

**INSTITUTE OF PEACE STUDIES AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS**

HEKIMA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

A Constituent College of the Catholic University of Eastern Africa



**Refugee Land User Policy and Its Impact on Refugee-Local
Community Co-Existence in Nyumanzi Settlement,
Adjumani District - Uganda**

A Thesis By:

Augustine Bahemuka

HUC/IPSIR/2020/006

**Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Masters of Arts in Peace Studies and International Relations**

Nairobi, November 2020

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work, except where stated by way of reference or acknowledgment, and has not been presented to any university for academic credit.

Student: Augustine Bahemuka

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Supervisor: Dr. Elias O. Opongo, SJ

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Reader: Dr. Kifle Wansamo, SJ

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Dedication

To the Madi community of Egge village in Dzaipi, Adjumani district for the hospitality and generosity extended towards our brothers and sisters from South Sudan.

Ba Madi community Egge village ni Dzaipi, Adjumani district nia ri ni olu jo alu vua ta amika aluni rinjajo bai lofo adrunzi vua avonzi vu Sudani ni ewo oru a'si ritro rii ~ Madi.

Ee thonge a lo enong Madi to ne Egge ne Dzaipi, Adjumani district ne cieng pieth cike nyuoth watmathkuo ku nyiirakackuo eke bo ne South Sudan ~ Dinka.

Table of Contents

Declaration	i
Dedication.....	ii
Map of Adjumani and Neighboring Districts	vii
Abbreviations	viii
Acknowledgement	ix
ABSTRACT.....	x
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background of the Study.....	3
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	5
1.3 Purpose of the Study	6
1.4 Objectives of the Study	6
1.5 Research Questions.....	6
1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study.....	7
1.7 Scope of the Study	7
1.8 Limitation of the Study	8
1.9 Ethical Considerations	8
1.10 Conceptual Framework.....	10
1.11 Definition of Terms	11
1.11.1 Refugee	11
1.11.2 Procedures for Land Allocation	11
1.11.3 Motivating Factors	11
1.11.4 Refugee Land User Policy	11
1.11.5 Refugee-Host Relations	11
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	12
2.1 Historical Overview and Origins of Refugees in Uganda.....	12
2.1.1 South Sudan	13
2.1.2 Rwanda	14
2.1.3 Burundi	16
2.2 Durable Solutions in Management of Refugee Situations.....	17
2.2.1 Local Integration of Refugees.....	18

2.2.2 The Case of Local Integration of Refugees in Uganda	20
2.2.3 The Case of Local Integration of Refugees in Kenya	23
2.2.4 The Case of Local Integration of Refugees in Tanzania	26
2.3 Uganda's Management Approaches to Refugee Regimes	28
2.3.1 Self-Reliance Strategy (SRS).....	28
2.3.2 Refugee and Host Population Empowerment (ReHoPE)	30
2.3.4 Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF)	31
2.3.5 Implementation of CRRF in Uganda.....	32
2.4 Pull factors for Refugee-Hosting by Governments and Communities	33
2.4.1 Political Economy of Refugees.....	33
2.4.2 First-hand Experience of Conflict and Displacement	36
2.4.3 Cultural Convergences	37
2.4.4 Social-Economic Benefits	38
2.5 Sharing of Natural Resources in Refugee-Hosting Areas.....	41
2.5.1 The Case of Land Allocation to Refugees in West Nile, Uganda.....	42
2.5.2 Pitfalls of the Land Negotiation Process	43
2.5.3 Impact of Refugee Influx on Land Allocation.....	44
2.5.4 Challenges of Associated with Land Allocation.....	45
2.6 The Concept of Dialogue in Conflict Transformation.....	48
2.6.1 What is Dialogue?	49
2.6.2 Sustained Dialogue Model.....	50
2.6.3 Sustained Dialogue and Conflict Transformation towards Peaceful Co-existence	50
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY	52
3.1 Research Design	52
3.2 Research Methods and Instruments	53
3.3 Population and Sampling	54
3.4 Field Data Collection Process	56
3.5 Research Site and Time Frame.....	59
3.6 Reliability and Validity of the Instrument	59
3.7 Data Analysis	60
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS	61
4.1 Description of Study Sample.....	61
4.2 Land Allocation	62

4.2.1 Procedures of Land Allocation	62
4.2.2 Challenges Emerging from the Process of Allocation of Land	64
4.2.3 Documentation of Land	65
4.2.4 Addressing the Issue of Land Ownership.....	66
4.3 Motivating Factors for Refugee Hosting	68
4.3.1 Social-Economic Benefits	68
4.3.2 First-hand Experience of Displacement	69
4.3.3 Infrastructural Development	70
4.3.4 Cultural Convergences	70
4.4 Threats of the Refugee Land User Policy	72
4.4.1. Challenges Encountered by Refugees in Using Allocated Land	72
4.4.2 Other Threats Inhibiting Threaten the Refugee Land User Policy	75
4.4.3 Suggestions on Improving the Refugee Land Policy	76
4.5 Relations between Refugee and Host Communities.....	78
4.5.1 Prevalence of Land-Related Disputes	80
4.5.2. Causes of Land-related Disputes.....	81
4.5.3 Rating the Impact of Land User Policy on Refugee-Host Relations.....	85
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	88
5.1 Summary	88
5.2 Discussion and Conclusion	91
5.2.1 Procedures of Land Allocation	91
5.2.2 Pull Factors for Refugee-hosting	93
5.2.3 Impact of the Refugee Land Policy on Refugee-Host Relations	95
5.2.4 Analysis of Land Related Disputes Using the Onion Analogy.....	96
5.2.5 Dispute Resolution towards Peaceful Co-existence.....	99
5.2.6. Conclusion	100
5.3 Recommendations.....	101
BIBLIOGRAPHY	103
APPENDIX.....	109
Interview Guide.....	109
Questionnaire I (Refugee respondents)	110
Questionnaire II (Host respondents).....	113

List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of Uganda showing the location of Adjumani and neighboring districts.....	vii
Figure 2: Illustration of the suggestions for addressing the issue of land ownership.	66
Figure 3: Prevalence of Land-Related Disputes	80
Figure 4: Direct causes of land related conflicts as cited by respondents.....	82
Figure 5: Indirect causes of land related conflicts as cited by respondents	84
Figure 6: Rating of impact of the refugee land user policy on refugee-host relations.....	86

List of Tables

Table 1: Distribution of research tools among the respondents	55
Table 2: Independent Samples Test	62
Table 3: Ranking of Factors that Motivate the Local Community to Welcome Refugees	71
Table 4: Ranking of Threats of the Refugee Land User Policy.....	76
Table 5: Direct and indirect causes of land related conflicts as cited by respondents.....	81

Map of Adjumani and Neighboring Districts

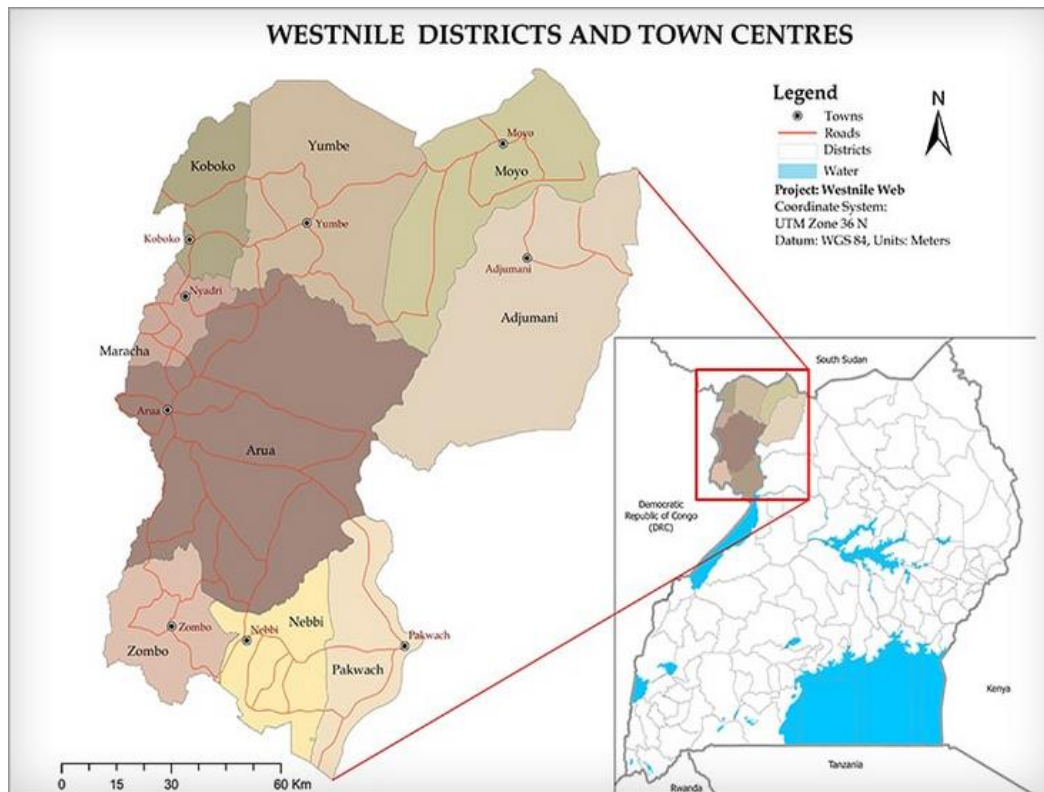


Figure 1: Map of Uganda showing the location of Adjumani and neighboring districts

Abbreviations

AAH	Action Against Hunger
ACCS	Advisory Consortium on Conflict Sensitivity
CRRF	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
DAR	Development Assistance for Refugee-hosting areas
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GoT	Government of Tanzania
GoU	Government of Uganda
IDP	Internally Displaced People
IPs	Implementing Partners
IRRI	International Refugee Rights Initiative
JRS	Jesuit Refugee Service
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
RAD	Refugee Aid Development
ReHoPE	Refugee and Host Population Empowerment
SRS	Self-Reliance Strategy
UBS	Uganda Bureau of Statics
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNLA	United National Liberation Army

Acknowledgement

All glory and praise to the Almighty God with whose grace and guidance I have reached this far. Special thanks to my parents Dennis and Antonia Bahemuka whose love, care and dedication to education have nurtured me into the person I am today. I would also wish to thank the Congregation of Holy Cross for facilitating my post-graduate studies. Thank you Geraldine Nakabuye for your financial and moral support; my colleagues at Equity Bank for your support and flexibility when I had to be away for study and research. My sincere gratitude to my gate keepers in Adjumani, without whom this research wouldn't have taken shape: Patrick Lola, Jacob Aleer, Albert Alumbgi, Faith C. Kamoyo, Joana Gomez, Nana C. Tchuingwa and Mr. Titus Jogo – Refugee Desk Officer (OPM). I remain indebted to my supervisor Dr. Elias O. Opongo, SJ whose guidance and wisdom, availability and simplicity have enabled me to complete my research. Indeed, heartfelt gratitude to my classmates and entire HIPSIR faculty for making my two-year academic journey and stay at Hekima University College worth it.

ABSTRACT

The Government of Uganda (GoU) is highly regarded in the global refugee regime for its model of refugee integration, which essentially consists in local settlement and open-door policy on refugees. They are granted land user rights over the land allocated to them by the government for habitation and agriculture. However, the spike in refugee population has increased the demand for land and natural resources, hence more competition which has created tensions between the refugees and locals. Given that land is a critical factor for the sustenance of Uganda's refugee policy, this study set out to examine how the refugee land user policy has influenced co-existence between the two communities of Nyumanzi settlement. One hundred (100) sample units were selected from a cross section of the settlement and the surrounding host community of Egge village using purposive and snowballing sampling techniques. Respondents comprised of both refugee and host communities, officials from the OPM, UNHCR and its implementing partners, and community leaders. Data was collected using the mixed research methodology. Seventy-five respondents were reached through questionnaires; 11 participants interviewed and 3 Focused Group Discussions held. The findings revealed the land refugee land policy as double-edged. On the one hand, land sharing through rent, hire and borrowing have become more commonplace and instrumental in building positive relations between the two communities. On the other hand, the policy is associated with resource scarcity and disputed land boundaries caused by animals trespassing into hosts' crop fields, which have become critical threats to peaceful co-existence between refugees and locals. Concerted effort from the government, UNHCR and community leaders is needed to address these factors.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of refugees is a global challenge that has affected many parts of the world. According to the 2019 Global Trends report, refugees constitute 36% (25.9 million) of the total number of forcibly displaced people around the globe, which stood at 70.8 million by the end of 2018 (UNHCR, 2019). The UN Refugee Agency further reports that Sub-Saharan Africa accounts for 26% (6.3 million) of the global refugee movements notably caused by the crises in Nigeria, South Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo, and the Burundian and Central African Republic situations (UNHCR Africa, 2020). Conflict and violence are the greatest push factors for refugee movements across the continent. The East and Horn of Africa region is home to 4.5 million refugees (UNHCR, 2020, p. 53) with marked incidences from South Sudan, Somalia, DRC and Burundi. In East Africa, Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda are home to majority of the refugees in the region. These states, particularly the immediate local communities hosting the refugees, evidently bear a multi-dimensional burden: the challenges encountered can be economical, environmental, cultural and social. However, one significant component that buffers the burdens emerging from refugee-hosting is peaceful co-existence between the refugees and the local community.

Uganda hosts 1,423,740 refugees, which is the highest number accommodated by any African state. The country's refugee policy gives refugees access to land for habitation and cultivation purposes, which has impacted on the relationship between the refugees and their immediate local communities in various ways. This study particularly examined the refugee land user policy and how it has influenced peaceful co-existence between the two communities. The findings revealed the refugee land user policy as double-edged: inasmuch as land sharing and economic benefits have promoted good relations between the refugees and locals, the land policy has also directly and indirectly spurred land disputes between the two communities. The study also revealed compounding factors which threaten the refugee land policy in Adjumani

district. Most notably are the failure of government to fulfil the promises made to the elders in compensation for their land; and the misinformation among refugees that this land was bought by the government and UNHCR.

This thesis report is divided into five chapters. Chapter one presents the background of the study and then articulates its purpose, justification and significance. The objectives and research questions that guided the researcher are outlined as well. Also included in this chapter are the limitations, theoretical framework, ethical considerations that were observed by the researcher. Chapter two reviews literature about refugees from a broader perspective of the East African region. Chapter three demonstrates the methodology that the researcher used from collecting data to the point of analyzing it. Chapter four presents the data analysis by displaying and discussing the findings of the study guided by the research objectives. Lastly, in chapter five, the researcher presents the summary and discussion of the study findings, conclusion and recommendations on how to alleviate the challenges observed.

1.1 Background of the Study

The East and Horn of Africa region has remained a key player in the global refugee phenomenon both as a contributing region and refugee-hosting. Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya, DRC and Tanzania accommodate majority of the refugees in the region, where they are integrated into the local communities, according to the respective states' refugee policies. Uganda's model of integration is, however, globally lauded because it provides refugees with more opportunities to livelihoods through allocation of land, free movement and right to work.

Uganda accommodates 1,423,740 refugees (GoU, 2020), the highest number of refugees in the East African region, and Africa at large. Refugees originating from DRC, Burundi and South Sudan constitute the highest incidences in the country, with the latter having a population of 880,367 as of April 2020. This resulted from cycles of violent conflict in South Sudan that started in December 2013 following deep political differences between President Salva Kiir and his former Vice- President Riek Machar. Majority of the refugees in Uganda are accommodated in settlements located in the West Nile and Western regions of Uganda. Particularly, refugees from South Sudan are hosted in the West Nile districts, including of Arua, Moyo, Koboko Yumbe and Adjumani.

In Adjumani district, the Madi are the dominant ethnic group and their local dialectic is the most commonly spoken. Other ethnic groups include; the Kuku, Lugbara, Kakwa and the Bari whose origins can be traced from South Sudan. The Uganda Bureau of Statics (UBS) in 2014 placed the population of the district at 225,252 and is currently projected to be 234,300 (West Nile Web, 2019). The district's refugee demographic dividend, in relation to the host population, makes it a notable refugee situation within West Nile given that the refugee population is estimated at 214,749 (GoU, 2020). There are nineteen (19) refugee settlements located in Adjumani, which include; Pagirinya, Maaji I, II & III, Ayilo I & II, Elema, and Nyumanzi, which is demographically the largest with a refugee population estimated at 39,622

as revealed by one key informant from the Office of the Prime Minister (AA1901, interviewed 19 FEB 2020). Nyumanzi was established in 2014 and is predominantly comprised of the refugees from the Dinka ethnic community. It was also the first settlement to be established for refugees from South Sudan fleeing the violence that had broken out in December 2013.

Refugees were allocated plots of land to construct houses and also cultivate some vegetables. This land was freely offered to the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), who held negotiations with the land owners (elders) of Egge village in Dzaipi sub-county, which is the local community hosting Nyumanzi settlement. An elder from Egge village affirmed that given the circumstances of emergency at the time, OPM agreed the issue of compensating the land owners would be handled after settling the refugees (SP2401, interviewed 24 FEB 2020). However, the government has still not fulfilled the promises made to these elders, which included construction of permanent houses and awarding scholarships to their children. Even more, no official documentation was given to the elders for the land offered, a situation which has raised fear and insecurity in the local community (Herbert & Idris, 2018, p. 17).

The Danish Refugee Council (2018) agrees that land is one of the factors that has caused conflict between refugees and the local communities in Adjumani (p. 5). These issues display some of the pitfalls of the refugee land user policy in West Nile which have inevitably impacted the relationship between refugees and hosts. These unaddressed issues have caused feelings of frustration and dissatisfaction among the locals which have gravitated into flash points of conflict, hence potential threats to the efforts made in promoting peaceful co-existence. These sentiments are some of the underlying factors that escalated the violence displayed in the conflict between refugees and locals in Nyumanzi (December 2019); and the “disproportionate violent reaction” of the host community observed in the recent communal dispute in Rhino settlement (September 2020). These conflicts led to loss of lives, displacement of the locals into neighbouring villages and destruction of property (Jale, 2019; Okiror, 2020).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The refugee policy of Uganda provides for the integration of refugees through local settlement. A distinct feature of this refugee model in Uganda is the land user policy where refugees are allocated plots of land for habitation and agriculture. The underlying objective of the policy is empowerment towards self-reliance of refugees through cultivation of crops for both subsistence and commercial use, hence reduce dependency on food aid. Refugee settlements in the West Nile region, where Adjumani district is situated, are seated on communal land which is administered under the customary tenure system. This explains the deep cultural and economic value that the local community attaches to their land given it is a common heritage passed from one family generation to the next.

However, the process through which the land that holds Nyumanzi settlement was acquired left some unresolved issues hitherto. These include; demarcation of land, and the promises made to the elders (land owners) of Egge village, who own the land offered to the government, remain unfulfilled and yet these laid the foundation upon which land negotiations were premised. Even still, the elders were not issued with official documentation for their land. Consequently, these issues have affected the local community specifically regarding their relations with the refugee community and sense of disregard for their elders. This has not only raised feelings of disempowerment among the locals, but also threatened guarantee of ownership over their land. This situation is exacerbated by their inability to meet and dialogue government officials to satisfactorily address their grievances, hence often channeling their frustration to the refugees. In light of the above issues, the researcher sought to investigate how the refugee land user policy has impacted on the peaceful co-existence between the refugees and the local community surrounding Nyumanzi settlement in Adjumani District. The dearth of literature specifically addressing this area lay underneath the inspiration of this research.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

This study sought to examine Uganda's refugee land user policy and how it has influenced peaceful co-existence between the refugees and local communities surrounding Nyumanzi settlement. The findings of the study may be helpful in understanding this phenomenon in the other refugee-hosting areas within Adjumani District, and West Nile region at large.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The researcher undertook the following objectives to attain the purpose of the study;

- a. To study the procedures of land allocation to refugees in Nyumanzi settlement.
- b. To investigate the underlying factors that motivated the local community to offer land to the government for the allocation of refugees in Nyumanzi settlement.
- c. To identify the social-economic threats of the refugee land user policy in Nyumanzi settlement.
- d. To examine the impact of the refugee land user policy on the relationship between refugees and the local community of Nyumanzi settlement.

1.5 Research Questions

This researcher was guided by the following questions to attain the purpose of the study;

- a. What are the procedures of land allocation to refugees in Nyumanzi settlement?
- b. What are the underlying factors that motivated the local community to offer land to the government for allocation to refugees in Nyumanzi settlement?
- c. What are the social-economic threats of the refugee land user policy in Nyumanzi settlement?
- d. How has the refugee land user policy impacted on the relationship between refugees and the local community of Nyumanzi settlement?

1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study

Uganda has maintained her model of integration in refugee management where refugees have free movement and access to habitation and arable land. One foreseeable aspect of this policy lies in its ability to restore the dignity of the refugees, given that they can improve and sustain their livelihoods. However, since the implementation of the refugee land user policy through the Self-Reliance Strategy in 1999, there has not been sufficient study particularly regarding how it influences peaceful co-existence between the refugee and local communities.

Therefore, the findings of this research are significant to the government and its partners in crafting intervention measures to resolve the land disputes between refugees and the host community in Adjumani District, and West Nile at large. In academia, this study contributes to the debate on factors that foster peaceful co-existence in refugee-hosting situations, hence suggest lessons to other countries. This knowledge is also edifying to the local authorities in Adjumani specifically on the issues affecting the local community of Nyumanzi.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This study focused on examining Uganda's refugee land user policy and how it influences peaceful co-existence between the refugees and local community. The geographical scope covered Nyumanzi refugee settlement located in Egge Village, Dzaipi sub-county, Adjumani district. The researcher chose this location due to its notable refugee demographic dividend: Adjumani is marked by competing refugee and host populations and has the highest number of refugee settlements in Uganda. Nyumanzi is particularly marked as the demographically largest settlement in the district.

The assumption undertaken by this study was that the refugee land user policy could threaten land ownership in West Nile region and gravitate into a potential flash point of conflict, particularly if the issues raised by the local community are not effectively addressed.

1.8 Limitation of the Study

The researcher encountered a number of limiting factors while carrying out this study. First was constraint of financial resources to adequately facilitate transport, accommodation and research assistants. However, the more familiar the researcher became with the geographical area, the less he spent on transport because he could walk to some locations. Second was time constraint given that the researcher was only able to secure two weeks for field work. However, optimal utilization of this short period was partly made possible by holding telephone interviews, and also making a prior visit to Adjumani (in July 2019), where some gate-keepers were established to assist in making preliminary arrangements for field work. Third was language barrier as the researcher is unfamiliar with neither of the languages spoken by the refugees (Dinka) nor the locals (Madi). However, the two research assistants who administered questionnaires also served as Dinka/English and Madi/English interpreters for the researcher.

1.9 Ethical Considerations

Cognizant of the vulnerability of the phenomenon of refugees, the researcher applied a number of ethical principles during his field work. First, the researcher ensured that he always introduced himself to the study participants; and further explained to them the purpose of his study and how significant their participation was in attaining the study objectives. All participants were given the assurance that their information was to be treated with utmost confidentiality and strictly used for academic purposes.

Second, the researcher sought for verbal consent from respondents before participation in any activity in view of the principle of voluntary participation. However, it was occasionally challenging to approach some participants who were preoccupied with their domestic chores or other businesses. In view of this, discussions and interviews were conducted with brevity, but ensuring that essential questions are covered.

Third, participants' identities were kept anonymous by assigning them codes which assisted the researcher to analyse the data collected, and yet still safeguard the protection of participants.

Fourth, conscious of the diverse challenges facing refugees and their legitimate quest for solutions, the researcher was mindful of the limitation of reflexivity. He ensured to keep focused on issues pertaining this study, but also treating refugees' concerns with compassion. For instance, some refugee respondents expressed concerns about the reduction in their monthly stipends, which has consequently failed some of them to take their children to school.

Lastly, the researcher ensured to obtain clearance from both the Refugee Desk Officer at Adjumani district and the Assistant Commandant of Nyumanzi settlement for permission to freely interact with refugees. Data collection was done with impartiality to rule out biases and the researcher can attest that the findings of this study are entirely the product of his work.

It was a noteworthy observation for the researcher that sensitivity and patience are important aspects in dealing with study participants. The researcher had the opportunity to interview two of the seven elders (land owners) of Egge village who are now very elderly and sickly. In one instance, the elder moved his legs with much difficulty as he tried to set himself up for the interview. The researcher also ensured sensitivity during discussions with respondents in a manner that would not evoke emotions particularly because the people in the study area were still recovering from the effects of the violent conflict between refugees and the local community of Nyumanzi settlement that occurred in December 2019.

