



저작자표시-비영리-변경금지 2.0 대한민국

이용자는 아래의 조건을 따르는 경우에 한하여 자유롭게

- 이 저작물을 복제, 배포, 전송, 전시, 공연 및 방송할 수 있습니다.

다음과 같은 조건을 따라야 합니다:



저작자표시. 귀하는 원저작자를 표시하여야 합니다.



비영리. 귀하는 이 저작물을 영리 목적으로 이용할 수 없습니다.



변경금지. 귀하는 이 저작물을 개작, 변형 또는 가공할 수 없습니다.

- 귀하는, 이 저작물의 재이용이나 배포의 경우, 이 저작물에 적용된 이용허락조건을 명확하게 나타내어야 합니다.
- 저작권자로부터 별도의 허가를 받으면 이러한 조건들은 적용되지 않습니다.

저작권법에 따른 이용자의 권리는 위의 내용에 의하여 영향을 받지 않습니다.

이것은 [이용허락규약\(Legal Code\)](#)을 이해하기 쉽게 요약한 것입니다.

[Disclaimer](#)

국제학석사학위논문

**An alternative to ‘alternatives to
camp’: Rethinking Refugee Camps as
Sustainable Places**
**- Case studies of Dadaab Refugee Camps and Bidibidi
Refugee Camp -**

기존 ‘난민 캠프의 대안’들에 대한 대안:
지속가능한 공간으로서의 난민 캠프 재조명 –
다답(Dadaab) 난민 캠프와 비디비디(Bidibidi)
난민 캠프를 중심으로

2021년 8월

서울대학교 국제대학원

국제학과 국제협력전공

이 새 길

**An alternative to ‘alternatives to camp’:
Rethinking Refugee Camps as Sustainable Place
- Case studies of Dadaab refugee camps and Bidibidi refugee camp-**

Examiner Taekyoon Kim

Submitting a master’s thesis of International Studies

August 2021

**Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University
International Cooperation Major**

SAEGIL LEE

**Confirming the master’s thesis written by
SAEGIL LEE
August 2021**

Chair Ki-soo Eun

Vice Chair Erik Mobrand

Examiner Taekyoon Kim

Abstract

An Alternative to ‘Alternatives to Camp’: Rethinking Refugee Camps as Sustainable Places

– Case Studies of Dadaab Refugee Camps and Bidibidi Refugee Camp

Saegil Lee

International Cooperation Major

Graduate School of International Studies

Seoul National University

The global displacement crisis is forcing more and more people to leave their homes. As of the end of 2019, approximately 79.5 million people in the world had to forcibly leave their homes to flee from persecution, conflict, compulsory manpower draft etc, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) expects this number will surpass 80 million in 2021. In order to provide protection to this growing number of forcibly displaced population around the world, continuous efforts have been made by various entities including international organizations, the governments of both the host countries and countries of asylum, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), private sectors, and even by refugees themselves. These efforts were mainly concentrated on the provision of three durable solutions which are voluntary repatriation, local integration,

and resettlement while refugee camps were regarded as undesirable place for refugees where temporality, instability prevails. However, unfortunately, only a small number of refugees could benefit from ‘alternatives to camps’, which are the above-mentioned durable solutions, and a considerable number of refugees are still living in refugee camps.

Under these circumstances, this paper, ‘An Alternative to ‘Alternatives to Camp’: Rethinking Refugee Camps as Sustainable Places – Case Studies of Dadaab refugee camps and Bidibidi refugee camp’ will explore the possibility of rethinking refugee camp as a place in which refugees can rebuild their lives in a sustainable manner and also lives of the host communities can prosper harmoniously. In other words, this thesis hopes to find a way that refugee camp can be an ‘alternative to alternatives to camp.’

This thesis will first analyze the typologies of refugee camps based on the refugee camps in the African continent and categorize into 4 types with two criteria which are the host government’s position toward refugee camps and main economic activities. Then it will select two cases from Kenya (Dadaab refugee camps) and Uganda (Bidibidi refugee camp) in order to seek a feasible way to transform refugee camp into a sustainable place for both refugees and the host communities. Historical background of hosting refugees, government refugee policies, economies and income generation activities, and other elements will be extensively analyzed for each case.

Through these analyses, this paper hopes to provide a fresh perspective on how to understand refugee camps, and furthermore, to suggest some policy implications for this paradigm shift so that both refugees and the host communities can enjoy sustainability even within refugee camps.

Keyword : Displacement, Refugee camp, Dadaab refugee camps, Kenya, Bidibidi refugee camp, Uganda

Student Number: 2019-27803

Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. Overview of global refugee crisis	
1.2. Definition of Refugees and Refugee Camps	
1.3. Alternatives to Camps	
1.4. Motivation	
1.5. Research Questions	
2. Literature Review.....	15
2.1. International Organizations as Provider	
2.2. The Host Governments as Provider	
3. Research Design.....	22
3.1. Analytical Framework	
3.2. Methodology	
4. Typologies of Refugee Camps	29
4.1. Government Position, Economic Opportunities and Refugee Camps	
4.2. Four Types of Refugee Camps	
4.3. Type A and Type D for case studies	
5. Case of Kenya.....	34
5.1. Kenya in Brief	
5.2. Kenya's Policy on Dadaab Refugee Camps	
5.3. Economic Opportunities in Dadaab Refugee Camps	
6. Case of Uganda.....	47
6.1. Uganda in Brief	
6.2. Uganda's Policy on Bidibidi Refugee Camp	
6.3. Economic Opportunities in Bidibidi Refugee Camp	
7. Conclusions.....	58
7.1. Analysis	
7.2. Limitations of the Study	
7.3. Policy Implications	
Reference	70
Abstract in Korean.....	74

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Overview of Global Refugee Crisis

Forced displacement is a worldwide phenomenon and the number of the forced displaced is growing every year albeit the efforts made by the government of both countries of origin and asylum, international organizations such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), civil societies, private sector, and most importantly, the displaced population. According to the Global Trend Report issued in 2020 by the UNHCR^①, a good number of 79.5 million people were forced to leave their homes due to various reasons such as armed conflict, violence, human rights violations, persecution and this figure is equivalent to 1 per cent of the world's entire population. What is worse, UNHCR is expecting this global number of forced displacements to surpass 80 million in its upcoming Global Trends Report, which will be released in June 2021.^②

