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**Beyond Forced Migration:
Refugees' everyday lives and
their state of wellbeing.
The Case of Rhino Camp
 Settlement, Uganda.**
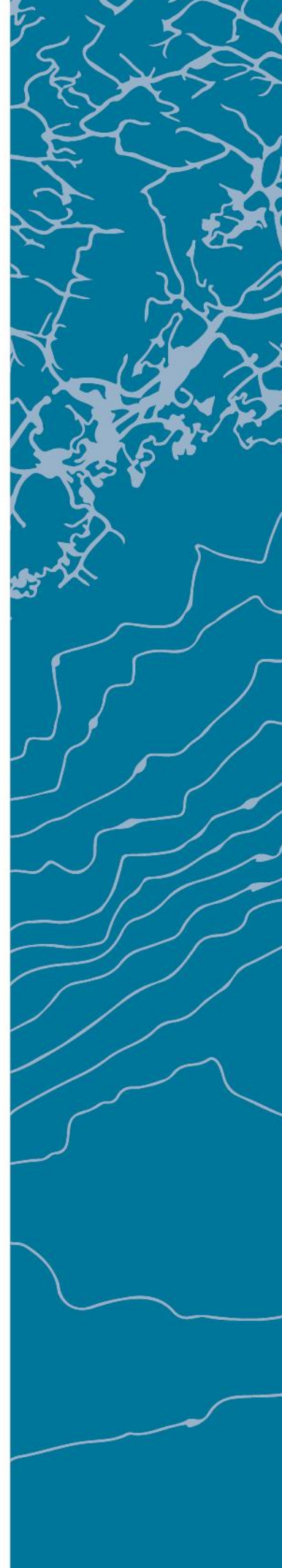
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Beyond Forced Migration: Refugees' everyday lives and their state of wellbeing.

The Case of Rhino Camp Settlement, Uganda.

By

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Supervisor

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This master's thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as a part of this education. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

University of Agder, 2018

Faculty of Social Sciences

Department of Global Development and Planning

Abstract

South Sudan has been experiencing conflict since December 2013 and such an experience has led to an upsurge of forced migration in the East African region. Over four million South Sudanese have fled their homes and with over one million having chosen Uganda as their destination to seek refuge from the life-threatening situation in their country. Uganda has been lauded by various sources as a 'progressive policy' argued to be premised on guaranteeing freedom of movement for refugees. Uganda has some notable policies and legislation which seek to create a favourable environment for refugees to integrate with the host population and accessing social services. It was the purpose of this research to investigate on refugees' state of wellbeing in a country which has received such great praise with regards to the hosting refugees. This thesis therefore outlines the nature and state of refugees' wellbeing, which is an articulation of the other side of the story refugees which is given little attention in discussions about refugees in Uganda. The was inspired by institutional ethnography as a method of exploration on the everyday lives of South Sudanese young adults staying in Rhino Camp Settlement. The research established that refugees are facing a myriad of challenges which are negatively impacting on their wellbeing and in all this, institutions have a role of the current situation faced by refugees.

Acknowledgement

Dedication

I dedicate this work to all refugees and my late parents.

Declaration

I **Tererai Obey Sithole** declare that this report on the topic: *Beyond Forced Migration: Refugees' everyday lives and their state of wellbeing. The Case of Rhino Camp Settlement, Uganda* is my original piece of work and has never been submitted for any academic award to any institution of learning other than the University of Agder.

Kristiansand   **T.O. SITHOLE**   **1st of June 2018**

Place   Signature   Date

Abbreviations

UNCT – United Nations Country Team

GoU – Government of Uganda

OPM – Office of the Prime Minister

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

DRC – Danish Refugee Council

NRC – Norwegian Refugee Council

I.E – Institutional Ethnography

SLF -Sustainable Livelihood Framework

PSN – Person with specific needs

CRI – Core Relief Items

DFID - Department for International Development

WFP – World Food Programme

UN – United Nations

WHO – World Health Organisation

ReHoPE – Refugee and Host Population Empowerment strategic framework

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Courtesy of my studies in Global Development and Planning, I have been exposed to various aspects in which the world is grappling with these are areas which require the generation of new knowledge to solve the complex situations. While I learnt of many issues is which Global Development studies should count by providing lasting solutions, forced displacement which is gradually leading to the refugee crisis was an area that struck me largely. "Each year millions of people are forced to leave their homes and seek refuge from conflicts, violence, human rights violations, persecution, and natural disasters. The number of forcibly displaced people continued to rise throughout 2017, calling for increased humanitarian assistance worldwide" (European Commission, 2017). This reality of continually bulging numbers of forcibly displaced people provided a foundation for this study. When people are forcibly displaced they eventually end up seeking refuge in other countries they may deem safer compared to the circumstances that would have forced them away. These trends have since forced countries to open their borders in welcoming people coming to seek refugee away from the countries of origin. Mostly the people would have been forced out due to conflict, hunger, human rights violations among other determinants of forced migration. The hosting of refugees has been somewhat different from one country to the other with some countries being lauded to be more generous than others with regards to their refugee hosting policies. In all these different dimensions, the primary focus of this study was to investigate how the wellbeing of refugees has been toughened following their involuntary migration. More precisely it was of significance to assess the state of refugee wellbeing in one of the countries which has been consistently praised to have a "progressive" refugee policy.

Accordingly, this thesis chronicles the state of South Sudanese refugees in Uganda, specifically Rhino Camp Settlement located in the northern part of the country. The findings forming this thesis are primarily extracted from the perspectives of the refugee themselves. Collected through interviews and participant observation and with reference to existing texts (policies and national guidelines) on the same matter. Freedom of movement is a central feature leading to the applaud on Uganda's refugee policy. The Uganda Refugee Policy, embodied in the 2006 Refugee Act and the 2010 Refugee Regulations and lauded as one of

the most generous in the world, has many impressive aspects (World Bank, 2016). By taking a standpoint on Refugees it was my interest to explore more on the less told story, which is a story of their everyday lives. The scope of this thesis goes beyond what the policy promises rather it aims to capture what the refugees are experiencing in their everyday lives. From the analysis there is identification of gaps within the policy as shared by the refugees as well as seen through my own stay in the refugee areas.

The field work that produced the views presented in this write up was inspired by Institutional Ethnography, which is a methodology largely identified with the work of Dorothy Smith. She describes Institutional Ethnography as a framework for a broad interpretivist inquiry with deep roots in Marxism and feminism (Smith, 2005). "It is a methodology that looks to answer questions about everyday life and, specifically, how everyday life is organized" (Tummons, 2017, p. 155). Moreover, it is a methodology which explores the position of the underprivileged (Smith, 2005). As someone who sought to interpret the conditions which are characteristic of refugees' wellbeing and understanding their situation from their standpoint, Institutional Ethnography provided important inspiration to my work. A full IE analysis was however undoable due to limited experience with this methodology as well as the time which was available to analyse and write up this thesis. Hence to help in analysing my findings, I applied the Sustainable Livelihood Framework, a framework that provides grounds of assessment on human wellbeing. In the same manner it helps in identifying the forces behind whatever prevalent condition of deprivation. The Sustainable Livelihood Framework is "useful because it acknowledges that, particularly in poor communities, people gain their livelihoods through multiple activities rather than one formal job and new initiatives do not occur in a *tabula rasa"* (Tao & Wall, 2009, p. 91). Following what I gathered from the refugees' experiences through IE, it also emerged that the lives of refugees in the settlement are not pursued on one activity. Rather, there are a plethora of activities hence it was befitting to align the experiences to the Sustainable Livelihood Framework for better enlightenment of refugee wellbeing.

1.2   Problem Statement

Since December 2013, the world's youngest country South Sudan has been experiencing a civil war. "South Sudan's civil war, which began in December 2013, continued in 2016 with serious abuses against civilians by both government forces and opposition fighters" (Human Rights Watch, 2017). The unprecedented human rights abuses and the continued deaths have forced many South Sudanese to take the hard decision of leaving their homes to seek refuge in other countries all in the interest to save their lives. To date, "more than four million people, one third of the population, have fled their homes since South Sudan's brutal war began in December 2013, creating the largest refugee crisis in Africa since the 1994 Rwandan genocide" (Glinski, 2018). The figures of people fleeing their homes have reached alarming levels and they continue to upscale with each day as the fighting continues, with peace deals made in the past not being adhered to. Having learnt that the greater percentage of the displaced people have since found refuge in the Uganda, a poverty-stricken country, it became of interest to explore the wellbeing of these people in a new country with its own troubles. According to the United Nations Development Programme 2016 Human Development report, Uganda has fifty-one percent intensity of deprivation with thirty-three percent of its population reported to be in severe multidimensional poverty. With this it is notable that Uganda as a country has its own challenges where it is failing to meet the needs of its own people. Therefore, having a new influx of refugees creates a new challenge with regards to resources.

The increasing number of refugees in Uganda means new strenuous conditions on the country's available resources. The broader picture will mean that the refugees are placed in a position where their needs might not be met fully due to what has been largely argued as limited resources capacity to meet the refugee influx. The situation is worsened by very limited options at the disposal of refugees to cope up with the situation where there is deprivation of key necessities.

1.3   Research Objective

The main objective is to explore the everyday lives from the experiences of South Sudanese refugees in Rhino Camp Settlement and analyse how the everyday life is impacting on the overall state of wellbeing. To achieve the research objective, I was guided by the following research questions:

- What are the major challenges faced by refugees in the settlement?
- What are the activities conducted by refugees in their daily lives?
- Why do refugees carry out specific activities in their everyday lives?
- What is the role of government and humanitarian organisations in managing refugees?

1.4   Methodology in Brief

The research has a qualitative research strategy based on the inspiration of Institutional Ethnography. The data collected was based on the grounds of a case study (Rhino Camp). Data was produced from fifty-one interviews with refugee youths, both male and female plus four focus group discussions. In the interviews I focused on their doings in their everyday life situation; what they did; how they did it and why they would do it. I interviewed one staffer from the Office of the Prime Minister, the office which is responsible with refugee issues as bestowed in the Ugandan legislation. I also had separate conversations with one secondary school official, four NGOs operating in the settlement. My selection criteria on the organisations was based on those which were frequently mentioned by respondents. I also had an informal interview with one staffer from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. As a youth, I fervently felt that I would connect better with fellow youths. Therefore, I chose to focus my research on youths between the age of 18 and 35 such that I could harness more knowledge through peer to peer conversations. More so, youths are a young population, so they remain an asset, now and in the future for both nations, Uganda and South Sudan hence their wellbeing matters more.

1.5   Thesis Structure
This thesis is structed in seven chapters with each addressing specific areas, the chapters are arranged in the following order:

Chapter One: Introduction

This first chapter constitutes an overview of what the reader must expect and by so doing the chapter grounds the reader with the background of the study, main objective and components of the problem statement.

Chapter Two: Context

The second chapter holds the charge of introducing the reader to the study area. The chapter details the context of the research where the research was conducted, the actors involved and their various roles in the everyday functioning of the settlement.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

Chapter Three is on the theoretical framework, outlining the Sustainable Livelihood Framework; what it is all about and what constitutes the framework. I will apply it and discuss based on the findings. It is a chapter that is also dedicated at expanding on the key terms central to this study which are refugee and forced migration.

Chapter Four: Methodology

This is a chapter which tackles and expand the conversations on the methodology which formed the basis of the research. It is under this chapter when I describe and justify the various data collection tools that I applied and what my methodological choices and design may have added to my work. Under the same chapter I will enlighten the reader on the motivation behind exploring elements of IE in my research and choice of methodology.

Chapter Five: Empirical Data

Chapter Five is fully dedicated to chronicling the significant data gathered from the experiences shared by the refugees with some input from observations and analysis of texts. The empirical data shall be presented in six themes namely Education & Skills development; Health care & Wellness; Employment & Sources of Income; Food Supply & Access; Water & Sanitation and lastly Shelter and Infrastructure. The themes shall be further broken down into various components that are constitutive of the themes, it is key to note that the order of the themes is not reflective of any order of importance.

Chapter Six: Discussion

In chapter Six the focus is on discussing the empirical data by applying the Sustainable Livelihood Framework, also aiming to identify the source, nature and extent of the existent gaps with regards to the wellbeing of refugees. In this chapter, part of the submissions are premised on offering possible routes that can be pursued to enhance the wellbeing of the refugees as they stay in the settlement.

Chapter Seven: Concluding Remarks

In the final chapter, I provide some concluding remarks summing up what has been said as well as arguing for further avenues for research to create more knowledge on associated subjects. I summarise the key findings and how they were developed into a discussion.

CHAPTER TWO: CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

2.1   Uganda and Refugee Management Approach

In the first chapter I have described that the entire research was hinged on the standpoint of refugees. Of course, the story of refugees has become a topical universal matter in the recent past and almost every nation has become a host of refugees, the only notable differences being on the numbers welcomed as well as the way they are treated. The continued laud of Uganda's refugee policy sparked my interest to focus on Uganda. Moreover, the fact that at the current stage the biggest refugee influx is hosted in Uganda further contributed to the research's focus on the Ugandan context. Uganda is argued to continue to have a generous asylum policy, welcoming refugees from neighbouring states. The country has been praised for having one of the most progressive and generous refugee laws and policy regimes in the world. "In fact, the 2016 United Nations Summit for Refugees declared Uganda's refugee policy a model. The 2006 Refugee Act and 2010 Refugee Regulations allow for integration of refugees within host communities with refugees having access to the same public services as nationals. They have freedom of movement and are free to pursue livelihood opportunities, including access to the labour market and to establish businesses" (United Nations Development Programme, 2017). The applause given to Uganda regarding its refugee laws and policies immensely influenced the decision to take a standpoint of refugees in the context of Uganda. The idea was to have a concrete exploration on the refugees' everyday life and from the shared experiences be able to establish the realities surrounding the wellbeing of the refugees as the standpoint. The experiences shared by the refugees concerning their everyday lives provided views that there is deprivation on key assets and necessities for wellbeing. The perspectives of refugees in such a context were fundamental in a bid to ensure that the praise is reflective of the everyday lives of the refugees who are living in Uganda. The polices and laws are argued to be creating an environment that enables the refugees to access public services such as education and health. The same laws and policies have been applauded to be presenting refuges with opportunities for livelihood as well as guaranteeing the refugees freedom of movement. This is a very rare feature of refugee management systems in other places where refugees are confined in camps as opposed to the settlement system which is a hallmark of refugee management in Uganda.

The Government receives, registers and issues civil documents to refugees and decides on asylum applications and appeals with the support of UNHCR. The Government of Uganda allocates land for refugee settlements to use for housing and farming, for those refugees willing to grow their own food and sell their surplus produce. "Compared to camps, which are not found in Uganda, settlements such as the ones in Uganda provide greater livelihood opportunities for refugee families to achieve socio-economic security, reducing their dependency on food and other assistance. The Government's refugee policy permits freedom of movement as long as refugees living outside settlements can support themselves" (United High Commissioner for Refugees, 2016). The case of Uganda and its refugee management policy as reported by various source gives an impression that it is indeed the best way which other countries could take as a model. From an external eye, based on the awash reports, one may conclude that Uganda is a heaven for refugees. However, sentiments that emerge from the refugees themselves show that a lot is still missing regarding the much-needed support mechanisms for sustainability and wellbeing.

A notable aspect is that of having refugee settlements as opposed to refugee camps, this entails that that refugees in Uganda are given pieces of land to settle, pieces of land which the refugees can utilise in both constructing their house and cultivate on the remaining part of the land. Beyond just presenting an opportunity for a piece of land, the same settlement approach is argued to give room for freedom of movement. The assertion being that the refugees will be living in communities which allow them to move in and out of the settlement without any restrictive measures which are usually associated with refugee camps. Emphasis can primarily be given to the existing settlement approach in Uganda as a separate entity. However, further arguments have been postulated in reckoning it as a support mechanism for livelihood and self-reliance among the refugees. Uganda has seemingly chosen inclusion over marginalisation; rather than coerce refugees into camps, Uganda claims to uphold refugees' rights to work, to attend school and to move freely. According to Clements and colleagues, Uganda "has striven to do so sustainably, by cultivating an environment that supports the self-reliance and resilience of entire communities" (Clements, Shoffner and Zamore, 2016, p. 49). Another reason why Uganda is applauded is that the system is claimed to be a good conduit for integration between the refugees and host community. It is argued that it doesn't alienate the refugees from the host community which is likely to be the case in areas where

the refugee management system is anchored on refugee camps. All these comprehensive postulations regarding the Uganda and refugee management inspired me to explore the realities beyond what we have been told through media coverage. I wanted to explore the story from the refugees' perspective based on their experiences, not only the institutions at work.

In the same context of Uganda, the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) plays a pivotal role in the operation and sustenance of refugee management systems. Among its mandates, the Office of the Prime Minister "coordinate development of capacities for prevention, preparedness, and response to natural and human induced Disasters and Refugees" (Government of Uganda, 2017). The arrangement places the OPM on a hands-on position of running the affairs of refugees and even going to an extent of including the refugees in the national development plans (NDPs) of the country. "In line with the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and in recognition of Uganda's firm commitment to peace and security in the region and the protracted nature of displacement, the Government of Uganda took a bold decision to include refugee management and protection within its own domestic mid-term planning framework, namely the second National Development Plan II" (UNCT, 2017, p. 2). This is an illustration of some of the efforts which the Government of Uganda has taken in its bid to embrace refugees in the country. The Office of the Prime Minister has a clearly distinguished department responsible for the affairs of refugees, a department which has a comprehensive list of objectives.

Objective:

1. Receive and grant asylum to refugees in accordance with both international and national legal instruments
2. To settle refugees granted asylum, develop and implement humanitarian interventions
3. Advise government and other stake holders on refugee matters
4. Provide physical protection to refugees
5. Improve on the physical infrastructure of the Refugee settlements, ranging from roads, staff accommodation, offices, reception centres among others
6. Enhance the Refugee livelihoods by provision of Income Generating Activities (IGAs)

Source: *Refugees Department, Office of the Prime Minister; Uganda*

The objectives listed above illustrate a certain level of commitment by the government of Uganda in hosting and taking care of refugees. The efforts to breed inclusion of refugees in the country's national plans can be indicated as a sign of some level of commitment by the Ugandan government. "The Government of Uganda has initiated steps to further build on the enabling environment through the inclusion of the Settlement Transformative Agenda in its 5-year National Development Plan II" (UNHCR, 2016). This is a signal for commitment on the part of the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) to foster the spirit refugees' inclusion in the broader agenda of the country's development. This kind of commitment and role can also be traced back historically to the late 90s when the OPM was involved in crafting the Self Reliance Strategy (SSR). It is argued that:

> The SSR was jointly designed by the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) and UNHCR Uganda in May 1999, the culmination of a process that officially began in 1998. It was conceptualised specifically for Sudanese refugees living in the West Nile districts of Arua, Adjumani and Moyo, recognising the long-term nature of their situation. Its overarching goal, as stated, is to integrate the services provided to the refugees into regular government structures and policies (Dryden-Peterson & Hovil, 2003, p.8).

The general refugee management approach in Uganda and the role of OPM and UNHCR in creating an environment for refugees, must be understood in relation to some of the key policies and legislation which the country's refugees' management approach is founded on. Uganda is a signatory to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol and to the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa. In addition, Uganda has proactively pursued and nationally implemented these laws. The rights of refugees are enshrined in Uganda's 2006 Refugee Act and the 2010 Refugee Regulations. Refugees are integrated in settlements within host communities and have access to basic and social services on par with Ugandan nationals (United Nations Country Team and World Bank, 2016). It is up-and-coming that the Uganda refugee management system is a build-up on predecessor conventions which the country is a signatory of. It is not the only country which subscribes to 1951 Convention on refugees for example, but as a country Uganda decided to localise the implementation in a manner which is tailor made to its aspirations. The contemporary situation regarding the hosting of refugees

in Uganda has its roots in the actions that were taken in the past, but Uganda has chosen to take further steps in an attempt of making refugees feel at home.

"Uganda Refugee Policy, embodied in the 2006 Refugees Act and 2010 Refugees Regulations, has many impressive aspects: (1) opening Uganda's door to all asylum seekers irrespective of their nationality or ethnic affiliation, (2) granting refugees relative freedom of movement and the right to seek employment, (3) providing prima facie asylum for refugees of certain nationalities, and (4) giving a piece of land to each refugee family for their own exclusive use" (The World Bank, 2016). The World Bank, through its 2016 brief reasons that the way in which Uganda hosts refugees with the support of the Refugee Act of 2006 and the Refugee Regulations of 2010 is quite impressive. Thus, while I carried out this research, the context especially the regulations and legislation had a bearing in directing the research. It provided an interesting point of departure in that it formed grounds for assessing the perspectives of the refugees themselves. Fundamentally in an environment which is widely and largely portrayed as the best and a model for others to follow. Often the goodness portrayal of the refugee policy in Uganda is generated from a one-sided view that of the ones with authority such as the government and big agencies like UNHCR. Just like the argument placed by Schiltz and Titeca that "Such one-sided success stories, depicting Uganda's refugee policy as an example to the world, hamper a critical questioning and a debate about durable solutions for the fundamental problems South Sudanese refugees are facing" (Schiltz & Titeca, 2017). The argument postulated here, that what is said about Uganda and refugees is contrary to what is prevalent in the refugees' eyes made the research more relevant to carry out in such a context. The research locates itself in the position of generating critical revelations beyond what has always been said and develop new knowledge which accommodates the perspectives of the refugees.

"The country is the largest refugee hosting country in Africa and the third largest in the world" (United Nations Development Programme, 2017, p. 1). In the same vein in which Uganda remains on top of applause regarding it open door policy to refugees, it has also occupied the top position with regards to the numbers of refugees hosted in the country. The refugees are hosted in approximately eleven districts of the country, spread throughout the

country with Kampala included as well though the refugees in Kampala are mostly self-settled. Regarding the location of settlements; the eleven districts include: Adjumani District, Arua District, Hoima District, Isingiro District, Kamwenge District, Kiryandongo District, Koboko District, Kyegegwa District, Lamwo District, Moyo District and Yumbe District (UNDP, 2017).

Map showing the hosting districts in Uganda. **Source**: VNG International.

2.2   Humanitarian Approach

The response to the refugee crisis in the Ugandan context is anchored on the humanitarian approach. In outlining the differences between the humanitarian agenda and the human rights agenda, Benelli argues that, the humanitarian approach is essentially concerned with present and future outcomes, normally in the relatively short-term (Benelli, 2015, p. 9). He further argues that humanitarianism is based on saving lives, alleviating suffering, and remaining as impartial and neutral as possible. Focusing on the daily happenings of in the settlement as I observed, it could be seen that humanitarianism is being taken into consideration based on the several interventions targeted at refugees. According to the conversation that I had with the one of the settlement officers under the Office of the Prime Minister I learnt that there are 40 nongovernmental organisations (NGO) operating in the settlement. The organisations are a

mixture of both local and international nongovernmental organisations which are working on different issues all aimed at improving lives of the refugees. Danish Refugee Council (DRC) is reported to be the leading partner and true to the fact it is involved in a variety of activities all aimed at responding to the needs of refugees while they are working in the settlement. "Humanitarian crises carry massive human costs" (Brownscombe, 2005, p.182), the assertion placed here provide an explanation on why several organisations are operating in the settlement. It is a response to the challenges emanating from the refugee influx which require human and financial commitments. The influx of refugees is a crisis which needs attention to respond to it and it is that we have many organisations stepping up to bridge the immediate gaps that are created by the manifestation of the crisis.

"Issues of accountability direct our attention to the fact that non-state actors formed part of the international refugee regime that came into being in the aftermath of the Second World War, with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) as its cornerstone" (Gatrell, 2016, p. 102). This is an argument which shows that the involvement of NGOs in addressing challenges did not start today but it can be traced back in the history of the second world war. Similar circumstances can still be found in this case, historically its stated that soon after the second world war, the refugee regime was hinged on the effort of non-state actors. Even today in the context of refugees in Uganda, we still learn and note the role of non-state actors is inherent in tackling the refugee issues. UNHCR is reported to have been the cornerstone in the past, even in the present day it is still playing a significant role to improve the lives of refugees. In the context of Uganda, UNHCR is working closely with the government of Uganda, OPM in the registration of refugees. UNHCR closely works with the government in number of areas including the registration of refugees upon arrival, in the interest of building and up to date data base of the refugees staying in the country. A notable scenario is the recently launched refugee verification process which UNHCR is spearheading. "The government is using UNHCR's biometric registration software, which has already been used to register some 4.4 million refugees in 48 countries worldwide. The verification exercise in Uganda is the biggest in the agency's history. Refugees who are verified and registered will receive new ration cards and their biometric identification will be used to provide and improve assistance to each individual" (Bond, 2018). Besides the registration and verification of refugees, UNHCR is also involved in playing a technical role of capacity

building and strategy initiation to support Uganda's refugee approach. Beyond the existing legislation highlighted earlier in this chapter, it is on the other hand notable that recently there was a strategy document that was launched in Uganda titled Refugee and Host Population Empowerment (ReHoPE). "The ReHoPE strategy seeks to explore opportunities that benefit both refugees and the communities that host them, by bridging the gap between humanitarian and development interventions" (UNCT, 2017). The launching of ReHoPE has been seen to have come as a compass to direct the partners on how best they can intervene in a manner inclusive of both the refugees and host community. Based on that, organisations are striving to ensure that 30% of beneficiaries in their interventions are drawn from the host community. "This is built upon the argument placed by the UNCT which says, the maintaining and strengthening of good relations between refugee and host communities is vital to ensure peace and security" (United Nations Country Team, 2017). Thus, beyond the mutual beneficiation of communities in interventions, inclusion is also argued to breed peace within communities.

