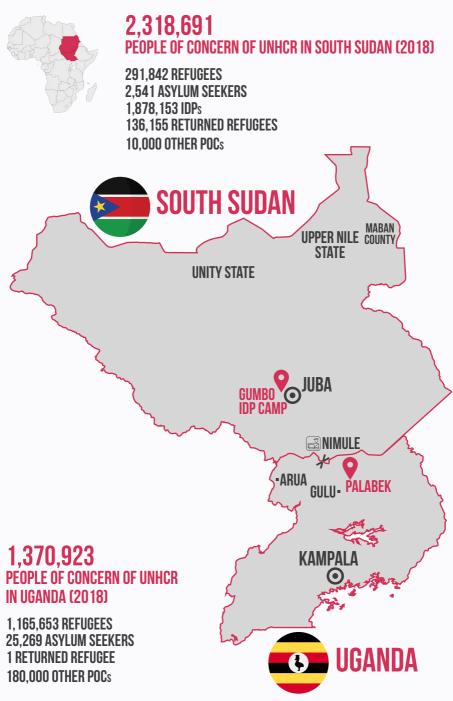


FORMAL SETTLEMENT VS EMERGENCY CAMP DIFFERENT REFUGEE RESIDENCE APPROACHES IN UGANDA AND SOUTH SUDAN

Filippo Ferraro, Lola Verkuil and James Chapman







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1. INTRODUCTION

The difference between refugee and IDP traditional emergency camp and refugee settlement approaches is a source of controversy among academics. Around 2.6 million refugees in the world are residing within so-called camps, mostly because there is no alternative (UNHCR, 2020). Camps shape the Western image of the refugee phenomenon and are used world-wide – even in Western countries – as a response to refugee crises (Schmidt, 2003, p.1). However, the emergency refugee camp solution has turned out to be ineffective in many respects, including aspects that were considered advantageous at first, such as security and service delivery (Idris, 2017, p.14). Furthermore, the UNHCR emphasizes the significant negative impacts of camps over the longer term. Most refugee camps are built for the short term and as an emergency response, whereas evidence shows that the overwhelming majority of refugees cannot repatriate for years after their migration, if ever (UNCHR, 2014, p.4).

Recently, a policy shift has been happening within the international community that moves more towards alternative refugee camp solutions that specifically promote more self-sufficiency and self-reliance among refugees. These alternatives at times referred to as settlements are supposed to enable economic integration in the local communities where refugees settle and seek to benefit both the host population and the refugees (Idris, 2017, p.2). The UNHCR has already started looking into implementing these settlement alternatives in recent years, as they argue they are ultimately "more sustainable and cost-effective, because they harness the potential of refugees, rationalise service delivery and allow for more targeted assistance to those most in need" (UNHCR, 2014, p.9).

Uganda has implemented a social and economic integration approach to refugees since 1999. According to the UNHCR, there are currently 28 refugee settlements in Uganda (UNHCR, 2019a), which has a total refugee population of 1,362,269 (UNHCR, 2019b). With their refugee settlement approach, Uganda's goal is to make the refugees as independent of outside aid as possible, and to simultaneously develop the region in which they live (Kreibaum, 2016, p.2). To attain this goal, refugees are not put in camps, but are given plots of land within a settlement, are given seeds and tools, are allowed to work and can move around freely (ibid.). It is important to note that these developments are a shift is from an emergency short-term camp to a reframing of camps to being more sustainable and independent formal settlement camp. These settlement refugee camps are referred to as settlements or formal settlements hereafter distinguishing them from the emergency short term camp model referred to below as a camp or as a traditional camp.

This short report attempts to reflect on the lives of those refugees living in Uganda's refugee settlements. This serves as a case study to illustrate the differences between camps and settlement as an approach to refugee crises. Taking a closer look at the experiences of three people – a refugee representative living in the Palabek settlement in Uganda, a delegate of the Ugandan Ministry of the Office of the Prime Minister, and a Salesian priest working in a IDP camp in Juba, South Sudan – it becomes a little more clear how people staying in either camps or settlements live their lives differently.

The first section of this report gives a short overview of the literature on the differences between different refugee residence approaches, mostly provided by academic journals on migration and the UNHCR. Thereafter, the cases of the three interviewees will be used to exemplify the differences between refugee emergency camps and refugee formal settlements, focussing on livelihood, education, governance, integration with the local community and access to medical facilities. The different challenges of camps and settlements are discussed to illustrate that there is still much to be improved in both approaches. This article argues that there are greater benefits to refugee formal settlements over emergency camps, although the distinction is not always clear. Palabek settlement in Uganda is the focal example of a settlement approach.



2. BACKGROUND ON CAMPS AND SETTLEMENTS

In practice, the distinction between 'camp' and 'settlement' is often blurred and the terms are used interchangeably. However, the different forms of refugee residence are often discussed as being on a continuum, on which 'camp' is usually considered on one end, and forms of 'self-settlement' on the other end (Bakewell, 2014, p.127; Idris, 2017 p.3). To distinguish between the different kinds of residence, the literature usually identifies five parameters (Idris, 2017, p.3; Schmidt, 2003, p.4). The first one is freedom of movement: it is generally considered that the more restricted this is, the more the settlement takes on the character of a camp. The second is mode of assistance: the difference between camps and settlements is based on how much the settlement depends on outside aid such as food distribution. The more self-sustaining the refugees are – for example by being able to engage in economic activities such as farming – the less assistance is needed and the more it can be considered a settlement. The third parameter is mode of governance: settlements turn into camps when there is a clear hierarchy that is external and often abusive. In contrast, settlements often allow refugees to have a voice in the politics of the settlement. The fourth parameter is the designation as temporary or permanent shelter: temporary shelter is one of the main characteristics of a camp and this defines its policy responses and the freedoms of refugees. Settlements are often built with a more permanent perspective on the refugees' future. The fifth and last parameter is population size and density: camps are generally more overcrowded and have a greater fluidity in camp population than settlements. Overcrowding can sometimes even lead to settlements turning 'back' into camps (ibid.).

