



MASTER THESIS

**Self-Reliance of Refugees in Uganda:
A Comparison of Bidibidi and Nakivale Refugee Settlement**

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List of Abbreviations

#	number
a.d.	academic-driven
CPI	Camp Performance Indicator
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FCS	Food Consumption Scores
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
ReHoPE	Refugee and Host Population Empowerment
SACCO	Savings and Credit Cooperative Organisation
SCOR	Supply Chain Reference Operations Model
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
SRI	Self-Reliance Index
SRS	Self-Reliance Strategy
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
STA	Settlement Transformative Agenda
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
VSLA	Village Savings and Loans Associations

1 Introduction

Violence, conflicts, abuses of human rights and persecution because of ethnicity, race, religion or political orientation threaten the security of millions of people worldwide and force people at risk to leave their homes in order to seek protection elsewhere. By the end of 2018, 70.8 million people were counted to be forcibly displaced on a global scale – a peak in the historic recordings of forced displacement numbers (IDMC, 2019, p. 6; UNHCR, 2019d, p. 4). While most people intend to find shelter within national boundaries,¹ others seek protection abroad: About 25.9 million refugees were counted by 2018, not including the 3.5 million people having applied for but not yet having been granted asylum in a foreign country (UNHCR, 2019d, p. 2). Once left the country of origin, the lives and freedom of refugees become dependent on the cooperativeness of their country of asylum and the international community.

Despite struggling with protecting the well-being of their own national civilization, many poor countries are willing to give refugees a place to stay (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil, 2004, p. 28; Kreibaum, 2016): The vast majority of the world's refugee population (84%) is given shelter in a developing country, whereas only 16% of refugees are hosted by a developed country (UNHCR, 2019d, p. 2). The Least Developed Countries have even welcomed a third of refugees globally in 2018 (UNHCR, 2019d, p. 17).

Efforts have been made by international aid organizations to support those vulnerable host countries in managing large-scale displacements, but as more and more refugee situations have become protracted, assistance is often needed over decades (Crisp, 2003, p. 7; UNHCR, 2019d, p. 22). Monetary resources of humanitarian actors are often scarce and financial aid funds have become increasingly strained by the persistently growing dimensions of forced displacement (UNHCR, 2019b). To reduce the dependency of refugee protection on decreasing international aid budgets, the focus of refugee assistance has shifted from the simple provision of humanitarian assistance towards a development-oriented approach (UNHCR, 2006, p. 2): The concept of self-reliance has appeared, that envisions refugees to transform from passive receivers of aid into active players, to become able to help themselves (UNHCR, 2006, p. 14). Supporting refugees to become self-reliant intends to create resilient and sustainable livelihoods that foster the ability of refugees to fend for themselves in the long run, independent from aid (Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018, p. 1458; Hovil and Gidron, 2018, p. 5).

1.1 Problem Description and Research Objective

A country having incorporated the self-reliance concept and whose approach to refugee management is regarded as one of the most progressive in the world is Uganda (UNHCR, 2018b, 2018d, p. 22). Despite being among the Least Developed Countries, Uganda is giving shelter to the world's third largest refugee population, with hosting more than 1.3 million refugees in open rural settlements (UNHCR, 2019d, p. 3, 2019m; UNSD, 2019). In comparison with the international community, Uganda sticks out, having created a welcoming environment for refugees by establishing policies that allow refugees to work, to freely move across the country and to access national health and education services (Betts *et*

¹ About 41.3 million people are internally displaced persons (IDPs), i.e. people that seek protection in other parts of their home country IDMC (2019, p. 6).

al., 2019b, p. 2; Hovil and Gidron, 2018, p. 3; Miller, 2018, p. 7). Self-reliance of refugees in Uganda is envisioned to be realized by agricultural activities: Refugees in Uganda are allocated land for free housing and for an own cultivation of crops, which yields to satisfy own household food needs and enable small-scale sales of farming surpluses (UNHCR, 2018d, p. 2).

Researchers outline the impact that national regulations have on the freedom and self-reliance of refugees, as liberate policies are considered as a precondition to let refugees become independent and grant them a self-determined life in dignity (Betts *et al.*, 2017b, p. 43; Feldman, 2007, p. 53). In Uganda, refugees are granted special rights that other host countries are reluctant to give. This leads to the assumption that by now, refugees in Uganda should have managed to take care of themselves, as the concept of self-reliance has already been in place since the beginning of the 21st century. Different focus points have been analysed in humanitarian research to evaluate the progress that Uganda has made so far regarding the implementation of its self-reliance model (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, 2019b; Clements *et al.*, 2016; Ilcan *et al.*, 2015), but a standardized all-comprising approach covering all relevant areas for achieving self-reliance has not yet been applied.

This thesis seeks to systematically measure the status quo of self-reliance of refugees in Uganda on the example of Bidibidi and Nakivale refugee settlement. The findings of the measured self-reliance levels in both settlements are compared with each other in order to determine 1) the level of self-reliance of refugees in Uganda and potential differences across the country, 2) how Uganda's exceptional refugee management approach influences self-reliance levels, and 3) if there are other factors that ease or hamper the achievement of self-reliance of refugees.

1.2 Structure of Research

The refugee settlements chosen for the investigation in the Ugandan context are Bidibidi and Nakivale refugee settlement owing to their contrasting profile: Nakivale settlement located in southwestern Uganda is one of the oldest refugee settlements of the country, established in the late 1950s (REACH *et al.*, 2019b, p. 1). Its refugee population is greatly mixed, being composed of 12 different nations, with the majority of refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Rwanda and Somalia (UNHCR, 2019j). In contrast, Uganda's largest refugee settlement Bidibidi in the North is giving shelter to a highly homogeneous refugee population – refugees almost exclusively originate from South Sudan (UNHCR, 2019h, 2019i). Opened in 2016, Bidibidi represents a refugee settlement that was established with the self-reliance policy already being in place (Miller, 2018, p. 9).

The initial section of this thesis gives an overview about the focus points and findings that have evolved from research about refugee situations in Sub-Saharan Africa (2.1.1). It further defines the concept of self-reliance and explains the need that researchers see in its practical implementation (2.1.2). The principles of performance measurement are required in order to quantitatively determine, how self-reliant refugees are in both settlements. A literature review in the section 2.2 briefly explains the importance of performance measurement in humanitarian operations and identifies the most suitable approach to measure self-reliance of refugees in the Ugandan refugee settlements. The case of Uganda is introduced in chapter 2.3 with a brief overview on the country itself, the refugee situation in the country

and the national approach to refugee assistance. The identified methodology is described in chapter 3 and is applied to determine the status quo of self-reliance of refugees residing in Bidibidi and Nakivale refugee settlement. The findings are compared across the settlements in chapter 4.3.1 to reveal and explain differences of performance in areas that are relevant for the achievement of self-reliance. Section 4.3.2 represents findings on the performance of factors that are specific in the Ugandan context and 4.3.3 demonstrates the findings on further impactors of self-reliance, revealed by the comparison of the two contrasting Ugandan refugee settlements. The discussion in chapter 5 summarises the main gaps for self-reliance of refugees within and across Uganda and provides recommendation on fields of potential investments to close the identified gaps.

2 Literature review

The review of literature summarises the main topics addressed in refugee research about Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and explains the need for self-reliance refugee assistance. It further demonstrates the basics of performance measurement in the humanitarian sector to detect the most suitable option to determine self-reliance of refugees. The special case of Uganda and its refugee situation is introduced.

2.1 Refugee Research in Sub-Saharan Africa

This section aims to provide general definitions on refugees and the concept of self-reliance and briefly summarizes the focus areas as well as main findings from research about refugees in SSA.

2.1.1 Refugee Studies on Sub-Saharan Africa

Looking back in history, forced displacement has always been a present issue on the African continent (Akopari, 1998, p. 212; Rogge, 1977, p. 186) and has been early addressed in research (Chambers, 1979, 1986; Rogge, 1977; Wilson, 1992). Even after having gained independence from colonial powers, many African countries are still struggling with huge poverty among its civilians, the establishment of peace, a stable economy and a democratic political system (Adepoju, 2000, p. 384; Crisp, 2003, p. 2). Oppressive and corrupt governments, ethnical rivalries and environmental disasters, such as droughts, floods and famine, burden great parts of the population of SSA and are still causing large displacements within and across borderlines (Akopari, 1998, p. 214; Crisp, 2003, p. 2).

The largest African refugee populations in 2018 have resulted from the civil war in South Sudan, hunger in Somalia and ongoing violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (UNHCR, 2019d, p. 6). At the same time, the amount of people finding refuge in countries of SSA is large: About 20% of the world's refugees reside in a country of SSA (UNHCR, 2018a, p. 67). The African country that is currently hosting most refugees is Uganda, closely followed by Sudan (UNHCR, 2019d, p. 3).

Refugees are defined by the 1951 UN Convention as persons who leave the borders of their country of origin and who are *'[...] unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion'* (UNHCR, 2019a, p. 3). A refugee situation becomes protracted when *'[...] 25.000 or more refugees from the same nationality have been in exile for five consecutive years or more in a given host country'* (UNHCR, 2019d, p. 22). Most refugee situations have increasingly become protracted: About 78% of the global refugee population has lived in a protracted refugee situation in 2018, showing an increase of 12% to the previous year (UNHCR, 2019d, p. 23).

Many refugees are hosted in camps that are supposed to serve as temporary shelter, where they receive assistance, until they repatriate or resettle (Idris, 2017, p. 3; Oloruntoba and Banomyong, 2018, p. 288; UNHCR, 2019d, p. 62). Since more and more refugee situations have become protracted, however, and many refugees have never lived outside the boundaries of the camp, encampment has become a permanent part of the lives of refugees (Crisp, 2003, p. 7). Refugee camps are usually organized and

managed by host governments alongside humanitarian players, such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR): Initially planned as a temporary office, the UNHCR was founded by the United Nations (UN) to secure the protection and well-being of people being displaced during and in the aftermath of World War II (Kelley *et al.*, 2004, p. 1). After almost 80 years, the UNHCR is still operating and seeking cooperations with host governments, international and regional non-governmental organisations (NGO) to protect the physical security and human rights of the persistently rising number of people of concern on a global scale² (Kelley *et al.*, 2004, pp. 3–4; UNHCR, 2018a, p. 4). Due to the vast number of refugee situations in SSA, the UNHCR is largely present on the African continent (UNHCR, 2019c, p. 51).

The attention of research has been correspondingly large on refugee situations in SSA (Seifert *et al.*, 2018, p. 405). In line with general refugee research, studies in SSA used to be driven from a sociological, anthropological, medical, economical or political background (Black, 2001, p. 62). Table 1 summarises the main topics addressed in refugee research in SSA and shows that the main focus areas are the aspects of health, gender-roles as well as gender-based violence in refugee camps, innovations driven from both academics and refugees, the impact of politics of host countries and NGOs on the life of refugees, and the influence of refugees on host populations. The subsequent section briefly elaborates on the focus points and findings of refugee research in SSA.

CAUSES AND MANAGEMENT OF REFUGEES

Among the first studies about refugees in SSA is the one by Rogge (1977), who analysed the geographical movements and settlements of refugees on the African continent. He and other researchers have addressed the causes of plight in SSA, focusing on man-made and natural disasters (Adepoju, 2000; Akokpari, 1998; Myers, 2002; Rogge, 1977).

Other researchers have looked at accommodation forms of displaced populations in SSA. As encampment has used to be a very popular approach of hosting refugees, the influence of camp characteristics on the well-being and protection of both refugees and hosts, as well as on the environment has been investigated (Crea *et al.*, 2015; Idris, 2017; Jacobsen, 1997). Yet, criticism of the concept of hosting refugees in enclosed camps has emerged: Researchers outline the negative impacts of encampment on the lives of refugees and the missed socio-economic opportunities for the affected host community (Crisp, 2003, p. 11; Feldman, 2007, p. 49; Hovil, 2007, p. 601; Jacobsen, 2002, 593; Wilson, 1992, p. 230). Alternative settlement patterns have appeared in both research and practice: Rural or urban self-settlement of refugees as well as local settlements have been discussed as more liberate approaches (Chambers, 1979; Crea *et al.*, 2015; Hovil, 2007; Idris, 2017). Although particularly urban self-settlement has been widely addressed in research (Crea *et al.*, 2015; Hovil, 2007; Kobia and Cranfield, 2009; Pascucci, 2017; Sandvik, 2011), the investigation focus of this thesis lies on organized camps and settlements, since the Ugandan refugee assistance is confined to organized settlements.

² People of concern is the generic term for people being forcibly displaced and requiring assistance, including refugees, internally displaced people, asylum seekers, stateless people and returnees.

GENDER STUDIES AND VIOLENCE

The protection of refugees from camp-internal and outside violence, especially of vulnerable groups, is an often-addressed topic in SSA refugee research.

Some researchers address violence resulting from tensions between the refugee and host population: As refugee camps are often located in isolated rural areas, local poverty is huge, regional infrastructure is underdeveloped and security threats for refugees are greater when leaving the boundaries of the camp (Crisp, 2003, p. 9; Idris, 2017, p. 5). Other authors focus on the role that humanitarian players take up in securing the protection and well-being of refugees and how they can unintentionally consolidate conflict structures (Gilbert and Cunliffe, 2011; Lecadet, 2016; Lindley, 2011; Smock, 1996).

Sociological studies outline how gender relations change in situations of forced displacement and encampment and how this influences violence in camps (Buckley-Zistel and Krause, 2017; Krause, 2015). Other scientists reflect the empowerment of women and the loss of masculinity (Crisp, 2003; Krause, 2014; Turner, 1999).

Much research attention has been dedicated to sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) and its prevalence in refugee camps in SSA: Many studies focus on refugee women and the psychological burden resulting from their exposure to SGBV (Buckley-Zistel and Krause, 2017; John-Langba, 2007); other studies analyse how characteristics of different settlement patterns influence the prevalence of SGBV among refugee populations (Aubone and Hernandez, 2013). Some researchers consider incidences of SGBV to be rooted in the traumatic experiences that refugees have made before and during their flight (Krause, 2015, p. 236). Violent behaviour of refugees is regarded as closely connected with depression, restrictive refugee policies and the abuse of alcohol as well as drugs that are likely to entail both physical and mental health problems (Buckley-Zistel and Krause, 2017, p. 187; Feldman, 2007, p. 49; John-Langba, 2007, p. 31; Krause, 2015, p. 249).

HEALTH AND WELL-BEING

Medical studies have focused on the physical and mental health of refugees in SSA. Attention has been paid to the psychological burden for refugees arising from conflicts in their home country, flight experiences and encampment conditions (Govere, 2017; Jong *et al.*, 2000; Oka, 2014); the impact of refugees on public health services in the host communities (Kagabo *et al.*, 2018); the prevalence and management of diseases, such as cholera, diarrhoea and HIV (Gilbert and Cunliffe, 2011; Legros *et al.*, 1999; Naficy *et al.*, 1998; Spiegel *et al.*, 2007) and its connection to the quality of health and sanitation services in refugee camps (Baghri and Reed, 1998; Cronin *et al.*, 2008; Toole, 1994).

Researchers agree that the health status of refugees highly depends on the access to qualitative water, health and sanitation infrastructure (Baghri and Reed, 1998, p. 23; Cronin *et al.*, 2008, p. 1). Sufficient access to those services must be ensured, particularly during the early emergency phase of displacement, as it is likely that the chaotic conditions foster the outbreak and spreading of diseases (Ali *et al.*, 2015, p. 558; Baghri and Reed, 1998, p. 23; Cronin *et al.*, 2008, p. 12; Toole, 1994, p. 206). Many scientists criticise that, typically, those services in refugee camps in SSA are neither sufficient to meet

the needs of refugees, nor environmentally friendly (Baghri and Reed, 1998, p. 25; Biswas and Quiroz, 1996, p. 29; Cronin *et al.*, 2008, p. 1; Harkness *et al.*, 2017, p. 1).

INNOVATIONS

To improve the health status and general living conditions for refugee populations, innovative solutions have emerged from researchers, but also bottom-up approaches of refugees have shown to contribute to development in encampment situations.

Academic-driven research has presented progressive concepts to enhance the performance and sustainability of sanitation and health services, electricity and water supply (Ali *et al.*, 2015; Harkness *et al.*, 2017; Kraehenbuehl *et al.*, 2015; Lehne *et al.*, 2016; Runo and Muema, 2014; Salehin *et al.*, 2011). As response to the call of medical research, many innovations are specifically designed for emergency situations to ensure a fast and reliable delivery of those services and to lower the risk of disease spreading and mortality (Ali *et al.*, 2015; Runo and Muema, 2014; Salehin *et al.*, 2011). To guarantee both ecological and economic sustainability, scientists argue for the use of solar energy for powering water and energy supplies in refugee camps (Harkness *et al.*, 2017; Kraehenbuehl *et al.*, 2015; Runo and Muema, 2014). Other academics have used geographical information systems to map camp infrastructures in order to raise efficiency of humanitarian operations (Bjorgo, 2000). The distribution of cash instead of physical aid goods is considered to better respond to the needs of refugees (Wilson, 1992, p. 234).

Besides innovations designed by researchers, more recent studies have argued for a bottom-up approach, where innovations are created and implemented by refugees themselves (Betts, 2014; Betts *et al.*, 2015). This is based on the idea that refugees bring along ideas, skills and the will to use this potential to enhance their own living conditions (Betts, 2014, p. 5; Jacobsen, 2002, p. 584). The traditional concept of humanitarian aid has become increasingly criticised and researchers call for a concept targeting to empower communities that allows refugees to engage into meaningful activities (Aleinikoff, 2015, p. 3; Betts *et al.*, 2015, p. 44; Feldman, 2007, p. 66).

POLITICS AND RIGHTS

The influence of politics on the lives and the protection of refugees in SSA has been analysed from a camp-internal perspective, i.e. how political structures imported into refugee camps in SSA influence the lives of refugees (Inhetveen, 2014), as well as from a camp-external view: It has been investigated how international and national politics of the host country define the rights and the well-being of refugees, as well as which impact the operational freedom of humanitarian organisations has (Govere, 2017; Hovil, 2007; Kalipeni and Oppong, 1998; Loescher and Milner, 2005; Wilson, 1992). Also, it has been discussed, which role the humanitarian regime and their policy-making play in securing the protection and well-being of refugees (Gilbert and Cunliffe, 2011; Holzer, 2012; Lecadet, 2016; Lindley, 2011; Smock, 1996).

Further research topics address the typical resistance of host governments of giving refugees the permission to work, to leave the boundaries of the camp, to participate in the national educational system and to utilize healthcare services. National policies keep refugees enclosed in camps and isolated from

the local population, as host governments fear competition about natural resources and employment opportunities (Jacobsen, 2002, p. 580; Wilson, 1992, p. 230). The political attitude is regarded as the crucial factor in the lives of refugees, as the rights granted to refugees set the scope of freedom, influence their feeling of dignity as well as their general well-being and protection (Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018, p. 1464; Seifert *et al.*, 2018, p. 418). The possibility of engaging into employment and education gives refugees a greater feeling of dignity, a new purpose of life as well as the chance to prepare a back-up strategy, given humanitarian aid falls short (Feldman, 2007, p. 49). Restricting refugees in those rights can raise the risk of frustration, alcoholism and violence among the refugee population, entailing possible detrimental health impacts (Buckley-Zistel and Krause, 2017, p. 187; Feldman, 2007, p. 49; Kalipeni and Oppong, 1998, p. 1650).

Some studies have analysed how characteristics of the settlement approach influence the freedom and protection of refugees: Many researchers regard encampment as the most restrictive approach of giving shelter to forcibly displaced populations, as they limit their lives to the boundaries of the camp (Feldman, 2007, p. 49; Idris, 2017, p. 4). Scientists warn against the negative consequences of failed integration that is hampered by keeping refugees enclosed in camps. Instead, researchers demand liberate policies to manage Africa's protracted refugee situations, as in many cases it cannot be expected that refugees are able to repatriate in the foreseeable future (Crisp, 2003, p. 23; Krause, 2014, p. 34). Although many host countries are often rather reluctant to grant refugees the rights of freedom of movement and employment, scientists argue that this freedom can rather benefit than harm local communities (Betts *et al.*, 2017b, p. 43; Feldman, 2007, p. 53).

REFUGEE IMPACTS ON HOST COUNTRIES

Further research has addressed the economic and security impact that refugees have on the local population, but also, how refugee populations and the establishment and maintenance of camps affect the environmental conditions in the host country (Akokpari, 1998; Biswas and Quiroz, 1996; Jacobsen, 1997; Kibreab, 1997).

In general, host countries tend to consider refugees as burden, as the building and maintenance of refugee camps demand financial and land resources (Biswas and Quiroz, 1996, p. 24; Feldman, 2007, pp. 52–53). As many countries in SSA struggle with huge poverty among the national population, locals fear that refugees take away job opportunities. As a result, the willingness to share the already limited budgets and resources is often rather low and conflicts arise (Aleinikoff, 2015, p. 5; Chambers, 1979, p. 16; Jacobsen, 2002, p. 580; Rogge, 1977, p. 188). Also, refugees are sometimes regarded as security threat, which makes host governments to keep them enclosed in camps (Akokpari, 1998, p. 224; Jacobsen, 2002, p. 586; Loescher and Milner, 2005, p. 154). Some researchers also mention the decreasing availability of environmental resources in host countries in SSA: Deforestation has drastically increased due to the creation and maintenance of refugee camps and the availability of rangeland, water and firewood shrink when the needs of refugees rely on natural resources of the country (Biswas and Quiroz, 1996, p. 27; Jacobsen, 2002, p. 581).

Topic		Author	Investigation focus
Causes and management of refugees	Camps and alternatives	Chambers (1979)	Analysing urban and rural self-settlement in Africa as alternatives to camps
		Hovil (2007)	The challenges and chances of self-settlement as alternative to local settlement in Uganda
		Crea <i>et al.</i> (2015)	The effects of camps and urban settlement in SSA on refugee's health
		Idris (2017)	Comparing self-settlement, informal and formal settlement as alternatives to encampment of refugees
	Causes and	Rogge (1977)	Origins, movements and regional concentration of major refugee populations in SSA
		Akokpari (1998)	The causes of migration and refugees in Africa
		Adepoju (2000)	Movements of migration in SSA
		Myers (2002)	The emergence of environmental causes of forced displacement in the 21 st century
Gender studies and violence		Turner (1999)	The loss of masculinity resulting from the empowerment of women in refugee camps
		John-Langba (2007)	SGBV and its psycho-social effects on women in a refugee camp in Botswana
		Aubone and Hernandez (2013)	Analysing the connection of camp characteristics and sexual violence in a Kenyan refugee camp
		Krause (2014)	Empowering women through changed gender-relations in refugee situations analysed on the case study of Rhino refugee settlement in Uganda
		Krause (2015)	Analysing changing gender-relations of forcibly displaced populations and its connection to SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement in Uganda
		Buckley-Zistel and Krause (2017)	Gender-based violence in refugee situations
Health	Mental health	Jong <i>et al.</i> (2000)	Mental health problems among Burundian and Rwandan refugees residing in Tanzania
		Oka (2014)	The role of commercial consumption for the well-being and dignity of refugees in a protracted situation in Kenya
		Govere (2017)	The effectiveness of mental health services for refugees in Zimbabwe
	Sanitation and diseases	Toole (1994)	Assessing the health status of refugees in emergency situations to align supplies of medicine and food; the example of Rwandan, Somali and Iraqi refugees
		Baghri and Reed (1998)	The need for qualitative emergency sanitation in refugee camps and its impact on diseases and the environment
		Naficy <i>et al.</i> (1998)	Analysing vaccination strategies on their cost-effectiveness in managing cholera outbreaks in refugee camps in SSA
		Legros <i>et al.</i> (1999)	Feasibility of mass vaccinations to prevent cholera outbreaks in the refugee settlements in Northern Uganda
		Spiegel <i>et al.</i> (2007)	Comparing the prevalence of HIV in displaced populations and seven host countries in SSA
		Cronin <i>et al.</i> (2008)	Water and sanitation provision and its connection to health in refugee camps in East Africa (Kenya) and West Africa (Ghana)
		Gilbert and Cunliffe (2011)	The effectiveness of NGOs in managing HIV/AIDS in a Kenyan and Mozambiquan refugee camp
		Kagabo <i>et al.</i> (2018)	Challenges of forced displacement for the well-being and health services of host and refugee communities in Uganda's West Nile region
Innovations	academic-driven (a.d.)	Wilson (1992)	Promoting the distribution of cash instead of physical aid goods and its benefits for the nutritional needs of refugees in Africa; shifting the focus in refugee assistance towards livelihood development
		Bjorgo (2000)	Using VHRSR satellites for mapping the geographic parameters of a refugee camp in Sudan; improving efficiency and reducing costs of relief operations by using geographic information systems
		Salehin <i>et al.</i> (2011)	Design of an emergency energy model to respond to the needs in emergency and long-term refugee situations based on the electricity demand of a refugee camp on the Chad-Sudan border
		Runo and Muema (2014)	Using solar-powered water supply in emergency situations in a Kenyan and Somali refugee camp
		Ali <i>et al.</i> (2015)	Safety of water supply chains in emergency situations in South Sudanese refugee camps
		Kraehenbuehl <i>et al.</i> (2015)	Water pumping systems based on solar power as cost-effective and sustainable alternative to fuel-based systems in refugee camps in East and Horn Africa
		Lehne <i>et al.</i> (2016)	Efficient energy solutions for cooking and lighting activities of displaced populations in SSA

Table 1: Studies on refugees in SSA, the author's own compilation

Topic		Author	Investigation focus
	a.d.	Harkness <i>et al.</i> (2017)	Improving the efficiency and sustainability of energy and water provision in refugee camps in SSA
	Refugee driven	Betts (2014)	Refugee-led innovations in three refugee environments in Uganda
		Betts <i>et al.</i> (2015)	Innovations driven by refugees in five refugee settlements around the world; supporting the approach of community-development
Politics and refugee protection		Smock (1996)	Critical reflection of the role of NGOs in fostering the conflict while providing humanitarian aid to people in concern in Sudan, Somalia and Sierra Leone
		Kalipeni and Oppong (1998)	The impact of politics in managing diseases and health in African refugee camps
		Loescher and Milner (2005)	The challenges of refugee protection and its implications for policies to manage Africa’s protracted refugee situations
		Lindley (2011)	Shifting governmental and humanitarian policies towards development to foster integration and to ensure basic rights and protection of Somali refugees in Kenya
		Holzer (2012)	Security threats resulting from political failure in a refugee camp in Ghana
		Inheteven (2014)	The structure of political power in refugee camps in Africa
		Lecadet (2016)	Politization and the connected tensions with the humanitarian regime in a refugee camp in Benin
Refugee impacts on host countries	Environmental impact	Biswas and Quiroz (1996)	Environmental impact of Rwandan refugees in Zaire; calling for integrative long-term policies to reduce climate damage
		Jacobsen (1997)	How the choice of a settlement approach can facilitate refugee integration into host communities and its benefits for the environment in Africa
		Kibreab (1997)	The impact of refugees on the environment in Africa
	Host-refugee relation	Kibreab (1985)	The influence of long-term refugee influxes on host countries in Africa
		Chambers (1986)	Securing benefits for the entire population in refugee-affected areas to avoid leaving poorer hosts behind while providing refugee assistance
		Jacobsen (2002)	The burden and benefits of refugees to host states in Africa
		Burnham <i>et al.</i> (2003)	Using quality design to plan the integration of health services for refugees and hosts in Uganda’s West Nile region
		Orach and Brouwere (2006)	Integration of health services for refugee and host communities in West Nile regions of Uganda
		Agblorti (2011)	Preventing resentment of poor host communities towards refugees by integrating services for refugees and locals in rural Ghana

Table 1: Studies on refugees in SSA, the author's own compilation

Against the preoccupations of host states, researchers have argued for the beneficial impact of refugee populations on a host country and name examples where the presence of refugees in SSA have led to improved conditions, also for locals (Agblorti, 2011; Burnham *et al.*, 2003; Orach and Brouwere, 2006): While letting both refugees and nationals collectively benefit from funds designated for refugee assistance, a mutual integration is fostered, which is decisive for a harmonious coexistence of both communities (Agblorti, 2011, p. 81; Feldman, 2007, p. 53; Jacobsen, 2002, p. 593; Wilson, 1992, p. 239). There is consensus in scientific research that setting up parallel services with regard to infrastructure, health and education should be prevented and that, instead, integrated service solutions should be designed (Jacobsen, 2002, p. 583; Orach and Brouwere, 2006, p. 62). Since many African civilians live in extreme poverty themselves, setting up better services only for refugees has regularly led to resentment from hosts and implies the risk that an even poorer national civilization is left behind (Akokpari, 1998, p. 225; Chambers, 1979, pp. 16–17). Investments into refugee-affected areas can induce regional development, of which particularly nationals in rural areas can benefit: Many refugee camps are built in sparsely populated rural areas that are characterized by an underdeveloped infrastructure (Feldman, 2007, p. 52; Krause, 2014, p. 34). The presence of refugees in those regions

attracts aid funds that can lead to improvements or the establishment of local infrastructure, which in the end benefits the locals, too (Aleinikoff, 2015, p. 3; Jacobsen, 2002, p. 580). The integration of services further reduces tensions and poverty of both refugees and hosts, and avoids a waste of financial resources when refugees repatriate and built infrastructure is left unused (Feldman, 2007, pp. 52–53; Jacobsen, 2002, p. 581; Orach and Brouwere, 2006, p. 62).

Researchers argue that refugees are not only advantageous for host states regarding infrastructure development, but also with regard to the creation of economic opportunities: Numerous scientists outline that instead of taking jobs refugees can even stimulate the development of refugee-affected communities by paying taxes and creating new employment opportunities, as refugees bring new skills, assets and social capital from their home country. Some even become entrepreneurs and with that employers of locals (Betts *et al.*, 2017b, p. 7; Dryden-Peterson and Hovil, 2004, p. 32; Feldman, 2007, p. 54). As most refugee situations have become protracted, researchers argue that those skills are likely to be available for long for members of the host community, which in the long-term can help reducing poverty in the refugee-affected region (Betts, 2014, p. 5; Jacobsen, 2002, p. 578).

2.1.2 The Importance of Self-Reliance of Refugees

The review of refugee studies in SSA has revealed the consensus on the need for a more development-oriented aid approach to effectively manage the increasing number of protracted refugee situations in SSA and to benefit both refugee and host populations.

Researchers in the humanitarian sector criticise the short-term focus which is often taken by traditional relief operations, as they simply provide humanitarian assistance, such as food, blankets, medicine and shelter (Aleinikoff, 2015, p. 2; Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018). Since usually rather limited budgets confine the availability of humanitarian aid, particularly the longer a crisis takes, humanitarian organizations run the risk of not being able to supply those aid goods, which are often needed in extensive amounts (Renzaho, 2007, p. 9). In the long term, the concept of '*care and maintenance*' (Aleinikoff, 2015, p. 3) can unintendedly lead to negative effects for the societies that are supposed to be supported: The people in need are dependent on humanitarian assistance and unable to help themselves in case of a reduction or absence of vital food supplies, which might result into detrimental health impacts or even into death (Aleinikoff, 2015, p. 29; Moyo, 2009; UNHCR, 2006, p. 2).

The shift towards a more liberate and developmental approach is praised as a sustainable solution to reduce the dependency of aid recipients, to strengthen local communities and to allow greater autonomy of the people in need to secure their well-being. (Kelley *et al.*, 2004, pp. 7–8; UNHCR, 2006, p. 2). Criticism on camps and their negative aspects on both refugees and hosts have shifted the focus to the concept self-reliance, which initially appeared under the terms of self-sufficiency, livelihoods establishment and community-development. With the objective of '*helping refugees help themselves*' (Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018, p. 1459), the UNHCR and its implementing partners have started to incorporate the promotion of self-reliance into their refugee assistance programs.

With the implementation of its Self-Reliance Strategy (SRS) the UNHCR has launched the shift from its traditional humanitarian aid provision towards a community development approach, aiming to enhance

the well-being and protection of refugees by empowering the people in need: Refugees are envisaged to turn into active partners instead of passive aid recipients, that gain autonomy by engaging in the social, economic and political development of their community and that are able to help themselves in case of shortfalls of humanitarian aid (Hovil and Gidron, 2018, p. 5).

The UNHCR defines self-reliance as *'[...] the social and economic ability of an individual, a household or a community to meet essential needs (including protection, food, water, shelter, personal safety, health and education) in a sustainable manner and with dignity'* (UNHCR, 2006, p. 1). Actions of the UNHCR and its implementing partners should encourage *'developing and strengthening livelihoods of persons of concern, and reducing their vulnerability and long-term reliance on humanitarian/external assistance'* (UNHCR, 2006, p. 1).

The UNHCR bases the SRS on the assumption that refugees bring along a great potential of skills and knowledge. Before they have been forced to seek refuge elsewhere, refugees had also pursued economic and social activities. Researches argue that *'there is no reason that most could not resume such lives again, albeit in a new country or residence'* (Aleinikoff, 2015, p. 3). By not ignoring this fact and actively involving refugees in life-shaping activities, their pool of skills, knowledge and talents is used that can stimulate the socio-economic development of both refugees and hosts (Betts, 2014, p. 5).

Many researchers agree on the importance of a shift towards self-reliance for the management of protracted refugee crises, as they imply long-term benefits not only for the refugee population, but also for hosting states, donors and the international community (Zetter *et al.*, 2012, p. 10). Major donors and humanitarian organisation profit from the reduced necessity of financial resources when dependency on humanitarian aid is decreased. An UNHCR officer outlines: *'[I]f UNHCR can empower people to be self-reliant, then we wouldn't need a lot of money to support them'* (Ilcan *et al.*, 2015, p. 4). Those financial benefits are complemented with social merits, creating greater self-esteem and dignity for people, that often bear the psychological burden of experiences that had caused their refuge (UNHCR and OPM, 2017, p. 8). Leaving those refugees unsupported and denying them the right to employment, leaves them in limbo and raises the risk of psychological problems, violent tensions among families, the refugee as well as host communities (Kelley *et al.*, 2004, p. 7; UNHCR and OPM, 2017, p. 9). Scientists argue that self-reliance of refugees also benefits their health conditions, since refugees can individually decide on the satisfaction of nutritional needs (Wilson, 1992, p. 227).

As mentioned in 2.1.1, the presence of refugees can also benefit the host community regarding improvements in the infrastructure, an integration of services for refugees and hosts, newly created employment opportunities and a resulting reduction of poverty. The UNHCR regards self-reliance of refugees as the basis for fostering the development of host communities and a more effective peace-building (Kovács *et al.*, 2016, pp. 359–360). Researchers agree that only an enabling environment with liberate policies, including freedom of movement and employment, can achieve those benefits for the host and refugee community (Betts *et al.*, 2017b, p. 43; Feldman, 2007, p. 53; Wilson, 1992, p. 226). Apart from politics of host countries, numerous studies have analysed other vital factors to gain self-sufficiency of refugees, including economic and logistical (Halpern, 2008; Shalan, 2019; Seifert *et al.*, 2018), as well as socio-economic aspects (Easton-Calabria *et al.*, 2017; Lee *et al.*, 2015).