According to the Uganda Protection and Solutions Strategy, the GoU envisions that; "with the support of the combined resources by UNHCR, the UNCT, bilateral and multilateral development partners, NGOs, and Ugandan host communities, the Government of Uganda ensures that refugees are protected, live in safety and dignity, and progressively attain lasting solutions" (Government of Uganda & UNHCR, 2017, p. 5). The government's vision is inclusive and accommodative of other players outside its own scope, this clarifies why we find various partners taking some action to improve the wellbeing of refugees. Without the consolidated efforts, we can argue that the burden could be unbearable for the government. This is because there are a lot of gaps that require attention in the context of the refugee settlement in which this study was focused on. "The Ugandan government's highly accommodating policy toward refugees has facilitated humanitarian access and has had a dramatic, positive impact on the lives of South Sudanese refugees—something that no amount of international aid can replace" (Boyce and Vigaud-Walsh, 2017, p. 6). The argument is that the Ugandan Policy has helped to open up for humanitarian action and it has seen the entrance of various humanitarian organisations operating in the settlement.

I will take this opportunity to highlight some of the notable humanitarian actions that are being taken by some organisations. As highlighted earlier there is a huge number of organisations doing work in the refugee settlement hence it will not be exhaustive but just meant to give some insights. *Uganda is the largest refugee hosting country on the African continent, and in 2017, it received the most refugees worldwide,* writes Norwegian Refugee Council – Uganda, one of the many international NGOs operating in Rhino Camp. They further expand on the work they do in the Ugandan refugee context stating that, "while equipping refugee children and youth with skills to build their futures, we also address urgent needs caused by the large influx of refugees entering the country" (NRC, 2018). They do this through provision of shelter and settlements, water and sanitation, livelihoods and food security among other key interventions aimed to benefit both refugees and host communities. Another organisation ZOA International states that in the Rhino camp area, ZOA provided WASH support through water trucking, the construction of communal latrines and bath shelters and the installation of rainwater harvesting tanks (ZOA, 2017). As indicated earlier, I cannot provide an exhaustive list of all the organisations and what they are doing but I have hereby given highlights of what humanitarian organisations are doing on this area. Far and above the existing interventions, the humanitarian organisations are also opening room for volunteers to take up responsibilities in furthering their work. Instances can be drawn from ZOA which recruits Water Quality Tracking volunteers as well as DRC which recruits Hygiene Promoters all on voluntary terms. These volunteers are few individuals drawn from the refugee community. This narrowed down shows that the context is also giving room to refugees, few of them with something to occupy themselves with, though it is not paid work, it props up the spirit of ownership by the refugees as they feel involved.
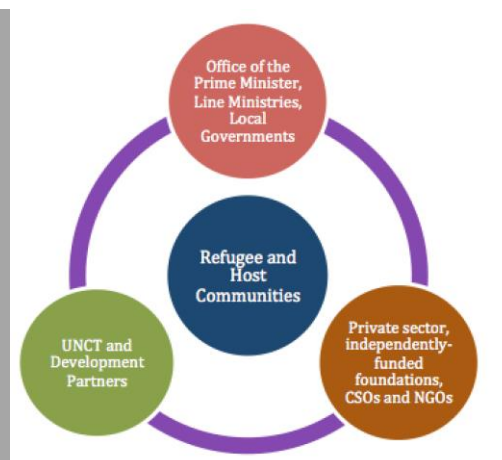
The humanitarian cycle sustaining the Refugee Approach in Uganda; **Source: UNCT**

2.3 Rhino Camp Settlement

This specific research was conducted in Rhino Camp settlement which is in Arua district in the Northern region of Uganda. The settlement hosts an approximate of 123 000 refugees inclusive of those coming from Kenyan, Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Central Africa Republic with most of the population being from South Sudan. Generally South Sudanese constitute the greater chunk of the refugee population in Uganda. Statistics from UN refugee agency UNHCR show that since the conflict began, about four million citizens have been displaced or forced to flee their homes. Of these, 1.9 million are internally displaced while more than two million people have sought refuge in neighbouring countries. "Due to its open-door policy to refugees, Uganda is currently hosting more than one million of these refugees" (Ahaibwe & Ntale, 2018). The combination of the continued conflict in South Sudan and the open-door policy in Uganda provides an explanation on why the current trends relate to a greater number of South Sudanese refugees currently in Uganda. Gathering that there are no prospects of the conflict in South Sudan ending in sight also led to my decision to focus the research on South Sudanese refugees. The Ugandan refugee system which has been described as progressive can be linked to the country's popular cultural practices and the country's Prime Minister Ruhakana Rugunda was at some point quoted by Reuters saying, "it is inherent in our traditional, historical and cultural practices to support and assist a neighbour in need" (Cropley, 2017).

Rhino Camp Settlement is divided into six zones namely Ocea, Siripi, Eden, Tika, Odobu and Ofua. These six zones are further sub divided in clusters with an average of five or six clusters in each zone. In the interest of fairness of perspectives, I drew a sample for interviews from each of the zones. There are cross cutting challenges affecting all the zones but out of the research it emerged that there are notable differences when it comes to the nature and extent of specific challenges. For example, on issues of water, though it's a general challenge affecting the entire settlement, there are differences in the manifestation of the challenge. This is because there are also differences in the sources of supply, other zones rely on supply from water trucks while others have motorized pumps. On the side of land, it also emerged from the research that while it is a shared challenge that land is not enough in most zones for the refugees to both build and cultivate. However, some sections in Tika III professed contentment with what they get from the host community around them. They

claimed that they had built a good rapport with the host community. Something which they say enables them to acquire pieces of land for cultivation for free from them who own vast pieces of land which they are not exhaustively utilizing. These and other differences make up the context and could only be identified through committing to interview refugees drawn from villages located within each of the zones stated in this focus on context.

Rhino camp settlement map showing the six zones as at December 2017. (UNHCR)
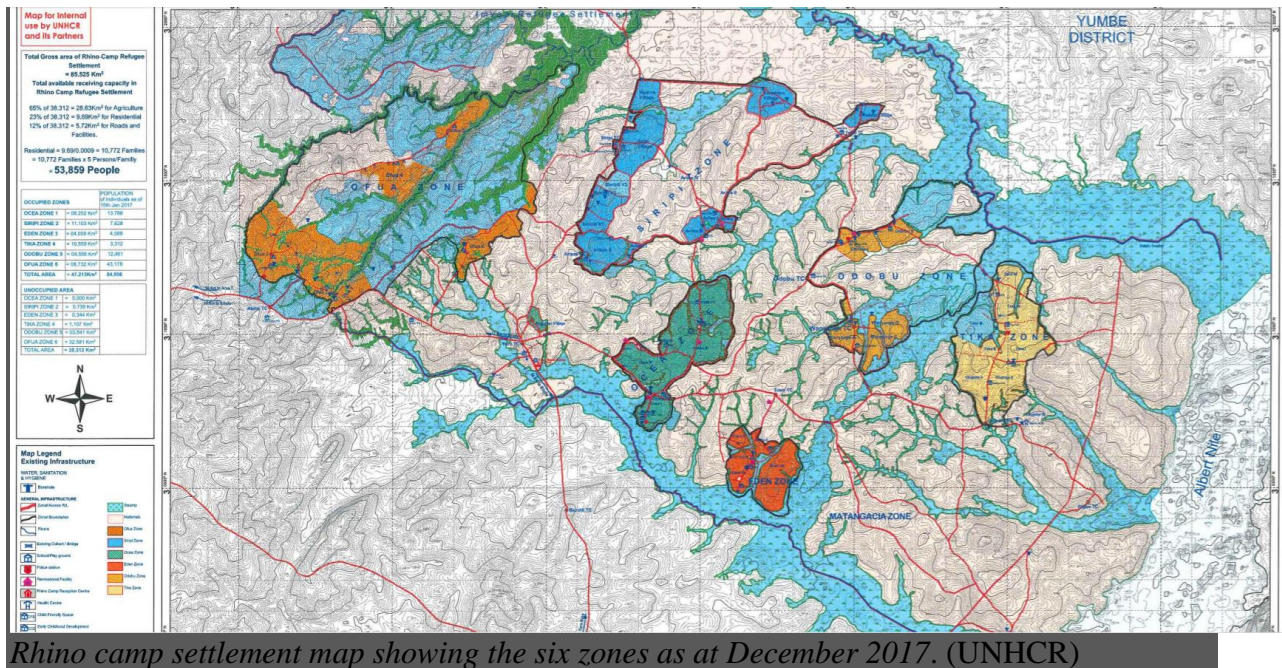
2.4   The momentous role of Host Communities

"In Uganda's Mid and South-West, land for these settlements is provided by Government. In northern Uganda, where the vast majority of South Sudanese refugees are being hosted, the land has been donated by the local host community, an outstanding display of generosity towards people fleeing war and conflict" (UNHCR, 2017). Northern Uganda is where Rhino Camp Settlement is located consequently relating to the context that defines the role of host population in supporting the prospering of the country's refugee management approach. In this case the role of local population can be seen as pivotal in the issuance of land when it comes to ensuring that the approach is thriving. Several texts emphasize that part of the things that places Uganda's approach as the most progressive in the African continent is its allocation of pieces of land to refugees for settling as opposed to the encampment system common elsewhere. Thus, in Northern Uganda, the local host community is playing a significant role in making the approach successful by donating their land. "Uganda has

among the most progressive policies in the world towards refugees. They are given plots of land, integrated with local host communities and are allowed to work and start businesses" (Bond, 2018). This further buttresses on the significant role of the host communities of ensuring the flourishing of the refugee approach in execution in Uganda. The success and failures of the whole approach can be determined by the host community, assuming they choose to be hostile, the whole idea of easy integration which makes the approach tick may risk collapse. This is also relevant to the few refugees involved in small scale entrepreneurship. The business does not entirely rely on refugees, but the host community also forms up the market for the refugees' business for example when refugees sell part of their food rations, they do not only sell them to refugees.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1   Sustainable Livelihood Framework

Following as an exploration of refugee everyday lives and happenings in Rhino Camp, the findings directed me towards the Sustainable Livelihood Framework. Based on the findings from conversations and observations made during the study, the use of the framework proves to be closely related to the empirical data gathered. The livelihoods framework is taken as a way of looking at the complexities that surround people's livelihoods. It works in looking in the livelihoods of the poor, be it rural or urban. It seeks to understand the various dimensions that make up a person's livelihood; these include strategies and objectives one can pursue, and associated opportunities and constraints (SOAS, 2018). The Sustainable Livelihood Framework looks at the complexities linked to the people's lives especially the poor. Thus, through the research, the refugees' perspectives pointed out to a poor state of life hence linking the study to the framework is justifiable. In the same vein, the perspectives from the refugees revealed that while they are faced with some challenges in their day to day lives, they are employing a variety of strategies using the few available opportunities to alleviate the constraints. The refugees are taking up a variety of activities and other innovative strategies to achieve a specific objective at a specific time which all balls down to responding to several challenges they find themselves in. While the Livelihood framework is originally tied to the exploration on livelihoods of the poor, it is also relevant to the refugee stand point. This is because, based on the experiences shared by the refugees it is revealed that there is inherent deprivation of necessities. The existent deprivations position the refugee on the side of the poor thus making it relevant to analyse their experiences with a livelihood framework lens.

The Livelihood framework consists of a couple of elements on which the framework is premised and analysis using the framework is reliant on these elements. "Sustainable livelihoods approach needs to be adapted to emphasize the vulnerability of people exposed to constant threats of violence and displacement" (Jacobsen, 2002, p. 98). Since I explored the lives of refugees who are susceptible to vulnerability, the use of Sustainable Livelihood Approach works best in building a discussion. Refugees are vulnerable beginning from their

origin which is a testimony of forced displacement and being placed in a community with limited opportunities to pursue livelihood strategies. I will give some attention to the elements that constitute the Sustainable Livelihood Framework below.

3.1.1   Vulnerability Context

"The Vulnerability Context frames the external environment in which people exist. People's livelihoods and the wider availability of assets are fundamentally affected by critical trends as well as by shocks and seasonality – over which they have limited or no control" (DFID, 2001). The vulnerability context is one of the components that make up the SLF, as a component it acknowledges that people's contemporary challenges are inherently born out of certain external factors. The vulnerability context is the starting point of the SLF, it grounds a researcher on the background of the current state, in other words it is the yesterday of today, it unravels the contemporary happenings. When the vulnerability context strikes it places human beings in a state where the fundamental assets are under menace of being insufficient. Knowing very well that it is partly on these assets where the lives of people rest on it then becomes more challenging when the assets become of restricted access. When this happens, the people experiencing the challenges often do not have any capacity to control the situation, if they have any capacity it is often limited. Vulnerability context is the starting point of analysis using the Sustainable Livelihood Framework, it connects the research to the background of the entire study. In this case, having known where my standpoint originated from, I got it to be easy for me to relate it to this framework based on the notable trends and shocks. Speaking on the same aspect of vulnerability context, Kollmair and St. Gamper posit that;

> "It comprises Trends (i.e. demographic trends; resource trends; trends in governance), Shocks (i.e. human, livestock or crop health shocks; natural hazards, like floods or earthquakes; economic shocks; conflicts in form of national or international wars) and Seasonality (i.e. seasonality of prices, products or employment opportunities) and represents the part of the framework that lies furthest outside stakeholder's control" (Kollmair and St. Gamper, 2002, p.5).

What the two writers argue, give us here is an insight of the three elements which comprise the vulnerability context, which they categorize as trends, shocks and seasonality. Since the

research focused on the stand point of refugees, the production of the refugees can be attributed to shocks and trends such as resource trends which have a potential to degenerate into shock (conflict). This is the same with what I gathered from the respondents that I interviewed, they all confirmed that they are in Rhino Camp following a conflict breakout in South Sudan which forced them to flee. While they are in the settlement, it can be argued that a combination of trends and shocks have placed the refugees in a seasonal shift of opportunities for example employment which is highlighted to be a major challenge for the refugees. Below is a table which illustrates some elements that make up the vulnerability context and from the table we can relate it to the context under study.

Trends	Shocks	Seasonality
• Population trends	• Human health shocks	• Of prices
• Resource trends (including conflict)	• Natural shocks	• Of production
• National/international economic trends	• Economic shocks	• Of health
• Trends in governance (including politics)	• Conflict	• Of employment opportunities
• Technological trends	• Crop/livestock health shocks	

Table illustrating examples of vulnerability context; **Source:** (DFID, 2001).

3.1.2   Policies, Institutions and Processes

Policies, institutions and processes have a direct impact on people's lives on how and when they can achieve a feeling of inclusion and well-being. Arguably culture is included in this area they also count for other 'unexplained' differences in the 'way things are done' in different societies. Policies, institutions and processes can determine access to assets and influence decision making processes (GLOPP, 2008). The Sustainable Livelihood Framework takes cognizance of the role played by external actors (institutions) in the shaping of people's wellbeing. It is from the same institutions where policies are developed and often the policies have a bearing on what people can and cannot do, thus on their activities or strategies. I gather that the way things are done and practiced in the everyday lives of people in an area is reliant on the policies and process in place as well as on the institutions with a decisive role in the everyday lives of the people in an area. During the study, it was observable that the everyday doings of the refugees too were reliant on institutions as well as policies and processes put in place. Dominating activities are mainly as a response to what the institutions are failing to provide sufficiently, and the activities are mainly in line with what is permissible within the policies and processes.

Institutional Ethnography values the need to explore the role of institutions (ruling relations) in shaping the social world of the stand point. It was befitting to use the Sustainable Livelihood framework because the framework also assists in analysing people's doings in local and trans local relations where institutions are present and ruling or influencing people's lives. "It is insufficient just to analyse the different aspects of livelihood resources and strategies as separate elements. One must also analyse the institutional processes and organizational structures that link these various elements together" (Krantz, 2001, p. 10). The use of the Livelihood framework creates emphasis not only on analysing happenings based on the standpoint of refugees but instead to focus on processes that happen outside but with a bearing of their doings. This creates room to explore the hand of the institutions that have an involvement in the everyday lives of the standpoint, in this case refugees. When I wrote about the context, I highlighted that in Rhino Camp settlement there are over forty NGOs working on something aimed at improving the lives of refugees. Against this background it is fair not to ignore an exploration on the processes presided over by these organisations and their bearing on the lives of the refugees. In the interest of bringing sufficiency to the analysis it is argued that the role of institutions cannot be ignored as it can make or break the wellbeing of the standpoint. When referring to Institutional Ethnography, this is considered as the exploration of ruling relations. People are experts of their own lives', they best know how best to respond to challenges depending on what they have at their disposal. Subjects are in sites throughout society (local settings) and the powerful outside (translocal) forces shape how people live and experience their everyday lives (Campbell, 1998, pp. 57-60). In IE terms it the outside force is considered to have an impact on the everyday lives of the local people, that is the trans local having a bearing on the local. Therefore, its argued to be important to look at the trans local too.

Of institutions, in the context of this study we learn that the Government of Uganda has a role while on the other hand humanitarian organisations have a role to play in the refugee matters. Though they might be notable differences amongst the institutions, in the end the decisions they make from their different ends have an impact and thus represent the ruling relations regarding the everyday lives of refugees. An interesting scenario is that of the government's

role to develop and embrace a settlement approach as opposed to the camp approach, this has its own implications on the lives of the refugees. According to UNHCR a settlement refers to

> "A deliberate and coherent package and administrative measures whereby a group of refugees is enabled to settle on land, usually in an uninhabited or sparsely-populated area, with a view to creating new self-supporting rural communities that ultimately will form part of the economic and social system of the area" (Idris, 2017, p. 3).

This has been the case in Uganda as well as specifically Rhino Camp Settlement where this research was conducted. In the face of challenges prevalent in the settlement we also learn that humanitarian institutions on the other hand then step up with various interventions, all targeted at the refugees. When the organisations consider interventions, they are also guided by policies and processes on what to do, how to do and for what intention. These are the same things which I found happening in the settlement, that is organisations being guided by various policy frameworks such as ReHoPE in delivering their interventions. Institutions, policies and processes influence the availability and accessibility of assets while the available assets influence how institutions should intervene as well as how policies and processes should be structured to meet the needs.
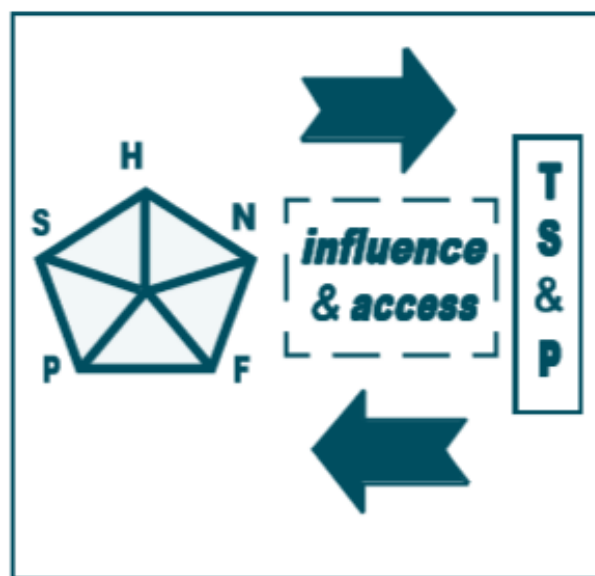
Illustration of the reciprocal role of livelihood assets & Institutions; **Source**:(DFID, 2001)

3.1.3 Livelihood Assets (Capital)

"A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base" (Chambers & Conway, 1991, p. 5). The immediate takeaways from the definition are that livelihood is a combination of factors required for one to earn a living. The other notable point is that the factors are also key in enabling a person's wellbeing, that is in the absence of the combination of factors, one's wellbeing is under threat. Since the broader scope of the study was to investigate on the wellbeing of refugees, looking it in relation to the livelihood framework was imperative as it provides a solid ground of analysis. One of the proponents of SLF argues that:

> Five key elements of the definition can be recognised, each relating to a wider literature within some cases, established ways of assessing outcomes. The first three focus on livelihoods, linking concerns over work and employment with poverty reduction with broader issues of adequacy, security, well-being and capability. The last two elements add the sustainability dimension, looking, in turn, at the resilience of livelihoods and the natural resource base on which, in part, they depend (Scoones, 1998, p. 5).

Scoones posit that the livelihood definition is broad and can be broken into a couple of key elements which he further expands. In his suppositions it is pertinent to note that he speaks of wellbeing, security and adequacy of materials this is of interest because such components are closely related to what the respondents indicated when they shared their experiences. Inclusion of these components in breaking down the definition resonate well with the field work which I conducted, to start with wellbeing which was the outstanding component under investigation. The talk of security cannot be overemphasized because from my standpoint, security is a fundamental aspect because the respondents are refugees who fled war in South Sudan only to be in Uganda in search of security. The adequacy factor could also be deduced from the responses as all respondents would highlight some form of inadequacy in aspects such as food, water, jobs, money etc.

When speaking of assets required for life, Scoones argues that in general, a person's life flourishes depending on the basic materials in which the person has access to and vice versa. "The ability to pursue different livelihood strategies is dependent on the basic material and social, tangible and intangible assets that people have in their possession. Drawing on an economic metaphor, such livelihood resources may be seen as the 'capital' base from which different productive streams are derived from which livelihoods are constructed" (Scoones, 1998, p. 7). The terminology is drawn from an economic background which describe the basic assets that play a role in supporting one's life as capital. These in plain terms, what he terms capital refers to the foundational assets that hold the ability to sustain one's wellbeing. All livelihood strategies depend upon access to assets of some kind or other, whether such access involves private ownership or other forms of access (SOAS, 2018). In the Sustainable livelihoods framework, capitals are conventionally categorized into five as follows; natural, human, physical, financial and social. There are notable linkages between the all the capitals/assets and all can be used together to assess the nature and extent of one's wellbeing. The assets and their core components as generally recognised within sustainable livelihoods theory, as summarized by (McLeod, 2001 in Majale, 2002, p. 3), are:

- *Natural (Environmental) Capital*: Natural resources (land, water, wildlife, biodiversity, environmental resources).
- *Physical Capital*: Basic infrastructure (water, sanitation, energy, transport, communications, housing and the means and equipment of production).
- *Human Capital*: Health, knowledge, skills, information, ability to labour.
- *Social Capital*: Social resources (relationships of trust, membership of groups, networks, access to wider institutions).
- *Financial Capital*: financial resources available (regular remittances or pensions, savings, supplies of credit)

The livelihood assets/ capitals are largely argued to hold the potential to make or break a human being. McLeod provided some few components associated to each of the capitals, though not exhaustive, they provide a hint on what makes up the capitals. Several international organisations and state actors have adopted the livelihood framework in their various interventions. This can be seen from interventions such as farmers' groups supported by ZOA. Groups are an indicator of Social capital whereas water trucking interventions spearheaded by DRC are reflective of Physical Capital.
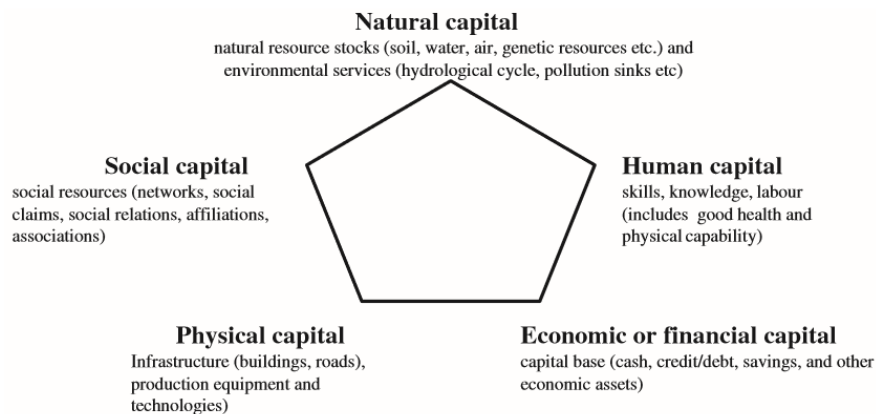
The asset pentagon; **Source**: (Scoones, 1998)

3.1.4 Livelihood Strategies

Livelihood strategies comprise the range and combination of activities and choices that people make/undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals. It should be understood as a dynamic process in which people combine activities to meet their various needs at different times. Different members of a household might live and work at different places, temporarily or permanent. Livelihood strategies are directly dependent on asset status and policies, institutions and processes (GLOPP, 2008). With the Sustainable Livelihood Framework, we learn that activities carried, and choices made by people in tandem to the resources in their disposal. This was also part of the revelations that I gathered during the period of my research in Rhino Camp Settlement, I noted that most of the refugees at some point sell part of their food rations to get some money. This relates well to the assertion that the resources around influence the nature of the activity which one can possibly do, thus the more the resources the greater are the chances for one to expand his/her activities. Beyond the availability of resources, it is also argued that the livelihood strategies are also reliant on the policies, processes and institutions at hand. This means that the far one can proceed with regards to the execution of livelihood strategies can be within the limits of the policies governing the standpoint, the processes expected to be followed and the contributions of the institutions involved. The delivery of water as a process determines what the refugees can do with the water resource available to them while on the other hand farming in the settlement can only be maximised on the benevolence of the institutions that provide inputs.

