

Assessing Uganda's Approach to Refugee Management

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Abstract

Uganda has what is widely regarded by the international community to be a progressive approach to refugee management, outlined in the state's 2006 Refugee Act which provides refugees with the right to land, free movement, and employment in the country, according to the 1951 Geneva Convention for Refugees, of which Uganda is a signatory. The country's policies and proposed programs for refugees support the integration of refugee with host communities, as well as increased self-sufficiency of refugee populations. The intent behind Ugandan policies is to reduce the burden of support of refugee populations on both the Ugandan government and international organizations working in the country. Thus, Ugandan refugee policies in theory have the potential to be mutually beneficial for all parties involved: refugee communities, surrounding host populations, the international community and the Ugandan state. Refugee management in practice however reveals that these goals are not met as designed. This thesis investigates the Ugandan refugee management approach and, in particular, how Ugandan refugee policies apply in practice, where they fall short and what can be done to address the policy shortcomings for the benefit of refugees and refugee communities within the existing international and state refugee legal framework and funding availability. My comparative analysis of existing settlements and their histories reveals the importance of designing policy that strengthens ethnic and livelihood diversification in refugee settlements, socio - demographic balancing within such settlements, but also ability to access fertile land and proximity to local populations, as these factors play a pivotal role to refugee self-sufficiency.

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1 Introduction

Refugees are a highly at-risk population, often subject to human rights violations within their home countries, as well as in their countries of first settlement, therefore to reduce inequality and promote development in all regions, the rights and needs of refugees must be addressed. Additionally, refugees are both a source and a result of instability in regions often facing their own development challenges, thus the proper management of and support for refugee communities is essential to reinforce greater regional stability overall. Furthermore, refugees are victims of the regional conflicts which they generally have no control over or involvement in, so they deserve the utmost support that the international community and host nations can provide to rebuild their lives.

Refugee numbers globally have continued to increase since the establishment of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in 1950, and the creation of the Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees in 1951, resulting in a need to focus on sustainable ways to promote stability for refugee populations, while supporting the rights set out for them in international doctrines. In a period of global refugee management characterized by the securitization of borders and internment of refugees in camps, it is crucial to think outside of narrow views of refugee management that seek to limit refugee rights and control all aspects of their lives, in order to promote refugee agency and empowerment so that displaced populations are given the opportunity to rebuild their lives. Refugee internment is not a viable solution for displaced populations, and thus this thesis seeks to analyze a different approach to refugee management that promotes fundamental rights to movement and employment while supporting the

development of self-sufficiency in refugee communities, in the hope that doing so will show that it is possible for refugee populations to be recognized as more of a benefit for host countries, not a burden thrust upon them.

This thesis focuses on issues within the field of refugees and development, specifically looking at Ugandan policies related to refugee management. The field of refugees and development covers a broad range of issues, including the debate between the theoretical rights laid out for refugees in the 1951 Refugee Convention versus the realities related to the implementation of these rights, concerns surrounding the integration of especially large numbers of refugees into host societies or their internment in camps that restrict freedom of movement, and the burden of support for refugee populations on both host communities and the international community as a whole.

Over the past two decades, attention has shifted in the field of refugees and development towards more permanent solutions for refugees, including programs that support self-sufficiency and refugees' right to work towards their own development, but these programs are not always as successful in their implementation as they were in ideation. Since the 1990s there has been much discussion about shifting from relief efforts, supporting refugees' short-term needs, to development, supporting long-term refugee needs and capacities to allow them to transform their own lives (Carmichael 2011: 27). Although relief and development have been connected and recognized as mutually supporting, the execution of long-term mutually beneficial solutions for refugees remains a challenge. Considering the difficulty in supporting refugees' rights and self-sufficiency, while respecting state sovereignty and national policies designed to support local populations, not refugees, the field of refugees and development is one characterized with complex concerns without simple solutions.

The research question which the focus of this thesis will be is

“What are the practical impacts of Uganda’s refugee settlement and integration policies and how do they affect refugees and citizens in the country?”

This question allows the investigation of some of the central issues within the field of refugees and development, while focusing specifically on issues in Uganda. Uganda was chosen as a location of study for this thesis because of its record of hosting refugee populations since World War Two, and its relative stability in a region characterized by prolonged conflicts and refugee outflows.

Uganda’s recent stabilization (within the last 20 years) has allowed for extensive research surrounding their refugee policies and practices by scholars, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and international organizations, making it the ideal country for secondary research on the topic. Additionally, the United Nations has jointly implemented programs with the Ugandan Government over the past 20 years to promote self-sufficiency and development of refugee communities, which provides ample regions and populations in which to investigate settlement policies. Furthermore, Uganda has what is generally considered by the international community to be a progressive approach to refugee management, as outlined in their 2006 Refugee Act that lays out refugee rights in line with the 1951 Convention, including freedom of movement, access to employment, and the right to own and use land for livelihood opportunities. Uganda has the basic policies necessary to support the rights of and development opportunities for refugees but is still a developing country that struggles to care for its own citizens, let alone the more than one million refugees that are currently residing within its borders, so it provides an interesting case to study the practicalities of refugee support when faced with challenges of resource scarcity.

This thesis will in part argue that Ugandan policy allows for the integration of refugee and host communities, and supports increased self-sufficiency of refugee settlements, which produces the potential for mutually beneficial policies. Uganda's approach to refugee management provides appropriate levels of structured support, paired with rights for refugees that allow them to work and move freely in the country, which allows refugee populations to begin supporting themselves and become less reliant on international aid, while contributing to the development of regions they are settled in. When refugees are less dependent on international and government assistance, the already cash-strapped Ugandan government is able to provide fewer financial resources to refugee settlements, which is a benefit for them.

I am personally motivated to write this thesis because of the connection I feel with Uganda after living and learning there for four months in 2017. During my time in the country I was inspired by the kindness and hard work of all those around me, some of whom were not native-born Ugandans but who had settled there from elsewhere in East Africa. I am still encouraged by the fact that in a country struggling with poverty, one that is still attempting to develop and better support their own population, there remains widespread acceptance of refugee populations as well as government policy that allows for greater freedoms for refugees than in most other countries of the Global South. In a time when discourse is turning against refugees and suspicion surrounding them is increasing globally, Uganda has taken in more refugees in the past 5 years than ever before in their history and have kept their borders open to those seeking a safe haven despite the financial and resource strain it is placing on the country.

Furthermore, refugees are frequently labeled as burdens on both the international community and host countries, but I refused to accept this characterization of populations

who have just as much drive to succeed and support themselves as any other group of people but are often unable to do so because of policies restricting their rights. I was curious to investigate how refugee populations could benefit the countries they settle in with the hope that doing so could help contribute to changing the negative view of refugees globally. In order to support refugee self-sufficiency, refugees need the same rights as all other humans to work, travel, and be supported when necessary, without being restricted to camps like prisoners, which is why I chose to write about Uganda's approach to refugee management. While Uganda is far from perfect, their policies do allow refugees the opportunity to integrate with local communities and begin rebuilding their lives that were fractured by forced migration. I believe that it is morally imperative to support those who are most in need to the fullest extent and want to discover how this can be accomplished for refugee populations, which has led me to this topic.

This thesis will be as follows: first a discussion of the rights refugees are entitled to in international law and in Uganda, followed by a review of relevant literature related to refugees in general and Ugandan refugee policies specifically. Next, the history and political economy of Uganda and refugee movements in the country followed by a section for all relevant data related to refugee settlements in Uganda. Finally, an analysis and discussion of Ugandan refugee settlement data, concluding with policy recommendations related to refugee management for the country and the international community as a whole.

2 Legal Protection for Refugees

As a point of context for discussion of the rights and realities for refugee populations globally, and those in Uganda, it is crucial to identify the rights provided to refugees by law. Refugees are defined by the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees as someone who,

“owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.” (UNHCR 1951:14)

The 1951 Convention has had universal coverage since 1967 when the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees was adopted to remove the convention’s geographic boundaries. In addition, 148 nation states have ratified the agreement. The 1951 Convention does not only define who can be classified as a refugee, but also the rights that those registered as refugees are entitled to by law. Some of the central rights key to this thesis include: Article 17 providing refugees the same rights as nationals to wage-earning employment; Article 18, the right to engage in self-employment; Article 21, rights as favourable as possible to housing; Article 22, right to elementary education; Article 23, the same treatment to public relief as that given to nationals; and Article 26, the right to freedom of movement within a host country’s territory (UNHCR 1951).

Furthermore, refugees are human beings, and as such are also entitled to rights and freedoms professed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Some crucial rights related to refugee concerns include: Article 3, a right to life, liberty and security of person; Article 6, the right to be recognized as a person before the law; Article 7, the right for all to be equal before the law and have equal protection of law; Article 13, the right to

freedom of movement within states and the right to leave and return to one's country of origin; Article 14, the right to seek asylum; Article 17, the right to own property; Article 22, the right to social security; Article 23, the right to work; Article 25, the right to a quality standard of living that will promote health and well-being; and Article 26, a right to education (United Nations 1948). These rights set out in international law are legally unenforceable because they were voluntarily adopted by independent nation states, but they still remain ideals that should be provided to all human beings and this thesis has been written with a basic understanding of these rights in mind.

3 The Legal Status of Refugee Populations in Uganda

In the past decade Uganda has made significant changes to their laws related to the status of and rights for refugees, resulting in policies that the international community considers to be progressive. Uganda initiated a new set of refugee laws in 2006 with their Refugee Act, which was officially implemented in 2009 in order to align the country's refugee policies with the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees that they have been signatories to since 1976 (Government of Uganda 2006). The 2006 Refugee Act gives refugees a wide range of rights within Uganda, the most significant of which include the right to fair treatment without discrimination, the right to education, the right to engagement in agriculture and commerce as well as the right to access employment, the right to an identity card and travel documents, and freedom of movement within the country (Government of Uganda 2006). The act also designates settlements as areas created by the Minister for Refugees in order to provide temporary accommodation or local settlement and integration, but states that refugees are permitted to apply to live outside settlements (Government of Uganda 2006).