The introduction of the self-reliance concept has led to the discussion, if the shift of traditional refugee assistance towards the development-oriented approach of letting refugees become self-reliant has really led to improved conditions for refugees in practice. As many UN members are expected to deliver acceptable 'results' from the implemented self-reliance concept in their refugee camps, researchers have started investigating, if the self-reliance concept has really helped refugees to become autonomous. This has driven scientists to consider the topic of performance measurement in order to determine the self-reliance of refugees.

2.2 Measuring Self-Reliance: The Need for Performance Measurement

By now, it has become widely recognised in research that a high performance is essential to secure the well-being of people in need (Kopczak and Thomas, 2005, p. 8; van Wassenhove, 2006, p. 476). Criticism from humanitarian researchers on non-effective outcomes of relief operations, the demands of donors for transparency on how their money is being used, and the pressure of delivering live-enhancing solutions for the people in need have driven aid agencies to understand the importance of performance measurement in their operations (Beamon and Balcik, 2008, p. 15; Kopczak and Thomas, 2005, pp. 10–11; Renzaho, 2007, p. 9).

Definitions and approaches have been adopted from the corporate sector that define performance measurement '*as the process of quantifying the efficiency and effectiveness of action*' (Neely *et al.*, 1995, p. 80). The quantification is realized by applying a performance measurement system that encompasses a set of performance measures or metrics (Neely *et al.*, 1995, pp. 80–81). Performance measurement tools or systems support the processes of '*collecting, processing and delivering information on the performance of people, activities, processes, products, business units, etc.*' (Forza and Salvador, 2000, p. 359). The application of performance measurement tools allows an '*effective control and correction by reporting the current level of performance and comparing it with the desired level of performance*' (Abidi *et al.*, 2014, p. 592). This makes performance measurement essential for improving effectiveness and efficiency, since it raises transparency and reveals gaps or waste in the processes of service provision (Abidi *et al.*, 2014, p. 592; Beamon and Balcik, 2008, p. 5; Kaplan, 1990, p. 63). The quantified facts and transparent performance of the processes support an objective decision-making process for managers and allow a greater accountability to donors on the use of donated funds (Beamon and Balcik, 2008, p. 5; Gunasekaran and Kobu, 2007, p. 2838; Poister, 2008, p. 10). Though performance measurement itself cannot prevent disasters, it represents an opportunity to elevate the performance of aid organizations by tracking operations and revealing performance gaps (Krause, 2013, p. 123). If adequately tackled, the resulting actions can lead to stronger responses for the people in need that can more effectively reduce their suffering (Bölsche, 2013, p. 17).

Although the benefits of quantifying the self-reliance of refugees are increasingly understood, research lacks consensus on the tracking and evaluation of self-reliance. '*While self-reliance is often highlighted as a priority, few, if any, agencies are held to this goal, and this is in large part because self-reliance is not measured*' (Easton-Calabria *et al.*, 2017, p. 5). Many approaches have evolved on how to measure performance in the corporate field (Neely *et al.*, 1995, p. 84). Some of those standardized frameworks

have also been applied to the humanitarian sector, such as the Balanced Scorecard developed by Kaplan, R.S. and Norton, D.P. (1992) and the Supply Chain Reference Operations Model (SCOR) (Bölsche, 2013; Gizaw and Gumus, 2016, p. 110; Moe *et al.*, 2007). However, suitability of those performance measurement tools is low for measuring self-reliance of refugees: Those models focus on the optimization of supply chains and neglect decisive human well-being indicators, which are relevant for the protection and well-being of refugees that are expected to live independently from assistance. Standardized performance tools for the measurement of self-reliance of refugees have not yet been the primary focus of research, and Oloruntoba and Banomyong (2018) stress the *'pressing need for new conceptual tools and access to empirical data [...]'* to track relevant performance indicators that can ensure the provision of *'effective humanitarian aid and protection for refugees on the move or in temporary and permanent shelters'* (Oloruntoba and Banomyong, 2018, p. 286). Only recently, there have evolved two research projects aiming to standardize the measurement of self-reliance of refugees: The Self-Reliance Index (SRI) and Camp Performance Indicator (CPI) system. Both systems are not yet finished and are currently refined.

Developed by the Refugee Self-Reliance Initiative, the SRI represents a cooperation of several research institutes, government agencies and foundations that strive for *'expanding opportunities for refugees worldwide to become self-reliant and achieve a better quality of life'* (Refugee Self-Reliance Initiative, 2019a). The founders of the SRI aim to provide a tool that enables the measurement of progress towards self-reliance of refugee households living in urban areas (Refugee Self-Reliance Initiative, 2019b). The tool comprises indicators from twelve different fields, such as housing, healthcare, education, food, safety, employment, financial resources and social capital. Currently, a soft launch, having started in August 2019, aims to refine the tool in determined sites (Refugee Self-Reliance Initiative, 2019b).

A tool specifically developed for the measurement of self-reliance in refugee camps, is the Camp Performance Indicator (CPI) system developed by Schön (2020). The author aim to provide a tool that is easy to apply and that can support camp managers in measuring the level of self-reliance of refugees in the camp (Schön *et al.*, 2018, p. 354). By collecting data on more than 100 indicators that the authors found to be essential for enabling refugees a life in self-sufficiency, the status quo of self-reliance in the refugee camp and fields of underperformance are to be made transparent. Knowing the status quo and the major performance gaps is essential for achieving independence of refugees, as investments can be realized first, where they are most urgently needed (Schön *et al.*, 2018, p. 366).

2.3 Context Uganda

Before self-reliance is measured, Uganda is briefly introduced and the particularities of its refugee management approach are explained.

2.3.1 Country Profile

Uganda is located in East Africa and shares borderlines with the DRC, Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda and South Sudan (UBOS, 2018, p. 2). The country is clustered into several districts (UBOS, 2016, p. 3).

Uganda's size comprises an area of roughly 241,600 km² of which more than 30% is covered by swamps, rivers and lakes (State House Uganda, 2019; World Bank, 2019c). Uganda's water richness drives from its location in the African Great Lake region and the world's longest river Nile crossing the country (Diercke, 2010, p. 168). Despite its proximity to the equator, the climate is temperate owing to the altitude of the country (State House Uganda, 2019). The frequency and intensity of rainfalls vary throughout the country, but during the rainy season heavy rainfalls frequently cause inundations or landslides (Auswärtiges Amt, 2019; UBOS, 2018, p. 5). Due to the rather abundant amounts of precipitation and the richness in water, the soil in most regions is fertile, with the exemption of the semi-desert in the North-East, where rains and water bodies are rather scarce (State House Uganda, 2019).

Agriculture plays a vital role in Uganda's economy and represents the main sector of employment for 70% of the working population (World Bank, 2018, pp. 1–2). However, due to its dependence on weather conditions, the performance of the agricultural sector occasionally suffers from droughts and floods that do not only entail negative impacts on Uganda's economy but also on the food security of its population (Bernstein and Wiesmann, 2019, p. 2). The prevalence of hunger is additionally strained by the permanently growing population, annually growing by 3.6%, which makes Uganda one of the fastest growing populations worldwide (UNDESA, 2019, p. 14). After almost doubling its population size within only two decades, Uganda is now home to 44.27 million people (Worldometers, 2019b). The country's fertility rate of 5.0 is little above the African standard of 4.4 (Worldometers, 2019a, 2019b). Uganda's population is one of the youngest in the world, with a median age of 16.1 years and children and young people (0-24 years) making up almost 67% of Uganda's total population (Worldometers, 2019b). The capital city Kampala is home to about 1.4 million residents (UBOS, 2019; Worldometers, 2019b). Most Ugandans live in rural regions; only about 25 % reside in urban areas, though the trend of settling in cities has been slightly but continuously rising (Worldometers, 2019b).

Uganda is a multi-cultural and multi-lingual country with English and Swahili as official national languages (UBOS, 2016, p. 4). There is a great variety of ethnicities in the country, but the largest groups are the Baganda (16.5%), Banyankore (9.6%) and Basoga (8.8%). Almost all Ugandans are religious: Most of them are Christians (80%) and 14% are Muslims; only less than 1% are atheists (UBOS, 2016, pp. 19–20).

Uganda is a relatively peaceful country and has made relatively good progress in establishing democratic features by incorporating a separation of powers, a multi-party system and a decentralized governance concept into its constitution (EIU, 2019, p. 28; IEP, 2019, p. 9). Currently, the presidential Republic of Uganda is led by president Yoweri Museveni, who, according to the Ugandan Constitution, embodies the office of the head of state, head of government and commander about the national military (Amberger, 2019; Mutyaba, 2018; Völlnagel, 2020).

Nevertheless, Uganda is still a very poor country and is among the Least Developed Countries in the world (UNHCR, 2019d, pp. 17–18; UNSD, 2019). Despite a drastic poverty decline in the years from 1993 to 2005, still a 41.7% of the population lives below the international poverty line of 1,90\$ per day (World Bank, 2019b). Poverty in Uganda is spread with huge deviations across the country, with the Northern regions being most affected by poverty, underdevelopment and food insecurity due to less fertile agricultural lands (Bernstein and Wiesmann, 2019, p. 4; UNDP and OPHI, 2019, p. 5; World Bank,

2016, p. 5). The underdevelopment of the North is related to a long period of suffering from the brutal fights of a rebel group – the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) – that had halted infrastructural development for long. In fact, conflict and violence had determined the daily lives of Ugandans for long, and many nationals were displaced themselves during the 20th century, within the country and across its borders. Appendix 1.1 gives detailed information on Ugandas historic background since gaining independence.

Nowadays, Uganda represents a relatively safe harbour compared to its war-torn neighbours and has been given shelter to refugees already for decades, dating back to the late 1950s (Ahimbisibwe, 2018, p. 6; Betts *et al.*, 2019b, p. 2; Miller, 2018, p. 6). Also today, people in need enter Uganda to seek refuge in a country that is widely praised of following one of the most progressive refugee policies in the world, (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 4; UNHCR, 2018b).

2.3.2 The Refugee Situation in Uganda

In Uganda, refugees enjoy rights that many host countries are reluctant to permit: they are allowed to freely move across the country, to engage into employment activities and to access national health and education services (Bernstein and Wiesmann, 2019, p. 1; Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 4; Hovil and Gidron, 2018, p. 3). Uganda was among the first countries to adopt the SRS and has oriented its refugee assistance on development (Betts *et al.*, 2019b, p. 2; Hovil and Gidron, 2018, p. 6; UNHCR, 2003, p. 3).

Instead of being hosted in camps, refugees in Uganda are given shelter in local settlements that are usually situated in rural areas (Krause, 2014, p. 48; UNHCR, 2018d, p. 22). Those are regarded to be of a more permanent character than the traditional refugee camps (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil, 2004, p. 29; Krause, 2014, p. 48). When arriving to Uganda, refugees are first registered via a biometric verification process and are then allocated to a settlement. Alternatively, refugees can opt for self-settlement outside the organized settlement areas. In this case, refugees are not entitled to receive assistance (Hovil and Gidron, 2018, p. 6; Pederson, 2018, p. 29). Unlike the typical tent-city image of refugee camps, refugees in Bidibidi mainly reside in mud-brick houses which they built with materials and tools provided by the organization of the settlement (UNHCR Site Planning Unit Arua, 2018b; Okiror, 2020; UNDP, 2018b, p. 7). In contrast to camps, settlements *‘are like a normal village setting’*, as a settlement officer in Uganda states, *‘They are spacious, and we put services there: schools, education. We give [refugees] food; we give them land for farming. They are able to work, farm and do business, and actualize themselves’* (Ilcan *et al.*, 2015, pp. 2–3).

Agriculture builds the basis of its self-reliance concept: Refugee families are given a plot of land for housing and cultivation that is supposed to yield sufficient harvests to satisfy the food needs of the household and to generate an income by small-scale sales of cultivated crops (Ahimbisibwe, 2018, p. 6; Burnham *et al.*, 2003, p. 56; UNHCR, 2018d, p. 22). After some time, food rations are reduced, as refugees are expected to have reached self-sufficiency, except of people with specific needs that are always entitled to full food rations (Svedberg, 2014, p. 24).

Uganda’s refugee policies have anchored the right for education for refugees into national law. The integrated service concept foresees that refugee children can access national education services alongside children of the host community. Primary education in the settlements is largely free and

supported by the UNHCR and implementing partners. Secondary education is under the responsibility of the government of Uganda and requires the payment of tuition fees (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 36). The national policies allow refugees to freely move within and outside the settlement and to seek internal and external employment opportunities in order to become independent from humanitarian assistance (Burnham *et al.*, 2003, p. 56; Ilcan *et al.*, 2015, p. 4). Appendix 1 further details the policies of Uganda's refugee management.

A department dedicated to refugee affairs within the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) – a governmental ministry made up of several ministers that are led and supervised by the prime minister – acts as advisor on Uganda's refugee concerns for its domestic government and international partners (GOU, 2019). The Refugee Department further oversees the processes of asylum-seeking, refugee settlement and resettlement, and launches and coordinates new projects aiming to improve the well-being, protection and livelihoods of Ugandan refugees (Hoff, 2019, p. 2; OPM, 2019a). The major donor and operational partner of the government of Uganda is the UNHCR that together with the OPM creates partnerships with NGOS for the implementation of assistance in the settlements (Hoff, 2019, p. 2).

Currently, Uganda hosts 1.331.565 people (UNHCR, 2019l)³ and remains to give shelter to the third largest refugee population globally (UNHCR, 2019d, p. 3). Refugee numbers in Uganda are permanently on the rise.⁴ The refugee population in Uganda is mainly formed by women and children, jointly accounting for 83% of the total refugee population (UNHCR, 2019l). Alike Uganda's national population, 61% of refugees are younger than 18 years (UNHCR, 2019l).

Refugees coming to Uganda flee from brutal violence, abuses of human rights, as well as from ethnic and political persecutions (IEP, 2019, p. 9; UNHCR, 2019k, p. 5). The situation currently provoking the largest number of refugees in Uganda today is the conflict in South Sudan, that has displaced more than 840.000 South Sudanese people to Uganda (UNHCR, 2019l), making up about 64% of Uganda's total refugee population. The second largest share is held by the DRC, accounting for almost 29% (UNHCR, 2019l). A smaller but still significant number of refugees originate from Burundi (3.3%), Somalia (2.6%) and Rwanda (1.2%) (UNHCR, 2019l). Appendix 1.3 explains the causes of displacement for the nations taking the largest share on the refugee population in Uganda.

The Northern districts of Uganda host the largest refugee populations due to its proximity to the South Sudanese border; particularly the district of Yumbe, Adjumani and Arua (UNHCR, 2019m). Most refugees in Uganda reside in designated settlements (95%); only 5% settle in urban areas, mainly in the capital city Kampala (UNHCR, 2019h, 2019l). Refugees in Uganda are given assistance in 13 officially registered settlements that are jointly administered by the OPM, the UNHCR and its implementing partners (Svedberg, 2014, p. 23; World Bank, 2019a, p. 19). Figure 1 shows where refugee settlements in Uganda are situated and the number of refugees being hosted in the respective location.

Uganda's liberal policies aiming to foster the self-reliance and integration of refugees transmit an exemplary attitude towards the international community on how to deal with the refugee crisis, while

³ The number includes refugees and asylum seekers, the latter accounting for about 25,000 people.

⁴ Although statistics show a drop of refugee figures by 24% in July 2018, the lower numbers could not be attributed to decreasing refugee population but to a correction of misleading numbers, having resulted from corruptive mismanagement of OPM officials (Ampurire, 2018; Okiror, 2018; OPM *et al.*, 2018b, UNHCR, 2019d, p. 5, 2019m).

struggling with huge poverty among its own national civilians (Bernstein and Wiesmann, 2019, p. 1; Momodu, 2019). The following chapters determine if the theoretical policies have also in practice granted refugees promising opportunities to live a self-reliant life.

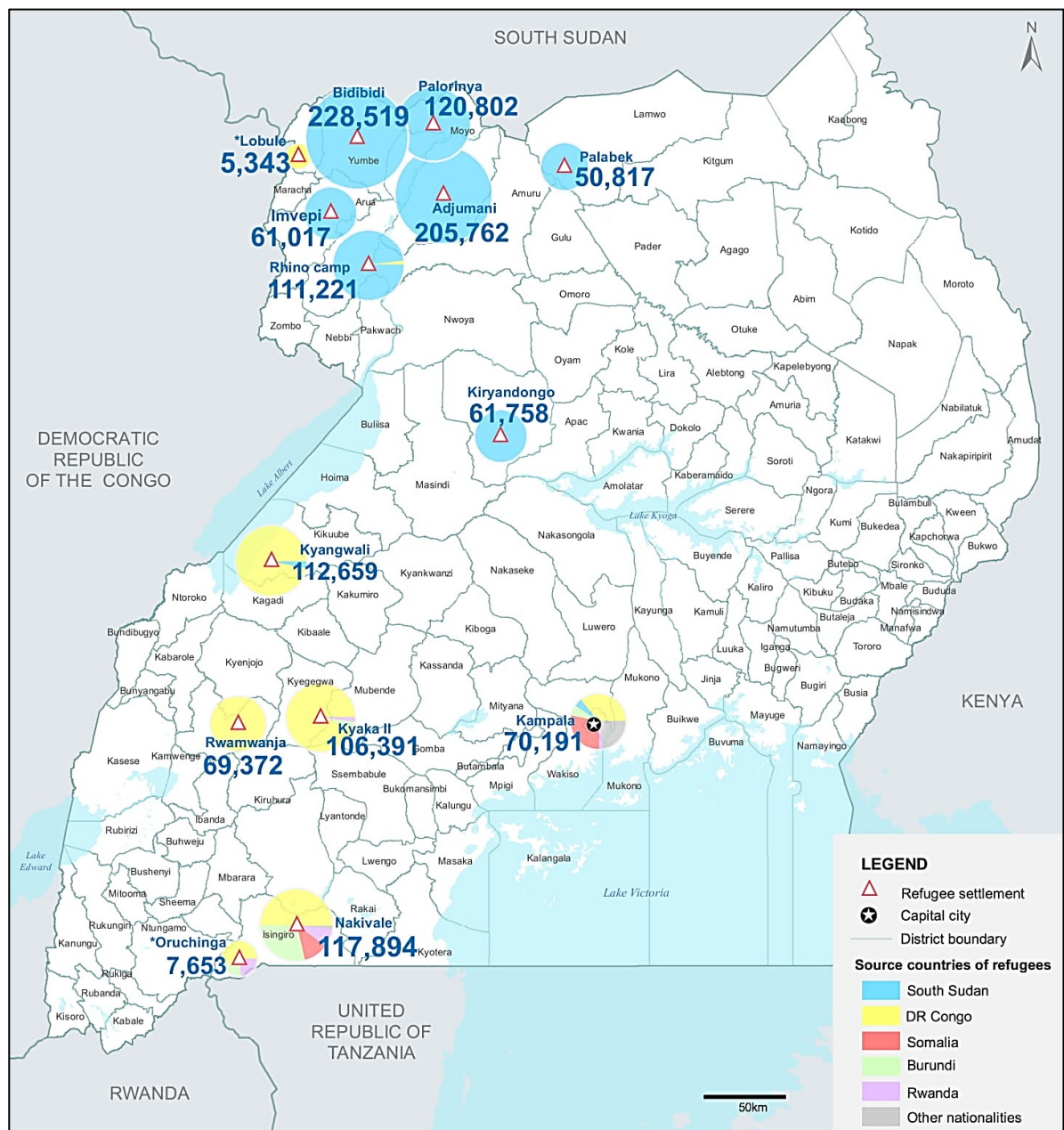


Figure 1: Location and population size of refugee settlements in Uganda (UNHCR, 2019h)⁵

⁵ The numbers include asylum-seekers in the settlements.

3 Methodology

To be able to determine self-reliance of refugees in Uganda, section 2.2 has identified two promising tools that target a quantitative measurement by the collection of indicators. The SRI and CPI were found to represent the most suitable tools for measuring the self-reliance of refugees. The CPI has been chosen for this analysis for the following reasons: While the SRI focuses on determining self-sufficiency of urban refugees, the CPI is a tool designed for the measurement of self-reliance in an encampment situation (Refugee Self-Reliance Initiative, 2019b; Schön *et al.*, 2018, p. 349). Further, the CPI integrates a much larger set of indicators that are considered to be essential for living a self-reliant life. Since the CPI suits the local settlement conditions in Uganda best and represents a more comprehensive approach, it is used to determine self-reliance in the Ugandan refugee settlements Bidibidi and Nakivale. The final version of the CPI has not yet been launched; thus, a prototype of August 2019 is used, which has been provided by the author. This version comprises 109 indicators.

The CPI system integrates a set of categories for the measurement, structured into several A-categories, that cover relevant areas for living a self-reliant life. A-categories are further divided into B-categories, that represent focus areas that often affect multiple A-categories. B-categories are further subdivided into precise indicators and sub-indicators, targeting certain focus groups or areas. Table 3 displays categories A and B and briefly summarizes its relevance for the achievement of self-reliance.

For each settlement, the indicators have been collected from surveys, data portals and reports published in research. The greatest amount of data could be accessed through the following studies: Most data for Bidibidi settlement has been delivered by REACH and UNHCR (2018a), REACH *et al.* (2019a) and UNHCR (2018g). Specific data on Nakivale is available in REACH and UNHCR (2018b), REACH *et al.* (2019b) and UNHCR (2018h). Reports published by OPM (2019b) and UNHCR (2019i) has delivered data for both settlements, similar as one available set of raw data by REACH (2019).

Category A	Category B	Relevance for self-reliance
Demographic data	Demographics Education Health and well-being	The demographic characteristics of the refugee population determine the needs and requirements of assistance provided: A huge presence of vulnerable groups, such as unaccompanied children, single parents, people with disabilities or ill individuals, require larger humanitarian assistance and protection efforts for their physical and mental well-being, whereas a huge labour force might rather need support in accessing capital for business ventures and in acquiring skills to raise employment chances or to stimulate alternative livelihood strategies (Crisp, 2003, p. 121; Werker, 2007, p. 473).
Gender equality and Children's education and political voice	Education Political voice and governance Gender equality	Education gives the basis for self-reliance and can help to avoid that young individuals adapt harmful survival strategies, such as child marriages or sex work (Dryden-Peterson, 2003, p. 4). Support is particularly needed for female refugees, as girls often drop out due to taking over the responsibility of doing chores, when a single mother must generate an income for the entire household (UNICEF <i>et al.</i> , 2018, p. 47). Continuing education and vocational trainings give young refugees greater future chances for their socio-economic development (Betts <i>et al.</i> , 2019a, p. 36).

Table 2: Categories of the CPI system, own compilation based on (Schön, 2020)

Category A	Category B	Relevance for self-reliance
Camp funding	Education Health and well-being Employment Material living standards Financial services Partnerships for the Goals Crisis management	Infrastructure of health services and education are often dependent on the funds of aid agencies (Miller, 2018, p. 10). For a permanent provision of qualitative assistance, disruptions of funding must be persistently prevented, as the well-being of refugees is essential to be able to take care of themselves (Omata and Kaplan, 2013, p. 10). Livelihood programmes, offering trainings on the acquisition of skills relevant for local economic opportunities or for setting up their own business can raise hopes and opportunities of refugees to become self-reliant and independent from assistance in the long run (Easton-Calabria <i>et al.</i> , 2017, p. 4). The provision of financial services, such as funds for business start-ups or credits granted by local banks, is essential to realize business ideas of refugees and to stimulate economic development (Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018, p. 1463). Partnerships with private and public institutions need to be aligned, effectively monitored and efficiently coordinated to avoid mutual destructive effects and raise effectiveness instead (World Bank and UNHCR, 2016, p. 51).
Basic needs	Health and well-being Material living standards Safety, Security Gender equality	Fulfilling basic needs, as food, water and health, are essential for the survival of refugee populations and their socio-economic development (Pederson, 2018, p. 36). The generation of income is essential to satisfy basic household needs but can face multiple obstacles due to local demand or labour right restrictions (Feldman, 2007, p. 66). Contrary to their traditional cultural role, women become the income earners for the household, when men remain or lose their lives in the conflict-affected area (Krause, 2015, p. 250). Female refugees are mostly in charge of pursuing life-relevant activities, e.g. water fetching and the collection of firewood, which can become a security threat due to the risk of sexual and gender-based violence in camps (WRC, 2014, 5). The absence of income sources for affording basic needs fosters the engagement into harmful survival practices (Duuki, 2019, p. 59).
Camp location	Employment Safety, Security	The location of a refugee camp has impacts on the economic opportunities of the refugee population. Remote locations with underdeveloped or unaffordable transportation services limit economic freedom of refugees and can impede access to local markets and employment opportunities (Crisp, 2003, p. 119). Situating camps in areas with huge poverty among locals can entail security risks for refugees (Bayne, 2007, p. 3). Safety issues come along with establishing camps in areas that are heavily affected by weather shocks, which place logistical obstacles on the provision of aid and threaten to destroy livelihoods (JICA, 2018, p. 55; Svedberg, 2014, p. 31).
Legal issues	Employment Political voice and governance Remedies/ Human Rights Public Sector	Laws and adherence to those by institutions and officials determine the freedom of decision of refugees, as they can restrict their mobility to the boundaries of the camp and not allow them to work (Werker, 2007, p. 464). Also, if given the right to work, bureaucratic regulations might require documentation, Restrictive rights and complex bureaucracy, demanding e.g. documentation that is not recognized in the country of asylum, can complicate or even impede refugees the access to the labour market (Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018, p. 1465).
Social capital	Employment Social capital Financial services Political voice and governance	Social capital can represent a valuable source of income for refugees. Remittances sent by relatives or friends or community-based saving groups give refugees means to afford basic food needs or to save money for starting or developing business ventures (Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018, p. 1465). Drawing back on social networks within the refugee community, with locals or with people abroad can be a source of support in emergency situations and favour the development of income-generating strategies of refugees (Betts <i>et al.</i> , 2019a, p. 26).

Table 3: Categories of the CPI system, own compilation based on (Schön, 2020)

4 Case Study: A Comparison of Two Ugandan Refugee Settlements

This section introduces the refugee settlements of Bidibidi and Nakivale and gives brief background information about the districts, in which the settlements had been established.

4.1 Bidibidi Refugee Settlement – Profile

Bidibidi settlement is situated in Yumbe district which forms part of the Northern region of Uganda and the West-Nile sub-regions (UNDP and UIA, 2017b, p. 3; West Nile Web, 2018a). The district area of 2.411 km² is split into 13 sub-counties of which five sub-counties are partly covered by Bidibidi settlement (Narangui, 2017, p. 2; UBOS, 2018, p. 142; West Nile Web, 2018b). Being situated close to the South Sudanese borderline, refugees finding shelter in Bidibidi are almost exclusively from South Sudan (see Figure 3); not even 1% of refugees originates from Sudan (OPM, 2019b; UNHCR, 2019i).

As already pointed out in 2.3.1, the northern West Nile sub-region is among the most vulnerable regions of Uganda, as it is characterized by an underdeveloped infrastructural network, huge poverty, hunger and undernutrition of children (Bernstein and Wiesmann, 2019, p. 2; World Bank, 2016, p. 19). Notwithstanding, districts in the West-Nile region have been recently hosting the largest share of the refugee population due to the long-lasting conflict in South Sudan (UNHCR, 2019h). To relieve Adjumani – another district in North-West Uganda bordering South Sudan – from the huge refugee influxes coming across the borderline, Bidibidi settlement started to welcome refugees in August 2016 (UNDP, 2018c, p. 18). Rising from an area covered by forest, Bidibidi refugee settlement has been expanding tremendously within a few months to a size of about 234.000 km² (Strochlic, 2019; UNHCR Site Planning Unit Arua, 2018b). Initially planned to give shelter to 45.000 refugees, boundaries of the settlement were

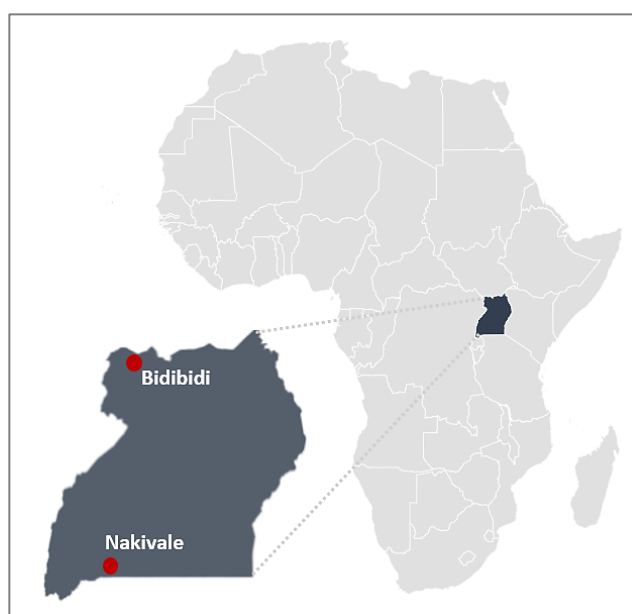


Figure 2: Location of Bidibidi and Nakivale refugee settlement, own compilation based on (GeoNames et al., 2020)

expanded by the opening of new zones (UNHCR *et al.*, 2016, p. 3). However, even then, capacities quickly became overstretched and already a few months later, with the exception of reunification cases of families, Bidibidi stopped taking in new arrivals (Catholic Relief Services, 2018; UNDP, 2016, p. 1). Currently hosting 228,519 refugees, Bidibidi settlement has become the country's largest refugee settlement, giving shelter to 17% of the nationwide refugee population (see Figure 5) (OPM, 2019b). Bidibidi settlement is among the world's largest refugee settlements (Krug, 2019; OPM and UNHCR, 2018). The situation in Bidibidi tends to become protracted, as people cannot return home due to the continuous fighting and destruction in South Sudan (NRC, 2019).

As Figure 6 illustrates, Bidibidi's refugees reside in five zones within the settlement (Boswel, 2018, p. 9; UNHCR Site Planning Unit Arua, 2018b; West Nile Web, 2018b). Today, in Bidibidi, refugee families, regardless of their household size, are given a plot for residential purpose of 30m x 30 m and receive a second plot of land of the same size for cultivation purposes (UNDP, 2018b, p. 7). Due to the huge size of the settlement, distances to the town of Yumbe and the South Sudanese borderline differ from each zone (UNHCR Site Planning Unit Arua, 2018a, 2018b). Reception centre 1 located in Zone 1 is about 13 km away from Yumbe town (UNHCR Site Planning Unit Arua, 2018b). As the Ugandan refugee policies allow refugees to freely move within and outside the settlements, its boundaries are not fenced (Pilling, 2017).

Refugees in Yumbe represent more than a third of the district's population (see Figure 5) (OPM, 2019b; UNHCR, 2019m). The host population in Yumbe currently comprises 629,400 Ugandans and is the third largest nationwide. Alike other districts in West Nile, the population of Yumbe highly depends on the outcomes of the agricultural sector: It is the main sector of employment and the crucial livelihood activity (UNHCR, 2018c, p. 14; West Nile Web, 2018a; Yumbe Local Government, 2015, p. 24). Most of the land in Yumbe is suitable for agricultural production with loamy soil in most areas, apart from some eastern sub-counties of mainly sand and gravel lands, of which some, Odravu and Romogi sub-county, form part of Bidibidi settlement (Crailsheim *et al.*, 2019, p. 20; Ilebo, 2016; Narangui, 2017, p. 2; UNHCR, 2018c, p. 14). There are two usual rain seasons in West Nile, from March to May and the principal rain season from August to December (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 7).

Most nationals in Yumbe have their origin from the Aringa people – people having experience with being displaced themselves and hosting internally displaced nationals during the brutal fights of the LRA (Boswel, 2018, p. 11). Aringa Lugbara is the most common language in Yumbe (UNDP and UIA, 2017b, p. 4). Due to its Central Sudanic origin, the language has similarities with some languages spoken by refugees in Bidibidi, but most refugees in Bidibidi are Bari-speakers (Boswel, 2018, p. 9). The most popular religious belief of Ugandans in Yumbe is the Islam (77%), while the vast majority of refugees in Bidibidi are Christians (90%) (UNDP, 2016, p. 7; West Nile Web, 2018b; Yumbe Local Government, 2015, p. 40). Characteristic for the West-Nile region, the prevalence of hunger, underdevelopment and poverty encumbers the rural lives of Ugandans in Yumbe, and as refugee numbers are constantly rising, the district's resources have become increasingly strained (Bernstein and Wiesmann, 2019, p. 2; World Bank, 2019a, p. 13).

Countries of origin of refugees in Bidibidi

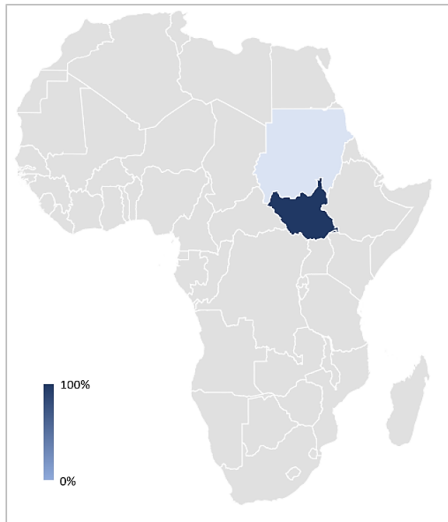


Figure 3: Countries of origin of refugees in Bidibidi, based on (OPM, 2019b, p. 2)

Countries of origin of refugees in Nakivale

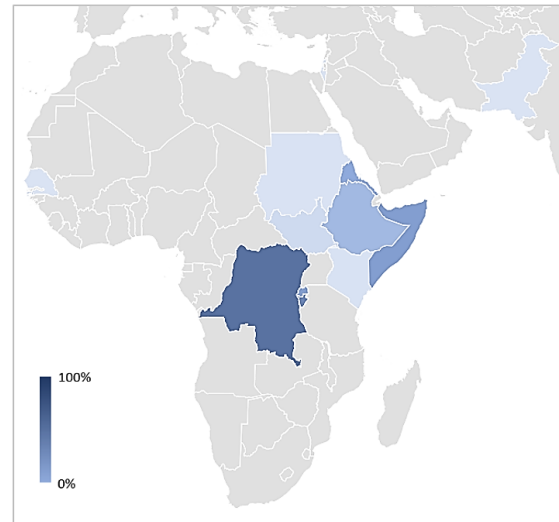


Figure 4: Countries of origin of refugees in Nakivale, based on (OPM, 2019b, p. 2)

4.2 Nakivale Refugee Settlement – Profile

Nakivale refugee settlement is situated in Isingiro district in South-Western Uganda and is about 27km away from the Tanzanian borderline (Ilcan *et al.*, 2015, p. 2; UNDP and UIA, 2017a, p. 3). The settlement spreads across three northern sub-counties of Isingiro, covering a total area of about 185 km² (Isingiro District Local Government, 2015, p. 4; UNHCR, 2014b; UNHCR and GOU, 2018). Nakivale is located in a rural area with the closest town Mbarara being about 60km away (Ilcan *et al.*, 2015, p. 2). Figure 7 depicts the area of Nakivale refugee settlement.