What can further be drawn from the SLF is that none of the components which make up the framework can work in isolation, thus for wellbeing in everyday lives, there is need for a linkage between the components. "People combine these assets together with activities and choices and construct a portfolio of activities (such as agricultures, migration, livelihood diversification, etc.) to achieve their livelihood goals which can be defined as livelihood strategies" (Khatiwada, Deng, Paudel, Khatiwada, Zhang and Su, 2017, p. 3). This is further buttress on what makes up livelihood strategies and how significant they are in terms of shaping the wellbeing of people in their everyday lives. Moreover, we are drawn to a picture that illustrates how livelihood strategies can be diverse but with the same intention of bettering the everyday lives. This is the same thing which my field work revealed, knowledge drawn from the settlement is that in the quest to better their livelihoods, refugees embark on various agendas. Others are involved in hairdressing while others are venturing in catering with others relying on brick moulding as well as selling food rations, all in the interest of enhancing their wellbeing standing. In their diversity, livelihood strategies are centred on moving people from one situation to the other preferably to a better situation.

"In accordance with a sustainable livelihoods approach, humanitarian and development agencies should look to promote those underlying conditions that provide the greatest diversity of choice and flexibility in the pursuit of maintaining a livelihood. In doing so, agencies should focus on expanding access to a variety of capital assets and supporting the improvement of the structures and processes that shape livelihoods" (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, 2018). Emphasis is given on the expectations given to humanitarian organisation in responding to a case. The role expected of humanitarian organisations is to expand people's access to what assets that make human life bearable, these assets are the ones highlighted on the preceding section. It is argued that when there is variety of capital assets in an area, chances are also high that people around will be able to enhance their wellbeing. With that, humanitarian organisations are urged to facilitate the expansion of accesses to people through their various interventions. From the experiences shared by respondents and from my observations, it revealed that humanitarian organisations around are indeed working towards increasing accesses and they are doing this in diverse ways. Some organisations are working

in improving access to health with others working in enhancing access to education among other interventions in which humanitarian organisations are committing themselves in.

3.1.5 Sustainable Livelihood Outcomes

The expected end in the adoption of the sustainable livelihood framework is to get some deliverables that are tangible and can be looked upon as a product of the combination of assets, policies, strategies etc. In that same vein DFID states that:

> Livelihood Outcomes are the achievements or outputs of Livelihood Strategies. Once again, the important idea associated with this component of the framework is that we, as outsiders, investigate, observe and listen, rather than jumping to quick conclusions or making hasty judgements about the exact nature of the outcomes that people pursue (DFID, 1999).

Sustainable Livelihood Framework can work both as a tool for analysis or a tool for identifying areas of intervention which most organisations use it for. When it is used in humanitarian interventions, the goal sought to be achieved by weaving together all the components of sustainable livelihood framework is to ensure a positive outcome. However, foe the purposes of this study, I will use it as a tool for analysis i.e. to assess the wellbeing of refugees. This research noted that efforts being made by humanitarian actors in the settlements are aimed at increasing livelihood assets for refugees and at the same time widening their livelihood strategies within their capacity. When used by humanitarian actors, the achievement of the outcomes is a collective role which consolidate efforts of stakeholders, humanitarian organisations, government, and host population. For instance, in a bid to provide shelter to refugees, UNHCR will provide tarpaulins whereas the host community donates land, and this can only happen under the government policy. In a nutshell this is how SLF works when applied in humanitarian deeds thus organisations may assess their efforts based on what they will have done. However, in taking it as an analysis tool for this research, I will match what was gotten in the findings to what the framework identifies as part of the complexities of everyday life. I will discuss the nature of livelihood assets as extracted from the field. I will do the same in the existing livelihood strategies citing how viable they are to sustain refugee wellbeing. The use of the framework will also outline the influence of institutions, policies and processes thus citing the ruling relations which is central to Institutional Ethnography.

"There is the realization that poverty — as conceived by the poor themselves — is not just a question of low income, but also includes other dimensions such as bad health, illiteracy, lack of social services, etc., as well as a state of vulnerability and feelings of powerlessness in general" (Krantz, 2001, p. 10). Here, Krantz provide us with an enlightening dimension that when speaking of poverty, it is beyond the scope of low income i.e. limited economic activities. He further argues that there are other dimensions worth considering in discovering the state of one's wellbeing. Aspects such as health, education, shelter among other factors come into consideration. These are also some of the things which the respondents to this research contributed significantly in outlining through their shared experiences (Krantz 2001, pp. 13-15). While they highlighted the limitations in economic opportunities they also further highlighted other areas of deprivation which equally directed me in adopting the livelihood framework as a conduit for analysis. Against this background, it is befitting to make use of the Sustainable livelihood framework in grounding the discussion in a bid to produce results on how the refugee wellbeing is faced with.
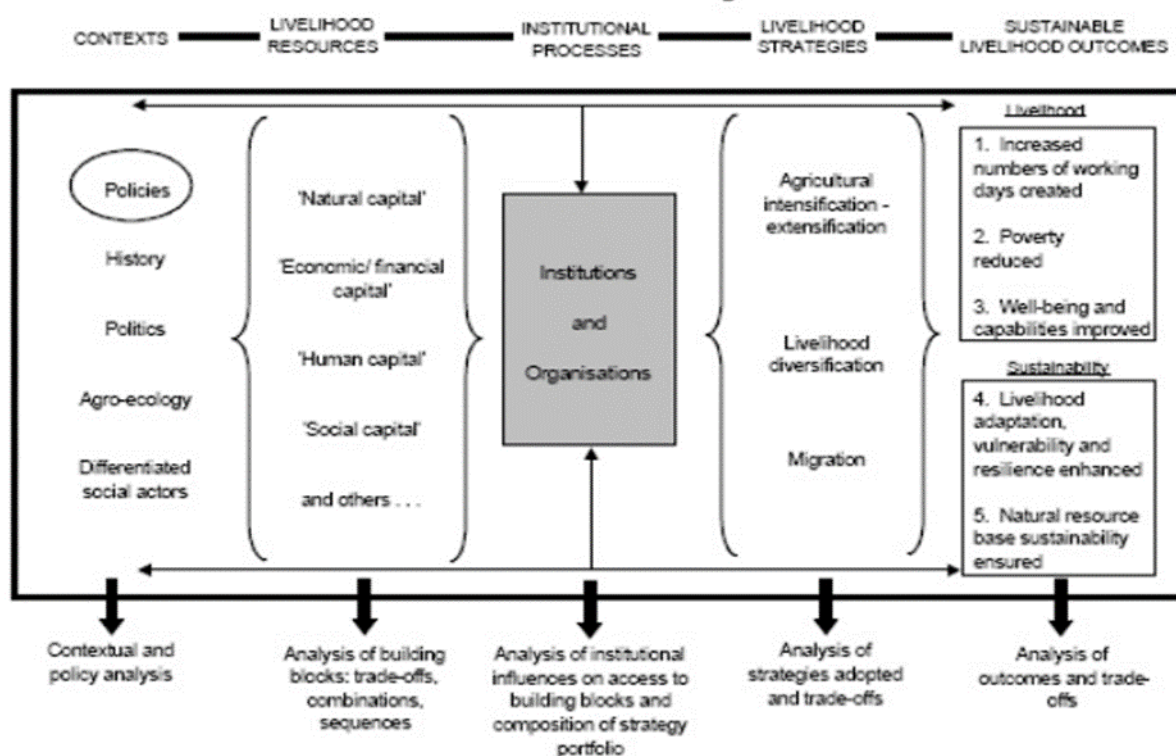
Sustainable Livelihood Framework for Analysis; **Source**: Scoones, 1998.

3.2   Refugees

The definition of a refugee which is universally used is drawn from the 1951 Geneva Convention. The Convention defines a refugee as;

> A person who due to "a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. In the case of a person who has more than one nationality, the term 'the country of his nationality" shall mean each of the countries of which he is a national, and a person shall not be deemed to be lacking the protection of the country of his nationality if, without any valid reason based on well-founded fear, he has not availed himself of the protection of one of the countries of which he is a national" (Geneva Convention, 1951).

Persecution is at the centre of refugee crisis and the persecution manifests in variety of ways and can be targeted to specific groups. Owing to those form of persecution, people often choose to flee to other areas other than where the conflict is taking place. The fleeing is mainly motivated by the quest to attain safety and avoiding the likelihood of further risk that comes from the persecution. In the recent past conflict has been at the centre of persecution leading to people fleeing their countries thereby raising an influx on refugee flows.

> Based on the conventions, the refugee definition is commonly understood to include three essential elements; 1) there must be a form of harm rising to the level of persecution, inflicted by a government or by individuals or a group that the government cannot or will not control; 2) the person's fear of such harm must be well-founded — e.g. the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that a fear can be well-founded if there is a one-in-ten likelihood of its occurring; and 3) the harm, or persecution, must be inflicted upon the person for reasons related to the person's race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group (the nexus) (UNESCO, 2018).

When a person is at risk of being harmed resulting from a confirmed form of persecution fits within some of the defining elements of a refugee. Moreover, if the risk of persecution inflicted on a person is well founded, again it leads one to qualify within the definition of a refugee. The harm which one is likely to endure can be from the government, individuals or a group of individuals which the government has limited capacity to control in the interest of avoiding more harm to people. These aspects resonate well with the case of most South Sudanese refugees who are staying in Uganda, they have fled conflict in their country which is the harm having been inflicted on them and most of the are not willing to return at least for now in fear of the worst. South Sudan, the youngest country in the world has been plunged into serious conflict since 2013 and because of that multitudes of South Sudanese have taken the decision to flee from their country and settling in Uganda where they are seeking refuge.

The four-year war in oil-rich South Sudan, a country only founded in 2011, has forced more than a third of its 12 million citizens to flee their homes. Tens of thousands have died, some in ethnic killings, others from starvation and disease (Patinkin, 2017). The war is now 5 years in South Sudan and while the war continues, people continue to flee for safety. Uganda has been the largest recipient and host of these refugees coming from South Sudan and due to the reportedly generous Ugandan policy, it is seemingly a preferred destination for many. In August 2017, the UNHCR issued a statement in which they stated that:

> Uganda, where the number of refugees from South Sudan has now reached 1 million. Over the past 12 months, an average of 1,800 South Sudanese have been arriving in Uganda every day. In addition to the million there, a million or even more South Sudanese refugees are being hosted by Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Democratic Republic of the Congo and Central African Republic" (UNHCR, 2017, para. 5).

Trends indicate that there has been a high influx of refugees from South Sudan crossing the border to Uganda. Though others have been heading to other destinations, the majority have found their way to Uganda, with the current number standing at not less than one million. The reason for many South Sudanese choosing Uganda as a destination can be attributed to the refugee policy which is argued to be progressive as the World Bank reports that, "Uganda's refugee laws are among the most progressive in the world. Refugees and asylum seekers are entitled to work; have freedom of movement; and can access Ugandan social services, such as health and education. Refugees in Uganda are either self-settled or live in organized

settlements that cover approximately 350 square miles of land set aside by the government of Uganda" (World Bank, 2016, para. 3). This impression portrayed, that of Uganda having a progressive refugee policy has probably been the reason why Uganda continue to receive huge numbers of refugees from South Sudan as such it has become the biggest refugee hosting nation in Africa. Uganda is Africa's largest refugee hosting country with a total of over 1.2 million refugees and with that, it has also claimed space in the top three refugee hosting nations in the world. Despite the ongoing influx of refugees and more than 2,000 South Sudanese arriving daily, Uganda continues to uphold to its out of camps policy, including the provision of freedom of movement and the right to work. However, the massive influx combined with severe humanitarian underfunding puts hundreds of thousands of refugees' lives at risk (The Regional Durable Solutions Secretariat, 2017).

In line with the 1951 Convention, signatories to the Convention undertake to protect refugees by allowing them to enter and granting temporary or permanent residence status (UNESCO, 2018). On the other hand, UNHCR as the chief agency dealing with refugees is has the mandate of leading and co-ordinating international action to protect refugees and resolve refugee problems worldwide. Its primary purpose is to safeguard the rights and well-being of refugees. It strives to ensure that everyone can exercise the right to seek asylum and find safe refuge in another State, with the option to return home voluntarily, integrate locally or to resettle in a third country (Devex, 2018). These commitments are seen in the Ugandan context, the Government of Uganda as a signatory to the Convention acts in the interests of protection for example through the rolling out of the settlement approach. UNHCR as well is seen visible in coordinating various support mechanisms for example the recently launched refugee verification process aimed at updating the data base.

In the interest of refugee protection, there has been provocation of debate by various researchers and scholars as to the mismatch which results in other countries not taking responsibility as they may be expected based on their financial standing. "This world's more fortunate and powerful countries seek to keep the problems of the poorer at arm's length. How else can one explain the disparity between the relatively generous funding for relief efforts in countries close to the frontiers of the prosperous world, and the much more parsimonious effort made for those who suffer in remoter parts of the world such as Asia or

Africa? And how else can one explain the contrast between the generosity which poor countries are expected to show, when hundreds of thousands of refugees pour across their frontiers, and the precautions taken to ensure that as few asylum seekers as possible ever reach the shores of rich countries?" (Newman, 2003, p.3). Newman, in the book "Refugees and Forced Migration," raises some thought provoking questions which brings out a diverse view of the refugees' crisis. He argues that rich countries which he refers to as the fortunate and powerful are have a tendency of maintaining minimum willingness to address challenges that maybe bedevilling the world. Further, he posits that countries in Africa and Asia are the ones on the lead when it comes to hosting refugees, yet they are the ones which are also struggling on issues of economic stability. While it is difficult to establish on why it is so, what is of interest is how these poor countries upon accepting to host the refugees are then handling the refugees. The focus of exploration is on how the everyday lives or refugees are proceeding amid various and mixed circumstances.

With the existence of international and regional frameworks aimed at taking care of refugees as well as the Ugandan refugee policy widely reported to be progressive, it is of interest to explore more on what really transpires beyond the images portrayed. "South Sudanese living in sprawling camps just across the border in northern Uganda, seeking refuge from the four-year war that has devastated their homeland. But funding gaps and organizational problems often delay or reduce their meagre rations, driving some desperate families back to the lands they fled and underscoring the struggle to cope with Africa's biggest refugee crisis in two decades" (Patinkin, 2017). It is through these assertions that we note with keen interest of the gaps in what is said of refugees in Uganda and what is of the refugees.

3.3   Forced Migration

Since time immemorial, the world has seen the continued flows of people from one country to the other for different reasons and such a process has widely been referred to as migration. However, within the concept of migration, it could either be voluntary or involuntary (forced) depending on the reasons leading to the migration. "Forced migration is "a migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes (e.g. movements of refugees and internally

displaced persons as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects)" (IOM, 2011, p.39). One of the defining elements of forced migration have been identified as the existence of coercion as an influencing factor for the mobility. Thus, forced migration is that mobility which comes upon realising that the external environment is posing a threat to one's life and usual way of living. Of the coercing factors, they have been identified either as natural or human made. Natural factors that lead to forced migration relate to disaster such as famine etc whereas on the human made it could be conflict among other factors.

The context and nature of the research has deep rooted links to the forced migration. The refugees in which formed the respondents of this thesis are refugees who were forced to migrate from South Sudan in fear of death following the breaking out of conflict. "The phenomenon of forced displacement – through violent conflict or structural deprivation – has resulted in refugees becoming a defining characteristic of the post–Cold War era and contemporary international" (Troeller, 2003). Forced migration has in the recent past become a very topical issues warranting insightful discussion and development of alternative policy to ensure that refugees live a life with dignity. The trends of forced seen to have no signs of ending in sight therefore it is only fair enough to develop knowledge around the phenomenon to ensure that in its growth there is established better wellbeing. "The number of forcibly displaced people both within countries and across borders has grown from 33.9 million in 1997 to 65.6 million in 2016" (UNHCR, 2017). Reports have it that there is a significant growth with regards to cases of forced migration and the trends in a way are creating challenges on the welfare of those who may have seen themselves migrating forcibly. "Refugees are highly vulnerable, with a vast majority either poor today or expected to be poor in the near future" (World Bank, 2018). This is a red flag on the vulnerability context of refugees upon being forced to migrate from their countries of origin where they would have having some alternatives to pursue.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.1   Methodology

Qualitative research is a research strategy that usually emphasizes words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data (Bryman, 2008, p. 380). Since I was more interested in investigating on the state of wellbeing within the refugees' community primarily from the perspectives of the refugees themselves, the research was then centred on the qualitative grounds. Considering the mission, I had and what I wanted to get out of the research, I decided to concentrate the research on qualitative research. As a strategy this ensured that I gather the perspectives of the refugees as much as I could through very open conversations to broaden my understanding on the matters. Bryman further argues that in qualitative research, the stress is on understanding the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants (Bryman, 2008, p. 380). This further gives an explanation on why centring the research on a qualitative ground was a better approach. This was because my quest was to understand the social world of the refugees with regards to their wellbeing and this could be best achieved through the exploration of their world. The research was based on an interpretivist epistemological positioning which emphasizes on understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants (Bryman, 2012, p. 380). Epistemology traditionally has been referred to the nature of knowledge and its origins, limits, and justification (Hofer and Bendixen, 2012, p. 227). The intention was to place myself in the context of refugees, to interact with them and appreciate their everyday lives as interpreted from their experiences and my own observations. The empirical data gathered for this study originated from the exploration of refugees' daily lives limited within the context of Rhino Camp Settlement. Based on what the study sought to investigate using IE was justified as it allowed me to explore the everyday doings of the refugees and connect their doing to the ruling relations governing their everyday lives.

While I had a strong grounding of the research in qualitative research, the process was different from the traditional way of partaking research in a way which is necessitated by

some means of a specific theory to give direction to the researcher's data collection. As said above, this research was inspired by the concept of Institutional Ethnography (IE), a product of Dorothy Smith's works. Institutional ethnography explores by focusing on everyday doings and their nexus to social relations organizing institutions as people participate in them and from their perspectives. People are the expert practitioners of their own lives, and the ethnographer's work is to learn from different perspectives, and to investigate how their activities are coordinated (Smith, 2005, p. 225). In full concurrence of Smith's submission that people are the expert practitioners of their own lives, it was important for me as an external interested individual to approach the topic with humility and an open mind to learn more. As such I was aiming to take the position of the underprivileged, in this case the refugees. It was my fervent view that guiding the research on a pre-existing theories and concepts would lead me into replication and consequently becoming restricted to gather more on the subject. I was inspired to gather more on the views for the people and by the people through investigating on the raw people's experiences. These would help me minimize restrictions or confines that usually come with approaching research on the grounds of specific conceptualizations and theorizations.

Institutional Ethnography opens an expanded room for total appreciation of the prevalent conditions without necessarily being confined in a certain way of thinking through theory. In Institutional Ethnography, "the researcher does not know in advance where his or her investigation will go. Directions come from the original problematic as it was brought forward in the experiences of those with whom the researcher was working at the inception of her or his study" (Smith, 2005, p. 68). In the case of this research, in as much as I knew that I want to investigate the issues of refugees' wellbeing following forced migration, I however didn't know how this is manifesting in the context of Rhino Camp Settlement. The nature and extent of wellbeing only emerged upon interviewing respondents, thus it was only after that when I got the direction of where I was going. It was only after the experiences shared by the respondents when my research started to fall in the line of what the respondents said. That is when I got to shape the research in the order of Education and Skills Development, Health care and Wellness, Employment and Income, Water and Sanitation, Shelter and Infrastructures and lastly Food Supply. These were the thematic areas that emerged based on the refugees' experiences. Choosing to follow imprints of IE as a way of doing things made me get what the respondents had to say and not what I expected to get from the respondents.

Had it been that I centred the research on a specific theory, I would have restricted both myself as a researcher as well as the respondents as to how they would share their experiences.

Dorothy Smith, in an interview with Karin Widerberg said,

> Women's standpoint, as I have interpreted it, means starting in the real world. The social can only happen here. You have to find some way to explore the social as it actually happens. Every aspect of society is something that happens. So, when I was looking for a way to approach knowledge and to consider the forms of knowledge – not as something that is in people´s heads (Widerberg, 2004, p. 2).

These were Smith's words while describing what Institutional Ethnography (IE) is, in the interview excerpts she describes it from the women stand point. However, in this research I took the standpoint of refugees a group of which is regarded underprivileged. She explicitly argues that the social happens where the people are which therefore inspired me to explore the social of the refugees from the refugees themselves. By so doing, I avoided preconceived assumptions which ae often shaped by what we hear or read where in most cases elements of bias cannot be ruled out. So, in the quest to undo the overdrive of bias, the important thing is to use the humble approach of clearing your mind as a researcher and focus on what comes from the stand point, in this case refugees. The mission was to understand the social of refugees' society and as Smith puts it, this can only be done by finding a way to explore the social as it happens. With such substance on Institutional Ethnography (IE) and how it is the best approach to understand the aspects of society from the perspective of the owners of the societal standing, I chose to premise the study on the shoulders of it.

Institutional ethnography (IE) is an innovative approach to research that requires a significant shift in researchers' ordinary habits of thinking (Rankin, 2017). A clear distinction of Institutional Ethnography from the conventional points of departure in research is its clear commitment in bringing a new and different habit of approaching the issue of gathering data. "Institutional ethnography (IE) is a method of social inquiry that sets out to explore and analyse how people's daily activities are "hooked up" into institutional arrangements and ruling relations. Using the everyday life of people and their experiences as points of departure, the overall goal is to trace how these experiences are linked to trans local processes" (Norstedt & Breimo, 2016). The primary focus in IE is to give priority and

supremacy on people and their experiences as a determination of the direction in which a study will take. Institutional Ethnography as an approach doesn't seek to impose thoughts or rather seek to the behaviour of informants with regards to the way they respond to interviews as they are posed to them.

In summarising the IE, Rawman and Littlefield argued that it is an approach "concerned with articulating an inclusive sociology that goes beyond looking *at* a particular group of people from the detached viewpoint of the researcher, this is a method of inquiry *for* people, incorporating the expert's research and language into everyday experience to examine social relations and institutions" (Rawman & Littlefield, 2018). The view of having a predetermined theory as a point of departure contributes immensely in detaching the researcher from the everyday experiences of those who experience a the social under study. I went into the field as a researcher who is not a refugee but just a simple person interested in exploring about refugee life worlds. Thus, it is fair enough to say I was someone detached from the realities prevalent in the context hence the only way I could get attached to the subject matter was through the raw experiences of the refugees. In order to make untainted explorations, I had to inquire, and a genuine inquiry would only rely on the study's ability to be humble enough and open room for new knowledge.

"The analysis begins in experience and returns to it, having explicated how the experience came to happen as it did" (Campbell, 1998, p. 56). Campbell argues that IE is made up of a cycle which allows it to start and end at the experiences of the people making up the respondents. With a keen interest in learning about the wellbeing of refugees, to know how it came to be and what can be done to address challenges is any, a humble approach to prioritize the experiences was the better way to gather data. Refugees were able to share their circumstances as much as they could and in that I would locate the role of ruling relations and how they affect refugees' doings and condition.

Janet Rankin, in her article "Conducting Analysis in Institutional Ethnography: Analytical Work Prior to Commencing Data Collection" posits that;

All research approaches require a terminology that communicates the philosophical paradigm and conceptual framework of the approach… Here, I provide a necessarily brief overview of three technical terms that, in my view, are foundational to IE and maybe key to avoiding taking a wrong turn during analysis. The terms I highlight are (1) standpoint, (2) ruling relations, and (3) problematic (Rankin, 2017, p. 2).