Even though there is not much comparative research between the two residence approaches of formal settlement and camp, widespread evidence does suggest that refugee camps are not a very viable approach (Schmidt, 2003, p.6). They offer some benefits, but these are far outweighed by the negative effects (Cullen Dunn, 2015; Idris, 2017, p.2). The debate on whether refugee camps or refugee settlements are a better way to host refugees is therefore mostly leaning towards refugee settlements (Schmidt, 2003, p.7). Critiques of the camp-based refugee solution are mostly based on arguments involving the limited economic and social development of refugees, along with arguments that discuss the many restrictions refugees have on their socio-economic and political freedoms (ibid., p.6). The UNHCR (2014) states that "the defining characteristic of a camp... is typically some degree of limitation on the rights and freedoms of refugees and their ability to make meaningful choices about their lives" (p.4). Furthermore, camps are believed to enhance feelings of passivity and hopelessness, they give "the refugees a sense of dependency, and the clear signal that they have a special and limited status and are being controlled" (Schmidt, 2003, p.4). Their dependency on international aid also causes inevitable exposure to a sub-nutritional diet, as rations supplied are often lacking in micro-nutrients. This causes epidemics of nutrition-related diseases such as night blindness and scurvy (Harrell-Bond, 2000, p.6). Lastly, critics of camps point out that they prevent refugee integration with the host population, that they increase dependency on aid, and ignore both the capacities of refugees as well as the consequences of housing large refugee populations for the host communities (Schmidt, 2003, p.7). When it comes to the assumed benefits of refugee camps – which include better security, higher visibility which attracts international assistance and a more efficient distribution of aid – research shows that this is not always the case. Refugees often experience heightened insecurity within camps and malnutrition because of the shortcomings in the food distribution system (Schmidt, 2003, p.13-16).

Due to the above mentioned criticisms of the camp-based approach, proponents of the settlement-based solutions argue for a capacity-based developmental approach to replace the traditional camp model (Schmidt, 2003). Jacobsen (2003) defines formal or organized settlements as "planned, segregated enclaves or villages created specifically for refugees". In contrast to refugee camps, they have the intention to provide refugees with ways of becoming self-reliant, at least to an extent (ibid.). This way, they would rely less on external assistance. Enabling self-sufficiency is part of a possibly more durable solution for refugees, host countries and the international community. Firstly, allowing refugees to contribute to the host country's economy with their own sets of skills and talents both enables them to support themselves and can bring profit to the host country (Appleby, 2017, p.792-793). Furthermore, refugees' self-sufficiency relieves the international community of the responsibility of aiding them and holding them in emergency camps for extended periods of time (ibid.). Additionally, it is beneficial for both the local economy and regional development that "interventions and development aid should focus on improving the skills and education of refugees — growing their capacity and building their human capital — as a way to foster economic growth" (ibid.).

The UNHCR (2014) emphasizes the benefits to the host pop-

THE LIVELIHOOD ACTIVITIES HELP IN STRENGTHENING THE COMMUNITY AND BRINGING THE REFUGEES TOGETHER, OFFERING A WAY TO CONSOLIDATE BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT GROUPS AND CREATE A FUTURE TOGETHER

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ulation of allowing refugees to integrate into the local economy: "In many situations the presence of refugees have stimulated local economies and development" (p.5). The study by Betts, Omata and Bloom (2017) also shows that the economic outcomes for refugees are much higher in urban settings and settlements than in emergency camps, suggesting that the more opportunities for integration there are, the more positive the economic outcomes for the region. Furthermore, research points out that refugees who remained (relatively) independent also retained their skills and were more resilient for future challenges (UNHCR, 2014, p.5).

In short, it has become evident that emergency refugee camps are not as efficient as they might seem, particularly because they contribute to refugees' dependency on the international community and the host country. Planned settlements are considered a good alternative, but to allow for refugees to become independent, settlements need to have certain characteristics that are not always as easily available, such as fertile land. Furthermore, the decision whether to opt for a camp or settlement also depends on financial and political feasibility, along with time constraints. Large refugee influx makes it difficult to opt for the ideal assistance programme, whether this be a camp, a settlement, or even self-settlement through urban refugee policy (Schmidt, 2003, p.7). Nevertheless, it is important that the experiences of refugees are taken into account when making such decisions. This report therefore aims to offer a bottom-up perspective to two specific residence approaches, in Uganda and in South Sudan, by comparing the experiences of those who live in or in proximity to formal settlements and the camps, respectively.

3. FORMAL SETTLEMENT VS CAMP

3.1 LIVELIHOOD

Many of the benefits and challenges of the refugee residence approaches were evidenced and emphasized by the three people inter-

viewed in this study. Two of them emphasize the livelihood opportunities offered to the residents of the refugee settlements. Axel Okurut is a delegate of the Ugandan Ministry of the Office of the Prime Minister and a previous employee of the UNHCR. He is currently involved in the organisation of Palabek, a refugee settlement in northern Uganda. Palabek was established in April 2017 and hosted almost 38,000 South Sudanese refugees in June 2018 (UNHCR, 2018). Okurut states that there are many livelihood partners active in the settlement, and that they are important in creating opportunities and activities for the residents of Palabek.

Okurut: We have many livelihood partners that assist in giving them [the refugees] opportunities and goods – animals, seeds, extra activities. There are over 12 livelihood partners. The biggest sector in the settlement is the livelihood activities and there are at least 450 children involved in these activities.

Ocan Robert Vanderiko, a South Sudanese refugee, is the chairperson of the Refugee Welfare Council in Palabek. He explains how important the livelihood activities are to the refugees, which entails more than simply being able to sustain oneself. It creates some selfsufficiency for the refugees and it also helps in strengthening the community and people's faith.

Vanderiko: Then we now have the livelihood activities that are being introduced [...], especially the arts and crafts, the beads making, the rosary making and this is helping our youth, young mothers and young parents who cannot continue with their studies, because they have responsibilities. [...] This is positive, because it helps them generate income and to sustain their livelihood, meet some basic expenses for their families and it also helps them to grow in faith.

Vanderiko explains how the livelihood activities offered in the settlement help the refugees to generate some income and work to-

wards sustaining themselves independently. The main intent of the refugee settlements is to make refugees independent of outside aid, and these livelihood activities at Palabek help to foster this. It allows them to become both producers and consumers in the local economy, which is vital to a sustainable solution for both refugees and the local population (Appleby, 2017, p.792-793). Lastly, it gives them a future perspective, both personally and nationally for South Sudan (Kreibaum, 2016, p.3).

This future perspective for South Sudanese refugees is important: one of the challenges in the settlement is that, although the settlement population is primarily South Sudanese, the South Sudanese population in the settlement are from different communities and backgrounds and additionally the war in South Sudan sowed discord even within communities and tribes which can hinder cooperation.