Nakivale settlement is one of the oldest refugee settlement of Uganda and hosts the largest refugee population outside the Northern region, giving shelter to 9% of the total Ugandan refugee population (see Figure 5) (REACH *et al.*, 2019b, p. 1; UNHCR, 2019h). Opened in 1958 to host Tutsi refugees from Rwanda fleeing the national Hutu governance, and officially recognized as a refugee settlement in 1960, Nakivale has been giving shelter to refugees from the African continent for decades (Bagenda *et al.*, 2003, p. 4; Betts *et al.*, 2019a; UNHCR, 2014b; REACH *et al.*, 2019b, p. 1). Today, 117.894 refugees live in three zones of Nakivale settlement – in the zones of Base camp, Rubondo and Juru (OPM, 2019b; UNHCR, 2014b). In contrast to the homogeneous refugee population in Bidibidi, Nakivale's population is characterized by huge diversity with hosting refugees from twelve different nations (see Figure 4): Half of the refugees in Nakivale come from the DRC (49.5%). Other largely represented nations are Burundians (29%), Somalis (11.3%) and Rwandan (8.2%) (OPM, 2019b; UNHCR, 2019i).

Similar to Bidibidi, refugee households in Nakivale are supposed to be allocated land of a standard 30mx30m size for housing and another agricultural plot alleged to measure 50mx50m (UNHCR, 2018e). However, recent reports have mentioned land reductions in some cases, restricting shelter plots to 15mx20m and cultivation land to a size of 20mx50m (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 18).

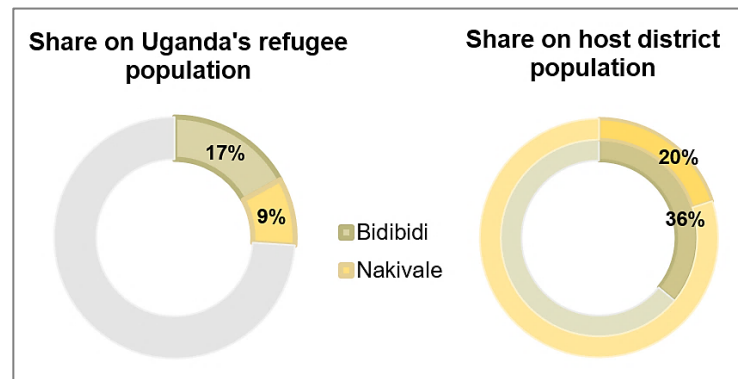


Figure 5: Refugee population share of the national refugee population and on the hosting district population , based on (OPM, 2019b; UNHCR, 2019m)

Isingiro district comprises an area of about 2.610 km² that gives a home to 9.7% of Uganda's national population (UNDP and UIA, 2017a, p. 3). Every fifth of resident of the district is a refugee that lives in Nakivale (see Figure 5). Apart from Nakivale, refugees in Isingiro also reside in Oruchinga settlement, but its refugee population only takes a relatively small share of Uganda's refugee numbers, accounting for less than 1% (REACH *et al.*, 2019c, p. 1; UNHCR, 2019h).

The district has rich soil and large water bodies, with Lake Nakivale and wetlands (UNDP and UIA, 2017a, p. 6). Also the South-West of Uganda is usually hit twice per year by rainy seasons, from March to May and from August to November (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 17). Relatively good climate lets subsistence agriculture adopt a central role in Isingiro and employs about 80% of the district's population (Isingiro District Local Government, 2015, p. 24; MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 17; UNDP and UIA, 2017a, p. 3). Due to its proximity to Lake Nakivale, fish farming and fishing are other popular economies for locals, along with animal husbandry (UNDP and UIA, 2017a, p. 3). Hosts in Isingiro reside close to refugees in Nakivale, since land needs for farming and grazing cattle has driven nationals in the 1980s to move towards unmarked areas of Nakivale that were still rather sparsely populated at that point of time (Bagenda *et al.*, 2003, p. 6). Consequent influxes from refugees demanded those lands for new arrivals, which led to land disputes with the national population (Bagenda *et al.*, 2003, pp. 6–7). Due to the diversity of nations in Nakivale, refugees bring a huge variety of languages and ethnicities. The principal language spoken of Ugandan nationals in Isingiro is Runyankore (UNDP and UIA, 2017a, p. 3).

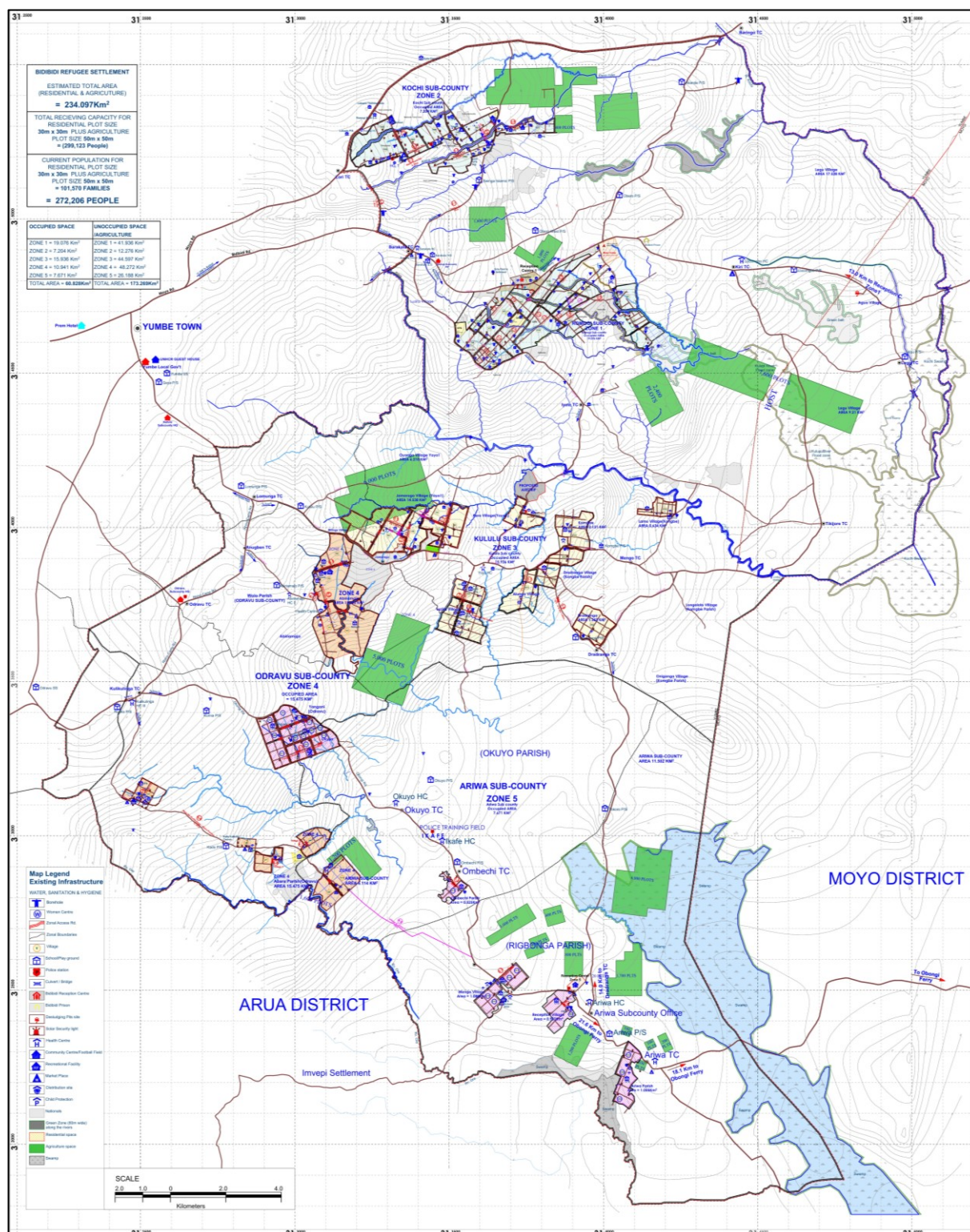


Figure 6: Map of Bidibidi refugee settlement (UNHCR Site Planning Unit Arua, 2018b)⁶

⁶ Refugee numbers include asylum seekers in the settlements.

4.3 Comparison of the Settlements and Interpretation of Results

The following section compares the findings identified with the application of the CPI tool on the status quo of self-reliance in Bidibidi and Nakivale refugee settlement (see Appendix 2). Revealed differences are explained with findings from qualitative research in order to identify gaps to self-reliance across the various fields of the CPI tool. The findings are compared and interpreted aggregated for each B-category of the CPI tool.⁷ Section 4.3.2 demonstrates findings identified by the comparison of both settlements on factors that are specific for Uganda's refugee management approach. More factors are addressed in 4.3.3 that may have caused distinct self-reliance levels of refugees in the two contrasting settlements.

4.3.1 Self-Reliance in Bidibidi and Nakivale Refugee Settlement: Findings from the CPI

DEMOGRAPHICS (CPI# 1-9)

Findings. The refugee population of Bidibidi and Nakivale does not only differ regarding the nationalities hosted, but also regarding its age structure (see Figure 9): The population of Bidibidi refugee settlement is generally younger than in Nakivale. The largest population share in Bidibidi consists in children from 5-11 years (30%), while in Nakivale, most refugees are between 18-59 years old (44%). In total, 69% of Bidibidi's refugee population are children (0-17 years), while in Nakivale children still make up more than half of the population (54%), but the children-adult ratio is still more balanced than in Bidibidi (see Figure 9). Exact data on the labour force, excluding individuals that are not capable of engaging in an economic activity, e.g. due to pregnancies or illnesses, could not be found. Owing to the higher presence of adults aged 18-59 years in Nakivale (44%) in comparison to Bidibidi (29%), it is presumed that, by the same token, the labour force in Nakivale is larger than in Bidibidi.

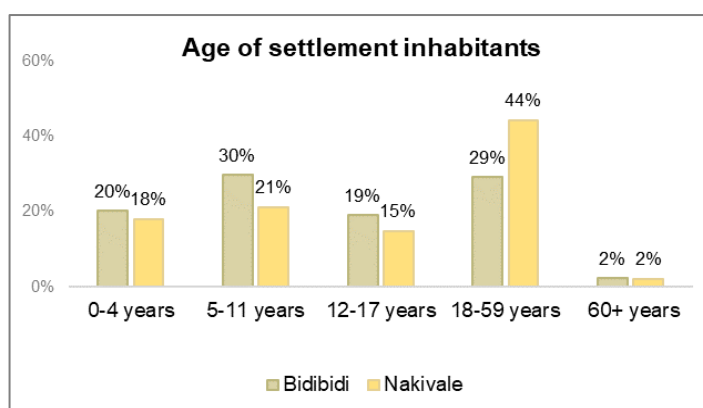


Figure 9: Age groups of refugee population, own compilation based on (OPM, 2019b, p. 1)

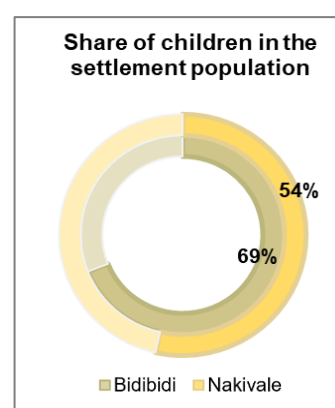


Figure 9: Share of children in the refugee population, own compilation based on (OPM, 2019b, p. 1)

Looking at the overall gender distribution, the number of female and male refugees in both settlements is relatively balanced. Differences in gender relations become visible when splitting up into the age groups of children and adults (see Figure 11): Girls and boys are equally present in both settlements,

⁷ Neither quantitative nor qualitative information was available for category Public Sector (#CPI 98).

but the breakdown reveals a predominance of adult women in Bidibidi (59%). In Nakivale, the gender ratio of refugees older than 18 years mainly corresponds to the overall gender distribution in the settlement. The large presence of women in Bidibidi correlates with a high number of female-headed households in Bidibidi (64%) (see Figure 11). Again, in Nakivale, responsibility over refugee households is taken over by male (51%) and female refugees (49%) to a similar share.

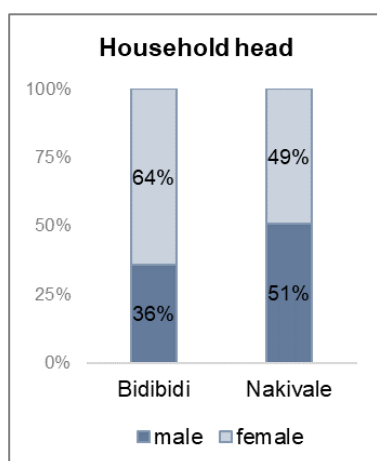


Figure 11: Household head by gender, own compilation based on (REACH and UNHCR, 2018b, p. 1, 2018a, p. 1)

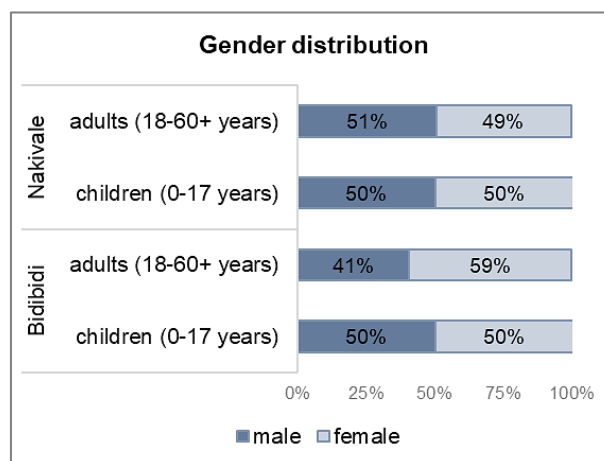


Figure 11: Gender distribution by age group of the refugee population, own compilation based on (OPM, 2019b, p. 1)

Since children outweigh the number of adults in both settlements, it can be assumed that for some households children are forced to be responsible for the household, particularly because some children have arrived without any relatives to Bidibidi (3%) and Nakivale (1%). Although the share of unaccompanied minors of the total children population looks relatively small in both settlements, every third household in Bidibidi hosts an unaccompanied or separated child (62%); in Nakivale, only 15% of refugee households are affected (see Figure 12). When looking at people with disabilities, the picture is reverse, with more disabled individuals in Nakivale (1.4%) than in Bidibidi (0.8%) (UNHCR, 2019i, 2019j). The extent of the prevalence of refugees with disabilities becomes visible when looking at the

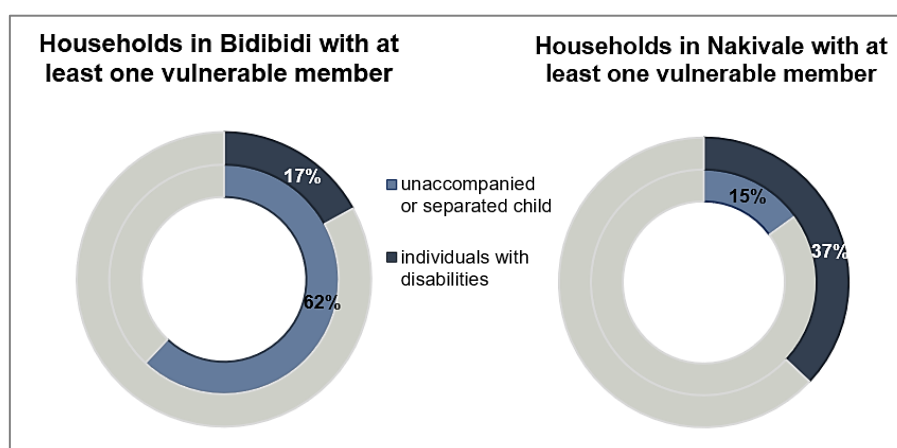


Figure 12: Refugee households with at least one member being disabled or an unaccompanied or separated child, own compilation based on (REACH and UNHCR, 2018b, p. 1, 2018a, p. 1)

household level, illustrated in Figure 12: More than a third of households in Nakivale (37%) report having at least one member with a disability, while households in Bidibidi are much less affected (17%).

A significant difference between Bidibidi and Nakivale consists in the time of residence of refugees in the settlements: Based on a study from May 2019, all refugees in Bidibidi (100%) had arrived in the settlement within the previous two to five years (see Figure 14). In contrast, most refugees in Nakivale have been living in the settlement for more than five years (75%) Figure 13 displays the arrival year of refugees currently residing in Nakivale by nationality and reveals that most refugees have been living in Nakivale already for decades: Rwandans are the 'oldest' residents of Nakivale, with most of them having arrived in the aftermath of the 1994 genocide. About a third of Nakivale's current refugee population, mainly Congolese refugees, had arrived between 2006 to 2008, and the most recent large influx of refugees into Nakivale came from Burundi between 2014 and 2016.

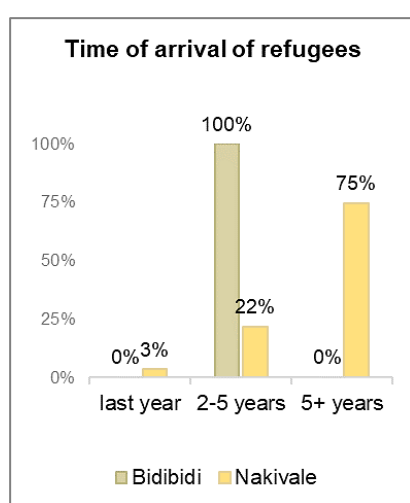


Figure 14: Time of arrival of refugees at the settlement, own compilation based on (REACH, 2019)

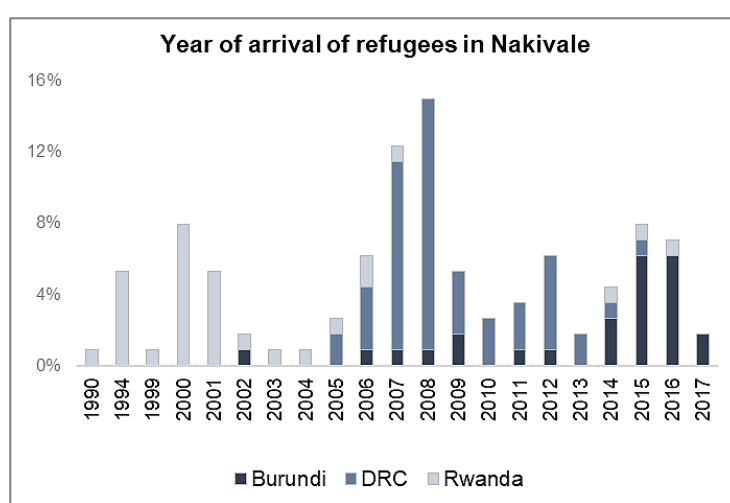


Figure 13: Year of arrival of Nakivale's refugee population, own compilation based on (REACH, 2019)

Almost everyone of the exclusively South Sudanese refugee population in Bidibidi (93%) state to consider a return, in case peace stabilizes the situation in their home country, but do not have a concrete plan to realize a return at the moment (OECD, 2019, p. 27). In Nakivale, most refugees do not even mention vague plans of returning or relocating elsewhere (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 35). A study on other settlements shows that on a national level only very few households have concrete plans to resettle elsewhere (3%) (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 35). Also, relocating within Uganda is not an often mentioned idea: Moving within the national boundaries of Uganda has become a planned and even already implemented action by only very few refugees in Bidibidi and Nakivale settlement, intending to access better education and livelihood options, join other family members or to generate income for household members remaining in the settlement (REACH and NRC, 2019, p. 32; REACH *et al.*, 2019b, p. 4).

INTERPRETATION. The larger representation of vulnerable groups in Bidibidi, including women, children and unaccompanied minors, can be attributed to the armed conflict in South Sudan. Many men have remained in their home country to fight or have lost their lives in the war. Consequently, women have come with their children to seek protection in Bidibidi, just as unaccompanied children having lost

their parents. The war in South Sudan could be also the cause for the relatively little presence of individuals with disabilities in Bidibidi compared to Nakivale: As some disabilities might have put insurmountable obstacles for the affected persons to take the long trip of escape, these people might not have been able to reach the designated settlement. Owing to the absence of men, women in Bidibidi have naturally become the head of the family and have been forced to take over dual responsibilities of caretaking and income-generating activities to secure the well-being of the household members.

The generally large presence of children in both settlements also stems from the beliefs and traditional roles anchored in many African cultures: Despite the plight situation that many refugees face daily in both Nakivale and Bidibidi, many refugees stick with their cultural and religious beliefs and reproduce, as children are often regarded as a sign of richness (Mankani, 2011, pp. 14–15). Women often do not take the decision themselves to have another baby, as the decision power in many families remain with men that determine the size of the family or whether their wives are using contraceptives. A refugee women in Nakivale points out her limited decision power as a wife: *'All these years I just kept reproducing because my husband wanted me to, and because he didn't like me using family planning, and now I have told my daughter to never make the mistake I made by having ten children when I could have stopped'* (Mankani, 2011, pp. 14–15). Having another child is also regarded as a mean to access more humanitarian aid (Mankani, 2011, pp. 14–15).

The notable difference in the time of residence of refugees in both settlements is attributed to the differing duration of existence of the two settlements: While Bidibidi has only been open for refugees since 2016 in response to the ongoing war in South Sudan, and quickly has been closed due to the overstretched capacities of the settlement, Nakivale has been giving refuge to people in need throughout the past sixty years. Instability and recurrent conflicts in the neighbouring countries has let Nakivale frequently experience new refugee influxes. For many of its residents, having fled from the 1994 genocide in Rwanda and recrudescence conflicts in the DRC, Nakivale has become their new home, after having spent decades living there. After such a long time, the willingness to start a new life elsewhere is correspondingly low, as many have already built up a new life in Nakivale. Also, the insecure situation in the home countries of refugees in both Nakivale and Bidibidi and Uganda's general hospitality does not drive many of the refugee community to neither plan their return to their home country, nor to consider relocating elsewhere.

EDUCATION (CPI# 10-21)

FINDINGS. In both settlements, about every second school-aged child is out of school. Dropout rates of school-aged children increase with higher levels of education: About every second child in the usual age of primary education is enrolled in a primary school in Nakivale (69%); in Bidibidi, the enrolment rate is somewhat lower (58%). Enrolment rates in secondary schools are drastically lower compared to primary education, especially in Nakivale, where only 6% of the youth is enrolled in a secondary school. Although the share of participation is higher in Bidibidi (19%), only very few refugee children access secondary education in the settlement.

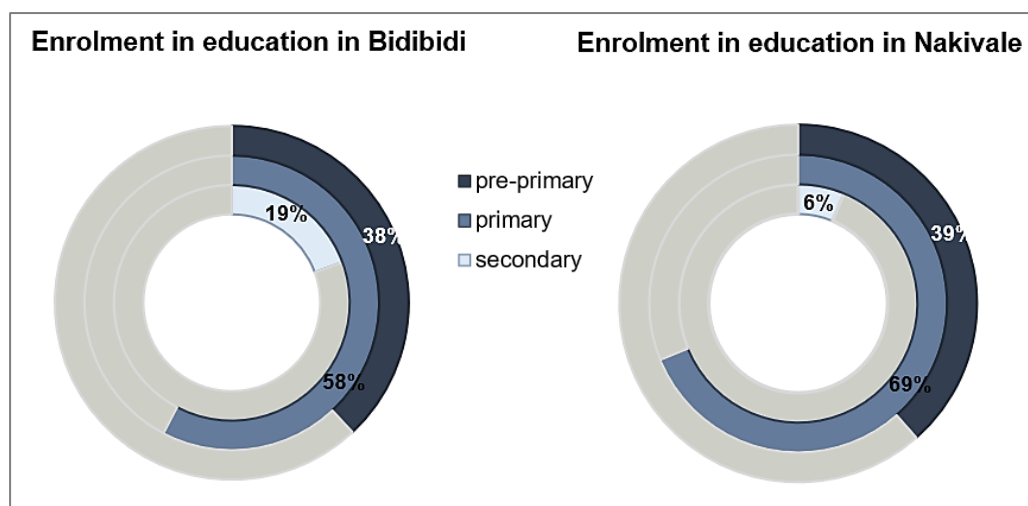


Figure 15: Gross enrolment rates of refugee children pre-primary, primary and secondary education, own compilation based on (UNHCR, 2018h, p. 3, 2018i, p. 3)

Nakivale is somewhat better equipped regarding pre-primary and primary education infrastructure, since more facilities are given for a respectively smaller number of children than in Bidibidi. However, Nakivale tremendously underperforms in the provision of infrastructure for secondary education: There is only one secondary school in the entire settlement, requiring a tuition fee of UGX 200.000 per term (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 25; Ilcan *et al.*, 2015, p. 5). In Bidibidi, infrastructure for secondary education is more extended, comprising five secondary schools (UNHCR and OPM, 2017, p. 9). In Nakivale, there are two schools for the education of children with specific needs (UNHCR, 2014a). Classroom-student ratios in Bidibidi's primary schools are on average 1:120. Due to the much lower rates of enrolment in secondary schools, there are fewer pupils per classroom, 1:80, in Bidibidi's secondary schools (FCA, 2019, p. 13). Also in Nakivale, overcrowded classrooms turn qualitative teaching into a tremendous challenge, with average teacher to classroom ratios of 1:180 in primary classes (Ilcan, 2018, p. 105).

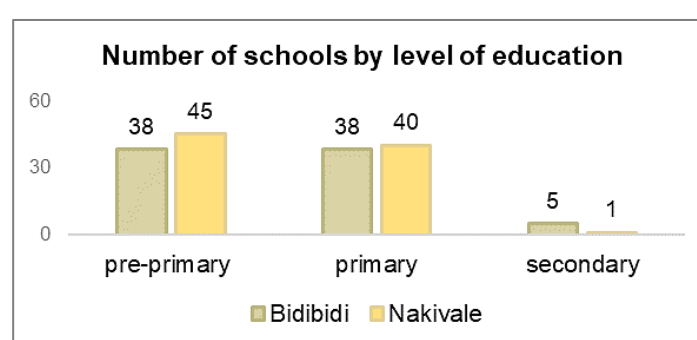


Figure 16: Number of schools for pre-primary, primary and secondary education, own compilation based on (UNHCR, 2018g, p. 3, 2018h, p. 3)

Data on literacy rates specifically for both settlements were not given, but standards from origin countries of the refugee populations can serve as a proxy. South Sudanese standards deliver a basis for Bidibidi, as only people from South Sudan reside in the settlements. These data show that only 27% of the population older than 15 years are able to read and write (UNDP, 2018a, p. 57). In Nakivale, aggregated

data on literacy rates from DRC, Rwanda and Burundi reveal a significantly higher number of people who can read and write (71%) (UNDP, 2018a, pp. 56–57).

Possibilities of accessing vocational trainings are very restricted in both settlements. In Bidibidi, there is one vocational training centre, situated in Zone 2, with a capacity of only 80 trainees (UNHCR, 2018c, p. 25). Trainings are offered to increase chances for employment in the local market, by teaching interviewing practices and by informing about and preparing for local work opportunities. Other trainings aim to empower refugees by acquiring alternative livelihood qualifications in hairdressing, tailoring, catering or mechanics (UNHCR, 2018c, p. 25). There is also a Training Institute for Social Development in Nakivale, maintained by Nsamizi – the major partner of UNHCR for livelihood programmes – that teaches refugees to become self-reliant by fostering their knowledge on agricultural practices, seeds productivity and animal husbandry (Ilcan, 2018, p. 102). Further, the organization supports the creation of farming groups and implements vocational training sessions on enhancing professional skills in various economic activities, including the set-up of small businesses (Ilcan, 2018, p. 102). Sometimes, Nsamizi has offered financial support for business ideas by issuing small amounts of capital, but there have been cases when refugees instead used the funds for more urgent needs, as the purchase of food (Ilcan *et al.*, 2015, p. 5). The Finnish Refugee Council offers skills trainings on livelihoods, including courses on literacy and English for adults, throughout 36 centres in Nakivale (UNHCR, 2014a).

Some refugees in both settlements have had the chance to attend trainings offered in the settlements: About 55% of Bidibidi's refugees indicate to have obtained skills training, most of them being financial literacy trainings (29%) (DCA and UNHCR, 2017, p. 17). Offering financial literacy trainings is in line with the preferences expressed by refugees in Bidibidi, but besides there is a huge demand for vocational trainings (72%) and entrepreneurship skills (38%) (DCA and UNHCR, 2017, p. 17). Although agriculture is supposed to represent the principal livelihood source of refugees in Uganda, 68% of refugees in Bidibidi have not gone through any trainings on agricultural skills and practices (DCA and UNHCR, 2017, p. 21). The youth of Bidibidi's refugee population transmits huge dissatisfaction with the restricted livelihood initiatives in the settlement (UNHCR and OPM, 2017, p. 10). Trainings on financial literacy, business skills and planning offered in Bidibidi leave out 94% of the youth (DCA and UNHCR, 2017, p. 27). Particularly in Bidibidi (62%), refugees regard the lack of skills as one of the major barriers to the success of livelihoods; in Nakivale less but still almost a third (29%) indicates to miss skills and qualifications to realise livelihoods (see Figure 25).

INTERPRETATION. Gross enrolment rates in schools of both settlements display that the theoretical right to education has become practice not for all refugee children due to a highly underdeveloped educational infrastructure in both settlements. The greater participation in primary education is mainly attributed to a more advanced infrastructure network for primary education in both settlements: With the support of UNHCR and its implementing partners, infrastructure focus has been set to the establishment of facilities for primary education, which has left infrastructure for secondary education largely underdeveloped. The only secondary school in Nakivale located in Base camp is costly and largely inaccessible for refugee children living in the 20-km distant Rubondo zone, which applies to 17% of households in Nakivale (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 25; Ilcan *et al.*, 2015, p. 5).

Apart from the insufficient number of schools to meet the demand for education in both settlements, a poor learning environment impedes proper learning (JICA, 2018, p. 98): The ramshackle building structures do not give protection from wind and rain and disturb a qualitative learning environment, with classroom floors being flooded during heavy rains (JICA, 2018, p. 99). Poor sanitation infrastructure in schools and inadequate sanitary supply makes many girls drop out of school during their menstruation (FCA, 2019, p. 13). The frequent absence makes it hard to catch up with the missed contents and often results into underperformance, which makes them lose motivation to continue their educational path (FCA, 2019, p. 9). The amount of classrooms are far not enough, causing an overcrowded learning atmosphere with an insufficient availability of desks and chairs. An insufficient number of poorly trained teachers to handle the overcrowded classrooms are a principal problem in Bidibidi, which particularly affects primary schools (REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 4, 2018b, p. 4; UNHCR, 2018f, p. 1). Teaching in Nakivale is additionally challenged by the variety of languages coming along with refugee children of diverse nationalities (Ilcan, 2018, p. 105).

The inadequate number of schools has led to low enrolment rates of children. Besides a poor educational infrastructure, other deficiencies put further obstacles to access education in both settlements: Those are the high costs for tuition for secondary schooling, books, uniforms, food and transportation (REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 4, 2018b, p. 4). Some refugees in Bidibidi receive scholarships for education, but such support is limited and many young people report not being aware about these possibilities (UNHCR and OPM, 2017, p. 9). The scarcity of food negatively impacts the concentration and performance of children in school, because *'if children are hungry, how can they read or write?'* (Ilcan, 2018, p. 106). Instead of attending costly education, many children must engage in the generation of income or in the completion of chores while parents are working (FCA, 2019, p. 13). Lacking support in treating psychological burdens of children, having resulted from the flight experience or domestic violence, takes them the motivation of living their right to education (FCA, 2019, p. 9). Motivation of going to school is further intertwined with security risks that the long distances to schools entail, especially for girls who fear becoming victims of sexual violence on their way to school. Poor road conditions complicate or even prevent children from reaching schools during the rainy season, when streets are flooded (FCA, 2019, p. 9).

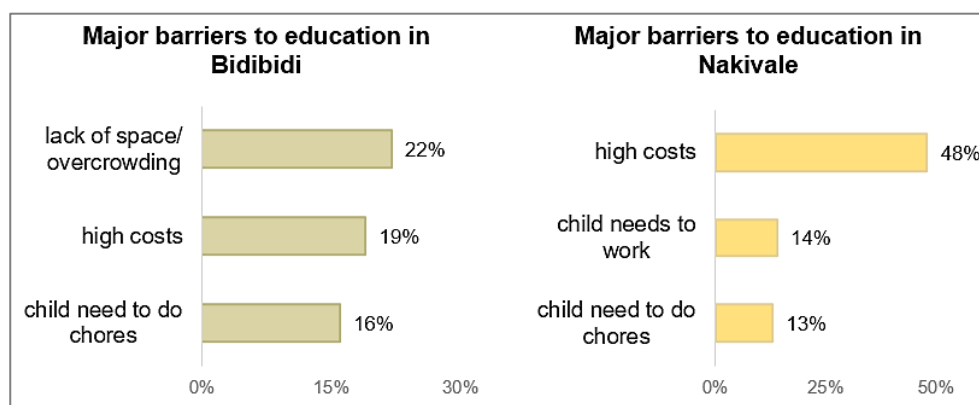


Figure 17: Major barriers to education, own compilation based on (UNHCR, 2018h, p. 3, 2018i, p. 3)

Although enrolment rates in Nakivale are somewhat higher for primary education, many refugee children drop out of education due to linguistic barriers: The national education system envisions lower primary education to be taught in the local language of the district. Although primary education is largely free, refugee children do not attend classes, as the language puts obstacles to following the content of the courses (World Bank and UNHCR, 2016, p. 33). A refugee in Nakivale explains the educational hurdles that children face in the settlement: *'They walk and get too tired and at school they cannot speak [the language of instruction], the teachers beat them. This discourage them and make them hate school.'* (WRC, 2016, p. 20). While interactions in Nakivale face linguistic barriers, particularly for refugees from francophone areas, communication and understanding in Yumbe is facilitated by some shared languages, such as Kakwa and Aringa (MicroFinanza, 2018, pp. 19–21).