As alluded to from the beginning that the research was largely inspired by Institutional Ethnography I will therefore in the following relate the research to the key terminology central to IE which Rankin identifies as standpoint, ruling relations and problematic. I will take this part of the thesis to outline how the research fitted in IE based on the terminologies. Furthermore, I will match these terminologies to the real practicalities of the research as they emerged.

4.2   Standpoint

An IE researcher is advised to adopt a standpoint—a stance that has an empirical location, where a group of people are positioned, within a complex regime of institutions and governance that is the practices that construct the "regime" are the ultimate focus of the research (Rankin, 2017, p. 2). Armed with the understanding that a researcher in Institutional Ethnography must adopt a standpoint, I therefore adopted a stand point for the research, in this case that of refugees. Loosely explaining, Rankin defines a standpoint as a as a stance inclusive of a location, group of people and institutions with a role of regulation or coordination. It is against this background that I will highlight how this research fitted within the aspect of standpoint. To start with, this research had a group of people (refugees) and an empirical location (Rhino Camp Settlement). These are subject to the broad governance of institutions such as Uganda's Office of the Prime Minister, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees among other non-governmental organisations.

"Refugees are people who have to leave their countries and cannot go back there because they do not feel safe. This may be because of war or because they have been hurt or treated badly by others" (UNHCR, 2018). A refugee is basically a person who has been forced to flee from his or her country and cannot return there easily. The fleeing can be attributed to various

factors with war included and in the context of this study the respondents pointed out war as the cause of their forced migration.

Protection responsibilities have remained at the core of UNHCR's work over the years. "These include continuing efforts to promote and extend the international legal framework, to develop and strengthen asylum systems, to improve protection standards, to seek durable solutions, and many other activities designed to ensure the safety and well-being of refugees" (UNHCR, 2014). A close look at the responsibilities of UNHCR, it is notable that it is an institution whose involvement cannot be done away with in the exploration of any subject that involves refugees. It was in the interest of this research to establish how its role specifically its decisions have a bearing on the everyday happenings in the settlement. Beyond these two institutions, OPM and UNHCR it is important to highlight that within the settlement there are also over forty (40) other non-governmental organisations. They are involved in various interventions targeted to the refugees and these interventions that they conduct also have a bearing on the experiences of the refugees. Settlements also have schools, health care centres which are also institutions ought not to be ignored as they equally have a bearing on the everyday life of the refugees. Thus, all these factors combined together bring out the stand point in which I adopted for this research.

4.3   Ruling Relations

They refer to particular practices that "activate" a social world of things happening among people. They are empirical and can be ethnographically described. Ruling relations are social relations that organize work from afar. Although ruling relations are generated at a distance from the "standpoint," they are often "activated" by people in a local setting. Ruling relations shape how work being carried out at the standpoint must proceed and how that work will be represented. Ruling relations coordinate what people know about what is happening—even if that knowledge does not quite match what is known from being there. Ruling relations activate practices of knowledge that subsume how a problem is known about and experienced from the standpoint location (Rankin, 2017, p. 3). In this instance, Rankin writes substantially on ruling relations and what it means in Institutional Ethnography. From the above assertions, we can deduce the importance of linking the ruling relations to the broader research. Ruling

relations are a significant component because a researcher can attribute people's doings to them for they are the chief determinants of what happens at the standpoint.

It is equally significant to emphasize on the major highlight of ruling relations which notes that they are the shapers of what happens at the standpoint. So, putting things into context, ruling relations relate to the instructions given externally but instructions which have a bearing on the social world of refugees in the settlement. In a nutshell and for an easier comprehension, ruling relations refer to those things which shape the everyday life of refugees. In the preceding paragraphs, I have talked about a standpoint, which I unpacked as a blend of the people and organisations or structures making up a subject matter. "The purpose of IE is to find traces of ruling relations within the descriptions of everyday work" (Rankin, 2017, p. 3). It is palpable that the task that was before me was to, through the research to identify the ruling relations and relate them to the everyday lives of refugees. I am elated to reveal through this study specifically the chapter capturing empirical data identifies the existing ruling relations and how this is influencing the social order in the settlement.

According to Dorothy Smith as quoted by Marie Campbell's article she said she was motivated to employ Institutional Ethnography because it was the only way to discover something about how the determinations of your particular space would be seen as arising as aspects of a social and economic process, of social relations outside it (Campbell, 2003, p. 5). The argument she places here speaks volumes with regards to the significance of ruling relations as one of the crucial terminologies in the approach. Through the understanding of ruling relations, one will be ably presented with an opportunity to explore more and deeper on the manifestation and sources of social challenges or opportunities. The uniqueness of IE is in its ability to enable the researcher to fully relate with the prevalent circumstances and be able to appreciate why something is happening in the way it is happening. In this case under study, what the refugees are subjected to is not entirely a matter of their creation. Instead their actions are a response to the conditions that have been made available by some institutions somewhere.

In the interest of contextualising the approach to practicality, I will at this stage, direct attention to ZOA, one of the many organisations currently operating in Rhino Camp Settlement. In a file which describes what they do in Uganda, they say;

> ZOA provided WASH support through water trucking, the construction of communal latrines and bath shelters and the installation of rainwater harvesting tanks. We also provided basic education support to both refugees and host communities, through permanent teacher housing, school feeding, school libraries, the provision of 300 go-to-school packages to extremely vulnerable pupils and 750 solar lights to school children and teachers (ZOA, 2018).

This is a lucid delivery of what the organisation is basically doing and what it has achieved in the past through their responsive intervention to the ongoing refugee crisis. From an Institutional Ethnography point of view, these achievements and efforts go a long way in outlining ruling relations in all spheres in line to the intervention sectors which the organisation major on. Briefly, the decision as to who gets water, how and what time from the water trucking intervention illustrates ruling relations more precisely as to how refugees are then made to do in response to the frequency of water trucking.

4.4   Problematic

Still speaking of the key terminologies that make up Institutional Ethnography, there is one other terminology which is known as problematic. Problematic formulation process in IE is explicitly different from other conceptual/theoretical approaches in research. In the commencement of this chapter I finely distinguished the fundamental differences between Institutional Ethnography and the mainstream methodologies. While mainstream sociology formulates a problem theoretically, in IE the researcher begins from the actualities hence the reason why we pride it as a new mode of social inquiry. "It doesn't begin in theory but in the actualities of people's lives with focus of investigation that comes from how they participate in or are hooked up into institutional relations. This is what is called the problematic of a given study. It translates the more general notion of the everyday world as problematic" (Smith, 2005, p. 207). Here Smith arms us with more knowledge in that problematic in the context of IE. It should be noted that problematic formulation is closely related to the ruling

relations. What ruling relations are capable of doing and not doing determines the problematic.

Uganda has unique laws and regulations that promote the safety and wellbeing of refugees. The Refugee Act of 2006 stipulates that refugees have the right to free movement and work, to establish businesses, and to access public services like health care (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2017). Having already been informed about somehow niceness of the refugee laws and regulations in Uganda, it was important to formulate problematic from the refugee perspectives as they experience them. Contrary to relying on what I was informed from readings which would lead me to duplication of what has already been said before. The interest of Institutional Ethnography goes beyond just the challenges as experienced but rather focuses on why the experiences are happening. Moreover, it seeks to highlight how certain experiences have made the refugees to adjust accordingly. Thus, the problematic in Institutional Ethnography seeks to explore the extent in which an external hand is involved in the every day and night happenings in the refugee settlement.

For example, if the Uganda refugee laws and regulations guarantees access to public services to refugees as the case is. However, when such guarantees are not being effectively met, the role of IE will then be to explore more on why the accesses are not being guaranteed as expected. In this case IE may expose the inconsistency of legislation for instance amid health care insufficiency organisations meant to provide health care in the settlement have their story to tell. They attribute shortage of medication to the government law which is cumbersome and restrictive to importation of medicine. The scenario highlight challenges thus experiences of the refugees but beyond that IE, seeks to identify the systems in place that contribute to the challenge.

4.5   Significance of Texts

From the preceding submissions, it is emergent that in using Institutional Ethnography, the intention is to link what happens on the local to what happens outside. It is the ability of IE to outline how something done somewhere has an impact to the local people. Therefore, to

complete such a puzzle, it is of paramount importance to read and have an appreciation of some texts related to the specific social world under exploration. "Another feature of IE is how texts are understood to coordinate people's activities. With this focus, IE strives to find and describe social processes that have "generalizing effects" (DeVault & McCoy, 2006, p.18). Here the duo argues that in Institutional Ethnography the importance of texts cannot be overlooked. It is in the very texts whereby upon reading one can understand and recognize the nexus between the people's daily activities and what is done by some governing institutions involved. In Rhino Camp settlement, refugees are given small plots of land to settle upon arrival, some refugees feel it is not enough to cater for what they have in mind viz constructing houses and cultivating at the same time. Though such concerns are prevalent among the refugees, one will only realize that it's a hard to change condition because it is a policy issue. To understand this one will have to refer to texts where this is enshrined, texts such as refugee regulations, policy frameworks among other enlightening documents and files. So, this leaves us at a position of appreciating that texts have a very significant role in Institutional Ethnography for it provides a sound basis for identifying ruling relations as well as analysis in any form of research inspired by Institutional Ethnography.

4.6   Data Collection

4.6.1   Unstructured Interviews

In qualitative interviewing, there is much greater interest in the interviewee's point of view; in quantitative research, the interview reflects the researcher's concerns (Bryman, 2012, p. 470). It is against this background that I used Interviews as one of the data collection tools because, as indicated from the onset, sought to investigate the state of refugees' wellbeing. Therefore, to make this possible it was crucial to tap from the perspective of the refugees and their experiences thus interviews were a helpful tool. The refugees' perspective regarding the nature, source and possible solutions to the deprivation at hand could best gathered from conversations with the refugees and the interviews were very helpful in opening conversations. The interviews were unstructured so as to allow in-depth and expanded conversations and that enabled me to have room for follow up questions based on initial submissions.

4.6.2   Focus Group Discussions

In the quest to get a deeper understanding of the subject that was under investigation and to provoke debate on how the refugees feel about their situation, I employed focus group discussions as another way to collect data. "In a normal individual interview, the interviewee is often asked about his or her reasons for holding a view, but the focus group approach offers the opportunity of allowing people to probe each other's reasons for holding a certain view" (Bryman, 2012, p. 503). Wellbeing concerns people who are not homogenous hence I felt it was crucial to partake an immense probe on their thoughts. I did this to gather more information related to the investigation as much as possible and get to appreciate how certain perspectives are upheld. Focus group discussions provided an opportune platform to gather different perspective as participants would contest each other's opinion.

4.6.3   Participant Observation

I also made use of participant observation in carrying out the research and this will be complementary to the other data collection tools. During my entire period of stay, I was hosted by ZOA as an intern. Such an arrangement gave me the opportunity to participate in the organisation's various field activities. I would take these platforms to initiate some participant observations and capture some data useful and necessary for the study.

4.7   Sampling

"In much the same way that, in quantitative research, the discussion of sampling revolves around probability sampling, discussions of sampling in qualitative research tend to revolve around the notion of purposive sampling" (Bryman, 2012). As alluded to earlier on, this research was hinged on a qualitative methodological approach therefore to establish a sample for the research I used purposive sampling. Under purposive sampling, there are several prominent sub types but for this, I will make use of snowball sampling. "Snowball sampling refers to a technique in which the researcher samples initially a small group of people relevant to the research questions, and these sampled participants propose other participants who have had the experience or characteristics relevant to the research" (Bryman, 2012). In this regard, I would seek guidance from an interviewee to direct me to any other person fitting with the

category of my respondents. This appeared to be an easy way to proceed in reaching to respondents because the people in the settlement would know each other better than I would do.

4.8   Ethical considerations

In carrying out research it is always important to constantly uphold ethics in field work. Ethic can be described as "a system of principles which can critically change previous considerations about choices and actions. It is said that ethics is the branch of philosophy which deals with the dynamics of decision making concerning what is right and wrong" (Fouka & Mantzorou, 2011, p. 4). I carried the same principle in my field work and took heed to what is right and that which is considered wrong. I exercised a great zeal of confidentiality in carrying out my interviews. In the same vein I also took great consideration of consent from my respondents before proceeding with interviews. Consent should be given freely (voluntary), subjects should understand what is being asked of them (Connelly, 2014, p.54). I made sure that I explained the purpose and nature of the research to my respondents to ensure that they comprehend what I was working on. After that I would ask for permission from my respondents if they felt comfortable to be interviewed. My proceeding was based on getting a go ahead from the respondent, in cases where a respondent expressed to be uncomfortable then I would not carry out the interview. While I also wished to record audios for later transcription, in most cases I would not be given the permission. I would do away with the recording because proceeding was unethical, and it would be against the principle of upholding confidentiality. "Identity should not be revealed, unless individuals choose to be identified; that is, participants' names should be changed, and precise details that could make a setting or participant identifiable should not be given" (Flewitt, 2005, p. 558). In further exhibition of my commitment in exhibiting ethics I didn't capture the respondents name in the interviews and those who didn.t prefer recordings I also didn't. Moreover, knowing that the refugees are a sensitive constituency, I took great consideration of their concerns during the research.

4.9   Gaining Access

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) highlight that in research there are areas that are considered or fall under 'formal', 'private' settings where boundaries are clearly marked and are not easily penetrated because they may be policed by 'gatekeepers' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 49). Rhino Camp Refugee Settlement is one such area where there are gatekeepers with a responsibility to allow or disallow Researchers. Permission is granted by the Office of the Prime Minister which is often not easy to get for an individual up for research work. "In many ways, gaining access is a thoroughly practical matter. As we shall see, it involves drawing on the intra- and inter-personal resources and strategies that we all tend to develop in dealing with everyday life" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 41). The practicality of gaining access was also evident in my research. Having learnt of the difficulties of getting access into the settlement, I had to engage aid organisations operating in the settlement to solicit access on my behalf. This is evidence of employing inter-personal resources and strategies as argued by Hammersley and Atkinson. I was helped by ZOA an international NGO which hosted me for the entire period of my stay. I would also join them in their frequent various field visits where I would also take as an opportunity for participant observation. It is my understanding that my background (race and age) played a significant role in relative easing my gaining access from the respondents. As an African who was carrying a research involving fellow Africans, it was natural that I would know what is generally acceptable and unacceptable in interacting with local communities. In an African to African interaction, once consent was sought, I felt respondents fairly felt comfortable in sharing information with me in honesty as they would take me as one of their own. Even after the interviews they still had the impulse to further help me. They also didn't expect a lot from me which I feel they would not have naturally done with other researchers coming outside the African region. My age also gave me a competitive advantage with regards to interaction with respondents. I am a young man whereas the research drew respondents from the age group of young adults hence I would relate more with the respondents as fellow peers.

4.10   Use of Interpreter

The study involved interviewees from South Sudan and me as a Zimbabwean, challenges in language were inevitable. I am not proficient in the South Sudanese languages neither where

the respondents proficient in my vernacular language hence the alternative was to use English but again not all the respondents were proficient in it thus the solution was to use an interpreter. "In order to allow people whose first language is not English to fully express themselves, consideration should be given to the use of an interpreter to manage the communicative exchange between researcher and participants" (Murray & Wynne, 2001, p. 5). I got assistance from refugees who were willing to do the interpretation for me as I carried out my interviews with the respondents. However, I would like to underscore that the use of an interpreter was not that effective in all cases. In some case the interpreter would appear to be responding on behalf of the respondent considering that they are living in the same community, so the interpreter will be equally knowledgeable of the situation. For that reason, there are some few cases when the interpreter may be tempted to impose his/her opinion ahead of the respondent's perspective, this may bring a biased response.

CHAPTER FIVE: EMPIRICAL DATA

5.1   Introduction

The empirical data catered for in this chapter are reflective of the popular sentiments emerging from the refugee experiences as they shared them. Therefore, in this chapter I will focus on giving an account of what I established from the refugees' perspective combined with some observations made by the researcher. The data was gathered from all the six zones that are found in the settlement. As highlighted from the beginning, the concept of wellbeing is very complex and could involve a lot of variables, however for the purposes of this research there six themes presented based on what came out regularly. The focus areas are Education and Skills Development, Health care and Wellness, Employment and Income, Water and Sanitation, Shelter and Infrastructure and lastly Food Supply. The data may not be exhaustive of all the bits and pieces of these subjects, but the presentation is based on the dominant factors from the refugees' perspectives. The tables below are a summarised illustration of composition of the respondents.

Respondents' Gender divide

Total	Description	Frequency
51	Female	30
	Male	21

Respondents' Age divide

Total	Description	Frequency
51	18 - 20	23
	21 - 25	18
	26 - 30	6
	31 - 35	4

Others

Focus Group Discussions	4
NGOs	4
Office of the Prime Minister	1

UNHCR	1
School Authorities	1

5.2   EDUCATION AND SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

"A wide variety of studies have investigated the relationship between education and well-being. Some studies identify a positive relationship between education and well-being, while others find that middle-level education is related to the highest levels of well-being" (Dolan et al, 2008). In this instance, the authors are further buttressing on the nexus between education and wellbeing, and such a nexus is irreplaceable. One is justified to conclusively say that the more educated one gets, the higher are the chances for the person to get empowered thus aiding positively to the fulfilment of wellbeing. One of the respondents in this research made some crucial submissions regarding education, the respondent from Ocea stated that *life is hard but we as the youths, education the key thing to follow for a brighter future* (19-year-old Respondent). While the importance of education cannot be overemphasized, the reality surrounding the lives of refugees show that education has become a scarce commodity with little being done by the relevant authorities to support education in refugee camps. The barriers to accessing education as established are evident through long distance to the nearest schools specifically the secondary schools which are only two (2) the entire refugee settlement with an estimated population of 123 000 inhabitants. The required tuition fees for secondary schools is exorbitant to many as such many testify that they choose to drop out since they cannot afford to pay for the required amount. The other factors, specifically impacting on the quality of education are the limited facilities as well an overwhelming number of pupils which go beyond the capacity of both structures and staff.

5.2.1   Distance to school a barrier to access of Education

While I conducted this research in Rhino Camp Refugee Settlement, I gathered that in the entire refugee settlement, there are only two secondary schools, these are under the stewardship of UNHCR. The schools are namely Rhino Camp High School and Ofua High School. In an interview with a 34-year-old male respondent from Katiku III cluster in Ocea

Zone, stated that *secondary schools are scarce, we ran away from South Sudan for safety but even now our sisters are not safe in search of education*. Upon further enquiry on how the search of education posed a threat on safety he clarified that the schools are extremely far that some must walk approximately 15 kilometres per day to go to school. In that regard he stated that they had resorted to sending them to rent houses nearer to the schools which he claims is worrying as they are staying alone hence fearing that anything may happen to them. He also highlighted that the idea of sending family members to stay close to the schools appears to be the most reasonable to alleviate the burden of daily ling journeys. He however acknowledged that it is a decision which comes with an enormous burden as it will demand financial commitments for rentals. From the refugees' perspective, outside the already constraint demands of tuition fees in a situation where the majority have absolutely nothing as source of income and extra cost becomes too demanding. To those who cannot not afford payments for rentals, they are left with an option to of walking the long distance while some can't handle both and stay out of school. The long distance was also described as a threat to safety for the school attendees, especially the young women who are believed to be unable to defend themselves in times of danger. So, when families send their sisters to rent close to the schools, the do it with a heavy heart fearing that anything may happen to them while they are way. The sentiments that young women cannot defend themselves were further buttressed by an authority from Rhino Camp High School who submitted that, *we received a donation for one hostel, it was initially meant for girls, but we later gave it to boys. Since we do not have enough staff, we could not get teachers to stay with them to care but they boys can handle*.

While the settlement only has two recognized secondary schools, open to both refugees and the host population, the situation becomes even worse when we talk of tertiary institutions. There are only a two vocational training centres throughout the settlement which have a limited enrolment per each intake with no colleges and universities in sight. *I am undertaking a diploma in Agricultural Economics, but it is a real struggle to achieve this. The fees required is too much and every time when I go for my block I am partying with huge sums of money for transport reach to the college. It is very far from here, I need two buses plus food and accommodation* (28-year-old female respondent). This place more evidence on how distance is a barrier to the smooth access to formal education for the refugees especially high school and tertiary education. The situation is better on primary education as there a lot of primary schools as compared to secondary schools, according to the local OPM personnel the settlement has seventeen recognized primary schools.

5.2.2 Tuition fees beyond the affordability of many

Individual access to education, specifically secondary education has also been hugely impacted upon by the existence of exorbitant tuition fees as a requirement, something that has kept many out of school. Both secondary schools in Rhino Camp Settlement require students to pay school fees which according to some of the authorities I interacted with can reach up to 210 000 Ugandan Shillings (Approximately US$58.00) per each term. Based on the refugees' living conditions where many confess to barely have any other source of apart from selling part of their food rations, the fees are extremely high. The irony of the matter is that for those refugees who have opted to receive cash instead of food rations, they reportedly get 27 000 Ugandan Shillings (Approximately US$7.00) per month. This shows that most of the refugees are surviving with insufficient money to cater for their needs in this regard paying for school fees when one wishes to go to school becomes least of the priorities.

Among the refugees who testified that they dropped out of school, most of them cited that in as much as they wish to further their studies, it is very much impossible as they do not have any source of income to raise money for tuition fees. One of the respondents I interviewed had this to say, *education is limited to those who can afford of which in this situation almost everyone here doesn't afford* (23-year-old male respondent). This testimony bears it all on how forced migration has posed a threat on wellbeing as many have been plunged into a crisis of staying out of school due to circumstances they cannot address based on their current standing as refugees. I had a conversation with one of the organisations operating in the education sector where I enquired on why they require tuition fees from refugees knowing very well that the majority may be struggling to make ends meet and the response was that *at secondary level, the demands are high therefore there is need for some running costs*. This appear to be a justifiable reason to require some tuition fees, but I made a further inquiry on why the same organisation and other organisations cannot commit in helping to meet the running costs thereby minimizing the burden. The enquiry was met with a response that they are offering some merit-based scholarships and at the time they were 255 only, this is a paltry number in relation to the total population of refugees both enrolled and those supposed to be in school. However, the further argument was that *the resource envelope is too small, so it cannot cater for all refugees,* the official stated.

I interviewed several youths who indicated that they were in school while in South Sudan but when war broke out they had to run for their dear lives but upon arrival in Rhino Camp Settlement the dream to be in school has since been shattered. They acknowledge that their dream has been shattered by their incapacity and wish that some humanitarian organisation could assist with scholarships for them to be in school. *I appeal to the responsible offices to consider making secondary school education free for us refugees or at least helping us with some scholarships for us to be in school* (18-year-old male responded from Tika). Refugees have some aspirations that they hope could be done for them to be able to get to be accessing education. "Investing in secondary education helps bring refugee youths closer to their dreams..." (Ghelli, 2016). Other writers also underscore the importance of education as a tool for the restoration of hope and bringing youths closer to their dreams and also argue that the educated youths will remain prodigious assets for both Uganda and South Sudan.

5.2.3   Limited resources - a threat to Education

As indicated earlier, there are only two recognised secondary schools in the entire Rhino Camp settlement this therefore mean that demand is high from those who afford through compromization to meet the stipulated tuition fees. This is reportedly leading to high influx of enrolment compromising the limited capacity of the schools and resources, in this case the reality being that the enrolment goes beyond the handling capacity of schools. I visited Rhino Camp High School one of the week days and I observed that students were squashed in the classrooms which was enough evidence that the classrooms are not sufficient to match the enrolment. The school authorities noted that they cannot bar willing and affording students from enrolling because doing that is not an option since there are no alternative schools for them to attend to hence the only option is to take every student willing.

A collage showing part of the three (3) class room blocks at Rhino Camp High School.
Photo: Tererai Obey Sithole (2018).

