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Voice-over: A Deeper Look. Exploring what works and what doesn't in development and the changes we can make together to turn ideas into action.

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Patrick Fine: Hello, listeners. Welcome to *A Deeper Look* podcast. I'm Patrick Fine, CEO of FHI 360 and I'm joined today by Muzabel Welongo, Founder and Executive Director of Resilience Action International, a refugee-run NGO in the Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya. Muzabel, thank you for joining me on the podcast today.

Muzabel Welongo: Thank you for inviting me, Patrick. It's really great to be here.

Patrick Fine: As our returning listeners know, this year the podcast is exploring the theme of a darker side of development. We're looking at paradoxes and unintended consequences of development efforts, the issues that we as a development community often shy away from. Today, I'm pleased to have Muzabel with us because not only can he bring an informed perspective as a person who grew up in a refugee camp, who has interacted with development practitioners and organizations throughout his life. He also brings a youth perspective to the question. Muzabel just graduated from Georgetown University's Walsh School of Foreign Service. Muzabel, congratulations.

Muzabel Welongo: Thank you.

Patrick Fine: That's a great achievement. He's a Congolese citizen who lived as a refugee in Kenya and Tanzania and as a displaced person in his own country, the Democratic Republic of Congo. Muzabel founded Resilience Action International in 2010 to promote education, economic independence and reproductive health among young people in the Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya. Since 2012 his organization has been able to provide functional literacy, English lessons, vocational training to more than 3,000 refugees. Resilience Action also provides information on sexual and reproductive health to more than 8,000 adolescent girls and boys in Kakuma.

So, Muzabel, I'd like to know a little about you and the journey that led you from being displaced from your home in the DRC to living as a refugee in Tanzania and in Kenya. So, can you tell us a

little bit about the journey that took you from the DRC to one of the most prestigious universities in the United States?

Muzabel Welongo: Yeah, it's a miraculous journey. So, I was born in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo. As you know, it's the part that has been really affected by all this ongoing conflict, whether civil but also, you know, with external countries also being involved in the country, and I became a refugee early on in my life, six to seven years old. I went to live in Tanzania. That was the first time I ran away. I lived with my parents for three years of that. We were, you know, juggling between Tanzania and going back to Congo. We would live in Tanzania for a month and then they'd kick us out and we would go back. It wasn't until 1999 when I actually now started living full time in a refugee camp in Tanzania with a foster parent.

Patrick Fine: Who was also in the refugee camp.

Muzabel Welongo: Who was also in the refugee camp, so I got separated from my family, both my father and mother, by this time and I had no other choice but just, you know, join the family and they really took care of me. So, I ended up finishing my primary school in the refugee camp. It's called the Lugufu Refugee Camp. It's in the western part of Tanzania. And, I also started and finished my entire high school in that refugee camp. You know, it's not the typical education system, but I'm still happy that there was, some basis for me to finally build up my career up to where I am right now.

So, I went back to Baraka, which is in south Kivu. The government is saying there's peace in the country. But as soon as I arrived, I started being an individual target because I was involved in so much development activity as a refugee. In Tanzania, I created children's parliament there. I was an advocate of children's rights. I was just involved in so much that for some reason, you know, I was a threat to so many people back home. And, I lived there just four months before I went back again to Tanzania because life was even more difficult than I had experienced it.

And this time, Tanzania was not welcoming refugees. That was 2009. They said we are only taking refugees out of Tanzania, not bringing them in because your government says the country's peaceful. And unfortunately, you know, that policy is still there even now. Tanzania is officially not taking in Congolese refugees.

But, if you look into the past ten years, there's been a lot of war happening in the east of Congo.

Patrick Fine: Now you have the Ebola epidemic as well.

Muzabel Welongo: And, you know, at the end of the day, who are the victims? Who are the people affected here, you know, those mothers and children who are forced to run away.

Patrick Fine: So, you've gone back to Tanzania and it's 2009. The Tanzanians are not welcoming new refugees from DRC. So you then went to Kenya?

Muzabel Welongo: So, I smuggled myself into Kenya, and I lived in Kenya in Nairobi for a few months, then went to start living in Kakuma Refugee Camp. I started noticing the lack of services there. I wanted to advance my education. That was like my first priority arriving there. And, I noticed the first lesson I needed was to adapt myself to the English language, so I started taking English lessons, and this was also the same time I created my organization. So, as I was learning English, we were also providing English lessons to other refugees in the community.