1.10 Conceptual Framework

This study applied the concept of dialogue, particular the ‘sustained dialogue’ model designed by Harold Saunders (1999). He defines dialogue as the “process of genuine interaction through which human beings listen to each other deeply enough to be changed by what they learn” (Saunders, 1999, p. 82). Belligerent parties make serious effort to consider the others’ concerns into their own picture even when they do not necessarily agree; neither of the participant gives up their identity, but rather each recognizes the other’s claims as valid, hence the need to act differently toward the other.

Sustained dialogue is distinct in practice and focus: it is not merely sustaining the practice of dialogue over time, but rather “primarily and systematically focusing on the relationships that cause particular problems and conflicts” (Saunders, 2009, p. 376). Sustained dialogue is applicable in situations of deep-rooted human conflict with the aspiration to provide the space that protagonist communities can systematically address their divisive factors with purpose and destination (Saunders, 1999, p. 87).

The model has three underlying principles. It works within a carefully defined concept of relationship; it primarily focuses on relationships that cause conflict rather than issues that can be negotiated; and lastly, it is an unfolding process that creates space for participants to spend time probing, then gradually develop their relationships and move together toward reinforcing actions (Saunders, 2009, p. 387). Other relevant principles to this study include; breakdown of stereotypes, willingness and openness to respect others’ opinions and openness to new ideas (Burgess and Burgess, 2014).

Applying to this study, respondents generally held the view that the relationship between the refugees and local community has been friendly, but occasionally interrupted by land disputes which have over time deteriorated the relationship. The study revealed that the government and its partners have held community dialogues involving the two communities,

however, the underlying factors affecting the refugee-host relationships have not been addressed. For instance, government's failure to fulfill their promises made to the elders in compensation for their land, and the misinformation held among the refugees that the land allocated to them was bought by the government. Such issues have undermined the efforts made towards promoting peaceful co-existence between the refugees and local community.

1.11 Definition of Terms

1.11.1 Refugee

This study considered a refugee as any person who is forced to leave their home country owing to reasons of conflict, persecution due to their racial or gender identity; religious or political opinions; nationality or gender; and fear of being killed, looted and sexually assaulted.

1.11.2 Procedures for Land Allocation

This study defined procedures for land allocation as the ways through which refugees acquired land for their habitation and agricultural purposes in Nyumanzi refugee settlement.

1.11.3 Motivating Factors

This study defined motivating factors as the pull factors that encouraged land owners (elders) and the local community of Egge village to offer their land to the government to settle refugees.

1.11.4 Refugee Land User Policy

This study relied on the constitutional definition of refugee land user policy which gives refugees free access to land for agricultural purposes, that's to say, cultivation and pasturing; and that this land can neither be used for purposes of lease nor sale.

1.11.5 Refugee-Host Relations

This study applied the term refugee-host relations to refer to the social-economic interactions between refugees and the local community that contribute to building social cohesion between the two communities.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews some existing literature on the phenomenon of refugees within the East African countries, namely Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi and South Sudan. In view of this phenomenon, each of these countries has a historical significance to Uganda either as a refugee-generating or refugee-hosting country, hence the need to explore this subject from a regional perspective. The pull factors that motivate host governments and communities to host refugees are also discussed, in addition to the challenges that emerge. The chapter also presents the concept of dialogue in conflict resolution, and how conflicts between refugee and host communities can be transformed to foster peaceful co-existence.

2.1 Historical Overview and Origins of Refugees in Uganda

The phenomenon of refugees in Uganda dates back to her pre-independence period when the British colonial masters offered refuge to 7,000 prisoners of war in 1942 during the Second World War. These refugees originated from different countries, including Austria, Germany, Romania, and Poland which comprised the majority, and were settled in the western Uganda (Ahimbisibwe, 2019, p. 63). The subsequent waves of refugees were mainly forcibly displaced people fleeing from civil wars, conflict and violence, and political unrest in the neighbouring countries, particularly during the independence struggle.

The total population of refugees in Uganda was estimated at 1,394,678 as of January 2020 with the highest incidences originating from South Sudan, DRC, Burundi and Rwanda respectively (UNHCR Uganda, 2020). The majority of refugees (94%) live in local settlements located in two major regions of the country: the northern and West Nile region hosts South Sudanese refugees; whereas the western and south-western region hosts refugees from DRC, Burundi and Rwanda. However, Uganda also has self-settled refugees - estimated at 78,501 as of January 2020 – who live among the urban populations in town. This cohort is comprised of

Ethiopians, Somalis, Congolese and Rwandans. Since the subject of this study pertains refugees in local settlements, the following sections present a brief historical overview and origin of some of the refugees accommodated in the local settlements.

2.1.1 South Sudan

South Sudan is a significant country in the refugee discourse of Uganda particularly for two major reasons. One, the different cohorts of refugees registered owing to pre-secession and post-secession South Sudan's dramatic history of war and conflict. Two, as a sanctuary for the Ugandan refugees who fled to southern Sudan in the 1980s when "almost the entire population of the West Nile and Madi region was forced into exile" due to political unrest which affected that region (Lomo et al., 2001, p. 3). Before the secession of South Sudan in 2011, Sudan experienced her First Civil War (1955-1972) which forced 78,000 refugees to flee south into Northern Uganda for safety, but would later repatriate following the signing of the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement (Watera et al., 2017, p. 4). This refugee cohort mainly comprised of the Kakwa ethnic community who, given their cultural convergence with the Kakwa ethnic group of West Nile Uganda, developed good relations and integrated well (Merkx, 2002, p. 126). This was followed by the protracted Second Civil War (1983-2005) which displaced 4 million people many of whom fled into West Nile Uganda. Among the contentious issues of the war was deep grievances between the Arab-Muslim dominated north and the southern region owing to deprivation of opportunities for economic development and exclusion from government bureaucracy (Modi, Opongo & Smith, 2019, p. 38). In 1983, the Khartoum government introduced the *Sharia*'h law and also reversed the arrangements that had been put in place for decentralization, hence bringing the autonomy of the southerners to end (Merkx, 2002, p. 129). The 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement terminated the war, and refugees repatriated back to southern Sudan, but recommended that a referendum be held by the people in the south.

Southerners unanimously voted to secede from the Arab-Muslim north, hence becoming the youngest sovereign state on 09 July 2011. However, the country has been marred by a series of conflicts mainly attributed to deep political and ethnic polarized disagreements between President Salva Kiir and his former Vice President Riek Machar. In 2013, violence broke out following a failed coup by Riek Machar which displaced over 130,000 South Sudanese, majority of whom fled into northern Uganda (Johnson, 2014, p. 301). Given the mistrust that marred the transitional government put in place with the help of the international community, and consequent collapse of the 2015 Addis Ababa Peace Agreement, violence broke out again in 2016 (Human Rights Watch, 2017, p. 1). Uganda received an influx of 572,000 refugees from South Sudan, hence hitting the 1million mark by 2017 (Aljazeera, 2017). As of April 2020, 880,367 South Sudanese refugees were present in Uganda (GoU, 2020) majority of whom are settled in districts located in West Nile, including Arua, Yumbe, Koboko and Adjumani, and Lamwo in the north-central.

2.1.2 Rwanda

The history of Rwandan refugees in Uganda is of great significance to understanding the relationship between the two neighbours, particularly because of the former's participation in the political history of Uganda. Two major waves of Rwandan refugees are registered, though there are other incidences to returnees and "secondary movers" from neighbouring countries.

The first wave of refugees from Rwanda comprised of the Tutsi community fleeing the violence that erupted from the "first ethnic clash" between the Hutu and Tutsi political wings in 1959 (Brooks, 1998, p. 500). It is estimated that about 200,000 Tutsi refugees fled to Uganda from 1959-1960, many of whom integrated into the Ugandan social fabric. They were allocated land for cultivation, however, some opted to relocate to urban centres (Adrisa, 2013, para. 4).

Ugandan authorities had no restrictions of movement from settlements (Ahimisibwe, Ingelaere & Vancluysen, 2017, p. 9).

The second wave of Rwandan refugees mainly comprised the Hutu ethnic group fleeing the genocide that had erupted against the Tutsi and moderate Hutu in April 1994. It is estimated that over 800,000 lives were lost and thousands displaced. Adrisa (2013) notes that the relative political stability in Rwanda under the control of a Tutsi-dominated government, many Tutsi refugees repatriated back home. He further notes that this “reverse of political fortunes” in Rwanda created this wave of Hutu refugees who settled in Kisoro and Ntungamo situated in south-western Uganda. However, many others chose to settle in Tanzania and DRC cognizant of the close relationship that their Tutsi predecessors had created with the National Resistance Movement (NRM), a political movement that opposed President Milton Obote’s regime in Uganda (Adrisa, 2013, para. 10-11). Most of the Rwandan refugees in Uganda today live in local settlements, namely Nakivale, Oruchinga, Kyaka II and Kyangwali located in Western Uganda; others still have integrated and self-settled in different urban centres. Ahimbisibwe et al. (2017) also note that this population includes incidences of the “secondary movers” who fled the 1996-1997 forced repatriation in Tanzania and DRC, and others who faced challenges upon their return to Rwanda (pp. 9-10).

For scholars such as Jinmi Adisa (2013), the historical context of Rwandan refugees that fled to Tanzania and Uganda is divergent: “whereas Tanzania has hosted a mass influx of Rwandans, Uganda experienced an exodus. The burden of the refugee presence in Tanzania is immediate and material. The situation in Uganda is political” (para. 1). Brooks (1998) recalls that when the Uganda-Rwanda border was demarcated during the colonial period under the Germans, some Rwandans found themselves in Ugandan territory (p. 500). These would later form the *Banyarwanda* ethnic community in western Uganda, whom Adrisa recognizes as the “indigenous Ugandans who are descendants of Rwandan families who found themselves in

Uganda as a result of the colonial partition of 1918” (2013, para. 2). This population of the *Banyarwanda* and Rwandan refugees, who were culturally identical, posed a threat to the stability and re-election of President Milton Obote’s regime in the mid-1960s, hence greatly resented them. However, President Idi Amin Dada displayed a different attitude towards the Rwandans when he ousted Milton Obote in 1971 by manipulating the opportunity. He embraced the Rwandans and even recruited them into different key positions within the civil service and military. The Rwandans were unfortunate when the political tides changed in 1979 and ushered in Milton Obote’s second regime: they heavily “paid” the repercussions for supporting Idi Amin. Their persecution led many of the Rwandan refugees and *Banyarwanda* to seek solace in the National Resistance Army (NRA), an insurgent group led by Yoweri Kaguta Museveni that resisted the ruling regime. This further agitated Milton Obote who retaliated by expelling the *Banyarwanda* in 1982-1983 (Adrisa, 2013, para. 5-9).

According to Ahimbisibwe et al. (2017), the return of all Rwandans living outside the country is of high priority, a position that led to the 2003 tripartite agreement between Rwanda, Uganda and UNHCR (p. 6). This agreement entailed a Cessation Clause that eventually pronounced the refugee status of Rwandans in Uganda revoked in December 2017. However, the Ugandan government has been hesitant to implement it hitherto.

2.1.3 Burundi

The political history of Burundi is coloured with five phases of civil wars which occurred in the period between 1960 and 2000. These particularly took place in 1965, 1988, 1991, and 1972 and 1993 which were the most intensified and caused massive refugee flows (Ongayo, 2010, p. 21). As rightly noted by IRRI (2012), Burundi underwent a “long and painful task of reconstruction after decades of violence, political turmoil and displacement” (p. 2) after this period, albeit with some level of unrest caused by political and economic marginalization by

the ruling party, among other factors. The situation degraded into a political crisis in April 2015 following the pronouncement of President Pierre Nkurunziza's bid to contest for a third term as head-of-state. There were protests in different parts of the country to which the government retaliated with "disproportionate" military force and reported violations of human rights, hence plunging the country into violence (IRRI, 2017, p. 7). This caused hundreds of thousands of Burundians to flee into neighboring countries, namely Rwanda, DRC, Tanzania and Uganda. The Burundi refugee situation was estimated at 330,436 as of April 2020 (UNHCR Burundi, 2020).

In Uganda, the Burundian refugee population ranks third highest, majority of whom live in Nakivale settlement – located in south-western Uganda – and others are self-settled in urban centres. A study carried out in 2017 established two major reasons as to why these refugees chose Uganda as their place of asylum: Burundian refugees felt more secure in Uganda since it does not border with Burundi; and prior information shared by their families and friends indicated that the refugee conditions in Uganda were more favourable than in Tanzania (IRRI, 2017, p. 18). The government of Burundi has severally pushed for repatriation of Burundian refugees claiming that "the situation is calm and security has been re-established", however, Burundians living in Uganda are not yet convinced so (IRRI, 2017, p. 9). Nevertheless, there is some optimism that calm may be restored in Burundi, following the recent heavily contested presidential election held on 20 May 2020 despite the irregularities and lack of transparency that were reported.

2.2 Durable Solutions in Management of Refugee Situations

The UNHCR provides three durable solutions in the management of situations where forcibly displaced peoples' status has been determined as "refugees" and procedures for meeting their immediate needs have been established. The three solutions are; local integration into the host

country, repatriation to the country of origin and resettlement in a third country. The UNHCR is cognizant of the fact that realizing the appropriate durable solution for a particular refugee situation can be a complex task, hence take a longer time than anticipated. In view of this, the UN refugee agency recommends that arrangements to ensure self-reliance of the refugees be established as efforts to find durable solutions are on-going (UNHCR, 2011, p. 186). Self-reliance is understood by UNHCR as “the social-economic ability of the individual refugee, household or community to meet their essential needs in a sustainable manner and with dignity” (2011, p. 188). The aspect of human dignity is very significant in this regard because the refugee experience denies victims from accessing the basic human needs, such as food, clean water, decent clothing and shelter, which consequently violates their dignity as human persons. In fact, it can be argued that promoting self-reliance of refugees is a step towards finding durable solutions.

2.2.1 Local Integration of Refugees

Local integration is the most widely practiced durable solution in refugee management and can take divergent shape and form depending on the refugee demographics, refugee laws and availability of resources in the hosting country. For instance, countries such as Uganda and Kenya grant permits and identification documents to refugees which gives them access to some public services and opportunities akin to other foreign nationals while in Tanzania, Burundian refugees were granted an opportunity to become citizens by Naturalization (Hovil & Kweka, 2008). Integration should, however, prioritize refugees who; are born on the territory of the host country otherwise may become stateless; do not possibly hope to repatriate in the foreseeable future; have established close links to the host country, for instance, spouses to individuals from the hosting country (UNHCR, 2011, p. 194).

Citing Barbara Harrell-Bond, Dryden-Peterson and Hovil define local integration as the situation in which host and refugee communities are able to co-exist while sharing the social and economic resources with no greater mutual conflict than that which exists within the local community (2003, p. 3). For Tom Kuhlman, attaining these indices of integration can be a difficult task, and nearly impossible. He purports, “integration can only be a compromise: full participation in the larger society cannot be achieved simultaneously with full maintenance of one's own cultural identity - it can only be a little of both” (Kuhlman, 1991, p. 7).

The authors, however, agree that social and economic aspects, and prevalence of human conflicts are significant in attaining and assessing local integration. This is reflected in some of variables of integration provided by Kuhlman. These include the following: refugee participation in the host economy in ways commensurate with their skills and compatible with their cultural values; friction between host population and refugees is not worse than within the host population itself; and if they attain a standard of living which satisfies culturally determined minimum requirements (Kuhlman, 1991, p. 8). The aspect of sharing social and economic resources is noteworthy because it is a key variable in assessing the level of peaceful existence in refugee-hosting situations. Inasmuch as conflicts are inevitable, a positive local integration should register less conflicts than those that exist within the local community.

The following sections briefly discuss the different approaches or models of integration that have been adopted by three East African countries, i.e., local settlement, encampment and naturalization in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania, respectively. It highlights on the different aspects that promote social-economic and cultural integration of refugees in their host countries and some pitfalls of the different approaches.

2.2.2 The Case of Local Integration of Refugees in Uganda

The phenomenon of refugees in Uganda is a historically common occurrence, and even more interesting, the country has been both a contributor to the refugee demographic in the region, and host country (Dryden-Peterson & Hovil, 2003, p. 5). Social-cultural and economic integration has also been a common eventuality for many refugees in Uganda as demonstrated by evidence of refugees who have been educated, employed, started families, and even recruited into the state military institutions (Merkx, 2002, p. 126). However, it is important to note that whereas most refugees live in the designated settlements, there are some who opt to live on their own among the urban population (self-settled refugees).

The model of local integration in Uganda is reflected in its integrated approach to refugee management where the services extended to refugees are integrated into the country's National Development Plan. Both refugees and their host communities benefit from this arrangement in that the former are able to access public resources, including medical care, education and livelihood resources such as land while the latter benefit from the fact that public services are brought in close proximity to their areas usually situated in rural locations (Iffat, 2020, p. 2). The underlying objective was to enable the refugees become self-sufficient. At the inauguration of the settlement scheme in the early 1990s, this model served its purpose since settlement locations were less populated than urbanized towns or trading centres, hence less incidences of competition for resources. In the case of local settlement in West Nile region, the influx of refugees fleeing Sudan's Darfur Civil War and intensified violence - perpetuated by the SPLA troops on the local communities in the region of Equatoria Province – strained availability of resources, hence the need to establish new settlements. All the land on which the settlements in Northern Uganda and West Nile region were established was freely offered to the government by the local communities, through the elders and local council structures (Merkx, 2002, p. 130).

For scholars such as Kibreab (1989), however, the local settlement scheme does not suffice as a durable solution for refugee. He purports that host populations, host governments and refugees in African perceive settlements as portraying no solution. They are seen as no more than “temporary sites where refugees are provided with assistance by the refugee support systems to become self-supporting until the circumstances that prompted them to flee cease to exist” (Kibreab, 1989, p. 468). Nevertheless, the efforts made by national governments to host refugees in local settlements where they can find modalities of meeting their immediate needs cannot be undermined. The Ugandan government has also made amendments in refugee laws and policies that have enabled more provisions for integration, giving refugees more rights. The main pitfall of local settlements is attributed to their locations in remote and rural areas, which sometimes inhibits them from accessing local markets to sell their crop produce. The type of soils in some of the areas where local settlement are located, for instance, in Adjumani is sandy soil, which is unfavourable for crop production due to poor quality (Iffat, 2020, p. 14).

2.2.2.1 Analysis of the Refugee Policy of Uganda

The refugee policy of Uganda as held by the Refugees Act (2006) and Refugees Regulations (2010) grants refugees access to a number of services and rights. Refugees enjoy the right to free movement and access to travel documents, education and employment opportunities, and Refugee Identification Cards which accords them nearly equal treatment as foreign nationals. Refugees are also authorized to stay in other areas other than the designated local settlements, however, they are required to report to the area Local Council for registration. For Iffat (2020), Uganda’s refugee policy is “liberal” in the sense that refugees can essentially enjoy the same rights and services as the natives except that they cannot acquire Ugandan citizenship (p. 2). It has also been described as “progressive” in that it reflects the country’s national, regional and international obligations (Ahimbisibwe, 2019, p. 62).

Refugees who opt for local settlement are allocated plots of land where they construct shelter and cultivate food crops for both subsistence and commercial purposes. Land allocation to refugees in Uganda is constitutionally situated and well guided. Section 48 of the Refugees Act (2006) provides for the protection and regulation of the refugees' user rights over the land that they are settled. Section 65 of the Refugees Regulations (2010) further stipulates that refugee user rights give refugees free access to land for agricultural purposes, i.e., cultivation and pasturing; and that this land can neither be used for purposes of lease nor sale (National Legislative Bodies, 2010). By extension, this also excludes other purposes such as using the land as collateral in the acquisition of credit facilities.

The local settlements in Uganda are situated in two major locations. The northern and West Nile region hosts South Sudanese whereas the western and south-western region hosts Rwandans, Burundians and Congolese. Much of the land on which settlements in the latter region are situated is gazetted land principally owned by the government and has more fertile soils for agriculture owing to the favourable climatic conditions in Western Uganda. However, the land on which settlements are established in West Nile region is communal land, which is owned by the community and administered under the customary tenure system.

2.2.2.2 Understanding Customary Land Ownership

The ownership and management of land in Uganda are administered in accordance with the Constitution of Uganda (1995) Article 237 and Land Act (1998), which outlines four types of tenure systems, namely; customary, *mailo*, freehold and leasehold. Much of the land in northern Uganda, including West Nile region, is communal and administered by the customary tenure system (IRRI, 2018a, p. 6; Wabineno-Oryema, 2014, p. 9). Section 3(1)(b) of the 1998 Land Act stipulates that communal land is governed by rules that are generally accepted as binding and authoritative by the people to which it applies. Section 3(1)(f) and (g) further make

provision for communal ownership and use of land in which pieces of land may be recognized as small divisions belonging to a person, family or traditional institution, such as clans and sub-clans. The undocumented nature of the rules and regulations agreed upon by a certain clan to manage their land brings about ambiguities and complexes especially in the event of land disputes. There is no certification issued in the customary tenure system, however, Section 4(1) of the Land Act (1998) provides for the issuance of a Certificate of Customary Ownership (CCO) for formerly public land, and a freehold title obtained if the land is converted to freehold tenure. However, since the adoption of this Act, application for the CCO has not been commonplace probably due to the low literacy levels regarding the process or legal fees needed to complete the process (Wabineno-Oryema, 2014, p. 10).

In northern Uganda, all land is traditionally regarded as clan land, and falls into three categories; arable land, communal land, and unallocated or unused land. Arable land is apportioned by clan leaders to individuals during marriage who are expected to manage it well and in consideration of the user rights of the other family members and future generations. Communal land constitutes of hunting grounds, burial sites, forest areas and grazing areas and is overseen by clan heads. Unallocated land is usually land that the household head usually preserves for themselves and is inheritable (Landesa Institute of Rural Development, 2018).

2.2.3 The Case of Local Integration of Refugees in Kenya

As of April 2020, the estimated population of refugees in Kenya was 494,649 of which Somalia, South Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo, respectively are the highest refugee generating countries (UNCHR Kenya, 2020a). Over three quarters of the refugees (84%) live in the two designated refugee camps, namely; Kakuma in north-western and Dadaab complex located in eastern Kenya comprising of Ifo, Dagahaley and Hagadera. Kenya has also recorded

a significant number of voluntary repatriations between 2014-2019, including 85,067 Somali and 76 Ethiopian refugees (UNHCR Kenya, 2020b).

Local integration of refugees in the Kenyan context is a phenomenon that is clouded with ambiguities. In fact, for practitioners such as the Refugee Consortium of Kenya (RCK), local integration of refugees in Kenya is non-existent (RCK, 2016, p. 6). The dearth in clarity on the issue of local integration as a durable solution for refugees in Kenya can be put into historical context for more enlightenment. Kenya has been a sanctuary for refugees since the 1970s when it hosted Ugandans fleeing from political unrest. Citing Mwangi Kagwanja, it is observed that this cohort of Ugandan refugees were educated and skilled elites who could benefit the economy of Kenya, hence locally integrating them was valuable (O’Callaghan & Sturge, 2018, p. 3). These not only comprised Ugandans of African descent, but also Asians — following President Amin’s 1972 expulsion all Ugandan citizens of Asian descent — which caused an “exodus of large numbers of political and academic intelligentsia” (Lomo et al., 2001, p. 3). However, the influx of refugees experienced by Kenya in the 1990s fleeing from conflict, violence, civil war and genocide in neighboring countries forced the country to reverse its open door policy: “the scale and profile of new arrivals prompted a major shift in Kenyan refugee policy away from integration and towards encampment” (Lomo et al., 2001, p. 3). These refugees originated from Somalia, Ethiopia, DRC, Rwanda and Burundi.

The factors accounting for the shift to encampment of refugees included; shortage of available resources, fear of conflict spill-over into the country and an overwhelmed national refugee system. One noteworthy key factor, as observed in other refugee situations was in the interest of national security. This further intensified in the wake of 09/11 bomb attacks in the United States, and with the emergence of the Al-Shabaab terrorists based in Somalia (Library of Congress, 2016). In fact, the Al- Shabaab militias orchestrated the terrorist attack on Garissa University College located in north-eastern Kenya in 2015 where 150 students lost their lives.