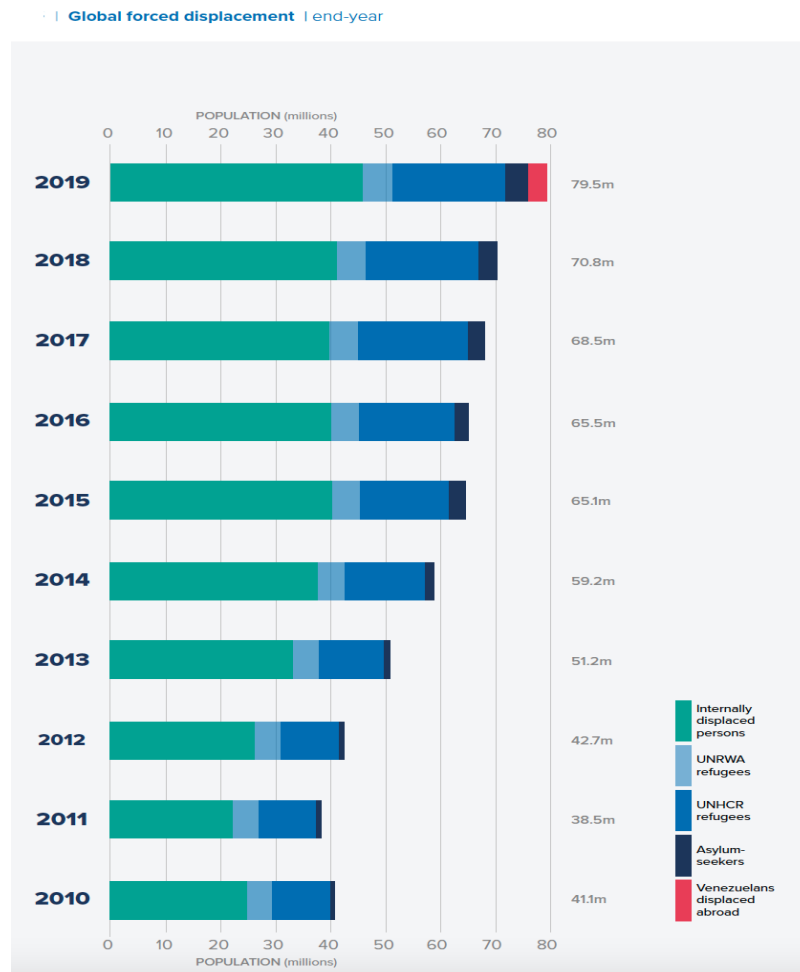
Among the aforementioned 79.5 million people who are forced to flee their homes, 26 million are refugees, 45.7 million are internally displaced people (IDP), 4.2 million are asylum seekers, 4.2 million are stateless and 5.6 million are returnees. Around 85 per cent of the entire displaced

^① UNHCR (2020), UNHCR Global Trends 2019.

^② UNHCR (2020), Mid-Year Trends 2020.

population are hosted by developing countries and 73 per cent of them are living in neighboring countries. 40 per cent of the 79.5 million forcibly displaced are children under 18.

Figure 1.1. Global forced displacement



Source: UNHCR

The figures from the last decade show that the displacement situation has been getting more serious. During the last decade, at least 100 million

people had to forcibly leave their homes, 16.2 million new asylum applications were registered and there were 79 million cases of new internal displacements. On the other hand, during the same period, only 3.9 million refugees were able to return to their countries of origin, 1.1 million refugees were resettled to the third countries and 31 million internally displaced people had the chance to return to their original place of residence.^③ This shows that the increase of newly displaced population far exceeded the number of people of concern who were provided with solutions, thus clearly indicating that something has to be done for these people rather than sticking to the current solutions.

1.2. Definition of Refugees and Refugee Camps

1.2.1. Refugees

There are five types of people of concern to UNHCR and they include refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced people, stateless people and returnees.

First, there are refugees, and the definition of a refugee is clearly laid down in the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (the 1951 Refugee Convention). A refugee is “someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality,

^③ UNHCR (2020), UNHCR Global Trends 2019

membership of a particular social group, or political opinion.”^④ So in order to be a refugee, one has to cross international borders and leave from the country of origin to another and be recognized as a refugee by the country of asylum.

Then, there are asylum seekers, whose request for sanctuary has yet to be processed. The refugee status determination (RSD) procedure to determine who meets the qualification for international protection is implemented by each host country’s national asylum systems or UNHCR. When the submitted request is accepted, the asylum seeker attains refugee status.

And third, internally displaced people (IDPs) are those who had to flee their homes due to similar reasons to refugees but have not crossed a border.^⑤

The next group is stateless people. The 1954 Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons provides the legal definition of stateless person as someone who is “not recognized as a national by any state under the operation of its law.” In other words, stateless person is someone who does not have any nationality.^⑥

^④ UNHCR. Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees.
<https://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10> (Accessed on 1 April 2021)

^⑤ UNHCR. Persons of Concern to UNHCR.
<https://www.unhcr.org/ph/persons-concern-unhcr> (Accessed on 1 April 2021)

^⑥ UNHCR. Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons.
<https://www.unhcr.org/protection/statelessness/3bbb25729/convention-relating-status-stateless-persons.html> (Accessed on 1 April 2021)

Last but not least, returnees are also one of the people of concern to UNHCR. When refugees and asylum seekers voluntarily return to their countries of origin and internally displaced people return to their original places of residence with their own will, they are called returnees.

In this paper, the argument will concentrate mainly on refugees among the above-mentioned five types of people of concern as it is mostly refugees who live in refugee camps, particularly in the context of the African continent.

1.2.2. Refugee Camps

In addition, prior to the full-fledged discussion, the concept of refugee camp should also be clearly defined. According to UNHCR, refugee camp is a ‘planned and managed location or spontaneous settlement where refugees are accommodated and receive assistance and services from government and humanitarian agencies.’^⑦ Based on this definition of refugee camp, refugees who have other types of settlement such as urban refugees, will not be included in this discussion.

1.3. Alternatives to Camps

UNHCR was founded in 1950, to deal with refugee issues caused by

^⑦ UNHCR (2014). UNHCR Policy on Alternatives to Camps.
<https://www.unhcr.org/5422b8f09.html> (Accessed on 28 March 2021)

the second world war. UNHCR was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize twice, in 1954 and 1981, in recognition of its leading role in providing protection to refugees. And throughout its 71 years of existence, UNHCR has been pursuing three durable solutions for refugees which are voluntary repatriation, local integration, and resettlement. And this definition of durable solutions of UNHCR was endorsed not only by many other international organizations but also by many governments.

Voluntary repatriation aims to guarantee the exercise of a free and informed choice to return, and to mobilize support for returnees even after the repatriation. Local integration is a complex and gradual process with legal, economic, social and cultural dimensions which is mostly culminated by acquiring the nationality of country of asylum. Naturalization is the representative method for local integration. Last but not least, resettlement is the transfer of refugees from an asylum country to another state that has agreed to admit them and ultimately grant them permanent settlement in the third country. These three solutions are commonly referred to as “durable solutions” for refugees.