Furthermore, Uganda's 2010 Refugee Regulations commit the government to support the integration of refugees into host communities, include refugee concerns in national development plans, allow refugees access to land use for the purpose of cultivation, and promote the right for refugees to attain citizenship when they become eligible to do so (Government of Uganda 2010). Significant to this thesis is the concept of *Prima Facie* status for large refugee populations, as it has a long history of being used in Uganda, specifically to manage large influxes of refugees from the DRC and Sudan/South Sudan. *Prima Facie* status provides group determination of refugee status, rather than individual

status provision, which speeds up the time needed to process large refugee groups who arrive in Uganda and allows them access to UNHCR and government supports (Jacobsen 2005: 5). The legal rights for refugees in Uganda support refugee self-sufficiency and promote their independence, and these rights are included in central programs and frameworks enacted by the government in partnership with other international bodies to reinforce commitments made by signing the 1951 Convention.

Uganda's first major refugee program came in the form of the Self-Reliance Strategy (SRS), which was created in 1999 as a joint project of the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) and UNHCR (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2004: 29). The program's goal was to "integrate the services provided to refugees into regular government structures and policies... [and move from] relief to development" in order to best promote the empowerment of refugee populations (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2004: 30). The SRS itself was flawed in its implementation because it came into being before Uganda had changed their refugee policies to support freedom of movement and employment, but the ideals of the SRS were upheld in later refugee programs.

The Government of Uganda committed to supporting self-sufficiency for and support of refugees once again in their five-year National Development Plan II for 2016-2020 as a way of best supporting both refugee populations and the host communities that surround and include them (UNHCR 2017 Global Focus: 4). In support of these national development goals, the country also embraced the United Nation's Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) when it was launched in 2017. The CRRF was created by the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants in 2016 and sought to reduce pressure on host countries by promoting self-reliance for refugee populations (Hovil 2018: 11). The central pillars of the CRRF in Uganda include: providing refugees

rights set out for them in international and domestic law, supporting the emergency needs of refugees and host communities, supporting resilience of refugees by promoting livelihood and skills development, and recognizing the potential for additional solutions such as resettlement or voluntary repatriation if the opportunity arises (UNHCR 2018 Comprehensive Refugee Response: 2).

In order to fulfill the goals of the CRRF and Uganda's own National Development Plan II, Uganda has established a Settlement Transformative Agenda (STA) to work towards continued inclusion of refugee needs into national legislation and long-term support for refugee self-reliance (UNHCR 2017 Comprehensive Refugee Response: 6). In addition, in partnership with the World Bank and the UN, Uganda has also created the Refugee and Host Population Empowerment Strategic Framework (ReHoPE) to bring together stakeholders and to integrate humanitarian and development responses to refugee situations in order to best support long-term resilience (Government of Uganda 2017: 4).

The goals of the program, which is slated to be in place for 20 years, are

“to have in place strong and resilient institutions that can deliver appropriate, accessible, cost effective, and affordable services to all people in the refugee-hosting districts in ways that build resilience and self-reliance among both refugee and host communities” (Government of Uganda 2017: 6).

Uganda's varied programs for refugees provide an effective base of support that has the potential to promote self-sufficiency and the development of refugee and host communities.

4 Refugees and Development: Theoretical debates

This section will review literature investigating the issues facing refugees globally, through the broad lens of refugees and development. In order to effectively identify the range of issues pertinent to the study of refugees and development, the central issues in the field will be identified in a hierarchical fashion moving from the general to the specific issues prevalent in academic literature. Additionally, a major point of focus will be on protracted refugee situations and the policies related to permanent solutions for these populations. Protracted refugee situations are those “in which 25,000 or more refugees from the same nationality have been in exile for five consecutive years or more in a given asylum country.” (UNHCR Global Trends Forced Displacement 2017: 22). The subsequent arguments will not look at opportunities for resettlement in developed nations, or efforts to re-establish stability in host nations to allow for repatriation but will instead be looking at methods currently employed to deal with emergency and protracted refugee situations. Furthermore, the focus of the analysis will not be on asylum seekers and the potential rights violations and challenges they face in the international system, but instead solely on status refugees who have been accepted as such by a national government and thus fall under the scope of the 1951 Refugee Convention.

4.1 Natural rights

A primary issue in the field of refugees and development is whether refugees have a natural right to sustenance, which should be provided by either the international community or host countries. Do refugees have a right to food, shelter, medical care, education etc., or are these services and supports given to them out of the charitable nature of the international system? Loescher (1993) argues that

“the global refugee problem is not a humanitarian problem requiring charity, but a political problem requiring political solutions; moreover, it cannot be separated from such international concern as migration, human rights, international security, and development assistance...in reality the major responsibility for providing protection, assistance, and long-term solutions lies with states” (129-130).

Loescher focuses on the point that refugee problems are complex and interconnected with political concerns, and as a result these long-term problems require support from states.

The protracted nature of many conflicts in the Global South leads to refugee outflows that the international community cannot support indefinitely, therefore states must incur some costs for refugees. Loescher also recognizes that international refugee law sets the standards that states agree to meet related to protection for refugee populations, but that these agreements are voluntary and lack enforcement mechanisms if states choose not to follow them (139). He argues that refugees should be provided for and states should contribute but recognizes that states cannot be forced to provide that support (139).

As has been established previously, Article 23 of the 1951 Refugee Convention states that refugees are entitled to the same treatment as nationals with respect to public relief and assistance, meaning that if states are expected to provide assistance including food and shelter to their own people, which human rights discourse dictates that they are, then they must also attempt to do so for refugees (UNHCR 1951). The issue becomes, however, that many developing states cannot provide relief and assistance to their own people, and thus are not able to do so for large refugee populations. Dryden-Peterson and Hovil (2004) state that governments should not be expected to take on the burden of support for refugee populations because they are not always capable of doing so, but instead the international community must provide the assistance to these populations in a sustainable manner that supports self-sufficiency in order to promote long-term support of refugee rights (28). Hathaway (2005) also argues that while states might be willing to

support the basic needs of refugees, they are often unable to do so because of shortages in their own communities, thus necessitating high levels of international assistance (471). As Milner (2014) writes, denial of refugee rights “compounds vulnerability” (155) and thus the international community and those who study refugees are concerned about protections for refugees’ human rights.

4.2 Warehousing versus integration of refugees

Further debates in the field of refugees and development concern the “warehousing” of refugees versus their integration into local populations. One of the UNHCR’s central goals is to support permanent and sustainable solutions for refugee populations, but scholars debate whether these solutions are possible given the widespread reluctance of states to support refugee rights. In terms of viable options for the management of refugee communities, two central choices emerge, socio-economic integration into host populations or socio-economic isolation within camps or restrictive settlements. Loescher and Milner (2008) define warehousing, or socio-economic isolation, as the internment of refugees in camps or settlements and restriction of their movement (30), but there is some debate in literature as to whether settlements should be considered a form of encampment. Bakewell (2014) writes that encampment is a “policy which requires refugees to live in a designated area set aside for the exclusive use of refugees” (129) and that settlements can still be considered a form of encampment because they limit movement of refugees and provide specific land for refugees to settle. Dryden-Peterson and Hovil (2004) also state that some settlements place restrictions on refugees’ freedom of movement, and therefore result in a form of socio-economic isolation from the surrounding community (32).

Schmidt (2003) however references the main characteristics of refugee camps as “segregation from host population, the need to share facilities, a lack of privacy, plus overcrowding and a limited, restricted area within which the whole compass of daily life is to be conducted” (4). In contrast, she identifies the alternative to camps as situations in which refugees have less restricted movements, greater income generating opportunities and a hierarchical system equal but not more restrictive than the surrounding host community experiences (5). Working from this explanation of refugee camps, settlements could be viewed as a form of internment, or not, depending on their specific characteristics and freedoms given to refugees who reside within them. Betts (2017) does not view settlements as a necessarily isolating mechanism because many protracted settlements have integrated into surrounding communities through interconnected markets and economic activities with host populations (115). He writes that protracted refugee settlements have more opportunity to diversify their economies over time, which results in greater amounts of capital and increased freedom of movement and livelihood for refugees, therefore leading to both social and economic integration (Betts: 145).

Scholars have established the negative impacts of internment on refugees (Jacobson 2014, Loescher & Milner 2008, Jamal 2008), including a lack of economic opportunities, resource constraints, and aid dependence, which leads them to support integration as a preferred solution. Dryden-Peterson et al (2004) and Hovil & Okello (2008) reinforce the idea that refugee integration has the potential to support refugee self-sufficiency and allow for refugee engagement in host economies, which would promote longer-term solutions for protracted refugee populations and benefit local host populations. As Bakewell (2014) argues, however, the reality of providing alternative methods of supporting refugees while respecting their rights laid out in the Refugee Convention

proves difficult because of the self-interest of refugee hosting states (128). Loescher (2008) points out that host governments are hesitant to allow the integration of refugee populations into their state for fear that conflict will arise between local populations and refugees (4), which as Kaiser (2006) writes is a central driver of their opposition to this form of refugee support (597). Additionally, Kaiser goes further to identify that states often prefer camps as “the only practical response” to refugee crises because internment allows a streamlined approach to aid provision and keeps refugees centralized in a location that can be more easily controlled by the national government (598). There are benefits associated with both integration and internment policies, for the various participants involved, which makes the establishment of effective solutions for refugee populations complicated.

4.3 Burden of support for refugee populations

When considering long-term solutions for protracted refugee populations, an additional issue that arises is the debate over who will take on the burden of support required to assist these populations for extended periods of time. Clements (2016) writes that refugees are often seen as a burden on host communities and governments who are not able to properly support their own populations, let alone large influxes of refugees (49). Dryden-Peterson and Hovil (2004) also establish that governments largely rely on external aid to support protracted refugee populations, but that this strategy is problematic because international assistance is not consistent and generally flows to the most pressing refugee crises, which may leave protracted refugees with less support (27). They argue that governments facing high levels of poverty do not have the ability to take in large numbers of refugees on their own, and that international actors should be responsible for

funding protracted refugee situations, while simultaneously supporting integrated solutions so that “benefits to host communities of hosting refugees can outweigh the costs, if structures are set up in such a way to promote joint development” (28). Betts (2017) differs in his approach by stating that refugees must not be considered a humanitarian concern because doing so results in long-term aid from the international community which does not promote sustainable solutions (6). He argues however that the market should play a large role in supporting refugees, rather than donors, and that providing refugees with freedom to conduct economic activities will promote their self-reliance and reduce the need for aid in the first place (7).