Vanderiko: In the settlement, the first challenge we have to face is that all these people come from different communities, from various parts of South Sudan, who have been forced by the condition of war to live together. We have different communities and the diversity between them is huge. The second challenge, a unique challenge, is that the conflict in South Sudan has already taken the area of tribal and communities, so the war divided the communities among themselves and against themselves. For this reason, the challenge is bringing all these people to look at themselves as South Sudanese and as the creation of God, so that they can embrace each other and live in peace.

According to Vanderiko, the livelihood activities help in strengthening the community and bringing the refugees together, offering a way to consolidate the different groups and to create a future together.

Vanderiko: I think these are all good things to change people. This is not just an intervention that gives the skill to the youths to be able to learn some livelihood. We don't just see a faithful generation coming up, we



also see a new generation that has a common identity. So, it is an effort not just to help with immediate needs but it is triggering and raising a new generation for South Sudan - a new generation of people who embrace each other, who love each other, who have some skills and who have their own sources of livelihood. I see them as a hope to change South Sudan because we will have a group of people who are a real community, and this will certainly help to challenge what we left in South Sudan.

These livelihood activities aimed at making the refugees more independent stand in stark contrast to the situation just over the border with South Sudan. Kainikunnel Kainikunnel is a Salesian Priest in charge of a parish in Juba, where he takes care of thousands of internally displaced people, IDPs, escaping from war, hunger and drought. He explains how his most important task is handing out food to the families living in nearby Gumbo – a camp for IDPs.

Kainikunnel: We are unable to get the exact statistics, but we are giving food to more than 1000 families. If you consider that in every family there are six, seven, eight people, we reach almost 8000 people. Most of them are women and children. [...] Our main service here is to provide food. Basically, we are providing food through some projects from Austria and we furnish shelter because in the heat some of those plastic sheets get wasted and every year we have to change them and provide bamboos and rope, to settle the tents.

When it comes to mode of assistance, as discussed by Schmidt (2003, p.4), the difference between the Palabek settlement and the Gumbo camp in Juba becomes evident. It is clear that in the camps in South Sudan, built in an emergency situation and according to the refugee camp model, the main goal is to provide the refugees or IDP's with the basic human necessities such as food and housing. There is a school for the younger children, but nothing such as livelihood activities and only very limited ways to make a living. While food is distributed to families living in the camps near Juba there is also land provision for cultivation in the rainy season to those interested.

Kainikunnel: We also have a lot of lands here, so we have given these people land for those who are really interested in cultivating during the rainy season. In this way, some of them get some food, especially vegetables.

Kainikunnel also mentions that as there is greater calm and stability some men go out to look for jobs, but that this is so far away they do not have the money to come back daily to the camp and their families. The need for and dependency on outside assistance is very high.

Kainikunnel: Now the situation has calmed down a bit and we estimate to host roughly 10000 people. Some sort of stability has come so many went out to look for jobs. Some of them got jobs in the Industrial Area and they cannot come back daily because transportation is very expensive. Mothers and children are left here while men are working. Furthermore, Kainikunnel mentions the poor housing facilities that they have to replace every year; this shows that the camp is designated as temporary, whereas Palabek is designed as more permanent (Schmidt, 2003, p.4). There is therefore little future perspective for the Gumbo camp residents.

Kainikunnel: Most of the people are poor, they struggle to survive [...] finding a job is quite impossible here in South Sudan, it is really hard, the country is not developing.

However, even though Palabek might have more permanent housing facilities and more livelihood opportunities as compared to Gumbo, it is important to note that it also far from perfect and still has many characteristics that resemble that of a camp. According to the UNHCR (2018), refugees in Palabek raised a number of challenges to livelihoods including that they do not yet generate enough food and income to sustain themselves entirely yet, and they are still dependent on food distribution, which is often of insufficient quantity. Furthermore, the refugees report a lack of accessible agricultural land and limited provision of seeds, and for some the absence of vocational training limiting earning potential and no access to capital preventing the starting of small-scale businesses respectively (ibid).

Lastly, there are also housing challenges in Palabek; 54% of households reported shelter damage (UNHCR, 2019c).

3.2 EDUCATION

The youth in Palabek also experience some benefit from the livelihood activities and the Vocational Training Centre, a technical school. Vanderiko mentions that another challenge the settlement faces is the fact that there are young people in the camp who are unable to continue their education, which thus makes it difficult for them to continue developing themselves. THIS IS NOT JUST IMPORTANT FOR THE YOUTH TO BE ABLE TO GET EDUCATED AND EVENTUALLY GET A JOB, BUT IT ALSO ALLOWS THEM TO DO SOMETHING USEFUL AND IMPORTANT INSTEAD OF HAVING THE FEELING THAT THEY CANNOT CONTRIBUTE TO THE COMMUNITY Vanderiko: Then we have the youth, who are the majority, and all of a sudden, because of the emergency situation, in the settlement they cannot continue with the higher level of education, they cannot attend university or higher levels of learning because here the only education we have is from nursery to senior four or ordinary level four.

Vanderiko then explains that the Vocational Training Centre or the technical school has been fundamental in "absorbing this generation" and enabling them to develop themselves. This is not just important for them to be able to get educated and eventually get a job, but it also allows them to do something useful and important instead of having the feeling that they cannot contribute to the community.

Vanderiko: Then we have the technical school that has been constructed. This is supporting youths who completed a certain level of education in South Sudan and now cannot proceed to college or university, as there are no scholarships and also because within the settlement, we don't have the provision. So, the Vocational Training Centre is absorbing this generation, who could have just been lost without acquisition of skills to help them feed the challenge of the society or also try to get some income for themselves. In this way, they can do something for the community.

It can be important for refugees to have the feeling that they are being useful. Feelings of passivity and hopelessness are often enhanced in refugee camp settings, because there is little that the refugees can do to improve their own situation. Apathy, passivity and hopelessness is visible in the youth at Palabek settlement as well and there is a need to "help them [,the youth,] to regain possession of their own lives" (Okurut). This may be achieved through interventions including the Vocational Training Centre provided the youth access or are encouraged to access this. In Gumbo, South Sudan, where there are a few overcrowded lower level schools, Kainikunnel also expresses the importance of education for the children. Kainikunnel: For me there is a lot of hope, but education is the only way to open minds, to make people look at things in a broader way and that is the only way this country can develop. Education is the only way, we have to give these children at least the ability to reason and think and solve hostility in an amiable way, because otherwise, if they are just violent and not educated, they will keep on fighting, the guns will become their strength.