Not only children face barriers in accessing education, but also only few adults are given the chance to enhance their skills and knowledge. Looking at educational levels that the refugee population in Bidibidi and Nakivale had gained in their home countries reveals that particularly South Sudanese refugees in Bidibidi have a great need for educational measures. The wider access to trainings in Bidibidi can be attributed to a notably larger number of implementing partners for livelihood and resilience support in Bidibidi, with 24 operational partners in Yumbe and only three partners in Isingiro (UNHCR, 2018g, p. 3, 2018h, p. 3). However, although a vocational training centre is present in both settlements, trainings largely exclude refugees residing in other zones than where the training institute is located due to long distances and high costs of transportation (Svedberg, 2014, pp. 34–35; Ilcan *et al.*, 2015, p. 5; UNHCR, 2014a). There is huge need for skills trainings in enhancing the livelihoods of refugees, as the lack of skills is mentioned as one of the largest livelihood challenges, particularly among refugees in Bidibidi.

HEALTH AND WELL-BEING (CPI# 22-29)

FINDINGS. There could not be found any data on the presence of stigmatized or contagious diseases, but many refugee households in both settlements report to have members that suffer from malaria and diarrhoea. Refugees in Nakivale are also largely affected by extreme stress, while many refugee households in Bidibidi indicate to have members with skin diseases. While about every fourth refugee

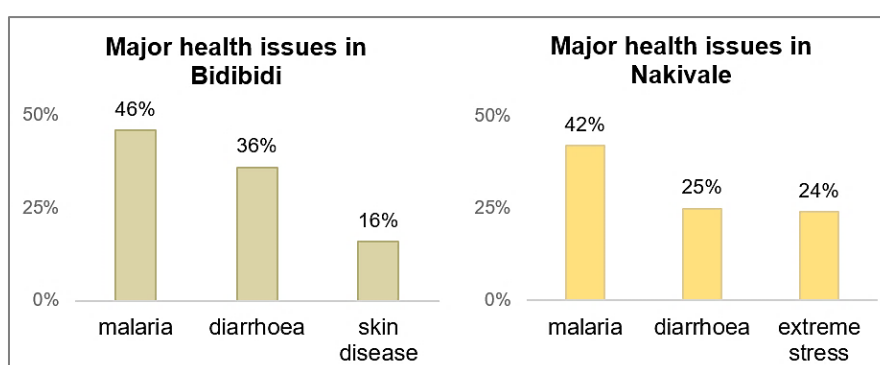


Figure 18: Most common health issues of refugee households, own compilation based on (REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 3, 2018b, p. 3)

household in Bidibidi (24%) indicates to have at least one member suffering from psychological distress, more households in Nakivale are affected (41%) (REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 1, 2018b, p. 1). Of those, about one third remains untreated in both settlements (34%).

Not even half of refugee households intending to seek health treatment in Bidibidi (48%) and Nakivale (42%) are able to access healthcare without facing challenges.

Sanitation infrastructure is more advanced in Nakivale. More than half of refugee households have access to an improved toilet facility (58%), which are usually even owned by only one household (OPM *et al.*, 2018, p. 14). In Bidibidi, not even a third of refugee households can access an improved toilet (30%), but the majority of improved toilets are for the private use of one single household (OPM *et al.*, 2018, p. 26).

Despite the proximity to Lake Nakivale, water is less available in Nakivale than in Bidibidi to serve the basic water needs of a refugee household: Only 24% of refugee households in Nakivale report to have enough water to satisfy drinking water, cooking and bathing needs (REACH and UNHCR, 2018b, p. 3). In Bidibidi, more refugee households (54%) have access to enough water for basic household needs. On average, each refugee in Bidibidi has 20 litres of water to satisfy the daily needs, whereas in Nakivale refugees only have 12 litres per day (REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 3, 2018b, p. 3). Figure 19 displays the contrasting picture of water availability in refugee households in Bidibidi and Nakivale: While 59% of refugees have access to more than 15 litres per day, an almost equal share of Nakivale's refugee population does not even have 10 litres per day (53%).

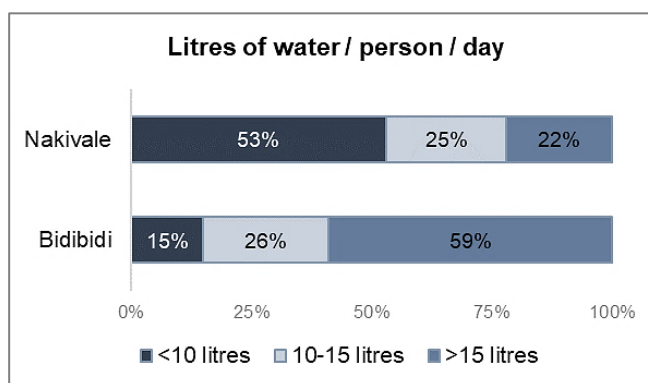


Figure 19: Daily water availability for refugee households , own compilation based on (REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 3, 2018b, p. 3)

As Figure 20 displays, the most common way to access water are public taps in both Bidibidi (61%) and Nakivale (66%). Also, boreholes are one of the major water sources in both settlements, although to a less extent in Nakivale than in Bidibidi. Instead, some refugees in Nakivale use surface water from Lake Nakivale to satisfy water demands (Che, 2011).

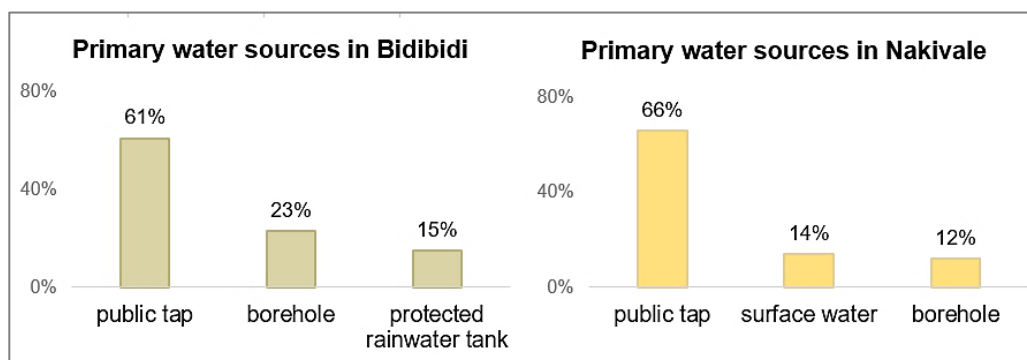


Figure 20: Primary source of water for household needs , own compilation based on (REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 3, 2018b, p. 3)

Time for water fetching includes the travel time to a water point and the time spent for queuing in order to be able to access water. Aggregated data from a study of UNHCR *et al.* (2016) on three zones of Bidibidi reveal queuing times that households in Bidibidi generally encounter at water points. Three out of four refugees must wait for more than an hour to access water. Data on travel times are not given, but distances can give an indication: Most households in Bidibidi can access a water point within 500m, which presumably implies relatively short travel times.

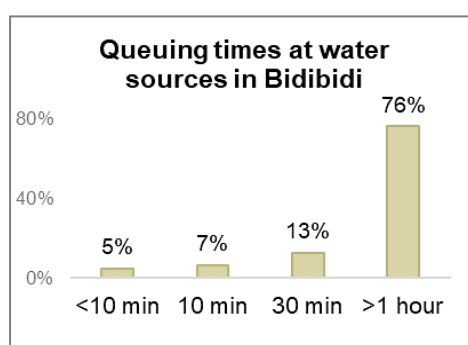


Figure 22: Queuing times of households at water sources in Bidibidi, own compilation based on (UNHCR *et al.*, 2016, p. 11)

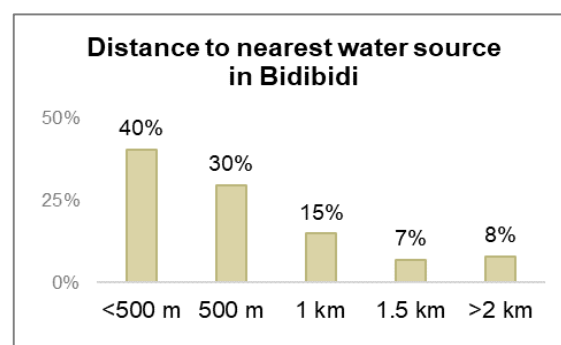


Figure 21: Distance of households to the nearest water source in Bidibidi, own compilation based on (UNHCR *et al.*, 2016, p. 9)

No data is given on travel and queuing times in Nakivale, but most refugee households face challenges that delay the process of water fetching, as illustrated in Figure 23. Queuing affects most refugee households in both settlements. Since refugees in Nakivale face the challenge of queuing (66%), including households facing both queuing and distance challenges, to a similar extent as refugees in Bidibidi (65%), it can be assumed that waiting times are comparably time-consuming as in Bidibidi (see Figure 22). Distance seems to affect households in Nakivale to a greater extent (17%) than in Bidibidi (8%). This implies that a probably smaller share of refugee households in Nakivale can access water sources in less than 500 meters as most households do in Bidibidi (see Figure 21), resulting in longer travel times in Nakivale. A notably large share of households in both settlements must face both the challenge of queuing and distance, which is about every fourth household in Bidibidi and every fifth in Nakivale. More households in Bidibidi (27%) than in Nakivale (16%) state not to face obstacles to water access.

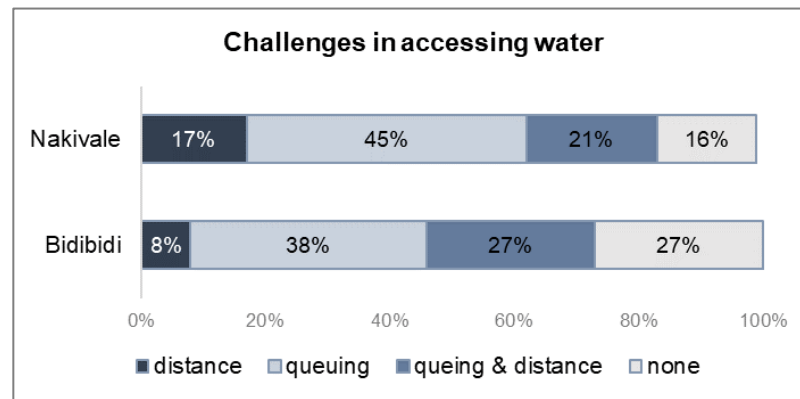


Figure 23: Households facing challenges to water access, own compilation based on (REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 3, 2018b, p. 3)

INTERPRETATION. The integrated service concept of Uganda allows refugees to use national health services and host community members to access healthcare provided for refugees (World Bank and UNHCR, 2016, p. 30). Healthcare and water infrastructure in the North appears to be more developed than in the Southwest. The recent emergency situation of constant refugee influxes from South Sudan into Northern districts in Uganda has attracted the attention of international aid agencies, that have taken over the responsibility healthcare provision, while in the South health services depend on national health budgets and services (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 25) .

Access to qualitative healthcare appears to be rather challenging: The major obstacles for receiving adequate treatment in both settlements is the absence of relevant drugs, that affects households in Nakivale more than in Bidibidi. If medication is available, many refugee families cannot afford the high costs of medication. Many households in Bidibidi face challenges in receiving qualitative treatment due to difficulties in understanding the local language. In Nakivale, refugees additionally complain about the low qualification of staff that impede a proper health treatment (REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 3, 2018b, p. 3).

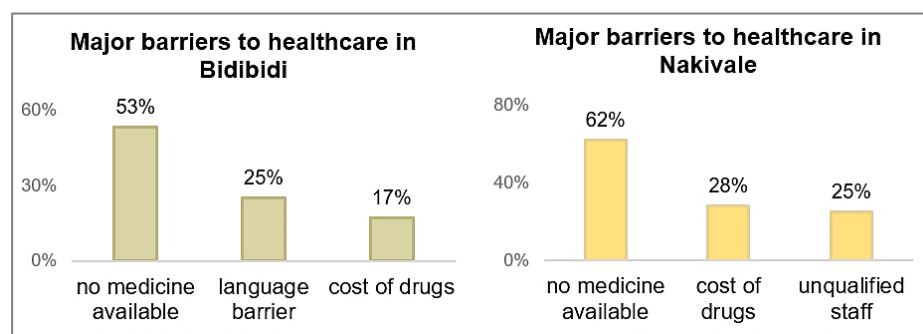


Figure 24: Barriers to access healthcare, own representation based on (REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 3, 2018b, p. 3)

Support in treating psychological distress, traumas or mental illnesses of refugees is very restricted (Pederson, 2018, p. 43). There are group therapies offered to affected individuals, but have only limited capacities of participation (UNHCR, 2019f; WHO and UNICEF, 2018, p. 2).

The high presence of diarrhoea in both settlements and skin diseases in Bidibidi can be attributed to the bad hygiene conditions, resulting from insufficient sanitation infrastructure and water access. Although

already many households in Nakivale even possess an own improved latrine (OPM *et al.*, 2018, p. 14), the construction of toilets is costly, and many refugees in Nakivale prefer to spend the money for food instead (UNICEF *et al.*, 2018, p. 51). In Bidibidi, the construction of toilets encounters additional difficulties, as the soil in some areas is either too sandy or too hard (JICA, 2018, p. 139).

Proper treatment of health issues is very important to build up and maintain success of livelihood strategies, but in both Bidibidi and Nakivale refugees report to face challenges owing to health problems (see Figure 25).

A more advanced infrastructural water network in Bidibidi with a higher numbers of water facilities has resulted from increased international attention. More humanitarian actors have support Uganda's government in the response to the basic needs of the massive refugee influxes of South Sudanese refugees. Less attention has been paid to Nakivale, where refugees have arrived in smaller numbers and not all at once. The consequently fewer investments into water structure has made refugees in Nakivale face more difficulties when accessing water, having to walk huge distances, encountering long queuing times at water points and not being able to meet daily water needs. But also, in Bidibidi, queuing times are very long due to overcrowding, which tremendously slows down the process of water collection. This reveals that the coverage of daily needs, such as the water supply, demand a lot of time from refugee households in both settlements.

EMPLOYMENT (CPI# 30-37)

FINDINGS. In both settlements, there are various markets that refugees visit alongside the host community (REACH *et al.*, 2019e, p. 1):

The market at the reception centre in Zone 1 represents Bidibidi's largest market and shows high market activities with the presence of approximately 100 stalls, mostly providing services, such as restaurants and saloons, and serving about 1.000 customers every day (Tussiime and Nalugonda, 2017, p. 5). The markets largely differ in size and especially markets within Bidibidi are rather smaller – in most cases, less than 50 traders regularly visit the remaining markets in the settlement. Most traders are Ugandan nationals, but also some refugees sell their products on markets within and outside the settlement. The majority of markets operate on a daily basis (REACH *et al.*, 2019e, p. 1). The limited quantities of products purchased and the low purchasing power of refugees represent huge challenges in market economies in Bidibidi (Tussiime and Nalugonda, 2017, p. 4).

The market network of Nakivale is remarkably robust with far-reaching trade connections and several well-established markets and trading centres across all three zones of the settlement and in its outskirts (Tussiime and Nalugonda, 2017, p. 2). Most market interactions happen in the Base camp, which is regarded as Nakivale's 'central business district': There is 'Isangano market' - the largest trading centre of the settlement -, another large Rwandan trading centre 'Kigali' and the Congolese market 'New Congo' (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 10; Omata and Kaplan, 2013, p. 13). Equally, across the other zones of Nakivale, there are fixed trading centres with small shops, such as 'Somalie trading centre', 'Nyarugugu' and 'Kabanza' and other daily or weekly markets within and outside Nakivale (Omata and Kaplan, 2013, p. 16). A market analysis found that Nakivale's markets have a total capacity of serving 50.000 customers a week. During the time of assessment, 528 traders were regularly operating in Nakivale's

markets. Half of them reported to have about 50 customers a week; the other half even indicated to serve more than 100 customers on a weekly basis (Tussiime and Nalugonda, 2017, p. 2). Refugee traders sell their crops and merchants alongside Ugandan national traders that live in the boundaries of Nakivale or in a surrounding area (Omata and Kaplan, 2013, p. 16). Even though almost all refugee business owners stay within Nakivale for trading (98%) and only few (2%) move outside for economic activities (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 11), surpluses of good quality farming outcomes produced and sold by refugees attract hundreds of Ugandan national wholesalers to the settlement, who then 'export' and resell the products in the surroundings of Nakivale and the nearest town Mbarara (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 13; Omata and Kaplan, 2013, p. 17). At the same time, national traders as well as some entrepreneurs 'import' items purchased in Kampala or other urban areas to the settlement which are then resold on the markets of Nakivale (Betts *et al.*, 2019b, p. 3; Omata, 2018, p. 19). Refugees and Ugandans are significant customers to each other, with Ugandans representing the largest customer for 26% of refugee businesses in Nakivale (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 11).

Barriers to market access appear to be relatively low in both settlements: Most refugee households in both settlements do not seem to have problems accessing a market by foot in Bidibidi, with 84% having a market within walking distance. In Nakivale, however, fewer refugees can easily access markets walking, as only 63% have a market in their proximity. A study that investigated 11 markets in Bidibidi and 12 markets in Nakivale found that only few traders, both refugees and hosts, face challenges when accessing markets in Nakivale (4.5%), which are mainly attributed to the distance to the markets. Traders demand investments into road constructions to improve their access to different markets in Nakivale, but largely felt safe when trading in Nakivale (REACH *et al.*, 2019d, p. 3). More traders in Bidibidi reported to meet barriers in market access (10.4%). In a similar manner, distance to the markets was reported as the major issue. Relations between host and refugee traders seem to be more tense in Bidibidi than in Nakivale: Violent incidences were reported by more traders in Bidibidi, implying physical attacks by both refugees and hosts (REACH *et al.*, 2019e, p. 3).

Employment rates vary across different reports: Most recent data on economic activities show that more refugees aged 18 to 59 years have an occupation in Nakivale (40%) than in Bidibidi (27%) (UNHCR, 2019i, 2019j). However, those figures refer to the entire population aged 18-59 years old, and consequently ignore that not all are part of the workforce, such as pregnant or lactating women. An older study by Betts *et al.* (2014) refers to the household level and states that 52% of income earners in Nakivale are self-employed, 47% have found employment with other entrepreneurs, and only 1% is not employed (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 27). Self-employment in Bidibidi is presumably equally high or even higher, since a greater number of refugees are reported to access self-employment or facilitated businesses (UNHCR, 2018g, p. 3, 2018h, p. 3). Work opportunities are generally scarce in both settlements, which represents one of the largest barriers to the establishment of livelihoods for most refugees in Bidibidi (61%) and Nakivale (57%) (see Figure 25).

Self-employed refugees are also a source of employment for their fellow refugees, as well as for Ugandan nationals: Joint figures from Nakivale and Kyangwali settlement, another rural Ugandan refugee settlement, reveal that 15% of refugee households employ someone who does not form part of the household; of those, 14% are Ugandan nationals (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 19). In turn, refugees also

work for Ugandan nationals (24%). As numerous hosts own large farming lands and have demand for skilled labour, they pay refugees for cultivating the land owned by nationals in the surroundings of Nakivale (Betts *et al.*, 2014, pp. 19–20).

Most refugees in both settlements reveal to have plans for starting or further extend their business, but more in Nakivale (66%) than in Bidibidi (56%) (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 36). Business ideas showed clear differences between the settlements: In Bidibidi, major business aspirations are related to agriculture (40%), while in Nakivale only 6% of refugees had business based upon agricultural activities. Instead, business ideas in Nakivale target trading activities (39%) and service provision, as hairdressing, tailoring and mechanical services (40%) (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 40). Supporting such business ideas has so far received more attention in Nakivale than in Bidibidi: Despite lower population numbers in Nakivale, more than twice the amount of business supports were issued in forms of cash grants or productive assets (see CPI, number 33) (UNHCR, 2018g, p. 3, 2018h, p. 3).

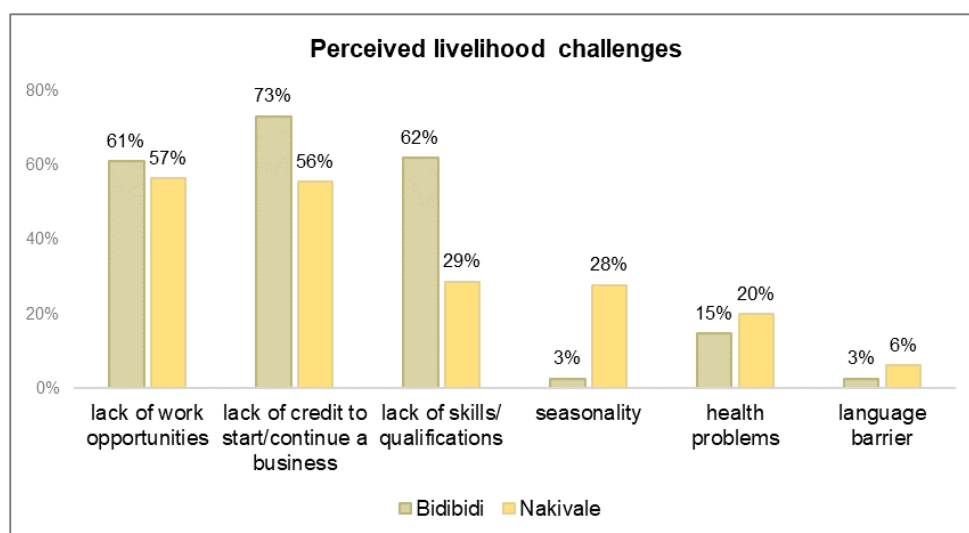


Figure 25: Livelihood challenges perceived by refugee households , own compilation based on (REACH, 2019)

INTERPRETATION. The isolated locations of both settlements from larger markets in urban areas and the lack of affordable transportation put barriers to external market opportunities (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 38). Although markets outside the settlements are hard to reach, market structures in both settlements are given and actively used. In Bidibidi, refugees do not seem to have established solid trade connections yet, while in Nakivale both refugees and hosts participate in trading activities to the same extent (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 38). Nakivale’s market networks appears to be more mature, which can be attributed to a longer time of residence of refugees in the settlement, and, consequently, more time to establish income-generating strategies. While income sources of refugees in Bidibidi are still rather based on external assistance, refugees in Nakivale have created own income-generating strategies that entail more promising income levels. The increased income has also raised the purchasing power of refugees, which has positively impacted businesses of Ugandan nationals by resulting in higher sales of products.

However, not all markets within Nakivale show the same degree of market activities: Most market interactions in Nakivale happen within the Base camp, which makes markets and trading centres

inaccessible for refugees living in distant zones (Che, 2011). Also, markets being located on the border of Nakivale settlement are difficult to reach and entail security threats along the way. This isolates those markets from economic activities and traders consequently lack customers (Svedberg, 2014, p. 38). Thus, refugees residing in the Base camp are in a generally more favourable situation than refugees with land in other zones of Nakivale, which has given rise to illegal land sales (Che, 2011).

The slightly more tense market interactions in Bidibidi can be attributed to a feeling of competition of the poor population in Yumbe: Some traders report that the presence of refugees have destroyed local market economies, as food distributions have created oversupply of certain products that are sold at lower prices by refugees on the markets (Boswel, 2018, p. 16). This way, for instance national traders of cereals have been forced to seek for alternative livelihoods, as they could not sell their products anymore (Mercy Corps, 2018b). However, other entrepreneurs in Yumbe admit that the presence of refugees also have created market opportunities: For many Ugandan farmers, who have mainly pursued subsistence farming, the sudden rise of the population has created market-demand for their agricultural outcomes (Mercy Corps, 2018b). Although the number of business start-ups in Bidibidi is notably lower than in Nakivale, the number of business ventures is persistently on the rise. A promising diversity of skills is given among Bidibidi's refugee population, which reveals the potential for further business opportunities in the settlement (UNDP, 2016, p. 10). With rising number of business ventures, the purchasing power of refugees is likely to increase, which is likely to strengthen market economies within Bidibidi settlement and the host community (Mercy Corps, 2018b).

The low employment rates in both settlements are attributed to the limited opportunities of formal employment within the settlement. Seizing remunerated opportunities outside the settlements is encumbered with high costs of transportation (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 42). The large prevalence of women being self-employed in Nakivale is a manifestation of the support granted by women credit groups, helping women to realize business ideas and reducing the risk of engaging in bad survival strategies. Apart from restricted employment opportunities, most refugee households in Bidibidi (82%) state to not be well-informed or aware of potential job opportunities in the local economy (OECD, 2019, p. 29). Only a minority of refugee households in Bidibidi indicate that they have explored the economic possibilities on the local market (18%). But also inside the settlement, refugee entrepreneurs only have limited financial capacities to employ others. This lack of possibilities to earn a living puts the livelihoods of refugees in both settlements at risk

MATERIAL LIVING STANDARDS (CPI# 38-56)

FINDINGS. While many refugees in Bidibidi have been supported in their livelihoods with issuance of production kits and inputs, farming and livestock activities are supported to a lesser extent in Nakivale. Even lower is the support for livelihood provisioning in Nakivale.

Most households in Bidibidi and Nakivale have at least one income earner in the family: 78% of households in Bidibidi earn an income, while the share of Nakivale's refugee population is somewhat smaller with only 64% of refugee households having a source of income.⁸ The households with a source

⁸ The figures also include external sources of income (remittances, cash assistance, selling humanitarian aid).

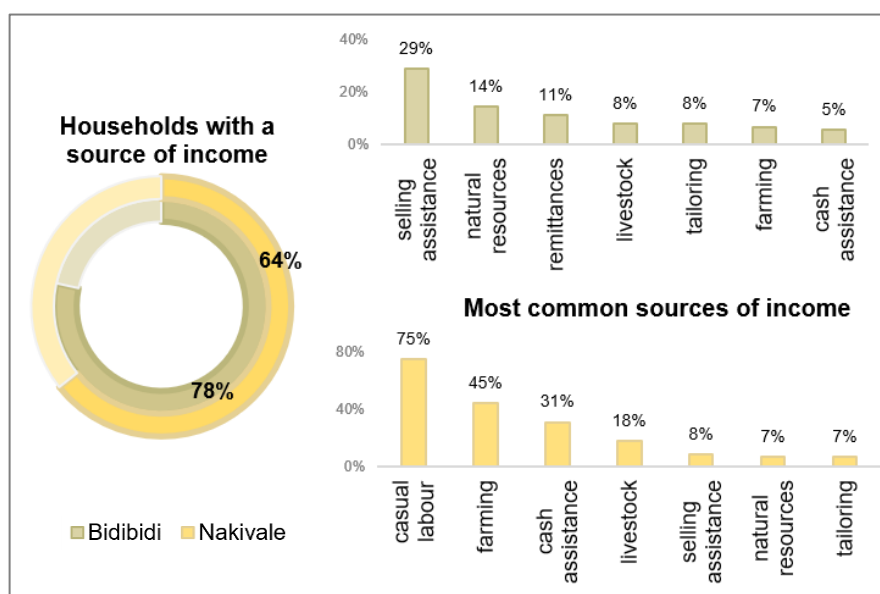


Figure 26: Most popular sources of income, own compilation based on (REACH, 2019; REACH et al., 2019a, p. 4, 2019b, p. 4)

of income in Bidibidi mostly generate income by external sources, such as selling humanitarian in-kind items (29%) and receiving remittances (11%). In Nakivale, these sources of income are less common, but cash assistance is a popular external income source (31%). In both settlements, selling natural resources, such as stones, charcoal and firewood, is an income-generating strategy and particularly common in Bidibidi (14%). In both settlements, refugees sell parts of the food assistance received, mostly to buy other food or non-food items. Some households also sell parts of their food rations to be able to afford the milling service, as maize rations are usually delivered as grains (UNICEF *et al.*, 2018, p. 31; Tussiime and Nalugonda, 2017, p. 4). Farming does not represent a common source of income in Bidibidi (7%). In Nakivale, farming for commercial purpose is much more popular (45%), but still only the second most common income-generating strategy after casual work (75%). Although more households in Bidibidi have at least one income earner, the amount of money earned per month is notably smaller. Figure 31 illustrates the total average monthly income of refugee households with an income source, including external income sources as cash, humanitarian assistance items and remittances. Also, average income per month without external assistance is displayed, i.e. without income sources dependent on external aid. For both definition of incomes, households in Bidibidi earn much less than refugees in Nakivale.⁹ Interestingly, the income earned by refugees themselves in both settlements, i.e. income that is not dependent on aid provided by external players, is higher than the income including external aid sources. Another study refers to much higher income levels in both settlements, but sample sizes are smaller. Nevertheless, the figures confirm the notably lower income levels in Bidibidi.

⁹ The difference is probably even larger, since the figures for Nakivale do not include Somali refugees that count as the wealthiest group among Nakivale's refugee community.

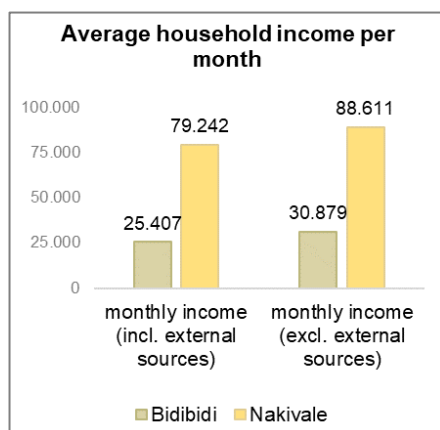


Figure 27: Monthly household income, own compilation based on (REACH, 2019)

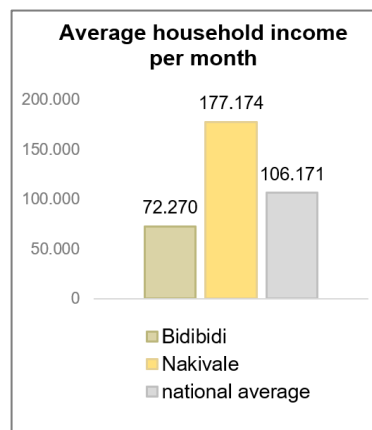


Figure 28: Monthly household income, own compilation based on (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 31)

In both settlements, no public transportation is available. In Nakivale, a private minibus business started by Somali refugees, offers transportation to Mbarara and Kampala from Somali-concentrated villages in Nakivale (Omata and Kaplan, 2013, p. 18). Some refugees have private means of transportation: In Nakivale, 29% of households own a bike, while bikes are available to fewer households in Bidibidi (19%) (see). A same share of refugee households owns a vehicle, such as a boda-boda (3% each). In Bidibidi, however, even the ones possessing an own vehicle are often confined to the boundaries of the settlement, as their driving license from South Sudan is not valid in Uganda and recognition documents are costly (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 39). Thus, when wanting to leave the settlement, the absence of public transportation makes refugees in Bidibidi dependent on private transportation services, such as boda-boda taxi drives, which, on average, cost UGX 15.000 for a round trip to Yumbe town – a price that makes up remarkable share of the average monthly income of refugee households in Bidibidi (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 39; REACH, 2019).

Apart from overcoming daily life obstacles, such as transportation barriers, owning property can favour the establishment of livelihoods: The majority of refugee households in Bidibidi and Nakivale has at least one kind of property: In Bidibidi, this applies to 70% of all households, while in Nakivale fewer households possess any kind of property (58%). Possessing property can be a significant contributor for generating income: In Bidibidi, 35% of all households possess a property that generates income; in Nakivale only 27% have a property that is used for commercial purposes (REACH *et al.*, 2019a, p. 3, 2019b, p. 3). Figure 29 shows the types of property owned by refugee households in Bidibidi and Nakivale and the share of all households in the settlements earning money with their possession: Livestock represents the most common property in both settlements and serves more than half of its owners for commercial activities. The figures reveal that almost all types of property bring business opportunities for the owner, as they generate income for a significant proportion of refugee households owning those properties.

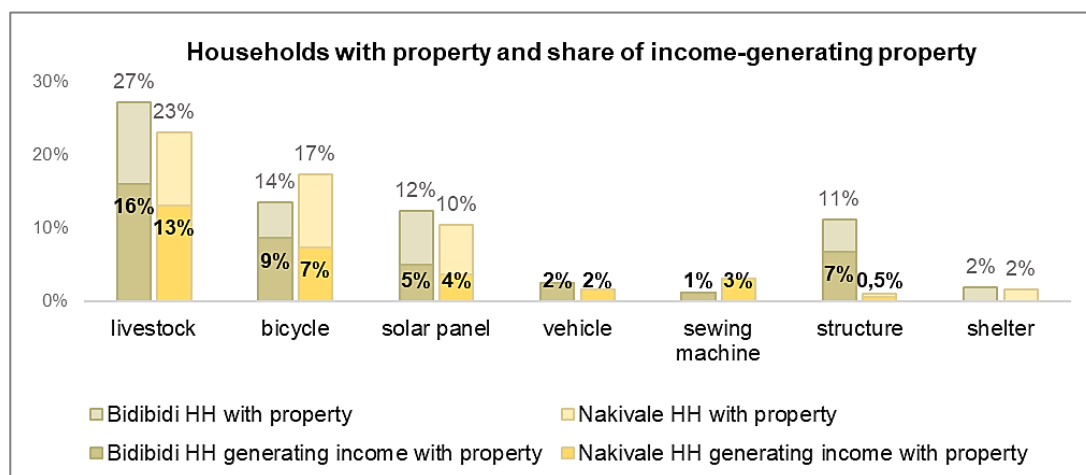


Figure 29: Households possessing property and using property for commercial purposes, own compilation based on (REACH, 2019)¹⁰

Electricity infrastructure is very poor in Nakivale, with only 5% of refugees having access to electricity (World Bank and UNHCR, 2016, p. 61). No data was found for Bidibidi, but electricity coverage is presumably equally low: A study of Mercy Corps, identifying household and public energy gaps, revealed high energy needs of refugee households in Bidibidi for cooking and lighting (Mercy Corps, 2019, p. 11).

Food Consumption Scores (FCS) give indication on the food situation in the settlements: A similar proportion of refugees in Nakivale (88%) and Bidibidi (84%) have an acceptable level of food security (see CPI, number 44). Although FCSs largely display acceptable levels of food security in both settlements, refugees complain about food insufficiency in both settlements (see Figure 8): Not even every fourth refugee in both Bidibidi (24%) and Nakivale (23%) reports having enough food to satisfy needs of the entire household (REACH and UNHCR, 2018b, p. 3, 2018a, p. 3). In Nakivale, 29% of households state not to be able to consume two meals per day (UNICEF *et al.*, 2018, p. 10). Another study in Bidibidi found that 22% of refugees have even skipped eating for at least one day during the week prior to assessment (UNDP, 2018c, p. 10).

The principal food sources differ between the settlements: The primary source of food for refugees in Nakivale originates from their own production of crops (36%) (see Figure 13). Also, cash is a relevant mean to assure food needs of refugee households in Nakivale (34%), but notably less in Bidibidi (5%). The principal food source in Bidibidi is food assistance (87%), while it only ranks third as the primary food source of refugees in Nakivale (15%).