4.4 Methods to promote self-sufficiency

On the topic of refugee self-reliance as a potential solution to support refugee populations, there is debate in the literature as to how governments and international organizations can best promote self-sufficiency and development in order to decrease the need for international aid. Self-reliance is defined by the UNHCR as “the ability of individuals, households or communities to meet their essential needs and enjoy their human rights in a sustainable manner and to live with dignity” (Schiltz 2018:1). Kaiser (2005) notes that donor governments and organizations are not largely supportive of “care and maintenance programs” for refugees because of their extended costs, but that they have begun to move towards programs to support the sustainable development of refugees through focus on self-sufficiency (352). Amartya Sen (1999) writes that for development to occur, people must have the ability to actively participate in their own destinies and be able to make decisions that support their preferred path to development (57). Sen’s ideas support the capabilities approach to development, which focuses on expanding people’s

freedoms so that they can have the agency to develop of their own accord and is one way of promoting the development of refugee communities (Alkire & Denevlin 2009). Betts (2017) supports a more market centered path to refugee self-sufficiency however, claiming that the focus must be on the economic opportunities for refugees, not necessarily state policies, so refugees can contribute to development through local markets (6).

4.5 Potential for mutually beneficial policies

Whether from a state centered or market centered approach, an additional concern brought up in refugees and development discourse is how to create policies that will be favourable for governments and refugee populations so as to best support both parties. Betts (2017) states that to obtain “win-win outcomes, empowering refugees to be a ‘benefit’ rather than a ‘burden’ and reducing the long-term drain on finite humanitarian assistance budgets” (13-14) host populations and refugee communities must both be supported. He also argues that refugees can benefit their host state if they are able to contribute to the economy and have a higher degree of economic independence, which he claims is the central way to support self-sufficiency. Clements (2016) writes that integrated approaches to refugee management are ideal because they allow refugee populations and host communities to benefit as both international donors and host governments jointly fund services that can be used by all people in a region (50). The literature on Ugandan refugee management expresses the specific issues at play in the field, so subsequent sections will focus on real world data related to refugees in Uganda in order to come to some conclusions about the implementation of policies in practice.

5 Ugandan Refugee Policies: Theoretical Debates

5.1 Ugandan policy formulation versus implementation

Uganda has a history of protracted and emergency refugee situations, and is a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention, which makes it the ideal location to research the specific issues related to refugee management policies. Firstly, there is a debate about how, or if, Ugandan refugee policies actually protect the human rights of refugee populations. Uganda claims to provide certain rights to refugees in their 2006 Refugee Act and 2010 Refugee Regulations which support the 1951 Convention, including provision of land for refugees, and freedom of movement and employment in the country, but what is the reality for those refugees living in the settlements and for self-settled refugees living in the country outside of protected areas? Ruaudel and Morrison (2017) hold a favourable opinion of Ugandan policy, stating that it supports the rights and possibilities for refugees while decreasing aid dependence and promoting the refugees' ability to work and support themselves as they integrate into local economies (9). Clements (2016), also writes that despite past failings with their national refugee policy, Uganda is now committed to protecting the fundamental rights of refugees, in collaboration with international organizations, which will result in more stable and integrated refugee communities in the future (49). Furthermore, The World Bank (2016) states that increased rights and freedoms for Ugandan refugees, paired with integration of support services, while not perfect, have resulted in an improvement in refugee settlements and services for everyone living in affected areas.

By way of contrast, Hovil (2014) recognizes that the government of Uganda, with assistance from the UNHCR, attempted to implement policies to increase refugee self-

sufficiency in the late 1990s, through the Self-Reliance Strategy (SRS), but writes that they were not successful in doing so and that their current refugee policies in reality do not support human rights (492). Hovil (2018) also states that the international community has idealized the Ugandan refugee policy and in doing so have failed to understand the complicated system of service implementation that exists in the country (3). She argues that while the 2006 Refugee Act changed Ugandan policy on record, it led to little change in the management of the settlements as refugees still must receive permission to travel and aid remains available only to those who stayed in the designated settlements (7).

Finally, Amnesty International (2016) states that Uganda's refugee policies have not been successful in leading to self-reliance because central programs like the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF), and Refugee and Host Population Empowerment Strategy (ReHoPE) are not fully funded and thus cannot provide the support necessary for the growing refugee populations and impoverished Ugandan communities (16). A significant portion of the literature on Ugandan refugee policy (World Bank 2016, Sharpe and Namusobya 2012, International Refugee Rights Initiative 2018) recognizes that Uganda has faced difficulty implementing programs to support refugee rights because of resource constraints and difficulty managing a large and quickly growing refugee population, leaving a gap between the actual rights for refugees and their rights in policy.

5.2 Burden of refugees on Uganda's government

Additional concerns arise surrounding the burden of large and growing refugee populations on Uganda's government which is unable to support the majority of their own impoverished population, let alone provide for increasing numbers of refugees. Uganda

has a large population of protracted refugees from the 1980s and 1990s, from around East Africa, but since 2013 has experienced a huge influx of refugees from South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), making it difficult for the government to provide for them without extensive international assistance. Dryden-Peterson and Hovil (2004) argue that developing nations should not be expected to take on the burden of support for refugee populations in their borders, and that the international community should take on this responsibility (28), but this might not be feasible according to Garimoi and De Brouwere (2006) who claim that UNHCR funds are decreasing in light of increasing refugee populations globally (53). On the same issue, Amnesty International (2016) writes that Uganda's refugee settlements have already faced challenges from a lack of funding, leading the World Food Program to cut food rations to new refugee families (23).

Uganda's two central plans to support refugee self-sufficiency and development, the ReHoPE Strategy and CRRF, are designed to integrate refugee concerns into national policy to best support the joint development of refugee and host communities. Considering the fact that both these programs are reliant on international funding however, there is concern that they will be impossible to enact fully without significant international assistance. While Uganda's policy supports the rights of refugees, the majority of programs related to refugee assistance in the country are jointly run by the Government of Uganda and an external organization, such as the UNHCR because the national government does not have the financial capacity to support increasing numbers of refugees. Jacobsen (2002) recognizes that governments are concerned about refugee populations overwhelming their existing support systems and infrastructure, as is the case

in Uganda, which drives their opposition to integration despite international support for that solution and continued reliance on international aid (580).

5.3 Settlements versus self-settlement: integration potential

Turning to the issue of integration, there are differing opinions as to whether it is possible for refugees residing in government settlements to integrate into local communities, or if self-settlement is the only option for them to do so. Carmichael (2011) defines refugee integration as “a situation in which host and refugee communities are able to coexist, sharing with no greater mutual conflict than that which exists within the host community” (38). Kaiser (2005) discusses how the Ugandan government, especially in the early 2000s, opposed any social integration of refugee communities and supported the settlement system because they wanted repatriation as the end goal of their refugee management policies, not naturalization (355). On this point, the International Refugee Rights Initiative (2018) sees settlements as inefficient structures that promote parallel service provision methods and limit the ability of refugees to become self-reliant (17), which forms the basis of their opposition to settlements as a form of refugee management. The opposing argument however comes from Ruaudel and Morrison (2017) who state that “some refugee settlements are closely embedded in the local Ugandan economies, attracting goods, people, and capital from outside their active internal markets”, therefore stating that settlements can be connected to the communities that surround them (9). The International Refugee Rights Initiative (2017) also recognizes that refugee settlements often interact with local populations and markets, which provides some opportunities for local integration (9).

On the issue of self-settlement, Hovil (2018) states that the government of Uganda, in partnership with the UN, ignores self-settled refugees in favour of supporting settlements as the optimal solution, despite the benefits that self-settlement can have for both refugees and the host community (15). The government of Uganda is reluctant to endorse self-settlement in urban areas because they do not want refugees increasing the levels of poverty in cities (Hovil 2008: 79). Furthermore, officially registered refugees who choose to self-settle in Uganda are not eligible to receive aid from NGOs or the government (Hovil 2018: 13), which makes integration through self-settlement less feasible for the majority of refugee populations. Hovil (2008) has also argued however that refugees in Uganda who do manage to self-settle become active in local economies and contribute to Ugandan society through taxes, therefore benefiting their host country (79). The International Refugee Rights Initiative (2018) also argues that “far from being passive victims, [refugees who have self-settled] have taken control of their lives, often without any external assistance” (8) and that allowing this integration into local economies supports refugee self-sufficiency more effectively than government created settlements do.

5.4 Benefits and challenges of integration

When considering the impact of refugee integration in Uganda, it is important to understand the benefits and challenges associated with both social and economic integration in the country. Carmichael (2011) describes economic integration as refugees obtaining employment and access to markets in order to achieve more opportunities for material self-sufficiency (38). On this point, Betts (2017) argues that economic integration is crucial for the development of refugee settlements because it allows them to

bring goods to market and grow their own economic opportunities, which are the main supports for development (66). The World Bank (2016) also sees social integration of services and supports for refugees and host populations as an effective way to improve access to these services for all, while sharing the burden between international organizations and the Government of Uganda (33).

While local integration may have benefits for local communities and refugee settlements in Uganda, it is not always properly supported in reality, which makes self-sufficiency difficult to achieve. Betts (2017) points out that integration is difficult to achieve for some refugee settlements if they are isolated from larger markets and lack appropriate transportation mechanisms (66). Similarly, the World Bank (2016) points out that projects which would support integration of communities in Uganda are often underfunded and thus their goals for refugee capacity-building not fully realized (33).

5.5 Methods to promote self-sufficiency

The Government of Uganda and UNHCR claim refugee self-sufficiency as a central goal, but there are a variety of opinions as to how best promote the capacities of refugees. The current Ugandan strategy is to provide a plot of land within a settlement for all refugee families or individuals who arrive in the country and provide financial and resource assistance so that these refugee populations can farm their land and overtime rely less on aid (Hovil 2008: 78). Although Uganda is implementing some policies to support the self-sufficiency potential for refugees, the concern is that their methods are too restrictive and do not allow refugees the freedom they require to become independent. In practice, Dryden-Peterson and Hovil (2004) point out that not all of the land designated for refugees is arable or suitable for extensive crop propagation, which makes it difficult

for the refugees to support themselves (29). Furthermore, not all refugees were farmers in their home country and are therefore not necessarily suited to become self-reliant in this manner. Betts (2017) writes that self-sufficiency strategies are more successful when there are movements of goods and people into and out of settlements, as well as the diversification of livelihoods to fulfill market needs (121, 145), so any restriction of this movement could prove problematic.