Education is also a challenge in the Palabek settlement where the current situation is insufficient. Okurut mentions "There are still literacy issues in school. The classrooms are overcrowded, and the next nearest school is very far from Palabek." He stresses the importance of adding a secondary school for the younger generation, so that they can sustain themselves and their families once they are back in South Sudan. The UNHCR (2018) reports the same lack of quality education in Palabek. The challenges raised include: insufficient number of schools, overcrowding in schools, language barriers detrimental to learning, inadequate school facilities (eg. libraries and laboratories) and a lack of school materials with schools limited to primary school level, signalling that a lot still needs to be done to ensure that refugees can learn to sustain themselves and build on their future.

3.3 GOVERNANCE

Besides referring to the livelihood activities, Axel Okorut, the delegate from the Ugandan Ministry of the Office of the Prime Minister, explains another benefit of the settlement system as compared to the camp approach. It has a unique governance system, which does not occur within emergency camps, in which refugees can let their voices be heard. In Palabek, for example, the refugees have a so-called Refugee Welfare Council, of which the members are refugees appointed by refugees through democratic election. The council represents the Palabek residents at management of the settlement. Okurut: Now, we have created what we call a leadership for the [refugees... They] elected a leadership, organized by OPM (Office of the Prime Minister ed.) and it was successful. It was a rigorous campaign; they elected their own block leaders who act as RWC [...], "Refugee Welfare Council." So, they have block leaders, then they have zone leaders and eventually they have the top mainstream, the chairman... In addition, we have one who represents the women.

Mode of governance is another important distinguisher between refugee camps and refugee settlements (Schmidt, 2003, p.4). The fact that the refugees in Palabek have a say in the organisation of the settlement and even have their own representatives gives them a clear advantage in comparison to refugee camps where they are subject to a clear hierarchy. "So, those [refugees] are the assistants running day to day. They help us in mobilization and together we try to find a better



organisation for the settlement" explains Okurut, implying a high level of refugee self-governance.

In the camp in Juba, however, Kainikunnel gives an example of how the food distribution needs to happen in the compound instead of the camp, because fighting would otherwise break out. This signifies a low level of involvement in governance of the camp by the IDP's, as outside forces need to intervene in how things are run in the camp to make sure it runs smoothly.

Kainikunnel: But then of course we make sure that they distribute these goods in this compound and not in the camp. Normally, there is no distribution inside the camp, because there would be fighting, it is done here so that it can be better controlled.

The camp in South Sudan also has extreme safety issues, to an extent that the residents cannot go out at night. "At night you cannot go out at all, [it] is very dangerous," Kainikunnel explains. Vanderiko and Okurut mention no such struggles in the settlement, suggesting that the organisation of security is better in the formal settlement than in the camp.

3.4 THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

A huge benefit of the settlement in Uganda is that it aids the local community as well as the refugee community. The UNHCR (2014) emphasizes the benefits that the integration of refugees in the host community brings. It can stimulate the local economy and offer opportunities for development (UNHCR, 2014, p.5). There are both refugees and Ugandan nationals that reside in the Palabek region suggesting a degree of integration in what Okurut calls "a coexistence plan". Moreover Ugandan's have generously given land to refugees in Palabek for settle on while the refugee population is there as a clear sign of integration, with the land given neither needing to be purchased nor leased. There is an element of insecurity with this arrangement one may argue but it seems to be generally positive sign of integration and collaboration otherwise.

Okurut: These lands belong to the natives, the hosts, the people who reside here, they have lots and lots of land. I sat down with th[e]s[e] people and they offered us land. It's not on lease, it's not on buying, but they just offered it for us to settle these refugees. So, the land belongs to the natives and out of their kind hearts, they gave us portions to settle these refugees. So, when these refugees will leave in the future, the land goes back to them, but remember, they will benefit because vocational institutions have made investments in terms of schools, structures, hospitals here. I mean, this place is developed now, so the natives are very excited about the actions that have been taken.

This quotation shows that the host community was quite welcoming from the start, offering their land to the refugees for nothing in return. The region benefits substantially from the coming of the refugees, as Okurut phrases it, "this place is developed now". The UNHCR (2018) also states the construction and improvement of the infrastructure as a result of the refugee presence as one of the strengths of Palabek. Furthermore, the UNHCR (2019c) reports that the integration with the local population seems to be going well as most of them are from the same ethnic group. This integration with the local population is another important difference between settlements and camps, as camps rarely offer any integration with the host population. In places such as Palabek, however, it is key to the organisation of the settlement.

3.5 MEDICAL FACILITIES

Unfortunately, medical facilities are something with which both refugee camps as well as refugee formal settlements struggle. "People living in camps face a range of health, social and environmental hazards that can impact their well-being" (Blundell et al., 2019, p.1-2). The lack of sufficient and quality medical facilities is a problem in many developing countries and impacts the whole population. This makes it very difficult to solve, especially in refugee settlements and camps.

Okurut: Medical centres are very bad, but it happens anywhere in developing and poor countries. In the whole [of] Uganda, the health sector is sick... [The h]ealth sector is one of the most visible and the one that needs more European goods, they put a lot of emphasis on it, they have a lot of researchers. The main problem is that there is nothing like trying to organize and put down the basis for something more structured, is just give and work. There's no time for research and organisation.

According to Okurut, "[t]here is an emergency situation all throughout the country", concerning inadequate medical facilities to meet the needs of the population. This also affects the refugee population, and thus their welfare and well-being. The UNHCR (2018) factsheet also reports that for Palabek there are inadequate healthcare facilities, inadequate 'health services due to stock outs of medication', and poor referral systems due to insufficient ambulance services and lack of a district referral hospital. Similarly Fr George indicates that there is a degree of medical assistance provided through the provision of some medication from at their Health Centre.

Kainikunnel: We also have our Health Centre here that is run by our sisters from Sacred Hearts church... who are in the dispensary, the Don Bosco dispensary. In this way we also provide medicines, every year we get medicines...

It is therefore important to keep in mind that even though Palabek is a relatively good alternative to the less refugee-friendly camps, there are still problems and areas for improvement particularly from the health perspective.

4. CONCLUSION

THE UNHCR (2018) ALSO STATES THE CONSTRUCTION AND IMPROVEMENT OF THE INFRASTRUCTURE AS A RESULT OF THE REFUGEE INFLUX AS ONE OF THE STRENGTHS OF PALABEK. FURTHERMORE, THE UNHCR (2019C) REPORTS THAT THE INTEGRATION WITH THE LOCAL POPULATION SEEMS TO BE GOING WELL AS MOST OF THEM ARE FROM THE SAME ETHNIC GROUP.