The school only has three classroom blocks with an enrolment of 456 students as at December 2017, the number increased with the start of a new academic year 2018, but I could not get the new statistics as consolidation was ongoing during the time of my research. On the other hand, far from the congested classrooms, the teacher to pupil ratio is extremely high, for example using the 2017 statistics at Rhino Camp High School, one teacher would at some point teach 190 students. According to the authorities at the school, they acknowledge all these challenges and have made efforts to get help from different organisations to address them, but the response has been that *secondary education is not part of their programme*. The school authorities acknowledged that the challenges affecting secondary education may live a little longer as more efforts are being directed to primary education neglecting secondary education.
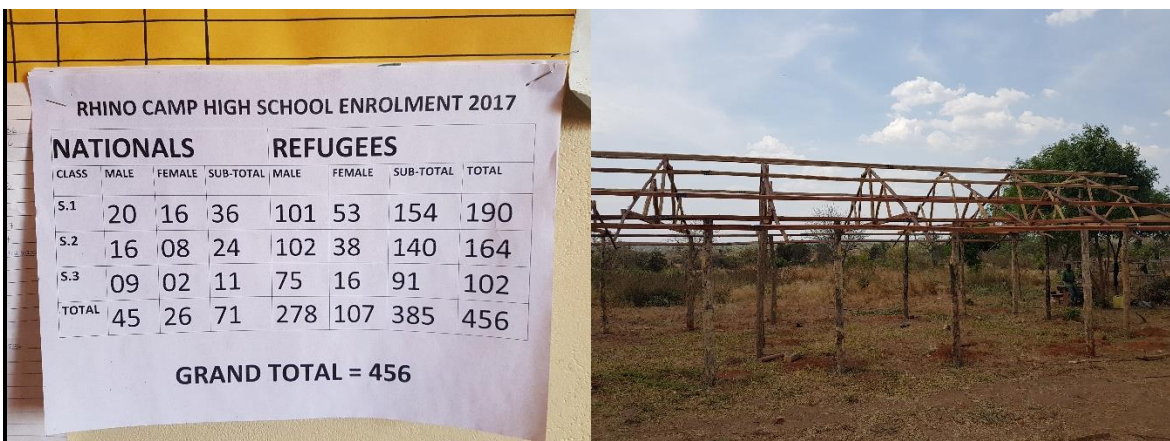
The left image illustrating the enrolment as at 2017 and right it shows an additional classroom block under construction. Photo: Tererai Obey Sithole (2018)

5.2.4 Skills Training a bridge for the Education Gap

In the previous sections I have highlighted how the wellbeing of the young adults has been affected by the challenges around the access to the conventional methods of education at secondary level. In such circumstance, many youths have found comfort in getting skills training through interventions of a few organisations working in the settlement and a couple of them who got the trainings testified excitement which is a good sign. The skills training initiative was acknowledged by many refugees as a noble initiative which is believed to have the potential to yield self-reliance thereby aiding to the alleviation of the challenges pinned on wellbeing. The settlement has some established vocational training centres targeting the youths to take up some skills training in various areas which they can use for survival upon graduating. Through my visit at Siripi Youth Skills Training Centre, I learnt that the centre is offering trainings in five different fields namely Bricklaying and Concrete Practice, Carpentry and Joinery, Metal Fabricator and Welding, Tailoring and Garment Cutting as well as Hotel Management and Catering. Apart from this rather intensive training at the centre, other organisations are intervening with short trainings in similar or different skills for example soap making being one of them. I established that the initial arrangement is that upon completion, the graduates will be given start up kits to sustain themselves. Others in the past have received start up kits however others still lament that they were promised yet they have not yet been given after months of completion.

The failure by humanitarian organisations to issue start up kits emerged as one of the major cause of concern on the wellbeing of the refugees. The refugees argued form the backdrop of saying some of the skills they are trained in become redundant when they stay for long without putting them into work. Their line argument was that, having come from a background them having been displaced from their traditional way of getting things done, they still struggle to cope easily hence they still expected maximum support from the humanitarian organisations. A 20-year-old woman in Siripi shared her story that she had completed her training six months ago in Tailoring and Garment Cutting but she was yet to receive her start up kit and that was worrying her a lot. On a similar case another 26-year-old woman from Ocea also lamented on that she had been trained in soap making but she had not been given the start-up kits as promised and feared that the skills may get redundant in the absence of practice. For some who had graduated from the course and got their start up kits, the concern was on Market availability for their products, they argued that they are skilled,

but they have not been able to get market for their products. *I am trained in tailoring, I specialise in bed sheets, but the unfortunate thing is that I don't have customers in this area. I just have to wait for a person to place an order first then I do it for the person. This doesn't happen frequently though, even when it happens I ask them to bring their own material* (28-year-old female respondent). Every skill requires a consumer something hence this speaks largely on the concerns raised by the youths failing to get market within the vicinity for their skills. According to ReHoPE, one of the goals is to "deliver sustainable livelihoods based on modernized agricultural practices and improved market linkages market-driven technical skills and small-scale enterprise" (Government of Uganda, 2018). These are the aspirations of Uganda as captured in the Ugandan government's framework, but beyond that it is also something that the youth are excited about from their sentiments, they feel it is an opportunity to fill the gap of failed access to secondary education and can resuscitate lost hopes.
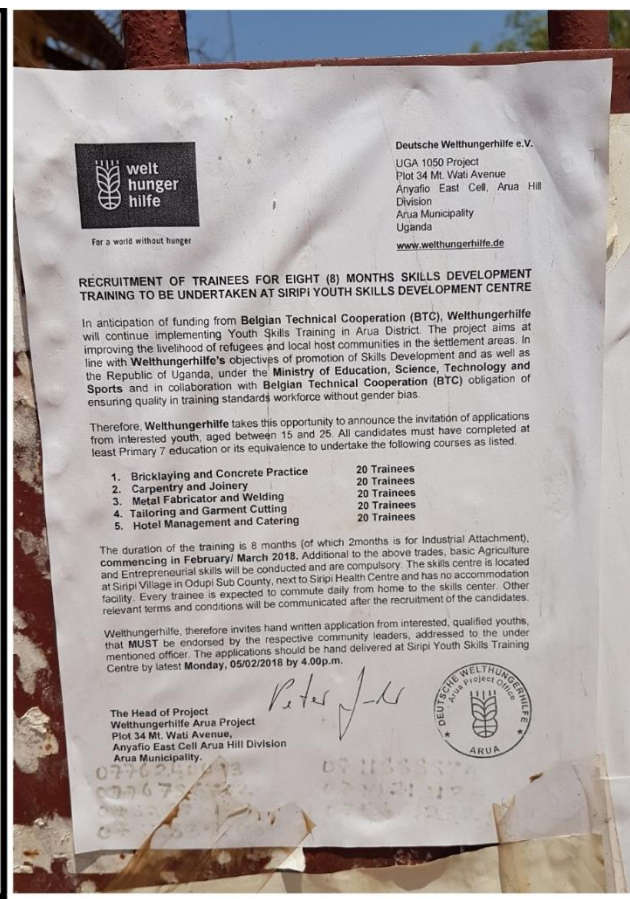
Left, a billboard showing direction to one of the vocational training centres and right an advert for enrolment for the March 2018 intake. **Photo: Tererai Obey Sithole (2018).**

5.3   HEALTH CARE AND WELLNESS

Most of the refugees I conversed with during the period of my stay in Rhino Camp Settlement indicated explicitly that access to proper health facilities is a massive challenge. The concerns included, just like education, long distance to the nearest health centre, limited supply medication, limited number of personnel as well as language barriers with the staffers at the health centres. "Health interventions have also been complicated by the time-consuming nature of regular importation procedures for medical supplies. For two months this year, MSF was unable to offer safe deliveries, or treat eye and skin diseases, two common morbidities in the settlements, because of the lengthy bureaucratic requirements for importing medical supplies" (MSF, 2017). This report from MSF carries a crucial point which confirms the inherent challenge of health delivery, specifically the supply of sufficient and useful medication, this also provides with a possible explanation on why the challenge is in existence. As it is put, it is revealed that the cumbersome process surrounding the importation of medication is the chief contributor of the challenge. As it may, the reality is that the ordinary refugees are the ones hit the hardest by the importation procedures, something which could be disturbing because the victims are not necessarily the creators of the problems.

5.3.1   Insufficient medication in health centres

There was a popular sentiment amongst the respondents who participated in this research that while the health centres are there, they are symbolic as they are not meeting the needs of the sick as expected. One of the respondents I spoke to in Katiku, in his shared sentiments said *Health here is not adequate*, *the health centres have more of first aid ability and for bigger things we are referred further to bigger hospitals where we are made to pay huge sums of money* (34-year-old male respondent). On a separate interview, another respondent from Ocea C had this to say, *the health here is not good, medicine is not readily available, usually when people go to Ocea Health Centre, they are always referred to Arua for treatment of bigger complications*. The respondent further said *we do not have mosquito nets and malaria cases are gradually increasing* (19-years-old female respondent).

The combination of sentiments submitted by the refugees indicate that the wellbeing of refugees is under threat attributed to the confirmed limited access to proper treatment within the vicinity. This is a typical case which leads to people with sicknesses ending up taking the not so good option of living with their ailments, harbouring a bigger risk to their health upon failing to meet the financial commitments required to get treatment at the bigger hospitals where they are often referred. I received a significant number of cases of people living with Hepatitis B without getting treatment upon failing to raise the approximate 90 000 Ugandan Shillings (US$ 25.00) required for the treatment at Arua Referral Hospital. This is reportedly due to that the local Ocea Health Centre does not provide treatment for such cases hence patients are often referred further. One of the female respondent aged 21 whom I spoke to in Siripi said, *my brother has Hepatitis B and requires money to be treated, money which we don't have. At the local health centre, they say they don't have treatment for the sickness.* Beyond the stipulated cost once referred to Arua hospital for further treatment, respondents noted that transport costs are also a contributing factor in barring one from getting treatment. From Rhino Camp Settlement to Arua, the distance is approximately 60 kilometres which means the mission to go by foot is impossible thus there is need for transport which is also costly beyond the affordability of many. During my period of this research, it costed 10 000 Ugandan Shillings (approximately US$ 4.00) from Rhino Camp Settlement to Arua town, which would make it 20 000 Ugandan Shillings (approximately US$ 8.00) with the return trip. Based on their financial standing, the respondents noted that having this high transport cost, on top of the equally high treatment cost lead to many just surrendering the bid to get treatment, an indication of how refugees' health is at stake.

Humanitarian organisations working in the provision of health in the settlement acknowledge the challenge in health provision specifically of the medical supplies but in their acknowledgement, they cite the government as an incubator of the problems. They state that through its regulations on importation, there are delays caused on delivery of the required medicine. On other reflections which are ought not to be ignored, some respondents noted language as another contributing factor to the challenges of access to health. They argue that most of the personnel working at the health centres do not speak the respective South Sudanese languages hence when they seek attention it becomes so difficult for them to express themselves in a way they are understood.

5.3.2 Walking several kilometres in a bid to access treatment

The health centres within the locality are not that plentiful to talk about, there is a countable number of them which means that to some the distance is long and for the need of treatment, they embark on a long walk to the nearest health centre. "Before the health centre was set up, all the people in Ofua village used to seek services at Ocea Health Centre III, a government-run facility. Being the only health centre serving several villages, it received many patients and was quite far from most homes" (Nabanoba, 2017). This is an extract from a publication shared by Save the Children, it is expressive on the situation regarding the sparsely located health centres which leave refugees to walk long distances in search of treatment. Resultant of these long distances many have from time to time chosen to keep the illnesses in avoidance of embarking on these long journeys. *The health centre is very far from us, we walk about 10 kilometres to the centre, sometimes if one gets sick at night, we are forced to wait until tomorrow because we cannot walk in the dark for such a long distance* (29-year-old male respondent from Katiku). This paint a clear yet bleak picture of some of the things that the refugees are subjected to concerning the health grounds. To them, the option of keeping a sick relative at home is not the best but considering the circumstances surrounding the state of health care viz distance, they are taking the choice as one of the normal options.

5.3.3 Idleness and Stress

Most youths are out of school both male and female due to the expensive nature of secondary education, missing results among other factors. On missing results, it relates to those who just fled in the thick of conflict in South Sudan therefore they had to leave everything behind. They cannot provide evidence of having reached a certain level of education to be considered for enrolment in Uganda. This has led to many youths becoming idle and staying home all day through out. Confessions of being stressed is one other thing that came out from the respondents, so many would highlight that they are leading a life full of stress because they feel they cannot help themselves in a situation that is bad to them. Some have seen their close relatives being killed, others have been abused both back home and along the way and they did not get adequate counselling upon arrival, so such traumatic experiences will always impact on one thoughts and wellness. There are claims that the situation has been made worse

by the state of hopelessness which tend to engulf many considering the immense challenges confronting them with limited capacity at their disposal to change the situation.

A banner hung under a tree used by the youths as a meeting centre for their activities, this is in Wanyange. **Photo: Tererai Obey Sithole (2018)**

Many youths have sought to use arts and sport as a panacea to the challenges that are in their midst. This is happening in very organised arrangements being spearheaded by the refugee youths themselves. I had an opportunity to have a focus group discussion with the members of the Refugees Active Youth Association (RAYA) at their station in Wanyange village, Odobu zone. The discussion armed me with a solid background on the motivation behind the whole initiative and what makes them united. They informed me that the fact that most of them are out of school and not employed, they therefore don't have other things to do hence they found it noble to find something to occupy themselves with. They argue that by doing so they will at the same time taking time to contribute in shaping their community to the positive through counselling, arts and sports. In the association's chairperson words, he told me that the difficult situation they are going through in the settlement may lead many young people to think of going back to South Sudan and join the conflict. The argument being that they feel life in South Sudan is better apart from war they used to go to school, get involved in entrepreneurship to earn some money as well as get decent meals and housing opportunities which he cites are missing in the settlement. They further argue that partaking in sports and

arts by the youths go a long way in helping them to eliminate stressful thoughts as they will get something to occupy them.

While arts and sports has been regarded as a haven to eliminate stress among the youths, religion has also taken a role in helping people to loosen their burdens. *I left my parents in South Sudan and I have since lost contact with them, this stresses me a lot, I don't know if they are alive, I don't know if I will ever meet them again. I always cry when I think about them because I miss them but every time I go to church and pray that the Lord protect them wherever they are* (27-year-old female respondent from Tika). This is one of the many situations shared among refugees, but they find church as a good place for them to find counsel and console in difficult times.

One of the Church Halls built for the community by the community in Tika. **Photo: T.O. Sithole (2018)**

5.4   EMPLOYMENT & SOURCES OF INCOME

While I carried out my research, I was taken through the state of employment in the settlement, what I gathered is that employment opportunities are scarce neither do the area have adequate sources of income for the refugees specifically the youth. This is mainly because the area, by its very nature is isolated, located in the rural, northern part of Uganda where the closest town is 60 kilometres away. The area being densely populated, refugees argued that even if employment opportunities are to be there, they will only serve an

insignificant fraction of the refugee population. The respondents' experiences established that employment is indeed a rare opportunity in the area. In relation to the issues of the employment in the settlement, one 30-year-old respondent had this to say *the way am seeing it, it will be once in a while, but they are very scarce, in a moment they try to put an advert the competition is tough, so it will depend on your luck, but it is not as frequent as in other places*. The sentiments shared by the respondents indicate the state regarding employment in the settlement, a reflection of how the refugees have been subjected to live in a state of employment hardships and virtually closed room for economic activities.

The other argument posed by respondents with reference to minimum employment opportunities relates to channels of communications within the refugee settlement. One respondent argued that there are some employment opportunities that may arise, but they don't reach to them because *there is segregation on employment opportunities, our leaders keep information to themselves and share the information along tribal lines for example Dinkas to Dinkas and Neurs to Neurs and for us the minority Kakwas are not represented and don't get anything. Sometimes the organisations here only give jobs to the national and for us they don't consider us* (18-year-old female respondent from Tika). This was a lamentation from the refugee, highlighting that there are some volunteer opportunities that may emerge from time to time, but it only reaches to them when others have been considered already. This is because most humanitarian organisations operating in the settlement have centred their communication on block/cluster leaders who are then reported to be somehow corrupt in releasing the information.

The other argument is that the aid organisations, both local and international operating in the settlement have a tendency of being biased towards nationals, neglecting the refugees. One woman I had the privilege to talk to shared similar sentiment that employment opportunities are scarce, this is what she said, *when job opportunities come, they are given to nationals neglecting the refugees* (20-year-old respondent). After visiting some sites that share humanitarian jobs in and around Uganda, I could confirm this allegation upon seeing several adverts clearly stated, "Open to Ugandan Nationals Only." After establishing on the state of employment opportunities, I further enquired on how the youths manage to survive, thus what they do in such circumstances where doors for formal employment appear to be shut. The different activities undertaken as an alternative of generating some income are documented below.

5.4.1 Selling food rations

I shall focus on food as a specific and separate entity later in this chapter on how was stated to manifest as challenge and how the refugees handle it in their everyday life. For now, I will only provide a narration of how and why refugees are involved in selling part of the food rations which they receive every month from World Food Programme. "WFP provides cash/food assistance to meet the food and nutrition needs of over one million refugees as well as Ugandans affected by recurring climate shocks. Upon arrival, refuges receive high-energy biscuits at the border and hot meals in transit centres. They are then registered to receive cash or food as they settle down and are allocated with land. WFP works with partners to promote early transition from food assistance to self-reliance" (World Food Programme, 2018). This buttresses on the settlement arrangement whereby WFP has the responsibility to give food to the refugees. Of late an option to give a specified amount of cash has been extended to the refugees however the majority confirmed that they still prefer the traditional option of getting food.

Many people whom I talked to told me that upon receiving their rations, they sell part of the food ration to get some cash to acquire things as soap and other key necessities which are not part of the ration. The other reason is to buy some food stuffs for a difference since the food rations are rarely diversified as well as to meet any other responsibilities that require money. These where the general sentiments but young women communicated that they also do this to buy sanitary pads and those with children adding that they will sell their food ration to buy necessities for their babies. A look at this practice of selling part of food rations is indicative of how the everyday situation in the settlement has conditioned the refugees with regards to partake in some activities in their quest to get some money. From their general sentiments, I could note that in the contemporary world, the need for money is irreplaceable hence in this case the refugees look at the few things that they have and opt to convert them into financial gains. What was underscored was that, even though they sell the food rations, the practice does not bring the much-needed financial stability because the rations in their very nature come in small quantities. Secondly the prices that they sell the stuffs for are also not that much thus making the practice less effective as a source of income. The settlement is inherently characterised by low circulation of money as the majority do not have economic activities to venture in hence it is also a determinant of the market price. They argued that

putting a higher price will lower the possibility of getting a buyer because others may come in desperate need of money and offer a lower price.

5.4.2 Bricklaying and Moulding

In the face of limited employment opportunities and sources of income, the refugees mainly the male youths have resorted to daily activities of moulding bricks for sale to potential buyers mainly organisations when they need them for some projects. According to the youths I spent some hours with at their work place, where they mould bricks, NGOs are the main buyers of the bricks they work on. They said they ask them to produce a certain number of bricks in specific times when the organisations need bricks for some projects for example building latrines or houses for persons with specific needs (PSNs). Some, with skills in bricklaying are using them when some people contract them to build a structure, something which they claim rarely happens. They express that even when it happens the money gotten out of it does not match the effort, but they still do it out of the desperate need to get some money out of it. *I can build, once in a while I get some people who want me to build for them but for a very little money*, these were words from one 32-year-old respondent I interviewed. The man explains that though he has the bricklaying skills, they are proving not to be a perfect venture for him to earn a desirable living because the conditions prevalent are not permissive for him to use the skills regularly. He says people are struggling to meet the basics therefore building a house is just but a luxury and for those who decide to build the brick houses, they also have little to offer due to an environment short of regular and stable financial opportunities. Looking at the practice of brick moulding by the youths, I was made to realize the truth in Ester Boserup's claim that "Necessity is the mother of invention- people only made advances when they realized they needed to" (Manjrekar, n.d). Water is generally scarce in the settlement, yet brick moulding requires water, therefore they improvise. They situated their work place on the down side of the public water point to utilise the small volumes of water lost when the public fetches water. They dug deep around the area to allow the accumulation of the water for their use. My visit at one of the sites gave me an understanding of how these youth can cooperate in their diversity and be determined to improvise for the purposes of sustaining their wellbeing even in the most difficult circumstances. On the day there were not less than thirty youths of different age groups, some even very young but they all worked together in a harmonious way all aimed at

producing results, this to me defined a very high level of organisation amongst the youths. The youths in brick moulding expressed further challenges in the activity, they noted that they work very hard for their lives, some of the organisations meant to help them are even proving to be exploitative in a way. There was expression of displeasure specifically on the prices in which some organisations stipulate in a bid to buy their bricks. In a discussion they told me that organisations that come to buy their bricks offer 50-60 000 Ugandan Shillings for 1000 bricks, money which is approximately US$ 16.00 at most. They argued that considering the effort and hustle they go through, what they get out of it is not commensurate.

A photo collage showing youths working on brick moulding above and below are photos showing the finished product. **Photo: (Tererai Obey Sithole, 2018).**

5.4.3   Farming

Farming is one other activity which has been largely embraced by the refugees both male and female in Rhino Camp Settlement. While the motivation for farming may vary from one individual to the other, the central reasons are to complement the food reserves and bring a balanced diet. On the other hand, they take up farming in bid to get some money after selling the produce upon harvesting. On this part I will not dwell much on farming as a balance to food because I will unpack more on food as a separate entity as in sections to follow. For now, the focus is on farming as a source of income for the refugees.

My engagement with the community revealed that they are a population which values farming, and this is can be attributed to their upbringing as South Sudanese. "Up to 90 percent of the country's population depends on farming, fishing or herding to meet their food and income needs" (Food and Agriculture Organisation, 2018). According to this, it is evident that farming is a very dominant practice for South Sudanese people, so it explains it well on why farming is part and parcel of their lives regardless of where they are today. The South Sudanese refugeed conserved their farming culture even after crossing the border to Uganda. They chose to preserve the practice albeit in different and even harder circumstances in terms of access to land. The farming activities are pursued in two different manners, one practiced at personal level which refers to a decision taken by the family or an individual to cultivate something. Secondly farming arrangement supported by some organisations working in the settlement under the livelihood component which is one of the common area of intervention undertaken by most organisations. The support on farming in which organisations are rendering is connected to input support and training on the cultivation of crops among other factors. Organisations approach refugees to form groups within their clusters after which they will provide training to the refugees on farming skills after which they will provide inputs to the refugees to farm.

While the refugees are engaging in farming, the activity is met with challenges of erratic water supply and insufficient land and these are threatening its viability. Under the Ugandan refugee management when refugees arrive, they are allocated small pieces of land for settling, which for Rhino Camp Settlement it ranges around 30×20 metres for each household. Mainly it is from these pieces of land where the refugees construct their shelter upon which they will utilize the remaining part on farming activities. From this one can

imagine how big the remainder of the land can be and how much yield one can out of such small pieces of land, the answer to the imagination is that not much comes of small pieces of land. *In terms of cultivation, there is no land, so we have to rent from nationals but if you don't have something to pay them then you struggle,* this is what a 30-year-old male respondent said expressing how the farming activities are deterred by the prevalent condition of limited access to land.

As an alternative, the refugees negotiate with nationals who own land within the locality to strike some deals of renting land. This is what seems to be the best alternative for one who really looks forward to getting some better yields but again it is a tall order for many who fail to raise enough money to rent the land. In an act which seem to be somehow alleviating the burden from the refugees, organisations have been striving to include both refugees and nationals in the farming groups as such the nationals involved feel moved to freely share their land with the refugees. This act is in line with Uganda's policy ReHoPE which part of its objectives is to **"**foster socio-economic empowerment for refugees and host communities through livelihoods and local economic development**"** (Government of Uganda, 2016). So, by bringing both refugees and nationals together it is a great step in instilling hope to the refugees who under normal circumstances may not have easily accessed the land.

On another note, water challenges emerged as another stumbling block standing in the way of agricultural activities. The farming becomes active in the rain season when water is readily available other than that the activities are suspended, something which impacts heavily on the effectiveness and sustainability of the activity. *When it comes to the rain season we can do some cultivation…though the weather and the type of soil cannot do but still we can plant some few things, in make a balanced diet and to buy some soap.* This is an excerpt from one of the interviews whereby one 27-year-old male respondent narrated that they only wait for the rainy season to engage in farming in a bid to raise some little money apart from balancing the diet. This expression, though it was made in relation to farming, it is pregnant with other critical issues and it provoked some deep thoughts on material wellbeing of the refugees in me which I will share here. If it's not raining, then they do not have soap? If it's not raining, then they don't have a balanced diet? In a bid to investigate more on the possibilities of tackling the challenge I enquired on the possibility of having irrigation and the respondent said *there is no water, the greatest challenge is water, irrigation needs water and we don't have that because even for drinking sometimes it is a problem.* "Environmental and climatic

factors limit the reliability and scale of food production" (WFP, 2015). This is how farming is impacted upon, it's flourishing is restricted by irregular water supply and infertility of the soils tied to the natural settings of the settlement.

Evidence of farming taking place: a small cassava plantation at one respondent's homestead, one of many you could see in the settlement. **Photo: T.O. Sithole, 2018**

5.4.4   Village Savings and Loan Associations

Some organizations notably ZOA are taking initiative to promote savings among the refugees, both male and female. The organisations are encouraging refugees to get together in groups and make some savings to achieve a goal, which could be short term or long term. For the ZOA model which I was exposed to, the groups consist of thirty or more members who are bound by the sole mandate of saving money to achieve a goal. What is notable about this practice is the diversity of both goals and sources of the first savings.

We formed a group in which we are doing savings, in which we have a savings goal which could be capital to start a business. It is helping me so much because in the group I can take

loan to do some little business and later bring back the money and keep the little profit, explained one young woman (28) I interviewed. This is just one example of how the refugees are using their money they get from the VSLAs and my interaction with the refugees gave me an opportunity to gather more on the different goals they set at individual level.