In retaliation, the Government of Kenya threatened to close the Dadaab refugee complex, holding the view that it had become a threat to national security. “The way America changed after 9/11 is the way Kenya will change after Garissa . . . We must secure this country at whatever cost,” said one highly placed government official (Shepherd, 2015).

The policy of refugee encampment took legal force in March 2014 following its publication in the *The Kenya Gazette* (Government of Kenya, 2014). This policy has, however, impeded many refugees from fully enjoying the rights of movement and work as accorded in the Kenya Refugee Act of 2006. Theoretically, refugees in Kenya are free to move about and even search for employment, and yet they encounter a number of draw backs in utilizing these well served opportunities. O’Callaghan and Sturge note that movement out of the refugee camps is forbidden unless one has obtained a movement pass; and regarding employment, the chances for refugees to acquire a work permit are very slim whereas competition in the informal sector out plays them, which inhibits the aspect of economic integration of refugees (2018, p. 6). Another model of integration entails giving refugees citizenship by naturalization, which is “virtually impossible through legal means” inasmuch as there is evidence of some refugees who have found *de facto* means of integrating into the urban populations (O’Callaghan & Sturge, 2018, p. 4).

Partnerships between the government and civil society advocating for integration of refugees in Kenya culminated in the new Refugee Bill, which was tabled before Parliament in 2017 and is still awaiting to be passed. Some practitioners remain hopeful that the new Refugee Bill may create more opportunities for self-sufficiency of refugees, including acquisition of land and work permits (O’Callaghan & Sturge, 2018). However, measures to promote peaceful co-existence between refugees and the local community should be put into context.

2.2.4 The Case of Local Integration of Refugees in Tanzania

The estimated refugee population of Tanzania was 284,266 as of April 2020 where Burundi and Democratic Republic of Congo are the two major refugee-generating states, respectively (UNHCR Tanzania, 2020). Tanzania is a historically interesting case of refugee-hosting, and was recently described as a “global champion” for refugee solutions by UNHCR given the government efforts in finding durable solutions for refugees who have been exiled for decades. The country has signed tripartite agreements in the past with Rwanda (1996) and Burundi (1998 and 2017), and UNHCR. The most recent tripartite agreement culminated in the voluntary repatriation of 70,000 Burundian refugees from 2017 to date (UNHCR Tanzania, 2020).

Similar to the Kenyan refugee historical discourse, Tanzania’s refugee policy has undergone thematic changes “from one of unconditional hospitality to discouragement and persistent repatriation (Ongpin, 2008, p. 15). Under the stable governance of *Mwalimu* Julius Nyerere, Tanzania had an “open door” refugee policy where they were provided with land and encouraged to achieve self-sufficiency through the establishment of local settlements (Milner, 2013, p. 4). This was premised on two factors: the perception of refugees as victims of political change in their countries of origin, and that Tanzania had enough resources to accommodate refugees (Ongpin, 2008, p. 13). In fact, *Mwalimu* Nyerere extended great hospitality to ousted President Milton Obote of Uganda and his dissidents in the 1970s. This followed the 1971 *coup d’état* orchestrated by the latter’s top army commander Idi Amin Dada, who would later become the most atrocious president in the country’s history (Roberts, 2014).

However, the turn of events experienced by the country in the 1990s culminated in a dramatic change in its refugee policy. These include; one, change in leadership and political systems when Tanzania adopted for multi-partisan politics in 1992; two, the launch of new economic policies where capitalism was adopted and *Ujaama* replaced; and finally the arrival of refugee influx into the country (Ogude, 2018, pp. 3-6). As can be recalled, this was in the

wake of the most violent and bloodiest period experienced by three of Tanzania's western-border countries: the Burundi genocide (1993) and Rwanda genocide (1994), and the escalated violence of First Congo War in DRC (1996) culminated in mass refugee flows into Tanzania. For writers such as Helidah Ogude (2018), Tanzania's refugee legislation in the 1990s reflected a shift from a self-reliant centric to repatriation centric policy (p .3). The writer further cites Khoti Kamanga's perception of the resultant 1998 Refugee Act of Tanzania as having two objectives; to signal departure from *Mwalimu Nyerere's* open door refugee policy and assure Tanzanians that the refugee problem would be resolved (Ogude, 2018, p. 5). Indeed, the new policy emphasized voluntary repatriation, restricted refugees to encampment and banned refugees from working outside the camp or owning farms within the camps (Ongpin, 2008, p. 14) – terms which would later be codified into the 2003 National Refugee Policy.

The government's firm stance on repatriation of all refugees in Tanzania not only culminated in closure of some refugee camps, but also brought a dark cloud over the 1972 cohort of Burundian refugees. As rightly noted by Ongpin, they had socially and culturally integrated into Tanzanian life and even married locals (2008, p.15); and inhabited the three old settlements of Katumba, Mishamo and Ulyankulu located in the north-western Kigoma region. Their situation became direr in the wake of the decision reached by the Tripartite Commission – comprising the governments of Tanzania, Burundi and UNHCR – to close the settlements (Milner, 2013, p. 8). With the collaboration with two governments, UNHCR was able to negotiate a more workable and durable solution for the cohort of 1972 Burundian refugees, who were later asked to choose between citizenship by naturalization and repatriation, a noticeably “unusual” opportunity (Hovil & Kweka, 2008, p. 6). Majority chose naturalization, which kick-started the process of acquiring citizenship. In June 2010, the government announced the approval of 164,312 applications (Milner, 2013, pp. 8-13), however, the process of their relocation into other areas in the country is still pending (UNHCR, 2011, p. 196).

2.3 Uganda's Management Approaches to Refugee Regimes

Uganda's refugee policy can be characterized as dynamic owing to the transitions that it has undergone in responding to the evolving tides of the subsequent refugee regimes, which require different approaches. Uganda initially had a traditional approach to refugee management in which humanitarian assistance was provided by UNHCR and other international organizations. However, Uganda's adoption of the Self-Reliance Strategy (SRS) in 1998 marked the country's major shift in its refugee regime in which the focus was helping refugees become self-reliant (Iffat, 2020, p. 8). The Ugandan government has consistently aligned her refugee policy with the global refugee programs of the UNHCR, which are driven by the need to promote self-sustenance for refugees in protracted situations amidst difficulties in finding durable solutions. Refugee assistance is technically meant to be temporary as more durable solutions are sought. However, protracted situations such as Uganda, which has been home to people fleeing violent conflict in the South Sudan and DRC, and derailed repatriation of Rwandan refugees, have continually pushed the GoU and UNHCR to establish more appropriate mechanisms that can reduce dependence (Kaiser, 2005, p. 355). It is against this background that Uganda's refugee policy has conceptually transitioned its focus from care and maintenance with humanitarian aid to self-reliance, and then to a more host population inclusive model.

2.3.1 Self-Reliance Strategy (SRS)

The Self-Reliance Strategy (SRS) was implemented in 1999 by the Ugandan government with the main objective of transforming refugees from mere dependents to agents of socio-economic development. This was in line with the UNHCR proposed global refugee approach for protracted refugee situations known as the Refugee Aid Development (RAD) of the 1980s. The focus of this approach was to attain self-reliance for refugees while at the same time addressing the burden of refugee hosting on developing host countries. The UNHCR was convinced that challenges posed by protracted refugee situations could be mitigated if opportunities were

created for refugees to make positive contributions to their host country during their period of stay (Meyer, 2006, p. 2). In so doing, refugees would have become agents of development.

The underlying concept used by the government to implement the SRS was based on the integration of refugee services into the existing state structures of public service delivery whereby the refugees would be given free access to government health and education facilities. This has been described as cost- efficient given that it was beneficial to not only the refugee population, but also the host population (Kaiser, 2005, p. 352). In addition, the GoU allocated the refugees plots of land for shelter and agriculture where they could grow some food crops for sale or to supplement their food rations hence promoting self-reliance (IRRI, 2018b, p. 5). Refugees were still restricted to designated camps, which the GoU had now redefined as refugee settlements.

The main line of weakness in the SRS that hindered its success and sustainability was restricted movement of refugees which not only denied them access to the markets to sell their crop produce, but also shrank the prospects for socio-economic development (Kaiser, 2005, p. 364). Inasmuch as SRS significantly reduced the cost of aid and relief, it left a poverty stricken refugee population and scarcity of food, which also forced some refugees to opt for other settlement alternatives in urban and semi-urban areas (IRRI, 2018b, p. 6). Kaiser further observes that for SRS to be implemented in refugee settlements in West Nile - a region that has been marginalized and impoverished for decades – was a broader government strategy to extend its control and political leverage to the people of that area (2005, p. 363; IRRI, 2018b, p. 8). The government would use the SRS to advance its political agenda through infrastructural development, creation of market and employment opportunities established by the donors and humanitarian organizations working the refugee-affected areas. However, this dynamic of situating refugee settlements in remote government-neglected areas is not unique to Uganda: similar situations have been observed among the Afghan refugees in Pakistan, the Somali

refugees in Dadaab, North-eastern Kenya, and the Darfuri refugee mass flow into eastern Chad (Refugee International, 2009).

The SRS was reviewed and transitioned into the Development Assistance for Refugee-hosting areas (DAR) which was established in 2003. It was marked by more inclusivity of local stake holders especially the local communities, and the free movement of refugees and recognition of their rights to employment and education, following the amendment of the Refugees Act (2006) and Refugees Regulations of 2010 (IRRI, 2018b, p. 6).

2.3.2 Refugee and Host Population Empowerment (ReHoPE)

This and self-reliance strategies are good efforts by the government of Uganda to support refugees and the immediate local communities. Implemented in 2016, the Refugee and Host Population Empowerment (ReHoPE) consists in the integration of refugee services into the national development plan of the government. One key feature of this strategy is its focus on harnessing resilience and self-reliance of not only the refugee populations, but also the local communities that host them. It is a transformative approach to bring together a wider range of stakeholders to attain harmony and coherence in designing and planning refugee programs (ReHoPE, 2017, p. v). The GoU notes that the nature of refugee assistance among the various stakeholders, including UNHCR and its implementing partners, civil society and private sector, has been characterized by fragmentation of programs and predominated by inconsistent project-based approaches which inevitably undermines efficiency and value for relief funding (ReHoPE, 2017, p. 11). ReHoPE is purposed to achieve four objectives: build and strengthen capacity among local governments and community institutions; improve on the access, quality, and efficiency of social service delivery; create more economic opportunities and sustainable livelihoods with a focus on women and youth; and address the problem of environmental degradation in refugee-affected areas. In 2017, the GoU incorporated the UN recommended

Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) into its ReHoPE strategy as a continued gesture of the government's commitment to global refugee protection.

2.3.4 Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF)

The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) is the recommended approach to global refugee responses which was made to the UNHCR by the 2016 New York Declaration of Refugees and Migrants and adopted by the UN General Assembly in the same year. The New York Declaration was essentially a reaffirmation of the significance of international refugee rights and commitment to harness the protection and support for people on the move (Crawford et al., 2019, p. 2). This was against the backdrop of the mass refugee flows that resulted from civil wars in South Sudan and Syria.

In December 2016, violence broke out in South Sudan following the collapse of the 2015 Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (ARCSS) signed in Addis Ababa. Uganda received an influx of 572,000 refugees from South Sudan hence raising the total number of refugees to one million by 2017 (Aljazeera, 2017). In 2015, the global refugee crisis also featured the flight of over one million Syrian refugees to Europe following the escalated levels of violence in the on-going Syrian civil war (UNHCR, 2015). These mass refugee flows spurred the need for a more appropriate global refugee response, hence the momentum that inspired the adoption of the New York Declaration that recommended comprehensive response to global refugee movements. Article 69 stipulates;

‘We believe that a comprehensive refugee response should be developed and initiated by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, in close coordination with relevant States, including host countries, and involving other relevant United Nations entities, for each situation involving large movements of refugees. This should involve a multi-stakeholder approach that includes national and local authorities, international organizations, international financial institutions, civil society partners (including faith-based organizations, diaspora organizations and academia), the private sector, the media and refugees themselves’.

2.3.5 Implementation of CRRF in Uganda

Commenting about the adoption of the CRRF in Uganda, some practitioners believe that this was a categorical reflection of the acceptance that refugees are part of the integral development landscape of Uganda for the foreseeable future (Crawford et al., 2019, p. 12). Uganda readily took this opportunity as a global exemplar in refugee response to become a “fore-runner” in adopting the CRRF, which was integrated into her ReHoPE strategy. Other African countries that took the offer include; Djibouti, Somalia, Zambia, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania, which later reversed its decision (IRRI, 2018b, p. 11). The CRRF is driven by four main objectives, which mirror the three durable solutions in refugee management, namely to ease pressure on the refugee-host countries; to enhance refugee self-reliance; to expand access to third-country solutions; and to support conditions in countries of origin to facilitate repatriation of refugees in a manner that is safe and dignified (New York Declaration, Annex I). The CRRF was implemented in Uganda in 2018 and inasmuch it may be perceived as a continuation from previous government-led strategies in refugee regimes, it has some marked differences. For instance, stakeholders commend it for having “clear governance structures and accountability lines” and consolidating the different processes and activities, such as humanitarian and development assistance into one coherent framework (Crawford et al., 2019, p. 12).

As demonstrated above, the progressiveness and dynamism of the Ugandan refugee policy is expressed in its ability to respond to the changing needs of refugees. It could also be argued that it expresses the commitment of government regarding refugee protection, but even more, the resilience of the local communities that are actually faced with the day-to-day experience of hosting refugees - ‘the backdrop to the core drama of refugee protection’ - and yet they have tolerated it even in the midst of refugee influx (Refugees International, 2009).

2.4 Pull factors for Refugee-Hosting by Governments and Communities

Article 14 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) grants the right to seek protection or asylum in another country to persons who feel threatened by persecution. In view of this article, all States Parties of the UDHR are bound to offer protection to all persons who flee into their territories owing to life-threatening factors such as war, violence and conflict. However, there are also other underlying factors that account for the receptive attitudes exhibited by different states in accommodating refugees, albeit the consequent burden and strain on resources. This section presents some of the factors that have motivated refugee-hosting among the East African countries and even influenced their national refugee policies.

2.4.1 Political Economy of Refugees

Political economy can be described as an inter-disciplinary field of knowledge that seeks to understand how political systems impact on the economic policies. In other words, it seeks to respond to the question of the economic implication of political issues such as systems, policies, and positions in more international relations terms. All States Parties to the 1951 UN Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol are mandated to implement the dictates of the Refugee Convention into their national laws, hence have legislations and policies issuing guidelines on the protection of refugees and asylum seekers within their territory. In view of this, different countries have refugee policies which are based in their Constitution. Refugee policies of a particular country, at least in part, reflect that country's interests and values; and given that the economy is the corner-stone of a country's development, it would be interesting to study how economic issues shape national refugee policies.

2.4.1.1 Self-Reliance Strategy (SRS) in Uganda

Uganda established the Self-Reliance Strategy (SRS) in 1999 as a new approach to refugee management. This was in collaboration with the UNHCR and other partners with an underlying objective of promoting self-reliance of refugees particularly given the recognition that the refugee situation at the time – during the Darfur Crisis – had been rendered protracted. This also marked a fundamental shift from aid and relief to development. Distinct about the SRS was the integration of refugee services into the national and district development plans. The implication was that refugee services would be incorporated into district development plans and implemented as part of the broader administration and service delivery by respective line ministries, hence rendering the parallel structures for refugees needless. This would probably also alleviate the perception of ‘special treatment’ of refugees by UNHCR and implementing partners since local communities would also enjoy the same services (Kaiser, 2005, p. 355).

A study carried out in 2005 noted that since local settlements in Uganda are located in rural areas that are marginalized and excluded from government bureaucracy such as northern Uganda and West Nile, SRS was beneficial to not only the local communities, but even more to the Ugandan government (Kaiser, 2005, p. 363). The study revealed that SRS served the government with the opportunity to establish strong political links with the West Nilers and northerners, hence asserting more government presence and control in the remote border area (Kaiser, 2005, p. 363). Indeed, there has been remarkable economic and infrastructural development in the northern part of the country attributed to the refugee economy.

This integrated services approach of Uganda has been consistent in subsequent government-led strategies in the management of refugees. For instance, the goal of the Refugee Host population Empowerment (ReHoPE) strategy established in 2016 is to ensure that the local communities benefit from refugees services through its 30/70 percent apportionment of

benefits. In other words, services and projects provided and run by UNHCR and implementing partners are designed as such that 30% is channeled towards the local communities.

2.4.1.2 Tripartite Partnership Model in Tanzania

Tanzania's open door policy on refugee during the regime of *Mwalimu Julius Nyerere* in the 1980s was shaped by the "domestic economic incentives and political formations of the time" (Ogude, 2018, p. 3). Rwandan and Burundian refugees were provided with land for agricultural use and encouraged to establish settlements. The settlement of refugees in Tanzania was ingrained in *Mawlimu Nyerere's* principles of "*ujamaa na kujitegemea*" literally translated as socialism and self-reliance, which were adopted in Tanzania's national policy in 1967 during the Arusha Declaration (Milner, 2013, p. 4). Indeed, refugees during this period were instrumental in pooling the resources necessary to encourage settlement and economic development of under-populated regions of Tanzania (Milner, 2013, p. 5). Crop production sprouted in the remote regions of the country, including both subsistence and commercial farming of crops such as coffee and tobacco. Cash crops became a source of foreign exchange.

In 1964, the government of Tanzania established the Tripartite Partnership Model, which was essentially an arrangement between the government, UNHCR and the Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service (TCRS). This served as an opportunity for the government to further advance its agenda of economic development in remote areas, particularly because of the boost in external financial and technical support the model provided (Ogude, 2018, p. 3). In this arrangement, the government of Tanzania facilitated the acquisition of land for settlement, basic farming tools and waived off taxes on refugee-related imports; the TCRS assumed the management of local settlements and UNHCR provided the necessary financial and technical support (Milner, 2013, p. 5). Indeed, Rwandan and Burundian refugees in Tanzania before the

1990s were instrumental in boosting agriculture in the western peripheral regions of Tanzania, which was the back-bone of the country's economy.

2.4.2 First-hand Experience of Conflict and Displacement

Forced displacement is an experience that causes pain and suffering to victims because they are forced to leave behind all their social and economic establishments in search for safety in places that they are not familiar with. This long and strenuous journey is exacerbated by life threatening experiences, such as indiscriminate killings perpetuated by militias, hunger, fatigue and risk of physical assault and human trafficking. However, the experience of displacement temporarily subsides when victims are received into a place of safety and their immediate needs met because this restores their sense of safety and dignity. Such life experiences establish solidarity among governments and local communities in refugee-hosting situations, especially between neighbouring countries.

This relationship is displayed in the case of South Sudanese refugees in Uganda. The First Civil War in Sudan (1959-1972) caused mass movement of south Sudanese into northern Uganda where they were locally integrated, and later repatriated after the 1972 Addis Ababa Peace Agreement. Uganda's post-independence history was coloured by phases of political wars. The northern region was particularly affected by the politically and ethnically polarized conflicts of the 1970s between the soldiers of Idi Amin Dada and Dr. Milton Obote's United National Liberation Army (UNLA), a dialectic which threw the Amini's West Nile region into years of conflict with Obote's Acholi and Lango people in the central-northern part of Uganda. To overthrow Obote in 1971, Amin used the strategy of targeting Obote's soldiers and civilians who were predominantly from the Acholi and Langi ethnic groups occupying the central-northern region. In retaliation, Obote's soldiers attacked the West Nilers after Amin was ousted in 1979 by the UNLA soldiers (Merkx, 2002, p. 127). This caused almost the entire population of the West Nile and Madi region to flee into exile in southern Sudan (Lomo et al., 2001, p. 3).

This reciprocal phenomenon of refugee-hosting between the local communities bordering northern Uganda and South Sudan was also observed during Sudan's protracted Darfur War and post-cession violent conflicts of South Sudan in 2013 and 2016. For the local communities in West Nile, their first-hand experience of displacement as refugees in southern Sudan established firm grounds for the friendly reception and solidarity extended towards refugees in Uganda. In affirmation, the *Financial Times* revealed remarks made by a senior government official; "many of us in this government have been refugees. We don't want to see our brothers and sisters suffer because of the turmoil in their place" (Aglionby, 2017). It is important to note though that this history of civil conflict dates back to 30 years, hence may not significantly impress upon the minds of the younger generation of Ugandans, nearly half of whom are aged 15 years and below (AAH, 2017, p. 5).

However, the historical discourse on conflict in northern Uganda has formed a backdrop of mistrust and suspicion against which many government programs are perceived by the local communities. This is particularly in view of the north-south divide that is evident in the economic disparity and protracted marginalization of northerners and their loss of land to politically connected individuals (IRRI, 2019, p. 15). Landesa Institute of Rural Development further notes that the prolonged stay of the locals in the IDPs compromised the legitimate authority held by clan leaders. The nature of camped life during this period gave more authority to camp managers who oversaw all camp affairs including the land, which negatively impacted on the clan influence over land.

2.4.3 Cultural Convergences

In refugee situations where the displaced populations and their host communities have some intersecting cultural aspects, the latter may behave more receptively and friendly towards the refugees. Such points of convergence in culture include local dialectic, cultural practices, traditional attire or even history of interaction, for example, intermarriage.

This phenomenon was observed in the Uganda-South Sudan refugee context during the displacement caused by Sudan's First Civil War. According to Merks (2002), the refugees who crossed into Uganda, predominantly from the Kakwa ethnic community, were of a similar ethnic background with the Kakwa of West Nile. They were received and "spontaneously" given land by their hosts (p. 126). However, the reverse may be observed in instances where the refugee and immediate local community are of different cultural backgrounds and speak different dialect. Language barrier may inhibit effective communication, hence becoming a potential fault line for contention. High incidences of such phenomena are more likely to be displayed at points of shared services, such as the health centres and water points. For instance, one study revealed that the combination of long queues at water points and the burden of house chores among women was exacerbated by language barrier, hence marking it as a potential flash point (Owen, et al., 2019, p. 18; AAH, 2017, p. 12).

2.4.4 Social-Economic Benefits

The economic benefits that the local communities and governments stand to gain from refugee-hosting can also serve as pull factors. These include; infrastructural development, employment opportunities, trade and business ventures, for instance, open-air markets and other incentives that are provided to the refugees by humanitarian organizations. This may raise a dialectic of competing underlying motivations for refugee acceptance, for instance, the refugee situation in northern Uganda where on the one hand are aspects of shared humanity, generosity and reciprocity of assistance between the refugees and host populations, and on the other are the economic gains (Boswell, 2018, p. 13).

Contrariwise, the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) notes that adverse effects of protracted refugee situations, such as environmental degradation and resource depletion may counter the economic gains (OECD, 2001, p. 151). Even more, the

opportunities that may emerge from the low scale economic boom that emerges as a result of refugee influx in a particular area are usually exploited by the local elites who have the financial capacity required, hence leaving the rest of the local community to enjoy the negative share of refugee hosting (Refugee International, 2009). These dynamics are significant variables to be considered in assessment of the benefits of refugee-hosting to the local communities. Boswell (2018) outlines three broad ways in which refugee-hosting situations social-economically benefit the local communities, namely low-scale economy, food assistance and resources for infrastructural development (pp. 14-16) on which we now focus.

2.4.4.1 Low-scale Economy

The local economy of refugee-affected areas can play out both positively to the benefit of refugee and host communities or their detriment. Local communities benefit from the creation of employment opportunities; market diversity for crop produce, trade opportunities, education and health services and general infrastructural development such as construction of permanent buildings and rural electrification programs. However, optimal utilization of benefits can be inhibited by factors such as low literacy levels which exclude the hosts from attaining some jobs; competition for cheap labour (sometimes with refugees) and increased cost of living. The sudden influx of refugees in a given location necessarily means increased usage of resources, which then increases the demand for these resources hence the increase in cost of living. In other words, refugee presence is an *intervening factor* causing a hike in the cost of living. Even more impactful on the overall benefits for host communities is lack of accountability and transparency. For example, local authorities claim that the proceeds of the 30% of aid assistance that is meant to be channeled to the local community are not evident: there are neither development projects nor services delivered to account for them (Boswell, 2018, p. 16).