LIVELIHOODS



15,720

cases of livelihood support through cash, vouchers, loan associations, production kits for agricultural activities, productive assets to start a business

6,757

households still need to receive improved cooking stoves and efficient energy for cooking

14,407

refugees and host community members trained on agricultural practices



EDUCATION

12,596

refugees are attending school in or around the settlement

334

teachers are working in schools refugees attend (but at least another 170 are needed)

1,773

refugees aged 14-17 enrolled in education

Source: UNHCR, Uganda Refugee Response Monitoring. Settlement Fact Sheet: Palabek; June 2018.

FOOD Assistance



528

metric tonnes of food were distributed during the latest distribution in the settlement

34,149

eligible refugees received 100% in-kind or CBI food assistance in the last distribution





36,805

total refugees are registered in the RIMS

7,811

persons with specific needs (PSNs) received specific services





100%

of refugees with HIV are receiving ART

13%

of children are suffering from global acute malnutrition

This report has shown a bottom-up perspective of the different aspects of life in both a refugee formal settlement and a more traditional/ emergency camp, in Uganda and South Sudan respectively. By doing so, it has emphasized the benefits of alternative settlement solutions for refugees and highlighted the negative effects of emergency camps. The refugee settlement in Uganda has better livelihood opportunities, more refugee involvement in settlement management, arguably better educational opportunities and has a higher level of integration with the host community. These aspects of the refugee settlement allow the region to become more developed, improving both the lives of the refugees and those of the host community, reducing the feelings of passivity amongst refugees and giving them a future perspective. On the other hand, research suggests that refugee camps leave refugees in a passive and hopeless state, highly dependent on outside aid and a burden on the host country (Schmidt, 2003, p.4).

However, this report has also shown that many of the challenges that the formal settlement faces are typical characteristics of a traditional camp: insufficient food distribution, too few educational opportunities and inadequate health services. This shows that settlements and camps face similar challenges and that the distinction between them is blurred. Other refugee residence solutions, such as self-settlement, are therefore often considered to be better options. Self-settlement and local integration, which allows refugees to settle within host communities in the country of asylum, is still a neglected, long-term solution that only a few countries have tried to implement formally (Jacobsen, 2003). This approach offers a viable solution that promotes human security and development of both the refugees and the host communities (ibid.). In recent years, the UNHCR has also tried to promote a policy change that promotes refugees becoming independent, dignified and normal members of communities (Hovil, 2014). Formal settlements can therefore be seen not only as a step-up from emergency camps, but also as a way to one day achieve self-settlement and local integration. This would only be possible through more targeted policymaking and funding provision.

The aim of this report is to add to the literature and debate on the different refugee residence solutions by offering qualitative research in a field mostly dominated by quantitative analyses. Even though the report has a small scope with only three interviews, it adds value to the discourse, because qualitative research on refugee camps and settlements is very limited. The increase in qualitative research is therefore recommended, specifically in the regions affected by refugee crises. It is important to keep in mind the human experience in these refugee crisis solutions.

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6. INTERVIEWS

OCAN ROBERT VANDERIKO, PALABEK SETTLEMENT (UGANDA)

Who are you and what is your role here in Palabek Refugee Settlement?

I am Ocan Robert Vanderiko, a South Sudan Refugee in Palabek refugee settlement. I come from Pajok (a city at the border with Uganda), Imatong state in the region of East Ecuatoria. Biem is my hometown. Here in the settlement I am the chairperson Refugee Welfare Council, which is the refugee most important leadership figure. In the church, I am the acting chairperson in the Council and I help to coordinate the chapels for the work of the citizens of Don Bosco.

Which are the main challenges you have to face in the settlement?

In the settlement the first challenge we have to face is that all these people come from different communities, from various parts of South Sudan, who have been forced by the condition of war to live together. We have different communities and the diversity between them is huge. The second challenge, a unique challenge, is that the conflict in South Sudan has already taken the area of tribal and communities, so the war divided the community among themselves and against themselves. For this reason, the challenge is bringing all these people to look at themselves as South Sudanese and as the creation of God, so that they can embrace each other and live in peace.

Another important issue is the fact that we have unaccompanied children who have lost their loved ones, their parents, who are living for example with their grandmothers. The children are supposed to be taken care of, but they are now taking care of the old. We have children that are in charge of the household, children taking care of their younger brothers and sisters. We have the women who are heading households, because they have lost their husbands in the war, or their husbands have been conscripted into rebellion or joined pro government militias. These women are here heading households, taking care of children and taking care of the old ones.

Then we have the youth, who are the majority, and all of a sudden, because of the emergency situation, in the settlement they cannot continue with the higher level of education, they cannot attend university or higher levels of learning because here the only education we have is from nursery to senior four or ordinary level four. That means those youth who had already completed ordinary level four who were supposed to go to advance or to college, without scholarship they cannot continue. So, there is an entire generation that is just hanging here. In addition, we have young parents who, because of the war situation in South Sudan from 2013 to 2017, either they were forced to marry, or they were sexually harassed by the rebels or by the government militias. Yet, these people need some income in their hand to keep themselves and to take care of their children.

What is the importance of the presence of citizens of Don Bosco here from a spiritual point of view?

From 2013, when the war broke, up to around 2017, for the last four years, because of the conflict, the priests from the main dioceses were not able to reach out to the parishes and to the chapels that were far. So, the Christians were either isolated with the catechists or they were there on their own. So, this affected the spiritual aspect of the community too. But, with the coming of the citizens of Don Bosco in 2017, we have had catechists being trained to help boost the work. We have youth who are being engaged, you can hear the choir sing. With this spiritual guidance we have now the faith of the Christian community being resuscitated and rekindled. It is giving some moral guidance to our youth and this is a hope. So, spiritually, we have another important challenge, but I think it is now improving with the work of the citizens of Don Bosco.

And what about the livelihood activities and the vocational training centre?

Then we now have the livelihood activities that are being introduced by the citizens of Don Bosco especially the arts and crafts, the beads making, the rosary making, and this is helping our youth, young mothers and young parents who cannot continue with their studies because they have responsibilities. It doesn't take so long for them to acquire such skill, maybe one or two months so that they can make rosaries, beads for themselves. This is positive because it helps them generate income and to sustain their livelihood, meet some basic expenses for their families and it also helps them to grow in faith. It is hard to sustain your faith when you are poor.