Also, UNHCR offers complementary pathways when durable solutions cannot be applied. Complementary pathways include humanitarian admission programs, community sponsorship of refugees, humanitarian visas, family reunification for family members, labor mobility schemes, education programs, and other safe and regulated avenues.

On the other hand, protecting refugees in refugee camps has not been

considered as one of the solutions that could render stable and sustainable lives for refugees. It is a predominant perception that refugee camps restrict the rights and freedoms of refugees and thus making it difficult for them to live a better and dignified life. For these reasons, refugee camps were not regarded as a solution that could provide long-lasting stability to refugees but as a makeshift and temporary option for refugees.^⑧ For example, UNHCR, the leading authorization in providing protection to refugees, has explicitly pursued ‘alternatives to camp’, with the establishment of refugee camp as the last resort.

On top of the previously mentioned negative but dominant perspectives on refugee camps, there are mainly three criticisms on protecting refugees within refugee camps. The first criticism is made in economic aspect, arguing that refugee camps disrupt sustainability and autonomy of refugees and members of the host communities. The most important concern that refugees have might be financial difficulties as there is a high possibility that they were not able to bring belongings while leaving their countries of origin. It is a widely accepted perspective that it is really difficult for refugees to foster the capacity to have stable source of income when they live in refugee camps. This is because they tend to rely on foreign or humanitarian aids in refugee camps. Then this dependency on

^⑧ UNHCR (2014). UNHCR Policy on Alternatives to Camps.
<https://www.unhcr.org/5422b8f09.html> (Accessed on 28 March 2021)

external assistance further deprives refugees of the opportunity to raise economic self-reliance and it becomes a vicious circle with the growing dependency on assistance from others.

Also, some refugees in refugee camps, women and girls in particular, are prone to depend on prostitution as their source of income or as the method secure food from the host community members as there are not sufficient economic opportunities to make their livings. Furthermore, sexual exploitation against women and girls were another negative aspect that refugee camps have (Kristoffer, 2013)^⑨.

The second criticism is about the conflict between refugees and the host communities. Most refugees' countries of origin are developing countries, and majority of them flee to neighboring countries. In other words, most refugees are hosted by developing countries. According to UNHCR's Global Trends Report 2020, 73 per cent of refugees are hosted in neighboring countries and 85 per cent of refugees are hosted in developing countries.^⑩ This means that there can be a conflict between the host communities and refugees because the resource is already not sufficient in the host countries while the number of competitors has increased exponentially due to the influx of refugees into the host community.

^⑨ Kristoffer Andre Grindhein. 2013. "Exploring the impacts of refugee camps on host communities. A case study of Kakuma host community in Kenya." University of Agder: 86-87

^⑩ UNHCR (2020), UNHCR Global Trends 2019

Furthermore, as the host communities are mostly also poor, they tend to have hostile sentiment towards refugees because refugees receive humanitarian aid from various actors such as international organizations, local NGOs, private sector or even from the government of the host country. This could cause strong sense of incompatibility or marginalization between refugees and the host communities as the majority of host communities' living condition was already difficult even before the influx of refugees.

The third aspect of criticism is environment. Refugee camps are often set in environmentally sensitive areas and normally each refugee camp accommodates a large number of refugees. This aspect could give birth to serious environmental problems in and around the refugee camps. Deforestation is the representative problem as refugees sometimes indiscreetly cut down trees in order to gain firewood for heating and cooking. Also, as most refugee camps are not equipped with appropriate latrines, refugees often do open defecation. Even if there are latrines in the camp, it is hard to find a refugee camp with sophisticated sewage disposal system. This aspect also causes ground and water pollution. Furthermore, if a refugee camp is closed, it is the host communities that has to live with the impact of environmental deterioration caused by the refugee camps and in many cases, the restoration process for damaged environment is not implemented properly by refugees, international organizations or other entities that were involved in the management of the camp. One of the most concrete examples for this aspect is the case of Zaire. In 1994, around 2

million Rwandan refugees crossed the border to Zaire when the Rwandan Genocide happened. Cities such as Goma and Bukavu, where refugee camps were set up nearby, massive deforestation happened. Nearly 4,000 ha of forest in the South Kivu region were lost three weeks after the arrival of the Rwandan refugees. Apart from the severe environmental impact caused by deforestation, refugee camps had also negative impact on environment due to disposal of various wastes such as human and solid waste, poaching from National Parks (Biswas and Tortajada-Quiros, 1996)^⑩.

1.4. Motivation

As discussed above, refugee camps were usually considered as the last resort or the least desirable method to provide protection to refugees. This idea to downsize the role and potentiality of refugee camps was also endorsed by most of other humanitarian organizations (be it sister UN Organizations, non-governmental organizations, and etc). For example, UNHCR explicitly defines its standpoint that refugee camps should be set up only under exceptional circumstances or emergencies. As a result, setting up refugee camps was regarded as a temporary method to accommodate refugees for a limited period of time.

However, a considerable number of refugees still live in camps

^⑩ Asit K Biswas, Cecilia Tortajada. 1996. "Environmental Impacts of Refugees: A case study." *Impact Assessment*, 14(1): 21-39.

today. According to USA for UNHCR, it is estimated that there are approximately 26 million refugees in the world and 6 million of them, which is equivalent to 22 per cent of the world's overall refugee population, are living in refugee camps.^⑫ Furthermore, protracted situations in the countries of origin often make refugees to live in refugee camps for generations. In short, a sizeable number of refugees are living in temporarily designed places for a long time.