In addition, Ugandan self-sufficiency programs designate five years as the time it should take for families and individuals to become self-reliant and no longer require aid, but as Ruaudel and Morrison (2017) write, this period may be insufficient to see success within the programs because of difficulty accessing resources and opportunities to become self-supporting (11). An Amnesty International report (2016) also argues that it is difficult for refugees in Uganda to become self-sufficient in five years because they often lack access to markets or employment opportunities outside of agriculture, and the ambitious goals of government policies cannot always be met with limited international funding (16). Government policy is only as effective as the reality of the conditions that allow for its execution, and the issue in Uganda is whether these conditions are even a possibility.

5.6 Potential for mutually beneficial policies in Uganda

Considering the large number of refugees living in Uganda who are reliant on international aid, in addition to Uganda's own largely impoverished population, an issue that must be discussed is whether it is possible to implement policies that support both Ugandan government interests and the needs of refugees, in order to accomplish the overall development goals for the country. As Dryden-Peterson and Hovil (2004) write,

historically, the Self-Reliance Strategy (SRS) was implemented in Uganda to not only support the self-sufficiency of refugees, but also to integrate services into local communities, so as to promote development in rural Ugandan communities as well (29). The World Bank (2016) however points out that regardless of the goals of the SRS, it was not implemented successfully in the early 2000s (20). Current refugee policies in Uganda, included under the umbrella of the Settlement Transformative Agenda (STA), which include the CRRF and ReHoPE strategy, are also intended to support “self-reliance and local settlement for refugees, and to promote social development in the refugee hosting areas as a durable solution to the refugees’ problems, while protecting national and local interests” (World Bank 2016: 3). The goal of the STA is a scenario where both refugees and the government can benefit, but there is some question about the actual effectiveness of these programs, which will be investigated through subsequent analysis of the data surrounding refugees in Uganda, both in newly created and historically established settlements, and self-settled refugees in the country.

6 Uganda's Political Economy and History of Refugee Movements and Settlements

In order to understand the contemporary refugee movements into Uganda, it is important to gain context and into some of the country's recent history, since independence, as well as the history of refugee movements in the state. Uganda gained independence from Britain in 1962, which led to a brief period of democracy, and consolidation of power with the central government, rather than traditional kingdoms in the state (Ofcansky 1996: 40). Uganda's president was overthrown in 1971 in a coup by Idi Amin, commander of Uganda's military, who then ruled the country until 1979 (Ofcansky 1996: 42). During Amin's dictatorial presidency, he ordered the expulsion of 70,000 Asians living in Uganda, which contributed to the collapse of the Ugandan economy as Asians were highly involved in business (44). After a period of political instability, violence, frequent changes in Presidents, and widespread resistance movements against the government, Yoweri Museveni, and his National Resistance Movement/Army (NRM/A) seized control of Kampala in 1986 and established the government that rules to this day (Ofcansky 1996). Museveni's government, while not without fault, has supported a period of relative calm in Uganda, despite continued conflict with the Lord's Resistance Army in its Northern regions into the early 2010s (58). Uganda is a republic, and while it holds democratic elections every five years there have been some claims that the elections are not fair or transparent, leading to low levels of political discontent from opposition parties, which has not resulted in significant opposition to Museveni's leadership (BBC, 2018).

In terms of refugees in Uganda, the country has a long history of hosting refugee populations. It must be noted however that specific numbers for all refugee movements

are not available, as the government of Uganda has not kept records accessible to the general public, and the UNHCR has only digitalized records going back to the 2010s, and earlier paper records remain in Geneva. During the Second World War, Uganda hosted 7000 European prisoners of war, along with other Europeans displaced by the conflict, who returned home once peace was established (Ahimbisibwe 2018: 7). The next recorded movement of refugees came from Sudan in 1955, who were repatriated in 1972, but subsequent influxes of Sudanese occurred again between 1983-2005 and since 2013 (which are the refugees focused on in this thesis). In the 1950s Uganda also received refugees from Kenya, as well as in 2007 and 2008 because of political tensions in the country. In 1959 and 1960 Uganda received refugees from Rwanda, the majority of whom were Tutsi fleeing the Rwandan Revolution. The majority of these refugees were repatriated after the 1994 genocide but were replaced by waves of Rwandan Hutu fleeing the Rwandan Patriotic Front, whose numbers were estimated to be over 17,000 as of 2016. Finally, Uganda also began receiving refugees from the DRC in the 1950s and 60s as violence began in the neighbouring country after independence (Ahimbisibwe, 2018: 8). Many of these refugees were repatriated in 2000, but subsequent violence, particularly in the Eastern regions of the DRC has resulted in over 300,000 refugees fleeing to Uganda between 2010-2018. In addition to the afore mentioned refugee influxes, since the 1990s Uganda has also received refugees from Burundi, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Eritrea, resulting in a diverse refugee population throughout the country.

7 Assessment of Ugandan policies: Potential, Reality, Gaps and Needs

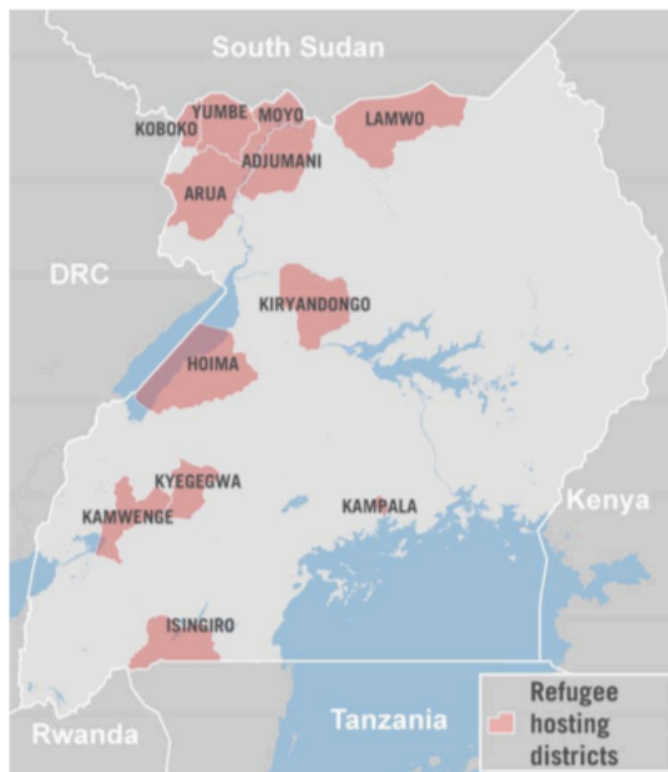
7.1 Contextual and background information on Uganda

In order to best analyze the potential and reality of Ugandan refugee policies it is crucial to set the context within which these policies operate, as it allows for clearer comprehension of the data related to refugee policy to come. Uganda is a nation in the Great Lakes Region of East Africa, with a population of 40.8 million people as of July 2018 (The Central Intelligence Agency 2019). The country's population is young, with nearly 50% being between the ages of 0-14 and rapidly growing, with an average birthrate of 5.8 children per woman (The Central Intelligence Agency 2019). The majority of Uganda's population, 72%, are employed in the agriculture sector, which makes up an estimated 28.2% of the total GDP in the country. Despite steadily growing GDP rates, which reached 4.8% in 2017, the country still faces a 9% unemployment rate and 21.4% of their population live below the poverty line (The Central Intelligence Agency 2019). Uganda has an urban population that makes up 23.8% of its population, but the remainder of the population is largely concentrated in the more arid rural South West regions of the country along the shore of Lake Victoria and Lake Albert (The Central Intelligence Agency 2019). The Northern regions of the country, particularly the North East, have historically been the least populated regions of the country, but the North West has seen increasing population density since 2011 due to high numbers of refugees settling along the border with South Sudan (The Central Intelligence Agency 2019).

Sub-Saharan Africa hosted an estimated 1/3 of the total global refugee population as of 2017 and Uganda was home to the third largest refugee population with 1.5 million

refugees (Global Trends 2017: 13), which has since decreased to just under 1.2 million refugees as of December 2018 (The UN Refugee Agency 2019). The majority of refugees in Uganda are from South Sudan, making up 66.3% of the total refugee population, with the second largest group being those from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) with 26.3% of the total population (The UN Refugee Agency 2019). The country has 31 official refugee settlements, the majority in 12 districts throughout the country living with or near Ugandan communities (The UN Refugee Agency 2019).

Map 1: Reference map of Uganda with affected refugee hosting districts



(REACH 2018: 4)

7.2 Financial requirements of refugee support

Supporting 1.2 million refugees is a significant financial imposition on the Government of Uganda, however the refugees are largely supported by the UNHCR who

takes on the majority of costs associated with settlement support and management. For purposes of clarity, all financial figures included in the following sections, unless otherwise stated, will be US Dollars (USD). Globally, the UNHCR spends \$300 million per year on shelter programs and \$670 million on non-food items (NFIs) to support refugee populations, which goes to the 3.4 million refugees in 420 planned UNHCR settlements globally (UNHCR 2018 Global Appeal: 164). In Uganda, the UNHCR has stated the need for \$869.7 million to support their Refugee Response Plans (RRPs) for South Sudan, the DRC and Burundi, but as of September 2018 they were only 42% funded with \$415.2 million in financial commitments (UNHCR 2018 Operational Update Uganda). For Uganda, the United Nations Development Plan (2017) estimates that the cost to the Ugandan Government for hosting a refugee yearly is approximately \$277 (per refugee), which totals over \$323 million for the refugee population in its entirety (11). Furthermore, the Government of Uganda (2017) stated that the financial requirements for the global Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) would be \$8 billion over the 2017-2020 period for a multi-stakeholder approach, to support both immediate humanitarian needs and also to fund efforts to support long-term refugee resilience (4). The CRRF has faced chronic underfunding however, with financial commitments less than 50% of what has been asked for, making it difficult to fully implement programming proposed in the framework.