Then we have the technical school that has been constructed. This is supporting youths who completed a certain level of education in South Sudan and now cannot proceed to college or university, as there are no scholarships and also because within the settlement, we don't



have such provision. So, the Vocational Training Centre is absorbing this generation, who could have just been lost without acquisition of skills to help them to feed the challenge of the society or also try to get some income for themselves. In this way they can do something for the community. Advertising this project worked and over 1,200 youth sought interest, including even some men and women who are above the youthful age of 35, because they perceive they had wasted time and they feel the need to get some skills to be able to take care of the family.

How this is important to create a new sense of community?

I really appreciate the help that citizens of Don Bosco gave us to overcome some of these challenges, especially the spiritual work. In fact, it is not just helping to raise and to boost the Christian faith, but also to give moral guidance to our youth and to the elders, to members of society who participated in the war and witnessed violence. So, in a way, it is often psychosocial support and psychosocial orientation. Every Sunday people come, and they are preached to and they are spoken to and they go back with relief. It is also helping for these people to have a common identity, to think "we are a family of God, we are a Christian family". Otherwise, this social fabric has been broken down by the war and people feel alone and isolated just with their family. Conversely, the church provided a bigger community that brings in various tribes and various languages and people can finally see themselves as a part of a bigger family.

I think these are all good things to change people. This is not just an intervention that gives the skill to the youths to be able to learn some livelihood. We don't just see a faithful generation coming up, we also see a new generation that have a common identity. So, it is an effort not just to help the immediate needs but it is triggering and raising a new generation for South Sudan- a new generation of people who embrace each other, who love each other, who have some skill and who have their own sources of livelihood. I see them as a hope to change South Sudan because we will have a group of people who are a real community, and this will certainly help to challenge what we left in South Sudan.

Is there a concrete possibility that now with the restoration of the peace in South Sudan people here will start to come back home?

There is no absolute answer to that question but from my own personal experience and from the interactions that I have, because since I am the leader I have more chances to interact with various people, people of different age groups, people of different communities and also coupled with the experience that each South Sudanese who is now here in this settlement have had, I think it is not likely to see people leave at once and say we are going back because there is peace. Among these people there is someone that is a refuge for the second or third time in his life. I am 32 years old and this is my second time in a refugee life. I have some experience about my country, about fleeing, about going back, about peace signing. In addition, the government of South Sudan has not yet formally requested for its people to go back. In the formal process, after the implementation of the peace, the government is supposed to request to its people to come back and the UNHR will pick some refugee leaders to go and see whether there is no threat to their life, whether they can go and stay. Even when they verify, after the signing of what we call the Tripartite agreement between the host government, the government of South Sudan and the UNHR, still, it is a voluntary departure. Another thing is that the signing of the peace is just the beginning. It is not enough to conclude that peace has come. Now there is an eight-month pre-transitional period where the rebels and the government soldiers are placed in controlment areas and taken to the barracks. When the transitional government is formed, we will face a thirty-six-month transitional period, where the transitional government and the various positions who had rebelled together begin to look at the processes of elections, amending the constitution. Thus, in total, we will have to wait almost 4 years before new elections take place. Everybody is trying to share that, to come to an understanding that the true moment of peace will come after elections. When election takes place, the one who will determine whether South Sudan will be in peace or will go back again to war, is the one who will lose the elections. Because as soon as the one who loses the election comes and says "I'm not contented with the process of the election", there is a likelihood that they can rebel. The inability of our politicians to come together

and discuss their grievances on the table without going to the booths and picking guns is clear. So, we are happy because the peace has been signed but it is not enough for us to conclude that peace has come to South Sudan. During the next four years there will be people moving to South Sudan, the elders in particular, but the youth and the women will not. This is basically because they cannot find such places as the vocational school and the technical school in South Sudan. In their birthplaces there are not institutions like the Don Bosco Vocational Training Centre, which is offering vocational and training opportunities. Above all, most of the infrastructures in South Sudan have been spoiled by war. So, we will see youth and women remain, we will see the educated class go to take job opportunities in South Sudan, we will see men going to cultivate, to clean around the houses but certainly people are not likely to move out of here at once or soon.

OKURUT AXEL, UGANDAN OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER Delegate for palabek settlement (Uganda)

Where these people are coming from?

People reach Palabek refugee settlement from five borders. The first one is Waligo, which is situated in Lamwo district and is the nearest to this settlement, about 40 kilometers. Then we have another one called Ngomoromo. The third one is Winalui that brings in a bit more people than the previous two. Another one is Madi-Opei, the one that brings in most people. But recently we have added another one, Elegu, which is a bit further. This gate previously used to bring in refugees that would go to the North, to the West Nile Area, to cities like Arua or Moyo. But currently they are flocking back towards Lamwo district. So, now we have big numbers.

What happen to the refugees when they arrive at the borders?

Usually, first of all, we accurately screen them for various medical issues, we give them some biscuits to eat and later we transport them from the border to the collection centre. The collection centre is



the place where they are profiled and biometrically registered. That is situated in Lokung, which is a bit far from here.

When they eventually arrive at the collection centre, a cooked meal is prepared for them. This is very important for them as when they are at border points, they can only eat biscuits (provided by WFP-World food program ed.), so we normally try to bring them very fast to the collection point. After being biometrically registered, given plots addresses, we go and pick them up for what we call "relocation". Eventually we locate them to the settlement. That's our sequence. We put them in different blocks within the settlement (the settlement is divided in 7 zones further divided in different blocks ed.).

Most people in the settlement are women and children because men may normally come to secure their families, then they go back to hustle, to see how they can locate some places to stay in the future. But some of them normally come back when things get tough.

What are the main reasons for people from South Sudan to come to Uganda?

Right now, most of the entries in Uganda of the people is not specifically because of war or insecurity, but many of them are running away from hunger and drought. The other reason is they are looking for facilities, schools, hospitals. There are no facilities in South Sudan, so they trek down to obtain those facilities to give their children a better future. They also bring here sick people trying to access to the hospitals.

How is this settlement organized?

Our settlement is more or less 50 km2. The 7 zones are divided into blocks and there are many blocks (about 50 or 60). Now, we have created what we call a leadership for the POCs. We call these refugees POCs because some partners told us that when you call them refugees, you can traumatize them. So, we decided to call them POCs, "people of concern". Now these people of concern elected a leadership, organized by OPM (Office of the Prime Minister ed.) and it was successful. It was a rigorous campaign; they elected their own block leaders who act as RWC. RWC stands for "refugee welfare council." So, they have block leaders, then they have zone leaders and eventually they have the top mainstream, the chairman. A good friend of us is the chairman of



all the settlement, Robert Ocan Vanderiko. In addition, we have one who represents the women. So, those are the assistants running day to day. They help us in mobilization and together we try to find a better organisation for the settlement.