Although refugee households in both settlements are allocated a plot for the purpose of agricultural production, only little of that land is arable, with only 7% of households in Bidibidi and 8% in Nakivale having access to arable land that yields sufficient crops to satisfy own food needs.

Refugees in Uganda generally do not hold ownership rights on the residential and agricultural plots allocated by the Ugandan government (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 18). For this reason, only few refugees in Bidibidi (2%) and Nakivale (4%) state to own the allocated agricultural plot. However, almost all refugees

¹⁰ The property type of structure comprises 'physical structure for small businesses and shops' REACH (2019).

in Bidibidi (97%) indicate that they are provided free access to the land (REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 2); in Nakivale, the population freeholding land is lower (74%) (REACH and UNHCR, 2018b, p. 2).

Access to food largely depends on climatic conditions: Extreme weather events as droughts, heavy rains and floods similarly affect the food situation of refugees in Bidibidi (29%) and Nakivale (26%) (WFP, 2019, p. 5). The production of own crops demands adequate amounts of rains, as irrigation facilities are not given in both settlements (DCA and UNHCR, 2017, p. 22; UNICEF and GOU, 2019, p. 24).

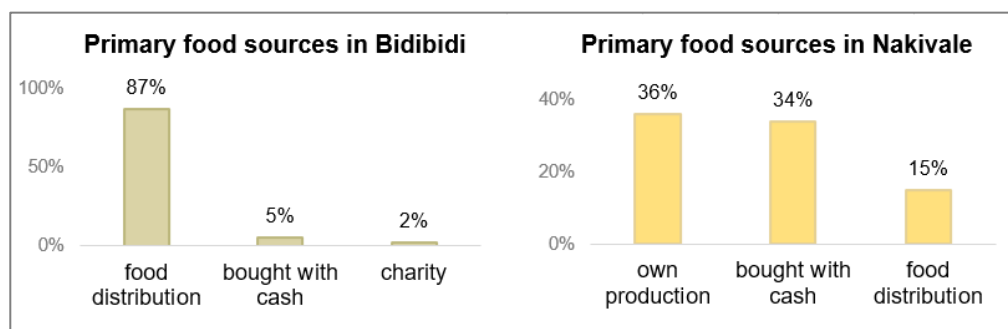


Figure 30: Primary food sources of refugee households , own compilation based on(REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 4, 2018b, p. 4)

INTERPRETATION. Economies of refugees in Nakivale prove to be of a more self-reliant character than in Bidibidi: The figures show that jobs in Nakivale are of a relatively sustainable character, as only few refugees work for aid agencies, that are intended to only remain during the time of required assistance. The majority of refugees have a more permanent source of income while working for fellow refugees or Ugandan nationals (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 14). In contrast, many of the income sources in Bidibidi are not sustainable, as most refugee households generating income from selling aid items. As the amount of aid distributions will be reduced over time, many refugees will have problems to generate sufficient income in the long run, if no sustainable livelihoods are created. The greater availability of independent income sources in Nakivale have resulted from the longer time of residence of refugees in the settlements. This has given refugees more time to diversify and consolidate their income-generating strategies, while refugees in Bidibidi have had much less time so far to establish promising livelihoods due to their rather recent arrival (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 31). Amounts of income confirm that economies in Bidibidi are not as mature as in Nakivale which correlates with low income levels.

Most refugees in Bidibidi still depend on humanitarian aid, as distributed food items reveal to be the primary source of food. This is largely influenced by the emergency phase that refugees in Bidibidi, as they have lived in the settlement for a comparatively short time. During the time of assessment, most refugees have probably been still entitled to receive full food rations. In contrast, most refugees in Nakivale have been in the settlement for a long time and are thus not eligible for full food assistance anymore. This has forced them to provide themselves with food, either by an own cultivation of crops or by engaging in an economic activity allowing them to buy food on the local markets. However, refugees face challenges with the farming of own plots. They do not own the lands they are supposed to cultivate and fear to be evicted by the government or host communities. This can entail psychological barriers to establishing sustainable and advanced farming practices. Further agricultural land given to refugees is not sufficiently arable to satisfy food needs of the household (see 4.3.2 for further

explanation). Supplementing insufficient harvests by buying food from markets is encumbered with high costs (WFP, 2019, p. 5). Since many cannot afford paying those prices, some refugees adopt negative food coping strategies: Limiting the number of meals per day is done by 70% of refugee households in Bidibidi and by 53% in Nakivale. Another study in Nakivale has shown, that not only the scarcity of food but also the lack of cooking fuel is a cause to low nutrition in the settlements. Some refugees skip meals, because charcoal is expensive, and firewood has become scarce (WRC, 2014, 5). This makes refugees in both settlements suffer from hunger. Although FCSs in both settlements reveal that food scarcity does not threaten the survival of refugees (see Figure 35), the lack of food tremendously influences the well-being of refugees and their ability to work.

SOCIAL CAPITAL (CPI# 57-63)

FINDINGS. Remittances from friends and relatives abroad supplement the earnings of some households in both settlements: In Bidibidi, 9% of refugee households generate income by receiving remittances. According to the same study, only 1% of refugees in Nakivale receive remittances; but the real share is probably higher, as the sample size of that study does not include Somali (see 4.3.3 for further explanation).

Borrowing money seems to be equally common for both households in Bidibidi (40%) and Nakivale (41%) (see Figure 31). Refugees in both settlements largely borrow for the same reasons: The most frequently mentioned purposes for borrowing money by refugees in Bidibidi and Nakivale are to afford food, medicine and other health and hygiene related items, as well as educational expenses for tuition fees, books and uniforms (REACH, 2019). Only few households report to borrow for business reasons.

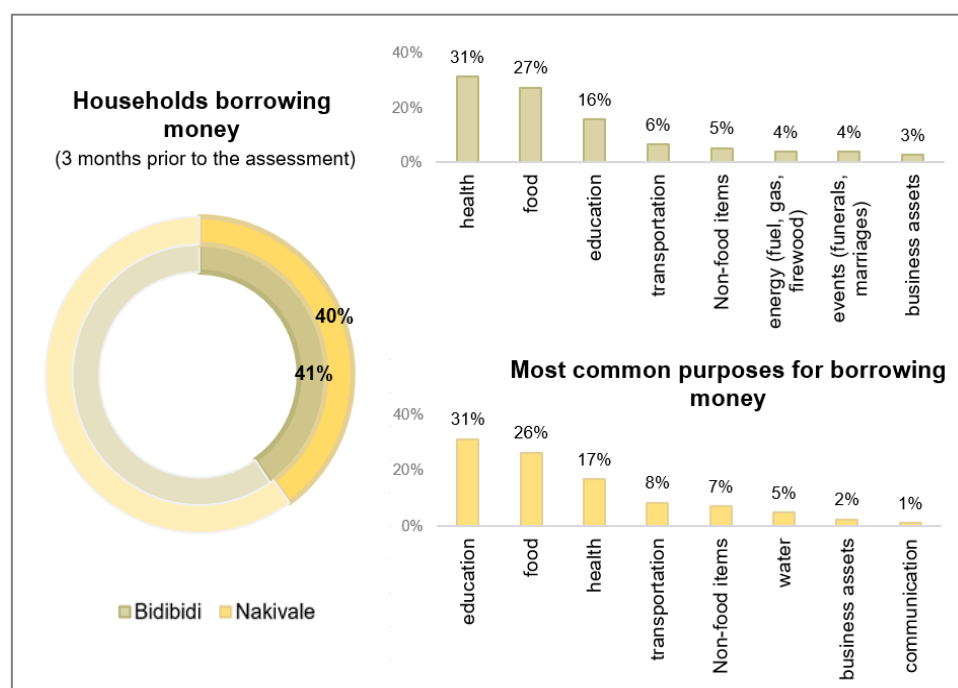


Figure 31: Major sources of borrowing, own compilation based on (REACH, 2019)

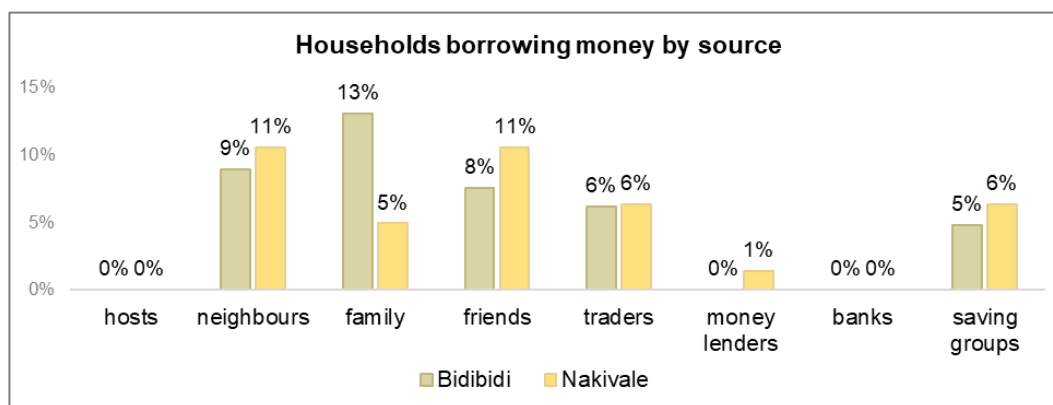


Figure 32: Households borrowing money by source, own compilation based on (REACH, 2019)

Borrowing money is common for refugees in both settlements (Figure 32): For refugees in both settlements, most households borrow money from relatives, neighbours within their community, friends and traders. Also, saving groups are used to borrow money in both settlements, and in Nakivale a small share of households also borrows from money lenders. None of the households in Bidibidi and Nakivale borrow from hosts or banks. The *Financial services* section below gives further explanations on the possibilities of lending from financial institutions in the settlement.

In case of emergency situations, more households in Nakivale (35%) than in Bidibidi (17%) appear to be able to count on support from relatives or friends. Community associations and churches are the primary source of support in emergencies for 14% of refugee households in Bidibidi (Poole, 2019, p. 9). No representative data for Nakivale is available, but community support seems to be generally high in Nakivale, as many Congolese and Somali refugees mention that they would turn to the settlement community in case of emergency situations, food shortages and job-related concerns (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 28). Social support is given by farmers groups, formed by refugee and host communities, and that share a collective interest or work activity, such as cropping (Crailsheim *et al.*, 2019, p. 2). Hosts have provided land, where agricultural activities can be practiced at a larger scale by a group of farmers (Crailsheim *et al.*, 2019, p. 7). Some refugee households state to participate in such livelihood groups: In Bidibidi, 32% of refugee households report to form part of a farmers group, and 6% participate in Farmer or Pastoral Field Schools (REACH *et al.*, 2019a, p. 4). In Nakivale, participation in livelihood groups is not as popular as in Bidibidi; still, some households participate in Farmer's groups (10%) and livestock associations (6%) and (REACH *et al.*, 2019b, p. 4).

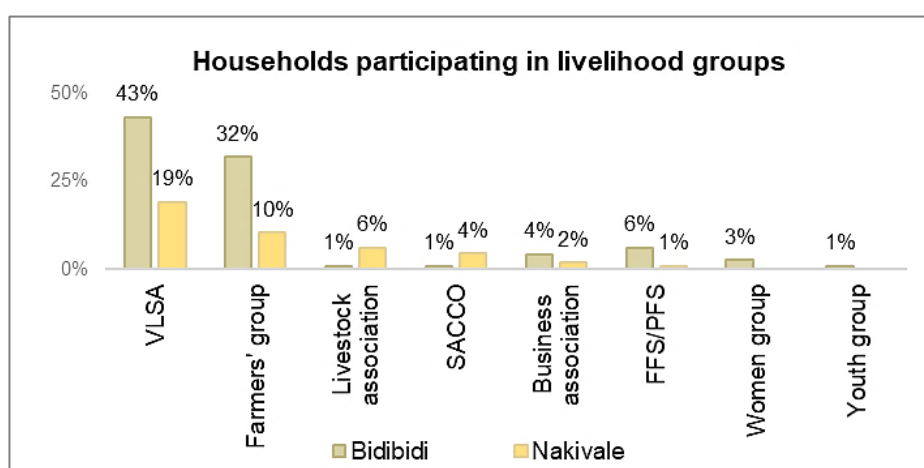


Figure 33: Participation rates of refugee households in livelihood groups, own compilation based on (REACH, 2019)

INTERPRETATION. The popularity of borrowing money in both settlements reveals the situation of dependency of the refugee population: Many decide to get into debt to satisfy basic needs, as food and medicine, which they are not able to afford without monetary support from other sources. This implies that incomes of households are largely not sufficient to afford essential needs, such as food. The scarcity of formal lending options has driven refugees in both settlements to turn for support via their social ties. Refugees that cannot count on social support are at risk, when they cannot produce enough harvests on their cultivated plots or generate sufficient incomes that cover their basic food needs. Community-based farming groups, with members from both the refugee and host community, positively impact the relation of both communities: While working together towards a certain goal, refugees and hosts communicate with each other, which can contribute to overcome prejudices and to foster a mutual integration. Further, the shared goal and land resources, skills and knowledge can enhance overall productivity of agricultural practices. Moreover, in Bidibidi, many refugee farmers participate in such groups, as they feel that NGOs would rather support a group than individuals in their farming practices (Zakaryan, 2018, p. 24).

SAFETY AND SECURITY (CPI# 64-69)

FINDINGS. In Bidibidi, most refugees state that they feel safe in their shelter (96%), while in Nakivale most, but slightly fewer refugee households feel safe (81%) (REACH *et al.*, 2019a, p. 2, 2019b, p. 2). Although the figures show that most refugees feel safe within their homes, general safety in the settlements is presumably lower due to violent incidences reported within and outside the settlement. Another study regarding safety in Bidibidi confirms a lower number of refugees (80%) feeling generally safe in the settlement (OECD, 2019, p. 16). Some refugees in Bidibidi state to be scared of South Sudanese government delegates or militia groups that might enter the settlement (Hoff, 2019, p. 3). Data on general safety in Nakivale is not available, but would probably reveal more security risks than in Bidibidi, since another study focusing on several Ugandan refugee settlements identifies Nakivale as

the settlement with the highest crime rates, with 78% of respondents stating of having been victim to a crime. The most mentioned type of crime is sexual violence (World Bank and UNHCR, 2016, p. 39).

Also, outside the settlements refugees of both Bidibidi and Nakivale have been increasingly facing security risks (Hoff, 2019, p. 4): As the demand for firewood has accelerated deforestation in and around the settlements, refugees have become forced to leave the settlement's boundaries in order to find supplies for their energy needs (Mercy Corps, 2018a, p. 14). In Bidibidi, this has led to incidents where hosts have chased away refugees cutting firewood outside the settlement (Pederson, 2018, pp. 37–38).

Notwithstanding, in Bidibidi, the vast majority of refugees feel welcomed in their new place of residence (OECD, 2019, p. 17). No quantitative data is available for Nakivale, but nationwide figures reveal relatively peaceful relations between refugees and hosts in Uganda: 60% of Ugandan hosts are positive towards the presence of refugees and not even 20% indicate clear negative connotations (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 22; UNDP, 2018b, p. 2; World Bank and UNHCR, 2016, p. 27). Ugandan nationals and refugees in both settlements have formed social ties, ranging from intermarriages, over football matches of the refugee and host youth, to the formation of economic groups (Boswel, 2018, p. 28) (World Bank and UNHCR, 2016, p. 27). Also, some nationals have recognized the advanced farming expertise of many refugees in Bidibidi, and have initiated joint farming practices, renting out parts of their lands to refugees, who in turn cultivate the plots and share crops with the landlords (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 33).

INTERPRETATION. Safety in both settlements is generally high, although slightly less in Nakivale, which is a good basis for self-reliance. Owing to the absence of public lighting, toilets and roads are perceived as highly insecure and women fear to take their sick children to the health centre when light diminishes (WRC, 2014, 7). Security threats are rather perceived outside the settlement, such as when refugees leave the boundaries for the collection of firewood. As usually women and girls are at higher risk, parents in Nakivale prefer to send the boys to seek for firewood. However, incidences have been reported in Nakivale, that children had been kidnapped in order to be sacrificed to 'witches' (WRC, 2014, 6). Also the lack of employment opportunities in the settlements have let refugees seek livelihoods outside the settlement areas, which risks their physical safety (Hoff, 2019, p. 3).

The relative peaceful coexistence of refugees and hosts, particularly in Yumbe, is driven by a greater understanding for the presence of refugees owing to their own experience of being forcibly displaced in the past, when the fight of the LRA spread fear and violence in Northern Uganda (Boswel, 2018, p. 11; MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 22). Also, many nationals, especially in Nakivale, have understood the economic benefits of having refugees living close to them: With the arrival of refugees, a local market for certain food produced by locals has emerged, and market places have given room for economic interactions, such as sharecropping and trading local products required by refugees with items received by refugees in aid distributions (Bagenda *et al.*, 2003, p. 3; Mercy Corps, 2018a, p. 17).

However, with the arrival of refugees, population numbers have doubled in Yumbe and Isingiro and have put huge constraints on land and natural resources. As the energy needs of both refugees and hosts rely on firewood, deforestation has drastically increased in and around the settlements. The competition over the shrinking resources has led to tensions with hosts, especially around Bidibidi (IBRD and World

Bank, 2018, p. 41). Conflicts are often fueled by the linguistic barriers entailing misunderstandings (Boswel, 2018, p. 18).

In both settlements, disputes with Ugandan nationals have resulted from unclear ownership rights over the usage of land (Boswel, 2018, p. 4). In Bidibidi, disputes over land use rights or land boundaries frequently occur between the OPM, the host communities and sometimes even private persons, as historic displacement and conflict in the West Nile region have not left ownership rights clear or institutionalised (Boswel, 2018, p. 25; UNDP, 2018b, p. 15). In Nakivale, tensions between refugees and hosts have equally resulted from land disputes: Alike Bidibidi, unclear land boundaries and ownership rights have resulted into clashes with the host community. To avoid further frustrations of nationals stating that the arrival of refugees has threatened their livelihoods and welfare, the boundaries of Nakivale settlement have not been expanded in the last years, leading to land constraints for the refugee community (UNICEF *et al.*, 2018, pp. 32–33). As the majority of Ugandans in Isingiro are agriculturalists or pastoralists, land for productive farming and the grazing of livestock is needed – land that has been reclaimed for the expansion of Nakivale refugee settlement (Bagenda *et al.*, 2003, p. 8; UNICEF *et al.*, 2018, p. 32). This has even led to a demonstration in 2017 by nationals around Nakivale, to protest against the allocation of land to refugees and demanding the set-up of a clear borderline boundary (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 33). To calm down the frustrations of hosts, land allocations had even led to a temporary halt of land allocations in Nakivale, making new arrivals fully dependent on food distributions (Bagenda *et al.*, 2003, p. 3). Further disputes between refugees and hosts have resulted from livestock eating or destroying crops cultivated by refugees (Ahimbisibwe, 2018, p. 12).

Some nationals have recognized that the problem is not rooted in the presence of the refugees itself, but in a deeper political failure of the national government (Boswel, 2018, p. 17). A Ugandan trader around Nakivale admits: *'We have problems with OPM, not with refugees. OPM don't have any clear planning about land allocation to refugees.... Our village has contested the boundary issue with OPM. As far as I know, at least there are three different boundaries.... Locals are marginalised by the increasing number of refugees'* (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 33).

The example of Nakivale shows that a peaceful coexistence and economic interactions are challenged when hosts and refugees have the same economic backgrounds. As both nationals and refugees in Nakivale are mainly farmers or cattle keepers, they have the same pre-requisites for success in their livelihood strategy: Sufficient land is needed for cropping or to graze livestock, but the constant restrictions in land size puts both communities at risk (Bagenda *et al.*, 2003, p. 13). The same basis for livelihoods and income generation lets many Ugandans perceive refugees as competitors (Betts *et al.*, 2019b, p. 6).

FINANCIAL SERVICES (CPI# 70-81)

FINDINGS. Access to financial services in Bidibidi and Nakivale is largely confined to informal and semi-formal channels due to the absence of banks in both settlements (Crailsheim *et al.*, 2019, p. 6; Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 37). The nearest bank and other financial institutions to Bidibidi settlement are located in Yumbe town, but reaching the town is encumbered with high costs of transportation (Crailsheim *et al.*, 2019, p. 7). Several financial institutions and banks are based in Kabingo, which is a one-hour drive

from Nakivale's Base camp (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 48). Although no data is available on bank account holders within the refugee community, it can be assumed that only very few or even none of refugees in Bidibidi and Nakivale have opened up a bank account, since banking coverage in Uganda is generally low: In the entire West Nile region only 6% of adults have access to banking services (FSDU, 2018, p. 9). In the region of Isingiro, the adult banking ratio is somewhat higher, with 15% having a bank account (FSDU, 2018, p. 8).

Due to the absence of lending options by formal institutions in both settlements, informal and semi-formal channels have evolved from the communities itself to access financial services (Crailsheim *et al.*, 2019, p. 21; MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 53): Saving groups as well as Village savings and loans associations (VSLA) have been formed by refugee community members, sometimes alongside the host community in order to jointly save and lend money to each other, by making a monthly contribution into a cashbox of which members can lend money on a certain interest rate (Crailsheim *et al.*, 2019, p. 2). In Nakivale, VSLAs and saving groups are sustained by 15-40 members from diverse nationalities, including Ugandans. Weekly savings range from UGX 2.000-10.000 and members can lend credits, which they are generally supposed to pay back after three months at a monthly interest rate ranging between 2-10% (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 46). In Bidibidi, members make weekly saving contributions between UGX 1.000-5.000 and can consequently lend money at a monthly interest rate of 10%, that is supposed to be repaid in 1-3 months (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 46).

Apart from informal finance options, refugees in Nakivale can save and borrow from formal sources: The UNHCR has supported the formation of a Savings and Credit Cooperative Organisation (SACCO) in Nakivale, where refugees can apply for credits at a yearly interest rate of 12%. In 2017, the cooperative already had 1449 members of both the refugee and host community (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 48). However, the SACCO cannot fully satisfy the demand for credit in the settlement: In 2017, it could only grant a loan to 40% of the applicants, and the ones having been granted a loan, complain about too small credit amounts (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 48).

Participation rates in VSLA are quite high in both settlements, but differ depending on the study: While a report by MicroFinanza (2018) shows participation rates of 68% of households in Bidibidi and of 39% in Nakivale (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 45), data collected by REACH (2019) reveal slightly lower involvement, with 43% in Bidibidi and 19% in Nakivale (see Figure 33). Both studies confirm a greater participation of refugees in Bidibidi. In contrast, more refugees in Nakivale (6%) borrow from a SACCO.

The need for financial services in both settlements, the connected potential of fostering economic development of both the refugee and host community and the relatively extensive usage of telecommunication means has raised attention of the private sector (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 34) (Omata and Kaplan, 2013, p. 17): In Nakivale, Orange – a provider of telecommunications in Uganda – has recognized the market opportunities of investing into the settlement and making mobile money services, such as money transfers and SMS banking, accessible to refugees and has recently built in the middle of the Base camp. Mobile banking has also been recognized as a promising way to grant access to capital for refugees in Bidibidi, as technical pre-conditions with a good connectivity in the settlement are given (Crailsheim *et al.*, 2019, p. 6). This has attracted three major mobile network operators to the

settlement, and, currently, 44% of refugees in Bidibidi use the mobile money services (GSMA, 2019, 17, 45).

INTERPRETATION. Formal ways to access credit and other financial services are not given in the settlements, apart from the SACCO in Nakivale. Reaching the surrounding towns to access formal financial institutions is time-consuming and costly. The higher participation in VSLAs of refugees in Bidibidi can be attributed to the absence of formal lending. In Nakivale, the presence of a SACCO gives refugees an alternative formal channel to lend money, that is only available for refugees in Bidibidi when leaving the settlement. However, neither this formal channel, nor the informal way to access capital can meet the demand for credit in Nakivale. In the end, many refugees remain to be dependent on their personal savings, as a Rwandan business owner reports: *'We don't have micro-finance services here that could give us loans. Each of us creatively mobilises our own start-up capital. I got my capital to start-up this beer and soda depot from farming. I sold the agriculture produce especially maize and sorghum that helped me to raise my start-up capital for this depot.'* (Betts et al., 2014, p. 37).

Although lending possibilities are not as extensive as via formal institutions, the informal channels both strengthen the financial situation of refugees, and the social network of its members, building up social connections and mutual trust (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 53). However, the absence of lending options via formal financial channels create obstacles in the development of livelihoods of refugees in both settlements. In Bidibidi, 73% of the households and 56% in Nakivale perceive the lack of capital as the major barrier to livelihoods (see Figure 25). A statement of a refugee in Nakivale reveals the need for credit access over skills trainings: *'We know what works and what to do, we need capital to start.'* (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 38).

POLITICAL VOICE AND GOVERNANCE (CPI# 82-85)

FINDINGS. Refugees in Uganda are allowed to engage in cultural, social or religious associations, but, any political participation is prohibited by law (Zakaryan, 2018, p. 11). Unlike nationals, refugees are not entitled to take part in elections or to join a political party. However, the Refugee Welfare Committee (RWC) gives kind of a political voice to some refugees that represent the wider refugee community and are consulted to discuss the most pressing needs in the settlements (Zakaryan, 2018, p. 25). Data on participation rates of refugees at the RWC is not available.

Child marriages have been prohibited by the Ugandan Constitution, enacting Article 31 that foresees that both spouses must be at least 18 years old.

INTERPRETATION. Although prohibited by law, child marriages happen in both settlements: Some refugee girls in Bidibidi are reported to be married due to restricted economic and social support by members of the family (UNHCR and OPM, 2017, p. 9). The presence of child marriages is undoubtedly intertwined with the prevalence of poverty in the refugee community, but is also embedded in some cultures (UNHCR and OPM, 2017, p. 9): In North-eastern regions of DRC, for example, girls can be married at the age of 15; also, in Somalia children can get married at the age of 16 with the consent of parents, despite the legal age of 18 years (WRC, 2016, p. 10). Once married, girls usually drop out of the educational path, as they have to take over domestic work or to care for their babies (UNICEF et al., 2018, p. 12).

REMEDIES AND HUMAN RIGHTS (CPI# 86-93)

FINDINGS. Only very few refugees (6%) in Bidibidi state to not feel free to move around Uganda (OECD, 2019, p. 17). No data is given for Nakivale.

However, obtaining the legal prerequisites to freely move around Uganda, appears to be more complex: When refugees register in Uganda, travel and identification documents are supposed to be issued to them (World Bank and UNHCR, 2016, pp. 8–9). No data is available that would prove the issuance of those documents, but cases were reported where obtaining the documentation was connected to considerable delays and costs (World Bank and UNHCR, 2016, ix). Further, refugee families only obtain one single identification certificate for the entire family, which makes moving around Uganda difficult for a single family member who does not possess an own identification document (NRC, 2018, p. 20). Thus, it can be assumed that not all refugees in Bidibidi and Nakivale being registered have received the identification and travel documents, that they are legally entitled to.

Also, incidences in Bidibidi are mentioned, where refugees have faced challenges with the recognition of their driving license, which consequently prevents them from driving a vehicle outside the settlement area (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 39). Research from other refugee settlements in Uganda show that leaving the settlement required a permission of the settlement commander who requested, in some cases, the payment of a fee (Betts *et al.*, 2017a, p. 202; Werker, 2007, p. 464).

For some refugees in both Bidibidi and Nakivale, the loss of qualification certificates impedes continuing education on the level gained in the country of origin, and puts refugee children back to the beginning of primary education again (UNHCR and OPM, 2017, p. 9; UNICEF *et al.*, 2018, p. 43).

INTERPRETATION. The theoretical right to freely move around Uganda faces constraints in practice due to corruptive behaviour and bureaucratic barriers. Bureaucratic hurdles to education risk that children drop out of schools, as they lose motivation, which slows down or even risks their way to self-reliance.

GENDER-EQUALITY (CPI# 94-97)

FINDINGS. According to the statements of female refugees in Uganda, decision-power mostly remains with men, including the size of the family and the use of money. Empowering women and young adults has been targeted by some livelihood programmes but only about 26% of the target groups have been reached with trainings on life and leadership skills in Bidibidi (DCA and UNHCR, 2017, p. 30).

Concrete data on incidences of SGBV are not published for the settlements, but several reports state that women and girls have become victims of rape (UNHCR, 2019e).

INTERPRETATION. Although most refugee households in Bidibidi are female-headed, women in general do not appear to have adopted similar leadership power in the decision of refugee affairs as men (Boswel, 2018, p. 5). When men decide to spend the earned income on alcohol, women have little power to protest or to use available financial resources for more urgent household needs (World Bank and UNHCR, 2016, p. 39). This makes livelihoods of women and their children dependent on the will of men in the family.

PARTNERSHIP FOR THE GOALS (CPI# 99)

FINDINGS. In total, in 2019, the Ugandan refugee response was delivered by 111 partners, of which 20 were national partners, 79 international NGOs, 9 UN agencies and 3 government partners. Of those, 60 operate in Yumbe district, while only 21 are operational in Isingiro. Given data on partnerships involved in the strategic planning and implementation of goals in Bidibidi and Nakivale were not further split up into the categories of private, public, humanitarian and developmental partnerships. However, it can be assumed that collaboration of Uganda's government with the public and private sector are very limited, since cooperation principally exists with international NGOs for Uganda's refugee response. National partners generally rather comprise national NGOs than private and public corporations.

The low number of partners in Isingiro indicates that refugees in Nakivale receive less humanitarian and development assistance than refugees in Bidibidi. Particularly developmental support seems to be very poor in Isingiro: The number of partnerships in Yumbe in the field of education (23 partners) and livelihoods support (24) tremendously outweighs the number of partnerships in Isingiro (7 partners for education, 3 partners for livelihoods).

INTERPRETATION. The larger representation of operational partners in Yumbe can be attributed to the increased international attention, that the massive influxes of refugees from South Sudan has caused. The urgency of help needed for thousands of people has set the focus of aid agencies to the Northern regions of Uganda and have led to increased investments in the Northern districts. The lower numbers of refugees entering Uganda in the South might not have evoked the same sense of urgency, resulting in assistance being concentrated on Northern Uganda (UNHCR, 2019g, p. 2).

CRISIS MANAGEMENT (CPI# 100-109)

FINDINGS. No concrete data is available on the management of livelihood interventions in the settlements of Bidibidi and Nakivale. On a national level, the UNHCR has set up a monitoring system in certain fields of the Ugandan refugee response, which are food security, health and nutrition, livelihoods and resilience, protection, shelter, settlement and non-food items, cash-based interventions and education. A national Refugee Response Monitoring factsheet on each of those sectors is published quarterly, as well as a quarterly Performance Snapshot aggregating results from all sectors. However, findings are only published on the nationwide refugee response; factsheets on the individual settlements have only been published once so far. Progress of livelihood programmes in Ugandan refugee settlements is supervised by the Livelihoods Sector Working Group, which is prevalent in both settlements (UNHCR, 2018c, p. 21).

Further, occasional inter-agency studies have been conducted in both Bidibidi and Nakivale, such as the Multi-sector Needs Assessment and the Refugee Access to Livelihoods and Housing, Land and Property to identify livelihood challenges and other needs in both settlements.

INTERPRETATION. Since Uganda's livelihood monitoring system is based on findings from the individual settlements, it is likely that there are monitoring systems on the livelihoods in place in both Bidibidi and Nakivale, even though those data are not individually published. Notwithstanding, according to statements of the UNHCR, livelihood programming generally faces challenges due to the difficulty of

monitoring and coordinating actions. The lack of explicit guidelines on reporting livelihood progress complicates livelihood monitoring (UNHCR, 2018c, p. 19).

4.3.2 Focus on Uganda-Specific Factors

AGRICULTURAL PLOT

FINDINGS. Refugees in Uganda are expected to produce sufficient harvests over time from the cultivation of plots allocated to them, in order to satisfy their own food needs and to generate an income by selling produced surpluses of crops.

The vast majority of households in both settlements reports to be given access to land, with 98% of households in Bidibidi and 96% in Nakivale (REACH, 2019). However, the number of households using the land for cultivation is smaller (see Figure 34): Most refugees in Bidibidi use the plot for farming activities (80%). Despite own farming outcomes represents the principal food source for most refugees in Nakivale, only about two thirds (65%) of the refugee population dedicate themselves to the cultivation of their plot. The vast majority of the ones that harvest crops from their own plots in both settlements, reports that harvests are insufficient for the food needs of the entire household. In Bidibidi, agricultural production has lower outcomes, with cultivated crops being insufficient for almost all households that cultivated crops (91%). In Nakivale, outcomes of cultivating plots are slightly higher, but still largely insufficient for the vast majority of households farming their plot (88%).

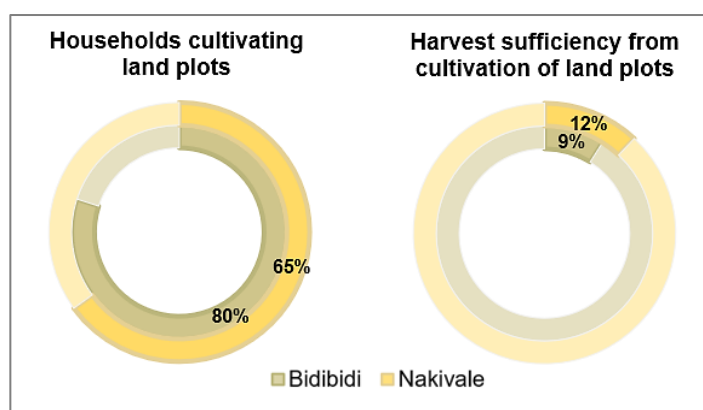


Figure 34: Land cultivation and harvest sufficiency for household food needs, own compilation based on (REACH and UNHCR, 2018b, p. 2, 2018a, p. 2)

The food insufficiency from own harvests is displayed in the FCSs of the refugee population in both settlements. Although on average, refugees have acceptable levels of food security, differences in food security are revealed, when looking at the time refugees had spent in the settlement: In the beginning of their stay in the settlements, refugees are largely food secure; the relatively low scores of new arrivals in Bidibidi might be attributed to the cut of food rations in 2018 due to the lack of funding that resulted from corruptive actions by OPM officials. Food security generally decreases with a longer time of residence in the settlement, particularly in Bidibidi. In Nakivale, refugees also become more food insecure over time, compared with their initial stay. However, food security of refugees residing in

Nakivale for more than two years improves again, while the food situation for all refugees having lived in Bidibidi during this time frame is significantly worse.