The shortage of funding for refugees in Uganda meant that in 2016 the World Food Program (WFP) was forced to decrease food assistance to refugees, and cut their rations in half, in order to deal with increased demand from refugee influxes (UNHCR 2017 Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework: 11). By 2017 over 200,000 refugees who had been in Uganda since 2015 were still receiving half rations. Additionally,

because Uganda operates on the 70-30 principle, meaning 70% of international assistance goes to refugees while 30% goes to host populations, funding shortages are not only impacting refugee communities, but also host communities who are facing resource stress from the increasing numbers of refugees (UNHCR 2017 Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework: 19). These funding shortages generally affect the longer-term resiliency goals of Ugandan refugee policies because these endeavours come after emergency support for refugee populations. There are a total of 7 million people (refugees and Ugandans) living in the 12 refugee hosting districts, and of this population 2.7 million are classified as poor, making it crucial to have policies that can support their economic development and social supports, but that cannot occur without significant funding (Government of Uganda 2017: 4). Furthermore, from July 2016 to present, Uganda received over a million new refugees, peaking in 2017 with a total refugee population of 1.5 million, which has since decreased to 1.2 million, placing a strain on the UNHCR and government of Uganda's ability to deal with the creation and support of emergency refugee settlements effectively (UNHCR 2019).

7.3 Settlement and self-settlement

In Uganda, 80% of refugees are hosted in settlements, while the remaining population are in transit centres awaiting processing and assignment to a settlement or have self-settled in cities or other towns outside of official government settlements (United Nations Uganda, World Bank 2017: 5), which provides the opportunity to discuss the policies governing both options for refugees and how they allow for possible integration into Ugandan society.

In September 2016, an estimated 11% of refugees had self-settled in Uganda, but these figures are difficult to establish accurately because refugee populations have been increasing rapidly and there is no monitoring of refugee populations who leave settlements (Ruaudel 2017: 1). The lack of assistance given to refugees once they leave settlements is the primary reason why there are low numbers of urban or self-settled refugees. As one refugee woman interviewed stated “the problem with staying out of the camp is that one has to cater for one’s self from accommodation to feeding- there is no assistance. The person has to rent and get means for getting food, which is very difficult.” (International Refugee Rights Initiative 2018: 17). Often times, refugees only leave settlements if they have something extra to support themselves, whether it be money or family support of some kind. Refugees are free to relocate in Uganda but doing so is easier with an official traveling permit from the Office of the Prime Minister, which are given primarily to those who can prove that they have means of supporting themselves outside of the settlement (International Refugee Rights Initiative: 19). A study by Dryden-Peterson and Hovil in 2004, however, showed that despite facing difficulties, self-settled refugees were able to embrace more varied economic opportunities and in turn, local tax bases increased, showing that refugees could positively impact local economies (32).

In terms of refugee settlements, refugees receive official assistance from the UNHCR while residing within designated settlement areas. Upon first arrival refugees are registered and assigned to a settlement where they are supposed to be provided with a section of land for both living and cultivation (measuring 30 m² and 50m² respectively) but due to the rapid influx of refugees since late 2016 not all refugee families have received this minimum land allocation, and some refugee families already living in

settlements have had the size of their land cut to provide for new refugees (Amnesty International 2016: 17). Decreasing plot size has made it increasingly difficult for refugees to survive on their land, making the promotion of self-sufficiency and reduction of aid dependence challenging (Amnesty International 2016: 25). In the case of Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, established in 2005 in Western Uganda, refugees were provided with plots of land measuring 100 by 50m² until mid 2017 when an influx of refugees from the DRC resulted in a decrease in plot size to 30x30m² by January 2018 (REACH 2018: 56). As a result of these land changes, 50% of refugees in Kyaka reported no access to land for cultivation, despite the fact that they are entitled to it by Ugandan policy (REACH 2018: 56).

Refugee settlements provide access to health care facilities and schools, and allow refugees to receive food rations, but growing refugee populations paired with increased funding gaps have also made these services less reliable. The World Food Program (WFP) has a policy of providing full food rations to refugees in settlements for the first three years they live in Uganda, and then half rations for their next two years in the country, in order to support their transition to self-sufficiency, but a \$60 million funding deficit has led to the agency having to prematurely cut food rations for refugee communities in the country (Amnesty International 2016: 23). Despite the challenges that decreased aid places on refugee settlements, 43% of refugee populations are engaged in local labour markets, either formally or self-employed (World Bank 2016: 36), and only 1% of refugee populations are entirely dependent on aid, meaning that refugee populations are somewhat self-reliant (Clements 2016: 50). Regardless of challenges facing refugee populations in Uganda, the freedoms provided to them do allow for the possibility of integration into local communities.

7.4 Refugee integration

For both self-settled refugees and those living in government settlements, it is important to consider how Ugandan policy has allowed for integration into local communities and what the impacts of these connections have been. Self-settled refugees are forced to become self-sufficient, often through small business, because they lose access to government and UNHCR assistance when they leave settlements (REACH 2018: 93). As Betts (2017) writes, not only do urban refugees have greater access to markets and expanded economic activities because of their location, but on average 21% of refugees who own businesses in Uganda hire outside of their family, which contributes to economic opportunities for both refugees and Ugandans (91). The International Refugee Rights Initiative (2018) has also stated that despite concerns about self-settled refugees struggling without aid, they “have managed to live in areas in which they felt more secure and engaged in the local economy. Far from being passive victims, they have taken control of their lives, often without any external assistance” (8). Ugandan polices, while not directly supporting self-settled refugees, do allow them the freedom to venture out of settlements if they see fit, which creates the opportunity agency to flourish and populations to become self-sufficient.

There is also evidence that integration between settlements and neighbouring host communities is common and beneficial for both parties. Nakivale settlement, founded in 1959 and Kyangwali Settlement, founded in 1989, provide data to investigate the connection between refugee populations and local host communities. Betts (2017) has studied the settlements extensively and has written that both have an abundance of economic activity, with markets used by both refugees, local community members and middle men who travel between the settlements and the regional centres to facilitate trade

on a larger scale (115). The growth and protracted nature of both settlements has allowed them to stimulate trade in relatively remote regions, where previously there were a lack of market opportunities. As Omata (2013) argues, these refugee settlements are connected to regional and district economies, and their diverse soils have allowed for the development of extensive agriculture activities (20). Furthermore, Betts (2014) points out that although 90% of business owners in both settlements do not leave the settlement to conduct business, they are not isolated from the larger Ugandan community because settlements are open for Ugandans to visit and conduct trade, which they do frequently (11).

Nakivale was created to house Rwandan refugees and is located in Southern Uganda near the border with Tanzania, an hour drive from the Isingiro district capital (Betts 2017: 110). The settlement is 100km² and is currently home to a diverse group of refugees, including people from Rwanda, the DRC and Burundi (Betts 2017: 110). A 2018 survey of settlement households revealed that 86% of refugees had lived in the settlement for more than 2 years and only 3% had lived there for less than 6 months (REACH 2018 Multi-Sector Needs Assessment: Nakivale: 1). The primary sources of income in Nakivale were measured as 71% agriculture, 65% casual labour and 22% small business, and 63% of households surveyed reported that they had access to local markets by walking (REACH 2018 Multi-Sector Needs Assessment: Nakivale: 2), showing connections outside of the settlement, as well as diversified livelihood endeavors. For future reference, income and other categories measured by REACH allow for multiple responses to one question, hence why the given percentages do not add up to an even 100%.

Kyangwali was created to house Rwandan and Congolese refugees and is located in Western Uganda near Lake Albert. The settlement is 90km² and is also an hour drive

from the district hub of Hoima (Betts 2017: 111). The settlement currently houses primarily refugees from the DRC (86%) but also from South Sudan (10%) and Sudan (2%) (REACH 2018 Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Kyangwali: 1). In 2018 a survey of the settlement inhabitants showed that 74% of refugees had lived there for more than two years, while 14% had lived there for less than six months (REACH 2018 Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Kyangwali: 1). Kyangwali's primary livelihood is also agriculture (68%) followed by casual labour (16%) and livestock (10%), and 54% of refugees surveyed reported access to local markets (REACH 2018 Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Kyangwali: 2). As with Nakivale, despite its isolated location away from central markets, Kyangwali still sees high levels of trade and interactions with local communities and supply chains (Betts 2014: 13).

Evidence from Nakivale and Kyangwali show that it is possible to have settlements integrated into local district economies, and while not all regions or districts have the same level of economic integration, these two cases exemplify the possibility for market economies to develop over time if refugee populations are allowed to work and travel for the benefit of their own livelihoods, which is permissible under Ugandan policy. Considering the evidence that integration allows for economic opportunity, it is crucial to consider how Ugandan policy also allows for greater self-sufficiency through these greater economic possibilities.

7.5 Refugee self-sufficiency

Self-sufficiency is the primary goal of Ugandan refugee policy because its accomplishment would reduce the burden of support for both the government and international organizations, while supporting refugee populations to become less reliant

on international aid. Some of Uganda's settlements have higher levels of self-sufficiency than others, allowing the analysis of the potential successes and pitfalls of the national refugee policy.

Kyangwali and Nakivale Settlements, discussed previously, provide evidence of the crucial elements of success related to refugee self-reliance in Uganda. In Kyangwali, agriculture was the highest reported income source (REACH Multi-sector Needs Assessment Kyangwali 2018: 1), and the top three food sources were purchasing it with cash (42%), personal production (26%) and food distribution (22%), while 86% of households were reported as having an acceptable food consumption score (FCS)- a number calculated by the world food program based on the frequency of consumption of different food types (REACH Multi-sector Needs Assessment Kyangwali 2018: 4). Additionally, of refugees who had been living in the settlement for less than one year, 50% relied on humanitarian aid compared to 17% of those who had been living there for more than one year (REACH Multi-sector Needs Assessment Kyangwali 2018: 4), showing decreased aid dependence over time. This data from Kyangwali does not prove total refugee self-reliance however as 52% of households self-reported not having access to sufficient food in the seven days prior to data collection (REACH Multi-sector Needs Assessment Kyangwali 2018: 4), 72% stated that their land was not sufficient to provide adequate food for their household, although 70% had access to agricultural land (REACH Multi-sector Needs Assessment Kyangwali 2018: 2), and 42% referenced receiving humanitarian aid as their primary livelihood coping strategy (REACH Multi-sector Needs Assessment Kyangwali 2018: 2). The settlement did however see an increase in agricultural production and reduction in levels of humanitarian

assistance required over time for refugee families, which shows steps towards self-sufficiency.