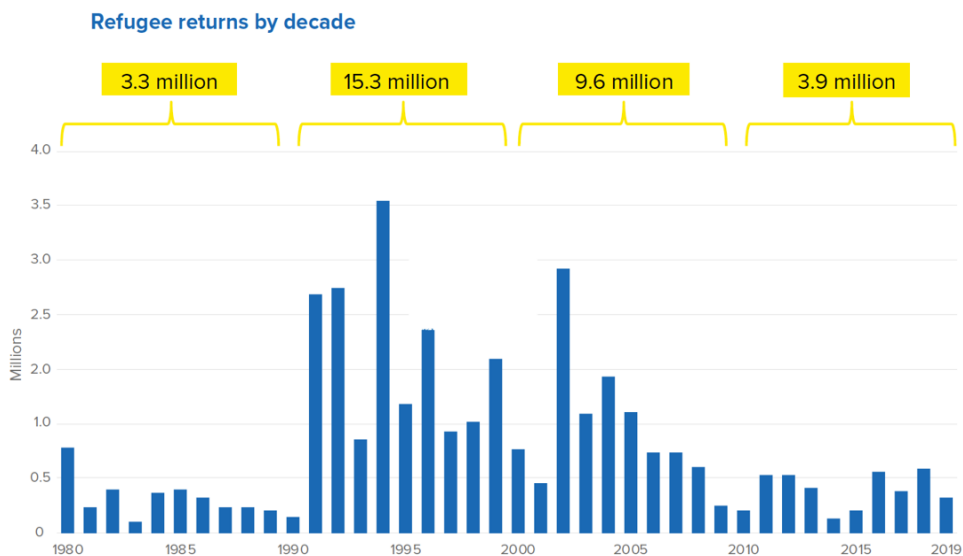
In addition, considering the fact that a considerable proportion of refugees are still living in refugee camps and protracted humanitarian crisis are making their in-camp lives longer, it becomes apparent that majority of refugees are not provided with the three durable solutions or complementary pathways that were mentioned in the previous part of this paper. During the last decade, 3.9 million refugees were able to return to their countries of origin, 1.1 million refugees were able to benefit from resettlement programme to the third countries and 322,400 refugees were naturalized in their countries of asylum. Considering the fact that there were 16.2 million new asylum applications during the same period^⑬, it becomes apparent that the durable solutions were durable for only a small portion of refugees. This severe gap between the need for durable solutions and the provided

^⑫ UNHCR. Refugee camps.
<https://www.unrefugees.org/refugee-facts/camps/> (Accessed on 28 March 2021)

^⑬ UNHCR. Trends at a glance.
<https://www.unhcr.org/globaltrends2019/> (Accessed on 1 April 2021)

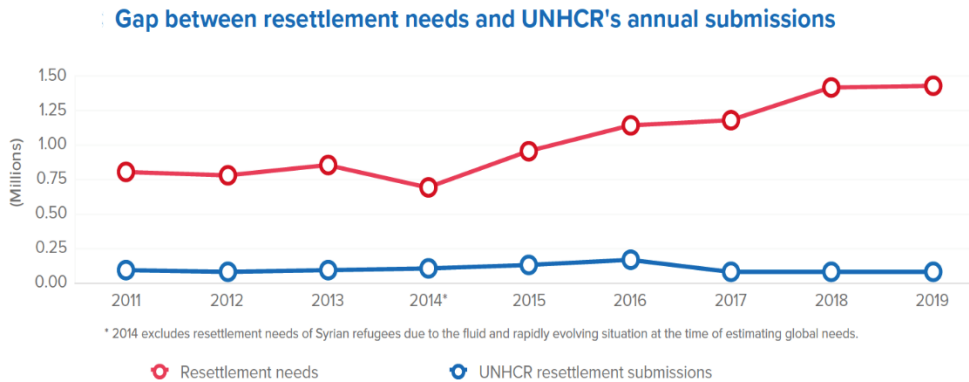
solutions can be understood more vividly through Figure 1.2. and Figure 1.3. Figure 1.2. illustrates that the number of refugees' return case has been decreasing since the early 1990s. Particularly, the last decade showed the lowest number of repatriations since 1990. Also, Figure 1.3. shows that resettlement needs have been consistently increasing since 2014, whereas UNHCR's resettlement submissions showed no particular increase during the last decade, rendering significant gap between the solutions and the actual need.

Figure 1.2. Refugee Returns by decade



Source: UNHCR

Figure 1.3. Resettlement gap



Source: UNHCR

Under these circumstances, this paper will tackle the common idea that refugee camps are dominated by temporality, economic instability and try to shed light on the role of refugee camps to empower refugees especially in economic aspect. To be more specific, this paper hopes to examine how refugees can participate in the economic activities and successfully make stable and durable source of income within refugee camps with minimized conflicts with the host communities. In the end, this paper would investigate the possibility of refugee camps to become a more stable and sustainable places for refugees.

A sizeable number of refugees are still living in refugee camps. Flowery words, such as durable solutions and permanent residence of refugees, have limitations in fostering self-reliance in a genuine sense to those living in refugee camps. Without transformation of the current perception to regard refugee camps as exceptional, temporary, undesirable

method to protect refugees, the number of refugees who are lagged behind within the camp will only increase.

1.5. Research Questions

1.5.1. Can refugee camps only provide temporary protection to refugees?

As was illustrated earlier and also will be illustrated in the following chapters, refugee camps are considered as the last resort for refugees. This is because majority of international organizations, the governments of host countries and countries of asylum, NGOs and even refugees themselves think refugee camp cannot be a place where long-lasting lives are possible but a place where temporality prevails. However, there are possibilities and evidence that refugee camps can offer sustainability to refugees and therefore this paper will explore this research question throughout its argument.

1.5.2. How can a refugee camp provide refugees with stable source of income harmoniously with the host communities?

In order to seek ways to rethink the role of refugee camps as sustainable place for refugees, economic aspect should be prioritized as it is one of the most significant difficulties that refugees have to confront when they live in refugee camps. For this reason, this paper will try to find answers on how to provide refugees with sustainable source of income even

within refugee camps.

Also, even if the answers to offer stable source of income to refugees in refugee camps are found, the conflict between refugees and the host communities, which can be easily found in many cases, could have negative influence on the durability of the answer. Therefore, while seeking economic opportunities for refugees in refugee camps, this paper will also study how to incorporate the host communities as equal beneficiaries to the method, so as not to give birth to tension between refugees and the host communities.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

In this chapter, this paper will have a look at how ‘alternatives to camp’ has been provided to refugees with concrete examples. As the nature of the refugee crisis invites various stakeholders in seeking solutions, it will divide the provider of ‘alternatives to camps’ into two entities which are international organizations and the governments, as they are the main actors in discussing, seeking, and implementing solutions for refugees.

2.1. International Organizations as Provider

It goes without saying that the UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency, is taking the leading role in protecting refugees worldwide and also have been the opinion leader of the discussion on the solutions for refugees. As

mentioned in Chapter 1, three durable solutions (voluntary repatriation, local integration, and resettlement), which were set by the UNHCR, are widely acknowledged by not only international organizations, but also by the governments, NGOs, civil societies or other entities.