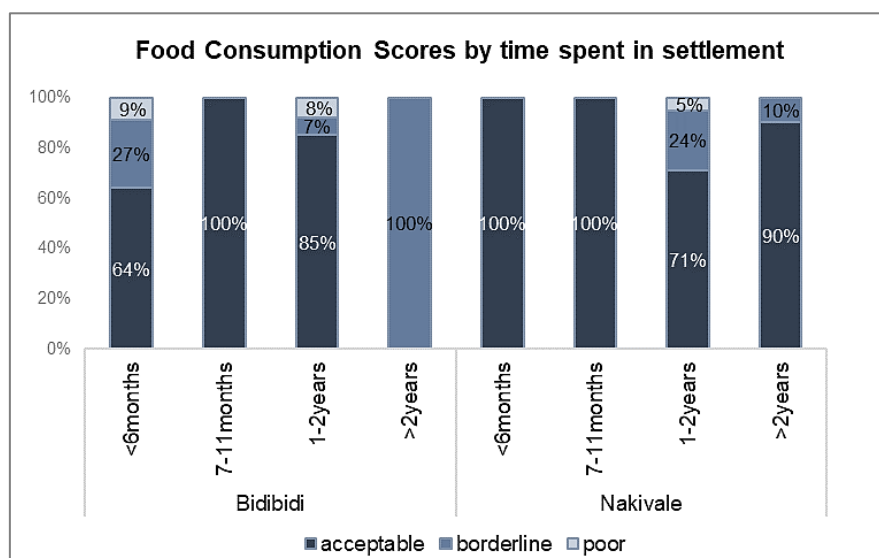


Figure 35: Food Consumption Scores of refugees by time of residence in the settlement, own compilation based on (REACH and UNHCR, 2018b, p. 4, 2018a, p. 4)

Figure 36 summarizes the reasons mentioned by refugees in both settlements, that made them decide to not cultivate crops on the lands they access: The vast majority of refugee households in Nakivale regard farming as a pointless effort due to the limited size of land (90%). Some households do not cultivate, as they fear droughts to destroy their crops (10%). The small size of land is also the most mentioned reason by refugees in Bidibidi, deciding to not cultivate crops (61%). About every fourth refugee household in Bidibidi does not pursue farming activities on their plot, as rocky soil (39%) hampers agricultural productivity.

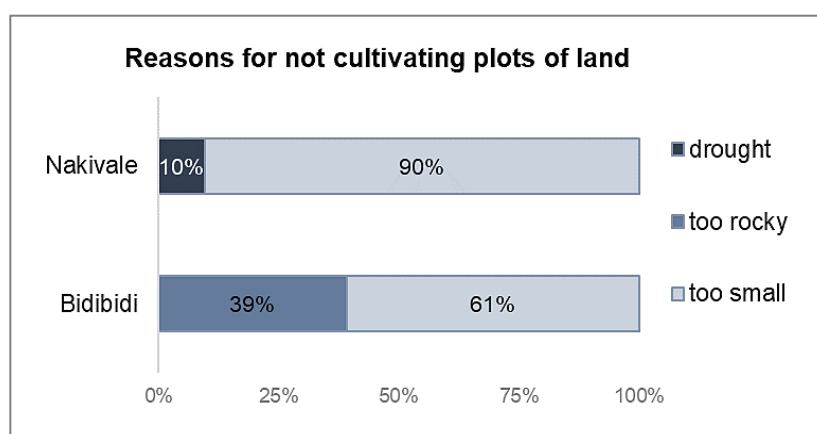


Figure 36: Reasons of refugee households for not cultivating lands, own compilation (REACH, 2019)

INTERPRETATION. The allocation of plots to refugees upon their arrival in the settlements seems to work, since almost all households have access to land. At first glance, the preconditions for Uganda's

SRS are given in practice. However, the figures reveal that food security of refugees in both settlements is difficult to achieve from an own cultivation of plots.

Food insufficiency in both settlements can be partly explained by the decreasing food assistance over time. As part of the Ugandan SRS, refugees become less entitled to receive food aid, the longer they stay in the settlement. After two years, their food rations are cut by half, apart from vulnerable refugee groups assuming that refugees have become self-reliant by that point of time and are able to provide themselves with own grown crops or with locally bought food from their own generated income (Ilcan, 2018, p. 107). As it becomes visible in the FCSs of Bidibidi's refugee population (see Figure 35), once refugees lose their entitlement to full food rations, they cannot satisfy nutritional needs on their own.

Harvests from cultivation of plots are simply not enough to meet own consumption needs, let alone a generation of income (see Figure 34). Nevertheless, most refugee in Nakivale largely manage to be food secure over time. This can be partly attributed to slightly more productive agricultural lands than in Bidibidi (see Figure 34 and Figure 36), but is more likely to be driven by a greater wealth of its refugee population, resulting from the longer time to establish livelihoods of residence. A greater income might have allowed refugees in Nakivale to supplement limited harvests from own plots with food bought at local markets.

Notwithstanding, the majority of refugee households in both settlements practice farming on the allocated plots, as foreseen by Uganda's refugee management approach (see Figure 34). The lower share of refugees cultivating allocated plots in Nakivale might also be driven by the longer time of residence: Owing to the challenges regarding the size, fertility and distance of agricultural plots and the dependency of farming outcomes on weather conditions, more refugees in Nakivale might have already given up the cultivation of their plot, as their experience has already revealed the futility of farming in the settlement. In Bidibidi, refugees might still have a more positive mindset and motivation for the farming of plots, although land sizes are similarly small and farming outcomes are poorer.

The insufficiency of agricultural space resulting from the reduction of land sizes over time is displayed by the experience of a Congolese refugee, that has been living in Nakivale since 2006:

'Initially I got a plot of 50m x 100m = 5,000 m². I started farming using the plot. But later my land was reduced due to influxes of new refugees. I experienced this twice. In 2013, first reduction due to Congolese refugee influxes: in 2013, I had to give up 20m x 60m = 1200 m². In 2015, second reduction due to Burundian refugee influxes: in 2015, I gave up 20m x 60m = 1200 m².... Of course, my crop production was significantly reduced. I did not have enough land for the same production' (Betts et al., 2019a, p. 22).

Getting access to arable land in Nakivale is increasingly becoming a challenge. New arriving refugees are even worse off: The probability of being given access to agricultural land upon arrival is much lower than it has been in former times (Betts et al., 2019a, p. 23). If at all being allocated a plot of land, the plots are often already exhausted (Ilcan et al., 2015, p. 5): Soil conditions have been generally favourable in Nakivale, but have been worsening over time and harvest are increasingly becoming insufficient to meet the needs of households (Betts et al., 2019a, p. 23). As the majority of refugees has been living in the settlement for more than five years, they have been continuously using the land for

agricultural production. The overfarming of cultivation plots has decreased land fertility and reduced agricultural productivity over time. As an officer of Nsamizi, a partner organisation of UNHCR in Nakivale, explains:

'For the last several years, the quality and fertility of land has been declining. From four years ago, 10 bags of maize (100–120 kg) from the same land is now reduced to a yield of 6–8 bags of maize. Each year, we are losing about 10 kg of production (one bag). This is totally understandable; some refugees have been using the same plot for over 10 years' (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 20).

The insufficiency of land is strained by the similarity of livelihood activities of refugees and hosts in Nakivale: Many hosts in Nakivale are pastoralists and have livestock that requires land for grazing (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 23).

While mainly land constraints impede the success of farming in Nakivale, the principal problem with farming in Bidibidi is the poor fertility of soil. Despite land in Yumbe is generally fertile (UNDP and UIA, 2017b, p. 5; West Nile Web, 2018b; Yumbe Local Government, 2015, p. 26), quality of land in some parts of Bidibidi is even so poor that land has not yet become a topic of disputes with host communities, as the land condition is regarded as too poor *'to be not worth fighting over'* (REACH and NRC, 2019, p. 26), with some areas having rocky and sandy soil that impedes efficient cropping (IBRD and World Bank, 2018, p. 7).

Frequent influxes of refugees in both settlements have put land constraints on both settlements and has forced OPM to shift the allocation of new plots to more outside areas of the settlements (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 18; Boswel, 2018, p. 20). As a result, distances to access the cultivation plot increased for some refugees to 6km. Many refugees report that they do not use the allocated cultivation plot, because the distances has made efficient farming on their land impossible, as affordable means of transportation are not given and the required half-day walk to access the land is too long and risky (Boswel, 2018, p. 20). In Nakivale, refugees also report a lack of control about far located cultivations plots, where theft and grazing cattle can easily destroy their livelihood efforts; the latter frequently leads to disputes with host community members (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 23; Svedberg, 2014, p. 30). Additionally, distant cultivation plots can get inaccessible during the rainy seasons, when access roads are flooded.

The absence of irrigation water makes agricultural outcomes dependent on rain in both settlements. Outcomes of farming significantly influence the food security and livelihood strategies of refugees, but *'bad weather can virtually destroy their hopes of being self-reliant'* (Svedberg, 2014, p. 31). Particularly in Nakivale, refugee face seasonality-related challenges in the establishment of livelihoods (see Figure 25): Volatile weather conditions regularly result into protracted droughts or inundations that threaten crops and livestock. Some areas of Nakivale generally receive only little precipitation and are left semi-arid and unsuitable for agricultural production (Svedberg, 2014, p. 31).

LIBERATE REFUGEE POLICIES

FINDINGS. Uganda's laws grant refugees the right to work and to freely move around the country. These rights have enabled refugees in both settlements to build up innovative businesses. Particularly in Nakivale, many innovative businesses have evolved over time: A Somali refugee in Nakivale has used

personal savings to establish the settlement's first games shop, where clients could play games at a small fee (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 28). The shop was set-up with games, second-hand televisions and game consoles purchased in the surrounding towns. Other Somali refugees have started a minibus transport service from Nakivale settlement to surrounding towns (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 11).

Not only Somali refugees have become entrepreneurs in Nakivale: A Rwandan refugee owning a milling machine recognized the vast demand for maize flour by refugees, nationals and the WFP within Nakivale, and set up a milling service. The diversified income, resulting from the grinding of maize and from the sales of leftover maize as livestock food, has generated enough capital to employ five other refugees and to save for a water tank, that could improve the operation of the milling machine and serve as another source of income with selling water to households during the dry season (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 28). One Congolese refugee has set up a cinema in the Base camp of Nakivale (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 28). Another refugee from DRC has opened a radio station that generates income through customers paying for requesting songs (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 32). A music shop has been started by a Congolese refugee in Juru zone, who regularly leaves Nakivale in order to purchase new songs in Mbarara, which are then loaded onto the customer's phone for a fee (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 34).

Also in Bidibidi, refugees have searched for alternative livelihood and income-generating strategies: As a South Sudanese refugee carpenter reports, taking his tools with him to the settlement has enabled him to start up a business of building and selling chairs (Pederson, 2018, pp. 34–35).

Some refugee families have used Uganda's liberate policies differently: Particularly families from Somalia have split up their families, with some family members leaving to urban areas for generating income for the household and returning occasionally, while other household members stay in Nakivale to take advantage of the food distribution and free accommodation provided in the settlement. Figures from Somali refugees interviewed in Kampala display the strategy of split-families: Only 40% state to reside in their place of registration (Betts *et al.*, 2019b, p. 3) .

INTERPRETATION. Despite the remote location of both settlements, the right to work and to freely move within Uganda has created market economies in both settlements, with trade networks in Nakivale even reaching suppliers outside Uganda. The right to work has resulted into many bottom-up approaches of innovations and have led to the evolvement of a diversity of businesses in Nakivale, that, in some cases, have also created employment opportunities for both refugees and hosts. The ability of movement enlarges economic possibilities for refugees: Business owners have permission to leave the settlement to purchase relevant shop items in the nearby towns or to communicate with supply chain partners. The supply of those goods is necessary to keep their business in the settlements running, which is beneficial for the socio-economic development of the owner, as well as of the refugee and host community.

AGRICULTURE AS BASIS FOR SELF-RELIANCE

FINDINGS. Although agriculture is envisioned as the principal livelihood and income-generating strategy in Uganda's SRS, not all refugees pursue farming: Neither does everyone possess the necessary skills of farming, nor is income generated by agricultural production sufficient in all cases. When looking at the average income levels that refugee households generate by pursuing a certain economic activity, it

becomes clear that some activities lead to higher income than others (see Figure 37): In Nakivale, any income based on external sources, including cash assistance, remittances and the selling of humanitarian aid items, generates the lowest income in Nakivale. In Bidibidi, on the contrary, those resources have comparatively greater value, while remittances are one of the most valuable sources of income. The largest amount of income in both settlements is earned with animal husbandry. Incomes generated by farming activities are among the lowest in both settlements, but notably higher in Nakivale.

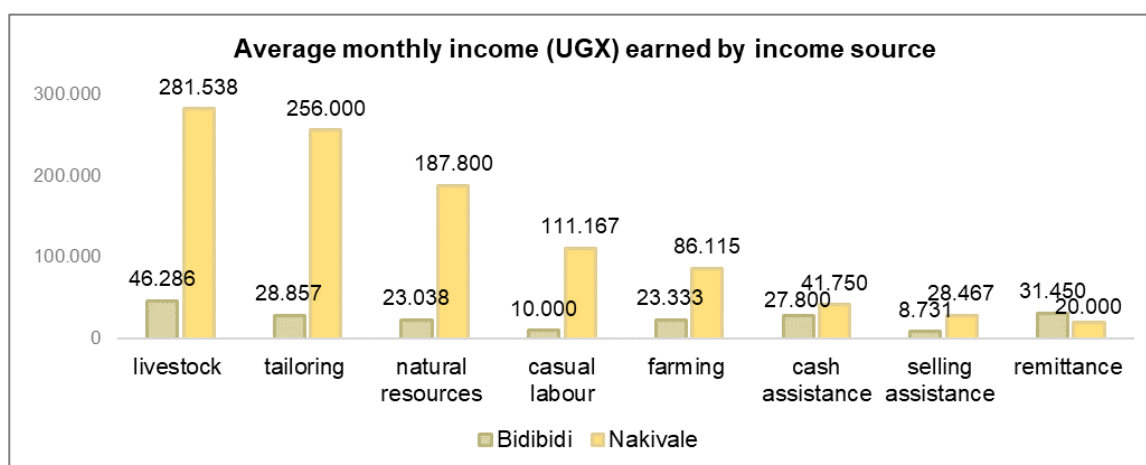


Figure 37: Average monthly income by economic activity , own compilation based on (REACH, 2019)

INTERPRETATION. Looking at the average income per month that refugees generate by pursuing a certain kind of activity reveals that farming is not the most promising livelihood strategy, as it has proved to only generate low income levels. Although the Ugandan SRS envisages agriculture as the principal livelihood and income-generating strategy, other economic activities prove to yield notably higher amounts of income. The higher income generated by farming in Nakivale can be attributed to more favourable soil conditions than in Bidibidi, resulting in greater agricultural productivity and surpluses that can be sold at the settlement's markets.

As the income figures show, external aid or income-generating strategies based on external assistance, such as the selling of aid items, receiving cash and remittance, itself cannot be enough to let refugees live a life in dignity in the long run. The high amounts of income generated in Nakivale by sources detached from external assistance, emphasise the importance of self-reliance to allow refugees a life in greater dignity and wealth.

4.3.3 Focus on other Factors

REFUGEE DIVERSITY

FINDINGS. The situation in Nakivale demonstrates that there are notable differences in many areas across the distinct nationalities residing in the settlement.

An example is the economic activity pursued (see Figure 30): While Congolese, Rwandan and South Sudanese refugees have mainly chosen farming as primary livelihood activity, Somali refugees have

engaged into trading and setting-up businesses, such as restaurants, fast-food stands and shops.¹¹ Further differences are displayed in the income levels of nationalities: Somali refugees are the best performers regarding the amount of money earned per month, with generating an average income of USD 193 (PPP), compared with USD 58 (PPP) of Congolese refugees (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 19). Also, in comparison with Ugandan hosts generating the same amount of income as Congolese refugees, Somali households live in greater wealth.

Refugees from Somalia in Nakivale are intensive users of communication technologies (see Figure 40). Almost all Somali refugees use mobile phones and utilize the internet more than other nationalities.

Educational levels show huge differences across the different nationalities living in Nakivale and Bidibidi: Congolese have longest schooling periods, while time spent for education is shorter in South Sudan and Burundi (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 24). The health level of the refugee population in Nakivale also reveals differences across nationalities: Congolese refugees tend to be less healthy than their Somali fellows, both mentally and physically (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 25).

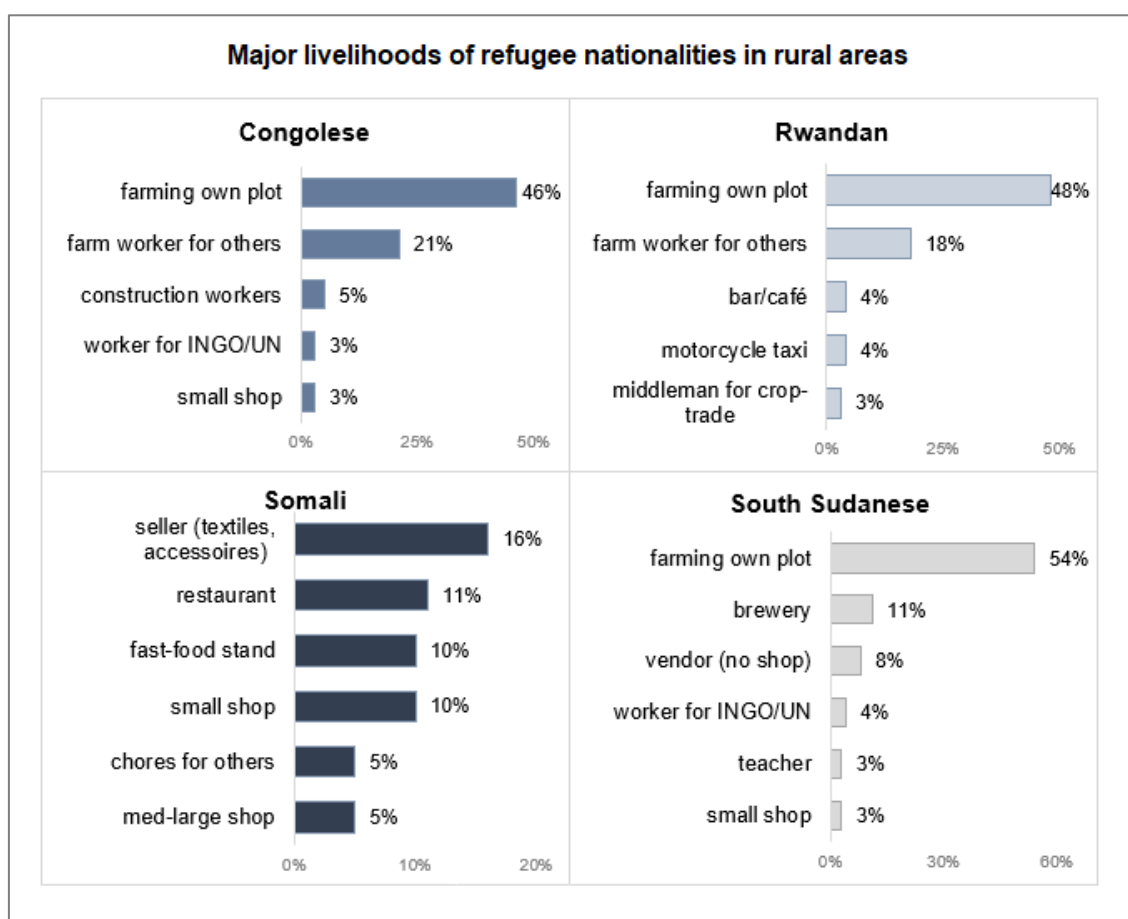


Figure 38: Major livelihoods of refugee nationalities in rural Ugandan settlements, own compilation based on (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 24)

¹¹ The figures of South Sudanese refugees do not explicitly represent refugees in Bidibidi, as the data were collected from Kyangwali settlement Betts *et al.* (2014, p. 7)

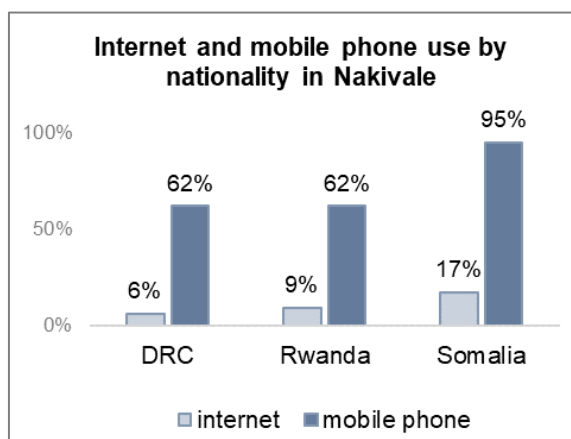


Figure 40: Households by nationality using mobile phones and internet, own compilation based on (Betts et al., 2014, p. 31)

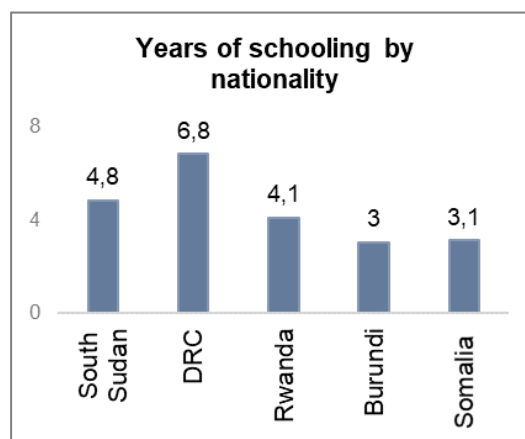


Figure 39: Mean years of schooling by nationality, own compilation based on (Betts et al., 2019a, p. 24; UNDP, 2018a, pp. 24–25)

In Nakivale, differences in the food security of some nationalities can be noted: A study by Betts *et al.* (2019a) focused on Somali and Congolese refugees in Nakivale and found, that the food situation for Somali refugees is generally more favourable than for the Congolese refugees in many aspects (see Figure 41): On average, Somali refugees have more meals per day, have a greater variety of nutrition, eat more meat and are significantly more food secure than their Congolese fellows (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 21).

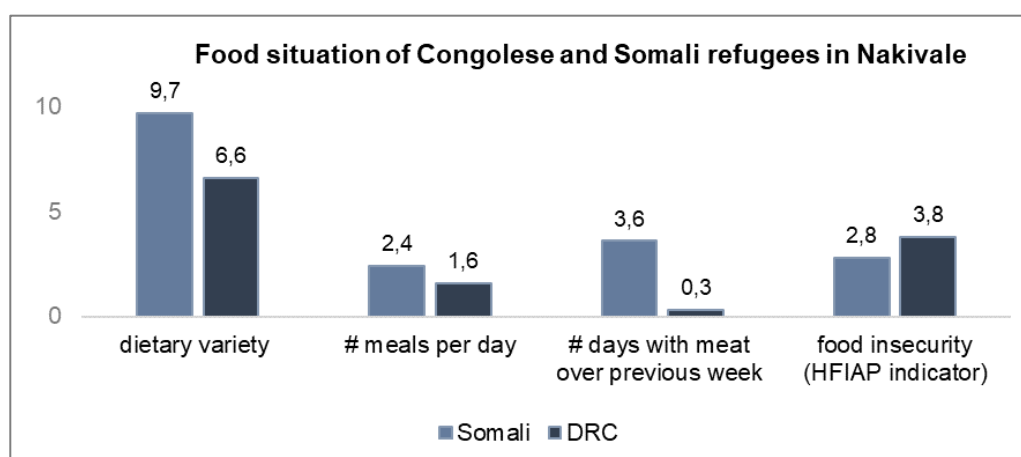


Figure 41: Food situation of Congolese and Somali refugees in Nakivale , own compilation based on (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 21)¹²

Somali refugees appear to have sound social capital: Although refugees from Somalia only represent a minority in Nakivale, almost one third of Somali refugees states to receive remittances (27%) (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 14). Also, the amounts of remittances sent to Somalis are highest: While Congolese refugees receive roughly USD 20 on average per year, remittance amounts received by Somalis in Nakivale are much higher, with about 350 USD yearly (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 28).

¹² The HFIAP indicator is classified into four categories of food security. The higher the score, the more food insecure is the affected population group Cock (2012, p. 24). Higher scores of dietary variety equal a greater food diversity Betts *et al.* (2019a, p. 21).

Somali business owners tend to employ Somali refugees over other nationalities. The figures in Nakivale reveal that the vast majority of Somali workers in Nakivale is employed by a refugee from their country of origin (88%); only few Somali refugees work for other nationalities (7%) (Betts *et al.*, 2019b, p. 5). Figures given for Congolese refugees display a more mixed distribution, with half of them working for other Congolese refugees (51%), and 43% for refugees from other nationalities. A few Somali (5%) and Congolese (6%) refugees are employed by aid agencies (Betts *et al.*, 2019b, p. 5). Including more nationalities into the employment distribution in rural settlements¹³, it becomes obvious that refugees are rather employed by a person of the same nationality (46%) than by another (23%) (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 19).

INTERPRETATION. Although the self-reliance concept of Uganda envisions farming as major strategy of livelihood and income-generation, not all refugees have based their livelihoods on agriculture: While the majority of Congolese, Rwandan and South Sudanese refugees have engaged into agricultural activities (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 11), most Somali refugees have rapidly rented out their allocated plot of cultivation land to other refugees after their arrival to Nakivale, and used the rental payments as a funding capital for starting up a business (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 14). Alongside their traditional nomadic and commercial background, Somali refugees have neither become farmers, nor cattle keepers in Nakivale, but rather entrepreneurs and traders (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 14).

The contrasting livelihoods have created complimentary economies in Nakivale: As Somali refugees have opted out from cultivation of plots, their food security depends on the crops cultivated by refugee farmers from DRC, Rwanda and Burundi (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 14). Refugees having rented out their farming plot also arranged sharecropping agreements. Instead of paying a fee for the rented plot, refugees settle up with shared harvests (REACH and NRC, 2019, p. 23).

In turn, non-Somali refugees in Nakivale take advantage of the variety of merchants and employment opportunities evolving from enterprises set up by Somalis. Though Somali employers tend to hire someone from the same nationality, refugees from other nations find employment possibilities with Somali entrepreneurs: Congolese refugees report to generate income by casual labour, such as domestic work or construction, commissioned and remunerated by Somali fellows (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 11). A Sudanese refugee in Nakivale regards working for people from Somalia as a valuable survival strategy, as casual work as cleaning and construction done for Somali households can generate a small income of UGX 5.000 (Che, 2011).

The presence of refugees in Nakivale shows, that the complementary economic activities practiced by refugees brings great potential for improving socio-economies of both refugees and nationals, as they offer employment opportunities (Ahimbisibwe, 2018, p. 16). The prevalence of large clanship and religious networks might facilitate Somali refugees to get hired by an employer of the same origin. Also, Somali entrepreneurs might value certain behaviours or norms of their own culture, which might make them choose Somali employees over those from other nationalities. Dense trade connections of Somali entrepreneurs in Nakivale with traders in Kampala have resulted in the exchange of a great variety of

¹³ The study scope of rural refugees included refugees residing in Nakivale and Kyangwali settlement; thus, the figures represent aggregated findings for both Nakivale and Kyangwali for Somali, Congolese, Rwandan and South Sudanese refugees (Betts *et al.* 2014).

merchants, 'importing' pasta, milk, camel meat, cosmetics and clothing into the settlement and 'exporting' food items distributed by aid agencies in the settlement to Kampala (Omata and Kaplan, 2013, p. 15; Omata, 2018, p. 19). Trade networks of Somalis in Nakivale do not only overcome the boundaries of the settlement, but also national borders: A shop run by Somali refugees in Nakivale imports merchants from neighbouring Kenya (Omata and Kaplan, 2013, p. 17); its supply chain of importing tuna to Nakivale even involves traders from Dubai (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 14). To maintain this extensive network of supply chain partners, Somali refugees intensively use communication technologies, as their businesses require more interactions or negotiations with suppliers and customers.

When looking at the average monthly income of Somali refugees in Nakivale compared with refugees from DRC, it becomes clear that Somalis have a generally more favourable socio-economic profile. On the one hand, this can be attributed to the type of economic activity pursued that generates increased levels of income, and, on the other hand, to the greater amount of remittances supporting the life in the settlement. The higher amount of remittances of Somali refugees might be attributed to a greater number of sisters and brothers living in a Western country of Somali refugees, who send money to their family members remaining on the African continent (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 26).

The greater wealth of Somali refugees significantly contributes to their food situation: The notably higher income allows them to purchase food in greater amounts and variety, which further benefits their nutritional needs. The greater financial liquidity reduces healthcare barriers, as it makes the high costs of medication affordable. The different extent of health-related problems could be further related to the economic activity pursued: Somali refugees are less likely to suffer from health problems, as most of them are not involved in labour-intensive work – in contrast to Congolese refugees that largely pursue physically demanding work (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 25).

Despite the ethnic and cultural diversity, relations among the diverse groups of refugees in Nakivale are generally positive. Disputes have been rather interpersonal, having, for instance, resulted from the split of allocated land plots in Nakivale, when new refugees required land for housing and cultivation (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 23).

INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY (ICT) INFRASTRUCTURE

FINDINGS. Despite the remote location, coverage of telecommunication and internet is generally good in both refugee settlements (UNHCR, 2018c, p. 28). In Bidibidi, 40% of refugees own a mobile phone, which they primarily use for calling friends and relatives (UNHCR *et al.*, 2016, p. 20). In Nakivale, the usage of phones is higher (73%), and 11% of refugees also use the internet (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 31). Besides contacting friends and family, many refugees in Nakivale use these two communication channels for economic purposes (see Figure 42): 46% of households utilize a mobile phone as part of their livelihood strategy. Another 3% of households make use of the internet for commercial purposes (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 33).¹⁴ Of those, about a third relies on their phones to get informed about markets.

¹⁴ The figures include data from Kyangwali settlement in midwest, but the sample size for Nakivale was twice as large as refugees interviewed in Kyangwali (see Betts *et al.* (2014, p. 7)). It is therefore assumed that the figures on rural areas presented in the study of Betts *et al.* largely represent the situation in Nakivale.

Both communication channels are primarily to contact suppliers and customer. Phones and internet are also used for the transfer of money (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 33).

Nakivale offers a somewhat more advanced ICT infrastructure: Half of the internet users in Nakivale access the service in the Community Technology Access centre – a UNHCR-supported and refugee-run internet café and training centre, offering basic courses on computer literacy and the possibility to acquire e-learning skills (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 32).

INTERPRETATION. The stable infrastructure for communication in Nakivale contributes to a great extent to livelihood establishment, skills acquisition and the development of market economies by overcoming geographic isolation. Mobile phones and the internet have a huge social, but also economic meaning for refugees, as they enable to keep in contact with family and friends, but also suppliers outside the settlement or even outside the country. The communication channels help to establish and sustain networks of trade, as most Ugandan traders rather reside in the large cities, such as as Kampala and Mbarara (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 33).

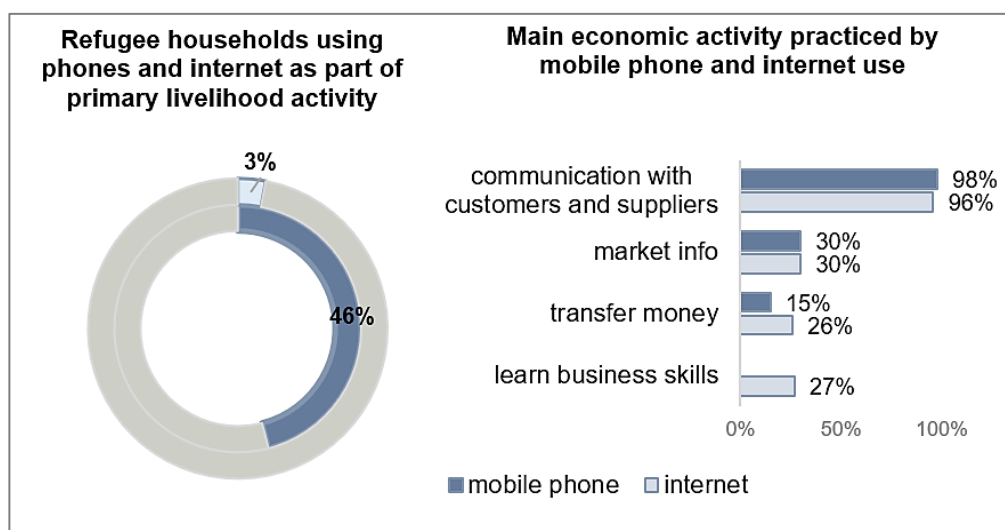


Figure 42: Usage of phones and internet as part of livelihoods, own compilation based on (Betts *et al.*, 2014, pp. 31–33)

5 Discussion

The research question of this thesis consists in determining the status quo of self-reliance of refugees in Ugandan refugee settlements. The CPI tool is used to measure self-reliance of refugees on the example of Bidibidi and Nakivale settlement, that are compared to reveal both differences and similarities of self-reliance across the country. Further, it has been analysed if the specifics of the Ugandan context have impacted the status quo of self-reliance and if more factors might have hampered or fostered the achievement of self-reliance of refugees in Uganda. The application of the CPI tool could not deliver the all-comprising measurement of self-reliance in the refugee settlements of Uganda, as a lot of data needed for a profound analysis is not available. Research published about the topic, however, indicates that Uganda's self-reliance model faces constraints in many aspects.

BARRIERS TO SELF-RELIANCE

This section examines the relations of the findings from the comparison of the settlements and puts the results in the context of self-reliance in Uganda.

Unsatisfied basic needs put obstacles to achieving self-reliance of refugees

The satisfaction of basic needs, such as food, water and health, are an essential precondition for self-reliance, as they built the basis for the well-being and protection of refugees. However, the scarcity of food in both settlements, lack of medication and the poor availability of water, particularly in Nakivale, threaten the well-being of the refugee population in Uganda.

Neither humanitarian assistance nor the cultivation of own plots provides enough food to grant the entire household two to three meals per day. Food security becomes worse over time, when refugees are not eligible to full food rations anymore, and when farming does neither yield sufficient harvests, nor restricted amounts of income can afford to pay local food prices.

Security risks come along with the scarcity of food, especially for households that lack an income-generating strategy. Hungry children drop out of school as they cannot concentrate or must generate an income, instead, to afford food items. The financial plight of households fosters violence and has driven vulnerable individuals and children to adopt harmful survival practices, such as child marriages or prostitution, to afford food or charcoal (Ilcan *et al.*, 2015, p. 6; WRC, 2014, p. 6). Controversely, the limited use of contraceptives constantly raises population numbers, which requires additional resources to satisfy basic needs of all family members (Mankani, 2011, p. 15). As a refugee in Nakivale states: *"If early pregnancy is a talent, then in this community we are talented. As we talk, in one family, two girls who follow each other (one about 15 and another about 17years) are pregnant and their mother is also pregnant. This is mainly because of poverty and hunger, which makes them vulnerable to sexual advances from those who can provide some food. Unfortunately, when they give birth, the burden increases."* (UNICEF *et al.*, 2018, p. 46).