These lands belong to the natives, the hosts, the people who reside here, they have lots and lots of land. I sat down with this people and they offered us land. It's not on lease, it's not on buying, but they just offered it for us to settle these refugees. That is the uniqueness in this area. So, the land belongs to the natives and out of their kind hearts they give us portions to settle these refugees. So, when these refuges will leave in the future the land goes back to them, but remember they will benefit because vocational institutions have made investment in terms of school, structures, hospitals here. I mean this place has developed now, so the natives are very excited about the actions that have been taken.

How many POCs do you have now in the settlement?

Right now, we have about 36,000-36,500 because we have a bit of border movements. The collection centre is full. Right now, the border points were receiving messages they are already full. People are still coming, there are about 150 people arriving every day if you collect all the border points. It's higher during the weekends but lower during the early week.

Are there also locals still living here?

Yes, there are locals. We have what we call a coexistence plan. Let's say there are 20,000 locals, scattered in this area up to Gem. Kal is the most populous area in Palabek and Gem is the least populous. Now refugees outnumbered the locals in the sub-county.

Looking at the situation now in South Sudan, how is the outlook for these next few years?

Well generally, things have settled if you talk about the war, but the problem is that the locals did not manage to pacify between them, and the government has no control over it. There are different tribes (he mentions the various tribe names), that speak different languages, that have different traditions, different identities and so is quite difficult to come up with a solution. In addition, there are still lots of movements, there are people crossing the borders, there are people trying to reach Kenya and other countries.

Which is a service that is really struggling here?

For me, medical. Medical centers are very bad, but it happens anywhere in developing and poor countries. In the whole Uganda the health sector is sick. Health sector is one of the most visible and the one that needs more European goods, they put a lot of emphasis on it, they have a lot of researchers. The main problem is there is nothing like trying to organize and put the basis for something more structured, is just give and work. There's no time for research and organisation.

There is an emergency situation all throughout the country. Medical centers are not adequate for the needs of the population. Education is also similar. There are still literacy issues in school. The classrooms are overcrowded, and the next nearest school is very far from Palabek. In addition, there would be the necessity to add a secondary school for the youths, because the refugees are looking farther, they are feeling a lot of responsibility for their future, they want to be able to sustain their family once they will be back to South Sudan. Adding a secondary section would be a sort of an income generation. Giving the opportunity for teenagers to finish their senior year or to go to a technical training would be great. But to achieve this we need a financier; we have to rely on vocational institutions because otherwise would be impossible to start a secondary school.

Actually, the main problem is the people running that sector. They don't know that when you expose results, people give you ideas or give you comments to improve. But when you keep them quiet it's like keeping somebody who is very sick and is dying and you keep quiet with that person. The person will eventually die. These guys keep quiet with their results. Why do you keep quiet with the results? Tell them to the whole world. So, there is no improvement, you do not know if there is improvement.

So, does this big amount of women and children here in the camp have opportunities?

Yes, they do. We have many livelihood partners that assist in giving them opportunities and goods—animals, seeds, extra activities. There are over 12 livelihood partners. The biggest sector in the settlement is the livelihood activities and there are at least 450 children involved in these activities. The problem is that currently, most of the partners don't have money because they survive only on donations.

Another big issue is that youths have almost given up on life after the war. These people, the young people, are growing up with a lazy mind, with apathy. So, what you have to do to help them to regain possession of their own lives is to impact an idea into them. So, as they grow up, they will start working hard. Right now, they are spoiled. If you walk around the training centers you will see very young people sitting there just playing, talking, drinking. We are talking about young men who are physically strong, who could do something. So, you must begin with hard work, don't relax them. Give them back their energy, otherwise these people are very lazy. But now the organisations are trying to give them back their energy, to do work, to get results. But if you leave them in the current situation, they will not do anything. Farming and agriculture would be a good opportunity for them, to use their energy and also to do something that can help them to take care of their families.

FR. GEORGE KAINIKUNNEL, GUMBO IDP CAMP IN JUBA (SOUTH SUDAN)

What is your role here in Juba?

I arrived here only in July, father David was here for almost 6-7 years as the parish priest. In 2013, when the conflict started, people rushed in this school because they found that the church would be a secure place for them to come and we had to accommodate them. We also hosted them in our secondary school and later we shifted them to some NGOs that came here to support with some plastic sheets and bamboos in order to set up tents for them. Actually, there are two camps: the old camp and the new camp. The old camp was built in 2013, but the situation remained on and in 2016 another conflict took place, not only here in Juba but also in Wau and other places.

For this reason, in 2016 another camp was built and more people arrived here; there were almost 19000 people in our church. Now the situation has calmed down a bit and we estimate to host roughly 10000 people. Some sort of stability has come so many went out to look for jobs. Some of them got jobs in the Industrial Area and they cannot come back daily because transportation is very expensive. Mothers and children are left here while men are working.

We are unable to get the exact statistics, but we are giving food to more than 1000 families. If you consider that in every family there are six, seven or eight people we reach almost 8000 people. Most of them are women and children. There were almost only women and children in the beginning because many men were killed, but now you can see some men and lots of women are pregnant giving birth to many children who will soon come to the school from the camp, which means there are men around, we just don't know where they stay. Then of course some of them grew up from young boys to men. Our main service here is to provide food. Basically, we are providing food through some projects from Austria and we furnish shelter because in the heat some of those plastic sheets get wasted and every year we have to change them and provide bamboos and rope, to settle the tents.

We also have a lot of lands here, so we have given these people land for those who are really interested in cultivating during the rainy season. In this way, some of them get some food, especially vegetables. There are also Ngos like World Vision, Japanese NGOs, the Holy Cross, the UNCHR and others that come into the camp sometimes and do counselling, human rights protection groups, some are involved in protecting the families, counseling them because there is a lot of domestic violence, a lot of conflicting situations. Sometimes they also provide non-food items, clothes and more to the people apart from what we give. But then of course we make sure that they distribute these goods in this compound and not in the camp. Normally, there is no distribution inside the camp because there would be fighting, it is done here so that it can be better controlled. From the camp they will come here to collect the food and then go back.



How about the school?