In Nakivale Settlement, agriculture was also the highest reported income source (REACH Multi-sector Needs Assessment Nakivale 2018: 2) and household agriculture production was reported as the primary method of obtaining food (36%), followed by purchasing food with cash (34%) and food distribution (15%) (REACH Multi-sector Needs Assessment Nakivale 2018: 4). Of households in the settlement, those who had been there for less than one year relied on humanitarian aid more than those who had lived there for more than a year (21% versus 15%) and 88% of households had acceptable FCS (REACH Multi-sector Needs Assessment Nakivale 2018: 4). As with Kyangwali however, 77% of households self-reported having insufficient access to food prior to data collection (REACH Multi-sector Needs Assessment Nakivale 2018: 4) and 75% reported that their land did not provide sufficient food for the household, although 83% had access to agricultural land (REACH Multi-sector Needs Assessment Nakivale 2018: 2), which shows that refugees still struggle to support themselves fully. Furthermore, 67% of refugees referenced receiving humanitarian aid as their primary livelihood coping strategy (REACH Multi-sector Needs Assessment Nakivale 2018: 2).

In order to investigate all regions of the country, it is important to include data from older refugee settlements in the North West regions of Uganda. Mungula I/II Settlement was established in 1996 and 100% of its refugees are from South Sudan, 84% of whom who have been living in the settlement for more than two years, 8% for 1-2 years, 3% for 7-11 months, and 5% for less than 6 months (REACH Multi-sector Needs Assessment Mungula I/II 2018: 1). The primary income source in the settlement is remittances (58%) followed by small business (29%) and casual labour (28%) (Reach

Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Mungula I/II 2018: 2). The central coping strategies referenced by refugee households were borrowing money (35%), spending savings (31%) and support from family or friends (27%) (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Mungula I/II 2018: 2), while the number of households relying on aid was 62% for those who had been living in the settlement for less than one year and 39% for those who had been living there for more than a year (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Mungula I/II 2018: 4). 80% of households had access to agricultural land, but 76% referenced that this land was not sufficient to grow food for their family (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Mungula I/II 2018: 2). The primary sources of food in the settlement were recorded as purchasing with cash (53%) followed by food distribution (41%) and local food assistance (2%), and 85% of households had acceptable FCS, followed by 13% borderline and 2% poor (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Mungula I/II 2018: 4). When asked to self-report, 60% of households stated that they lacked access to sufficient food (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Mungula I/II 2018: 4).

An additional settlement in the North West region is Baratuku, which was established in 1991 and also has 100% of its population from South Sudan (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Baratuku 2018: 1). Of households surveyed, 61% lived in the settlement for more than two years, 35% for 1-2 years, 3% for 7-11 months, and 1% for less than 6 months (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Baratuku 2018: 1). The settlement's primary income source is casual labour (24%), followed by agriculture (22%) and remittances (19%), and the main coping strategies were the sale of assistance items (37%), support from friends/family (25%) and spending savings (23%) (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Baratuku 2018: 2). 64% of the settlement has access to agricultural land, but 67% said that this land is not sufficient to provide food for their

families (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Baratuku 2018: 2) as food distribution is the top source of food (92%) followed by purchasing with cash (5%) and local food assistance (2%) (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Baratuku 2018: 4). 65% of households received acceptable FCS, followed by 31% borderline, and 4% poor, and 65% of households self-reported as not having access to sufficient food (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Baratuku 2018: 4). As an outlier in older settlements thus far, 50% of households living in the settlement for less than one year relied on international aid compared to 93% who had been living in the settlement for more than one year (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Baratuku 2018: 4). This analysis of data from older refugee settlements sees somewhat higher indicators of self-sufficiency in most settlements, but there is still evidence of refugee populations struggling to support themselves, especially in Baratuku, showing that there are a variety of outcomes in settlements that must be addressed further.

As a contrast to older refugee settlements, Palabek Settlement established in 2017 (UNHCR Uganda Refugee Response Monitoring Palabek 2018: 1), Agojo established in 2016 (UNHCR Uganda Refugee Response Monitoring Agojo 2018: 1), and Bidibidi established in 2016 (UNHCR Uganda Refugee Response Monitoring Bidibidi 2018: 1), are some of the newest refugee settlements in Uganda. These three settlements are all in Uganda's North West region, bordering South Sudan, and 100% of their populations are South Sudanese refugees, the majority of whom have been in Uganda for less than six months to two years.

Palabek Settlement has the highest number of new refugees with 62% of refugees living there for between 1 and 2 years, 24% of refugees living there for between 7 and 11 months, and 14% of refugees living there for less than 6 months (Reach Multi-Sector

Needs Assessment Palabek 2018: 1). The primary income sources recorded were selling natural resources (63%), agriculture (58%) and small business (51%), while the central coping strategies used by households were selling assistance items received (50%), support from friends/relatives (37%) and borrowing money (32%) (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Palabek 2018: 2). Although 81% of households had access to agricultural land, of those interviewed, 81% also stated that their land could not provide sufficient food to support their family (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Palabek 2018: 2). Furthermore, despite the fact that 82% referenced food distribution as their primary source of food, followed by purchasing with cash (7%) and gifts from family and friends (5%), 72% of households were labeled as having acceptable FCS, 26% as borderline and 2% as poor and 64% of households self-reported not having access to enough food (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Palabek 2018: 4). Finally, 85% of those who had been living in the settlement for less than one year relied on humanitarian aid, compared to 80% who had been living there for more than a year (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Palabek 2018: 4).

Of Bidibidi's population, 94% of refugees have lived in the settlement for between 1 and 2 years, 2% of refugees have lived in the settlement for 7-11 months, and 4% of refugees have lived in the settlement for less than 6 months (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Bidibidi 2018: 1). The primary income source in the settlement was recorded as agriculture (35%), followed by casual labour (24%), and selling natural resources (23%), while the primary coping strategies were selling assistance items (47%), borrowing money (20%) and being supported by family and friends (17%) (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Bidibidi 2018: 2). Of households surveyed, 67% had access to agricultural land, but 73% reported that this land did not provide sufficient food for their

family (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Bidibidi 2018: 2). The primary source of food came from food distribution (87%) followed by purchasing food with cash (5%) and local assistance (2%), but 84% of households had acceptable FCS, followed by 8% borderline and 8% poor, while 76% of households reported not having access to sufficient food for their families (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Bidibidi 2018: 4). Of refugees who had been in the settlement for less than one year, 94% relied on humanitarian aid, compared to 86% for those who had been living in the settlement for more than one year (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Bidibidi 2018: 4).

Finally looking at Agojo Settlement, 2% of the population had been living there for more than two years, 94% of the population had been living there for between one and two years, and 4% of the population had been living there for 7-11 months (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Agojo 2018: 1). The settlement's primary income source was recorded as selling natural resources (60%) followed by casual labour (26%) and small business (15%) and the primary coping strategies were selling assistance items (37%), spending savings (32%) and receiving humanitarian aid (17%) (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Agojo 2018: 2). In the settlement 60% of households had access to agricultural land, but 63% stated that the land did not provide sufficient food (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Agojo 2018: 2), and 61% reported not having access to sufficient food (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Agojo 2018: 4). The primary food sources were food distribution (89%), purchasing food with cash (8%) and own production (1%), while 71% of households had acceptable FCS and 29% borderline (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Agojo 2018: 4). Refugees who had been living in the settlement for less than one year reported 100% reliance on humanitarian aid

compared to 89% for those who had been living there for more than a year (Reach Multi-Sector Needs Assessment Agojo 2018: 4).

Additional demographic factors must also be considered when analyzing the self-sufficiency potential demonstrated by certain settlements when compared to others. All the settlements previously discussed have similar gender and age breakdowns, with between 61-72% of the population being children under the age of 17, 23-35% being adults between the ages of 18 and 59 (generally more adult females than adult males), and 3-7% being elderly (60+). Where the settlement populations differ however is in the gender distribution of heads of households. In Nakivale, 49% of households are headed by females and 51% headed by males, and in Kyangwali 47% of households are headed by females and 53% are headed by males. In the North West Region however, there are a higher proportion of households headed by women, with 81% in Mungula, 79% in Baratuku, 64% in Bidibidi, 84% in Agojo, and 75% in Palabek. Additionally, with the exception of Agojo (with 5.5 members), settlements in the North West Region also have larger family sizes with an average of 6.1 members for Palabek, 6.9 for Bidibidi, 7.2 for Baratuku, and 8.6 for Mungula, compared to 5.6 members for Nakivale and 5.5 members for Kyangwali. Furthermore, settlements in the Southern regions of Uganda tend to have a lower percentage of households with unaccompanied or separated children with 15% for Nakivale and 36% for Kyangwali, compared to 42% for Baratuku, 45% for Agojo, 60% for Palabek and Mungula, and 62% for Bidibidi. While these correlations are not exhaustive proof, nor representative of all refugee settlements, they do show a connection between smaller families, less unaccompanied children, and more equal gender distribution of heads of households, with greater levels of self-sufficiency.

There is some evidence to suggest greater levels of self-sufficiency in some refugee settlements over others, and while it is not enough to prove absolutely that Ugandan refugee policy supports the development of self-reliant communities, it does allow for some assumptions and explanations of why some settlements are more suited to support themselves than others. There are commonalities with Nakivale and Kyangwali that set them apart from settlements that are less self-sufficient. Both settlements were established earlier in Uganda's history, and thus have had a longer period of time in which to allow refugees communities to develop and integrate with local populations, providing the opportunity to increase economic and market opportunities. Furthermore, the settlements are also more ethnically diverse than homogenous, with populations from three different countries, which can support the diversification of livelihoods, leading to a greater range of income sources. Additionally, the settlements also have smaller family sizes, fewer unaccompanied children, and mostly equal numbers of male and female headed households, suggesting more complete family structures that can be viewed as more stable and productive, especially considering the fact that both settlements have agriculture as their primary income source, which is labour intensive. The Western and Southern regions of Uganda also tend to be more fertile and hospitable to productive agriculture, which makes it easier for refugee populations to grow food and support themselves. The combination of these factors supports the idea that refugees in Nakivale and Kyangwali are more likely to be resilient and therefore have higher levels of self-sufficiency than settlements in the North West region of Uganda.