And in 2011, I got accepted into a program run by Jesuit Worldwide Learning to take a three-year online diploma, which gives you about 45 credit hours from a U.S. university. And, I was able to use that with a partial scholarship that I also got from the Jesuits to go to Nairobi and finish my bachelor degree at the Catholic University of Eastern Africa. And so, when I was there, I just kept thinking about just getting done with my education so that I can be ready as a professional, so I started applying to different master's programs. I applied to 12 of them in different places of the world, and I got into two only and Georgetown being one of them.

Patrick Fine: That's great. That's an amazing journey.

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Muzabel Welongo: In Kakuma Refugee Camp there was a total new aspect of life than I was used to from growing up in Tanzania. These two refugee camps are a little bit different.

Patrick Fine: That's interesting. What makes them different?

Muzabel Welongo: So, the one in Tanzania environment-wise, for example, is in a much better, more comfortable climate. In Kenya, it's in a purely arid area.

It's always windy and dusty and, uh, sunny, almost no rain. But also, for that reason, you know, the shelter for example is different. In Tanzania, nothing is given to refugees in terms of shelter support. In Kenya, you build the house and UNHCR puts the roof on your shelter and UNHCR gives you a latrine, a pit latrine. In Tanzania, UNHCR does not give you that. And, also in terms of access to services in general, I feel like Kakuma Refugee Camp is a little bit more oriented towards the self-sustainability or self-sufficiency of refugees, whereas the Tanzanian one is more about you're a refugee. Sit there. Wait for service and do nothing else. A few months ago the government just came out of nowhere ...

Patrick Fine: The Tanzanian government?

Muzabel Welongo: Yeah, exactly, out of nowhere and said there's no markets. There's no opening small shops. There is no riding bicycles. There's no riding motorbikes in the camp. So, bicycles and motorbikes are like, you know, the ... [*crosstalk*]

Patrick Fine: Transport?

Muzabel Welongo: Exactly.

Patrick Fine: Like boda bodas?

Muzabel Welongo: Like boda bodas, you know.

Patrick Fine: Just for our listeners who may not know boda boda. Boda bodas are bicycle taxis, so it'd be a way of earning some revenue.

Muzabel Welongo: Exactly, and the government comes and says no boda boda in the camp. You know, those are like some of the way refugees can earn at least, you know, \$15.00 per month or \$20.00 per month to feed their whole family.

Patrick Fine: Okay, so maybe this takes us to some of the power dynamics. We've talked on this podcast in the past about the way power is exercised often leads to the kind of paradoxes or unintended consequences that we think of as the darker side of development.

So, what's your take on the power dynamics in refugee camps or with refugee policy?

Muzabel Welongo: Yeah, I think the first thing to note is, in terms of the refugee operations or to think about refugee service, there are two main ways I see them. There are services that at the very beginning what UNHCR calls an emergency situation whereby an influx of refugees is coming into one area. And, in this one, there's a lot of power dynamic in play, but in some way you cannot control that because everything is just happening very fast.

Patrick Fine: That's a humanitarian response.

Muzabel Welongo: Yeah, exactly. But again, as you look into this with time, UNHCR kind of forgets to look beyond the humanitarian response as the refugee situation goes towards a refugee city-like life.

Patrick Fine: So, as you have people who are now resettled and they'll be there for the long term.

Muzabel Welongo: Exactly. I lived in Tanzania for 13 years. I lived in Kenya for eight years. I know people who have lived in Kenya for the past 25 years and still most of the services have still been given as if it was an emergency situation, you know, and all UNHCR budgets are approved on annual basis.

Patrick Fine: I suppose the reason for that is because in the international community, so in the host country, Tanzania or Kenya, and in the international organizations like UNHCR, the policy is that this is a temporary situation to help people who are in need until they can go back to their homes. So, there's a reluctance or maybe an unwillingness to treat these resettled populations like they're permanent residents.

Muzabel Welongo: And, you know, the worst part of that part is the reluctance is still there even with the data that organizations like UNHCR and the international community at large controls, right. Whether you're in Africa, whether you're in the Middle East, wherever you go, there is already, you know, a lot of information out there that suggests we should not just treat the refugee situation as if it is temporary.

Patrick Fine: Right.

Muzabel Welongo: So, I don't know really why there is all this reluctance and why we cannot start treating these refugee cities that we are building as more long-term places.