Health services in Bidibidi and Nakivale are not sufficient to meet healthcare needs of the refugee and host population. Medication is costly and mostly not available in sufficient amounts, that impedes a proper treatment of health issues. Adequate health treatments, however, are of great significance for

the achievement of sustainable self-reliance. Sick and weak refugees will not be able to work or care for themselves. Particularly refugees pursuing agricultural activities are prone to have health issues due to the intense physical work. Thus, refugees must be given the chance to get cured, otherwise they fall out of potential livelihoods and income-generating strategies in the long run and become fully dependent on humanitarian aid again.

The popularity of borrowing money for health, food and non-food items reveals the financial plight of refugees, that impedes them to satisfy household needs on their own. The more refugees get into debt for the satisfaction of basic needs, the less money will be available for the development of businesses to shape their way to self-reliance.

The coverage of daily needs, as the collection of distributed food, water and firewood, are very time-consuming and reduce the time that adults are supposed to have for the generation of an income to become self-reliant. When those activities are left to children, they drop out of education, which takes them the basis for self-reliance in the long run.

RECOMMENDATIONS. It is of great importance that the basic needs of refugees are satisfied. Otherwise refugees are forced to adopt negative coping strategies, such as the reduction of meals per day or engaging into survival strategies, that can have a detrimental health impact in the long run and will thus require more humanitarian assistance.

If refugees are not provided with sufficient food or the means to produce or buy sufficient food on their own, the pre-requirements of self-reliance will not be given. The food situation in Bidibidi reveals that food rations are reduced at a too early stage, as refugees have not yet been able to establish livelihood strategies that generate income or produce own crops to fill the emerging gaps. For this reason, food reductions should not be cut over time, or the reductions should at least be applied over a longer period of time, to give refugees more time to build up a new life. Otherwise the lack of food is likely to have detrimental impacts on the health of refugees.

Urgent actions are needed regarding the procurement of medication to the health centres in both settlements in adequate amounts and at affordable prices.

Investments in private toilet facilities but also in sanitation infrastructure of schools will result into improved hygiene conditions that can reduce diseases, which consequently relieves healthcare services in the settlements. Enhanced sanitary conditions in educational facilities are further likely to take hurdles for girls in accessing education during their menstruation.

To avoid time-consuming processes for the satisfaction of daily needs, investments should be realized to strengthen the water supply in both settlements. Increasing the number of water sources in locations that are currently sparsely equipped would raise the availability of water to the entire population, which is urgently needed in Nakivale. At the same time, this is going to lessen overcrowding as well as waiting times at water point and cut distances that refugees have to overcome to access water. This is also likely to lead to higher participation rates of children in schools, as the time-intensive activity of water fetching is often left to children.

The remote location of the rural settlements puts constraints on the development of economies

Both investigated rural settlements are located in remote locations, that are largely underdeveloped across many areas.

Limited access to credit undermines economic growth for both refugee and host communities. The restricted availability of financial services limits access to capital for refugees trying to start a business or expand a current business activity. This makes investments in advanced farming practices, that could result in higher agricultural productivity, as well as the development of alternative economic activities only hardly feasible. Only those with extensive social capital, such as Somali refugees in Nakivale, are in a more favourable position of being able to realize business ideas through capital deriving from sound informal channels. When it comes to saving groups, the financial scope is so restricted that numerous business concepts cannot be realized.

Although some formal ways of accessing credit are given in the surrounding towns, an underdeveloped transportation infrastructure of the districts denies most households this service: The absence of public transportation, high prices of private transportation businesses and long journeys that demand time which is needed to earn money or to complete vital activities, as water fetching and collecting food items from distribution points, forces most households to remain in the settlement. High costs of transportation also impose further hurdles to economic development in both refugee-hosting districts: Market opportunities are missed when refugees do not reach markets within the settlements or those in urban areas, where they could purchase items to stock up their own business (Crailsheim *et al.*, 2019, p. 26; Tussiiime and Nalugonda, 2017, p. 4). Unless refugees have private means of transportation or can afford private transportation services, they are denied the access to employment possibilities in the local market.

The underdeveloped infrastructure of roads can put logistical obstacles to the supply of aid goods and thus, risk the well-being of the refugee community that is dependent on food distributions (JICA, 2018, p. 37). Particularly in Bidibidi, where most people are still largely dependent on humanitarian aid, trucks with aid deliveries must pass over poor district roads to reach the settlements. Sometimes trucks get stuck due to the bad conditions of roads, especially roads are flooded through heavy rains, preventing them from reaching the settlement, where the expected supply of aid goods is urgently needed (UNHCR, 2018c, pp. 28–29).

Electricity access is very poor in both settlements and requires investments, not only due to safety concerns, but also in terms of missed out business opportunities: Access to electricity can improve safety by lighting public areas, such as toilets and roads, that represent places of a high risk of SGBV (Mercy Corps, 2019, p. 18). Further, it can result in a higher educational performance, as light enables longer study hours (Mercy Corps, 2019, p. 18). Besides, energy can significantly raise the potential of business opportunities, such as the charging of phones or the sale of fuel (Mercy Corps, 2019, pp. 11–12). Concerning this, a refugee in Rhino, another refugee settlement in Uganda, states: '*Energy drives life – where you limit energy, you limit life.*' (Mercy Corps, 2019, p. 9)

RECOMMENDATIONS. To reduce the hurdles to economic development and protection of refugees, that the remote location of the rural settlement approach entails, infrastructure investments are urgently

needed to guarantee access to financial services, transportation and employment. Social capital should not represent the only way to access capital needed for establishing or enhancing livelihoods, as it leaves out refugees that do not possess private means for the realization of business investments. Increased financial support is urgently needed and investments should be made by developmental partners to attract banking services by emphasising the economic potential that is given in both settlements. An affordable and improved transportation network in both settlements is urgently needed, as it does not only facilitate the logistical operations of aid agencies, but can also stimulate economic development, as markets within and outside the settlements can be accessed more easily (JICA, 2018, p. 193). Also, improved road conditions could reduce the impact of floods, which would take technical barriers for children intending to access educational facilities. Investments into expanding access to electricity for private and public areas are highly recommended, as they can reduce security risks, foster education and can support business ideas.

Barriers to education are likely to become barriers to self-reliance for the next generation

Both settlements miss an adequate response to the preponderance of children. Despite a more extensive infrastructure of education, Bidibidi settlement offers too few capacities to enable children from the refugee and host community to access qualitative education.

When parents are engaged into economic activities, time-consuming activities, as water fetching and household chores, are often left to children, who, consequently, do not have the time to make their way to school. Lack of affordable transportation also impedes access to education, especially to the low number of secondary schools in the settlements (Svedberg, 2014, p. 41). Children with disabilities are even worse off, as infrastructure regarding transportation and sanitation in schools are insufficient in both settlements to meet the educational and basic needs of children with special needs. School dropouts can lead to consequences, such as the abuse of drugs and alcohol, as well as the isolation of children or their engagement in criminal activities as theft or violence. This has a detrimental impact on their physical and mental safety and must therefore be prevented to protect the development of a child (FCA, 2019, p. 17). Training capacities of livelihood programmes insufficiently target the youth, which makes it difficult for the next generation to build up a livelihood (Ilcan *et al.*, 2015, p. 5).

Education is a pre-requisite for self-reliance and is a mean to lower the potential of violence. However, the insufficient quantity and quality of educational options in both settlements, as well as the costs of education lower the probability of livelihood creation of the next generation (UNHCR, 2018f, p. 1).

RECOMMENDATIONS. Long distance to schools, language barriers and tuition fees have to be reduced or even eliminated to enable more refugee and host children to access education, and thus, raise their chances of livelihoods (Betts *et al.*, 2019b, p. 5). Education is of great significance for a sustainable integration of refugees into their host community and for the achievement of self-reliance (World Bank and UNHCR, 2016, p. 33). Facilitating the access to education and providing proper infrastructure that enables a qualitative schooling experience avoids producing a generation of children left without qualification (Pilling, 2017; UNICEF *et al.*, 2018, p. 57). Investments should seek to build up a permanent infrastructure to achieve a learning environment not being disrupted by weather conditions. Aid agencies should secure a timely procurement and delivery of sufficient school materials, that should be provided

for free (FCA, 2019, p. 12). Free schooling, including secondary education should be supported by the international community, to raise enrolment rates. Further, primary education in Nakivale should consider schooling in English to counteract language barriers. Hiring additional teachers could reduce the impact of overcrowding, improve quality of education and represent employment opportunities for refugee adults. When making infrastructure investments, distances to host communities should be considered as well, especially in Bidibidi, where children from the host community have even lower enrolment rates than refugee children (UNDP, 2016, p. 8; UNICEF *et al.*, 2018, p. 36). The provision of vocational trainings is of great importance for the integration of refugees into their host country and for improving their socio-economic profile. Targeting young people should be the focus of such programmes to prevent that early school leavers adapt detrimental practices and engage in promising livelihood strategies instead (UNHCR and OPM, 2017, pp. 9–10)

The self-reliance concept puts an additional burden to women

Achieving self-reliance is particularly difficult for women: Adherent to their traditional role, women are usually in charge of domestic household duties, child care, fetching water and the collection of firewood (WRC, 2014, 5). This leaves them with less time for the generation of sufficient income, making them dependent on their male counterpart in the family (Narangui, 2017, p. 6). When men are absent, as in many cases in Bidibidi, women even carry a double burden: Against the traditional cultural gender roles, women are forced to take over the role of the household head. Besides the completion of chores, this has made them responsible to generate an income to satisfy household needs (Krause, 2015, p. 250). In some cases, some women have remarried to relieve the resulting financial and mental pressure. Such marriages raise the risk of SGBV and threaten the protection and well-being of women.

In other cases, women in charge of domestic and livelihood activities have transferred responsibilities to their children. This way, particularly girls, connotated to cultural believes, have become forced to take over chores and daily needs activities for the entire household. This has made time scarce for the attendance of education (UNDP, 2016, p. 36). Further reasons for absenteeism of girls in schools are early marriages, the fear of rape on their way to school and the lack of sanitary products during days of their menstruation (FCA, 2019, p. 10; WRC, 2016, pp. 14–15).

RECOMMENDATION. Women and girls miss safety and educational requirements for the achievement of self-reliance. This gives indication that girls and women require additional protection, as safety is a fundamental requirement for well-being, upon which self-reliance can be built. Empowering women can contribute to reducing the vulnerability of women by raising their possibilities of income-generation. In Nakivale, this has already resulted in many self-employment activities of women (World Bank and UNHCR, 2016, p. 38). Investments into public lighting of roads, toilets and other public areas can reduce security threats for female refugees. Sufficient supplies of sanitary pads or substitutes should be ensured to enable girls to access education during their menstruation and women to pursue livelihoods and chores as usual.

DIFFERENCES IN SELF-RELIANCE ACROSS THE COUNTRY

The previous section has reflected the shared performance gaps in the achievement of self-reliance in both Bidibidi and Nakivale settlement. However, there have been also noted differences in self-reliance levels in both settlements, which are explained below.

Dependency on assistance in Bidibidi

A striking example, that Uganda's agricultural-based SRS is not working in practice, is the food situation of refugees in Bidibidi: Refugees are still largely dependent on aid to satisfy their food needs, irrespective of their time of residence in the settlement (UNDP, 2018c, pp. 8–9). The arable land is too small and not sufficiently fertile to guarantee food supplements apart from humanitarian aid.

In contrast, for most refugees in Nakivale, own farming outcomes, as well as cash earned by alternative economic activities provide the principal source of food. This indicates that refugees have made greater progress so far towards an independent provision of food needs. However, also in Nakivale, farming outcomes from the cultivation of own plots are, in most cases, not sufficient for fulfilling the food needs of the entire household.

The possibility of buying food on local markets in Bidibidi is also rather limited, as poverty is widespread and job opportunities are scarce. Not many refugees have a sustainable source of income, detached from external assistance: Many sell the distributed aid items, whose reduction over time will also lower income levels of refugee households (DCA and UNHCR, 2017, p. 25; UNDP, 2018c, p. 8). The popularity of making money with selling natural resources has accelerated deforestation. The income-generating strategy of selling natural resources, such as firewood, is likely to become obsolete soon, as environmental resources have rapidly decreased owing to the energy needs of refugees and hosts. The accelerated deforestation is likely to strain the relation of refugees and hosts due to the competition about the scarce resources, as well as to lead to detrimental environmental impact, raising risks of food insecurity.

Market economies in Nakivale are more advanced

Economies in Nakivale are more advanced than in Bidibidi, which gives more households in Nakivale greater financial back-ups. The comparatively little intensity of market economies in Bidibidi is attributed to the fact that refugees are still in a more initial phase than their fellows in Nakivale of establishing a livelihood strategy in the settlement, owing to a shorter time of residence in Uganda.

In contrast to Nakivale, income sources are generally less sustainable in Bidibidi, as sold goods derive from decreasing humanitarian assistance and environmental resources.

This leaves refugees in Bidibidi with only limited incomes. A consequent low purchasing power puts constraint on market economies in the settlement: Refugees cannot afford paying the high prices at local markets or only purchase small quantities of items. Costly transportation services impede the access to markets the outskirts of the settlement or to local markets in urban areas (DCA and UNHCR, 2017, p. 25).

The advanced market economies in Nakivale are also driven by the diversity of refugee nations, that have created complementary livelihoods in the settlements.

Conditions in Bidibidi are less favourable to achieve self-reliance

Farming is practiced by many refugees in Nakivale for the generation of income. Also, own harvests represent the primary source of food for most households in Nakivale. In contrast, income generated by agriculture in Bidibidi is only available to few households. Although almost all refugees in Bidibidi cultivate plots, agricultural outcomes are not sufficient to satisfy the needs of the household. While quality of land is generally fertile in Nakivale, many refugees in Bidibidi practice farming on rocky grounds, that hamper an agricultural production. In both settlements the limited size of lands put obstacles to the implementation of Uganda's SRS in practice. The constant influx of refugees has strained the lands in both settlements.

Also, due to the scarcity of land in Nakivale, achieving self-reliance might be increasingly becoming difficult for new arrivals in the future: If a plot for cultivation is allocated at all, farming those lands can only yield limited outcomes, owing to its small size and poor soil fertility that has resulted from overharvesting.

Investments of the international community have largely left out the South

Bidibidi settlement shows improved infrastructure across the several areas: Refugees have more water per day, a higher number of schools and better equipped healthcare services. Medical infrastructure in the West-Nile region even performs above average in national comparison (JICA, 2018, p. 66).

This is attributed to the increased international attention to the Northern regions of Uganda, where the massive influxes of refugees from South Sudan demanded urgent and extensive responses. There, a greater number of aid agencies have taken over the provision of healthcare and education, as part of the international response. In Southwest Uganda, where Nakivale is located, the national government is mainly in charge of medical care and education, and a significant lower number of humanitarian and development partners make some services underfunded, such as the water supply (UNICEF *et al.*, 2018, p. 26).

RECOMMENDATIONS. The different time frame, that both settlements have had for building up a new life in Uganda, gives indication that the achievement of self-reliance requires time to build up sustainable and resilient livelihoods. This confirms that refugee assistance should not be phased off too early, as the protection and well-being of refugees is otherwise at risk, and takes the basis for self-reliance.

Market economies in Bidibidi are expected to become more mature over time, but refugees need to be assisted to overcome certain hurdles: To combat the low purchasing power of refugees and stimulate market economies, aid programmes should consider supplements of cash instead of food and production kits. Cash fosters spending and purchasing power and gives refugees a greater economic base for realizing business ideas or expansions. Moreover, the provision of cash instead of food avoids the oversupply of certain goods and thus the destruction of given local economies that could risk the livelihoods of host community members. Studies from another Ugandan refugee settlement reveal that cash transfers stimulate higher incomes and greater food security (Mercy Corps, 2018b). However, aid

should not only be focused on cash: As particularly in Bidibidi refugees cannot generate sufficient agricultural outcomes from cultivating their own plots, food items should remain to be part of the assistance (Tusiiime and Nalugonda, 2017, p. 3).

Economies in both settlements require increased developmental support: To further stimulate economic growth in Bidibidi, educational measures to shape and strengthen livelihoods should be prioritised. The provision of vocational trainings is of tremendous importance, as the massive amounts of children will require livelihood support, once they finish primary and secondary education, or even earlier in cases of drop-outs. While there is still great demand for skills trainings in Bidibidi, refugees in Nakivale demand support to put their longer-standing business ideas into practice by granting them increased access to credit: *'We don't need training, we need cash'* (MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 39).

INFLUENCE OF UGANDAN SPECIFIC FACTORS

This section reflects the areas of underperformance in Uganda's approach to refugee self-reliance and suggests to reconsider some changes in Uganda's refugee assistance.

Agriculture as basis for self-reliance

The allocation of free land plots for housing and cultivation is a generous concession of the Ugandan government. In contrast to other camp environments, the settlement approach generally grants mediocre spaces for living to refugee households and gives refugees a free mean to take the attempt of establishing a livelihood with farming. However, Uganda's agricultural-based self-reliance concept builds on an economic activity that faces constraints due to a poor and worsening fertility of small-sized lands that make a high productivity of farming unfeasible. Food insufficiency affects most households in both settlements, as the poor agricultural conditions impede households from becoming independent from food assistance by selling and consuming their own crops.

The agricultural-based SRS is not a sustainable solution towards self-reliance of refugees in Uganda due to its dependence on climatic conditions and the increasing land constraints resulting from constant influxes of refugees. The absence of irrigation water makes agricultural outcomes dependent on rain in both settlements. Outcomes of farming significantly influence the food security and livelihood strategies of refugees, but "bad weather can virtually destroy their hopes of being self-reliant" (Svedberg, 2014, p. 31). With continuing climatic change causing weather shocks that lead to miss outs in harvests, food security of both refugees and hosts would be at risk due to a consequent food scarcity, which could also strain their coexistence (REACH and NRC, 2019, p. 36).

Uganda's SRS further encourages the adoption of a similar strategy on which nationals base their livelihoods, which raises competition. The similarity of livelihood activities of refugees and hosts, with land being the pre-requisite of success, additionally stresses the constraints on land (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 23). The example of Nakivale shows that a peaceful coexistence and economic interactions are challenged when hosts and refugees have the same economic backgrounds. As both nationals and refugees in Nakivale are mainly farmers or cattle keepers, they have the same pre-requisites for success in their livelihood strategy: Sufficient land is needed for cropping or to graze livestock, but the constant

restrictions in land size puts both communities at risk (Bagenda *et al.*, 2003, p. 13). The same basis for livelihoods and income generation lets many Ugandans perceive refugees as competitors (Betts *et al.*, 2019b, p. 6).

Agricultural livelihoods do not offer the most promising socio-economic perspectives for the refugee community. Capital-intensive work, as mainly pursued by Somali refugees in Nakivale, seems to entail greater wealth, including higher income and higher food security (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 20). In contrast, refugees being engaged in labour-intensive work, such as casual work and farming, are generally not able to generate similar income and wealth levels as refugees engaged in capital-intensive work (Betts *et al.*, 2014, p. 23). This finding reveals limitations of the agricultural-based self-reliance concept of Uganda, that fails to adequately support alternative livelihood strategies, which are even more promising than farming for the socio-economic development of both refugees and hosts.

Limiting SR to agriculture suppresses the potential of refugees and regards refugees as a homogeneous group that are all able to pursue labour-intensive work. However, not all refugees are able to pursue farming due to their health condition, the elderly and people with disabilities. Instead of becoming independent from aid, many refugees have become dependent on other population groups: Despite their entitlement to permanent assistance of full food rations, vulnerable individuals are at risk in the Ugandan refugee settlements, as they are more prone to face obstacles in generating an income to supplement the limited humanitarian aid items (Ilcan *et al.*, 2015, p. 6). Those that are not able to take care of themselves, become dependent on the strained resources of their family.

Further, the background and occupation of refugees in Bidibidi and Nakivale show that not all of them are farmers. Many do not have the knowledge in farming, since they have pursued other livelihood activities in their country of origin or do not have the aspiration to work in agriculture. Bottom-up innovations in both settlements have revealed, that refugees have a great diversity of skills, and are willing to use those to strengthen their personal situation, as well as the one of the wider community. Those innovative businesses demonstrate that refugees are not a homogeneous group and that each individual has certain skills and aspirations. Thus, limiting livelihood support on agriculture – an economic activity that can neither represent a sustainable solution owing to the shrinking resources of Uganda, nor generate high incomes – risks losing this pool of skills and, consequently, the potential of greater socio-economic growth of both the refugee and host community.

Refugee policies

The open policies of Uganda's refugee management, granting refugees the right to work, freedom of movement and the access to education and healthcare give refugees a feeling of respect and dignity and contribute to an economic development of both refugees and hosts. The integrated service concept has brought advantages, including both refugees and hosts: With the help of international aid funds, settling refugees in rural remote areas has stimulated development of the educational system, healthcare services, water supply and road infrastructure. Particularly in West Nile, development has been fostered in an area that has mainly been forest before.

Notwithstanding, those rights are accompanied with obstacles in practice: The underdeveloped transportation infrastructure restricts the freedom of movement and the right for employment in both

settlements. The impossibility of obtaining citizenship in Uganda impedes the integration of refugees and the adoption of a permanent solution. The exclusion of refugees from political decisions will always keep refugees as a separate population group. The lack of ownership rights on farming plots let them constantly remain in a state of limbo, with the fear of possibly being evicted anytime. Technically, children of refugee households are granted access to schools in and around the settlements, and primary schooling is also largely free. Nevertheless, the practicability of the right to education proves to be rather unfeasible due to the high costs of tuition, that the vast majority of refugees in both settlements cannot afford. The pressing need to generate income in order to buy vital supplies, as food and health-related items, denies many children the right to education in practice. The shared educational system is overloaded with the high number of refugee and host children, as well as with the diversity of languages in one class.

Uganda's refugee approach is still laudable among the international community: Although logistical obstacles are caused by the underdeveloped transportation infrastructure to fully enjoy the rights of freedom of movement and the right to work, those rights have enabled the creation of market economies within in the geographically isolated areas. Despite its remote location, Nakivale settlement has become a significant trade hub, while its market structures integrate into regional, national and even international economies (Omata, 2018, p. 21). The extensive trade connections of Somali refugees in Nakivale displays the importance of freedom of movement and explains the intense market economies in the settlement. The presence of refugees has created new demand for local products and the new markets formed within the settlements have given local traders a platform to sell their products. Also, in the case of Nakivale, the creation of businesses by refugees has brought employment opportunities for nationals. The economic interactions between refugees and hosts have not only fostered mutual socio-economic growth, but also social ties. Refugees alongside hosts participate in community groups to collectively exploit business opportunities and to save and borrow monetary resources.

Self-settled refugees are left out of Uganda's refugee assistance

The Ugandan refugee assistance concept lets refugees choose, if they want to reside in the organized settlements or if they want to settle somewhere else in the country. Though the policy is laudable in the sense that it does not confine refugees to the boundaries of a camp, self-settled refugees are not eligible to receive assistance. From the first day of having been granted the refugee status, self-settled refugees must be able to satisfy their needs of food, water, medicine and shelter – assistance that is provided for free in the settlements. Still, 5% of the total refugee population, have self-settled in urban areas, and the number is presumably higher, as some families have opted for a split-family strategy: While some members remain in the settlements to be entitled to food aid, one member unofficially resides in a city to earn a living for the entire household (UNHCR, 2019I). Some families see themselves forced to adapt such strategies, as employment opportunities are too scarce in the settlements.

If conditions in the settlements do not improve towards more job opportunities, a functioning and affordable transportation network and greater access to capital for the start-up and expansion of businesses, more refugees will either seek livelihood opportunities in urban areas and slip through the net of assistance. Those that remain in the settlement are at risk to get mentally affected by the limited

opportunities in the long run, or to adapt survival strategies that threaten their protection. A study of Betts *et al.* (2019a) explains that self-settled refugees are better off in some areas of life, as e.g. they are able to generate higher levels of income. Moreover, the study gives indication that refugees in urban areas in Uganda are more integrated with nationals.

RECOMMENDATION. Owing to the impracticability of agriculture for achieving self-sufficiency, the government should reconsider its assistance programme: Alternative livelihoods should be supported, that are more feasible for the generation of incomes and that can satisfy basic needs of the household. This is particularly important in Bidibidi, where fertility of some areas is not suitable for farming. Encouraging refugees to find niches in the markets and take up economic activities apart from farming would relieve the pressure on lands and reduce competition over lands with host farmers and pastoralists. To achieve this, the infrastructural preconditions must be adjusted, including accessibility of credits for the start-up of businesses and affordable means of transportation to purchase business-relevant items at markets.

A general rethinking of Uganda's refugee assistance concept should happen, to include self-settled refugees into the eligibility to basic need items, such as food and water. Since those refugees have similarly low resources to satisfy basic needs as refugees in the settlements, particularly in the beginning, self-settled refugees are also highly at risk to engage in survival strategies, that are harmful to their well-being and safety. It is recommended to further investigate, if self-reliance levels of self-settled refugees are more promising than those of refugees in the Ugandan settlements. If so, it could be considered to settle refugees towards more urban areas, to reduce the barriers entailed by the underdeveloped financial and transportation infrastructure in the remote areas.

The international community urgently needs to assist countries like Uganda, that show great hospitality towards refugees from their neighbouring countries. The liberal policies represent very favourable fundamental conditions for the integration and self-reliance of refugees, granting them the right to work and to move freely. However, Uganda's refugee assistance faces constraints to help refugees help themselves. This is driven from the poverty of the nation itself, but also from aid funds that have been persistently reducing over time – in contrast to the permanently rising numbers of refugees seeking shelter in Uganda. Many European countries, that are much wealthier than Uganda, do not wish to host refugees in their country, as those are perceived as 'a threat to European values' (Trilling, 2018).

The example of both Ugandan refugee settlements has shown that a similarity in cultures, religions and languages, as well as a similar experience of forced displacement in the past has created a greater mutual understanding and facilitated integration of both refugees and hosts. Most refugees value to be relatively close to their home country and only very few have the aspiration to resettle to another country, where vast cultural differences make the integration not as easy as in a familiar environment. Thus, supporting host countries with financial funds and the implementation of refugee assistance can help to improve the lives of refugees seeking refuge in an African country. The resulting enhanced conditions are likely to avoid that more refugees see the need to take the arduous and often dangerous journey to relocate to a Western country, where huge cultural differences and less liberal rights as in Uganda put additional obstacles to the integration of refugees.

IMPACTORS OF SELF-RELIANCE

A diversity of refugee nations in Nakivale has not shown to put obstacles to a peaceful cohabitation of the community. Despite the ethnic and cultural diversity, relations among the refugee community itself are generally positive (Betts *et al.*, 2019a, p. 23). The variety of nations seems to have created diversified economies in Nakivale. Although similar livelihoods with hosts have created competition (Betts *et al.*, 2019b, p. 6), the presence of Somali refugees in Nakivale shows that complementary livelihoods have been created within the refugee community. A resulting mutual interdependence has led to less competition among the refugee community. Those livelihoods have found support in a well-established ICT infrastructure, which has been proved to be valuable to overcome the geographic isolation of the settlement. The establishment of effective communication infrastructure can greatly support livelihood establishment, skills acquisition and the development of market economies by overcoming geographic isolation with the use of mobile phones and internet. Some livelihoods of refugees have been established on properties, that have resulted into higher income levels. Making refugees aware of using existing properties for the generation of income might motivate property owners to establish livelihoods based on their belongings. Additional trainings could close the gap of missing skills.

RECOMMENDATIONS. A diverse refugee population brings along a variety of skills that can create complementary instead of competing livelihoods. Making refugees aware of the value of properties for the generation of income might motivate property owners in establishing livelihoods based on their belongings or to purchase items on which they can built an alternative livelihood to farming. Additional trainings could close the gap of missing skills. Providing adequate lending options and the access to well-equipped markets are pre-requisites for the purchase of those private assets. The increased use of phones for trade purposes of Somali refugees in Nakivale shows that a good telecommunications coverage should be guaranteed in order to give refugees optimal communication preconditions to establish their own trade network. Greater access to the internet and computer literacy trainings can make e-learning available for a higher number of beneficiaries on a more permanent basis than current training initiatives in the settlements. Since ICT infrastructure is already generally stable in both settlements, focus should be placed on expanding electrical power infrastructure for an effective use of ICT means. Establishing facilities as computer learning centres can entails great learning and market opportunities.

6 Conclusion

This thesis has examined the status quo of self-reliance in refugee settlements in Uganda. It has investigated, if self-reliance differs across the country, by measuring self-reliance levels of refugees in two exemplary Ugandan settlements – Bidibidi and Nakivale refugee settlement. They have been chosen, not only because the length of stay and the nationality of the refugees residing in those settlements differ to a great extent, but they are also situated in different parts of Uganda. The comparison has further intended to evaluate, how the particularities of Uganda's highly praised refugee management approach have influenced self-reliance levels in the settlements, and if other factors can positively impact self-reliance of refugees.

The analysis of Bidibidi and Nakivale refugee settlement has revealed that refugees in Uganda are not able to live a self-reliant life in a way that ensures their safety and well-being.

Refugees in Nakivale are somewhat closer to self-reliance, with more mature market economies, aid-independent sources of food and sustainable livelihood strategies. It can be expected that economies in Bidibidi will become stronger over time, since refugees in Nakivale have had more time to establish and enhance livelihood strategies due to a notably longer time of residence. Despite greater international support of Bidibidi settlement, developmental growth is prone to be slower than in Nakivale: Self-reliance levels in Nakivale have been fostered by a great economic diversity of the refugee population, as well as by more favourable agricultural lands which are beneficial to establish farming livelihoods.

The distinct maturity of economies reveals different gaps to achieve self-reliance in the settlements: While most refugees in Nakivale urgently require access to adequate amounts of credits that can enhance long-standing business concepts, many refugees in Bidibidi are still in the initial phase of livelihood establishment. Priorities should be set to adequately support the individual needs that come along with the different developmental stages of both settlements. Thus, to stimulate further progress of economies and livelihoods, skills and vocational trainings need to reach more beneficiaries, especially the youth, to facilitate livelihood establishment in Bidibidi. Infrastructure investments for an increased access to credit is needed in both settlements but requires particular expansion in Nakivale.

The development of resilient and sustainable livelihoods has been impeded in both rural settlements by unsatisfied basic needs, costly and insufficient education as well as health services, the absence of an affordable transportation network, and restricted access to capital.

The results indicate that self-reliance is difficult to achieve when settlements are placed in remote areas. Even though liberate policies grant refugees the right to work, freedom of movement and the access to national healthcare and education, the adherent underdevelopment in rural areas limits the practicability of those rights. Ways to overcome the geographic isolation is an affordable transportation network, that connects economies of hosts and nationals, and a functioning ICT infrastructure, that enables the management of business supply chains even without leaving the remote location.

Uganda's agricultural-based self-reliance concept, envisioning refugees to become independent from food distributions by the cultivating their own food on allocated plots, has failed in practice due to a poor fertility of soil, limited agricultural space and a great dependency on weather conditions. The constant

influx of refugees to Uganda and the similarity of livelihoods of refugees and hosts increasingly strain the limited aid funds and the stretched resources of the country. Further, the farming approach disregards that refugees are not a homogeneous group, and, instead, possess a great diversity of skills, aspirations, social capital and health conditions that influences their ability to achieve self-reliance.

However, Uganda is still a commendable example of refugee management among the international community: Granting refugees the right to work and to move freely around the country has created market economies, which are beneficial for both refugees and locals. Nevertheless, Uganda is one of the poorest countries in the world and does not possess sufficient resources to adequately support both its citizens and foreign people seeking refuge in the country. The international community urgently needs to rethink its response to the global refugee crises: It cannot leave the financial burden to poor countries, willing to host huge numbers of forcibly displaced people, while much wealthier countries deny refugees basic human rights.

LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH

Self-reliance of refugees in the rural settlements in Uganda could not be quantitatively measured across all relevant aspects of the CPI tool due to the lack of data. Although the CPI offers a valuable guideline to consider relevant self-reliance aspects, its successful application and all-comprising evaluation of self-reliance of refugees appears to be unfeasible outside the field. Some data is impossible to obtain, as is either not publicly available or has not been collected at all. Given data has been collected from various reports that have been conducted at different points of time. Thus, samples differ in size, gender, nationality and age, which can distort the real picture of self-reliance in the settlements. This thesis does not represent the status quo of self-reliance of all refugees in Uganda, as the analysis has only focused on the situation within Bidibidi and Nakivale refugee settlement and further leaves out refugees in urban areas. It is likely that other rural settlements face similar constraints due to the remote location but generalisation on a national level is not feasible without conducting further studies. Also, there are indications that placing refugees in central instead of remote locations can foster the integration with civilians and facilitate the path towards self-reliance.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research should ratify the results in practice, by applying the CPI tool to both Bidibidi and Nakivale settlements, as further obstacles to self-reliance might have been overlooked with an analysis outside the field. Measuring self-reliance of refugees in other Ugandan settlements could confirm that a heterogeneous refugee population develops complementary livelihoods that reduce competition over strained resources. More diversified economies compared to economies in settlements with refugees of the same nationality could lead to the consideration of creating settlements of mixed nationalities.

Future studies should analyse, if refugees living in Ugandan cities are more self-reliant than refugees residing in underdeveloped remote locations. The SRI index could serve as a tool to measure self-reliance of refugees living in cities, while an application of the CPI tool in rural settlements could ratify results from this theoretical analysis in practice and deliver the basis for a comparison with urban areas.

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1. Appendix 1: Background information on Uganda

1.1 History of Uganda

From 1894, Uganda used to be a protectorate of the British Empire but gained independence in 1962. The subsequent alternating terror regimes of Milton Obote (1962-1971) and Idi Amin (1971-78) were characterised by armed conflicts, fear and destruction (Bayne, 2007, p. 2). The ethnic fight under Amin's governance was marked by brutal violence, massacres and persecution. It cost the lives of 300,000 Ugandans and led to the expulsion of 70,000 Asians, that had settled and worked as businessmen in Uganda (Bayne, 2007, p. 5; Mutibwa, 1992, p. 84). The economy collapsed, Amin's regime was overthrown in 1978, but peaceful conditions were not yet to come, as Obote returned from exile and continued the clash of ethnical division (Mutibwa, 1992, p. 162). Despite the intimidation and fear spread by Obote's forces, opponent groups revolted; among them the guerrilla movement National Resistance Army (NRA) led by Yoweri Museveni (Bayne, 2007, p. 6). After years of fights against Obote and the subsequent president Okello, the NRA could conquer the city of Kampala in 1986 and Museveni became Uganda's new president (Hovil and Gidron, 2018, p. 5). In the North, fighting continued: Again, driven by ethnic division, a resistance movement – the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) led by Joseph Kony – revolted against the takeover of Museveni's regime of the Northern districts. Years of terror followed, in which children were abducted and forcibly recruited. About 1.6 million civilians were displaced, until the LRA could be defeated in 2008 (Bayne, 2007, p. 1; Völlnagel, 2020; World Bank, 2016, p. 70).