Agojo, Bidibidi, Mugula, Bakaru, and Palabek face additional challenges that make it more difficult for their populations to become self-reliant. The settlements tend to have larger families, and significantly more unaccompanied children and single-mother

headed households, which makes stability and economic productivity more difficult to achieve. Additionally, not only are the settlements in a less agriculturally productive region of Uganda, but because of the rapid influx of refugees from South Sudan into the region, they also have less access to agricultural land with which to support themselves. Furthermore, the settlements are entirely culturally homogenous, with the entirety of their population from South Sudan, which is reason behind the high numbers of single-mothers as 80% of the refugees fleeing South Sudan are women and children (UNHCR Operational Portal South Sudan 2019).

Despite the slight increase in self-reliance for some settlements, Uganda's refugee populations as a whole are still struggling to support themselves and rely on international assistance to do so, despite policies designed to promote self-sufficiency. Some of the central issues with Uganda's agriculturally based approach to self-reliance are that the country lacks appropriate finances to both support emergency service provision and provide for training and development programs that would support the diversification of refugee livelihoods and the success of their agricultural endeavors (Svedberg 2014: 27). Even when agricultural land is farmed effectively, it is often not sufficient to meet all the food needs, especially for growing refugee families, and the government of Uganda is reluctant to give out larger plots of land because it is preparing for future inflows of refugees (Svedberg 2014: 29). Refugees are also not able to leave their land fallow to increase its fertility, because it is often their primary source of income, which leads to less productive land over time (Betts 2017: 131). The issue of a lack of stability with agricultural activity is significant because 78% of refugees in rural Uganda conduct agriculture (World Bank 2016: 34), but this lack of security is also significant for host

communities as 82% of Ugandans are also involved in agriculture (World Bank 2016: 39).

The lack of necessary funding for refugee settlements long-term does not just affect food security, but also healthcare provision, WASH (water, sanitation and hygiene), and education, both for refugee communities and hosts who receive 30% of assistance provided to refugees and who use the same services provided to them (UNHCR 2017 Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework: 19). Uganda's refugee policies operate under the assumption that after five years refugees are sufficiently self-reliant and able to thrive with reduced aid, but as has been discussed, the recent and rapid influx of refugee populations has reduced assistance prematurely, leaving refugee populations struggling to become self-sufficient before they are able (UNHCR 2017 Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework: 11).

7.6 Potential for mutually beneficial refugee policies

While the increased refugee presence in Uganda has resulted in significant challenges for the government and host communities, refugee populations are not necessarily a burden on the country. Ugandan policy is designed to support the development of self-sufficiency in refugee populations, and while not entirely successful in execution, these policies still increase opportunities for refugee communities, and have the potential to benefit impoverished host communities. The 70-30 principle in Uganda means that refugee and host communities both benefit from international aid, and the increase of refugee populations in formerly isolated and sparsely populated regions has the opportunity to increase trade and business, providing the increased potential for livelihood in the region (REACH 2018: 21). In Uganda's North West Region, all

settlements with the exception of Palabek have between 84-96% of households with access to markets which not only opens up economic opportunities for refugees, but also for host populations.

An example of this mutually beneficial system of development is occurring in Rwamwanja Settlement in Western Uganda. The settlement was established in 2012, meaning that it is still in early phases of development, and 90% of refugees cite farming or being a farm labourer as their central source of income (Betts 2017: 145). As Betts' study (2017) discovered, after one harvest season, the settlement economy expanded as refugees had crops to sell and used some of their capital to invest in business opportunities, leading to markets being created both within the settlement and on its borders to be used by both refugees and Ugandans (152). Refugee presence in the region also increased consumption, which benefited host community businesses and increased demand helped to expand services (Betts 2017: 153).

Additionally, while refugees in Rwamwanja were receiving cash food assistance, they increased the total income in their settlement by \$1,106 annually (Taylor et al 2016: 1). Taylor's study (2016) showed that refugee incomes surpassed the costs of WFP aid given to them, leading to an income spillover into the settlement and host community (2). Of great consequence is the fact that refugees who received land to cultivate in addition to cash food aid had an income spillover of \$876, compared to \$671 for households without land, showing the benefits that arise from Uganda's policy of providing land to refugee households (2). With adequate support and opportunity, refugees can positively impact the host communities they are inhabiting, which shows the benefit of providing them with rights in Uganda (Taylor et al 2016: 3).

Apart from the economic benefits of refugee presence in Uganda, the integration of refugee and host community services (education, healthcare, infrastructure) has improved access to these services for both parties (World Bank Group 2016: 33). Costs are shared between the UNHCR, other international actors, and the government of Uganda, which allows more resources to be allocated into services that struggle to operate in rural Uganda (World Bank Group 2016: 33). An example of successful integration of refugee and host community services occurred in the West Nile Region of Uganda beginning in 1999. The UNHCR, facing decreased funding for what was at that point a protracted refugee population on Uganda's Western border, began integrating health services with government run hospitals and clinics in the region (Garimoi 2006: 53). The UNHCR and Government of Uganda jointly paid the salaries of local staff who were retrained by the UNHCR before the departure of expatriate staff, which decreased the financial burden on the UNHCR who previously had been the sole funders of refugee health clinics, while also improving the service in Ugandan hospitals that had previously been providing lower levels of care (Garimoi 2006: 59). Refugees made up 7% of the district population, but the UNHCR continued to pay 21% of health expenditures in the region, which supported the Ugandan government who struggled to pay for health facilities prior to their integration (Garimoi 2006: 59).

The Self-Reliance Strategy, which began in the late 1990s and early 2000s in Uganda, continued to integrate services, which has been continued by the country's subsequent refugee programs. There is still need for increased financial support from the government of Uganda to maintain services that cannot be supported entirely by the UNHCR (UNHCR 2017 Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework: 15), but

integration of services has clear benefits for both governments, international organizations, and the people that they serve.

8 Analysis and Discussion

From the data presented in the previous section, it is possible to suggest provisional answers to the research question which concerns the practical application of Ugandan refugee policies and the impacts of said policy on both refugee and host communities. More research is needed to be able to make absolute claims on the topics and issues discussed in this thesis because the theoretical debates present apply to refugee situations globally, but the following analysis is intended to explain some of what is occurring in Uganda, and where future work should begin in order to improve refugee management in Uganda specifically and refugee host countries globally.

Refugee policies in Uganda are well formulated and implemented somewhat successfully given the reality of the Ugandan situation, but face challenges due to the limited funding available to support the wide-reaching goals for livelihood supports and expanded service provision. While there is evidence showing the economic integration of refugee settlements with host communities, increasing livelihood opportunities allowing for decreased reliance on international aid, and somewhat adequate FCS in settlements, refugee populations are still struggling to become fully self-sufficient as the land allocated to them is not adequate to provide food for their entire family, and the lack of financial resources dedicated to livelihood training programs has made it difficult for them to transition away from a solely agriculturally based approach to self-reliance. There is intent in the CRRF and STA to support refugee livelihoods and provide assistance to settlement populations until they are able to survive without it, but the reality is that the financial resources are not available to do so as planned because the limited funds

available for Uganda's refugee response are primarily going to emergency refugee management and service provision.

What Uganda's refugee policies also reveal, however, is the importance in jointly supporting both refugee freedom and agency, while still providing financial and resource assistance. Continuously pouring money into a refugee situation where there is no possibility for refugees to work and support themselves leads to aid dependence and donor fatigue, but equally problematic is allowing refugee populations the right to work, move and live with similar freedoms to those held by state citizens, but not providing them the support required to allow them to embrace their rights and become successful as a result of them. Uganda provides a case study of what is possible when refugee populations are provided a base of assistance and given the right to use that support to work towards self-sufficiency. With the information available on refugee settlements in Uganda we can see the limited self-reliance that has been achieved without sufficient financial assistance, so the potential for these communities if support was increased is immense.

In terms of the impact of Ugandan policies on refugee settlements, the previous data section showed a diversity of outcomes influenced by a series of factors. Those communities that saw relatively better self-sufficiency outcomes had smaller family sizes, fewer households headed by single mothers, fewer unaccompanied children, more refugee diversity, greater access to more fertile land, and were established earlier in Uganda's history, compared to communities with poorer outcomes who had the opposite factors. Analysis of the relevant data provided in this thesis provides greater insight into its significance.

Firstly, refugee populations having access to adequate plots of land seems significant to their greater self-sufficiency as it provides opportunity to conduct agriculture and become more food secure. While the provision of agricultural land does not appear to be enough to fully support the independence of refugee populations, it does result in greater resiliency and thus is an important resource. Secondly, greater numbers of single mother headed households and unaccompanied children appear to contribute to lower levels of self-sufficiency in settlements. It is more difficult for these vulnerable groups to become self-sufficient without great challenge because they have less familial assistance in doing so. Considering the large proportion of families in Uganda's North West Region headed by single mothers, in addition to single children, providing additional resources and programs for these groups could greatly contribute to the overall development of settlements.

Of great interest, is the fact that refugee diversity within settlements appears to be a beneficial factor, leading to greater opportunity for livelihood diversification, rather than a dividing mechanism. Further research is required to investigate the correlation of ethnic heterogeneity with increased livelihood opportunity, but there is the potential that refugee populations from diverse backgrounds bring with them varied skills and abilities, which leads to greater resiliency when working towards self-sufficiency. Refugees that are not entirely dependent on agriculture, or international assistance, but who have additional livelihood opportunities, are more likely able to deal with challenges that arise as their settlements are developing, thus better suited to self-sufficiency. Although ethnically homogenous refugee settlements, like those in Uganda's North West region, have the benefit of similar cultural backgrounds and practices, likely leading to high levels of social cohesion, perhaps these similarities are not an advantage when it comes to

creation of varied economic activities leading to less stable economic development. These findings are significant because they point towards better ways that policy can be designed to support refugee communities, including with support for diversification of livelihoods, and positive benefits that can arise from diverse refugee populations residing in the same settlements, in addition to providing refugees access to fertile land.