I took a loan and bought some maize and beans, I sold the items and got a little profit. I waited for distribution time and would buy six cups of maize at 1000 Ugandan shillings and later sell to the nationals at 1000 Ugandan shillings for five cups. This is a testimony from another female respondent (30) whom I had an opportunity to interview, she looked so elated when she explained to me how the VSLAs have worked positively for her. She was so happy with the profits that she made from the business she had started out of the loan she got from the group. So, for this woman it was her goal to do a small business from the savings, but the stories differ from one individual to the other, others would talk of wanting to buy a mattress citing the pain of sleeping direct on the ground. Others would cite the need to buy goats while others intended to save and buy asbestos for their house back in South Sudan, hoping one day peace will prevail. This is not an exhaustive citation of the goals targeted by respondents, but it is only serving to give an insight of how diverse the goals are, any inspiring case of unity in diversity.

While there is diversity in the goals, the same diversity is common as well when it comes to the sources of the first savings. As I have cited in the previous sections that formal methods of get money are not so laid-back in this community, it therefore became of interest for me to gather on how it became possible for those involved in the VSLAs to get a first investment. It is upon some further probe when I had different stories, some would say that they sold part of their food ration which was the popularly cited. Some would highlight that they had some little money from South Sudan, money which they guarded jealously until they thought of contributing it to the savings. While others have found a temporal financial sanctuary in the existence of VSLAs and see some rays of hope, the story is not the same to others for others also wish to be part of the VSLAs but just cannot get money to start the savings. One such story was shared by one male respondent (23) who said *I don't have any group here… Like in that savings group, I don't have finance to join but I also wish to be part of it.* Further reflections on these submissions showed that the refugees are facing different circumstance either enabling or restricting participation. VSLAs were applauded by many citing that they are work as a bridge that will lead some to financial stardom, the same potential concerns

those failing to have a starting capital. "Widening disparities require the adoption of sound policies to empower the bottom percentile of income earners, and promote economic inclusion of all regardless of sex, race or ethnicity" (UNDP, 2018). Against such a background it is imperative that organisations put in place mechanisms that ensure that no one is left behind lest we great a new era of exacerbated inequalities.

5.4.5   Hairdressing, Catering & Tailoring for money

My stay in the settlement made me learn that hairdressing, catering and tailoring also constitute the everyday lives of most refugees particularly young women and this is done to bridge the gap on income accessibility. As highlighted earlier there are absolutely very limited employment opportunities for the refugees hence they have decided to find solutions in utilizing the skills the possess to earn a fair living. Although these are the activities which are being embraced by the refugees, it is of importance to highlight that the returns are not that much, considering the viability level as not everyone affords to seek the service.

On a certain Friday morning, while taking a walk around Ocea zone with a colleague who was my Interpreter, we passed through one woman's homestead, we asked to have an interview with her. While there, we could also see three other women who seemed to be waiting for something, though we were not so sure. The woman agreed to have an interview with me and in narrating to me what she does in life it emerged that the other three women where actually in a que for their hair to be done. The 26-year-old woman said:
I am not working but am doing just some small things like hairdressing, God's gift is what am using and mostly is what can help me. So, I will just plait some people's hair and survive. All these women who are here are waiting for me to start plaiting their hair.
I felt that our presence had become a disturbance to her errands but instead she permitted us to continue with interview, she would respond to us while working on the first woman's hair. I felt that this was a unique think to this woman alone, but my assumptions were demystified as I continued to stay in the settlement, meeting and interacting with more people. I learnt that many young women gifted in this regard are making use of this skill to sustain their lives in circumstances were wellbeing is unarguably under threat.

While others are basing on hairdressing, a significant number of other women have chosen to utilise their abilities of baking and cooking to ensure the restoration of wellbeing. My observations further buttressed by responses from key informants revealed that others have since utilised the little resources around then to start up baking and catering practices and here are some highlights from the respondents;

Now what I am trying is making some mandazi (local pan cake) which I am selling, I sell mandazi, I sell and get some money upon asking where she got the capital to start the business, she had this to say, *they provide us with oil and maize, so I take part of it and sell to buy the ingredients to make the mandazi.* This is a microscopic image of the broader small-scale regarding catering in which most refugee women are involved in. On a separate interview I chatted with another 18-year-old woman who also expressed that she is also involved in catering business in a different context and in her words, she said;

I am selling tea, the business is for someone on an arrangement whereby today I work for her then tomorrow I make mine, just like that. This reflects to the fact that refugees are being innovative in a way that is meant to respond to what is threatening their wellbeing as they live in the refugee settlement. Chances of formal employment are clearly minimal, next to absent but that has not killed the spirit of refugees to find ways of surviving in the difficult circumstances.

A small restaurant where one refugee sells tea at Siripi Trading Centre. **Photo (T.O. Sithole, 2018)**

5.4.6   Small Scale Business

Walking in the settlement would expose me to visible tuckshops dotted around the settlement and most of these are owned by refugees. On a different note so often I would pass through areas with a noisy sound, guess what these would be diesel powered grinding mills. As one who was interested in learning about the life in the settlement I took time to speak to some of the people involved in this kind of trading. All the respondents I talked to share the same sentiments that though they were doing the business, it was not as viable as expected because many of the supposed to be customers do not have money. One respondent, an owner of a grinding mill expressed concern that so often people approach him needing to have their maize ground without enough money. So, to him part of the solution was to say he accepts people to pay in instalments however the ordeal on his part was that sometimes he then fails to get fuel for the mill. Those with tuckshops also concurred with the same sentiments

bordering around people's failure to meet the cost prices thus sometimes receiving only one customer per day or even spending the entire day without receiving a customer.

These discussions painted and still paint a clear picture of how intense the burden of deprivation could be on part of the refugees. Though I shall speak more on food in sections to follow, learning that some fail to meet the costs of grinding it is serious concern itself on the food aspect. Refugees receive maize every month as their ration thus for one to eat, this maize need to be ground and such is an unavoidable action for one to eat. Now learning that some may not afford to pay for that made me worried with regards to the genuine appreciation of how one must struggle to finally get food in his/her mouth. The prevalent environment of financial inaccessibility is taken as an indicator of an endangered wellbeing of refugees.

Left is a tuckshop run by a refugee and right is a grinding mill owned by a refugee: **Photo:** (Tererai Obey Sithole, 2018)

5.5   FOOD SUPPLY & ACCESS

In providing a background on the significance of sustainable development goal number 10, which seeks to end hunger, the UNDP says unfortunately, extreme hunger and malnutrition remain a huge barrier to development in many countries. 795 million people are estimated to be chronically undernourished as of 2014, often as a direct consequence of environmental degradation, drought and loss of biodiversity (UNDP, 2018). This is an acknowledgement of a reality that is within us as a world and in all earnest intents, it needs to be confronted to find lasting solutions. Though in this description they fall short at considering forced migration as

an equal direct cause of the same hunger issues and this is something that I personally witnessed, that is to say when people are forced flee they are plunged into hunger or what we may call food poverty. Food poverty has been defined as the inability to afford, or have reasonable access to, food which provides a healthy diet. Whilst the link between nutritional status and low income is well established, food poverty extends beyond economic aspects to include issues such as access, ethnicity and education (Food Standards Agency, 2003). Tying this definition to what I gathered from the field, it is therefore clear that the population in Rhino Camp Refugee settlement is living under serious poverty. To many, the food is inadequate, short at dietary considerations leading to health concerns and attempts to seek alternatives are met with affordability and availability worries.

5.5.1   "We must starve ourselves…"

A young woman aged 26, in a very calm voice said these words while relaxingly seated on a mate inscribed UNHCR under a tree on a very sunny and hot afternoon. This was a woman I was interviewing, and she had to say these words while explaining to me how food is not enough for her and her family. She explicitly narrated to me that it was a huge ordeal to have adequate food to satisfy their stomachs, this was only an issue of stomach satisfaction way before one could think of the balance in the diet. In a conversation with the woman she said *the major challenge is sometimes the food ratio gets finished before the distribution of the following month* (33-year-old Respondent from Katiku). Just like many others this is a challenge which the population in the settlement is facing. Upon my further enquiry on how they were managing in such circumstances, that is when she informed me that it was part of the family plan that they would starve themselves for some days to save the little they get. My further enquiries on this with different respondents revealed that it is actually a common practice among the families to cope up with the limited food supply.

Every submission I got from the people made me need to gather more on a matter and that love to get more get more information on why food could not be enough for a month. My immediate thoughts where that they sell much of the food and forget to keep enough for consumption. This assumption was vehemently dismissed upon learning that the matter was beyond the refugees' capacity to handle but rather the authorities. I factually gathered that the challenge was born in June 2016 when the World Food Programme decided to cut the food

ration by half citing an increase in the refugee influx with a promise to restore it in three months however the three months came to pass until now. This to me appear as a case of instilling false hope on people expecting more only to disappoint them and for this I could sense some bitterness amongst those who cared to honestly express themselves. The respondents informed me that initially the ration used to constitute 12 kilograms of maize, 3 kilograms of beans and a bottle of cooking oil but following the June 2016 decision this was halved. From a commentary point of view with the intention to create new knowledge, this is quite disheartening considering that most of the population is struggling in terms of self-reliance which technically means any form adjustment to support mechanisms create room for further deprivation. Therefore in my view this continued reduction on food ration as a provocation to the right to food which is generally understood as the right to feed oneself in dignity, the right to adequate food is a long-standing international human right to which many countries are committed (FAO, 2018). The context in discussion poses that of people who cannot not feed oneself due to circumstances around marginal self-reliance capacity, which then defeats the whole possibility of getting adequate food in the absence of aid. Thus, in all this, though I acknowledge that the influx might have risen along the way the responsible authorities should take frantic efforts to mobilise enough food to restore adequacy and dignity.

5.5.2   Balanced diet; a hard to get target

While the food is not adequate for most of the people in the settlement, another pertinent factor is related to the dietary concerns of the food which the people receive in the settlement. As I have indicated above, the monthly rations consist of maize and beans ever month throughout. There is no change of commodities for consumption and according to the refugeed the only time when they can have a chance for a change is in the rain season when they can cultivate some vegetables on their small pieces of land. Even to those who feel the adequacy of the quantity of the rations, they still feel the inadequacy on the balance of the diet, one of the respondents even acknowledged in that regard by saying *there is a challenge in terms of food, it is there but we lack a balanced diet.* It is one of the many concerns that came out from the informants in response to the food situation and how they are keeping om going in such circumstances. These indications coming from the refugees themselves point out to clear gaps that need to be addressed soon to ensure that the wellbeing of refugees is

fully enhanced. The importance of a balanced diet to human wellbeing can never be substituted by anything but rather should be met as it is required. Failure to address fundamental aspects may results into serious issues of health concerns something which is already starting to unravel within the community. Issues of malnutrition and stunted growth will never be addressed lest the issue of balanced diet is met in its fullness within the people concerned. It will be of great the danger to the refugees living in the settlement to be attacked by diet related sickness in a context which already has an ailing health response as indicated earlier when I talked about the health access in the settlement.

5.6   WATER AND SANITATION

On 28 July 2010, through Resolution 64/292, the United Nations General Assembly explicitly recognized the human right to water and sanitation and acknowledged that clean drinking water and sanitation are essential to the realisation of all human rights.

> The Resolution calls upon States and international organisations to provide financial resources, help capacity-building and technology transfer to help countries, in particular developing countries, to provide safe, clean, accessible and affordable drinking water and sanitation for all (United Nations, 2018).

From this we can gather that water and sanitation are fundamental aspects universally recognized as fundamental human rights which means every human being should be able to get them and enjoy them. This same resolution by the United Nations further suggest that states as well as international organisations must put all mechanisms in place to ensure that the water and sanitation right is meant. This can be achieved through financial commitment to facilitate the availability and access of the right to the people. It is from this background that during the research I had both conversations and observations on how forced migrants are experiencing this right in the context of Rhino Camp Settlement. The research established that water and sanitation, in as much as they are internationally recognised as a right, the case is quite different in Rhino Camp Settlement. Forced migrants living in the settlement struggle to get adequate clean water and can go for some days without the precious liquid, on the other hand the status of sanitation is not that convincing with only a few pit latrines shared by a big community. In this part I will highlight how this challenge is manifest and how the forced migrants face it and tackle it in their everyday lives.

5.6.1   Inconsistent Water Supply

Today is our fifth day without water in this area, that is why you see people walking very long distances to fetch water, this is a story which was told at one focus group discussion I had in Katiku. Looking into this matter, it shows that water is a challenge, people are forced to walk to very far places in the quest to get water for their everyday needs. The need for water is undeniably one which is unavoidable and as such it's not only normal but also reasonable that when one is confronted but water challenges s/he will need to find an alternative of which in this context the dominant alternative is to walk to the nearest water collection point which may be kilometres away from the people's homesteads. One respondent testified that at to them the nearest water point may be at least 6 kilometres away, *we walk up very long distances to other places where there are boreholes and we can wait on the que up to two hours because there will be a lot of people needing the water.* An additional problem to this is that most of the forced migrants in this area have a limited number of water containers, with equally a limited water capacity of fifteen litres. Fifteen litres are the standard minimum emergence volume of water for a person on universal standards. This means that in the face of several days without water supply, the travelling to and from the nearest water point is unavoidable and for one to frequently travel, it will gradually become unbearable for many. Not only will the distance become unbearable, but it will also significantly restrict other commitments for instance as I highlighted that some of the people are entrepreneurs who may sometimes need to commit to their small businesses and other errands.

Top left: A long que as refugees wait for the water truck to deliver water in Ocea; Bottom left: Refugees fetching water at one of the water points with a visibly damaged tape in Ocea; Right: One of the many tanks dotted around the settlement where the water trucks fill in.
Photo: (Tererai Obey Sithole, 2018)

Water points are also a confirmed challenge in some areas of the settlement and it poses a significant challenge on the on access with a lot of pressure mounting on the few available tapes. A lucid example of this can be drawn from Simbili cluster where only two tapes are working for the entire cluster to use. *Water is also another challenge because even around here we only have two tapes which are working in the whole of this cluster, one this side and the other one that side. Sometimes this water is not enough and there is only one borehole which was drilled but sometimes we don't get water there because it is too heavy especially in this dry season,* one respondent contributed at focus group discussion in Simbili. The challenge of water is evident in the entire settlement and it takes a broad way in its manifestation. The other factor which exacerbates the water crisis is the location of the settlement which lies in a very dry rural area, that is why it is largely acknowledge that while the water challenges are central throughout the year, they worsen in the dry season where the water table naturally lowers. Whatever the way the challenge manifests, it remains a burden

for the ordinary refuges who are left to find solutions to survive in the difficult circumstances and in this case the dominant response mechanisms within their abilities is to walk longer distances to whatever place reasonable for them to fetch water. On top of that they are subjected to long hours of waiting for water in long ques, thus the choices to pursue are very limited for them.

Beyond the erratic supply which may lead to days without water, especially in the Katiku areas which consequently lead people to walk long distances, I have also established that beyond that as a challenge, cleanliness is another dimension that is existent. One respondent I talked to Katiku stated that *...water here comes direct from the Nile river so sometimes it is not clean.* This is a major health concern prevailing in the settlement, which speaks volumes regarding the wellbeing of forced migrants in the settlement. Earlier on I painted a picture one the status of health provision and the picture is not so positive, therefore, a concern on the cleanliness of the water supply poses a serious menace on the wellbeing of the innocent forced migrants. With the resources on the forced migrants' disposal, the ability to further purify the water stands not easy because the easiest way they could opt for is to boil it but again cooking fuel is another hard to get commodity. Most of the refugees rely on firewood as such there is scarcity of the resources as trees have been cut down within the area and refugees are forced to encroach in the land of the nationals within their proximity an aspect which is a potential cause for conflict between these groups.

It is critical at this stage to point out the background of water challenges in this context, firstly the clusters have different have different ways of getting their water, other areas only rely on piped water which is pumped from somewhere else then the population fetches from tapes located in specific areas, other sections rely on deliveries done at collection points (tanks) by water trucks while other few sections have boreholes. The nature of the challenges here equally differs, those who rely on the pumping are affected when the pumping is not done or when the pipes burst, those reliant on water bowsers may be affected when the trucks do not come in time whereas those reliant on boreholes are tested when the boreholes break down and often they are not repaired. All these water challenges regardless of how they manifest, they all rest on the decisions done by the responsible authorities thus when and how to supply water. Sustainable solutions could be sought to ease the burden on the ordinary forced migrants but there is a general feeling obtaining within most of the respondents that the responsible authorities are just but reluctant to solve their challenges. Supporting that was

a case in Katiku where there is a borehole which broke down in 2015 but has not been attended to since then regardless of several reports that the refugees claim to have made.

Ironic, the pictures show a billboard displaying the 'Safe Water Chain' which is erected next dry borehole reported to have broken down in 2015. **Photo: (Tererai Obey Sithole, 2018)**

5.6.2   Stampede for scarce Toilets

In the same vein of the right to water and sanitation, through this research I established that in all earnest terms it is justified for one to conclude that the refugees in Rhino Camp Settlement are being deprived of their right to sanitation based on the condition of toilets both at availability and standard. Toilets is one thing that did not come top on the order of concerns from my respondents, probably because it is not a priority concern on their part or they have accepted the condition that they live in. Looking around within the settlement, in all zones, I could count a handful number of toilets around which sends a clear message that most of the families are surviving without a toilet. This means that there is serious deficiency of this essential which has led to families sharing one or two toilets which are mainly makeshift structures. In my view this pose a security threat to the youths because, one the context of longer distances from one's homestead to the toilets create security gaps especially at night in areas without lighting and secondly the makeshift nature of most of the toilet structures is risky to the users in that it may collapse at any point. More so in circumstances as that, it is a clear indication of health time bomb linked to the possibility of outbreaks of pandemics such as cholera and typhoid.

The state of some of the toilets found in the settlement. **Photo: (Tererai Obey Sithole, 2018)**

The long-term solution for cholera control lies in economic development and universal access to safe drinking water and adequate sanitation (World Health Organisation, 2017). This was a factual argument placed by WHO in their Cholera fact sheet and it is an argument that concur with. This gives an insight on how the inadequacy of toilets for refugees need to be addressed with urgency to deal decisively with the possibilities of having an outbreak of diseases. The diseases may turn to be uncontrollable considering what has already been confirmed as challenge in the health system. In as much as I acknowledge that organisations working on aid in this environment may be overwhelmed with a lot of responsibilities considering the influx, I am of the view that this is a matter which requires urgent attention and commitment. The inadequacy of pit latrines has been worsened by the prevailing policy which gives the initial public pit latrines a life span of three months, this has opened a gap once they are eradicated. The refugees themselves may wish to construct their one pit latrines but they are then restricted by their limited capacity to meet the required resources to see one constructing a latrine. At the time of this research, efforts to build pit latrines were being made by few

other organisations notably ZOA but these where mainly limited to persons with special needs (PSNs) these include persons with disabilities (PWDs), the elderly among others.

5.7   SHELTER AND INFRASTRUCTURE

"In Uganda, refugees are given small plots of land on which to build houses and cultivate crops, and they are allowed to work and move freely within the country. Because of this basic premise, Uganda's refugee policy has been lauded as one of the most progressive in the world" (Schiltz & Titeca, 2017). This is a precise brief of how refugees in Uganda are treated in line with the country's legislation and policy framework and looking from a distant eye no one can deny that it is the best if not a perfect system to host refugees. To further unpack what this means, I referred to what constitutes the right to housing as espoused by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. According to the organisation this right enshrines, "the right to choose one's residence, to determine where to live and to freedom of movement" (OHCHR, 2015, p. 3). This provides a lens for us to clearly look at the effectiveness of the refugee management framework in Uganda with regards to shelter thus also realising the status of wellbeing refugees in the context of housing. Earlier I partially spoke on the space in which the refugees confirmed to be getting for settling, which is normally 30 x 20 metres in Rhino Camp settlement. This is undoubtedly a modest piece of land for settling but beyond the area provided for, it is imperative to explore more on how the shelter of the refugees is structured.

A combination of my observations and testimonies from respondents revealed that shelter is not up to basic standards for many if not all. Upon arrival refugees received tents from UNHCR, it is these tents that they then pitch at their pieces of land however due to what I want to call high temperatures prevalent in the area these tents do not get a long-life span, they are torn in a very short space of time. Some of the refuges have been staying there from long as 2013 meaning to say no matter how miraculously strong the tents may have been, they would not have lasted until now. When the tents are torn, which is unavoidable, the refugees are then supposed to find their own means to get a solution to address the challenge of shelter within their means. It is at this point when the refugees are expected to graduate from the tent to another form of shelter because there is no second round of tent distribution, in that many find it hard to put up a decent structure for them to stay. Popular houses in the

settlement are made up of mud and pole, with a few made of bricks with the rest improvising with the tents. In terms of roofing, a handful can be seen with iron sheets with the rest of them being grass thatched.

Left: A tent made refugee house; Right: A mud and pole house belonging to a refugee. **Photo: Tererai Obey Sithole (2018).**

These circumstances raise questions as to how right the right is to housing in the context of those in Rhino camp refugee settlement when the refugees do not have room to determine where to stay, they are allocated as per the instruction of the UNHCR and OPM. Questions can also be raised on the Genuity to the right of housing when the refugees are left to face the challenge alone in an area where the resources for construction a constraint are. For instance, some opt to build mud and pole house, but when this happens the person is confronted with a challenge regarding where to get the poles because cutting trees will require that person to either clandestinely encroach in the nationals' territory, a potential cause for conflict and environmental degradation. Alternatively, the person may have to negotiate with the nationals to get the needed resources, but this may also mean that the refugee must part with some financial resources which are dominantly not available. On the other hand, others are building

houses made from bricks as their preferred option, but this is also met with its own consequences. Access to firewood in abundance is not an easy mission this therefore leads to people building houses with unburnt bricks which doesn't make a strong structure, and this may risk collapse. With the sentiments highlighted here it cannot be over emphasized that housing is a cutting-edge wellbeing matter which require some attention. It is applaudable that some organisations notably DRC have accepted this as a challenge and have been intervening by constructing houses for specific individuals such as widows and PSNs. However, it is not enough response because the challenge is dire and if neglected for long it will degenerate into another crisis direction.

5.7 Freedom of movement not so free…

According to section 30 of the Ugandan Refugee Act, refugees have the freedom of movement and other frameworks throw weight on this issue on refugees' freedom of movement. While this is an issue clearly stated without any argument, the findings of this research show that this is more on principle and less on practice. Though it may be a controversial argument at this point I observed that the road networks are in a bad state and this is viewed as restrictive to the freedom of movement. There is no freedom of movement that can be talked of in the absence of the key enablers of the movement such as roads. As an example, I realised that transport to the nearest town (Arua) is very expensive based on the standards prevalent in the settlement. Transport to Arua costs 10000 Ugandan shillings and this is undoubtedly expensive considering that refugees who opted cash instead of food rations get 27000 Ugandan shillings per month. The argument here is that if the assumption is that a refugee can survives for the entire month with 27000 Ugandan shillings, yet transport cost only goes for 10000 Ugandan shilling one way to the nearest city then by any standards that transport is expensive. A close look at this expensive nature of transport cost reveals that the high cost is attributed to bad state of roads which leaves the place with few transporters willing to expose their vehicles to the bad roads making the few available costly. The transport prices become costly because the demand is high while the availability is low, on the other hand the transport operators may choose to inflate their charges in a bid to compensate the damage incurred. With this reality we note that for refugees in this Rhino Camp settlement, their freedom of movement is curtailed and in response to that refugees confine themselves in the settlement and on mobile in very serious conditions of emergence.

The state of the access roads in the settlement, on this they look better because it is in the dry season. **Photo: Tererai Obey Sithole.**

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The research provided me with an enabling environment to get an appreciation of the happenings prevalent in the refugee settlement. Through the conversations I had with the refugees as they shared their experiences and observations that I made during the same period, I deduced a several findings. It is against that background that I dedicate this chapter to provide a discussion of the findings I gathered from the research.

