asked for directions on her way and that makes her feel not afraid. She can find her way around the area because she asks for directions on her way. She cannot find her way in the dark because she doesn’t know the roads yet and you have to know them in beforehand in order to find. If she wants to go to a place that she doesn’t have the location of, she would ask the woman she is staying with for directions and go on her own. She doesn’t know what responsibilities the different organizations have, except for the police and the health centre and would ask at those places for information on where to go for other matters. She knows where the organizations are located and if she would have a problem she would ask at either the police station or at the health centre for help about where to go. She has not seen anyone with information about the health centre. She knows how to find both the health centre and the police station. She points the direction to the health centre and also draws a map. She does not think of a colour when she thinks about the health centre. When I ask about the police she thinks about the flags and their camouflaged uniforms (1453). She has visit the health centre and used the main entrance at that time. She didn’t know where to go, but read the sign at the door and then the staff instructed her on where to go. She was happy to go there so that she could get help. Not knowing where to go made her uncertain whether or not would get the proper help and made her doubt. Before she went to the health centre she didn’t know what went on in the different rooms, but she read at the sign and found out. She does not know what task different doctors have. She would not be embarrassed to see the doctor with a personal problem. She feels free to discuss her problems and knows that they are professionals and that they are there to help her. She could not recognize herself in not finding your way around the area because when she arrived the police told her about the place. She has experienced not knowing what building is which, as I had. She wanted to add that she wants to know where to build her house and she wants to live with her children.

Interviewee 6

The interview took place in the house of the refugee president on April 21, 2010 at 1-2 pm. We communicated without an interpreter in English.

Interviewee 6 is a man who has no family in the settlement and lives temporarily in one of the churches houses. He had been in the settlement for six months when we met. He comes from a city in Zimbabwe and is still an asylum seeker. He has a job as a builder at a small company called Shouters, which pays 300 dollars a month. He has no cultivation. He finds it very difficult to communicate with people because most of them speak their local languages and do not know English. He feels that some people
are afraid to speak to him in English. At the place he works he cannot communicate with his colleagues because they don’t know his language, so he goes straight to his workspace, does his job, and goes home. Watching soccer and movies makes him happy. He becomes calm when he is in a free cool place and is met with hospitality. What makes him scared or afraid is crime and law breaking actions. His dream is to be someone who is popular. When I asked about the culture in the settlement he told me that there are divisions between different countries or tribes. People do not socialize with people that are not part of their own tribe or comes from their country. You can see it especially in church where people can be ignorant to one another. His experience from when he first arrived was that he didn’t know anyone but it became a little bit better after two months, when he was employed. He had to leave his country because of political issues. When he arrived at the settlement no one showed him around the area. He was with a driver who recommended the settlement to him and dropped him in Windhoek. No one has been given him an introduction or shown him around the area. When he first arrived, at 7 pm. one night, he met a woman who offered him to stay with her, so he did, for two weeks. After that he spent one month in the new arrival centre. And after that he went to church and told them about his problem and they offered him a house of theirs’ to stay in. He is currently not building a house of his own. He appreciates the settlement. He feels that there are many resources. He plans on staying in the settlement for 2-3 years and then hopefully resettles. He does not want to go back to his own country. He does not think it is so safe in the settlement in daytime, but it is better than where he came from. However, he works all day and doesn’t allow himself time to be afraid and think about that kind of things. He has no friends. He is afraid because of the situation. At night it is not so safe, he says, but he made a decision not to be scared and just accept the situation and get used to it. His house doesn’t allow people to break in, but it’s not a good house. It is too hot inside and if the rain comes it will collapse. He doesn’t feel safe in the house, but it’s keeping him warm. He avoids moving around in the settlement at night because he is scared. He hasn’t walked around in the nights because he is afraid. He can find his way around the area and has not experienced not knowing where to go, and knows therefore not know how he would solve the problem. He knows where the different organizations are, but not what responsibilities they have and that is because he hasn’t been informed. He has not seen anyone from the health centre with information in the community. He knows how to find the police and the health centre and would be able to give someone directions there. He also drew a map for me. The colour that comes to his mind when I ask about the health centre is white, white also for the police. He draws a cross as a symbol for the health centre. He cannot remember what symbol the police station has. He has visited the health centre many times and has at those times used the main entrance. The first time he came there he didn’t know where to go, so he asked. That was ok with him though, because he expected not to know and was prepared to ask. He knows what goes on in the different rooms and what different doctors or nurses do. He would not feel embarrassed to see a doctor about a personal problem because he feels that you can deal with problems in life differently and he has decided to do it in a way that means that he would rather get help than let his embarrassment take over. I said that I found it hard to find in the dark, and he recognized himself in that and said that it is hard to find your way without a torch. I said that I was confused about what house was what, but he had not experienced that. He would like to know where he can build his
house and he would want to talk to someone about consultation since he feels that he is not being paid the correct salary. I gave him instructions about how to get a counselling session with UNHCR.