Additionally, there appears to be evidence showing the potential benefits for longer-term and fully funded support programs for refugees, especially concerning livelihoods, healthcare, and food. These supports would allow refugee communities the opportunity to develop economically, and perhaps diversify their income sources away from agriculture, while not being concerned about meeting basic food and health needs, therefore leading to more independent and self-sufficient communities. When looking at FCS in Uganda, the populations who had been living in settlements for more than two years had greater food insecurity than newer refugee populations because they experienced a decrease in rations before they were able to fully make up for it through their own production. Increased financial assistance could prevent future WFP cuts like those that were implemented in 2016 and provide longer term support for all refugees until they are able to become more self-reliant. If, however increased financial support is not available for Ugandan programs, there could also be benefit in providing greater transparency concerning financial assistance available to refugees, so that settlements could be aware of these aid reductions in advance and be able to better prepare for them.

Finally, and of great importance, is recognizing the Government of Uganda's policies that support rights for refugees are the primary factor underlying self-sufficiency potential. Even without sufficient funding, Ugandan policy allows refugees the opportunity to develop within their communities, rely less on international assistance

overtime, and be less of a burden on Uganda and international organizations working in the country.

A discussion that arises in light of the information provided on Uganda is the country's significance in understanding mutually beneficial refugee policies. Uganda's policies are beneficial for refugees because they allow for agency, and the opportunity for refugees to begin rebuilding their lives and caring for their families without being totally dependent on international aid. These policies are not only beneficial for refugees however, as they also benefit host communities and the national government as a whole. The settlement data analyzed shows that settlements are becoming increasingly integrated into host communities, which has led to increased market activities, both for refugees and hosts. Additionally, 30% of aid is provided to host communities, which has clear benefits on service provision for host communities. When refugee services, such as healthcare, are integrated with those in host communities, overall levels of care improve. Uganda's population, both refugees and citizens, are still highly impoverished, but the implementation of services to benefit both parties has had favourable results (World Bank 2016: 33), that would be better supported by increased international assistance to the country.

The key idea behind Uganda's refugee policies is that over time they will support refugee self-sufficiency, which as has been discussed previously is potentially possible with adequate financial supports, and this self-sufficiency has the potential to benefit Uganda as a whole. In the long run, if refugee populations are better able to support themselves then the burden of support on both the Government of Uganda and NGOs in the country will be significantly reduced. Protracted refugee populations that are increasingly self-reliant are cheaper to care for than those that are aid dependant, allowing

governments to allocate resources away from long-term food assistance for refugees as an example. The case of Uganda shows how it would be in the best interest of national governments to implement programs that will overtime reduce the burden placed on them to sustain refugees by supporting refugees' rights in host countries.

The discussion concerning mutually beneficial policies allows for a wider analysis of refugee integration as a whole, as it is a key point that underlies the success realized in Uganda's refugee settlements. In a period of global refugee management being characterized by the widespread internment of refugee populations and the reluctance of host countries to support their integration into local communities, Uganda exemplifies the benefits that can arise from social and economic interconnections between refugees and host communities, including increased economic opportunity, less social tensions, and more sustainable solutions for refugee management (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2004: 27). Empowering and supporting refugees to become self-sufficient allows them to be less of a burden on hosts and international organizations, and more of a benefit to the communities that they live in.

9 Next steps: Conclusions and Recommendations

This thesis has explored the question of *what are the practical impacts of Uganda's refugee settlement and integration policies and how do they affect refugees and citizens in the country?* Through exploration of the topic of Ugandan refugees and the key issues within it, this thesis has contributed to showing the significance of Ugandan policy in allowing for refugee integration, opportunity for self-sufficiency, and potential for mutually beneficial policies. Uganda provides a test case for the potential that can arise when refugee populations are provided rights akin to those held by host community members and are able to begin supporting themselves while reducing the burden of support on host governments.

Throughout this thesis, specific issues within the field of refugees and development have been explored, including the benefits and pitfalls of warehousing and integration, the burden of support refugee populations place on host governments and international organizations, the varied ways to approach self-sufficiency for refugee populations, and the potential for mutually beneficial policies within refugee management. The difference between Ugandan policy formulation versus implementation has been addressed, along with an investigation of the integration potential for self-settled and government settled refugees, and specific discussion of self-sufficiency and mutually beneficial policies in Uganda.

An analysis of data related to central issues for Ugandan refugee management also provided insight into the current practices of the government and their impacts on refugee and host communities. Despite the fact that Uganda is a poor country, often struggling to provide support to their own population, they have kept their borders open to refugee

populations without international assistance keeping up with the number of new refugees in the country. Uganda's refugee response programs are severely underfunded, which has made it challenging for them to secure long-term funding for expanding refugee populations. Furthermore, regardless of the funding challenges faced in Uganda, there was still evidence of social and economic integration of both self-settled refugees and those living in settlements, which contributed to livelihood opportunities and market growth for host communities and populations. This integration in part contributes to higher levels of self-sufficiency in some refugee settlements, which while still struggling were less reliant on international assistance and had more self-run businesses and livelihood opportunities.

Due to the challenges faced to a greater extent in some refugee settlements compared to others, an analysis of demographic and ecological factors provided some insight into the range of concerns that increased vulnerability of refugee populations. These factors included: newer refugee populations, more female headed households, larger families, greater numbers of unaccompanied children, an ethnically homogenous population, and greater challenges with agricultural production and land fertility and availability. In light of these vulnerability inducing factors, several recommendations can be made that are significant to this thesis' conclusions.

Firstly, it is essential to recognize the significance of resources in refugee settlements, in order to ensure that these necessities are prioritized in refugee policy and practice. Resources refer to the quality and availability of land, livelihood opportunities, time for development of settlements, and policy allowing for the aforementioned resources to be obtained and supported in refugee settlements. Land acquisition increases the potential for refugee self-sufficiency through agricultural production, making it a vital

resource for refugees especially in light of decreased food rations because of limited funding. Additionally, livelihood diversification allows for greater capital accumulation and financial stability, which promotes refugee resiliency in periods of poor agricultural production or decreasing aid. Furthermore, time allows refugee settlements to develop into urban hubs for the rural areas they are situated within, increasing economic development of surrounding communities which were previously sparsely populated and isolated. Finally, well-designed policy that supports refugee rights, and allows for the development of economically diverse settlements is crucial to support the long-term development of communities and populations that are more self-sufficient and less reliant on international and government aid, which in turn could support the development of Ugandan communities as a whole.

An additional recommendation must concern the challenges faced by high numbers of single-mother headed families and unaccompanied children, who face difficulty becoming self-sufficient. While the prospect of rebuilding a life and livelihood is daunting for any refugee, this challenge is heightened for single parent families, single mothers in particular, because it is more difficult for them to support their families while trying to make a living as they are often the sole breadwinners in the family. For unaccompanied children this challenge is even more of a barrier because they lack the skills and experience to begin substantial livelihood activities on their own. In light of these challenges, there is need to design policies to incentivise families to take in unaccompanied children, as well as to provide additional financial and resource support, along with programing, to single mothers in order to better support their resiliency.

One of the largest challenges that must be addressed is the difficulty of implementing policy without adequate funding. Ideally, there would be an increase in

financial assistance for refugees in Uganda, but the reality of a global humanitarian system oversaturated with demand for assistance, but under supported through funding, is that financial challenges will continue for the entirety of refugee program duration. Ugandan policy dictates five years as the period within which refugees must become self-sufficient and throughout that period they receive decreasing amounts of assistance until they theoretically are able to support themselves. As a result of increasing refugee populations and funding that has not kept up with demand, assistance has been cut to refugee populations prematurely and refugee populations have continued to struggle in Uganda.

Recognizing the reality that there will likely not be a substantial increase of funding in the coming years, there should be a reevaluation of financial practices in Ugandan settlements to better inform refugee populations of the reality of assistance available to them so that they can plan for their short-term future more effectively. The government of Uganda and international organizations working in partnership with them should hold consultations with refugee settlements on a yearly basis to inform refugees about the assistance available to them and have a discussion about where this aid should be allocated for the next 6-12 months. Providing transparency to refugee settlements would allow them to become aware of the resources available to them, as well as the funding gaps that they will experience, so that they could consciously make decisions for their future in light of the reality that they will not necessarily be receiving long-term funding for all sectors of need.

Finally, it is essential to recognize the significance of Ugandan policy in the development of self-sufficient refugee settlements in order to ensure that this policy remains the central practice in the country for years to come. Uganda provides a case

study of how essential it is that refugee management takes on two key roles. Firstly, that policy supports refugee rights to movement and employment, so that they have the potential to become self-sufficient. Supporting refugee agency and mobility allows for integration of refugee and host communities and provides them the opportunity for social and economic development which contributes to their self-reliance. Secondly, while ensuring refugee rights, the policy must also provide support and structure to refugee settlements during their period of growth and transition towards self-reliance, to ensure that they have the basic resources to become more resilient while facing the challenges of rebuilding lives and livelihoods in a new country. Without this support, through funding and programming, refugee populations may not be able to provide for their own basic needs and thus it is more difficult for them to become independent populations.

Refugee populations do not have to be a long-term burden on host regions. Refugees in Uganda primarily settle in regions that were previously underpopulated and isolated from markets, but the influx of refugee populations brings greater attention and support to these districts, and in doing so increase livelihood opportunities for host populations. Furthermore, refugee populations that become more self-sufficient are less dependent on international assistance and government support, meaning that they can contribute to local economies without high levels of financial support from an already cash-strapped Ugandan government. The creation of a situation, like that in Uganda, where refugees have the right to support themselves through free movement and employment, allows them to become a benefit for refugee hosting regions, and provides a case study of what is possible when one empowers a refugee population rather than restricting their rights.

This thesis focused on refugee policy in Uganda, and while it cannot make absolute claims for all refugee hosting countries globally, it does provide and understanding of the benefits that can arise when refugee populations are supported and also provided with rights to rebuild their lives that were destroyed as a result of forced migration. Refugee populations globally will continue to grow and thus there is need for additional research and exploration into alternate forms of refugee management, like that embraced by Uganda, which support refugee rights and allow for human agency while treating refugee populations with dignity. Refugees are human beings, with as much drive to succeed and support themselves as any other group but are often without the opportunity to do so because of policies in host countries that restrict their freedom to move, work and live productive lives outside the confines of camps. In order to best support refugee populations globally, it is essential that one remembers that they are people who have been displaced from their country, and as a result lack the stability and resources they need to survive without assistance, but who are capable of succeeding if given greater support during their period of transition as they adjust to a new country and possible ways of living.

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