6.1   Education and Skills Development

The data presented from the experiences shared by the refugees and observations made indicated that there is a challenge of access to secondary education. The access to secondary has been affected by two major factors which are cost and distance. In the entire settlement there are only two secondary schools, namely Rhino Camp High School and Ofua Secondary schoo. Both schools require tuition fees for one to be enrolled. The fact that the entire settlement only has two schools means that many students are located far from the schools, thus some end up failing to go to school even if they wish to be in school. On the other hand, the demand for tuition fees by the schools is a deterrent to many when it comes to access to education specifically secondary education. Most refugees have very limited or no means of getting income hence the requirement for tuition fees pose a hurdle too high to jump for refugees. Such a societal arrangement which is exclusive to others speaks of an everyday life which doesn't constitute wellbeing for the refugees. According to the Sustainable Livelihood Framework, education is one of the key elements that make up the human capital under the livelihood assets aspect. "Education and schooling for refugee youth has the potential to support displaced individuals and communities as they navigate the processes of relocation… schooling creates a sense of normalcy, provides a site for socialization, is a safe space for communities, and creates a sense of cope and hope for displaced individuals and communities" (Mosselson, Morshed & Changamire, 2017, p. 15). The importance of education cannot be overemphasised, it is a key livelihood asset that holds great determination on the wellbeing of individuals. Hope for the youths is either made or broken through the length and depth of education access, in the face of limited access to education, hopes are shattered while in times of access hopes are revived. Education is a key support

structure to restore normalcy to the lives of refugees, it is through education when one can stand a chance to battle for more and better chances in life.

"Investment in education can also significantly contribute to the expansion of human capabilities, which is a key aspect of development" (Power, 2013, p. 150). I fully subscribe to this submission that education is undoubtedly a very important aspect of human life when it comes to empowering individuals. An educated person is better position to solicit for better opportunities in life, to take care of his or her life, those around him or her as well as the environment. Apart from being better positioned to solicit for opportunities, I also posit that an educated individual can create new opportunities to sustain a sound and sustainable self-reliant life. Recognizing the significance of education in enhancing wellbeing and noting that it is one of key livelihood assets, yet it is not being provided for, it is justifiable to note that the wellbeing of refugees is under threat. Organisations with a role to play in shaping the happenings in the settlement should consider, taking new measures to support secondary education thereby enabling more youth to revive their hopes. The seemingly neglection of support for secondary education is a cause for concern and all things being equal it is a gap that all progressive partners must act.

The challenges of access to education (secondary) yet primary education is free in settlements can be argued to be reflective of the broader Ugandan policy on education. Uganda is a staunch proponent of universal proponent of universal primary education (UPE) and less on universal secondary education.

> Universal Primary Education (UPE) is one of the Government of Uganda's main policy tools for achieving poverty reduction and human development. Under the UPE programme, the Government of Uganda abolished all tuition fees and Parents and Teachers Association charges for primary education. Following its introduction, gross enrolment in primary school increased from 3.1 million in 1996 to 7.6 million in 2003 (Overseas Development Institute, 2005).

Since the Ugandan refugee policy is bent on integrating refugees within the same governance system, it could be the reason why humanitarian organisations are following the order of prioritizing primary education and supporting it more while secondary school support is lagging. The other factor which may be contributing to the minimum support on secondary education could be the shrinking resource base for the organisations amid an array of issues

that need intervention considering an increasing influx of refugees. Refugees' limited access to secondary education is not only a challenge in its own but it is also closely tied to other ripple effects. Idleness is one of the challenges that may follow when many youths stay out of school and in a setting like a refugee settlement where other sections lack recreation facilities, there is high risk of depression in the lives of many. In the face of limited educational access, early marriages are imminent. In the circumstances refugee lives, early marriages will potentially bread a cycle of poverty which in the long run my breed a new crisis which will require more humanitarian attention. I recall meeting a couple of young women of the average age of 18 who are mothers of children aged 2-3 years. Looking at this, it simply means these women gave birth to their children while they were way below the age of 18 hence showing that they were subjected to early marriages or early sex. An imagination of how the future of these children will look like paints a very bleak picture, a cycle which could have been avoided by supporting education and keeping youths in school.

While access to secondary education is confirmed to be an existing challenge in the refugee settlement, it is important to note that alternatives have been sought by some organisations in the form of skills training. There are organisations which are managing vocational training centres within the settlement while other organisations are conducting various skills trainings to the refugees. This comes as an intervention aimed at capacitating individuals with skills that they can use to sustain their lives by earning some income. The conducting of these trainings is opportune especially in a scenario whereby many people find it difficult to access the conventional ways of education. With skills training, chances for one to uplift himself or herself are enhanced on the basis that a trained person can put the skills to use to either earn income or cover up on missing necessities. Some of the trainings that are being offered are to do with soap making, thus all things being equal, a person can upon finishing the training use the skill to make soap for sale or for household consumption. Many people, in the settlement cited failure to acquire necessities, soap included thus one can close that gap by manufacturing for consumption upon completion of training. The same applies to other courses being provided in the vocational training centres, they provide grounds for entrepreneurial ventures for one who completes the training. For example, one who has done Catering and Hotel Management can start a catering business within the settlement and be competitive in the quest for financial independence. This could be helpful because from my observations catering could be a viable business in the settlement because many staffers from

the organisations working in the settlement always get their lunches from the trading centres around. This proves that the market is available and for one who makes the venture competitive will get a chance to get more profits.

The role being played being various organisations in skill training fits well in the confines of Sustainable Livelihood Framework which acknowledged the role of institutions, policies and processes. Provision of skills trainings by specific organisations reveal the role of institutions in shaping the everyday lives of refugees, i.e. the revelation of ruling relations. Organisations, within the confines of their organisational capacity, planning and policies set up with an intervention through skills training and the refugees out if desperation are only subjected to tow within the lines of what is on offer. Refugees are made subjects, only left to embrace what institutions feel is the right thing to do. As a scenario an organisation may introduce the soap making training as the only training on offer, ignoring the fact that not every refugee's interest lies within the soap making. In the end the refugee ends up accepting the training but without any passion for it, the only motivation being that it is the only thing available. This raises questions on the extent of freedoms among refugees against the backdrop the highly applauded guarantee of freedom with the Uganda Refugee Policy.

> Uganda's refugee legislation (the 2006 Refugees Act) reflects international standards of refugee protection. The Act promotes refugees' self-reliance and clearly favours a development-based approach to refugee assistance. This has been emphasized further by the 2010 Refugee Regulations, which provide a pathway for refugees to become self-reliant" (UNCT–Uganda, 2017).

There is praise for the Ugandan policy in that it development-based but when choices are limited for the refugees then the development-based approached is defeated because development entails maximisation of choices. On the other hand, the entire Ugandan refugee policy is said to be aimed at self-reliance. However, the interventions conducted by most humanitarian organisations are falling short of the full support for self-reliance. Still speaking of the skills development trainings, most respondents cited that the participated in their respective trainings on the promise of being given start up kits upon completion. Many among those would confirm that they had gone for months without the promised start up kits. Such realities point out to institutions' half-baked support mechanisms for self-reliance, therefore it is somehow discriminating to expect refugees to be self-reliant without providing

them with tool for self-reliance. This, in a broader way reveals the challenged state of refugee wellbeing and this is being exacerbated by minimum support for refugees in key areas.

6.2   Health Care & Wellness

Refugees in the settlement are facing challenges on Health care, the challenges in the health care arena is marred with shortage of medication, personnel as well as distance and cost are affecting refugees' access to health care. Many respondents cited that there are made to travel for longer distances to reach to the nearest health centre to access health care. Health, just like education is also rated a key human capital under Sustainable Livelihood Framework and through the IE exploration it emerged that it is an aspect that require attention. The manifestation of health care challenges are also a pointer to ruling relations in place, the roles played by organisation having an influence of how refugees can access health. "Refugees have a high burden of malnutrition and anaemia, treatable non-communicable diseases exacerbated by lack of access to regular medication, and infectious diseases, including hepatitis A and B and parasitic diseases. The threat of imported disease could contribute to public apprehension about refugees in receiving countries. In addition, refugees are particularly vulnerable to sexual and gender-based violence. Displacement also complicates the delivery of maternal and obstetric care increasing the risk of unsafe childbirth and maternal and neonatal morbidity and mortality" (Langlois, Haines, Tomson & Ghaffar, 2016, para. 4). There is evidence from studies in the past that refugees are at high risk of a wide-ranging number of diseases as they stay in the settlements. Malnutrition is part of the emerging health concerns that refugees are faced with and this is mainly attributed the lack of diversity on food choices, for instance refugees in Rhino Camp Settlement receive maize and beans throughout. On the other hand, limited facilities for sanitation which is a dominant case in the settlement expose many to healthy risks.

Evidently refugees are placed in a state of health concerns which therefore under normal circumstances would require serious attention to provide healthcare in sufficiency. However, this is not the case in most of the refugee settlements, refugees are left with difficulties in accessing health care. Medication for specific aliments is often not available, the personnel is in short fall resulting in long ques consequently many returning home without being attended to. On the other hand, language barriers are a stumbling block to health access as many

refugees fail to explicitly express themselves in a language which is not their vernacular yet in most cases staff at local health centres speak local language. In Rhino Camp settlement, the greater percentage of refugees are South Sudanese yet employees at the local health centres are Ugandans. When it comes to languages, there is high probability of differences which leaves them with English as the mode of communication and in such circumstances some of the refugees may not be so fluent in their English. When such circumstances prevail, expression of ailments becomes a challenge to the refugees and in the face of an impatient nurse the quest for treatment maybe shattered. Moreover, this leads to a scenario whereby many may shy away from going to the health centres for treatment in fear of failure to express what they are feeling thus assuming they may not get the treatment they would require.

"Despite this high burden of disease, access to health care for refugees is mostly restricted in host countries with great variation in entitlements. Legal restrictions also impede refugees' access to health care. Asylum seekers are typically granted restricted access to health care, often limited to emergency medical care, pregnancy and childbirth care, and immunisation services" (Langlois, Haines, Tomson & Ghaffar, 2016, para. 5). The case of restricted access to health is proven to be a feature in many refugee settlements and Rhino Camp Settlement is not exceptional as the same challenges came out of the research. The local health centres suffer from shortage of drugs, leading to many refugees living with ailments upon failing to get medication. The situation is worsened by the refugees' incapacity to pursue further avenues for treatment as they will require some financial commitments which are often beyond the reach of many. I learnt of so many cases of refugees suffering from Hepatitis B but have since opted to live their lives without treatment, the reason being that at local health centres they claim not to have medication for such. Following the diagnosis, the patients suffering from Hepatitis B are referred to the nearest Hospital in Arua town, where they are required to pay exorbitant treatment fees which many refugees due to economic hardships cannot afford. This results in a situation whereby the refugees opt to stay with the disease as they are restricted by financial requirements to access medication. It may be argued that the requirement for payments may be the same situation with the host population, however it may help to cite that the is a significant difference between refugees and the host community. The major difference is that refugees are people who have been displaced from their usual

means of survival and now placed in an area with limited and next to none economic activities to fend for themselves, thus there should be a waiver for them.

In a recent report, the Government of Uganda also acknowledged the challenges in the health sector. In the report they stated that "Health services are insufficient to meet the needs of the population. Many health centres in the settlement have a shortage of beds, drugs, and medical personnel" (GoU & UNHCR, 2018). The prevalence of challenges in this sector are attributed to wide ranging number of factors which call for commitment for both the government and humanitarian organizations to address. For instance, the unavailability or shortage of medication at health centres has been attributed to government legislation which in most cases stifles timeous importation of drugs with the effects cascading to the ordinary refugee. In line with the Sustainable Livelihood framework, this speaks volumes on the role of institutions, processes and policies in shaping the everyday lives of people. In this case, refugees are made victims of inaccessible health care due to process beyond their design and wish, thus this is an emphasis on the ruling relations shaping the social order. "Access to health facilities was poorer in some areas than others. For example, Kiryandongo had one sub-group of refugees that had a first aid post run by the CHW but they lived 10 km away; this group expressed their need for better access to the HC" (Blogg, Hickling, Marceau-Pitts, Raphael, Whelan & Zwi, nd, p. 79). Though this is an extract from a research undertaken in Kiryandongo, the concerns also reflect the same concerns raised in the context of Rhino Camp Settlement. Many refugees are made to walk long distances to reach the nearest health centre as they are few in relation to the refugee population staying in Rhino Camp Settlement. Summarily, it is notable that there is a combination of factors prevalent in the settlement which are all working against the accessibility of Health Care in settlements. There is a clear gap with regards to health provision and such a gap points out to a case of wellbeing under menace because health is both a livelihood asset and a determinant of wellbeing.

6.3   Employment & Sources of Income

Refugees while in Uganda have the "right to have access to employment opportunities and engage in gainful employment" (Refugees Act, 2006). This what the Refugees Act of Uganda enacted in 2006 state under section 29 (1) (e) when it covers the rights and obligations entitled to refugees. This is a crucial provision which relates to a seemingly great

commitment by the Ugandan government in ensuring that refuges feel at home. It is against this background that part of successes of the research was to juxtapose what the legislation promises and what the refugees are facing in their everyday lives. What emerged out of the research is that regardless of the sound provisions in the Ugandan legislation regarding refugee treatment, refugees continue to face high unemployment coupled with a virtually closed space for other viable sources of income. Out of all the fifty-one respondents none are formally employed, only a few are working with some NGOs on voluntary basis meaning they are not gainfully employment. This means that the prevailing situation does not satisfy the aspect of gainful employment as enshrined in the Refugee Act. In such it is of interest to establish the reasons why unemployment remains high yet all the legislation direct and advocate for refugee employment. According to both IMF and World Bank Uganda has a relatively low unemployment rate of 4.5 – 5 % but it remains high in the refugee community, these disparities may be a pointer to desperate neglection of refugees albeit existing supportive legislation. About 40 aid organizations have now registered with the prime minister's office and they employ thousands of people, most of them local Ugandans (Titz and Feck, 2017,). Aid organizations as institutions have a role to shape the lives of refugees by either providing or not providing employment opportunities to refugees. In this case the greater side emergent is that aid organisations are not largely extending employment offers to refugees but doing it to nationals. In a conversation with one staffer from OPM, he explicitly confirmed that the refugee influx had created a lot of employment opportunities, yet the reality is that refugees continue to suffer in unemployment. In other words, aid organisations became an employment opportunity for locals, providing them with income opportunities.

It emerged that of the employment opportunities that open, organisations have a tendency of being biased towards the nationals leaving behind refugees yet amongst the refugees there are also highly qualified individuals. The reported unfairness in consideration for jobs is breach of the Ugandan refugee legislation as well as a contributing factor to refugee difficulties in achieving wellbeing and improved capabilities. Suspected reports of corruption amongst the refugee community were also highlighted as a contributing factor to the state of high unemployment. The existing communication channel open loopholes for corruption in that it leaves a few people to get and control information. In terms of communication, aid organisations tend to over rely on local refugee leaders (Block leaders), these are individuals with individual interests too. So, it is not surprising when they do selective dissemination of

information. In that regard there is high possibility that since they are the ones with greater access to information, they may keep the information to themselves until some opportunities reach deadlines. Moreover, some of them are not elected, they appointed themselves hence they are not accountable to anyone which again may hinder access to opportunities. The significance of employment in bettering lives cannot be challenged, employment is also a tool for recovery as highlighted in a research highlighted by Dunn, Wewiorski and Rodgers (2008). "Work enhanced self-esteem. At work, participants felt needed, valued, and appreciated and received affirmations not easily acquired elsewhere. Getting a job, performing successfully, and developing positive relationships with co-workers tended to enhance a sense of competence and promote self-pride" (Dunn, Wewiorski & Rogers, 2008, p. 61).

Faced with realities of unemployment, they refugees are not giving up, they are always working tirelessly in pursuing other alternatives to enhance their lives sadly the alternatives are met with hiccups that challenge viability and sustainability. "Livelihood strategies are "the range and combination of activities and choices that people make in order to achieve their livelihood goals" (FAO, 2018). The research revealed that many refugees are putting their abilities and personal skills into practice as part of livelihood strategies to ensure that they meet livelihood goals, wellbeing included. Some few who had little capital in the past have since ventured in entrepreneurial units. Skills that have been dominant in practice are hairdressing, tailoring and these have been dominated by women who take the practice as means of generating income. While the activities mentioned above are dominated by young women, men are on the other hand involved in activities such as brick moulding and building all being done to meet a decent living. This is part of the happening taking place in the settlements which speaks volumes on refugees' innovativeness aimed at sustaining their wellbeing. However, the practices are met with profitability shortcomings, considering that the general populace is surviving without a reliable source of income those who then seek the services has too little to offer as payment for the services. Most of the respondents involved in one of the activities confirmed that what they get out of it is not that much, but they just do it to get the little to help themselves. "Development is seen as the improvement of livelihood sustainability, perhaps by making capital less vulnerable" (Morse & McNamara, 2013, p. 16). Since the utilisation of skills in the settlement is testified to be less profitable, it then raises questions on sustainability of the livelihoods in the settlement. The signal is that with the

contemporary situation illustrates a case of livelihoods under threat with regards to sustainability. This opens a call for aid organisation to consider intervening to enhance the skills through trainings to add competitiveness and create external markets for these refugees for profitability.

Another interesting factor that comes out of the various livelihood strategies is that of a gendered society. This is revealed by that women's dominance is seen in hairdressing while men's dominance is seen in building and brick moulding retail grinding mill, such an aggregation of responsibilities factors out an invisible hand of gender socialisation. On the other hand, the prevalence of small businesses highlights a social order of inherent inequalities in a society which is already facing deprivations. Having someone being able to operate a business in a settlement marred with challenges in financial challenges shows that their world generally doesn't constitute equal chances for a flourishing life. Moreover, we absorb that even with a crisis in place, people always find opportunities in the same crisis. The is supported by the fact that for refugees who have ventured in entrepreneurship, they have done it upon identifying an opportunity from the same prevalent circumstances. Knowing that refugees receive food rations that constitute beans and maize, there emerged need for grinding mills to crush maize as such some have chosen to operate grinding meals.

"Uganda has one of the most generous and progressive approaches to hosting refugees in the region, if not the world. Refugees are given relative freedom of movement, equal access to primary education, healthcare and other basic social services, and the right to work and own a business" (Amnesty International, 2017). We note that refugees have taken into consideration and capitalised on the somewhat flexible legislation which allows them to own businesses for self-reliance, which could be restricted in encampment approaches. Noting that the venturing into these various activities comes as a response to the high unemployment rates it is justifiable to say the wellbeing of refugees is not so good, but they have since found coping strategies.

6.4   Food Supply & Access

"Ensuring that people have access to adequate nutrient-rich food and safe water is essential for protecting the safety, health and well-being of millions who have been forced to flee" (UNHCR, 2018). The need for food is part of the important factors important in ensuring the

health and wellbeing of the generality of populace especially those forced to flee. When people are forced to flee, it means that they are displaced from their traditional places of place of stay meaning to say the usual ways of living are shaken. When people flee they are often unprepared for it hence they cannot get everything they need with them for the priority will be to run for their dear lives especially for the South Sudanese escaping from war. Refugees arrive in their respective places of refugee without anything to eat hence there is need for humanitarian organisations to help in this regard. While the importance of food access with nutritional value cannot be overemphasized, what emergent from the research is that refugees in the settlement still struggle to access food in general and not even speaking of nutrition. "Upon arrival, refuges receive high-energy biscuits at the border and hot meals in transit centres. They are then registered to receive cash or food as they settle down and are allocated with land" (World Food Programme, 2018). World Food Programme is the organisation taking the responsibility of providing refugees with monthly food rations for their consumption. While the charge of food provision is upon WFP, the refugees raised concerns pointing out to insufficiency of the food supply. Initially every refugee was entitled to 12 kilogrammes of maize and 4 kilograms of beans but since June 2016 the food ration has been cut by half, throwing majority of refugees in a food crisis. "World Food Programme forced to cut grain handouts as lack of funding and sheer number of people fleeing South Sudan's conflict leave agencies overwhelmed" (Okiror, 2017). The justification for the cutting of food rations has been that numbers are swelling beyond the supporting capacity of the resource base. In as much as the justification sounds noble it raises questions on the whole policy framework of refugee management in Uganda, questions related to the rationale of continued acceptance of refugees without growing financial base to sustain it.

The cutting of food rations came with a promise that they will be reinstated after three months, a promise which has not been fulfilled up to date. As a result, families are starving as they attempt to save the little they get. Promises which go unmet expose a reality of insincerity of institutions in enacting policies and processes, the ordinary refugees remain victims of policies beyond their design thereby growing thereby expanding their vulnerability context. From time to time, some families to finish the month with food to put in the plate, this exposes a real crisis that challenges the wellbeing of refugees and this is happening in the seemingly progressive policy raising questions on how progressive the policy is. The food shortages are reportedly pushing some refugees to engage in criminal activities, all in the

quest to satisfy the needs of the stomach. "Hunger is forcing desperate refugees from South Sudan to steal food from poverty-stricken locals in northern Uganda, residents say, after a funding crisis compelled the United Nations slash rations in refugee camps by half" (Obwot, 2017). This is an illustration of the extent to which refugees may reach in the bid sustain their lives amid shortage of food supply. These realities are a loud call for consolidated efforts by both state actors and humanitarian organisations to pool sufficient resources to ensure that refugees get enough food lest they end up getting to take criminal decisions. Others may even think of risking their lives by returning to the war prone South Sudan arguing that in as much there is fighting they can get food. In November 2017, Reuters reported that one refugee "Oliver Wani found sanctuary from South Sudan's civil war in a Ugandan refugee camp. But when the food ran out, he returned home only to be killed in the conflict he had fled" (Patinkin, 2017). These are some of the sad stories recorded that show how refugees' wellbeing is under threat consequential of the shortages of enough food hence the need to close these gaps to save lives.

The challenges of food, beyond insufficiency, it is also insufficient in nutrition which again indicates questioned wellbeing with regards to health and wellness of refugees. Earlier on I highlighted that the general assessment shows that health care for refugees is not in a good state based on access. However, in this section I will stress that the lack of food diversity for refugees place them under healthy scares emanating from nutritional deficiency. Refugees are subjected to receiving maize and beans throughout, a case which reveal restrictions in balanced diet. In the context of sustainable livelihood framework, this reveals the unfettered role of institutions in decision making, thus who gets what, where, how and when? Until the organisations involved in food supply decide to make a change on what the refugees are given as part of their food rations, they remain recipients of the same unless alternatives are sought and again within the confines of processes. Ruling relations continue to manifest in the everyday life of refugees in settlements in many aspects, more so within the area of food access and its alternatives. "In both camps and urban areas, refugees face numerous challenges obtaining diverse, nutritionally complete foods. Planned/managed camps often provide basic food rations to the residents who have limited ability to supplement these rations. These inadequacies resulted in micronutrient deficiencies and a high prevalence of underweight." (Fabio, 2014, p. 188). In other studies, carried elsewhere it came out that refugee settlements are characteristic of nutritionally incomplete food rations, characteristics

with a potential to plunge refugees in serious health consequences. Knowing that the whole essence for state to welcome refugees is to ensure their safety, it is justifiable that the protection is not enough when food requirements of refugees are not met sufficiently.

It is imperative to note in the quest to respond to the nutritional insufficiency, refugees have sought alternatives grounded on agricultural activities to grow some crops meant to bring a change from the usual maize and beans. Many refugees in the settlement ride on the Ugandan refugee policy which provides plots of land. From those available plots, they utilize the remaining pieces of land to cultivate Okra, Dodo, Cassava etc. In these cultivation ventures we also see a hand of humanitarian organisations through the supply of inputs and farming implements to make the idea somewhat lucrative. Through organisations such as ZOA, both refugees and host population are put in farming groups where they are taken through farming training skills and later capacitated with seeds and other farming necessities. The groups are a revelation of social (livelihood) capital. Moreover, they have proven to be helpful for the refugees to at least diversify their nutrition upon harvesting and in some cases, this has been taken as a source of income as some have managed to sell part of their yields. As helpful as it appears, there are still gaps that need to be closed to make the idea sustainable and be able to restore dignity to the lives of refugees. The farming is seasonal; thus, it is only feasible during the rainy season. What humanitarian organisations can decide to take up is to consider supporting irrigation capacity among the refugees to manage the farming throughout the year. This will stand a good foundation for refugees' self-reliance which the Ugandan refugees policy and the entire refugee regime strives to achieve. Cognizant of the fact that water is generally a challenge settlement due to erratic rainfall dominant in the area, I remain positive that organisations can consider rain water harvesting in the rainy season and reserve it for use in the dry season

Billboard illustrating one of the already established rainwater harvest sytem in Ocea, a Malteseter International intervention. **Photo**: (Tererai Obey Sithole, 2018)

Since during the rainy season, water is readily available for the purposes of farming, the water harvested during the rainy season will be reserved for the dry season. Already there are functioning interventions of rain water harvesting but limited to few areas such as schools. Hence what will be needed is for willing organisations to expand the necessary infrastructure to make it possible. Issues of malnutrition and stunted growth will never be addressed lest the issue of balanced diet is met in its fullness to satisfy the people concerned. It will be of great hazard for refugees living in the settlement to be attacked by diet related sickness in a context which already has an ailing health response as indicated earlier. Amid the increasing refugee influx, I posit that responsible authorities must make frantic efforts to mobilise enough food for refugees to restore adequacy, nutritionality and dignity and this is part of such restoration.