UNHCR has frameworks for these ‘alternatives to camps’ policies and they are clearly stated in “Framework for Durable Solutions for Refugees and Persons of Concern.” In UNHCR’s Development Assistance for Refugees (DAR) Framework, preparation for durable solutions for refugees are set as core value to provide improved solutions for refugees and other people of concern. Within this framework, UNHCR mainly takes the role of integrating education, health, agriculture, livelihood and other activities in the government’s development programme, capacity building of the governments and other partners, including refugees in the development planning, mobilizing resources and assistance for the host countries, etc.^⑭ Furthermore, three durable solutions were reiterated through the Global Compact on Refugees (GCR), which was affirmed by the United Nations General Assembly in 2018, and the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF), which is a framework to implement the GCR.

However, as shown through Figure 1.2 and Figure 1.3 in chapter 1, the gap between the humanitarian needs of refugees and the provided cases

^⑭ UNHCR. 2003. “Framework for Durable Solutions for Refugees and Persons of Concern”

of durable solutions were only increasing particularly during the last decade. And the loophole of these durable solutions is further demonstrated through various real-life cases. Durable solutions offered to refugees in the Great Lake countries (Rwanda, Burundi, and Democratic Republic of Congo), researched by Fred Bidandi can present a concrete example for this. In “Understanding refugee durable solutions by international players: Does dialogue form a missing link?”, the author points out the complicatedness of three durable solutions that were offered to refugees in the Great Lake countries. It says that socio-political dynamics that refugees are confronting should be considered in an in-depth manner. For example, some refugees regard going back to their countries of origin as the same as fleeing to the country of asylum because they might face the same trouble that forced them to flee when they return. Also, there were some concerns that the process for repatriation is too tardy. Therefore, it was found that more communications between refugees and UNHCR should be preceded in order to implement genuine durable solutions (Fred, 2018)¹⁵.

The case of Sierra Leoneans in Boreah refugee camp in Guinea, which is studied in “The Invisible Refugee Camp: Durable Solutions for Boreah ‘Residuals’ in Guinea” by Lacey Andrews Gale, also illustrate the discrepancy between the durable solutions and the reality. The assistance for

¹⁵ Fred Bidandi. 2018. “Understanding Refugee Durable Solutions by International Players: Does Dialogue Form a Missing Link?” *Cogent social sciences*, 4(1).

refugees in Boreah camp, who were mainly Sierra Leoneans, were focused on facilitating repatriation and local integration. With the attempt for these two durable solutions, the Guinean government and UNHCR regional office decided to close Boreah refugee camp, forcing a little more than 1,800 Sierra Leonean refugees who remained in the camp into a state of limbo. Not to mention the opportunity for the remaining refugees to rebuild their lives within the refugee camp, basic humanitarian assistance such as food, education, shelter was no longer provided.¹⁶

Considering this gap between the theoretical framework of international organizations and what is actually happening in the front line, there are some voices to improve the predominant three durable solutions. For example, International Organization for Migration (IOM) raises the question that three durable solutions, which they also adopted in its response to displacement situations, are not fully reflecting the contemporary trend. In “The Progressive Resolution of Displacement Situations” issued by IOM, they say that sustainable voluntary return, sustainable settlement elsewhere and sustainable local integration are somewhat limited mainly due to finite locations, difficulties of contextualizing individual cases. However, this argument also mentioned nothing about the role of refugee camps, which is home to over 20 per cent of the entire refugee population, for being an alternative solution.

¹⁶ Lacey Andrews Gale. 2008. “The Invisible Refugee Camp: Durable Solutions for Boreah ‘Residuals’ in Guinea” *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(4).

Therefore, it could be said that it is the right time to revisit the notion of three durable solutions and start discussing the underestimated or at least undermentioned role of refugee camps to provide permanent solutions for refugees.

2.2. The Governments as Provider

In line with UNHCR's position, the governments also prioritize three durable solutions rather than protecting refugees within refugee camps. Also, even if governments set up refugee camps, its main purpose is to provide temporary protection for refugees, which means they are not adequately equipped for long residence particularly in terms of infrastructures such as WASH, health clinics, schools whereas many protracted situations are keeping lots of refugees for a long time in refugee camps in real-life.

James Milner elaborates what actually happened when the host government became a provider of durable solutions to refugees through the case of Tanzania. In "Can Global Refugee Policy Leverage Durable Solutions? Lessons from Tanzania's Naturalization of Burundian Refugees" written by James Milner, the ineffectiveness of the Tanzanian government's decision to naturalize Burundian refugees, which is a representative method of local integration. In this case, the government of Tanzania decided to grant citizenship to around 220,000 Burundian refugees to assist them with

comprehensive solution and UNHCR expressed its endorsement for this decision. Over 160,000 Burundian refugees applied for naturalization and they were approved by the Tanzanian government. However, this policy was reconsidered by the government due to its domestic political situations and not fully implemented with significant delays (James, 2014)^⑦.

Also, refugee camps which are designed to constrain refugees' sustainable lives are demonstrated in Rose Jaji's "Social Technology and Refugee Encampment in Kenya". It explains the government of Kenya's position toward refugee camps and elaborates how refugee camps in Kenya were designed and set up, the physical and geographical characteristics of Dadaab refugee camps. Based on these analyses, the author argues how these characteristics are restricting refugees' lives and thus rendering their lives controlled by the authority and marginalized from the political benefit by the central government (Rose, 2011)^⑧.

Thus, it can be inferred from the above-mentioned two works that the government's provision of durable solutions bears risky elements to be ineffectively implemented and refugee camps are also not installed friendly enough to be a place where refugees can rebuild their lives.

^⑦ James Milner. 2014. "Can Global Refugee Policy Leverage Durable Solutions? Lessons from Tanzania's Naturalization of Burundian Refugees." *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 27(4): 553-573.

^⑧ Rose Jaji. 2011. "Social Technology and Refugee Encampment in Kenya". *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 25(2): 221-238.

On the other hand, the government of Uganda shows differentiated attitude compared to other government's pursuit of solutions for refugees. Dr. Merle Kreibbaum's "Build Towns Instead of Camps: Uganda as an Example of Integrative Refugee Policy (2016)" elaborates how Bidibidi refugee camp in Uganda became sustainable places both for refugees and the host communities. Providing refugees with right to work to achieve economic dynamism, partnership between the government and international agencies for public services, education of host community members to raise awareness on the advantages of refugees' economic activities, and particular consideration for poor group of host communities were the main points that led to the success of integrative refugee policy in Uganda (Merle, 2016)¹⁹

However, the Ugandan approach to refugee camps were rarely found in the world and this is the reason why Uganda is often praised for being highly progressive in refugee protection. Furthermore, it will be further elaborated in chapter 6, the Ugandan model also had loopholes in providing refugees with sustainable lives within refugee camps.