The IDP (Internal displaced people-ed.) school is mostly for the camp children, but we also accept some children from the local hosting community who are not able to be educated. We have almost 2,000 students in this school. Then of course we heard that Don Bosco started a school with the name Saint Vincente Paul. We handed over that primary school to the region sisters to run it and they also have around 2,000 students mainly from the host community. Then Salesians are running a secondary school in which there are IDP students that have already finished class 8. There are also some IDP students who are sponsored by the congregation. We are not charging them school fees, we give them uniform and school stationery, books, and so on.

And do you provide them also other activities?

We also have extracurricular activities. For IDP children there

is an oratory where they are conducted every Sunday. They come every day to play sports: basketball, volleyball, football. We also give breakfast to all these 2,000 children through the same program. I am also the parish priest and in charge of IDP. We have built 3 schools. But the hosting community and the parish community are also helping. The problem is mosts of the people are poor, they struggle to survive and they can be very hostile to some of us. There is no electricity here, only the rich people can afford it. It's all based on generators. When the night comes there are no more activities and one of the challenges is that the children cannot study during the night. Some of them after school must help with the cooking and cleaning, so they do not have much time to study.

What about safety?

There is a lot of looting in the night. At night you cannot go out at all, is very dangerous. Practically shops are all closed by early evening, there is nothing happening in the night. Though in some areas near here, they have some parties and music in the night, but they have the police protection. Otherwise, normally, foreigners are told not to go out past 6 o'clock or 7 o'clock. Usually we don't go out unless is an emergency.

Do you provide also other services?

We also have our Health Center here that is run by our sisters from Sacred Hearts church, that come from Japan and Korea. I think it was founded by Cimatti, a missionary who went to Japan. Those Caritas sisters are the ones who are in the dispensary, the Don Bosco dispensary. In this way we also provide medicines, every year we get medicines from Action Medeor from Germany (a German medical aid organization - ed.) and we distribute them to all our dispensaries in South Sudan. So, people can get much cheaper product.

Is it not easy to move around because of the roads?

There is only one asphalt road which is called Paramount that goes from Juba to Nimule. That is probably the only way food can come in. Everything else has to be airlifted. So that street was a big blessing, I think it was built by Americans. Otherwise there are not marked roads in the whole South Sudan. Probably in Waw there is also a stretch marked road from the airport to the city. Now of course it is dry season so the other roads are passable but otherwise the roads are muddy and slushy and you need a strong car and even if you have a four-wheel car it can be impossible to go through. During rainy season or due to sandstorms some of the roads disappear. A lot of work must be done here in South Sudan. I think the Church should continue to support the people here, the government by itself cannot do so much.

What about the local church?

Many of the local dioceses are empty. There are no bishops because either they died or left. Even here there is not much near Juba. When bishops and priests finish their term, they must stay on because there is nobody else. The church during war time became, you cannot say "weak," but there was no possibility of doing anything because the priests were also together with the people in the church compound. In Waw, for example, during 2016 conflict people were sleeping right in front of the priests' door, inside the priests' residence. There were too many people, even to the extent some priests wanted to go to the toilet and they couldn't do it because there were women and children sleeping in front of the door. So, they would urinate in a bottle and then manage in the night. No food and impossibility to go to the toilet, the situation was tough. Some of the local people got mad, especially some of the soldiers who were very ignorant and even being a priest did not matter, up to the point they could be killed. In general, people didn't go to church here in town. They preferred to go to the UN camp for the protection.

Now the Vatican sent an appointed nuncio (apostolic nuncio, an ecclesiastic diplomat ed.) that is not a bishop, he is from Kenya, and has a lot of experience in different countries as a priest and he has already started looking for bishops and appointing them to cover the empty dioceses. He is convinced that if there are strong church leaders many of South Sudan problems will be solved. If a bishop is there, he can convene the priests wherever they are and they can strengthen the community, speak with the people to solve conflicting situations. In many countries the only way conflicts will stop is through the intervention of church leaders. This new nuncio is convinced that if there are enough bishops in all the high seats then the situation will change. Otherwise, is sufficient that a politician will say something to make people rise up against others and then violence can spread quickly. So this is a positive thing going on, because Pope Francis seems to be worried about South Sudan too.

What can you say about the issue of tribal division?

Tribalism has still a strong presence in South Sudan. I think there are nearly 64 tribes in South Sudan. The ruling party is from the Dinka tribe and there are also a lot of Dinka people in the army. Nuer tribe, which is also quite large, is considered as the opposition. Anyway, there are also Dinka politicians in the opposition, so it is all mixed up.

It is difficult to say exactly if this tribalism is the main cause of the war or if politics is using tribal situations to motivate people to fight against each other, to separate people. There is also a lot of nepotism in the government and in many other institutions, everybody tries to take their people to get a job. Finding a job is quite impossible here in South Sudan, it is really hard, the country is not developing. Many international communities came in 2013 but then suddenly in 2016 another conflict took place and many of them ran away. Like the Chinese government here started building new roads, they brought new equipment and they were willing to invest here but then a Chinese man from a company was shot to death and they took everything away.

So, how is the outlook for next years here in South Sudan?

For me there is a lot of hope, but education is the only way to open minds, to make people to look at things in a broader way and that is the only way this country can develop. Education is the only way, we have to give these children at least the ability to reason and think and solve hostility in an amiable way, because otherwise, if they are just violent and not educated, they will keep on fighting, the guns will become their strength. I think Church can become a big part of it and that we can really contribute to the development of this country. Then of course the international community will come here to invest, but they are going to do it for economic gain. We are here for free and I think we can really help this country.

> IN THIS PHOTO THERE ARE 3 Generations of South Sudanese Women.

SIHMA

The **Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa** (SIHMA) was established in Cape Town, South Africa, in 2014.

Our **Vision** is an Africa where the human rights of people on the move are ensured and their dignity is promoted.

Our **Mission** is to conduct and disseminate research that contributes to the understanding of human mobility and informs policies that ensure the rights and dignity of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees in Africa.

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We disseminate the findings of our research through our Journal **AHMR** (African Human Mobility Review), social media and our website **www.sihma.org.za**.



THIS LADY HAS BEEN A REFUGEE/IDP FOUR TIMES IN HER LIFE. SHE STARTED WHEN SHE WAS A VERY YOUNG GIRL, Like the grand daughter She's carrying in her arms, many years ago. She crossed the borders of uganda and south sudan in a never ending journey of seeking asylum from violence and war. In her eyes, the light of resilience and the hope that her Relatives will not experience anymore the physical and interior displacement That he's been forced to face All along her life.

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PEOPLE BEHIND THE FIGURES