Interpreters

- **Interpreter 1** is man from Rwanda. He has a house of his own, but he was at the new arrival centre when I came there. I have reason to believe that his English had flaws because I had to rephrase myself and some answers from the interviews were exactly the same, which is not likely to be true. The woman who took me there asked if someone could translate for me, since she could not. He volunteered. At one point he said that my question was too hard for my interviewee to answer, which means that he tried to interfere and I do not know in what way he did adjust the questions himself. Sometimes I got an answer that was not the answer of my question, which also tells me that his translations skills were not perfect.

- **Interpreter 2** represents voluntarily the refugees as the ‘refugee president’ in some meetings and has her office next to the settlement administrator’s. She is also a refugee. She is known by most people in the community. She came to the settlement in 2001 and in the mother of two children.

- **Interpreter 3** is the interviewee’s husband.
Appendix 9

Observation

A great part of the observation took place on April 15, 2010 at 9.40-12.00 a.m. I travelled by both car and foot in Osire refugee settlement to get to know the area, accompanied by Mr. Mutwa. However, during my field study I spend a lot of time walking around the settlement to load the area.

At first I was being showed the place where mentally disabled people are staying. They have a person who cooks for them and I saw their small rooms with very low standard, in my preferences. Then we walked to the “New arrival centre”. When we where there, some men were busy making a new floor using sand and water. It smelled awful and I started to cough from the dust. I thought that it cannot be good to sleep there, even when the floor is finished. After that we went to the market, where some refugees did sell second-hand clothes and food. A few meters from the stalls there was a big hole in the ground where they threw all of their garbage: no recycling.

Then we went to one of the schools. There were many desks in the same room and no sound dampening materials whatsoever. There was a green blackboard, but no unessential decorations. At a nearby school yard the students had a break. Some of them were playing and they formed groups, just like in any other school with lots of noise. I noticed very basic latrines and broken windows.

We went to the library and met the nice staff. The locale wasn’t big, but there was a proud librarian with ambitions for computers and so on. He told me about how they are trying to activate the students on weekends so that they do not get involved with bad things. A certain amount of students are allowed there at once to keep the volume down. When I visited the library there was a line of kind outside and also a line of kids in line to take out books. Outside, around the area I saw big water tanks on stands and I wondered if there water is good to drink or if you have to boil it first. There were signs about HIV everywhere and I couldn’t help but to wonder whether it helps. We passed a huge soccer field and I see children playing with a ball made out of plastic garbage. There were fences and guards by all official buildings. We arrived at the woman centre, but it was empty. I meet one of the teachers and noticed three hand driven sewing machines. Women are supposed to come there and teach each other different skills. Next to that was the “Youth centre” and it was empty as well. It was a very nice building with bricks on the floor and curtains and curtain rods: a big contrast to the shelters.

We went to a kindergarten. There was a house with four rooms: one office and three classrooms for children at the age of three, four and five. All children sat outside under a windbreak in rows, waiting for food. They were very cute, but looked unhappy. They waited to eat until everyone was given a plate and then they all said praise together. They were supposed to go home after lunch. I looked at the classrooms, and noticed many tiny chairs. The kitchen was an open fire and a pot. The toilet was a shed outside. After that we went to another school. There was not much in the playground to play with. We drove by an area with bricks drying in the sun and further on to the health centre. A few refugees owned cars but other than that there was not much traffic in the settlement.
In general I found it hard to orientate myself since the area didn’t differ in appearance. All the shelters looked the same. They were made from yellow-brownish sand and had the same colour as the ground. The buildings that looked like the health centre were actually the staff’s offices. The health centre itself was coloured red and white and the police station was light yellow. Some police officers wore camouflaged clothes and some wore blue uniforms.

I experienced the refugees and asylum seekers to be not as unhappy as unfazed and in general they didn’t make use of facial expressions. Their clothes differed a lot in quality. Some of them had really nice clothes and some had worn-out shoes.