Patrick Fine: I think that data shows that the average time is 17 years and that that time is actually growing longer. So, that data is a couple of years old, and I've even read that now ...

Muzabel Welongo: It could be even 20 years, you know.

Patrick Fine: Yeah, it could be 18 to 20 years.

Muzabel Welongo: Exactly. So, that's what I'm saying. The reason I gave this example of between emergency and nonemergency is because when talking about power dynamics, if we were able to distinguish these two, we could've been talking about two different things. Now, we kind of mix them together, and it's not just the UNHCR. I think it's around the entire system. For example, you know, what is the relationship between an NGO worker within a refugee camp and the refugee that they are serving? The power dynamic is almost as if I would call it an unintentional hierarchy whereby one is, you know, superior and the other one is supposed to listen and the other one is supposed to give or talk.

Patrick Fine: Yes.

Muzabel Welongo: That's one way of looking at it because it might disrupt the way refugees are actually able to contribute because at the end of the day, as a refugee myself, you know, 21 years, there is one lesson that I've learned living as a refugee. Humanitarian assistance and all the services are very important, but they are only part of a refugee community's life. So much happens in a community among the people themselves. It's those connections, those relationships. It is how people support each other during some difficult moments. It's how people build institutions within the refugee camps.

In Tanzania, for example, the refugees are the ones who run the entire education system. Tanzania teaches English and Swahili. The Congolese, they teach in French. So, the entire system, the teachers, the coordinators, the inspectors are all refugees, right? But how much do we help these refugees to ensure that the system that is being built by them recognizes their effort and empowers them to be actually able to deliver these services, not just in terms

of earning because I think when it comes to earning, it's a little bit complicated because of the local policies and labor laws within each country. But, what I'm talking about is how much involvement, how much do we put the refugee on the same table when talking about services that involve them?

Patrick Fine:

So, one of the things I hear you saying is that the way the system is set up now and the way it has evolved over time is one that doesn't really create opportunities for refugees to be self-reliant or maybe it puts obstacles in the way of refugees being self-reliant. Am I hearing that correctly?

Muzabel Welongo:

Yeah, it's that, the ability for refugees to earn something and have a life out of themselves. And I think UNHCR is already realizing this in the past few years, so they're already testing some models whereby, you know, they're putting refugees in the forefront of their own development. But, this is only happening within a very few examples, you know. For example, in Kenya there's this new settlement that is being created. It's called Kalobeyei, and it's like an annex to Kakuma Refugee Camp. This is a totally new innovative area where they're trying to run away from the giver-receiver model and having refugees and host community take charge of their own development. I think this is something that should've been encouraged in the development of refugees since the humanitarian sector started. My hope is just that this will continue and other refugees, for example in the Middle East, will be treated in the same way. You know, so, I just think that countries also that are hosting these refugees are able to allow some space. We've just seen a big success with Ethiopia allowing refugees to be able to work and move freely just joining the ranks of Uganda. This is where I think we should be going when it comes to the humanitarian operations.

And the other point I had is the transparency of things in humanitarian and I think also this is an issue in most development areas. The ultimate stakeholder in any service is the person who is receiving the service. But, I feel like in the refugee and humanitarian sector, the refugee is not always that person told about whatever services.

Patrick Fine:

That they're not told.

Muzabel Welongo:

Exactly. For example, let's just say food, right? We know there is fortified food that refugees receive and this food is calculated a

certain percentage so that it's not always enough in terms of volume, but it should be enough in terms of nutrients that the person receives on a daily basis.

Patrick Fine: Yes.

Muzabel Welongo: But, how much of that information do we relay to the refugees? Where does this food come from? Some of the food is not edible and some of it is good.

Patrick Fine: What do you mean some of the food is not edible.

Muzabel Welongo: So, for example, when you keep food in a container for like two years, right.

Patrick Fine: Oh, you mean it just goes bad. It's bad, spoiled food.

Muzabel Welongo: Yeah, it goes bad. And, I'm not saying this is like the general condition, you know. Generally things are good, but there are cases where you find you need to give people at least some little information. Sometimes, there is like shortages or cuts in services and people are just stranded.

Patrick Fine: So, how do you do that? How do you make things more transparent in a refugee camp where you've got limited infrastructure? What channels do you use that are really practical for informing people?