However, it is noteworthy that refugee populations also constitute persons who were running the economies in their countries of origin, hence are equipped with practical and

professional knowledge and skills that can be utilized by the hosting countries. In so doing, this would facilitate social-economic integration of refugees into the local community and also build social relations between the two communities. In Kampala, for instance, there are number of barber shops or *kinyonzi* and tailoring shops operated by Congolose self-settled refugees whereas in Nairobi, Somali refugee areas such as East Leigh have become business epi-centres. A similar incident was observed in the 1970s when Kenya received and settled hundreds of refugees from Uganda fleeing persecution of the atrocious Idi Amin Dada. Lomo et al. observe that majority of this refugee cohort constituted “political and academic intelligentsia” who were considered to be beneficial to Kenya’s growing economy (2001, p. 3).

2.4.4.2 Food Assistance

Distribution of food rations is one of the most dramatic and contentious aspects of the refugee relief economy. Food rations are distributed to registered refugees who possess refugee cards. However, there are incidences where members of the local community find *de facto* means of possessing refugee cards. It was observed, for instance in northern Uganda, that some refugees actually sell their cards so that they can meet other needs; other refugees return to South Sudan temporarily and then acquire other cards upon their return; and still others are mobilized by local and political elites to gain (Boswell, 2018, p. 15). This was also indicated in the accusation made against some Ugandan government and UNHCR officials for inflating refugee figures by 21% and channeling food assistance to their own benefit (*The East African*, 2018). Food distributions are also points of low-scale markets where the refugees sell their food to the locals at discounted prices so that they can acquire money to meet other needs.

2.4.4.3 Resources for Infrastructural Development

Local settlements are often established in rural areas that are marginalized and excluded from government bureaucracy, hence usually under-developed. This would, therefore, require that

such areas are prepared for human settlement and provided with the facilities that would be necessary for refugees to meet their needs, including schools, medical centres and water points. Refugee settlements are also fledged with physical structures, such as office buildings, community recreational centres, roads and electrification projects, which certainly lead to the general development of the area. In fact, refugee-affected areas can become the epi-centres of economic activity or have the best education and health facilities in their locations, hence attracting locals from the surrounding local communities in pursuit of available opportunities and services (Refugee International, 2009).

Sharing of social services such as health and education facilities, recreation centres, playing fields and boreholes is a key element in building social relations between host and refugee communities as observed in a study carried out by the Danish Refugee Council (2017) despite occasional tensions between the two communities. In fact, refugees agree with the idea of sharing services with the local communities because the practice has a satiating effect on the latter who are then drawn to treat their refugee neighbours with more friendliness (Boswell, 2018, p. 15). Uganda's integrated services approach of Refugee and Host Population Empowerment (ReHoPE) stipulates a rule of the thumb of 70% - 30% sharing of development assistance where the 30% is meant to be channeled to meet the needs of the community (ReHoPE, 2017, p. 23).

2.5 Sharing of Natural Resources in Refugee-Hosting Areas

Refugees depend on resources from their surrounding natural environment to meet their immediate material needs. For instance, wood fuel and tree logs from the surrounding bushes and forests are the most accessible resources that refugees can use to meet their demand for firewood and construction materials to support the UNHCR plastic sheets distributed for shelter. Akin to any other homestead, refugee homesteads also require to carry out their daily

house chores which require the use of water. In the event that these resources are not provided or transported to the refugee camps and settlements, refugees will require to share the same resources used by their hosting local communities, which translates into a steep rise in the pressure exerted on the natural resources. Consequently, this leads to competition for resources between the refugees and their hosts, which accelerates the rate of resource depletion and environmental degradation, hence becoming a potential flash point of social tensions.

Hoerz et al. (1999) note that resource depletion and adverse environmental effects can be exacerbated by refugee influxes, which are “generally smaller in numbers, but the spread across a long time span” (p. 7). In Tanzania, for example, Burundian refugees staying in the local settlements located in north-west Kigoma region were perceived as agents of environmental degradation by the Tanzanian government (Opongo, 2009, p. 83), which contributed to social tensions between the Burundian refugees and the local community. In a study carried out by the Danish Refugee Council in 2018 revealed resource scarcity as the most prevalent factor causing land related conflicts between refugees and hosts in West Nile Uganda. For scholars including Hoerz et al., effective measures ought to be put in place by national governments in collaboration UNHCR and implementing agencies to reduce on the pressure exerted on the natural resources in spite of the fact that they are costly in terms of sustainability (1999, p. 7).

2.5.1 The Case of Land Allocation to Refugees in West Nile, Uganda

Land is a great resource in Traditional African societies on many accounts, but two: it is required for agriculture and other economic activities and its value appreciates over time, and also has cultural value firmly linked to customs of family inheritance. However, the government of Uganda was able to devise means of acquiring land to support its refugee policy of local settlements. In the case of the West Nile region, where much of the land is communal, the

government negotiated with community elders (land owners), through the local government structures, to acquire chunks of land on which refugee families were allocated.

The exercise of land allocation was carried out by the government through the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), which is vested with the responsibility of coordinating refugee protection in Uganda. Consultations and negotiations for land were carried out through the local authorities, that's to say, Local Councils II and III, who engaged community leaders (land owners). The objective of these consultations was to obtain consent from the local community for the establishment of refugee settlements which necessitated availability of land (IRRI, 2019, p. 12). In some cases, land owners would even contact the local authorities with land offers (UNDP, 2018, p. 3). A Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the government and land owners after negotiating for the land, which was then surveyed.

2.5.2 Pitfalls of the Land Negotiation Process

The local population in West Nile remained dissatisfied by a number of factors emerging from the process of consultation and negotiation. Some pockets of the local community claim that chunks of land were allocated without consultations, and still others purport that officials from the OPM dealt directly with the land owners without consulting local authorities (IRRI, 2019, p. 12). There are also areas in which no consultations were held at all which was perceived by the local communities as devaluing and disempowering (Owen et al., 2019, p. 19). Inasmuch as the land was offered freely, the local community held some expectations, real or perceived, that the government would appreciate their generosity. These expectations included; financial compensation, construction of houses for the elders, creation of employment and education opportunities (scholarships) for youth. The OPM, however, denies the claims of transactional arrangements in monetary terms (IRRI, 2019, p. 14). Furthermore, OPM attributes the failure

in fulfilling its obligations to resource deficits and delayed instigation of development projects, which consequently made it difficult to identify legitimate land owners (Boswell, 2018, p. 25).

The Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) that was signed between the government and elders had a dearth of clarity regarding the terms of duration, land boundaries and the future of the land upon repatriation of refugees (IRRI, 2018a, p. 12). In other instances such as refugee settlement in Lamwo district (north-central Uganda), the local community claims that they neither had access to the MoU nor did they duly understand its terms (IRRI, 2018a, p. 7). Herein is the contentious issue of land ownership, holding the fact that land owners were not awarded with certification (land Titles). Inasmuch the overall agreement was that upon repatriation, land that has no government infrastructure established on it will be returned to the land owners, the local community still feels insecure that they could lose it to land grabbers especially politically interested individuals (IRRI, 2019, pp. 12-13).

2.5.3 Impact of Refugee Influx on Land Allocation

The influx of refugees has an impact on the size of land allocated principally because of the sudden increase in population density which inevitably spikes the demand of natural resources (Hoerz et al., 1999, p. 7). Initially, refugees in Uganda were allocated 100m by 100m pieces of land per family that was sufficient for residential and agricultural purposes. This was reduced to 50m by 50m and then consequently to 30m by 30m, especially during the refugee influxes caused by the 2013 and 2016 violently charged conflicts in South Sudan. This greatly affected agricultural production among the refugee communities due to insufficient arable land (Herbert & Idris, 2018, p. 17). In a contrary line of argument, some members of the local community shift the blame to the GoU owing to its insufficient consultations and poor planning as the cause of land inadequacy (Owen, et al., 2019, p. 18). However, the GoU devised means of providing more land for agriculture to support the sustenance of livelihoods by allocating land, which is quite far away from the refugee settlements. Optimal use of this land has been hindered

by complaints from refugees citing long distances, insecurity and poor soils (UNDP, 2018, p. 7). This has consequently compelled refugees to find other viable arrangements of obtaining more land for agriculture. The common alternatives include; renting land from their neighboring hosts, and share-cropping where a group of refugees collectively grow their crops on a given piece of land. However, there are some unfortunate instances where land owners evacuate refugees from their land before latter can harvest their produce or disputes arising from failure to pay the regular installments. This pseudo-land market, given that it is not regulated, has also been infiltrated by dishonest people who defraud refugees and trick them into renting illegitimate land (Boswell, 2018, p. 20). Withholding the challenges herein, these alternative ways of acquiring arable land should be legitimized and regulated through documentation, which will eventually improve on the food production (UNDP, 2018, p. i; FAO, 2018, p. 14).

2.5.4 Challenges of Associated with Land Allocation

The allocation of land for the settlement of refugees emerged with various challenges such as intercommunal conflicts, resource scarcity and wood, and competition for social services. For instance, an official from UNHCR linked increased resource scarcity to a recent intercommunal conflict that broke out between the refugees and hosts of Rhino settlement located in Madi-Okollo district, which left tens of lives lost and others injured (Okiror, 2020). In 2018, the Danish Refugee Council (DRC) revealed three leading causes of conflict in refugee-host communities, namely resource scarcity, competition for relief aid and land issues (p. 30). Two key issues were particularly identified as the most contentious drivers of land related disputes, namely land ownership and demarcation (DRC, 2018, p. 30; REACH, 2019, p. 3). Land degradation caused by economic activities such as brick making, charcoal burning and tree cutting was also marked as key driver of refugee-host tensions.

2.5.4.1 The Issue of Land Ownership

Land in West Nile region is communally owned and hence administered under the customary tenure system which grants land rights to individuals owing to their belonging to a particular clan. Inasmuch as the customary law makes provisions for the acquisition of official documentation for customary land owners, it is not a common practice in this region, and neither is it in other parts of Uganda (Wabineno-Oryema, 2014, p. 10). In addition to the lack of land certificates, the customary tenure system is faced with ambiguities stemming from the statutory land laws that came into place in the post-Independence era. Given that this land belongs to the clan, members of the local community who offered their land to the government for the settlement of refugees have expressed their fears and insecurity for possible loss of their land to grabbers (IRRI, 2019, pp. 12-13). This situation has been exacerbated by poor communication between officials from the government and UNHCR, and the local community (Owen, et al., 2019, p. 19; REACH, 2019, p. 3).

Refugee communities have also encountered drawbacks in enjoying their user rights over the land that allotted to them for agriculture. As rightly noted by Nuwagaba et al. (as cited by Kalyango, 2006, p. 3), optimal benefits of land presuppose three factors: utilization, duration of occupancy and relocation rights. The World Vision (2019) reports that refugees use their land with some dearth of legal clarity around their land user rights, and duration of use which has consequently raised feelings of insecurity and anxiety amongst them regarding their crops and assets established on the land (p. 5). Even more, refugees who have rented additional land for cultivation have no formal agreements for this arrangement. This has also led to refugee-host disputes and, in worse situations, refugees have been evacuated from their land before harvesting their crop produce (REACH, 2019, p. 3).

2.5.4.2 Demarcation of Land

The issue of unclear land boundaries among the local communities has long existed in northern Uganda, especially caused by protracted conflict period during which people sought safety in the IDPs. Upon returning to their previous homes, it became difficult for them demarcate their land. Due to the population influx over the years, the value of the land also increased which consequently turned a previously communally perceived entity into a much sought commodity hence more disputes over land boundaries (UNDP, 2018, p. 14). In the case of refugee-affected areas, the issue of disputed boundaries takes different shape: problem of trespassing by refugees and their animals. There are UNHCR implementing partners (IPs) who distribute animals to refugees for cattle-keeping to promote livelihoods on already limited land. Instances where these animals move into private land owned by the local community in search for pasture and destroy their crops have increasingly caused conflict between refugee and hosts (Owen, et al., 2019, p. 17; DRC, 2017, p. 30).

2.5.4.3 Land Degradation

Hoerz et al. (1999) rightly note that given the high population density marked in refugee-affected environments and the consequent pressure exerted on natural resources, the “demand for natural resources exceeds the productivity of the ecosystem”, hence making adverse effects on the environment more unavoidable than not (p. 5). Refugees have been associated with the phenomenon of land degradation in West Nile region in the areas surrounding refugee settlements, which can be attributed to some of the economic activities that they carry out to sustain their livelihoods. These include brick making which requires the use of water and soil; and charcoal burning which requires wood obtained by cutting of trees to meet the construction and cooking fuel demand (IRRI, 2019, p. 20). Bush burning is also common in Adjumani which is indiscriminately carried out to provide more arable land. This has consequently led to an

extensive loss of tree cover and scarcity of water, wood and grass, for which the local communities blame the refugees. The intensity of the situation can be mirrored in the long distances that refugee girls and women have to move in search for firewood, which exposes them to risk of physical assault and sexual abuse.

However, it should be noted that the climate of northern Uganda is generally dry and the vegetation largely constituted of short trees and shrubs which raises the need to assess the extent to which refugees can be held responsible for land degradation. Moreover, members of the host communities largely rely on the same readily available materials as the refugees to meet their construction and cooking fuel needs. In this regard, the relationship between the refugees and land degradation is confounded by the host communities.

The challenges discussed in this section are partly as a result of the implementation of the refugee land user policy. However, there is need for further study on the social-economic implication of this policy on the local community particularly regarding their peaceful co-existence with the refugee population. This would also contribute to the body of knowledge that informs the measures devised to prevent and resolve conflicts in the West Nile region. This study intends to contribute to filling up this gap.

2.6 The Concept of Dialogue in Conflict Transformation

The distinct value of the dialogue as a method of resolving conflict lies in its emphasis on transforming relationships between the belligerent parties. This defining feature of dialogue also differentiates it from the other alternative dispute resolution (ADR) of mediation and negotiation. In the context of refugee-hosting, dialogue plays a critical role in helping the refugees and local community, both at individual and community levels, to understand each other's needs more deeply, even amidst disagreement about them, with the expectation of

changing the perceptions and attitudes of both groups towards each other. In so doing, dialogue becomes instrumental in conflict transformation, hence promoting peaceful co-existence.

2.6.1 What is Dialogue?

Saunders (2009) cites William Isaacs' definition of dialogue as a shared inquiry which involves thinking together done with other people in a manner that invites participants to learn to change their attitudes about relationships with others so as to attain more understanding of themselves rather than being understood by others (p. 377). It is a conversation where participants speak with openness, and listen with respect and attentiveness without making any interruptions, competition and derogatory remarks and defensiveness (Burgess & Burgess, 2014).

The major objective of dialogue is to change the relationship between the belligerent parties with the intention of creating new human and political capacities to solve problems. "A systematic, intentional effort to transform relationship is a significant factor in defining a dialogue process as an instrument in conflict resolution" (Saunders, 2009, p. 380). In contrast, the objective of negotiation and mediation are bring the parties together to sign a formal agreement. However, dialogue may not necessarily resolve the conflict, but rather brings antagonist parties to a level where they can understand and listen to each other. Mediation and negotiation may then be used to resolve the conflict.

Burgess and Burgess (2014) emphasize that for antagonist parties to progress towards common understanding, they require to abandon their stereotypes; have the willingness and openness to respect the views and opinions of others; and be receptive to new ideas. Stereotyping is discouraged because it makes one party to categorize the other based on assumptions, judgements and misjudgments, hence inhibiting objective listening and contribution. Openness to each other's views can be possible if participants begin to perceive themselves genuinely.

2.6.2 Sustained Dialogue Model

This is an interactive process designed in such a way to change conflictual relationships by primarily delving into the “dynamics of the underlying relationships that cause conflict” (Saunders, 1999, p. 81). The model is ascribed to Harold Saunders (1999) in his work “A public peace process: Sustained dialogue to transform racial and ethnic conflicts”. He defines sustained dialogue as process of genuine interaction in which individuals listen to each other deeply enough to be changed by what they learn from each other. The individuals need not detach from their identities, but rather adequately recognize each other’s claims as legitimate and human with the willingness to treat each other differently (Saunders, 1999, p. 82). Sustained dialogue presupposes three underlying principles, namely; works within a carefully defined concept of relationship; it primarily focuses on relationships that cause conflict rather than issues that can be negotiated; and lastly, it is an unfolding process that creates space for participants to spend time probing, then gradually develop their relationships and move together toward reinforcing actions (Saunders, 2009, p. 387).

2.6.3 Sustained Dialogue and Conflict Transformation towards Peaceful Co-existence

John Paul Lederach (2014) notes two significant propositions about the phenomenon of human conflict: conflict is not only normal in human relationships, but is also a motor of change (Lederach, 2014, p. 2). These observations, drawn from his experience as a peace and conflict practitioner and scholar, underlie his definition of the concept of conflict transformation:

“Conflict transformation is to envision and respond to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life-giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures, and respond to real-life problems in human relationships” (Lederach, 2014, p. 9).

For Lederach, human conflicts can be envisioned as opportunities for the antagonist individuals and communities to draw new course for better relationships through processes of constructive

change. As rightly observed by Elias Opongo, constructive change can only be attained by addressing the root causes of the conflict in a community, i.e., identifying them and further finding agreeable alternatives to the factors that marginalize that particular community, and perpetuate injustice and insecurity against it (2009, p. 81).

Saunders (1999) rightly notes that dialogue also has the potential to spur growth, change, movement and direction (p. 83). Saunders further notes two essential elements of sustained dialogue: purpose and destination. The purpose is to change the relationship between antagonists by addressing the underlying relationships that cause conflict whereas the destination is to design the course that can be followed to change relationships in the larger community (Saunders, 1999, p.81). The purpose of sustained dialogue is parallel to the underlying principle of conflict transformation: constructive change attained through changing relationships between the antagonists.

CHAPTER THREE:

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

This chapter presents the research design, research methods and instruments, and sampling techniques that were used to collect data. The researcher applied the mixed research methodology in this study because both qualitative and quantitative research methods were relevant in the collection of data to study the refugee land user policy and how it has influenced the peaceful co-existence between the refugees and local community in Adjumani District.

3.1 Research Design

A research design essentially describes the framework for the collection and analysis of data. The researcher applied the cross-sectional study design, which for Bryman (2012) consists in the collection of data on more than one case carried out at a particular time in order to obtain quantitative data in connection with two or more variables that are to be studied to establish any patterns of association (p. 58). This research design is also suitable for the study of prevalence of a given phenomenon or problem because it gives an overall impression of the phenomenon or problem at that particular time.

In this case, the researcher applied the cross-sectional research design to study the refugee land user policy and how it has impacted on the co-existence of the refugees and local communities surrounding Nyumanzi settlement. The study covered Nyumanzi settlement and its surrounding villages of Egge and Dzaipi. This refugee settlement was purposely selected because it is demographically the largest in Adjumani district, and has registered a significant increase in the number of land related disputes between refugees and the local community.

3.2 Research Methods and Instruments

The study applied both quantitative and qualitative methods for data collection and analysis. Kumar (2011) draws a distinction between quantitative and qualitative methods: the former measure the extent of variation and intensity between variables whereas the latter focus on exploring, understanding and clarifying the feelings, perceptions and values held by a particular group of people (p. 83).

The quantitative method used in this study was questionnaires, of which two sets were equally distributed in number, i.e., Questionnaire I and II for refugee and host respondents, respectively. Seventy-five out of the ninety copies of questionnaires administered were completed and returned. They comprised both open-ended and closed-ended questions. The responses gathered from the open-ended questions are descriptive in nature, hence should rightly be considered as qualitative. However, the researcher developed the descriptive responses collected from the respondents into categories and quantified them into categorizations for data analysis. These include; procedures of land allocation, motivating factors for refugee-hosting, various threats of refugee land policy, and direct and indirect causes of land related disputes. The target population for questionnaires comprised respondents from the refugee and local communities. The researcher also used secondary sources, including book and journal articles, online report publications and newspaper articles to deepen his interpretation and understanding of the data collected.

In regard to the qualitative research methods, the researcher used Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) and Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) as discussed below. The FGDs provided an environment for the researcher where he freely and openly interacted with the respondents in a way that they could express their perceptions, opinions and thoughts towards the issues raised for discussion. The researcher carried out three FGDs: FGD I and II comprised of five refugee and five host respondents, respectively in two separate sessions; and then FGD

III was a heterogeneous session comprising two refugee and two host respondents. The researcher chose to interact with refugee and host respondents in two separate groups so that they could feel free to share their opinions and perceptions, especially on issues which may be sensitive to the other group. Over and above, FGDs were instrumental to the researcher in gathering more details such as body language and emphases that the two communities agreed or disagreed upon. The researcher was only able to reach eleven (11) key informants to carry out the KIIs, in which structured interview schedules were used. Target sample units included officials from the Local Councils II and III, the Refugee Welfare Council I and II, UNHCR and its implementing partners (IPs), community leaders and land owners, who constitute the stakeholders responsible for overseeing the implementation of the refugee land user policy.

3.3 Population and Sampling

Taro Yamane's formula was used to estimate a representative sample size as illustrated below:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

where:

n= Sample size

N = Population size

e = Margin of error (0.05)

Using an estimated population size (N) of Adjumani district as 500,000 (210,904 refugees and 234,300 hosts), the formula above calculates a representative sample (n) of 400. However, this study approximated a quarter of 400, that's to say, sample size (n) of 100 because the researcher was constrained by financial resources and limited by time available for field work. Target groups in this study included respondents from both refugee and host communities, officials from Local Councils II and III, UNHCR and IPs as illustrated in Table 1 below. Community leaders among the refugees and hosts, and land owners were included as well. The experience of the refugee and host community respondents was relevant because they are the subjects of the land user policy. The district Local Council III and UNHCR officials are significant because they were key decision makers in implementing of the refugee land user policy. Lastly, the

Local Council II leadership was involved in the negotiations held between the government and landowners in acquiring the land from the latter. The table below illustrates the distribution of the research instruments in this study.

Table 1: Distribution of research tools among the respondents

Respondents	Research tools	Number of Participants
Refugees	Questionnaire I	36
Hosts	Questionnaire II	39
Government and Local Council II and III	Key Informant Interviews	4
UNHCR and IPs	Key Informant Interviews	3
Elders/Landowners	Key Informant Interviews	2
Refugee Welfare Council (RWC) I & II	Key Informant Interviews	2
FGD I: Refugees	Interviews	5
FGD II: Hosts	Interviews	5
FGD III: (Refugees & hosts)	Interviews	4
Total		100

Sampling refers to the process of selecting participants who have the relevant characteristics for the research in a given study population. The researcher applied the non-probability sampling design, particularly the purposive and snowball sampling techniques. In purposive sampling, participants are strategically selected in such a manner that those selected have relevant information to attain the research objectives. Snowballing consists in creating a network of respondents whereby a small group of participants relevant to the study is initially selected, who then propose other participants with the experience or characteristics that are equally relevant to attaining the research objectives (Bryman, 2012, p. 418; p. 424). For Kothari (2004), the choice of these sampling techniques was significant to the extent of enabling the researcher to select participants from the larger study population who were representative of

the whole (p. 59) within the available time frame. The researcher used purposive sampling to select respondents for the questionnaires and participants in the FGDs essentially based on their relevance to the study and given that the target number of participants for the respective instruments was predetermined. The respondents of the questionnaires were selected from both refugee and local community, and so were the participants of the FGDs as described in Section 3.2. The snowballing sampling technique was very resourceful in the selection of respondents for the key informant interviews, for example, the researcher's key informant, an official from OPM (AA1901), referred him to two other respondents from LC II (FA2201) and a police officer (OO2501).

Cognizant of the risk of biases that is associated with the non-probability sampling design, the researcher ensured impartiality by selecting respondents from different categories of people within the study population, for example, Local Council and UNHCR officials, refugee leaders, and elders from the local community. The Lutheran World Federation (LWF) is the main implementing partner (IP) of UNHCR focusing on livelihoods in Nyumanzi, hence its consideration in this study. Otherwise, selecting respondents from other IPs would not have been representative. In effort to increase variation, copies of the questionnaires were distributed in the different homesteads situated across the seven blocks comprising Nyumanzi settlement to target the refugee population. The same was done across the different zones of Egge village, which is the immediate hosting local community, to target host population.