Thus, based on these reviews, this paper defines the durable solutions provided by international organizations and the governments as 'limited alternatives to camps.' This is because three durable solutions to a

¹⁹ Merle Kreibbaum. 2016. "Build Towns Instead of Camps: Uganda as an Example of Integrative Refugee Policy". German Development Institute.

limited number of refugees and also consideration of the potentiality of refugee camps for being sustainable places for refugees was limited. In this regard, this paper will tackle the ‘limited alternatives to camps’, also known as durable solutions, and explore ways to rethink refugee camps to become a place where refugees can rebuild long-lasting lives.

Chapter 3. Research Design

3.1. Analytical Framework

This thesis aims to escape from the conventional perception of refugee camps as a place of limbo and explore the potentiality of them to become a place where robust economy can thrive, and refugees can benefit from stable source of income in it, thus become self-reliant. This paper would tackle the overflowing perspective that only voluntary repatriation, resettlement and local integration are desirable solutions for refugees whereas providing protection to refugees in refugee camps are regarded as undesirable one. It

will analyze how the three durable solutions have left the majority of refugees behind its impact and how the refugee camps can be places of stable residence. The initiative in Dadaab refugee camps in Kenya that is benefitting both refugees and the host communities can be a concrete example to fight back against the dominant views on refugee camps.

It would be difficult to deny that refugees are vulnerable people whose lives are torn apart due to various reasons such as civil war, violence and persecution and therefore are in need of assistance. Furthermore, it is common to see refugees as those who are totally different from other people and are not able to live ordinary lives, play the same role in the society as the non-refugees, sustain or rebuild their lives without external assistance. However, refugees are normal people under abnormal circumstances. Even under the hardships they are facing, they have the strength and willingness to rebuild their lives and contribute to the host communities. They have the ability to act as economic agents on par with members of the host communities when proper opportunities are provided to them.

Also, as mentioned earlier, refugee camps are regarded as places full of uncertainty, temporality and dividedness. Refugee camps are predominantly viewed by the governments, international organizations, NGOs and other entities that they cannot provide long-lasting protection to refugees. But refugee camps are still hosting considerable number of refugees, and therefore they should not be merely regarded as a temporary measure to protect refugees. It is irresponsible to only stick to the conventional durable

solutions while they are not sufficiently assisting refugees. Instead, the ways to transform refugee camps into sustainable places should be come up with. Refugee camps have the potential possibility to become places filled with new economic opportunities for sustainable lives for both refugees and the host communities.

Also, consideration for the members of the host communities should also attain equivalent amount of consideration to that of refugees during the process of this paradigm transformation. As the host communities stand at the front line to bear the burden of hosting refugees, they also deserve to be included in any kind of policies, programmes, or projects that are implemented in the district. When the consideration for the host communities is lacked, it will give birth to additional problems such as animosity between the two groups, marginalization of the host communities and etc.

In this regard, the 4 types of refugee camps based on two criteria, the host government's position of refugee camps and main economic opportunities, will present the overall picture of refugee camps on how the encampment is implemented and through what kind of economic opportunities are refugees making their living. Then the case of Dadaab refugee camps in Kenya, where new economic opportunities were given to refugees and the host communities under anti-camp government, will give us a hint on how to give shape to refugee camps as sustainable places.

3.2. Methodology

In order to examine the possibility of refugee camps to be an alternative to ‘alternatives to camp’, this paper will investigate the economic activities in the main refugee-hosting countries in Africa. Then it will make a categorization and present four types of refugee camps with two criteria, the government position toward refugee camps and main economic activities. Based on that typology, this paper will examine the market system, refugees’ participation in the economic activities, main source of income, average amount of income of each type and present representative refugee camp for each type.

The reason why this paper mainly focuses on specific countries in the African continent is that Africa continues to make and host large number of refugees. According to UNHCR’s 2020 Global Trend Report, the total number of refugees in Africa are 6,348,700, which is equivalent to around 31 per cent of total number of refugees worldwide. Also, only five countries (Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Kenya) host 4,195,221 refugees, which is 65 per cent of refugees in African continent and 20 per cent of the global refugee population.^②

With the growing number of refugees in the African continent, only 211,676 refugees decided to repatriate in 2019.²¹ The other two solutions,

^② UNHCR (2020), UNHCR Global Trends 2019

²¹ UNHCR. Refugee Data Finder

local integration, and resettlement to the third country, also had insignificant outcome due to limited opportunities for naturalization and restricted resettlement places. On the other hand, vast majority of refugees in African continent were still living in refugee camps. Almost 80 per cent of refugees in the region were living inside of refugee camps.

In this regard, this paper would concentrate on the refugee camps in the five top refugee hosting countries in the African continent (Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Kenya) in order to categorize types of refugee camps as they are hosting the majority of refugee in the region.

Furthermore, with feasibility taken into account, it will compare two cases, Dadaab refugee camps in Kenya and Bidibidi refugee camp in Uganda. For the case of Kenya, it will deeply analyze what happens when the government of the country of asylum does not have camp-friendly policies whereas new and innovative economic opportunities do exist. First, it will have a closer look at the government of Kenya's position of refugee camps. It's refugee policy, legal framework, encampment policy will be investigated. Then, in terms of main economic opportunities, this paper will explore the economic lives of Dadaab refugee camp through a successful initiative, the Refugee Employment and Skills Initiative (RESI), that was implemented in Dadaab refugee camps. To be more specific, through the

RESI case, how this initiative could pave the way to achieve economically sustainable life for refugees within refugee camps and the host communities around the camp.

On the other hand, Bidibidi refugee camp in Uganda will be a concrete example where the government of the country of asylum has camp-friendly position while refugees and members of the host community have to benefit from existing economic opportunities. As Bidibidi refugee camp is frequently regarded as a refugee camp where one of the most forward thinking and progressive refugee policies is implemented, it will be able to provide a clear comparison with the Dadaab refugee camps in Kenya. The Ugandan government's domestic policies on refugees and refugee camps will be investigated particularly on its attempt to transform Bidibidi refugee camp into a permanent city. In terms of economic activities, the existing local economy of Yumbe district, where Bidibidi refugee camp is located, will be studied.

Primary source from UNHCR's and other sister UN agencies' reports and statistics will be utilized, and local and international media outlets could also provide with additional data. Also, secondary source would be scholarly works and working papers from international organizations and NGOs. Rose Jaji's paper "Social Technology and Refugee Encampment in Kenya" will be able to provide the Kenyan government's standpoint on refugee camps whereas Lucy Hovil's "Uganda's refugee policies: The history, the politics, the way forward" will be providing Uganda's.