Muzabel Welongo: Okay, so, in every refugee camp there is a community leadership system whereby refugees elect or appoint their own leaders. In some of these camps, leaders are chosen based on nationality so that this one ethnic group or this one country group has one community leader. And others just based on zones like of a refugee camp. So, like let's say this zone has this community leader and it's these community leaders that are supposed to then be the contact person with the UNHCR or the government and the different other agencies ... *[crosstalk]*

Patrick Fine: *[Crosstalk]* And, do you think that system works well because ...

Muzabel Welongo: It doesn't. It doesn't, because the idea of having community leaders is really great. The only problem is that power dynamic, the unintentional hierarchy, exists so that the community leader only earns a little bit higher hierarchy within the community. But,

toward the agencies or the people out there, he or she is still a receiver of information. He is not a contributor. They receive information. Go tell your people.

Patrick Fine: So, you've talked about the hierarchies of power. You've got NGO workers and then you've got the international organizations themselves, which are employing the NGO workers, who are then liaising with community leaders, who are then dealing with the members of the community.

Muzabel Welongo: Of the community, yeah.

Patrick Fine: Do you see a darker side to the way that hierarchy works in terms of how decisions are made and how people are treated?

Muzabel Welongo: Exactly. It's even more complicated in multinational refugee camps like Kakuma, where you have about 14 to 17 nationalities and in each nationality, people identify differently. For example, if you have a community of five nationalities and you put a South Sudanese community leader in that community, South Sudanese, they don't primarily identify as South Sudanese. They primarily identify with their own ethnic group, so you can divide that again into smaller entities. And, it's so very difficult to be able to meet the needs and the voices of all the refugees.

Patrick Fine: Doesn't each group have its own leaders?

Muzabel Welongo: That was before in Kakuma's case in 2012. That system changed because it became too complicated. There were just too many groups, and UNHCR kind of found it was like kind of being a source of conflict within the community. So, they said why don't you just have multinational community leaderships so you have one zone with one chairlady and one chairman?

Patrick Fine: Based on the country that the person came from?

Muzabel Welongo: No, based on where they live in that refugee camp.

Patrick Fine: Oh, did that work better?

Muzabel Welongo: No, it didn't. It didn't work better because there's so many other things in play: language barriers. There is cultural ... *[crosstalk]*

Patrick Fine: *[Crosstalk]* Tensions between different groups?

Muzabel Welongo: Exactly. Differences that already exists with these groups. But still, it was a much less sophisticated system of community leadership, only if there was a way to actually involve the actual people who were being represented.

Patrick Fine: Right.

Muzabel Welongo: Yeah, so, that is kind of the darker side of it, that I would say.

Patrick Fine: That the people themselves were not being represented?

Muzabel Welongo: No, no, they're not. You know, these community leadership systems are based on the idea that when you elect a leader, they're supposed to represent you so that these agencies and units that does not deal with everyone in the community, and it's impossible, of course, for these agencies to deal with everyone, but I think it has to go beyond these leaders. So, for example, each agency has community workers in the different sectors, so you'd have a youth worker. You'd have gender workers within the community. Part of that work is to bring cases to the attention of the agencies and agencies can be able to solve them. And, part of the work is also just to ensure that people know where to access these services. So, this is also one brilliant side. Most of these workers are refugees themselves. Still, even in that system, that power dynamic also exists a lot.

Patrick Fine: And what are the negative aspects of that power dynamic?

Muzabel Welongo: So, the negative aspect is basically that the refugees are not part of their own development, that they are being left out. You find that many people in the camp then become just idle.

Patrick Fine: The idea of having leadership committees and the different sectoral committees like the education committee or the health committee and then workers who work under the auspices of those different bodies is, I think, well intended to provide people a voice in decisions through some sort of representation. And, what I hear you saying is that for a variety of reasons, those representative bodies, they're not really effectively representing the views of the majority of the people they're supposed to be serving.

Muzabel Welongo: Yes.

Patrick Fine: And that part of the reason for that is because you have different power dynamics that might be influenced by ethnic tensions or might be influenced by language or might be influenced by personalities, but by all sorts of factors.

Muzabel Welongo: Yeah.

Patrick Fine: So, do you see an alternative that would be more empowering for people?

Muzabel Welongo: Yeah, so, it goes back to the emergency situation staff, whereby we should start by, you know, considering refugees as temporary residents of these refugee cities that we are creating and consider them more as residents of wherever they are currently staying, because that is the only way we stop treating them as, you know, subordinates, as people who need to receive services rather than as people who can contribute actively to the own development.