Although many civilians and soldiers have lost their life in the fight for liberating themselves from its brutal rulers during the 20th century, relative stability and peace entered the country with Museveni's regime (Bayne, 2007, p. 1; World Bank, 2016, p. 70). This also paved the way for economic growth and a significant rise of the country's GDP for two subsequent decades (Trading Economics, 2019a; World Bank, 2016, p. 2). Huge investments were made in public procurement services with the help of international donors: Schools and hospitals were built, which led to the expansion of the infrastructural network in the country (Odhiambo and Kamau, 2003, p. 13). Also, HIV/AIDS infections were reduced, since educational measures could raise the rate of contraceptive prevalence among women (World Bank, 2019e).

Until today, Museveni has been ruling Uganda without interruption since seizing power (Amberger, 2019; Mutyaba, 2018; Völlnagel, 2020). Despite the improvements realized under his governance, the president and his regime have become increasingly accused of corruption, persecution of opponents and autocracy. A recent change of the constitution has eliminated the age limit for a presidential candidature, in order to possibly grant Museveni another presidential term in 2021. This has led nationals and international critics fear about dwindling democracy in the country (Amberger, 2019; Mutyaba, 2018; Völlnagel, 2020).

1.2 Refugee Policies

Uganda's openness towards refugees is reflected in both international and national policies that the country has adopted to protect refugees in the country: Uganda is a member to the 1951 Convention on Refugees, its 1967 Protocol and the 1969 Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Convention (Ahimbisibwe, 2018, p. 6;

Hovil and Gidron, 2018, p. 4). Uganda was among the first countries to adopt the Self-Reliance Strategy (SRS) of the UNHCR: It was rolled out with the help of international donors in 1999 and reinforced by the Development Assistance for Refugee-Hosting Areas (DAR) program in 2003 (Betts *et al.*, 2019, p. 2; Hovil and Gidron, 2018, p. 6; UNHCR, 2003, p. 3). Initially dedicated to respond to the protracted situations of Sudanese refugees in the West Nile and later expanded to the rest of the country, the self-reliance approach has strived to lessen the dependency of refugees in Uganda on humanitarian aid by providing greater livelihood opportunities (Betts *et al.*, 2019, p. 2; Dryden-Peterson and Hovil, 2004, p. 29; Kreibaum, 2016, p. 264). An OPM officer confirms that 'the SRS was basically trying to put a framework in which people are able to stand on their own [and] not to depend on handouts' (Ilcan *et al.*, 2015, p. 4). To create an enabling environment for the establishment of self-reliance, the Ugandan government enlarged the rights of refugees and comprised their protection into domestic law with introducing the Refugees Act 2006 and the Refugee Regulations 2010 (Ahimbisibwe, 2018, p. 6).

With this, refugees in Uganda have been granted the right to freely move across the country, to engage in employment activities and to access national education and health services. Additionally, refugees receive a plot of land for housing and cultivation activities (Betts *et al.*, 2019, p. 2). In 2017, Uganda became the first country to adopt the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) that had emerged from the UN's 2016 New York Declaration of Refugees and Migrants (Miller, 2018, p. 6; Nuri, 2017; Pederson, 2018, p. 4). The CRRF represents a framework that seeks to establish durable solutions for managing large-scale displacements, focusing on the support of host countries in fostering self-reliance among refugees and coordinating resettlement and voluntary repatriation (Hovil and Gidron, 2018, p. 11; UNHCR, 2019c, p. 27). By piloting the CRRF, Uganda envisioned to gain increased support of the international community that would facilitate handling the large refugee influxes entering the country. The CRRF is backed by the Refugee and Host Population Empowerment (ReHoPE) strategy that seeks to harmonize stakeholder interests in order to achieve a higher efficiency of refugee assistance (Betts *et al.*, 2019, p. 2; Pederson, 2018, pp. 22–25). It intends to obtain an aligned solution to the needs of both refugees and locals in order to harmonize refugee-host relations. To take the burden from host communities and services in refuge-affected areas, the ReHoPE strategy is supported by the Settlement Transformative Agenda (STA): Instead of setting up parallel service structures for refugees, the STA envisions an integration of services with the public service structure in the refugee-hosting district. Locals are supposed to benefit to 30% of the assistance provided to refugees, such as investments into livelihood development, infrastructure and environmental preservation (Ahimbisibwe, 2018, pp. 13–14; UNHCR, 2018a, p. 23). This way, peaceful coexistence is aimed to be fostered and potential tensions to be avoided that might result from an exclusive provision of better services to the refugee population (Miller, 2018, p. 10; UNHCR, 2018a, p. 23). The STA is regarded as an exemplary case, as it included refugees into Uganda's national development planning (Miller, 2018, p. 10; UNHCR, 2018a, p. 23). Uganda's progressive refugee protection and development-oriented approach were praised by being one of the first countries to receive the IDA18 sub-window refugee fund financed by the World Bank that strives to support low-income countries in hosting large refugee populations (Miller, 2018, p. 7; World Bank, 2018).

1.3 Causes of Flight of Major Refugee Nations in Uganda

Today, most of refugees in Uganda originate from South Sudan, DRC, Rwanda, Burundi and Somalia. The reasons that force parts of the population of those nations to leave their home country, are briefly explained in the subsequent section.

South Sudan is regarded as Africa's most dangerous country and is currently producing the largest displacement on the African continent (IEP, 2019, p. 9; UNHCR, 2019e, p. 5). The civil war in South Sudan has now completed its 6th year and has caused the third largest refugee population globally with 2.3 million people being forced to leave their country. (UNHCR, 2019c, p. 14). Of those, 788.000 have found asylum in Uganda, and by now, the South Sudanese refugee situation in Uganda has become protracted (UNHCR, 2019c, 14, 22). As 63% of the South Sudanese refugee population are younger than 18 years, it is referred to as a children crisis (UNHCR, 2019e, p. 10). After having separated from Sudan after decades of war in 2011, South Sudan was split in numerous diverse ethnicities and soon, clashes arose between the two biggest groups, which led to the outbreak of a ongoing civil war in December 2013 (Hovil and Gidron, 2018, p. 7; UNHCR, 2019f). Since then, the violence of the inter-ethnic conflict, the spread of diseases facilitated by inundations during the rain seasons and famine resulting from the lack of food have caused thousands of deaths and led to large displacements to escape the devastating conditions within the world's youngest state (Mercy Corps, 2019b). The influx of South Sudanese refugees to Uganda has slowly stabilized since 2018, as peace negotiations started, and the economic conditions slightly improved with inflation rates decreasing from 550% in 2016 to a tenth (Trading Economics, 2019; UNHCR, 2019e, p. 56). But still, severe food insecurity, permanently high food prices as well as wide-spread poverty strain the population's well-being, and peace agreements have been violated several times (Ahimbisibwe, 2018, p. 10; Mercy Corps, 2019b). As abuses of human rights continue and food insecurity rises, a decline of South Sudanese refugee numbers cannot be expected in a timely manner (Hovil and Gidron, 2018, p. 10; OCHA, 2018, p. 38; OPHI, 2019b, p. 3; UNHCR, 2019e, pp. 10–11).

Before the crisis in South Sudan had produced massive refugee influxes, the **Democratic Republic of Congo** (DRC) used to hold the largest share of Uganda's refugee population (World Bank, 2019a, p. 12). Despite its natural richness in resources in oil and cobalt, the DRC is among the poorest and most underdeveloped countries in the world (Böhm, 2019; UNDP, 2019b). For decades, the DRC has been going through persistent violence owing to highly complex conflict structures: Two consecutive civil wars in the end of the 1990s, and recurring armed ethnic and political riots have not granted rest to the population of the DRC for decades. Particularly the central and eastern provinces of the DRC are affected by violent upheavals (Kreibaum, 2016, p. 264; Mercy Corps, 2019a; Ray, 2018). Sexual violence, arbitrary killings and food insecurity have resulted in inhumane living conditions and caused massive internal displacements, but also across borders (UNHCR, 2018b, p. 4, 2019b). The number of people leaving the DRC and seeking refuge in a foreign country increased again in 2018: The outbreak of Ebola has overstretched the restricted infrastructural capacities of getting the disease under control; political insecurity due to imminent presidential elections and new waves of intercommunal clashes have led to recurrent unrest in the DRC (Böhm, 2019; UNHCR, 2018b, p. 7).

A country hosting refugees, while, at the same time, having large parts of its own population displaced is **Rwanda**. Despite its small size, Rwanda is currently giving shelter to almost 150,000 refugees, mainly originating from DRC and Burundi (UNHCR, 2019g). In the past, many Rwandans have tried to escape the fear and devastation caused by the genocide in 1994 by seeking refuge in neighbouring countries, among them Uganda (Ahimbisibwe, 2018, pp. 7–8). Started with a Hutu-led government and ending with the governance of Tutsi rebels, the Rwandan genocide had turned about 800,000 people, mainly Tutsi, into victims of brutal violence and slaughter in only 100 days (BBC, 2019). During the genocide and in its aftermath, about two million Rwandans tried to internally and externally escape the killings and persecution. The conflict did not cease at the borderlines but spread to neighbouring countries, where the ethnic division continued to be nourished. The killings and persecutions continued and finally resulted into the outbreak of an internationally-fought war on the territory of today's DRC – also known as Africa's World War (Kreibaum, 2016, p. 264; Ray, 2018). For now, Rwanda has lived in relative peace for almost 25 years (Titz, 2019). The country has significantly raised educational levels, reduced poverty and has made drastic economic progress by more than tripling its GNI per capita from the early 2000s (World Bank, 2019b). Nevertheless, opponents of the governance of president Kagame, which had been ruling the country without interruptions since the end of the genocide, have regularly become politically persecuted, imprisoned or even killed (Thielke, 2019; World Bank, 2019b). Due to the suppressive regime, politically persecuted Rwandans have been seeking refuge again outside the country (Thielke, 2019).

Burundi is another example for a violent dispute between Hutus and Tutsis having left an African country in turbulence. A civil war from 1993 to 2005, resulting from the ethnic clashes and a recurring conflict in 2015 owing to a corruptive government, has led to huge internal and external displacement in Burundi during the past decades (Dover, 2017; Steers, 2019; UN News, 2019). Political repression of opponents, censorship of media and recurrent violations of human rights still burden the Burundian civilization under the governance of president Nkurunziza (Ahimbisibwe, 2018, pp. 9–10; UNHCR, 2019a, p. 2). Counteractions against the threats for the protection of human rights have become increasingly difficult, with the UN human rights office in Burundi being forced to close by the government in March 2019 (UN News, 2019). Besides the political unrest, a wide-spread food insecurity and a weak healthcare infrastructure prevent the country from developing towards a more stable and democratic society (UNHCR, 2019a, p. 2). Burundi remains to be one of the poorest and most underdeveloped countries in the world (OPHI, 2019a, p. 3; UNDP, 2019a; UNHCR, 2018b, p. 36). Although many refugees repatriated in 2018, many Burundians are still in refuge in Tanzania, Rwanda, DRC and Uganda (UNHCR, 2019a, p. 1).

Refugee numbers from **Somalia** have been relatively stable over the past years, but only a small share of the Somali refugee population is hosted in Uganda (UNHCR, 2019d). Yet, internally, the country accounts for the fourth largest displacement globally with more than 2.6 million people seeking refuge in other parts of Somalia (UNHCR, 2019h, p. 2). As severe dryness raised the threat of starvation in many regions of Somalia, the number of people being forcibly displaced have risen again in the first half of 2019 (IOM, 2019, p. 19). Somalia's population has been constantly suffering from extreme food scarcity and human rights being abused by various nations that have been present in the country (Elmi and Barise, 2006, p. 50). Although possessing the longest coastline in Africa, the great majority of Somalia's population lives in severe poverty, as illegal fishing activities by other nations, piracy and ongoing violence have been

preventing the country's economic and human development (OPHI, 2018, p. 3). Postcolonial division has created deep political tensions that have hampered the country from forming a unified government. Political disunity has given room for brutal militant groups, such as the Al-Shabab that has been attacking civilians and spreading fear since 2006 until today (Human Rights Watch, 2019). Somalia's lands are strained by recurrent droughts and floods that regularly lead to drastic shortages of food and clean water (FAO, 2019). About a third of its total population suffers from food insecurity (OCHA, 2019). Damages of the only scarcely available infrastructure, deteriorated houses, destroyed crops and livestock have resulted from heavy rainfalls, floods and ongoing violence (OCHA, 2018, p. 37, 2019). The floods and the shortage of clean water foster the outbreak of diseases, but health services are almost non-existent in the country (OCHA, 2019). The absence of a unified government has complicated the establishment of a health and schooling system. Conflicts about the limited resources of drinking water and food regularly arise among locals (IOM, 2019, p. 7). The violence that has been shaping the country for decades, the lack of qualitative health and sanitation infrastructure and the threat of starvation and malnutrition have resulted into the highest under-five mortality rate worldwide (FAO, 2019; UNICEF, 2019).

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2. Appendix 2: Application of the CPI tool on Bidibidi and Nakivale settlement

No	Category A	Category Band Addition	Indicator (% of total)	Sub-indicator	Bidibidi	Nakivale	Source Bidibidi	Source Nakivale
1a	Demographic data	Demographics	Population by age	young children (0-4 years)	20%	18%	(OPM, 2019, p. 1)	(OPM, 2019, p. 1)
1b	Demographic data	Demographics	Population by age	children (5-11 years)	30%	21%	(OPM, 2019, p. 1)	(OPM, 2019, p. 1)
1c	Demographic data	Demographics	Population by age	youth (12-17 years)	19%	15%	(OPM, 2019, p. 1)	(OPM, 2019, p. 1)
1d	Demographic data	Demographics	Population by age	adults (18-59 years)	29%	44%	(OPM, 2019, p. 1)	(OPM, 2019, p. 1)
1e	Demographic data	Demographics	Population by age	elder (60+ years)	2%	2%	(OPM, 2019, p. 1)	(OPM, 2019, p. 1)
2	Demographic data	Demographics	Population by sex	male/ female	47% male 53% female	50% male 50% female	(OPM, 2019, p. 1)	(OPM, 2019, p. 1)
2a	Demographic data	Demographics	Population of household-head	male/ female	36% male 64% female	51% male 49% female	(REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 1)	(REACH and UNHCR, 2018b, p. 1)
2b	Demographic data	Demographics	Population of household-head	children/ youth	no data	no data		
3	Demographic data	Demographics <i>Camp funding - Programs for disadvantaged (disabled, stigmatized, ill)</i>	Population with disabilities	male/ female	0,8%	1,4%	(UNHCR, 2019)	(UNHCR, 2019)
4		Demographics <i>Desired labour force</i>	Population included in labor force (employed, seeking employment, first-time job seekers, age 15+)	male/ female	no data	no data		

5a	Demographic data	Demographics	Age dependency ratio (% of working-age population)	by other household member(s)	no data	no data		
5b	Demographic data	Demographics	Age dependency ratio (% of working-age population)	by NGO/UN	no data	no data		
6a	Demographic data	Demographics	Arrival date	last year	0%	3%	(REACH, 2019)	(REACH, 2019)
6b	Demographic data	Demographics	Arrival date	2-5 years	100%	22%	(REACH, 2019)	(REACH, 2019)
6c	Demographic data	Demographics	Arrival date	5+ years	0%	75%	(REACH, 2019)	(REACH, 2019)
7	Demographic data	Demographics	Households with concrete plans to remain in current location		no data	no data		
8	Demographic data	Demographics	Population with separated household members	male/ female	no data	no data		
9	Demographic data	Demographics	Unaccompanied and separated children (of all children)		3%	1%	(UNHCR, 2019)	(UNHCR, 2019)
10	Children's education and political voice	Education <i>Child labour (unwanted labour force)</i>	Out-of-school children 6-17 years ⁱ	% of male/ female school-age population	52%	51%	(UNHCR, 2018a, p. 2)	(UNHCR, 2018b, p. 2)
11	Demographic data	Education	Population of working-age with vocational training	male/ female	no data	no data		
12	Demographic data	Education	Population of working-age who is literate	male/ female	27%	71%	(UNDP, 2018, p. 57)	(UNDP, 2018, pp. 56–57)

13	Demographic data	Education	Population of working-age having worked in a formal profession prior to flight	male/female	no data	no data		
14	Camp funding	Education <i>Trainings and advice</i>	Population of working-age provided with language training for livelihoods purposes	male/female	no data	no data		
15	Camp funding	Education <i>Trainings and advice</i>	Population of working-age provided with e-learning/education/skills training in CTA (Community Technology Access)	male/female	no data	no data		
16	Camp funding	Education <i>Trainings and advice</i>	Population of working-age provided with vocational training in the past 3 months ⁱ	male/female	1.308	293	(UNHCR, 2018a, p. 3)	(UNHCR, 2018b, p. 3)
17	Camp funding	Education <i>Trainings and advice</i>	Population of working-age provided with entrepreneurship/business training	male/female	no data	no data		
18	Camp funding	Education <i>Trainings and advice</i>	Population of working-age provided with financial literacy training for livelihood purposes	male/female	29%	no data	(DCA and UNHCR, 2017, p. 17)	
19	Camp funding	Education <i>Trainings and advice</i>	Population of working-age provided with guidance on labour market opportunities	male/female	no data	no data		

20	Camp funding	Education <i>Trainings and advice</i>	Population of working-age community members targeted in livelihood-support projects	male/ female	no data	no data		
21	Camp funding	Education <i>Trainings and advice</i>	Population of working-age receiving (hosts + refugees) receiving trainings for agricultural practices ⁱ	male/ female	31.743	3357	(UNHCR, 2018a, p. 3)	(UNHCR, 2018b, p. 3)
22	Basic needs	Health and well-being	Population with access to health care services without challenges ⁱ	male/ female	48%	42%	(REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 3)	(REACH and UNHCR, 2018b, p. 1)
23	Demographic data	Health and well-being <i>Camp funding - Programs for disadvantaged (disabled, stigmatised, ill)</i>	Population with contagious and stigmatised disease		no data	no data		
24	Demographic data	Health and well-being	Fertility rate, total (births per woman)		no data	no data		
25	Demographic data	Health and well-being	Adolescent fertility rate (births per 1,000 women ages 15-19)		no data	no data		
26	Demographic data	Health and well-being <i>Camp funding - Programs for disadvantaged (disabled, stigmatised, ill)</i>	Population with psychosocial trauma (as reported by returnees and by medical staff)	treated/ untreated	66% treated 34% untreated	66% treated 34% untreated	(REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 1)	(REACH and UNHCR, 2018b, p. 1)

27	Basic needs	Health and well-being	Population with access to improved sanitation facilities		30%	58%	(OPM <i>et al.</i> , 2018, p. 26)	(OPM <i>et al.</i> , 2018, p. 14)
28	Basic needs	Health and well-being <i>Basic needs extended (to increase working opportunities)</i>	Population with access to enough basic water services ⁱ		56%	26%	(REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 3)	(REACH and UNHCR, 2018b, p. 1)
29a	Camp funding	Health and well-being <i>Basic needs extended (to increase working opportunities)</i>	Time to collect drinking water (queuing only) ⁱ	less than 30 min	11%	no data	(UNHCR <i>et al.</i> , 2016, p. 11)	
29b	Basic needs	Health and well-being	Time to collect drinking water (queuing only) ⁱ	1-2 hours	13%	no data	(UNHCR <i>et al.</i> , 2016, p. 11)	
29c	Basic needs	Health and well-being	Time to collect drinking water (queuing only) ⁱ	more than 2 hours	76%	no data	(UNHCR <i>et al.</i> , 2016, p. 11)	
30		Employment <i>Employment matrix</i>	Households with access to self-employment or facilitated businesses ⁱ		8%	8%	(OPM, 2019, p. 1; UNHCR, 2018a, p. 3)	(OPM, 2019, p. 1; UNHCR, 2018b, p. 3)
31	Camp location	Employment <i>Availability of markets</i>	Existence of public market within a reasonable distance from the production sites (yes/no)		no data	no data		

32	Legal issues	Employment <i>Access to markets</i>	Households with access to markets within walking distance ⁱ		84%	63%	(REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 2)	(REACH and UNHCR, 2018b, p. 2)
33	Camp funding	Employment <i>Financial programs</i>	Households receiving conditional grants for business start up		1%	4%	(UNHCR, 2018a, p. 3)	(UNHCR, 2018b, p. 3)
34	Social capital	Employment <i>Cooperation</i>	Households participating in small business associations		no data	no data		
35	Social capital	Employment <i>Cooperation</i>	Households participating in worker's associations		no data	no data		
36	Camp funding	Employment <i>Trainings and advice</i>	Population of working-age registered in job placement services		no data	no data		
37	Camp funding	Employment <i>Trainings and advice</i>	Population of working-age using business development services (marketing, networking, info on business market, incubator)		no data	no data		
38a		Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>Income</i>	Households having paid utility bills in the past year	by income male/female	no data	no data		

38b		Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>Income</i>	Households having paid utility bills in the past year	by other source (remittances, loans, etc.) male/female	no data	no data		
39a		Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>Income</i>	Households coming up with emergency funds: not very possible	by income	no data	no data		
39b		Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>Income</i>	Households coming up with emergency funds: not very possible	by other source (remittances, loans, etc.) male/female	no data	no data		
40a		Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>Income</i>	Households coming up with emergency funds: very possible	by income	no data	no data		
40b		Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>Income</i>	Households coming up with emergency funds: very possible	by other source (remittances, loans, etc.)	no data	no data		

41	Camp funding	Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>Agricultural equipment</i>	Households receiving production kits or inputs for agriculture/livestock/fisheries activities		53%	12%	(OPM, 2019, p. 1; UNHCR, 2018a, p. 3)	(OPM, 2019, p. 1; UNHCR, 2018b, p. 3)
42	Camp funding	Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>Cash/Vouchers</i>	Households receiving cash/vouchers for agriculture/livestock purposes		11%	0%	(OPM, 2019, p. 1; UNHCR, 2018a, p. 3)	(OPM, 2019, p. 1; UNHCR, 2018b, p. 3)
43	Camp funding	Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>Cash/Vouchers</i>	Population with specific needs provided with cash/vouchers for livelihoods purposes	male/female	no data	no data		
44	Basic needs	Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth)	Population with acceptable Food Consumption Scores ⁱ		84%	88%	(REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 4)	(REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 4)
45	Camp funding	Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>Basic needs extended (to increase working opportunities)</i>	Population with access to a sufficient, balanced diet without assistance	male/female	no data	no data		

46	Camp funding	Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>Basic needs extended (to increase working opportunities)</i>	Household has access to electricity		no data	5%		(World Bank and UNHCR, 2016, p. 61)
47	Camp funding	Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>Basic needs extended (to increase working opportunities)</i>	Electric power consumption (kWh per capita)		no data	no data		
48	Camp location	Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>% able to work in agricultural sector/ Employment matrix</i>	Households engaged in some form of income generation based upon local resources or assets		55%	67%	(REACH, 2019)	(REACH, 2019)

49	Camp location	Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>% able to work in agricultural sector/ Employment matrix</i>	Households with access to arable land or other productive natural resources		7%	8%	(REACH, 2019)	(REACH, 2019)
50	Camp location	Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>% able to work in agricultural sector/ Employment matrix</i>	Households with ownership or secure rights over agricultural land		2%	4%	(REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 2)	(REACH and UNHCR, 2018b, p. 2)
51	Camp location	Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>% able to work in agricultural sector/ Employment matrix</i>	Households having livestock for commercial purposes		16%	13%	(REACH, 2019)	(REACH, 2019)

52	Camp location	Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>% able to work in agricultural sector/ Employment matrix</i>	Households with access to irrigation water and who rely mostly on agricultural production in irrigated lands		0%	no data	(DCA and UNHCR, 2017, p. 22)	
53	Camp funding	Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>Basic needs extended (to increase working opportunities)</i>	Population residing in adequate living space	male/female	no data	no data		
54	Camp funding	Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>Transportation means</i>	Population with subsidised or free access to transport equipment (owning a bike or vehicle) ⁱ		16%	19%	(REACH, 2019)	(REACH, 2019)
55	Camp funding	Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>Transportation means</i>	Population with access to transport and mobility	no access to transportation, public or private	no data	no data		

56a	Camp funding	Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>Transportation means</i>	Population with access to transport and mobility	transportation is available but unaffordable	no data	no data		
56b	Camp funding	Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>Transportation means</i>	Population with access to transport and mobility	transportation is available and affordable but limited and/or inconvenient	no data	no data		
56c	Camp funding	Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>Transportation means</i>	Population with access to transport and mobility	transportation is generally accessible to meet basic travel needs	no data	no data		
56d	Camp funding	Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth) <i>Transportation means</i>	Population with access to transport and mobility	transportation is readily available and affordable	no data	no data		
57	Social capital	<i>Remittances</i>	Households received domestic remittances in the past year	male/ female	9%	1%	(REACH, 2019)	(REACH, 2019)

58		Social capital <i>Income</i>	Households sent domestic remittances in the past year		no data	no data		
59	Social capital	<i>Relationships (hosts, community, external)</i>	Households borrowed any money in the past 30 days ⁱ		20%	32%	(REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 2)	(REACH and UNHCR, 2018b, p. 2)
60	Social capital	<i>Cooperation</i>	Population participated in cooperatives, production groups and community-based organisations	male/ female	38%	16%	(REACH <i>et al.</i> , 2019a, p. 4)	(REACH <i>et al.</i> , 2019b, p. 4)
61	Social capital	<i>Relationships (hosts, community, external)</i>	Population has reliable family & friends relationships to turn to for needed support ⁱ	male/ female	17%	35%	(REACH and UNHCR, 2018a, p. 2)	(REACH and UNHCR, 2018b, p. 2)
62	Social capital	<i>Relationships (hosts, community, external)</i>	Population has reliable relationships with members of refugee to for needed support	male/female	14%	no data	(Poole, 2019, p. 9)	
63	Social capital	<i>Relationships (hosts, community, external)</i>	Population has reliable relationships with members of host community to turn to for needed support	male/female	no data	no data		
64a	Basic needs	Safety, Security	Safety	Feeling safe male/female ⁱ	96% male 96% female	83% male 79% female	(REACH <i>et al.</i> , 2019a, p. 2)	(REACH <i>et al.</i> , 2019b, p. 2)
64b	Basic needs	Safety, Security	Safety	Feeling unsafe male/female ⁱ	4% male 4% female	17% male 21% female	(REACH <i>et al.</i> , 2019a, p. 2)	(REACH <i>et al.</i> , 2019b, p. 2)
65	Basic needs	Safety, Security	Population suffered losses due to theft and vandalism	male/female	no data	no data		

66	Basic needs	Safety, Security	Population who reported an incident of victimisation by institution/mechanism used (formal/informal/traditional)	male/female	no data	no data		
67	Basic needs	Safety, Security	Population who experienced a safety and security incident and did not report it	male/female	no data	no data		
68	Basic needs	Safety, Security	Population reporting having personally felt discriminated against or harassed in the previous 12 months on the basis of their displacement status	male/female	no data	no data		
69	Camp location	Safety, Security <i># natural disasters</i>	Population suffering by natural disaster, extreme weather conditions		29%	26%	(WFP, 2019, p. 5)	(WFP, 2019, p. 5)
70	Camp funding	Financial services <i>Financial programs</i>	Population with access to money transfer systems (ATMs, Hwala, etc.)	male/female	no data	no data		
71	Camp funding	Financial services <i>Financial programs</i>	Population being clients in national MFIs or banks	male/female	no data	no data		

72	Camp funding	Financial services <i>Financial programs</i>	Population being clients (nationals and PoC) of the partner institution for all financial services	male/ female	no data	no data		
73	Camp funding	Financial services <i>Financial programs</i>	% of money loaned to and repaid by population being clients (repayment rate)	male/ female	no data	no data		
74	Camp funding	Financial services <i>Financial programs</i>	% of money loaned to and repaid by national clients (of same institution - repayment rate)	male/ female	no data	no data		
75	Camp funding	Financial services <i>Financial programs</i>	Average loan taken by population per capita (%)	male/ female	no data	no data		
76	Camp funding	Financial services <i>Financial programs</i>	Average loan taken by a client (nationals and PoC) of MFIs	male/ female	no data	no data		
77	Camp funding	Financial services <i>Financial programs</i>	Level of debt (% residents having debt)	male/ female	no data	no data		
78	Camp funding	Financial services <i>Financial programs</i>	Population receiving loans through UNHCR partners (in current year)	male/ female	no data	no data		

79	Camp funding	Financial services <i>Financial programs</i>	Population receiving other financial services through UNHCR partners (in current year)	male/ female	no data	no data		
80	Social capital	Financial services <i>Cooperation</i>	Population participating in community-based group savings/loans/insurance schemes	male/ female	68%	39%	(MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 45)	(MicroFinanza, 2018, p. 45)
81	Social capital	Financial services <i>Cooperation</i>	Population saved using a savings club or a person outside the family	male/ female	no data	no data		
82	Social capital	Political voice and governance <i>Cooperation</i>	Number of cooperatives, production groups and community-based organisations (community level)		no data	no data		
83	Social capital and Children's education and political voice	Political voice and governance <i>Cooperation/ % socially, politically active</i>	Population who actively participated in community, social, or political organisations in the last 12 months	male/female	no data	no data		
84	Legal issues	Political voice and governance <i>National regulations enforced in camps/ Gender equality – Law</i>	Law prohibits or invalidates child or early marriage (1=yes; 0=no)		yes	yes	(Constitution of Uganda, 1995, Art. 31)	(Constitution of Uganda, 1995, Art. 31)
85	Legal issues	Political voice and governance	Businesses paying taxes		no data	no data		

		<i>National regulations enforced in camps</i>						
86	Legal issues	Remedies/ Human Rights	Population facing restrictions to their freedom of movement by type/cause of restriction		6%	no data	(OECD, 2019, p. 17)	
87	Legal issues	Remedies/ Human Rights	Population with work permit	male/female	no data	no data		
88	Camp funding	Remedies/ Human Rights <i>Trainings and advice</i>	Population provided with legal advice for accessing work opportunities	male/female	no data	no data		
89	Legal issues	Remedies/ Human Rights <i>National regulations enforced in camps</i>	Population affected by illegal taxation		no data	no data		
90	Legal issues	Remedies/ Human Rights <i>Documentation</i>	Population recognised diplomas from their country of origin		no data	no data		
91	Legal issues	Remedies/ Human Rights <i>Documentation</i>	Population with recognised diplomas working in a related sector		no data	no data		
92	Legal issues	Remedies/ Human Rights <i>Documentation</i>	Population provided with information on diploma recognition processes		no data	no data		

93a	Legal issues	Remedies/ Human Rights <i>Documentation</i>	Documentation	no members of the household have UNHCR/government registration or residence permit	no data	no data		
93b	Legal issues	Remedies/ Human Rights <i>Documentation</i>	Documentation	all family members have legal documentation to remain in the country (residence permit, visa, and/or UNHCR documentation)	no data	no data		
94	Gender equality	<i>Culture</i>	Women (15+) participating in major decisions regarding their or their children's' lives		no data	no data		
95	Basic needs	Gender equality <i>Law, Culture</i>	Number of reported rapes and other forms of gender-related violence (either as victims or perpetrators)		no data	no data		

96	Gender equality and Children's education and political voice	Gender equality <i>Culture/ % socially, politically active</i>	Women participating in activities of empowerment		no data	no data		
97	Gender equality and Children's education and political voice	Gender equality <i>Law, Culture/ % socially, politically active</i>	Proportion of women serving in executive positions in committees		no data	no data		
98	Legal issues	Public Sector <i>National regulations enforced in camp</i>	Population benefiting from social security systems (by government, organisations or private funding)	male/female	no data	no data		
99a	Camp funding	Partnerships for the Goals <i>Management</i>	Engaged in strategic planning and implementation	# of public sector partners	no data	no data		
99b	Camp funding	Partnerships for the Goals <i>Management</i>	Engaged in strategic planning and implementation	# of private sector partners	no data	no data		
99c	Camp funding	Partnerships for the Goals <i>Management</i>	Engaged in strategic planning and implementation	# of development agencies	no data	no data		
99d	Camp funding	Partnerships for the Goals <i>Management</i>	Engaged in strategic planning and implementation	# of humanitarian organisations	no data	no data		

100	Camp funding	Crisis management <i>Management</i>	# of livelihoods interventions with a planned or implemented external evaluation		no data	no data		
101	Camp funding	Crisis management <i>Management</i>	# of livelihoods interventions with a functioning monitoring system		no data	no data		
102	Camp funding	Crisis management <i>Management</i>	# of project evaluations published and disseminated		no data	no data		
103	Camp funding	Crisis management <i>Management</i>	Strategic plan for livelihoods programming informed by assessment (yes/no)		no data	no data		
104	Camp funding	Crisis management <i>Management</i>	Socio economic profile and livelihood capacities of PoC (women, men, youth) defined and monitored		no data	no data		
105	Camp funding	Crisis management <i>Management</i>	# of livelihoods interventions with economic baseline data		no data	no data		
106	Camp funding	Crisis management <i>Management</i>	# Projects supporting livelihood capacities of men, women, and youth defined and implemented		no data	no data		
107	Camp funding	Crisis management <i>Management</i>	# of plans that incorporate lessons from previous evaluations		no data	no data		
108	Camp funding	Crisis management	# of research projects developed or supported		no data	no data		

		<i>Management</i>						
109	Camp funding	Crisis management <i>Management</i>	# of vocational and technical training institutions that waive or reduce tuition fees for PoC		no data	no data		

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ⁱ The indicator has been slightly changed.



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Versicherung gemäß § 25 Absatz 4 ABPO

Hiermit erkläre ich, dass ich die vorliegende Prüfungsleistung - bei einer Gruppenarbeit den entsprechend gekennzeichneten Anteil der Arbeit - mit dem

Titel Self-Reliance of Refugees in Uganda: A Comparison of Bidibidi and Nakivale Refugee Settlement selbstständig verfasst und keine anderen als die angegebenen Quellen benutzt habe.

Des Weiteren hat die Arbeit in gleicher oder ähnlicher Form noch keiner anderen Hochschule oder Prüfungsstelle vorgelegen. Ich versichere, dass alle eingereichten Versionen dieser Prüfungsleistung einander entsprechen.

Mir ist bekannt, dass die Abgabe einer unwahren Versicherung als Täuschung gilt und die Arbeit in diesem Fall mit „nicht ausreichend“ (5,0) bewertet wird.

24.03.2020

Datum

L. Kunst

Unterschrift