Furthermore, when analyzing the case of the RESI, Outcome Monitoring Report of Refugee Employment and Skills Initiative (RESI) published by the International Trade Centre (ITC) and Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) will be utilized to diagnose the impact of the initiative. On top of those materials, work written by Alexander Betts et al, “Refugee Economies in Uganda: What Difference Does the Self-Reliance Model Make”, will also be an importance source of data to investigate the market economy of Bidibidi refugee camp. Also, each government’s documents on refugee laws or encampment policy and local media outlet’s coverages on economic activities within refugee camp will also be cited as major data source.

Furthermore, this paper will also try to understand each country’s situation in a multilayered manner. It will touch upon the historical, cultural, societal background of Kenya and Uganda in their refugee response to have in-depth understanding about the difference between each country’s current situation regarding their encampment policies and economies in and around refugee camps. Furthermore, the district-level will also be studied such as the relationship between the district and the central government in order to figure out what was happening before the influx of refugees into the district.

The independent variable is the government’s position on refugee camps and unlocking economic opportunities for refugees in refugee camps and dependent variable is strengthened self-reliance of refugees in refugee camps and the host communities.

Chapter 4. Typologies of Refugee Camps

4.1. Government position, economic opportunity and refugee camps

The refugee camps in the African continent can be categorized with two criteria taken into consideration. The first criterion is the government's position toward refugee camps. This criterion refers to the government's generic tendency toward refugee camps. If the government is maintaining a

favorable position toward refugee camps, refugees will be able to enjoy various forms of freedoms such as movement, work and other social rights. In other words, refugees in refugee camps are not marginalized or excluded from benefits that refugees who live outside of camp enjoy. Under camp-friendly government refugee camps are equivalently recognized as one of the solutions to help refugees stand on their own feet like and rebuild their lives. Therefore, the camp-friendly government would not have any intention to close refugee camps. On the other hand, when the government remains hostile to refugee camps, refugee camps are seen as places full of temporality and uncertainty. Anti-camp governments will be reluctant to setting up new camps and will try to close refugee camps and pull refugees out of the camp. Also, refugees under anti-camp government could have restrictions in movement or having jobs.

The second criterion is the main economic activities. In refugee camps where the main economic activities are already established, refugees, who are newcomers to the district, have to find their own space within the existing economic activities. For example, if agriculture is the main economic activity in the host community, refugees there have to cultivate crops to make their livings. In contrast, when there are new and innovative economic activities with the arrival of refugees, not only refugees but also members of the host community would be able to benefit from the newly introduced economic activities.

4.2. Four types of refugee camps

Table 4.1. Four types of Refugee Camps

		Government's position of refugee camps	
		Positive	Negative
Main economic Opportunities	Established	Type A	Type B
	New	Type C	Type D

Source: Author

As illustrated in Table 4.1, there are four types of refugees camps based on the two criteria, government's positions toward refugee camps and main economic opportunities, that were discussed above. The first type (type A) is camp-friendly government with established economic opportunities. In this type of refugee camps, the government of the host country has no intention to close the refugee camp and it actively guarantees refugees' rights such as movement, work, etc. Also, economic opportunities in this type are already established within the host community, so refugees and members of the host community have to make the most of existing economic opportunities to support their lives. The second type (type B) of refugee camp falls under anti-refugee government with established economic activities. The host

government of type B refugee camp holds hostile stance on refugee camps. It is not interested in guaranteeing rights of refugees within refugee camp. Moreover, it has intention to close refugee camps and pull refugees out of the camp. And similar to type A, the economic activities in type B have already been existed and done by the local people and refugees have to join in or compete under this circumstance. In the third type (type C), the overall position of host country's government is similar to that of type A. It recognizes refugee camp as a space where refugees' lives exist. In terms of economic activity, new opportunities to earn income are introduced not only to refugees but also to the host community. Thus, all members in the community do not have to stick to existing economic environment or compete with each other in it. Last but not least, there is type D, where the government tries to close refugee camps and new economic opportunities are introduced both to refugees and members of the host community.

4.3. Type A and Type D for case studies

Based on the categorization, type C, where the government of the host country has camp-friendly policy and new economic opportunities exist, theoretically seems to be the most ideal type of refugee camp. This is because refugees and members of the host community would be able to benefit from innovative source of income in a more sustainable way when the government has willingness to provide support for refugees within

refugee camps rather than trying to close the camps with little consideration for what is actually happening in the real life. Also, new economic opportunities will play a significant role in alleviating the conflict between refugees and host communities, as both sides do not have to compete for limited resources or opportunities for income generation and share the new and improved opportunities together. However, no refugee camp in the African continent did have this type of camp. Therefore, it can be said that it is ideal, but there are challenges for Type C to be implemented in real life.

In case of Type B, where the host government has anti-camp position without new economic opportunities seemed to be a relatively desirable type compared to type C. This is because if the host government considers refugee camp an undesirable method to host refugees, it could mean that policy design to protect refugees can be focused on providing only durable solutions in an unbalanced manner, and thus refugees in refugee camps could fall into the state of limbo with full of uncertainties and temporalities. Furthermore, the lack of new economic opportunities will add on serious conflict with the host communities, as they have to compete for limited, already insufficient resources thus deteriorating the life of both refugees and host communities. For these reasons, it could be said that Type B is the least desirable type among the four types of refugee camps.

However, type B or type C are too extreme types to be realized in real life. Type C is too ideal and the example for this type could not be found and type B is not worth analyzing in this paper as it will not provide any

important implications to seek ways for refugees' sustainable life in refugee camps.

Therefore, taking feasibility into consideration, it would be meaningful to study the differences between type A and type D to find an 'alternative to alternatives to camp.' Bidibidi refugee camp could be a concrete example for type A and Dadaab refugee camps could showcase how type D could be realized in real life.

Chapter 5. Case of Kenya

5.1. Kenya in Brief

The history of Kenya's refugee host dates back to its independence. In 1963, Kenya emerged as an independent country free of colonial rule from Britain. In the same year, the influx of refugees into Kenya started. From 1963 to 1989, around 20,000 refugees had crossed the border to

Kenya, mostly from Uganda, Sudan and Ethiopia.²² Starting in 1963, Kenya has become one of the world's largest refugee-hosting countries in the world. As of 28 February 2021, Kenya is a home to 512,494 refugees and asylum seekers. 89 per cent (456,120) is refugee and 11 per cent (56,374) is asylum-seekers. 54 per cent of them (274,299) is from Somalia, 24.6 per cent (127,412) is from South Sudan, 9.0 per cent (46,024) is from Democratic Republic of the Congo and others are from Ethiopia, Burundi, Sudan, etc. 89 per cent of registered refugees and 76 per cent of registered refugees and asylum seekers in Kenya are women and children and 84 per cent of them are living in camps.²³

In order to deal with the growing number of refugees, Kenya acceded to the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees in 1966, and its 1967 Protocol in 1981. Furthermore, Kenya enacted the domestic Refugees Act in 2006 and the Refugees Regulations in 2009 to provide the legal framework to protect refugees. Based on the Refugees Act and the Refugees Regulations, the Department of Refugee Affairs (DRA) was established with receiving refugees and determining refugee status as its main function. The role of DRA has been handed over

²² Refugee Consortium of Kenya. Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Returnees <https://www.rckkenya.org/refugees-asylum-seekers-and-returnees/> (Accessed on 18 April 2021)

²³ UNHCR. Kenya, Registered refugees and asylum-seekers. <https://www.unhcr.org/ke/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2020/08/Kenya-Infographics-28-February-2021.pdf> (Accessed on 18 April 2021)

to Refugee Affairs Secretariat (RAS) since 2016 and now RAS is in charge of refugee status determination (RSD) and management of refugee affairs in Kenya.