Patrick Fine: Yeah, that's a great insight.

Muzabel Welongo: This goes beyond just the agencies. It also goes to the international community at the UN, African Union. How much do we advocate for refugees to their governments, because you find, for example, in Kenya and Tanzania where I've lived, there's a lot within the refugee convention that these countries have not enacted, or they've enacted but they are intentionally leaving out when it comes to giving these services to the refugees. I don't think the refugees should be left encamped in this structure, whereby as long as you have a community, then you are okay. I think like any other person the refugees should be free, right? They should have that freedom to address issues when they want to address them directly. Right now, you know, there are so many other ways that a refugee young person like me could've made it in life. But, I tell you there's no one who really prepared me for this life here. I was like an outlier among, among the refugees.

Patrick Fine: Right.

Muzabel Welongo: Otherwise, I would just be there believing that everything has to come through these agencies. And, I don't think it's supposed to be that way because as I said, life in a refugee camp is more complex. Just depending on the agencies alone will not be able to sustain life in a refugee camp.

Patrick Fine: Right, so, that's a good message. It goes back to the idea of self-reliance, which is what your organization stands for and works for.

Muzabel Welongo: Yeah.

Patrick Fine: You set up Resilience Action International to respond to the need for services that you were observing in the refugee – in Kakuma. What does it do that distinguishes it from other NGOs that are working in the camp?

Muzabel Welongo: So, we have two ways that we are different. One is refugees control the entire organization. We have a budget of around \$200,000.00 or \$300,000.00 by year right now and ...

Patrick Fine: Where do you raise that money?

Muzabel Welongo: So, we have – we raise money from foundations and contractors and other donor NGOs. That's our biggest source of funding and I do most of the fundraising even when I'm here, just help with writing proposals. We trust the refugees to be able to run the activities. We provide a lot of support in terms of having all plans set in place, whereby everyone knows what is supposed to happen every month. We hire a few professionals to actually support, like, the most technical areas that require a lot of technical expertise. For example, you know, we have a finance assistant who is Kenyan. We recently had a business development person who is also Kenyan. And, they've been really crucial to supporting the work that refugees themselves are able to push within their communities. And, with this then, our priorities are determined within the same community. We go back to the people in the community a lot.

Patrick Fine: How do you deal with the issue that you mentioned around a multiethnic, multilingual group in a zone?

Muzabel Welongo: The biggest issue was had at the beginning was because we were purely a voluntary organization. And, the most people we got on our team, like staff and volunteers, were Congolese. That was the big area. But when we started getting enough funds to be able to hire refugee professionals into different positions, we were able to balance both in terms of gender and in terms of national and ethnic representation. But in terms of the people we serve, so far the biggest population has been South Sudanese, followed by Burundians, Somalian, then Congolese. And, that's because

Congolese are just six percent of Kakuma Refugee Camp. But, we've just completed a pilot in Nyarugusu in Tanzania right now, and there we only serve Congolese and Burundians because those are people who live in that refugee camp.

Patrick Fine: So Resilience Action International is operating in two camps?

Muzabel Welongo: Yeah, we are now operating in two camps in Kenya and in Tanzania and, yeah, we will be expanding soon probably to DRC as well. Now, the other aspect of our work that is different from the other humanitarian agencies is we don't always shy away from areas that the typical humanitarian agencies are not involved in. Our sexuality and reproduction program, for example, has been recognized in the camp as one of the most important work because it's a very culturally sensitive area teaching girls and young boys about sexuality and talking, you know, with openness, just giving them accurate information, because most reproductive health programs that are offered to refugees are focused on abstinence only.

Patrick Fine: Right.

Muzabel Welongo: You know, when I grew up, you know, in my foster family, I had six sisters. All of them, not even a single one remaining, got pregnant before they turned 17, you know, and these stories are there if you go to every refugee camp. You find the issue of teenage pregnancy, teenage early marriage. It's a huge problem, but it's also a silent problem that people intentionally don't want to talk about. And sometimes, UNHCR, you know, feels they need not to really engage in such controversial topics but we ...

Patrick Fine: You're willing to take ...

Muzabel Welongo: Exactly. We've been taken to police. I almost got jailed for that, you know, for giving a Somali girl sexual information. But, I was just proud of that because I think we are able to help many girls stay in school, even with difficult conditions in these refugee camps.

Patrick Fine: Are you distributing modern contraceptives?