3.4 Field Data Collection Process

The researcher was permitted to commence his field work in a Letter of Confirmation issued by the Director of Hekima Institute of Peace Studies and International Relations (HIPSIR) on 12 FEB 2020. With permission granted, the researcher proceeded to apply for a Research Permit from the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) - Adjumani District. Permission to carry

out the research in Nyumanzi settlement was granted by Mr. Titus Jogo, the Refugee Desk Officer at the OPM on 19 FEB 2020. The researcher then sought for further clearance from the Nyumanzi settlement Assistant Commandant, Mr. Albert Alumbgi to grant him the permission of interacting with the refugees. The researcher met his respondents with assistance from gatekeepers, with whom he had kept constant communication in the preceding months. The Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) in Adjumani referred the researcher to their Youth Coordinator who served as research assistant and Dinka-English translator. The researcher was also assisted by another youth as research assistant and Madi-English translator. These two gatekeepers were very helpful in administering the questionnaires. Prior to this, the researcher carried out a coaching session with both of his research assistants focusing on the research objectives and the how the questionnaires were to be filled out.

Collection of data using the questionnaires was both self-filled and administered. Accompanied by the assistants, the researcher interviewed fifteen (15) respondents, including both refugees and hosts, with questionnaires whose responses were translated from Dinka and Madi into English, and filled out by the researcher. This exercise played a duo-purpose. On one hand, it acquainted the researcher with an overall picture of the kind of responses expected from the study, hence identify some key issues emerging from the study which became the subject of discussion with the key informants. On the other hand, it also served as a coaching session for the research assistants. The rest of the questionnaires were administered by the assistants, whom the researcher kept under close supervision through phone call meetings in the morning and evening. Each individual administered the questionnaires to respondents of their community, that's to say, one worked among the refugees while the other worked among the local community of Madi. Collection of data through the key informant interviews was carried out by the researcher with the help of his network of respondents created through snowballing. Respondent AA1901, an official from OPM, was very resourceful in identifying

credible respondents from the Local Council, the Refugee Welfare Council and Nyumanzi Police Post whose work and experience was relevant to this study. The researcher mainly took notes during the interviews as most of the respondents felt insecure with being recorded. With inference from the researcher's prior experience with the respondents of the self-filled questionnaires, the insecurity of being recorded could be interpreted within the evidently sensitive environment in Nyumanzi at the time of the research, following the violent conflict that occurred in that area in December 2019.

Data collection in Adjumani district was not without challenges. First, it has high rates of accommodation given that this district is a transit town to the rest of West Nile by road. The Assistant Commandant was, however, kind enough to offer the researcher accommodation at the Base Camp. The researcher was also constrained by financial resources, especially on stipends for the research assistants and transport costs. However, as the researcher became familiar with the geographical location of the area, he decided to walk to some of the locations, hence reducing transport costs. Third, the researcher was constrained by the time available for the research as he was only able to bargain for a two weeks leave from his place of work. Lastly, language barrier greatly inhibited the researcher from collecting first-hand information from most of the respondents who could only speak either of the local dialects of the two major ethnic communities in Nyumanzi – Dinka for the refugees and Madi for the locals. However, the translators assigned to the researcher were very helpful in translating the responses into English. Otherwise, the respondents were generally willing to participate in the study, an attribute that made data collection a more likely exercise for the researcher.

3.5 Research Site and Time Frame

This research was carried out in Nyumanzi refugee settlement which is located in Adjumani district. The researcher chose Adjumani on two accounts: one, the district's notable refugee demographic dividend marked by competing refugee and host populations. Two, Adjumani prides in accommodating the highest number of refugee settlements in West Nile, of which Nyumanzi was purposely selected because it is demographically the largest in the district and has registered a significant increase in the number of land related disputes between refugees and the local community. Against this background, the researcher can attest that the findings of this study are applicable to other settlements in Adjumani where land related conflicts exist.

3.6 Reliability and Validity of the Instrument

Reliability essentially concerns the extent to which a test, instrument, experiment or measuring procedure applied in a given study can produce the same results upon repeated trials under similar conditions (Carmines & Zeller, 1979, p. 11). To this end, the researcher applied the Test and Re-test technique through the pilot study he carried out in early February 2020 to test his instruments. The researcher was able to identify some problematic phrases in the questionnaire that would have brought about mixed interpretations, which were then adjusted.

Validity essentially refers to the extent to which a given research instrument measures what it is intended to measure. Carmines and Zeller (1979) further note that the measuring instrument ought to be validated in relation to the purpose for which it is being used (p. 17). The research instruments were subjected to the approval of one expert before the field work commenced to validate whether the questionnaires for this study were designed to measure what they really meant to.

3.7 Data Analysis

The study gathered both qualitative and quantitative data. The former comprised data collected from the open-ended questions in the questionnaires; the interviews carried out in the FGD and key informant sessions; the latter comprised data collected from closed-ended questions. The researcher managed to collect seventy-five copies of questionnaires, some of which were partially filled out. However, these were still analysed so that the data contained in the filled sections is utilized. The data was then computed and analysed using two software programs, namely MS Excel (2013) and SPSS (version 16.0).

For qualitative data, the narration method was applied where the researcher used the principle of Content analysis to identify main themes emerging from the open-ended questions of the questionnaires, from which sub-themes were formed in correlation to the research objectives. Percentages were also used in some instances where it was significant, for instance, to show the relationship between refugees and hosts who responded to a particular question. Narrations and verbatim from the key informant interviews and FGDs were also included to emphasize key issues that emerged. The data gathered from this study is analysed and presented in such a way that the research objectives form the main topics under which identified themes and sub-themes are presented. In each section, the narrations emerging from the qualitative data and analyses from the quantitative data are presented, as demonstrated in the sections of the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the analysis of the data collected by the researcher in this study. It is divided into five sections. The first section gives a description of the study sample whereas the following sections analyse the data in the order of the research objectives and variables therein. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the researcher applied both qualitative and quantitative methods to analyse the data as illustrated in the following sections.

4.1 Description of Study Sample

This study had a sample of 100 participants of which 75 were reached through questionnaires, 11 interviewed in key informant interviews (KIIs) and 3 Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) in which 14 respondents participated: FGDs I & II had 5 participants whereas FGD III had 4 participants). The KIIs included 2 female and 9 male respondents, comprising of officials from the Government, Local Councils I and III and, refugee and local community leaders as illustrated by Table 1 in the previous chapter. Participants of the FGDs comprised of 7 female and 7 male respondents of whom all host respondents were recruited from Egge village and refugees from Nyumanzi settlement. Gender balance was significant in selection of sample units, however the research still ended up with more male participants than female, given the fact that there were less women available for participation in the research.

The researcher distributed 90 questionnaires of which 75 were completed, comprising of 39 host respondents (52%) and 36 refugee respondents (48%). This means that two independent sets of samples were used for the study. The female respondents were 33 (57.6% host respondents and 42.4% refugee respondents) whereas the male respondents were 41 (48.8% host respondents and 51.2% refugee respondents). Host respondents were recruited from the areas of Adjumani town and the villages surrounding Nyumanzi refugee settlement namely, Egge and Dzaipi. The refugee respondents were recruited across the seven blocks into

which Nyumanzi settlement is divided namely, Block A, Block B, Block C, Block D, Block E, Block F and Block G. Other refugee respondents were recruited from the market.

The mean ages of the participants were 27.70 and 41.06 for refugees and host respondents respectively. An independent samples t-test was used to compare the mean ages for the host and refugee participants. The t-test results as illustrated in Table 2 below indicate that there was a significant difference in age between refugee and host respondents ($t_{62.855} = -4.302$, $p < .001$). This indicates that the average age for refugee respondents was 13.356 years lower than the average age for host respondents.

Table 2: Independent Samples Test

Independent Samples Test						
	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means			
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Age Equal variances assumed	1.045	.311	-4.302	64	.000	-13.356
Equal variances not assumed			-4.428	62.855	.000	-13.356

(Source: Research findings)

4.2 Land Allocation

This section presents the first research question which sought to study the procedures of land allocation to refugees. Respondents were asked to identify the ways in which refugees acquired land and the challenges that emerged from these procedures; and to make suggestions to address the question of land ownership.

4.2.1 Procedures of Land Allocation

The study sought to find out the procedures through which refugees in Nyumanzi acquired land for their habitation and agricultural activities. A large majority of the respondents (92%)

revealed that they were aware of the procedures through which refugees acquired land, which included the following. One, the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) and UNHCR held negotiations with the land owners and the local community in January 2014 through the Local Councils II and III. The land was then acquired and allocated to refugees by OPM and UNHCR on a “use and return basis” as cited by an OPM official (AA1901, interviewed 19 FEB 2020) and demarcated into small plots designated for establishing homesteads: houses, latrine and vegetable garden. Participants in the Focused Discussion Groups (FGDs) estimated that the size of the plots of land allocated to each refugee family ranged from 20x25m to 30x30m. Some refugees acquired land through their already settled relatives whom they later joined as indicated by one refugee student (RR/NSS/006, questionnaire). However, over the years, the land allocated has become inadequate for cultivation and animal keeping. Two, some refugees hire land from the land users among the local community, especially for purposes of cultivation of food crops which include: sorghum, groundnuts, maize and beans. Moreover, including a vendor in the open-air market, revealed that some refugees purchase land through land agents (RR/MKT/004, questionnaire). Some cases of random settling in gazetted areas were also cited.

Section 65 of the Refugees Regulations (2010) gives refugees free access to land for agricultural purposes, that is to say, cultivation and pasturing. However, the aspect of animal-keeping was not initially considered in allocation of land to refugees in Nyumanzi, probably because it was not an immediate need at the time. This was affirmed by the UNHCR field official who stated, “. . . cattle keeping was not contextualized in the case of settling Dinka refugees” (DD2602, interviewed 26 FEB 2020). The refugees in Nyumanzi only started to acquire cattle and goats in 2016 either through some NGOs which distributed animals to promote livelihoods or transporting the animals across the border from their homes in South Sudan as cited by a Police officer (OO2501, interviewed 25 FEB 2020). One of the international NGOs, for instance, distributed goats to vulnerable groups of both refugees and

hosts. However, a police officer noted that being pastoralists, the Dinka refugees “know how to look after animals as compared to the Madis”, which explains why the herds multiplied rapidly in number (OO2501, interviewed 25 FEB 2020). Another respondent, an international NGO official, noted that many refugees gave their goats to the locals in exchange for cattle or money to purchase cattle (KK2503, interviewed 25 FEB 2020). For the Dinkas, pastoralism is a major economic activity; and cattle are a sign of social prestige and highly valuable for dowry.

4.2.2 Challenges Emerging from the Process of Allocation of Land

Host respondents were asked whether there are challenges in relations and co-existence between refugees and local community that emerged from the process of land allocation. Thirty-four (87.18%) host respondents cited different challenges, which can be categorized into two major issues. One, environmental degradation that has been caused by indiscriminate tree cutting and over-grazing. The former is closely linked to the increase in refugee population which caused a spike in the demand for wood fuel and construction materials whereas the latter is due to the increase in cattle and goats owned by the refugees. Improper dumping of garbage and waste disposal was also cited as a big problem. Furthermore, land has become more infertile due to over-cultivation; and flooding during the rainy season causes waterlogging, hence affecting cultivation.

Two, conflicts between refugees and locals which are two-fold: resource-based and open conflicts. On the one hand, resource-based conflicts are mainly caused by the pressure exerted on the available resources by the high population density of refugees and hosts, hence triggering competition for these resources between the two communities. Resources include: water, grass for thatching houses and, land for cultivation and grazing. Open conflicts, on the other hand, are caused by various factors of which trespassing into hosts’ crop fields was the most prevalent. Given the depletion of pastures in the grazing corridor designated for refugee pastoralists, they are forced to move their cattle and goats in search for pasture, which

sometimes stay into crop fields belonging to the locals, hence raising tensions. Closely linked are instances where refugees cultivate in open fields belonging to the locals, but without prior permission granted by the rightful owners, hence causing conflict between the refugees and land users. Other causes mentioned include: unfulfilled promises made to the land lords as cited by a local community member (HR/24/012, questionnaire) and refugee youths' disregard of the hosts' generosity to the extent that one elder stated, "It's regrettable that we gave them land; I narrowly survived being lynched by the refugee youth who attacked my home during the conflict last December" (HR/22/05, interviewed 22 FEB 2020). Far from land related issues, hosts also revealed that security had deteriorated especially affecting night movement. This is attributed to refugee youth gangs, who under the influence of drugs, carry out criminal activity such as harassment, beating and money extortion.

4.2.3 Documentation of Land

When asked about the documentation of the land, 81% of the participants (38 hosts and 33 refugees) said that there were no documents issued. Host respondents were asked whether the land owners were issued with documents to show ownership for the land they offered to the OPM, whereas the refugee respondents were asked if they were issued with documents for the plots that they had acquired.

One host respondent from Egge village categorically stated that agreement between the land owners and OPM was verbal (HR/24/011, questionnaire). An elder from the local community stated, "OPM involved us in the negotiations, but they did not return to discuss the terms and benefits conclusively" (SP2401, interviewed 24 FEB 2020). Other host respondents such as HR/22/02, viewed land allocation to refugees as an act of emergency that was rightly supposed to be done first and then documentation done later. However, the OPM never returned to negotiate with the communities after the refugees were settled. While one refugee respondent

said they had attestations that identify the block and cluster where they resided; others did not consider such documents as important because they believe that their stay in the settlement was only temporary. About 18.6% of all the respondents were neither aware of the existence of such documents nor had they heard that such documents existed.

4.2.4 Addressing the Issue of Land Ownership

Asked to suggest ways in which the ownership of land could be improved upon, 64 out of the 75 respondents from the questionnaire believed that they had viable suggestions that could be implemented, as illustrated below.

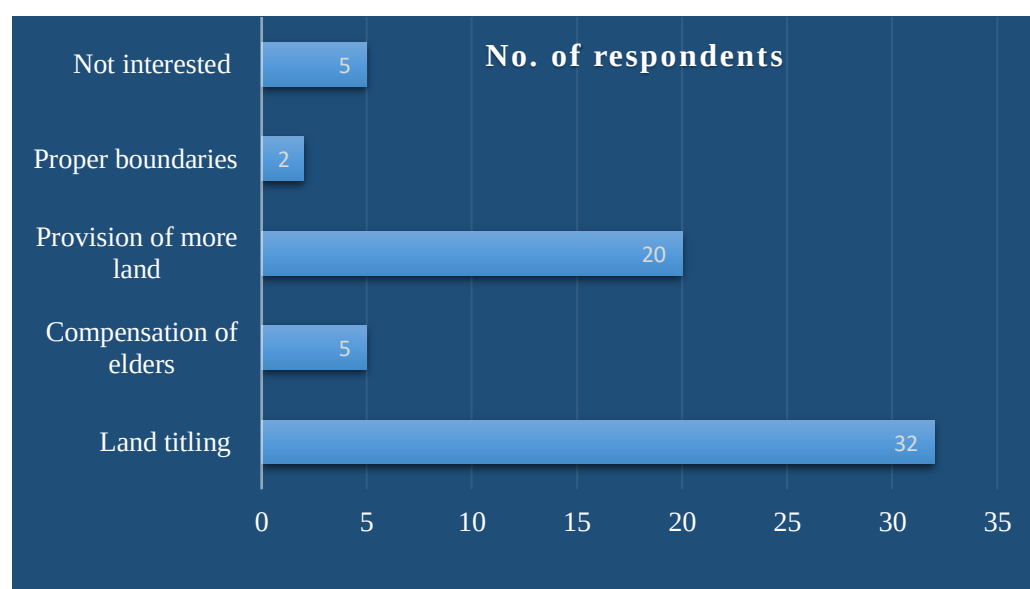


Figure 2: Illustration of the suggestions for addressing the issue of land ownership.

Firstly, documentation of land through titling was largely suggested by 50 questionnaire respondents as a major factor in streamlining the issue of land ownership. Land owners neither had land certificates/title deeds nor did they have copies of the MoU which they signed on behalf of their local community. The refugees also lacked official documents that indicate that they were authorized to occupy the allocated land. This situation also manifested in cases where refugees make transactional arrangements with locals to rent the latter's land for cultivation. In

affirmation, a conflict resolution practitioner with an NGO maintained “hosts dishonoring their agreements of land hired out to refugees” as a major drawback to bilateral arrangements, which is exacerbated by language barrier (SS2504, interviewed 25 FEB 2020). However, 5 questionnaire respondents and FGD I participants, who comprised refugees felt that land documentation was a non-issue since they were only temporary occupants of the land. The issue of titling land was widely spread across the study area, which makes it the greatest concern for locals and refugees alike.

To justify their advocacy for land documentation, host respondents cited various reasons which have two underlying factors. One, the need to restore a sense of belonging for the land offered to settle refugees. In fact, host respondents including HR/CHR/025 and HR/22/06 purported that documentation of land was of the essence to show that the land still belonged to the community (questionnaires). They further argued that documentation would give the local community the authority to face government in case the refugees misbehaved or became stubborn. It would also be easy for land owners to give their land to other refugees in future if need arises since they would have the documents to show land ownership. Two, for respondents, such as one local participant from Egge village, it is essential for the host community to protect themselves against land grabbers from other areas (HR/24/013, questionnaire). Such sentiments are based on rumors firmly held among the refugees that the land which they are using was bought by the OPM and UNHCR. This greatly irritates the local community and has contributed to land related conflicts between the refugees and hosts.

The second suggestion made by five respondents was in regard of compensation of land owners for the land that they offered for refugee resettlement. These concerns of unfulfilled promises were raised in Adjumani, Dzaipi, and Egge to a considerable extent. In fact, the researcher learnt that the seven elders, who are the land owners of Egge village, had been

promised well-constructed houses and that their children would be awarded scholarships to study. Unfortunately, these promises have not been honoured even after six years.

Third, the size of the land available for use by host communities and refugees has shrunk rapidly due to increased population, hence the need to provide more land as mentioned by 20 respondents in the figure above. Some respondents cited the need to create more space through negotiations between the government and local community while others proposed relocation of those who possess animals. The general feeling was that land was increasingly becoming scarce and consequently contributing to conflicts between refugees and locals.

4.3 Motivating Factors for Refugee Hosting

Refugee and host respondents were asked to identify factors that motivate the local community to host them. The factors gathered are broadly grouped into four, namely social-economic benefits, first-hand experience of displacement, infrastructural development and cultural convergences.

4.3.1 Social-Economic Benefits

From the questionnaires, 25 respondents (13 refugees and 12 hosts) cited the economic benefits of refugee-hosting as a major pull factor for refugee-hosting. These included establishment of the open-air markets where different merchandise and products are sold to both refugees and locals; and creation of employment opportunities. The researcher observed that the open-air market of Nyumanzi settlement is the busiest place in the entire area and brings together both the refugees and local community. It consists of both refugee and host merchants, who not only originate from the local Madi community, but also other parts of Uganda selling a range of products including food, and milk which is a staple for the Dinka ethnic community. The most cited employment opportunities created by refugee-hosting in Nyumanzi include: jobs within the NGOs operating in the area, schools and health centres, and casual labour especially

construction of houses. One refugee respondent from Block A agreed that the refugees were not good at building houses, hence relied on labour provided by the local community (RR/BA/016, questionnaire). In addition, informal business interactions between refugees and hosts in terms of trading in food rations distributed by UNHCR were cited. One refugee respondent purported that host communities were motivated by the expectation of compensation for the land offered to the refugees (RR/MKT/001, questionnaire). Host and refugee respondents generally carried the sentiment that refugee-hosting improved the livelihoods of the local community. This opinion was, however, repudiated by one member of the local community who held that not all locals benefit from the economic boom in the area as some struggle to gain (HR/22/03, questionnaire).

4.3.2 First-hand Experience of Displacement

Seven host respondents (17.9%) alluded to their first-hand experience of displacement into southern Sudan during the political unrest of the early 1980s experienced in the West Nile region was a major motivating factor. In fact, one key informant interviewee, an LC II official narrated his childhood experience as a refugee in southern Sudan. “We were given land to stay and cultivate, and we also went to school” (FA2201, interviewed 22 FEB 2020). Three other host questionnaire respondents and host participants in FGD III alluded to the experience that they had with refugees from southern Sudan who were hosted in Adjumani district in 1992. For instance, respondents HR/24/012 and HR/22/02 from the local community mentioned that they enjoyed friendly relations with refugees in 1992. This cohort of refugees were predominantly from the Kuku ethnic community, and share ethnic ties with the Bari people of West Nile. Three refugee respondents indicated reciprocal sympathy as a factor that motivated the locals to host them. This was in reference to the hospitality that the people of southern

Sudan extended to Ugandans (West Nilers) fleeing violent conflict in the early 1980s as cited by a female refugee respondent (RR/BA/016, questionnaire).

4.3.3 Infrastructural Development

Improvement of the infrastructure in Nyumanzi was agreeably mentioned by refugee and host respondents, especially the levels of development from the time of refugee arrivals in January 2014 to date. Some of the development projects in the area that are attributed to the presence of refugees include: construction of boreholes, refurbishment of the main road and feeder roads leading to Nyumanzi settlement and more recently, installation of solar energy lighting. Extension of social services, including health and education facilities to rural areas such as the villages of Egge and Dzaipi was also mentioned as a motivating factor. For instance, Nyumanzi Health Centre was upgraded from Grade II to III, where it can accommodate surgical procedures. Primary, secondary and vocational schools have been constructed and scholarships awarded to both refugees and locals. Even more, a Police Post was also established adjacent to the Base Camp which has improved on the security. However, a Local Council II official indicated that the locals were not satisfactorily considered for these education opportunities, particularly the vocational studies (FA2201, interviewed 22 FEB 2020). Over and above, hosting refugees is considered as an avenue for developing the area.

4.3.4 Cultural Convergences

Both refugees and hosts were asked to identify any cultural convergences between the Dinka and Madi cultures which could have drawn the locals towards accepting refugees in Adjumani. From the questionnaires, 46.67% of respondents identified some cultural similarities between the two communities, including: farming activities as both communities engage in cultivation and animal keeping, and common food taboos for girls and women where women are forbidden

from eating certain foods. Both communities hold marriage preparations and ceremonies, and also celebrate child births. They are both actively engaged in child up-bringing through communal living, construct similar types of houses and share common sauces of food and cooking methods. They both play drums in their traditional dances. Five respondents from both communities cited the respect and honor accorded to elders especially in resolving conflicts. However, a critical analysis of the cultural similarities mentioned above shows that they basically consist in the fact that both communities carry out common social-economic activities or use common instruments (drums) in their traditional dances or have similar taboos. However, the underlying reasons and value systems informing these cultural practices in both communities were not cited by respondents. In fact, majority of all respondents (53.33%) found no similarities between their respective communities.

This was well demonstrated when the respondents were asked to rank the motivating factors mentioned above on a five-point Likert scale and the data analyzed by calculating weighted means for each category. Their responses as well were based on a five-point Likert scale where the corresponding weights were assigned as follows: “Strongly Disagree” (w=-2), “Disagree” (w=-1), “I do not know” (w=0), “Agree” (w=1), and “Strongly agree” (w=2). The results were as follows.

Table 3: Ranking of Factors that Motivate the Local Community to Welcome Refugees

	Motivating Factors		Total Weight	Weighted Means
Hosts	(1) Previous experience of displacement	38	70	1.842
	(2) Economic benefits	39	59	1.513
	(3) Government policy	37	15	0.405
	(4) Cultural similarities	39	-12	-0.308
Refugees	(1) Economic benefits	34	65	1.912
	(2) Government policy	34	58	1.706
	(3) Previous experience of displacement	33	27	0.818
	(4) Cultural similarities	34	-27	-0.794

(Source: Research findings)

From the table above, host communities ranked previous experience of displacement as the greatest motivation for locals to welcome refugees whereas the refugees ranked economic benefits as the greatest motivation. However, both communities ranked cultural similarities as the least motivators for local communities to welcome refugees. Refugee respondents held other views that could have motivated members of the host community to welcome them. A cluster leader from Block B (RR2601, interviewed 26 FEB 2020) and the five refugee participants in FGD II unanimously held the view that the GoU influenced the residents to agree to host the refugees owing to the cordial relationship between the GoU and that of South Sudan while others purported that the land on which they were settled was empty and disserted.

4.4 Threats of the Refugee Land User Policy

The study asked participants to identify some factors that threaten the sustenance of the refugee land user policy. To achieve these results, respondents were initially asked to mention the challenges that refugees encounter in using land allocated to them; and then asked to rank other factors gathered from existing literature which inhibit refugees from optimally using their land.

4.4.1. Challenges Encountered by Refugees in Using Allocated Land

Sixty-seven respondents (89.3%) from the questionnaires believe that refugees face challenges in using their land. The researcher interestingly noted that the local community was cognizant of the pitfalls faced by their refugee neighbors given that 35 hosts (52.2%) responded to this question. The threats cited by respondents are broadly grouped as discussed below.