6.5   Water and Sanitation

From the responses that I got from the refugees, aided by both my own observations and available text on the social world of the settlements, water and sanitation came out as central challenge. Water and sanitation remain a challenge for refugees albeit them being universally recognizable as a fundamental human right following a United Nations General Assembly resolution. Realities from the settlements are that of refugees going for days without water supply, being forced to travel and subjected to long ques that for two hours or even more in a

bid to access the precious liquid. In a research carried in Uganda by Binego et al in 2016 established that there is "Longstanding refugee influx that overstretches available water sources and existing coping mechanisms" (Binego, Adam-Bradford & Wright, 2016). The trends of forced migration that has seen many South Sudanese taking Uganda as their destination have brought pressure on the water resource. The influx is seemingly surpassing the sustenance capacity of humanitarian actors to supply water for the refugees in the settlements. There are various ways in which humanitarian actors have been taking water to the refugees, one way is through water trucking, the other is the drilling of boreholes and of late there have been efforts to construct motorised water pumps to take water through the pipes to the refugees.

Through the water trucking system, DRC has been leading in this through providing water trucks to ferry water to specific water collection points dotted around the settlement. There are specific points where there are water tanks where refugees go and fetch their water from. "Water in northern Uganda, where hundreds of thousands of South Sudanese have sought refuge, is scarce. In northern Uganda's sprawling camps most are forced to walk for miles to get access to clean water. The United Nations is trucking water from the River Nile, which is both costly and unsustainable" (UNHCR, 2017). Water trucks periodically come and deliver water, according to respondents ideally it is three times a day however practically the schedule is not adhered to. This is where the challenges start to emanate from in that at a time when water trucks don't deliver the water as expected, refugees are left in a desperate situation for many with very limited options to cope up with. In such a condition, out of desperation, the refugees are left to walk for very long distances to the nearest water access point where they assume they could access it or the other alternative will be to wait until water is finally delivered at their water delivery point. This can be easily rectified by having functional boreholes unfortunately majority of the boreholes in the settlement are no longer functional, with others reported to have broken down some three years ago but to date no repairs have been made. This exposes the reluctance of aid organisations working within the WASH sector regarding responding to key issues such as resuscitation of boreholes. However, on the other hand it is of essence to note that the idea of having boreholes cannot be effectively feasible considering the location of the settlement. The settlement is in the rural parts of Northern Uganda, the area receives erratic rainfalls thus it somehow faces period of dry spells something which leads to low water tables. Having such realities, the sustainability

of reliance on boreholes has been cited as a not so easy target but as an alternative in situations of emergency it remains a very useful venture for humanitarian actors to consider.

Because the numbers of refugees continue to swell upwards, some of the available water collection points tend to be overwhelmed leading to long ques at these points. Talking to my respondents especially from the Siripi zone I learnt that there are cases when they stand in ques for close to two hours. Some choose to leave their containers in the que and go back to their places and handle some other chores. "Many wait in line for hours to pump water from boreholes or to draw their share of water from 10,000-liter tanks… very often, others go home from the pump empty-handed" (Taban, 2014). This was a report by VOA in 2014 but the situation seems to have remained the same as even to date many are still subjected to long ques in the quest to get their own share. The nexus between the 2014 report and the contemporary situation outline little efforts being taken by humanitarian actors to alleviate the challenges faced by refugees in their everyday lives in this regard water supply. The challenges of water are not ending at its supply, but also reach some extents of quality. Many refugees indicated that in some cases the water delivered to the is smelly a sign of it not being clean. This is because the some of the water delivered in the settlement is fetched straight from the Nile river therefore it would be that in some cases the purification may not meet the right standards. This exposes refugees to health scares considering that they do not have any other available alternatives than to consume it in its dirtiness. The only alternative that they could pursue would be to boil it but again there are little access to firewood therefore it is unarguably that boiling water will become an aspect of less priority. The reports of unclean water also raise questions on the effectiveness of volunteers working for various organisations with the charge of monitoring water quality at delivery points. Precisely with this it may emerge that they are not doing a noble job when they allow them to get to the consumers in a bad state. At household level the water challenges are also exacerbated by the low capacity of containers given to refugees upon arrival as part of core relief items. Refugees are given 15-litre containers each which is the universal minimum quantity for an individual per day therefore the containers leave refugees with no room to stock, this could be addressed by considering increasing the number of containers one gets.

"The provision of adequate sanitation services is crucial to prevent communicable diseases and epidemics while ensuring good health and dignity" but "Many refugee camps in Uganda today face a challenge of sanitation due to the continued increase of refugees from South Sudan" (Night, 2017). Plenty households are existing without toilets and is an abnormality which seem to have been normalised. This is because there is less talk about it amongst refugees themselves however a couple of aid organisations with a WASH component are making strides in addressing this matter. There are organisations constructing pit latrines for households however for selected persons, mainly PSNs leaving the rest to share the very few available public pit latrines. I site of the available public obviously mean that others are close to it and others are far from. This draws a security risk for those with houses far from the toilet especially when someone needs to access it at night in a settlement without proper lighting, someone may be attacked at night. Another issue of concern is that most of the latrines are of makeshift arrangement with missing necessities such as running water for hand washing. A combination of inadequate sanitary necessities, unreliable water access and a struggling health care system is a definite health time bomb, this means at any time the settlement risk sanitary linked diseases such as cholera and typhoid and can easily claim lives. With such circumstances there is absolute need for consolidated actions as one of priority interventions to ensure that sanitary is improved to prevent possibilities of disease outbreaks.

6.6   Shelter and Infrastructure

Emphasis is consistently given that refugees in Uganda are given generous portions of land for them to settle but less emphasis is given on the state of housing that they get in the settlement. Evidence gathered show that refugees are struggling to get decent housing leaving them to live in squalid conditions marred with insecurities. As part of the UNHCR's component of Core Relief Items (CRI), refugees are provided with tarpaulins to set up shelter at their designated places. This is a noble part of the entire protection initiative however it is not sustainable thus exposing the wellbeing of refugees to be under threat as it breeds insecurity and undermines decency. The tarpaulins that are provided do not last long due to the obvious combinations of high and low temperatures thus they can't stand the test of time and end up ripped. According to responses from the refugees I interacted with, problems of shelter begin to manifest largely when the tarpaulins are damaged, it means the refugees should start to find alternatives to have shelter in their own means. Refugees are left to utilize

the few resources available within their limited capacity to construct shelter for themselves. Resultant from that they tend to construct grass thatched mud and pole houses for them to shelter themselves and some who cannot easily pursue such alternative keep on improvising with the ripped tarpaulins which expose them to safety risks such as of snakes getting in. While the mud and pole houses appear to be the closet alternative to follow, it is a process met with its own challenges. It is pertinent to underline that the occupation by refugees in this area have seen the depletion of some natural resources, trees included thus while refugees intend to get some poles for housing construction access to enough of it is not enough. They are often forced to encroach into the territories of host population where they are somewhat met with resistance from the host community who may demand payment to allow them. Considering what has been highlighted in previous chapters regarding refugees' limited access to financial resources it means they fail to meet the requirements. What may end up happening is that refugees will choose to sneak through, an act that holds great potential of conflict amongst the refugees and host population. Another point to note is that most of the houses constructed out of this are often not strong because they are products of generally limited materials. Reports of leaking grass thatched roofs in the rainy season forcing people to stay up if it rains at night as well as losing their little possessions, on the other hand some houses even collapse. This points out to the extent of vulnerability which refugees face in terms of getting decent shelter, this is a manifestation that can be curbed. The seemingly neglection of refugees on housing support raises questions on the significance of the highly lauded refugee policy of Uganda when it ignores housing. This crisis of housing can be addressed if humanitarian actors are to commit in supporting refugees in getting somehow sustainable material for housing construction. Following a housing crisis in Kalobeyei refugee camp in Kenya, "Ban has designed a low-cost housing prototype that is slated to provide at least 20 000 refugees with a durable roof over their heads. The Japanese designer has long been a proponent of using locally-produced, low-impact materials in the creation of living spaces and the Kalobeyei Refugee Settlement is no exception" (Uys, 2017). In the same context, aid organisations can tap into similar innovations and use low cost materials to avert the continual challenges associated with housing provision in settlements.

Infrastructure is another component that has emerged as another challenge at hand when focusing on the everyday lives of refugees. On this, access roads and public lighting top the list in that their absence on limitation birth serious restrictions on the enjoyment of some

justiciable freedoms. We have been made aware earlier that according to the Ugandan refugee policy, freedom of movement is given great value. However, the conditions of key infrastructure in the settlement places major setback on the enjoyment of these freedoms. I posit that there is no freedom of movement that can be talked of in the absence of key enablers of the movement i.e. access roads. Access roads in and around the settlement are in a sorry state something which has ripple effects all to the disadvantage of refugees. The bad state of roads is restrictive for refugees to easily access some areas that they may need to access. An example, due to the bad state of roads, transport to Arua town has become expensive as transport operators would seek to compensate the damages incurred due to bad roads. When I touched on health I indicated that there are often when sick refugees are referred to Arua Referral Hospital for further treatment, thus in the absence of ambulances many fail to further pursue the route due to the expensive nature of transport. A combination of limited financial resources and expensive transport cost emanating from poor state of access roads is stifling the freedom of movement. Another notable infrastructural shortcoming is the public lighting at night, while other zones e.g. Tika have solar powered lights, other zones do not have such arrangements. In areas the absence of such infrastructure poses a security risk for refugees at night, many are then in a position of not being free to move. This is exacerbated by the societal structure that has brought people of different ethnic groups at one place and knowing that these same people are now refugees because of conflict with an ethnical linkage back home, it may be that they still live with mistrust. In such circumstances, some may not feel that secure thus with limited infrastructure to expand safety there is likelihood of limited freedom of movement.

6.7   Revelation of Ruling Relations

Having referred to Institutional Ethnography in the study it is emergent that ruling relations cane be identified and the everyday lives and doings of refugees in the settlement. In this part I would like to recap and give emphasis on how ruling relations are manifest in most of the happenings in the settlement. In this part I will identify influence of ruling relations backed by the findings gathered from the research. First notable revelation is that the Sustainable livelihood framework prove to be a compass guiding most of the organisation's interventions proving that the framework could be a ruling relation. The focus of humanitarian organisations is to enhance livelihood resources among refugees, though my findings show

that they are not doing it in sufficiency. Evidently there has been effort to provide livelihood capital, for example the establishment and support of secondary education to refugees expresses a commitment to enhance human capital. It can be argued that the decision by UNHCR to see the need to support education emanated from an analysis of the available livelihood resources, only to realise that it is missing - hence the need to establish it. For other organisations there is enhancement of social capital through the support of groups formation. In line with SLF, membership to groups is a component of social capital yet the settlement context illustrates organisations such as ZOA and DRC support VSLAs, farmers' groups etc something that can substantiate that the framework is a base for ruling relations. The argument here being that the existence of Sustainable Livelihood framework guides the intervention of various organisations, thus the framework itself may become a ruling relation. Noting that organisations are somehow captured within rigid systematic ways of doing things, it leaves a lot of questions on the effectiveness of their role. It is a revelation that suggests the need for a radical shift within institutions and ensure that they give priority in the supremacy of the standpoint as determinants of intervention choices. This is because the reliance on specific frameworks in this case Sustainable Livelihood Framework gives an impression that the impact of interventions is linear that is from one point to the other. However, realities of everyday doings require adaptive abilities amongst both the humanitarian actors as well as the intended beneficiaries on the principle that every situation has its own specific remedy.

Regarding how ruling relations are prevalent in the settlement, the evidence cannot be over emphasized. In the previous sections under thus chapter I have been citing how ruling relations are revealed however, I will further allude to it here. Access to food in the settlement primarily rests on the role of World Food Programme. While refugees are entitled to monthly food rations, it should be noted that the decision as to the quantity and what constitutes the rations and when to issue is incumbent upon WFP. This however influences the way in which the refugees handle their doings in response to the conditions made available to them by the external hand of WFP. An instance is that when refugees are given the same food stuffs throughout (maize and beans), they tend to engage in selling what they receive to buy something different to match their dietary needs. On the other hand, when they monthly rations are cut down in quantity or when they are delayed, some refugees are forced to cut down their meals as an adaptive measure. A focus on this shows how the doings of

refugees on issues of food are determined by the trans local happenings which happen outside their context.

Another manifestation of ruling relations can be drawn from the existence of farmers' groups which are made of both refugees and host community. Refugees testify that it could not have been easy for them to solicit for land, but organisations are encouraging them to do so in line with the Refugee Host Population Empowerment (ReHoPE) policy. This is a Ugandan policy which aims at fostering integration through encouraging humanitarian actors to consider at least 30% of the host community in interventions. This has seen refugees gradually coming together with the host community in key interventions in this regard farmers' group. While this is happening and impacting on the refugees it should be noted that the determination is initiated externally. Still on ruling relations, refugees' management in Uganda falls under the Office of the Prime Minister, furthermore UNHCR is equally involved in the welfare with several other organisations helping through a variety of interventions amid the refugee crisis. It is within such a setup up where determination is made on the size of the pieces of land each refugee gets. Thus, in the long run whatever a refugee may want to with the land it should fit in what they have at their disposal. The state of shelter in the settlement is yet another reflection of ruling relations taking control. Firstly, refugees are subjected to specific pieces of land based on the decision done by the government as to how big the portions are supposed to be. A wish to expand is generally made difficult because the policy is put in place to determine how much are refugees gets for occupation.

6.8   Contributing Factors to Deprivation

It is important to underscore that the Northern region of Uganda has had its own significant share of challenges with regards to the availability of resources and social services attributed to a long-standing war that took place in the region. "The war and displacement has caused massive losses of the means of livelihood. IDPs lost their livestock and were hardly able to access their agricultural land. The displacement locations lacked not only sources of income but also other basic necessities such as healthcare, education and day-to-day security" (Muyinda & Whyte, 2011, p. 119). The displacement locations are also inclusive of the Northern part of Uganda where Rhino Camp Settlement is located. It is against this

background that it is necessary to note that the deprivation faced by refugees is exacerbated by the background of the location. It is an area which suffered great losses during the war and while it has been struggling with rebuilding that's when it has been subjected to hosting a refugee influx. It is from this revelation where it could be justified to conclude the current state of refugees which is made of scarcity of livelihood resource is mirroring the dominant situation of the are itself. The insufficiency of education and health facilities can be argued to be beyond the current existence of refugees but rather to be viewed a challenge that has been long prevalent with the government trying to establish such facilities in previously war-torn area. In other words, it can be argued that the emergence of the refugee crisis has actually been beneficial to the area as it has brought some facilities which been previously unavailable in the area.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUDING REMARKS

7.1   Overview

The exploration of the refugees' everyday lives as inspired by Institutional Ethnography gave me an entry point of understanding the state of wellbeing which the refugees are experiencing in the settlements. After having seen and read several reports to the effect of how good the Ugandan refugee policy is, it was quite interesting to learn on how the refugees themselves perceive the state. The experiences which the refugees shared where an eye opener to the gaps that still require serious attention to ensure that the lauding by various sources on the Ugandan policy is in tandem with what the refugees are exposed to. What this research gathered is that while the refugee hosting in Uganda may be a model in that it is premised on the settlement system as opposed to the camp system, there is a lot which still needs to be done.

Refugees are given a fair share of pieces of land to settle on and some for cultivation if there is a remainder. This could be argued to be a good arrangement, but from the refugees themselves the pieces on land are not big enough for them to meet what they may envision to achieve. The background of South Sudanese is that most of them are reliant on agriculture back in their countries of origin, that makes agriculture central to their everyday lives. Therefore, they feel deprived by being in settlement with limited pieces of land for them to exercise their usual practices of farming. It is fair enough to conclude that the settlement approach ideally holds some room for freedom for the people, but freedom of movement alone is not enough for the wellbeing of human beings. More is needed, it is those other necessities that are still missing in the puzzle of sustainability and wellbeing for the refugees.

The deprivations are visible in key social services such as education and health. The access to these services in restricted through cost and distance. Quality of delivery is being compromised by shortage of personnel to cater for the provision of adequate and sufficient services. There are only two secondary schools in the entire settlement which manifests into a challenge of overwhelmed teaching staff. The pupil to teacher ratio is too high and this is a reality with a potential to breed negative outcomes in quality as the teachers may fail to give every pupil the much-deserved attention. On the side of health, it emerged that there are cases

of long ques attributed to shortage of staff in some health centres leading to some people returning home without being attended to because the of long ques. The other problem highlighted was that of language barriers between the health workers and refugees. Refugees feel they are not able to fully express themselves on what will be bothering them if they meet a nurse who does not understand their language. All in all, the total number of these services in not commensurate with the population and locations leaving many refugees to face longer distances to access these places. The other disturbing factor in the view of refugees in the cost associated with accessing these key services that is tuition fees for secondary education and treatment fees for ailments not attended to locally such as hepatitis B. The need for some financial commitment during very limited employment opportunities and less sustainable livelihood strategies also pose a big burden on the everyday lives of refugees.

Employment opportunities for refugees are very much limited leaving many people of the working-age population to resort to other livelihood strategies which are not sustainable because those requiring services or goods may not be able to pay enough. There has been widespread activity in the informal trading which does not bear much profit because of the limited financial capacity among fellow refugees around the settlement. Hairdressing, brick moulding and farming have become among other activities which the refugees are venturing in a bid to respond to the crisis of limited employment opportunities. Shelter and basic infrastructure is not enough to meet the dignity of refugees. The majority are exposed to torn tarpaulins as their shelter with some resorting to grass thatched mud and pole houses which are often susceptible to collapse and leaking in the rainy season. Apart from the absence of dignified habitat, the conditions also place the refugees on a risk of collapsing houses. On the other hand, other basic infrastructure such as access roads are in a bad state hindering mobility and leading to high cost of the already limited public transport. Public lighting remains a challenge in the settlement raising concerns of safety for the refugees at night.

Access to food and WASH facilities need urgent attention in the settlement as the current condition pointed out to a big shortage of these within the settlement. Refugees rely on food rations which come from World Food Programme monthly, but concerns have been raised inherently to the effect that the rations are not enough following the scaling down. Beyond food not be enough for many refugees, and issue on absence in diversity leads to fears of

malnutrition. Water supply is inconsistent in the settlement with cases where people go for weeks without receiving water in their clusters and in some instances the water delivered is dirty. For toilets, several households are surviving without pit latrines. There are only a few pit latrines shared by the public which are far apart, and these are improvised structures which are filled up quickly. Efforts have been made recently by some aid organisations to construct pit latrines but only for a narrow target group.

A close look at all the factors that came out based on the experiences shared by refugees shows that there are a lot of issues affecting the wellbeing of refugees in the settlement. There are a lot of gaps that need to be closed, humanitarian actors and the government of Uganda must look beyond just the settlement approach and its guaranteed for freedom of movement. They must consider addressing the challenges of inherent deprivation which are prevalent in the settlement. By doing that, it will be assurance of a comprehensive refugee policy facilitative of capacities for refugee wellbeing and sustainability. The challenges of deprivation which the refugees are largely subjected to must not be viewed in isolation but should take cognizance of the general remoteness of the area and its long-standing history which birthed some significant share of poverty. "The impact of conflict and insecurity on civilians in Northern Uganda has been catastrophic. Conflict and insecurity in the northern region led to a loss of assets and livelihoods" (Bird, Higgins & McKay, 2010, p. 1189). The same area which was affected by war living many at loss of assets and livelihoods is the same area which the refugees have been settled shows that the refugees start their lives at deprived footing. With an already confirmed scarcity of resources in the area, it is apparent that refugees' wellbeing is under threat from the onset as they are settled in an area generally marred with scarcity of resources. Their condition is worsened in that they will be new in the area obviously with limited strategies to cope up to the situation.

7.2   Contributions of the study

The main objective of the research from the onset was to explore the everyday lives of refugees to understand their state of wellbeing based on their perspective. The research managed to achieve that, and findings gathered from the research formulate grounds for further humanitarian interventions. The interventions will be aimed at alleviating the

challenges faced by refugees which may not have been given the much-deserved attention in the past. Firstly, while humanitarian actors might be fostering refugee participation in decision making, the way it's done must be broadened and prioritize their views in order to make interventions have an impact on their lives. The need to prioritize the refugee voice comes in the interest of ensuring maximum impact on every intervention which organisations may think of engaging in. Some interventions do not necessarily impact positively on the lives of the refugees since they may lack ownership from the intended beneficiaries. This is related largely to the skills development interventions which some refugees still feel what they were trained in are not what they are passionate in, but they had to do it since it was the only option available. This challenged is largely attributed to the top-down approach which results in organisation bringing interventions based on their interest and probably their own implementation framework. This is a dimension which raises a fundamental question on whether the work of humanitarian organisations is meant to satisfy the needs of the deprived or the interest is in fulfilling budget lines in line with project proposals. What we learn from this is the need for humanitarian actors to increase refugees' involvement and participation at the formative stages of initiatives; adoption of a bottom-up approach as opposed to the currently dominant top-down approach. The revelations leave to suggest that it could be high for aid organisations to consider the adoption of Institutional Ethnography as a tool for diagnosis on what kind of interventions will the beneficiaries require. Seemingly, the overreliance on the past way of doing things which relegates the beneficiaries to be recipients only lacks fullness in establishing broad and sustainable solutions.

More so, this study provides a call for the humanitarian actors operating in the settlements to adopt an expanded flexibility approach in their interventions for the purposes of maximum impact in the lives of refugees. The study revealed that there are some initiatives which emerge from the refugees themselves and have potential to yield an immense outcome, but they fall short at having some economic support. The required support may be missing because the initiatives may not be falling within the scope of the aid organisations, so as the budget lines support may be argued not to be available. This has been proven to be one of the setbacks of self-reliance in that organisations are working within their restricted scope, leaving out other potential areas initiated by the refugees themselves. From this research a lesson learnt is that aid organisations should move away from the over reliance on the thought that it is only what they initiate which works best to address the refugees' challenges. On the other hand, this research enlightens the both policy makers and aid organisations to

realise that interventions must be initiated in its fullness if self-reliance is to be achieved. Notable scenarios are that skills development which falls short at the provision of start-up kits and creation of markets. The contribution brought by this research is that efforts should be done to create or facilitate markets for those refugees with skills that require such, by doing so there will be sincerity in aspiring to see refugees' self-reliance.

The study contributes to the birth of a new narrative concerning the Ugandan refugee management approach. The widely shared message has been pinned on lauding Uganda as the best destination for refugees ignoring other elements that are involved in the everyday life of refugees. Emphasis has been given on the guaranteed freedoms for the refugees based on the settlement approach preferred by the Ugandan government. However, this study contributes in highlighting to the reader, aid organisations and the government on what refugees still face beyond the freedom of movement. Refugees remain vulnerable to deprivation of many crucial livelihood assets such as employment, secondary education, health care, water etc. These revelations are an important contribution especially in the view that the refugee crisis is ongoing. Hence in the region and beyond there is need to improve on all the mislaid aspects to ensure dignified wellbeing for refugees. The beginning of this year has seen a fresh influx of refugees arriving in Uganda following a fresh was of unrest DR Congo. All these people still deserve to receive good treatment. Thus, this study can be a compass to areas that require improvement to facilitate the betterment of refugees' wellbeing.

7.3   Opportunities for further study

This study provides a solid ground for avenues worthy further exploration within the same standpoint and or even context. An exploration during this study showed that there is an unavoidable crossing of paths between the refugees and the host community. We have learnt of the significant role of the host community in donating land for refugee settlement, thus in a way the settlement approach is dependent on the generosity of the host community. From such an arrangement it could an issue of interest to explore the easiness of integration between refugees and the host community. The integration could be based on trade, resource sharing, inclusion of both groups in services as well as language among other factors. Regarding the arrangement in the context it will also be of interest to further explore on

conflict potential between refugees and the host community. The point of departure on this one will be the resource competition and the pointers to this has been the refugees need to access some resources which are naturally scarce within their capacity. As an example, when refugees construct their mud and pole houses they need to cut down trees which they don't have in their plots of land that they end up encroaching in the territory of the host community which potentially cause conflict. Another research area of interest will be exploring the perspectives of the host community on what hosting refugees in their community means to them regarding sharing of resources and its benefits to them.

Assessing the effectiveness of community-based initiatives on enhancement of wellbeing is another area which warrants further exploration. From the study I established a hint in that refugees have in some cases have organised themselves to run some initiatives meant to better their situation. It will be of interest to explore what such initiatives have managed to achieve or what are they capable of achieving with regards to wellbeing, empowerment or the broader development concept. The nexus between the refugee influx and environmental degradation is yet another area that warrants some further exploration. This comes in the view of some of the practices that the refugees are involved in and cannot easily avoid such as use of firewood as the only source of cooking fuel. This practice one of the many that are not safe for the environment, yet they are dominant in the everyday lives in the settlement. The practices are contrary to the aspirations of SDG 15 which are to "protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss" (UNDP, 2018).

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