Muzabel Welongo: So, we don't distribute because of the politics of the camp, but we refer them to the agencies that is supposed to distribute.

Patrick Fine: [Crosstalk] ... that have them.

Muzabel Welongo: But still, that's one aspect that we really haven't been successful because even the agency that provides these services is also kind of bound within these cultural limitations of the communities, and it's just a matter of asking ourselves what is more important between keeping ourselves within the cultural boundaries and providing these services that are really important.

Patrick Fine: When you cross those cultural lines because you've made the determination that the information is important to the future of those people, then you're really appropriating the decision-making from the community, right?

Muzabel Welongo: Exactly.

Patrick Fine: That's kind of a donor mentality. [Laughs]

Muzabel Welongo: Yeah, yeah, yeah.

Patrick Fine: And, sometimes the reality is that in a rapidly changing world, that kind of top-down action is, is useful or is necessary.

Muzabel Welongo: It is.

Patrick Fine: The alternative could be just let all the teenage girls get pregnant.

Muzabel Welongo: Yeah, but do you know one reason why we've been successful at least so far is because from the very beginning, we involved the community. So, when we trained these adolescents, we also trained parents. At first, there was a little bit of opposition from parents, but we discovered it's because even themselves growing up they didn't know about these things. So, we started teaching them half of what we teach their children. Once they know the data and what is happening in the community but also why this has been happening, how the body of a child changes and what are the pressures, peer pressure and economic pressure that get these girls and what are the effects, most of the response come back to be really positive. And parents, most of them, would want their kids to be, you know, given this information, of course, with some limitation. Always, we always have to make that decision on their behalf as well to ensure that you are meeting the best interest of the youth in these communities.

Patrick Fine: Yeah.

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Patrick Fine: Muzabel, I want to ask you two questions I've been asking all the guests on the podcast this season. So, my first question is what is something almost no one agrees with you on?

Muzabel Welongo: In the refugee work, I always don't agree with the broad definition of "innovation," what people call innovation.

Patrick Fine: Yes, tell me about that.

Muzabel Welongo: There is, there is so much happening to the services that don't always address the core needs of, of what refugees want because innovation comes in with new things or better, better ideas.

Patrick Fine: New ideas.

Muzabel Welongo: I think sometimes innovation is just looking at current ideas, you know, and ...

Patrick Fine: Well that's a great example of the darker side of development where you're bringing in new things that aren't adding value.

Muzabel Welongo: Exactly, yeah. It just helps to just look at what you already have and ask yourself the question, "How can I do it better, working within the same parameters of current operations?"

Patrick Fine: Yes, I actually agree with you about that, so I agree with you on that, but I also agree that many people think of innovation as something that we should aspire to even if it often doesn't add value. So, I love that answer.

Second, can you share with the listeners of the podcast a lesson you've learned through your experience working on human development?

Muzabel Welongo: My biggest lesson that I have learned is that development doesn't happen until the people that are concerned are truly involved in whatever innovations or interventions that we are targeting towards them. That's why my organization works with refugees. We run an entire NGO by refugees. They control our budgets. They control our bank account, but that's just one side of it. But, the other side

of it is whatever you want to bring to the refugees, just have them involved. Have their voice in there.

And, the second thing is, I think accountability is one of the most forgotten things in the humanitarian sector. There is just a lot of corruption that hardly gets talked about, and there is kind of this idea that nothing in the humanitarian sector gets out of the media, right, and that kind of hinders the accountability that should be there, and that's one of the things I've learned, you know. If we want to really change, we should start improving the way we are accountable to the people that we are serving.

Patrick Fine: So, that's another example of the darker side of development, is that, in these well-intended activities to help people in need, that there's also corruption and exploitation.

Muzabel Welongo: Yeah.

Patrick Fine: But, your first point reminds me very much of a quote from Julius Nyerere, who was the first President of Tanzania. And, he said, "People cannot be developed. They must develop themselves."

Muzabel Welongo: Exactly.

Patrick Fine: Thank you very much, Muzabel, for sharing your perspective with listeners of the *Deeper Look* podcast and with me. I've really enjoyed this conversation.

Muzabel Welongo: Thank you. Thank you for having me, Patrick. It was great.

Patrick Fine: And, listeners, thank you for tuning in. Let me know what you thought of the conversation today. We've touched on some fairly controversial topics. Share your comments and feedback with us and leave a review of the podcast, and stay tuned for more upcoming episodes taking a look at the darker side of development.

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