4.4.1.1 Land Shortage

Twenty-five host respondents highlighted the challenge of land shortage especially in the face of refugee population growth. One member from the zone adjacent to the community centre keenly noted, “The refugee families have expanded in size” (HR/22/02, interviewed 22 FEB

2020). When requested to explain, he said that some of the refugees who arrived back in 2014 as youth are currently married with their own families, hence the need for them to establish their own homes. Consequently, there is congestion of refugee families in a particular homestead and high risk of disease spread given the proximity of the houses and kitchen to the latrines, as noted by three (3) host respondents. Over and above, the land initially allocated to refugees has become inadequate for habitation and cultivation. The difficulties encountered by animal-keeping refugees in search for pasture for their cattle were also cited by respondents. Fourteen refugee respondents similarly mentioned shortage of land for cultivation and animal grazing as the major challenge faced in using their land. Respondents described that the plots of land allocated to them as “small”. In fact, an official from the Refugee Welfare Council II described the process of land allocation as “unfair” citing that a piece of land measuring 20x25m can hardly accommodate houses, kitchen and latrine constructed within a safe and hygienic distance that assures proper sanitation (MN2202, interviewed 22 FEB 2020).

4.4.1.2 Unproductive Soil Texture

Host respondents reported that soils on which the refugees cultivate are poor, dry and infertile, hence not favourable for cultivation particularly during the dry seasons. In affirmation, an official from OPM stated that the Ugandan government’s plea to the UNHCR was to continue the program of distributing food to refugees hosted in Adjumani district because the areas hosting refugee settlements such as Nyumanzi have poor soil texture (AA1901, interviewed 19 FEB 2020). Another keen observation cited by one of the elders of Egge village was that the refugees are unable to cultivate their staple foods such as potatoes and cassava due to the poor soils, hence have to purchase it from the market. Two (2) respondents noted that some refugees face the problem of flooding in their homesteads during the rainy season. In fact, the researcher

observed a huge chunk of water-logged land that had been fenced off to keep children away from playing on it because it was still filled with water.

4.4.1.3 Land-Related Disputes

Respondents also cited refugee-host disputes whose underlying cause is related to land as a major challenge. Nine mentions from the respondents highlighted these land-related disputes as the third challenge encountered with responses such as “‘land disputes between refugees and hosts’, ‘misunderstandings over plot boundaries’, and ‘conflicts about land issues’”. As demonstrated in Section 4.2.2, many of these conflicts emerge as a result of trespassing which manifests in two ways. On the one hand, some refugees are accused by locals of cultivating on the latter’s land without prior permission which raises tensions. On the other hand, refugees who keep animals are reported of letting their animals to stray into crop fields belonging to the locals which consequently damage the crops, hence culminating in disputes. Two field officials from an international NGO in Nyumanzi observed that poor communication due to language barrier exacerbates refugee-host disputes (KK2503 & SS2504, interviewed 25 FEB 2020).

Similarly, refugee respondents also cited land disputes between them and hosts as another hindrance that they encounter. A refugee vendor operating in the market attributed this to the lack of official documentation for the transactional arrangements that they make with the locals in renting or hiring land from the latter (RR/MKT/004, questionnaire). Cash is paid by the refugee cultivators, but unfortunately there is no proof of payment. Even more unfortunate are cases of untrustworthiness and fraud where locals who have engaged in such transactional arrangements revoke them and force their refugee clients off the land without compensation, especially towards the harvest period. This has indubitably created distrust and suspicion among members of the two communities.

4.4.1.4 Reduced Financial Assistance

Refugees receive a monthly stipend to sustain their livelihoods by purchasing essential personal items. The stipend was, however, reduced from Ushs. 50,000 to Ushs. 30, 000 (\$10) per head, which refugee respondents revealed impacted on the optimal use of land. For instance, participants in FGD I mentioned that Ushs. 30,000 currently handed out to them was not enough for them to meet all their needs, including paying school fees, developing land for cultivation, and hiring/renting land from hosts to graze their animals. Consequently, this has caused over-dependence on food rations, particularly for those who cannot afford to buy food from the market to supplement their meals. Restricted access to firewood was also mentioned: it is the most available fuel used to prepare food, and yet refugees have depleted much of the vegetation surrounding the settlement, hence have to purchase firewood from the locals. This was confirmed by the LC II official who revealed that currently, firewood is sold to the refugees by the locals who collect it for sale (FA2201, interviewed 22 FEB 2020). This is because of the high risk of physical assault that refugee women would face if they dared to cross to the bushes lying on grounds that belong to the local community to collect firewood.

4.4.2 Other Threats Inhibiting Threaten the Refugee Land User Policy

Respondents were also asked to rank four factors that threaten the refugee land user policy. Weighted means were used for the ranking of the responses that were obtained using the following six-point Likert scale. The respected weights (closed in brackets) that were used for analysis are as follows: “Not at all” (-3), “Very Low” (-2), “Low” (-1), “I don't know” (0), “High” (1) and “Very high” (2). The results of the analysis are summarized in the table below. The factors are ranked with the highest weighted mean represent the highest threat for each of the study groups.

Table 4: Ranking of Threats of the Refugee Land User Policy

		Total Counts	Total weights	Weighted Means
Host	(1) Proof of Land ownership	39	47	1.205
	(2) Disputed boundaries	38	40	1.053
	(3) No Compensation	38	22	0.579
	(4) Land related conflicts	38	18	0.474
Refugees	(1) Land related conflicts	32	39	1.219
	(2) Disputed boundaries	31	32	1.032
	(3) Low soil fertility	29	21	0.724
	(4) Proof of land ownership	31	-24	-0.774

(Source: Research findings)

As indicated above, host respondents indicated proof of land ownership as the highest threat to the refugee land user policy which scored a weighted mean of 1.205. This makes the local community feel insecure because they have no authority over their own ancestry land. Closely related to this issue is the unfulfilled promises made to the land owners in compensation for the land which scored a weighted mean of 0.579. These included; building houses for them and awarding their children with scholarships. Contrariwise, the threat that ranked highest for the refugees with a weighted mean of 1.219 was the lowest among the host respondents with a weighted mean of 0.474, that's to say, land-related conflicts. For refugees, proof of land ownership ranked lowest with is a weighted mean of -0.774. This is because it is nearly a non-issue as was unanimously agreed by the participants in FGD I - comprising only refugees - except for those engaged in transactional arrangements of renting or hiring land from the locals.

4.4.3 Suggestions on Improving the Refugee Land Policy

Participants were requested to share their views on how the refugee land policy can be improved upon, to which 52 respondents (28 refugees and 24 hosts) participated. There were

various suggestions offered, underneath which the researcher discovered three main factors as discussed below.

First, the need to make provisions for more land. Respondents suggested that the size of land allocated to refugees should be increased given the spike in refugee population. Some of the avenues proposed included: leasing more land from host communities and reclaiming the swampy areas. For host respondents including HR/EGGE/037 and HR/NYU/021, relocation of refugees, especially those who keep animals, was necessary (questionnaires, 2020). This according to them would ease the pressure exerted on available resources that is associated with increased population. For other locals still, the provision for more land should be done in a manner that factors in the size of the family (HR/CHR/025 & HR/EGGE/039, questionnaires, 2020).

Second, the need to improve relations between refugee and host communities. Participants underscored the need for reconciliation between the Dinka and Madi communities in attempt to restore cordial relations between them. This would help in easing the refugee-host tensions that have disrupted the lives and livelihoods of many refugees, for instance, restricting movement to collect timber for fencing their homesteads and grass for thatching houses. A host participant mentioned of the need for refugees and hosts to work together to improve on their relations whereas a refugee respondent cited the need for more efforts towards community dialogue for peaceful co-existence (HR/DOM/026 & RR/BB/020, questionnaire, 2020). Dialogue was advocated for as a way of promoting peaceful co-existence, not only at the community level, but also interpersonal level. According to some respondents (one local and two refugees), dialogue would help in resolving land-related conflicts and ensuring that the two communities work together. A participant from the local community recommended that elders should mentor the youth in human values and how to associate in community (HR/EGGE/036, questionnaire). A local elderly female respondent held a firm opinion that there is great need

to diffuse the rumours held among the refugees that the OPM bought the land allocated to them (HR/MAD/028, questionnaire). Such misinformation has created tension between the two communities, hence exacerbating their already vulnerable relations. In fact, FGD II firmly held the need to “improve on the flow of information” (FGD II, 20 FEB 2020).

Third, the need to review the MoU signed between the government and elders. An official from the LC II was of the opinion that the terms of the MoU be reviewed because at the time of signing, the hosts were oblivious of what lay ahead of them (FA2201, interviewed 22 FEB 2020). One key component of the MoU highlighted by other host respondents was the promise made by the government that the land will be returned to the land owners upon repatriation of the refugees. Host respondents strongly recommend that this promise be well documented. Participants in FGD III and officials from the Local Councils and Refugee Welfare Councils were of the strong opinion that elders be compensated with the promises that were made to them. The researcher visited two of the seven elders in Egge village, who offered the land on which Nyumanzi was established, and observed that they had become of age and sickly and yet the houses promised to them have not been constructed. One of them lamented, “I was given an ox-plough, and yet I expected a house to be constructed for me first” (SP2401, interviewed 24 FEB 2020).

4.5 Relations between Refugee and Host Communities

The study sought to find out from participants their general impressions on the impact of the refugee land user policy on the relations between refugees and the locals. Forty-nine respondents from both communities agreed that relations between these two communities have generally been friendly, but occasionally interrupted by land disputes which have over time negatively affected the good relationship. This was affirmed by a refugee who described the

refugee-host relations as “sometimes positive, but occasionally turn upside down” (RR/BC/022, questionnaire, 2020).

In justification of the positive relations between the refugee and host communities in Nyumanzi, respondents cited that sharing of land through programs such as the integrated farmer groups have increased interactions between the two communities. Integrated farming groups are an integral part of the livelihoods programs run by UNHCR and its implementing partners. They comprise of both refugees and locals who are allocated a particular piece of land to cultivate together and then share the financial proceeds yielded from the harvest. Other broadly cited uniting factors were interactions in the open air market and bi-lateral agreements made through renting and hiring land. In fact, for some respondents, economic activity has created a “mutual relationship” where there is interdependence between the two communities (RR/NSS/005, questionnaire; KK2503, interviewed 25 FEB 2020).

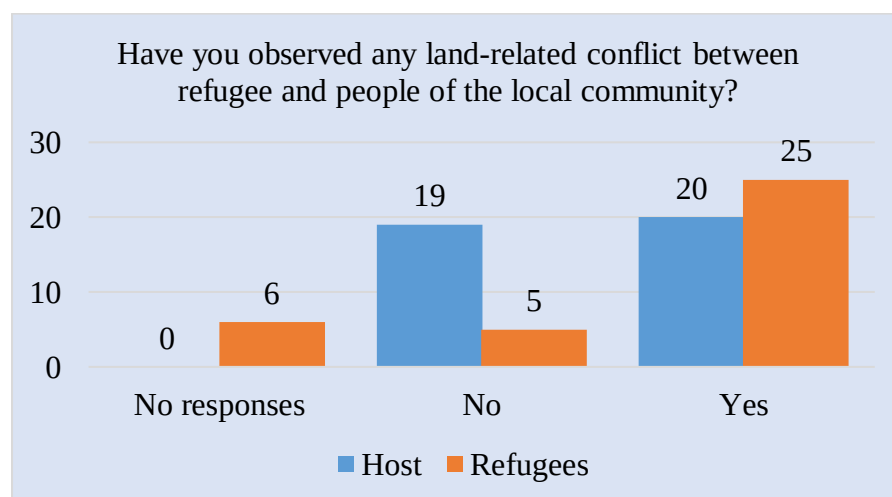
However, this positive relationship has degenerated over time as indicated by seven respondents. Two host respondents noted that refugee-host relations were initially good, but have deteriorated (HR/22/07 & HR/22/01, questionnaire, 2020). Three refugee respondents observed that this relationship begun to deteriorate after 2015. In her opinion, a leader from the RWC I observed, “Initially, social relations were good; we were still new and had no animals. Scarcity of resources has led to strained relations” (RR2601, interviewed 26 FEB 2020). Ten refugee respondents cited the December 2019 conflict as having greatly impacted on their social relations with the locals. Reduced land sharing was the most commonly cited consequence of the violent conflict that occurred last December between the Dinka and Madi communities in Nyumanzi settlement. Two host respondents who had freely offered acres of land to refugees to cultivate at no cost attested to this phenomenon. One of them decided to revoke his offer because his property was vandalized during the conflict whereas the other said that she had forgiven the perpetrators, but she has still not seen the refugee women whom she

had permitted to till her land (HR/22/01 & HR/24/12, questionnaire, 2020). A Police officer involved in resolving conflicts in the community interestingly observed that individuals from the local community who directly benefit from the refugee situation seem to be “more friendly and tolerant to refugees” (OO2501, interviewed 25 FEB 2020). This was affirmed by one refugee respondent who noted, “Some refugees interact freely with hosts, but hosts who feel their land was grabbed are more hesitant” (RR/BG/033, questionnaire, 2020).

4.5.1 Prevalence of Land-Related Disputes

Respondents were asked whether they had any first-hand experience of a land dispute between individuals from the refugee and host community, and how it was resolved. About 60% of the respondents (25 refugees and 20 hosts) had observed a land dispute, as illustrated below.

Figure 3: Prevalence of Land-Related Disputes



Forty respondents (22 refugees and 18 hosts) from those who had observed a land-related conflict also knew how the disputes were resolved. From their observations, land related disputes are resolved at two different levels depending on the gravity of the dispute. At the community level, disputes between refugees and hosts are resolved by the LCs I and II officials and refugee leaders from RWCs I & II. UNHCR implementing agencies such as Lutheran

World Federation (LWF) were commended for the significant role played in training community leaders in conflict resolution techniques through their Peace Promoters program.

However, more grave disputes require intervention from the Refugee Desk Officer under OPM, UNHCR and its implementing agencies and the Uganda Police. Respondents recalled some community dialogues held at the Community Centre – a place of recreation established by one of the NGOs where different community trainings and gatherings can be accommodated – that were facilitated by the OPM and UNHCR officials. However, disputes that constitute criminal offences under the Law of Uganda, culprits including refugees are arrested by the Police and arraigned in Court (OO2501, interviewed 25 FEB 2020).

4.5.2. Causes of Land-related Disputes

Respondents were asked to identify the commonest causes of the land-related conflicts discussed above. Seventy respondents from the questionnaires, and four key informants participated in this section. Most of the causes presented below have been partly discussed in the Sections 4.2.2 and 4.4.1. However, this section broadly grouped them into two, that's to say, direct and indirect causes, as illustrated in table 5 below.

Table 5: Direct and indirect causes of land related conflicts as cited by respondents

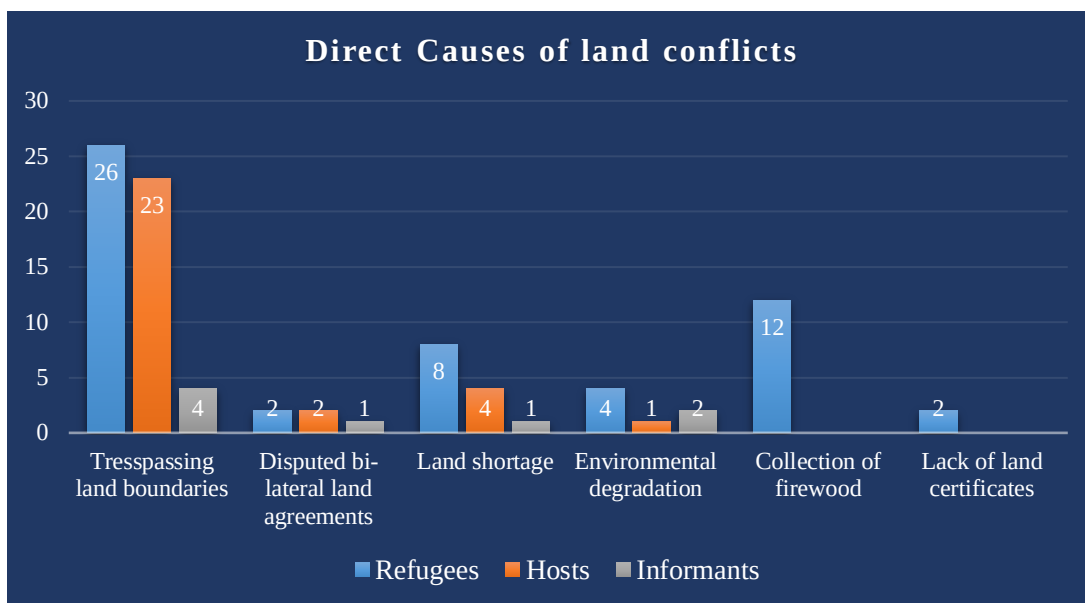
	Causes of land conflicts	Refugees respondents	Hosts respondents	Informants	Total
Direct Causes	Trespassing land boundaries	26	23	4	53
	Disputed bi-lateral land agreements	2	2	1	5
	Land shortage	8	4	1	13
	Environmental degradation	4	1	2	7
	Collection of firewood	12	-	-	12
	Lack of land certificates	2	-	-	2
	Unfulfilled promises to elders	2	3		5

Indirect Causes	Misinformation that government bought land		2		2
	Language barrier		2	2	4

4.5.2.1. Direct Causes of Land-related Disputes

There are six direct causes of land-related disputes of which the collection of firewood and lack of land certificates were exclusively cited by refugee respondents as illustrated in figure 4.

Figure 4: Direct causes of land related conflicts as cited by respondents



First, trespassing into land that belongs to the local community was significantly cited by 53 respondents as a major factor. The study revealed that this manifested in two different ways: refugee animal-keepers who left their animals to stray into the crop fields belonging to the locals in search for pasture; and then refugees who tilled empty fields without permission from the hosts. In the former case, refugees in FGD I acknowledged this, but also claimed that sometimes, the host victims “laid traps” for them”. They alluded to cases where an unsuspecting refugee takes their goats to graze and ties them on a pole, for instance. Then an individual from the local community extends the pole into their crop field without the

awareness of the refugee. Later on, this same individual raises alarm to the RWC II claiming that refugees are grazing animals in their field. Such trickery was cited as common because culprits are fined and hosts (victims) compensated for damages.

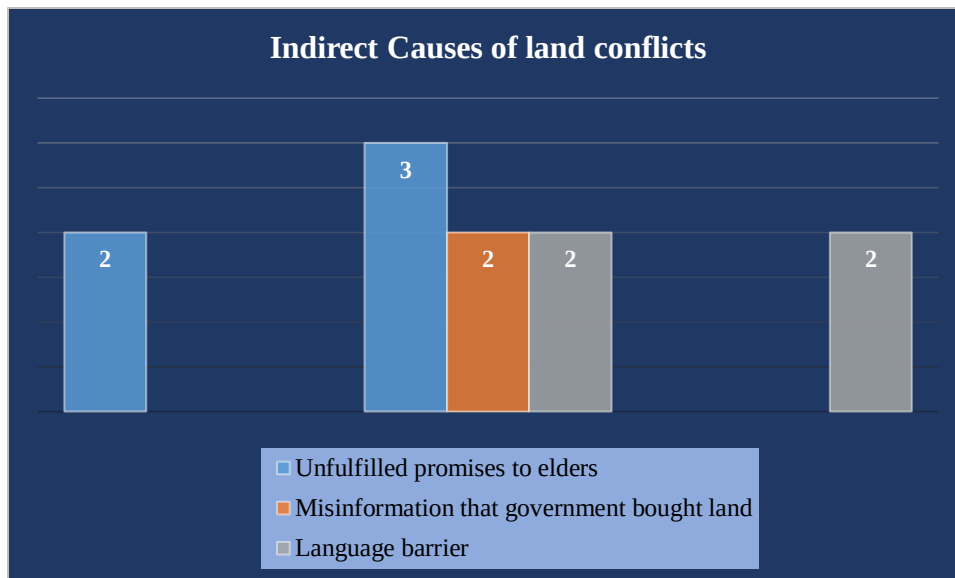
Second, disagreements raised by lack of clarity in land hire or rent agreements made between the locals and their refugee tenants. Respondents noted that some land users revoke their decisions to rent or hire land to refugees whom they then force to vacate their land without compensation. This can be caused by disagreements in the mode of payment or amount to be paid, for example, one host respondent cited an incident where tenants paid Ushs. 5,000 (\$1.3) to the landowner and expected to use the land for the entire year (HR/22/08, questionnaire). Land disputes of this nature are exacerbated by the fact that these agreements of renting or hiring land are informal, hence undocumented which makes the refugee tenants vulnerable.

Third, scarcity of land resources for cultivation and animal grazing. The increase in refugee population has had a ripple effect on the pressure exerted on land and other related resources. The most cited resources that have run into scarcity were firewood and land for cultivation and animal grazing. Consequently, this has led to competition for these resources, which occasionally culminates in conflict. Fourth, hosts accuse the refugees of accelerating environmental degradation around the settlement. The researcher indeed observed marked tree cutting where there are barely any tree shades, soil erosion and over-grazing. Two host respondents also noted that some refugees who are involved in brick laying extracted the mud required this work from areas that are not designated for that purpose (HR/EGGE/039 & HR/22/05, questionnaires, 2020). Such practices increase the rate of soil erosion during heavy rains.

4.5.2.2 Indirect Causes of Land-related Disputes

The study also revealed three indirect causes of land disputes, which in themselves do not cause the dispute, but contribute to it or exacerbate the situation.

Figure 5: Indirect causes of land related conflicts as cited by respondents



One, the unfulfilled promises made by the government to the land owners were cited by five respondents of the questionnaires as a big problem. The locals have instrumentalized this issue by mocking the refugees that land does not belong to them (RR/MKT/004, questionnaire, 2020). The researcher also discovered that there are some individuals from the host community whose lands were used to settle refugees, but with neither their permission nor compensation for the losses incurred. For instance, one host respondent narrated how she lost her four-acre cassava plantation when the refugees were received at Dzaipi sub-county in 2014 (HR/22/07, interviewed 24 FEB 2020).

Two, the misinformation held among refugees in Nyumanzi settlement that the land allocated to them was bought by OPM and UNHCR was highlighted by two host respondents. These rumours were actually described by one of the respondents as “abuse of the good will of hosts to share land” which is indubitably agitating (HR/22/08, questionnaire). The researcher

also observed how emotive this issue was among the locals. In fact, some respondents reported instances where refugees are stopped from accessing land that is not designated for their use and they only respond with the same narrative.

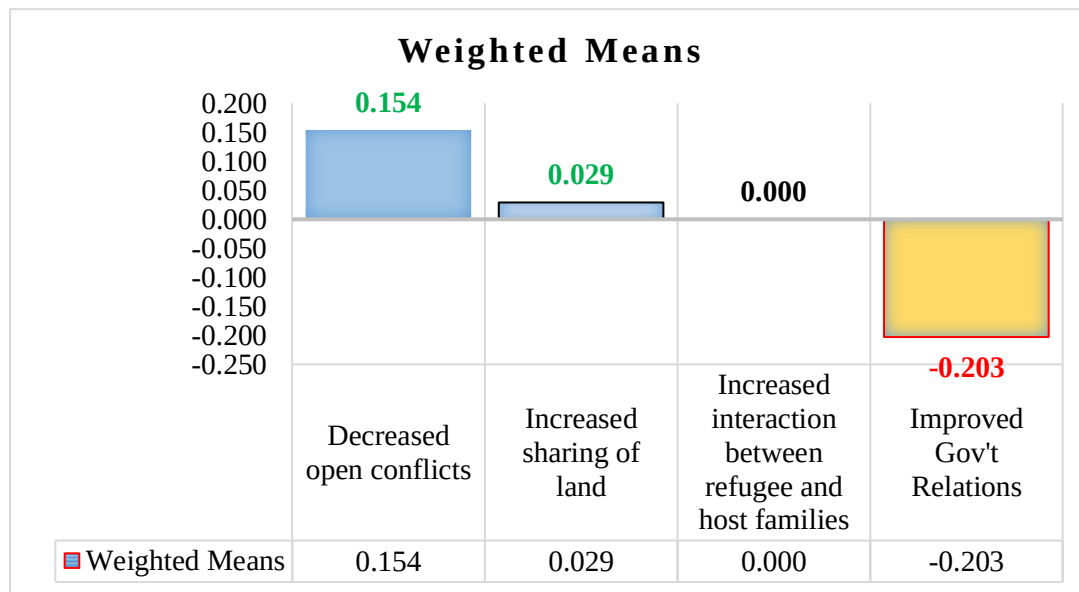
Three, language barrier has also contributed to land disputes especially in instances where the refugees and hosts fail to communicate in attempt to resolve simple disagreements as cited by two host respondents (HR/EGGE/029 & HR/EGGE/040. This was also affirmed one key informant who narrated an incident where he was called upon to resolve a dispute among members of a particular integrated farmers group. He observed that language barrier and differences in cultural interpretation of certain gestures had exacerbated the disagreement. It was fortunately resolved and members reconciled (KK2503, interviewed 25 FEB 2020).

4.5.3 Rating the Impact of Land User Policy on Refugee-Host Relations

In order to further investigate the impact of the land user policy on the relations between the refugees and host communities, respondents ranked five indicating factors on a five-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree”, “Disagree”, “I don't know”, “Agree”, and “Strongly agree.” The responses were weighted on a scale of between (-2) for “Strongly disagree” to (+2) for “Strongly agree.” This was meant to calculate the weighted means (wm) that were used to rank the opinions of the respondents and rate the indicators based on how strongly the participants agreed or disagreed with them, as indicated in Figure 4.

In the analysis, the factor with the highest positive value indicated the highest positive effects of the land user policy on the relations between the refugees and host communities. On the contrary, the factor with the smallest negative value indicated the highest negative effects of the land user policy on the relations between the refugees and host communities. The graph below presents a summary of the analysis.

Figure 6: Rating of impact of the refugee land user policy on refugee-host relations



The graph indicates a significant number of respondents who agreed that the refugee land user policy has decreased open conflicts (wm = 0.154) and increased sharing of land (wm = 0.029). This was supported by one peace practitioner from an NGO who highlighted land sharing as one of the features that have significantly improved relations between the refugees and hosts in Nyumanzi. This includes all forms of land sharing, namely hiring or renting, free offers and the integrated farmers groups. However, inasmuch as the open conflicts have reduced, land related disputes between the two communities are still prevalent as illustrated in Section 4.5.1.

The factor of increased interaction between refugee and host families had a weighted mean of zero (0), which indicated that its effect was neutral or indeterminate. This is accounted for by the restricted movement for refugees especially in the wake of the violent conflict that occurred between the refugees and locals last December. In as much as there is some interaction that has been restored, respondents mentioned that they are afraid for crossing into each other's boundaries, even for friendly visits. However, one female host respondent narrated that she had many refugee family friends whose children would even visit her to collect potatoes to cook (HR/24/12, questionnaire, 2020). The factor on improved government relations had the lowest

weighted mean of -0.203. This means that host respondents did not believe that the refugee land user policy has improved their relations with the government. This was indicated by respondents who cited the failure of the government to honor the promises that were made to the elders during the land negotiations. These elders have now grown very old without their houses being constructed for them.

CHAPTER FIVE:

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This section summarizes the key findings of the research and further makes an interpretation of the findings in dialogue with other related studies. The conclusion of the study is also presented and recommendations to the different stakeholders drawn from the discussion.

5.1 Summary

The purpose of this study was to examine Uganda's refugee land user policy and how it has influenced peaceful co-existence between the refugees and local community of Nyumanzi settlement. The study was guided by four research questions in order to achieve this purpose, and findings are summarized below in view of the discussion in chapter four.

The first research question was to study the procedures of land allocation to refugees. Majority of refugees in Nyumanzi acquired land through the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM). However, some refugees joined their already settled relatives and so use the same land. Increase in refugee population overtime has spiked the demand for land, hence leading to land shortage for agriculture, particularly. This situation necessitated refugees to devise other ways of acquiring land, including hiring and renting land from land users. In some instances, the locals allow refugees to till their land for free. The study revealed three main challenges linked to the process of land allocation: environmental degradation caused by indiscriminate tree cutting and overgrazing of cattle and goats; resource-based and open conflicts; and lastly government failure to honour the promises made to the elders of Egge village in compensation for their land. Land ownership has become a critical issue for the local community of Egge village. They strongly proposed that this land be documented and certificates issued to land owners, which would protect them from potential land grabbers and also restore their sense of belonging given that land is closely linked to their culture and identity as a community.

Secondly, this study also examined the pull factors of refugee-hosting in Nyumanzi by the local communities. In the opinion of the refugees, social-economic benefits and infrastructural development played the leading role in acceptance of refugees. Economic benefits cited include the booming low-scale economy steered by businesses in the open-air markets where both refugee and host vendors operate retail and food shops; and employment opportunities in the social services facilities such as schools and health centres, and casual labour. This has improved the livelihoods of the locals. Infrastructural development is evident in Egge, for instance, refurbishment of the main road from Pakele town (off Adjumani highway) to Nyumanzi settlement, drilling of boreholes and installation of solar lighting in the trading centre. Refugee respondents also alluded to the cordial inter-government relations between Uganda and South Sudan as a critical factor in their acceptance.

However, for the local community, the phenomenon of reciprocal sympathy was revealed as the major motivating factor: their first-hand experience as refugees, and historical experience of hosting refugees from southern Sudan in the early 1990s played a leading role in accepting them back. As refugees, host respondents recalled that they were treated well in southern Sudan when they fled West Nile from the violence and brutality perpetuated against the West Nilers by Dr. Milton Obote's UNLA in the early 1980s. They also recalled the friendly experience they had a decade later when they hosted southern Sudan refugees in Adjumani in 1992, who fled across the border into northern Uganda from Sudan. This was in the wake of escalated levels of violence perpetuated by the SPLA soldiers and militia groups in the Equatoria Province region. Most of this cohort belonged to the Kuku ethnic community, who share ancestral background with the Kuku ethnic group of West Nile Uganda. This factor of cultural convergence between the two groups significantly facilitated their integration.

Thirdly, this study was also interested in investigating the potential threats to the refugee land user policy. For the host respondents, the issue of land ownership was the most

significant: land owners (elders) were not issued official documentation as proof of ownership over the land offered for refugee use, which has imbued a sense of insecurity in the local community. This has been exacerbated by the government's reluctance to honor the promises that were made to the elders during the negotiations held over this land. These benefits were a significant motivating factor upon which the negotiations for the land were premised. Disputed land boundaries also threaten the land user policy. This is caused by trespassing of refugees who till undesignated fields without permission from the owners; and animals which stray and destroy locals' crops in search for pasture, hence causing tensions between refugees and hosts.

In the opinion of the refugees, the problem of land related disputes is the major potential threat to this land policy, especially arising from the misunderstandings between hosts and their refugee tenants who rent or hire land for agriculture. This was attributed to delays in paying agreed installments and disagreements in the mode of payment, but also incidents of fraud were reported where the hosts revoke the permission given to the refugees to use the land. Worse still, not only do these victims of fraud go uncompensated with the amounts already paid, but they also lose their harvest to the defrauders. Such incidences have created mistrust and suspicion between the refugees and locals. Two other potential threats were cited by refugees: disputes with hosts over land boundaries caused when their animals stray into hosts' crop fields, and land shortage especially in the wake of increased refugee population. The potential threats revealed by this study correlate to the three broad areas that respondents suggested can improve the refugee land policy. These are; the need to devise means of providing more land, need to improve refugee-host relations through dialogue and reconciliation, and the need to review the MoU signed between the OPM and elders of Egge.

Lastly, the impact of the refugee land user policy on the relations between refugees and hosts also interested this study. It was revealed that the two communities have generally enjoyed cordial relations despite the instances of land related disputes. The factors that have

facilitated building good social relations include; low-scale economy powered by businesses and trade between refugees and hosts, and initiatives such as the integrated farming groups which encourage land sharing. In fact, respondents ranked decreased open conflicts and increased land sharing as major indicators of positive impact of the refugee land policy on refugee-host relations. However, the relationship has deteriorated over time especially with the increased pressure exerted on land and other natural resources given the spike in refugee population and acquisition of cattle and goats. The violent conflict in Nyumanzi that occurred in early December 2019 was highly cited as having further strained social relations between these two communities. Host respondents cited poor relations between the government and locals as a negative indicator that has consequently strained refugee-host relations.

Land-related disputes between refugees and hosts are prevalent as majority of the questionnaire respondents (60%) in this study were first-hand observers of a land dispute, majority of whom were refugees. The common causes of the land related disputes are broadly divided into two, namely direct and indirect causes. The direct causes include: disputed land boundaries caused by trespassing and straying of animals into host crop fields; disagreements on land rent/hire agreements; resource scarcity and environmental degradation. Indirectly, land related disputes between refugees and hosts are spurred by government's failure to honor the promises made to the elders; and misinformation among the refugees that the land allocated for their use was bought for them by OPM/UNHCR. Language barrier between the Dinka speaking refugee community and their Madi speaking hosts also exacerbates disputes between the two.

5.2 Discussion and Conclusion

5.2.1 Procedures of Land Allocation

The Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), which coordinates activities and programs to ensure safety and protection of refugees in Uganda, oversaw the allocation of land to refugees in

Adjumani district. This was done with coordination with the UN Refugee Agency and the Local Councils (LC I, II & III). Majority of the refugees in Nyumanzi are 2014 arrivals who fled from South Sudan due to the outbreak of violence in December 2013. However, increase in refugee population over the years has necessitated that refugees find other viable ways of acquiring land for agriculture and grazing their animals. They are encouraged by the local authorities to create friendships with the hosts so that they can borrow land for free whereas others can afford to hire or rent land. The UN Development Program premised the ability of refugees in Northern Uganda to find other modalities of obtaining land for crop production on “relatively high levels of integration and peaceful co-existence” (UNDP, 2018, p. 2).

However, the problem of land ownership remains a critical issue affecting land sharing initiatives as hosts are afraid of losing their land to grabbers. This is principally because land owners in Adjumani were not issued with certificates for the land offered to settle refugees, which has cultivated feelings of insecurity. Titling this land would give land owners (elders) – who are vested with responsibility to oversee the land of their clans – assurance that their land is secure, hence make it easier for them to offer more land to refugees for crop production. A study carried out by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) affirmed that one of the main challenges hindering refugees in Northern Uganda from venturing into crop farming is “securing access to land”. Further still, addressing the issue of tenure security would facilitate sustainable approaches to land sharing arrangements between the locals and refugees (FAO, 2018, p. 3). The hot and dry climatic conditions, and sandy soils covering most of the West Nile region are unfavourable to agriculture, which greatly affects cultivation all year through: crop farming is limited to the wet season during the short rains. The Danish Refugee Council (2017) noted low productivity of soils as the major hindrance faced by refugee crop farmers (p. 3). Formalizing land sharing agreements between refugees and hosts, mainly renting and

hiring would address the problem of misunderstandings that emerge from payments and fraudulent cases recounted by some pockets of refugees, at least to a greater extent.

5.2.2 Pull Factors for Refugee-hosting

Alan Boswell (2018) notes that refugee-hosting is neither a clear net positive nor net negative (p. 4). This is attributed to the fact that in any refugee-hosting situation, both refugee and host communities have mutual benefits that are usually aligned to their shared interests, which ought to be kept in equilibrium in order to alleviate conflict fault lines. Against the backdrop of the protracted marginalization evident in the political and economic history of the West Nile region, the infrastructural development – construction of roads, schools and health centres – that is linked to refugee presence in this area has positively influenced refugee acceptance. This was affirmed by the Aringa politicians of Yumbe district who lobbied to host the cohort of refugees fleeing violence in the Equatoria region of South Sudan in mid-2016, hence the establishment of Bidi Bidi settlement, the largest in Uganda. These politicians premised their interests on the development that was observed in neighbouring districts (Boswell, 2018, p. 13). The Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), however, notes that economic benefits particularly in protracted cases may be counteracted by the net adverse effects of refugee-hosting, which include environmental degradation and resource depletion (2001, p. 151), a phenomenon that requires further research and study. In other cases, the contribution that refugees can offer to the national economy has played a leading role in shaping national refugee policies for some governments. This became evident in Tanzania and Kenya's refugee policies of the 1980s. *Mwalimu* Julius Nyerere tapped into the agricultural skills of the Burundian refugees to promote commercial farming in the remote areas of the country where refugees were integrated. This strategy increased Tanzania's cash crop exports in coffee and tobacco (Milner, 2013, p. 5).

First-hand experience as refugees in southern Sudan greatly influenced the welcoming attitude displayed by the local community in Adjumani towards the refugees in their area. The Uganda-South Sudan border area is marked with a history of refugee movements from either end. Ugandans who fled the violence of perpetuated against West Nilers by the UNLA of Milton Obote during his second regime forced mass displacement of people into southern Sudan where Ugandan refugees were accommodated in refugee camps. These sentiments are also shared by the local communities hosting Bidi Bidi settlement in Yumbe district (Boswell, 2018, p. 10). For others still, the previous experience they had with South Sudan refugees whom they hosted in Adjumani in 1992 influenced their acceptance to host refugees once again. The local communities in this district hold positive sentiments about this group of refugees, who were predominantly from the Kuku ethnic community, which interests further research.

Decision making in policy is indubitably influenced by personal experience of certain events. Against this backdrop, first-hand refugee experience of some highly placed political elites in the Ugandan government has greatly shaped the country's "open-door" refugee policy which upholds solidarity with forcibly displaced people. A senior government official once held, "Many of us in this government have been refugees. We don't want to see our brothers and sisters suffer because of the turmoil in their place" (Aglionby, 2017). However, it is worth noting that these politicians are senior in age, hence their sentiments are not shared with equal weight among Uganda's predominantly younger population. This situation poses a potential threat to the sustenance of the country's refugee policy especially in the event of change of political regimes, which usually spur shifts in political and economic policies. This argument resonates with the findings of another study carried out by Action Against Hunger (AAH) to examine the long-term implications of refugee-hosting in West Nile (2017, p. 5).

5.2.3 Impact of the Refugee Land Policy on Refugee-Host Relations

Generally, the refugee land policy has had a net positive effect on relations between refugees and their host community in spite of the land-related disputes registered. This study established the booming low-income economy and land sharing as key driving factors in building positive refugee-host relations: they have established a symbiotic relationship. Common land sharing initiatives include integrated farming groups, comprising both refugees and hosts; and refugee/host bilateral land agreements through renting and hiring. Interestingly, there are some locals who permit refugees to till their land for free, which is a strong positive indicator of social cohesion between the two communities. An official from the LC III district offices noted that refugees are encouraged to create friendships with the locals in order to preserve and enjoy good will from the host community. In another study carried out in Bidi Bidi settlement, the positive refugee-host relations were attributed to the resilience exhibited by the South Sudanese refugees and shared previous experiences as refugees (Boswell, 2018, pp. 1, 17).

However, the positive relations between the refugees and the locals are occasionally affected by tensions emerging from resource competition, and disputed land boundaries. This was well established by an official from the RWC I who noted that upon their arrival, refugees were fewer in number and friendly with the locals. She further noted that their friendship with the locals started to deteriorate when refugees started to acquire animals. The burgeoning population density of refugees in Adjumani has caused a spike in the pressure exerted on natural resources, especially land and firewood, hence competition with the locals. Similar studies in Adjumani and Arua settlements revealed small-scale conflicts over natural resources such as water and firewood as the key drivers of conflict in refugee-hosting districts of West Nile (DRC, 2017, pp. 29, 42). Tripartite partnerships between the GoU, UNHCR and its partners have established various projects to improve on the availability of resources, such as clean water through drilling of boreholes and most recently, running piped water in Nyumanzi.

Another key factor that has affected relations between refugees and hosts is disputed land boundaries where cattle and goats belonging to refugees stray into hosts' crop fields, hence causing destruction. Upon their arrival, refugees were allocated land for cultivation only as most did not flee with their animals. However, the Dinkas in Nyumanzi, who are culturally pastoralists, acquired cattle and goats through the livelihoods projects run by some UNHCR partners. Others moved their animals from South Sudan through complex social networks. The government devised a grazing corridor in the periphery of the refugee settlement whose pastures were depleted due to over-grazing. However, in search for more pastures, the refugee pastoralists clash with the hosts when the former's animals stray into the latter's crop fields. In response, the NGOs which distributed the animals have revoked this project; and the government further ordered that animals moved across the border be returned to South Sudan. Mohamed Sahnoun (1998) notes that when certain aspects of humanitarian intervention clash with the local norms and practices of the receiving community, and no reconcilable and practical solution found, then the intervenors should withdraw other than sacrificing their basic precepts (p. 90). However, this should not be done summarily because a lot more can be achieved with patience and mutual effort (Sahnoun, 1998, p. 90). In this regard, the researcher argues that a more negotiable alternative be agreed where, for instance, refugees are restricted in the number of animals they can possess. This is because denying a pastoralist community possession of cattle could be tantamount to a form structural violence.

5.2.4 Analysis of Land Related Disputes Using the Onion Analogy

This study observed that land-related disputes between refugees and hosts are prevalent. It was also interesting to note that the respondents who had not observed a land dispute first-hand were predominantly locals, a situation which this study did not probe further. This study categorized the causes of land disputes between the refugee and hosts into direct and indirect

causes, as demonstrated in section 4.4.2. The former causes include; disputed land boundaries caused by straying of animals into host crop fields; disagreements on land agreements; resource scarcity and environmental degradation. Indirectly, land related disputes are spurred by government's failure to honor the promises made to the elders; and misinformation held among the refugees that the land allocated to them was bought by OPM and UNHCR.

However, Opongo (2006) rightly observes that in some instances, the factors that appear to propel tensions between communities could actually turn out to be only part of the conflict (p. 82). Investigating the underlying factors or relationships that cause conflict can be a cumbersome task given the dynamics involved, however, this study attempts to apply the "Onion" analogy of conflict (Fisher et al., 2000, pp. 27-28) to move beyond the common positions of the two communities and understated their needs and interests. The Onion analogy of conflict is based on the layers of the onion which represent the different causes of a conflict. It purports that conflicts are based on needs, interests and positions, which essentially refer to what the community must have; what the community really wants; and what the community publicly says they want (Fisher et al., 2000, p. 27). The authors underscore the significance of trust between the belligerents. When situations are stable and friendly, individuals or communities interact with a given level of trust where their actions and strategies stem from their basic needs. The reverse is true in times of instability and volatile situations where individuals or communities keep their needs hidden because they develop mistrust for each other. In this case, expressing the needs of one party to the other makes it vulnerable, hence giving the other party power over it.

The responsibility of meeting the basic needs of a given community primarily lies with the people themselves. However, the government and private agencies have a critical role to play in creating structures that facilitate the means of meeting basic human needs, which can be material or cultural in case of a community. These include food, clean water, shelter, descent

clothing and employment. Land is a critical factor of the economy, therefore, a need for the refugees in Nyumanzi as a means for supporting their livelihoods through crop farming and grazing animals given that the Dinka ethnic community are culturally pastoralists, and yet access to land has become a challenge. For the locals, land is not only of economic value, but also cultural identity since it is ancestral land and communally owned; and yet the land owners (elders) – who are the custodians of this land – were not issued with official documents for the land accommodating the settlement. Competition for land and the issue of land ownership in the local community have thus become key underlying factors in refugee-host land disputes.

As the researcher noted in section 5.2.2, the refugee-host relationship is greatly shaped by shared interest between the two communities. Therefore, a clash in interests becomes a more likely conflict flash point. Opongo asserts that interests could be a mere inference to equal distribution of resources and respect for the poor people in society (2006, p. 82). In this particular study, there is a clash of interests emerging from competition for natural resources since both communities rely on them for their survival. Refugees claim that they are restricted from accessing firewood, timber and grass for thatching their houses. In fact, these resources have become commodities bought by refugees because the shrubs surrounding the settlement are depleted. In the opinion of the locals, refugees are the agents of environment degradation, which they have exhibited through tree cutting, overgrazing and bush burning.

Against the backdrop of their needs and interest, both the refugee and host communities of Adjumani district have laid down their positions. Refugees allude to their status as forcibly displaced people, hence should be recognised by the local communities as needy people. This study also established that some pockets of refugees feel “entitled” to use the land since it was bought by UNHCR. This misinformation further agitates the locals, hence exacerbating the thorny issue of land ownership. The position held by the local communities in West Nile essentially rests in the compensation of the elders for the land offered to settle refugees. They

claim that the government has failed to honour the promises they made to land owners, most of whom have become elderly and sickly. This study advocates for a needs assessment to be carried out on the current conditions of the elders so that they can be compensated with benefits that suit their current needs, such as medical care and housing.

5.2.5 Dispute Resolution towards Peaceful Co-existence

UNHCR implementing agencies are instrumental in the resolution of land related disputes. They have trained community leaders from LCs I and II, and their corresponding RWCs I and II in conflict resolution mechanisms, which has greatly contributed to obtaining peaceful co-existence in the refugee-affected areas. Members from both communities have gained confidence in their leaders – a positive unifying factor which is attributed to these leaders working together. The Peace Promoters program run by LWF has been instrumental in training leaders, and students in schools on conflict resolution techniques, particularly dialogue. It was interesting to note, for instance, that in the recent election of refugee leaders in Nyumanzi, more than four Peace Promoters were elected to the RWCs I and II. However, graver cases of land disputes which are beyond community structures are handled by the OPM and UNHCR, and in case of crime, culprits are arrested by law enforcement and charged in court. Inasmuch as dialogue may not resolve some of the conflicts, it creates an environment where members from either sides can communicate and listen to each other with the aim of understanding each other's position. However, these efforts have been undermined by incidents where investigations of cases, and resolutions made from community dialogues are not shared to the entire community, hence an information gap which further downplays the trust built by these measures. For instance, the refugees and locals in Nyumanzi had a community dialogue to discuss the December 2019 conflict, however, by the time of this study, members were still oblivious of who was culpable, and the locals not yet compensated for their vandalized property.

5.2.6. Conclusion

This research set out to study the refugee land policy of Uganda and how it has shaped refugee-local community co-existence in West Nile. The findings have revealed this policy as double-edged, that is to say, inasmuch as it improves refugee-local community relations, it can also heighten tension. Given the spike in refugee population in West Nile, the demand for land increased, hence scarcity of this valuable asset. Consequently, refugees found other viable ways of obtaining arable land from locals, most commonplace of which are bilateral land agreements of between local land users and refugees through renting and hiring. Formalizing these bi-lateral agreements will ensure tenure security at great length to safeguard refugees from cases of fraud and forceful evictions which were reported in this study. Some refugees have benefited from their friendships with the locals to borrow land at no cost. Indeed, land sharing was revealed as the highest positive factor that has contributed to building peaceful co-existence.

However, potential threats to the land policy were also discovered, which undermine the efforts made towards peaceful co-existence. Disputed land boundaries caused by refugees trespassing into hosts' land; animals straying and destroying locals' crop fields, and the thorny issue of land ownership are the most critical. These have been exacerbated by misinformation that the land was bought by UNHCR; and the government's marked reluctance to honour the promises it made to elders, who are the custodians of the communal land in West Nile. Over and above, the impression of the researcher is that Uganda's refugee land policy has facilitated peaceful co-existence between refugees and hosts in their local communities. However, there is need for the government, UN Refugee Agency and its implementing partners operating in West Nile region to address these critical factors, which not only hinder creation of a peaceful environment, but also have the potential to degenerate into conflict fault lines. As noted by an official from Atrocities Watch Africa, deliberate harmonising of refugee-host relations should be prioritized as there are always tensions when there is refugee influx (Okiror, 2020).

5.3 Recommendations

Given the double-edged feature of Uganda's refugee land user policy, this study makes the following recommendations in view of promoting positive relations between the refugees and locals, and alleviating the factors that threaten their peaceful co-existence. They are drawn from the opinions made by respondents in this study, and the observations made by the researcher.

To the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM):

- ❖ Address the issue of the compensating the elders for the land that they offered. However, given that these promises were made years ago (around 2014), it is important to review the benefits through a needs assessment of the current conditions of the land owners, many of whom are elderly. This would re-assure confidence in the locals, who uphold their elders.
- ❖ Consider titling the land that was offered for refugees to settle and use. This would address the issue of land ownership to a great length, hence re-assure sense of belonging among the locals, whose identity and ancestry are closely linked to the land.
- ❖ Consider formalizing the refugee-host bilateral agreements, which have become more viable ways for refugees to obtain additional land for crop farming. This can be done in conjunction with the LCs and RWCs by establishing structures to facilitate the local land users and their tenants, for instance, through documentation. This would alleviate cases of misunderstandings over payments, and fraud.
- ❖ Consider making provisions for more land, especially for agriculture. This will certainly require that the promises made in the previous negotiations are honored first.

To the UN Refugee Agency and It's Implementing Partners:

- ❖ Continue training both refugee and host leaders in mechanisms of conflict resolution, especially dialogue and reconciliation. This will not only assist in resolving the land related disputes, but also promote non-violence in resolving communal disputes.
- ❖ Consider equipping the locals with entrepreneurial skills in the vocational schools so that they can diversify their local economy by engaging in other economic activities, such as plumbing, solar lighting and food vending. This would diversify the benefits of refugee-hosting among the locals, hence cultivate a friendlier attitude towards their refugees.
- ❖ Review some livelihood projects, particularly the distribution of animals to refugees and locals. The researcher firmly holds that the projects should continue, however, refugees can be restricted in the number of animals to possess. This is because the Dinkas, for instance, who are pastoralists are culturally and economically linked to cattle keeping.

To Refugee and Host Community Leaders (LCs and RWCs):

- ❖ Sustained coordination between refugee and host community leaders should be promoted. The parallel levels of the LCs I, & II and RWCs I, & II should make concerted efforts to address refugee-host issues together, which reassures unity among their local communities.
- ❖ Collaborate with the law enforcing authorities and to address the problem of drug abuse and allegations of criminal activity carried out at night among the refugee youth in Nyumanzi. Host victims reported beatings and extortion by refugee youth gangs around the market area especially at night.
- ❖ Recognize the role played by elders in inspiring stability in the community through their traditional mechanisms of dispute resolution. Both refugee and host respondents in this study held elders with high regard as agents of peace, and suggested that elders should be more vocal especially in equipping the youth with “human values”.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Action Against Hunger (AAH). (2017). Bridging the gap: Long-term implications for South Sudanese refugees in West Nile, Uganda. Retrieved from <http://www.iris-france.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/BRIDGING-THE-GAP-final-1.pdf>
- Adisa, J. (2013). Uganda: When refugees go home? In *The Comfort of strangers: The impact of Rwandan refugees in neighbouring countries* (pp. 39-45). Ibadan: INFRA-Nigeria. <https://books.openedition.org/ifra/568?lang=en>
- Advisory Consortium on Conflict Sensitivity (ACCS). (2013). Northern Uganda conflict analysis. Retrieved from <https://www.refugeelawproject.org/resources/briefing-notes-and-special-reports/13-conflict-and-tj-special-reports/sprpts-tj-accs/33-accs-northern-uganda-conflict-analysis>
- Aglionby, J. (2017, April 27). Uganda's open refugee policy tested by civil war in South Sudan. *Financial Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.ft.com/content/a2efa5ea-1557-11e7-b0c1-37e417ee6c76>
- Ahimbisibwe, F, Ingelaere, B. & Vancluysen, S. (2017). Local Integration as a durable solution? The case of Rwandan refugees in Uganda. Discussion Paper/2017.02. Antwerpen: University of Antwerp.
- Ahimbisibwe, F. (2019). Uganda and the refugee problem: Challenges and opportunities. In *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 13(5), 62-72. <https://doi.org/10.5897/AJPSIR2018.1101>
- Aljazeera. (2017, March 23). Uganda at breaking point from South Sudan refugee crisis. Retrieved from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/03/uganda-breaking-point-sudan-refugee-crisis-170323190028200.html>
- Boswell, A. (2018). Contested refuge: The political economy and conflict dynamics in Uganda's Bidibidi refugee settlements. Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/report/uganda/contested-refuge-political-economy-and-conflict-dynamics-ugandas-bidi-bidi-refugee>
- Brooks, E.E. (1998). From the frying pan into the fire: A case study of Rwandan refugees. In *International Social Work*, 41(4), 499-510. London: SAGE.
- Bryman, A. (2012). Social research methods, (4th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Burgess, G. & Burgess, H. (2014). Dialogue. Retrieved from: [http://peacebuildingforlanguagelearners.pbworks.com/w/file/attach/73357055/Burgess Transformative%20Approaches%20to%20Conflict.pdf](http://peacebuildingforlanguagelearners.pbworks.com/w/file/attach/73357055/Burgess%20Transformative%20Approaches%20to%20Conflict.pdf).
- Carmines, E.G. & Zeller, R. A. (1979). Reliability and validity assessment. Newbury Park: SAGE Publications.
- Chimni, B. S. (1998). The geopolitics of refugee studies: A view from the south. In *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 11(4), 350-373. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/11.4.350-a>

- Crawford, N., O’Callaghan, S., Holloway, K. & Lowe, C. (2019). The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework: Progress in Uganda. HPG Working Paper. <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/resource-documents/12937.pdf>
- Danish Refugee Council (DRC). (2017). Conflict analysis assessment: Support program to the refugee settlements and host communities in Northern Uganda. Retrieved from: https://eutf.akvoapp.org/media/db/project/5455/document/DRC_EUTF%20Conflict%20Assessment%20Baseline%20Report_SuVrY5C.pdf
- Dryden-Peterson, S. & Hovil, L. (2003). Local integration as a durable solution: Refugees, host populations and education in Uganda. In *New Issues in Refugee Research*, Working Paper No. 93. Geneva: UNHCR.
- Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). (2018). Rapid diagnostic assessment of land and natural resources degradation in areas impacted by South Sudan refugee influx in Uganda. Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/report/uganda/rapid-diagnostic-assessment-land-and-natural-resources-degradation-areas-impacted>
- Government of Kenya. (2014). Gazette Notice No. 1927: Designation of Areas as Refugee Camps. In *The Kenyan Gazette*, CXVI(39). http://kenyalaw.org/kenya_gazette/gazette/download/VolCXVINo39.pdf
- Government of Uganda (GoU). (2019, October 21). Uganda comprehensive refugee response portal. Retrieved from <https://ugandarefugees.org/en/country/uga>
- Government of Uganda. (2006). The Refugees Act 2006 (Uganda). In *Uganda Gazette*, 47(XCVIX). Entebbe: Government of Uganda.
- Herbert, S. & Idris, I. (2018). Refugees in Uganda: (In)stability, conflict and resilience: rapid literature review. Retrieved from https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A_RES_71_1.pdf
- Hoerz, T., Chege, N., Jacobsen, K., Kimani, J. M., & Nyandig, O. C. (1999). Participatory environmental management for refugee hosting areas: A sourcebook for decision makers and fieldworker. Eschborn: GTZ.
- Hovil, L. & Kweka, O. (2008). Going Home or Staying Home? Ending Displacement for Burundian Refugees in Tanzania. In *Citizenship and Forced Migration in the Great Lakes Region*, Working Paper No. 1. Retrieved from: http://refugee-rights.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Going-Home-or-Staying-Home_-_Ending-Displacement-for-Burundian-Refugees-in-Tanzania.pdf
- Idris, I. (2020). Integrated approaches to refugee management in Uganda. In *The KD4 Helpdesk Report 716*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.
- International Refugee Rights Initiative, (IRRI). (2012). From refugee to returnee to asylum seeker: Burundian refugees struggle to find protection in the Great Lakes region. Retrieved from: <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/From%20refugee%20to%20returnee.pdf>

- International Refugee Rights Initiative, (IRRI). (2017). “I fled because I was afraid to die”: Causes of exile of Burundian asylum seekers. Kampala: IRRI.
- International Refugee Rights Initiative, (IRRI). (2018a). My children should stand strong to make sure we get our land back: Host community perspectives of Uganda’s Lamwo refugee settlement. Retrieved from <http://refugee-rights.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Lamwo-policy-paper-FINAL.pdf>
- International Refugee Rights Initiative, (IRRI). (2018b). Uganda’s refugee policies: The history, the politics, the way forward. Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/IRRI-Uganda-policy-paper-October-2018-Paper.pdf>
- International Refugee Rights Initiative (IRRI). (2019). Understanding conflict dynamics around refugee settlements in Northern Uganda. Retrieved from <http://refugee-rights.org/new-report-understanding-conflict-dynamics-around-refugee-settlements-in-northern-uganda/>
- Jale, R. (2019, December 13). MP calls for refugee protection after two died in clashes with hosts. Retrieved from: <https://eyeradio.org/mp-calls-for-protection-after-two-refugees-die-in-clashes-with-hosts/>
- Johnson, D. H. (2014). Briefing: The crisis in South Sudan. In *African Affairs*, 113(451), 300–309. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adu020>
- Kaiser, T. (2005). Participating in development? Refugee protection, politics and developmental approaches to refugee management in Uganda. In *Third World Quarterly*, 26(2), 351-367. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0143659042000339155>
- Kalyango, R. (2006). Land conflicts and their impact on refugee women's livelihoods in southwestern Uganda. UNHCR Research Paper no. 127. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237511782_Land_conflicts_and_their_impact_on_refugee_women's_livelihoods_in_southwestern_Uganda
- Kibreab, G. (1989). Local settlements in Africa: A misconceived option [Abstract]? In *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 2(4), 468-490. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/2.4.468>
- Kothari, C. R. (2004). Research methodology: Methods and techniques. New Delhi: New Age International (P) Ltd.
- Kuhlman, T. (1991). The economic integration of refugees in developing countries: A Research Model. In *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 4(1). <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/4.1.1>
- Kumar, R. (2011). Research methodology: A step-by-step guide for beginners, (3rd ed.). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Landesa Institute of Rural Development. (2018). Customary and legal framework. Retrieved from <https://www.landesa.org/northern-uganda-project/customary-legal-framework/>
- Lederach, J.P. (2014). The little book of conflict transformation. New York: Good Books.

- Library of Congress. (2016). Refugee Law and Policy: Kenya. Retrieved from: <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/refugee-law/kenya.php>
- Lomo, Z., Naggaga, A. & Hovil, L. (2001). The phenomenon of forced migration in Uganda: An overview of policy and practice in an historical context. Refugee Law Project Working Paper No. 1. Kampala: RLP.
- Merkx, J. (2002). Refugee identities and relief in an African borderland: A study of Northern Uganda and southern Sudan. In *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 21(1&2), 113-146. Geneva: UNHCR.
- Meyer, S. (2006). The 'Refugee Aid and Development' approach in Uganda: Empowerment and self-reliance of refugees in practice .UNHCR Research Paper no. 131. UNCHR: Geneva.
- Milner, J. (2013). Two steps forward, one step back: Understanding the shifting politics of refugee policy in Tanzania. In *New Issues in Refugee Research*, Research Paper No. 25. Geneva; UNHCR.
- Modi, L. D., Opongo, O. E. & Smith, D. R. (2019). South Sudan's costly conflict and the urgent role of religious leaders. In *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, 17(2), 37-46. Doi:[10.1080/15570274.2019.1608660](https://doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2019.1608660)
- National Legislative Bodies / National Authorities. (2010). Uganda: The Refugees Regulations 2010, S.I. 2010 No. 9. Retrieved from: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/544e4f154.html>
- O'Callaghan, S. & Sturge, G. (2018). Against the odds: Refugee integration in Kenya, HPG Working Paper. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Ogude, H. (2018). The impact of refugee presence on host populations in Tanzania: Desk review. New York: World Bank.
- Okiror, S. (2020, September 15). Uganda calls in troops as violence flares between refugees and locals. Retrieved from: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2020/sep/15/uganda-calls-in-troops-as-violence-flares-between-refugees-and-locals>
- Ongayo, A. (2010). Migration in Burundi: History, current trends and future prospects. In *Migration and Development Country Profile*. Retrieved from: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265598558>
- Ongpin, P. (2008). Refugees in Tanzania – asset or burden? In *Journal of Development and Social Transformation*, 5, 13-23. Retrieved from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/1451/9e1cdcf22c7533a711f1226d9edadfc13bbe.pdf>
- Opongo, O. E. (2009). Making choices for peace. Nairobi: Paulines Publication Africa.
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). (2001). The DAC guidelines: Helping prevent violent conflict. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264194786-en>

- Owen, M., Vella, D., & Nana, C. (2019). Conflict assessment and peacebuilding report: Adjumani, Uganda, Winchester: University of Winchester.
- Patton, A. (2016, August 20). Is Uganda the best place to be a refugee? Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2016/aug/20/is-uganda-the-best-place-to-be-a-refugee>
- Refugee and Host Population Empowerment (ReHoPE). (2017). Strategic framework – Uganda. Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/report/uganda/rehope-refugee-and-host-population-empowerment-strategic-framework-uganda-june-2018-0>
- Refugee Consortium of Kenya, (RCK). (2016). The status of legal integration of refugees in Kenya: A Nairobi case study. Retrieved from: <https://www.rckkenya.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/The-Status-of-Legal-Integration-of-Refugees-in-Kenya.pdf>
- Refugees International. (2009). World Refugee Day: Putting host communities center stage. Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/world-refugee-day-putting-host-communities-center-stage>
- Republic of Uganda. (1998). The Land Act 1998. Retrieved from <http://mlhud.go.ug/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Land-Act-1998-as-amended-CAP-227.pdf>
- Republic of Uganda. (2006). *Refugees Act 2006*. Retrieved from <http://www.judiciary.go.ug/files/downloads/Act%20No.%2021of%202006%20Refugees%20Act2006.pdf>
- Roberts, G. (2014). The Uganda–Tanzania War, the fall of Idi Amin, and the failure of African diplomacy 1978–1979. In *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8(4), 692-709. DOI: [10.1080/17531055.2014.946236](https://doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2014.946236)
- Sahnoun, M. (1998). Mixed intervention in Somalia and the Great Lakes: Culture, neutrality and the military. In (Ed.) J. Moore, *Hard choices: Moral dilemmas in humanitarian intervention*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Saunders, H. H. (1999). Public peace process: Sustained dialogue to transform racial and ethnic conflicts. New York: Palgrave.
- Saunders, H. H. (2009). Dialogue as process for transforming relationships. In J. Bercovitch, V. Kremenyuk, & I. W. Zartman, (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution* (pp. 376-391). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Shepherd, M. (2015, September 21). World’s largest refugee camp in Kenya could be ‘the future’. In *The Star*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thestar.com/news/world/2015/09/21/worlds-large-refugee-camp-in-kenya-could-be-the-future.html>
- The East African. (2018, October 30). Probe unearths 300,000 ghost refugees in Uganda. <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/ea/Probe-unearths-300000-ghost-refugees-in-Uganda/4552908-4828704-129151z/index.html>

- The World Bank. (2016). Assessment of Uganda's progressive approach to refugee management. Washington: The World Bank Group.
- UN General Assembly. (2016). New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants. New York: United Nations. Retrieved from: www.refworld.org/docid/57ceb74a4.html
- UNHCR Africa. (2020). <https://www.unhcr.org/africa.html>
- UNHCR Burundi. (2020). Operational portal: Refugee situations. Retrieved from: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/burundi>
- UNHCR Kenya. (2020a). Registered refugees and asylum-seekers. Retrieved from: <https://www.unhcr.org/ke/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2020/05/Kenya-Infographics-30-April-2020-1.pdf>
- UNHCR Kenya. (2020b). Figures at a glance. Retrieved from: <https://www.unhcr.org/ke/figures-at-a-glance>
- UNHCR Tanzania. (2020). Operational portal: Refugee situations. Retrieved from: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/country/tza>
- UNHCR Uganda. (2020). Refugee Statistics January 2020. Retrieved from: <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/73914.pdf>
- UNHCR. (2011). Solutions for Refugees. In *Refugee protection and mixed migration: The 10-Point plan in action* (pp. 183-206). <https://www.unhcr.org/50a4c2b09.pdf>
- UNHCR. (2015). Over one million sea arrivals reach Europe in 2015. Retrieved from www.unhcr.org/afr/news/latest/2015/12/5683d0b56/million-sea-arrivals-reach-europe-2015.html
- UNHCR. (2019). Global Trends Report. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/dach/wp-content/uploads/sites/27/2019/06/2019-06-07-Global-Trends-2018.pdf>
- UNHCR. (2020). UNHCR global appeal 2020-2021: Regional summaries - East and Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/ga2020/pdf/Chapter_EastHornGreatLakes.pdf#_ga=2.101924997.564525744.1592872973-124382761.15899
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2018). Understanding land dynamics and livelihood in refugee hosting districts of Northern Uganda. Retrieved from <http://www.africa.undp.org/content/rba/en/home/library/reports/understanding-land-dynamics-and-livelihoods-in-refugee-hosting-d.html>
- Wabineno-Oryema, L. M. (2014). Changing face of land tenure in Uganda: Period before 1900 to date. In *Journal of Land Administration in Eastern Africa*, 2, 134-148. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/307631527_Changing_Face_of_Land_Tenure_in_Uganda_Period_Before_1900_to_date/citation/download

APPENDIX

Interview Guide

My name is *Augustine Bahemuka*, a student of M.A. Peace Studies and International Relations at the Hekima Institute of Peace Studies and International Relations (HIPSIR) in Nairobi, Kenya. I am currently carrying out an academic research entitled “*Refugee Land User Policy and Its Impact on Refugee-Local Community Co-Existence in Nyumanzi Settlement, Adjumani District - Uganda*”. Your sincere and kind cooperation in filling out this questionnaire will be very welcome and appreciated. All responses are strictly for academic use and will be handled with utmost confidentiality.

Section I: Biodata:

a. Age: b. Gender: Male Female Location: _____

d. Position _____ e. Organization: _____

Section II:

1. In your own opinion, how would you describe the current situation of land distribution amongst the refugees? (Size of plots; arable and residential; allocated/renting/sharing)
2. What are some of the ways through which refugees acquire land for settlement in this area? (Government allocation, walk-ins, documentation; purchasing)
3. In your own opinion, what would you say about the negotiations carried out between the government and land owners? Do you know a friend or relative who participated in the process?
4. What do you think are some of the factors that make the people in this area to welcome refugees? (History of displacement, cultural similarity, government policy, political economy)
6. From your own experience, have you observed any conflict over land? What could have caused them? Was the conflict resolved?
7. From your own observation, how do people demonstrate their ownership over land? Do they have any land documents? How would you comment about this? (Land titles; who issues them)
8. How do you think the point about land ownership can be better addressed? Any suggestions?
9. From our own observation, how has the refugee land user policy generally impacted on the relations between refugees and local community?
10. Regarding the ownership of land, what would you suggest the following to do?
 - a. Government:
 - b. UNHCR:
 - c. Development Partners:
 - d. Elders/Cultural leaders:
 - e. Land owners:
11. Any other comments that you wish to make regarding the allocation of land to refugees?

Questionnaire I (Refugee respondents)

My name is *Augustine Bahemuka*, a student of M.A. Peace Studies and International Relations at the Hekima Institute of Peace Studies and International Relations (HIPSIR) in Nairobi, Kenya. I am currently carrying out an academic research entitled “*Refugee Land User Policy and Its Impact on Refugee-Local Community Co-Existence in Nyumanzi Settlement, Adjumani District - Uganda*”. Your sincere and kind cooperation will be very welcome and appreciated. All responses are strictly for academic purposes and will be handled with utmost confidentiality.

I. Biodata: a. Age: b. Gender: Male Female
c. Location: _____ d. Year of Arrival: _____
e. Ethnic group: _____ f. Level of Education _____

II. Land Allocation

1. Do you know the ways through which refugees acquire land in this area? If **Yes**, what are the ways you know?

i). _____
ii). _____

2. According to you, are refugees given certificates or official letters for the land they receive?

3. In your opinion, what are the common economic activities that refugees carry out on the land? (*Tick the ones that you know*)

☐ Cultivation of crops ☐ Brickmaking ☐ Charcoal burning

Any other activity you have observed? -

4. Do you have any suggestion on how land ownership can be improved? If **Yes**, give **two**.

i). _____

ii). _____

III. Motivating Factors:

5. According to you, what are some of the factors that motivate the host community to welcome refugees in this area? Give **two**.

i). _____

ii). _____

6. Are there any similarities between your **own** culture and the culture of the people in this area? If **Yes**, which **two** elements of your culture have helped you to mix with the local community in this area?

i). _____

ii). _____

7. According to you, what factors do you think motivate the host communities to welcome refugees in this area? *(Kindly rank each item by putting a tick for each factor)*

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	I Don't know
Government policy				
Similarity in culture				
Economic benefits				
Previous experience of displacement				

IV. Threats/Challenges of the Land User Rights

8. According to you, do refugees face any challenges in using their land? If Yes, give **two** major challenges that they face.

i). _____

ii). _____

9. How would you rank the following as factors affecting the refugee land user policy? *(Kindly rank each item by putting a tick for each factor)*

	Very High	High	Very Low	Low	Not at all	Don't know
Proof of land ownership						
Low soil fertility						
Land related conflicts between refugees and hosts						
Problem of disputed land boundaries						

10. Do you have any suggestions on how the refugee land policy can be improved? Give **two**.

i). _____

ii). _____

V. Refugee-Host Relations

11. According to you, how has the allocation of land to refugees generally impacted on the interaction between refugees and the people of the local community?

12. Have you observed any land-related conflict between refugee and people of the local community? If **yes**, how was it resolved?

13. What do you think are the commonest causes of land-related conflicts between refugees and the local community? Give **three**.

i). _____

ii). _____

ii). _____

14. From your own observation, rank the following factors to show how the land user policy has affected the relations between the refugees and host communities. (*Kindly tick one box for each factor*)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	I Don't know
Decreased open conflicts				
Increased sharing of land				
Increased interaction between refugee and host families				

Thank you very much for your time and co-operation!!

Questionnaire II (Host respondents)

My name is *Augustine Bahemuka*, a student of M.A. Peace Studies and International Relations at the Hekima Institute of Peace Studies and International Relations (HIPSIR) in Nairobi, Kenya. I am currently carrying out an academic research entitled “*Refugee Land User Policy and Its Impact on Refugee-Local Community Co-Existence in Nyumanzi Settlement, Adjumani District - Uganda*”. Your sincere and kind cooperation will be very welcome and appreciated. All responses are strictly for academic purposes and will be handled with utmost confidentiality.

I. Biodata: a. Age: b. Gender: Male ☐ Female ☐
c. Location: _____ d. Ethnic group: _____
e. Level of Education _____

II. Land Allocation

1. Do you know the ways through which refugees acquired land in this area? If **Yes**, what are the ways you know?

- i). _____
ii). _____

2. According to you, was there official document given to the land lords for the land that they offered to the government?

3. According to you, are there any challenges that came from the process of land allocation to refugees? If **Yes**, give **three**.

- i). _____

ii). _____

ii). _____

4. Do you have any suggestion on how the land ownership can be improved? If **Yes**, give **two**.

- i). _____

ii). _____

III. Motivating Factors:

5. Do you know of any factors that motivate members of the host community to welcome refugees in this area? Give **two**.

- i). _____

ii). _____

6. Are there any similarities between your **own** culture and the culture of the refugees in this area? If yes, which aspects of your culture have helped refugees to mix in the local community?

- i). _____
- ii). _____

7. In your own opinion, what factors do you think motivate the local community to welcome refugees in this area? *(Kindly rank each item by putting a tick for each factor)*

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	I Don't know
Government policy				
Similarity in culture				
Economic benefits				
Previous experience of displacement				

IV. Threats/Challenges of the Land User Rights

8. According to you, are there any challenges that refugees face in using their land? If **Yes**, give **two** major challenges that they face.

- i). _____
- _____
- ii). _____
- _____

9. How would you rank the following as factors affecting the refugee land user policy? *(Kindly rank each item by putting a tick for each factor)*

	Very High	High	Very Low	Low	Not at all	Don't know
No certificates to prove land ownership						
Lack of compensation for land given out						
Land related conflicts between refugees and hosts						
Problem of disputed land boundaries						

10. Do you have any suggestions on how the allocation of land can be improved? Give **two**.

- i). _____
- _____
- ii). _____
- _____

V. Refugee-Host Relations

11. According to you, how has the allocation of land to refugees generally impacted on the interaction between refugees and the people of the local community? Give **two** ways.

i). _____

ii). _____

12. Have you observed any land-related conflict between refugee and people of the local community? If **yes**, how was it resolved?

13. What would you say are the commonest causes of land-related conflicts between refugees and the local community? Give **two**.

i). _____

ii). _____

14. In your opinion, rank the following factors to show how the land user policy has affected the relations between the refugees and host communities. (*Kindly tick one box for each factor*)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	I Don't know
Decreased open conflicts				
Increased sharing of land				
Improved relations between the government and local community				
Increased interaction between refugee and host families				

Thank you very much for your time and co-operation!!