Also, Kenya joined the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) in 2017 with commitments which are enhancing refugee self-reliance and inclusion, facilitating legal status for refugees with legitimate claims to citizenship or residency through marriage or parentage, and facilitating school enrolment of non-citizens including refugees.²⁴

5.2. Refugee Camp Policies in Kenya

Dadaab Refugee camps, which is located near the border between Kenya and Somalia, was established in 1991 when Somali refugees started to flee to Kenya due to the escalation of civil war that was happening in their country of origin. Initially Dadaab refugee camps opened with three camps (Dagahaley, Ifo and Hagadera) and two camps (Ifo 2 and Kambioos) were additionally set up when the number of refugees in Dadaab was at its highest due to the Horn of Africa Famine in 2011. However, the number of refugees hosted in Dadaab declined and funding also diminished in conjunction with population decrease which was a result of the implementation of the voluntary return programme. As a result, the two most recently opened camps were closed again, Kambioos in 2017 and Ifo 2

²⁴ UNHCR and ILO. 2019. Doing Business in Dadaab. 2.

in 2018.

There were two great influx of refugees in Dadaab refugee camps. First was in 1991 when Dadaab refugee camps were established. Somalis had to flee and cross the border into Kenya. The second influx happened in 2011, when the notorious Horn of Africa Famine had occurred as mentioned above, and some 113,500 Somalis were forced to flee their homes and arrived in Dadaab refugee camps.

Currently, as of 28 February 2021, 224,462 refugees are being protected within Dagahaley, Ifo and Hagadera camps. This number is equivalent to 44 per cent of the entire registered refugees and asylum-seekers in Kenya.²⁵ The absolute majority of the population in Dadaab refugee camps is made up of Somalis (approximately 96 per cent), with the rest coming from Ethiopia, South Sudan, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Uganda and etc.

Since December 2014, 81,207 Somali refugees in Dadaab refugee camps were provided with UNHCR's voluntary repatriation programme and went back to Somalia.²⁶ Also, statistics indicate that 75,659 Somali refugees had returned to their country of origin during 2014 and 2018.²⁷ This means that

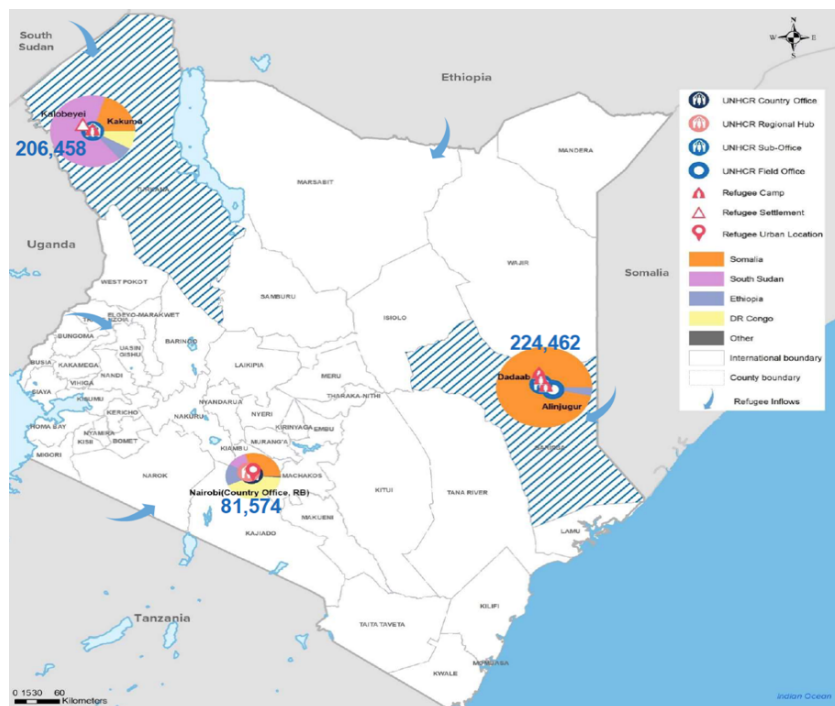
²⁵ UNHCR. Kenya. Registered refugees and asylum-seekers. <https://www.unhcr.org/ke/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2020/08/Kenya-Infographics-28-February-2021.pdf> (Accessed on 18 April 2021)

²⁶ UNHCR. Kenya. Dadaab Operational Updates. <https://www.unhcr.org/ke/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2021/03/Dadaab-Operational-Updates-JANUARY-2021-1.pdf> (Accessed on 18 April 2021)

²⁷ UNHCR. Kenya. Voluntary Repatriation of Somali Refugees From Kenya. <https://www.unhcr.org/ke/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2018/05/Voluntary-Repatriation-Analysis-06042018.pdf> (Accessed on 10 April 2021)

around 93 per cent of voluntary repatriation cases happened within a highly limited period of time, let alone the small number of cases. Therefore, it can be said that voluntary repatriation was only durable for very few Somali refugees in Dadaab refugee camps.

Picture 5.1. Dadaab Refugee Camps Map



Source: UNHCR

Picture 5.2. Dadaab Refugee Camps



Source: UNHCR

Until the end of 2012, the Kenyan government allowed refugees and asylum seekers to live in urban areas such as Nairobi, Malindi and Mombasa. An official endorsement was accompanied in 2011 and the government began registering refugees and issuing certificate in urban areas. By 2012, an estimated 100,000 refugees were living in Nairobi which is more than three times the officially registered refugees in the city in 2006. However, with the escalation of terrorist attacks in urban locations, the DRA announced an encampment policy aiming to repatriate refugees to their home countries. To the eye, this encampment policy could be interpreted as a camp-friendly policy. However, considering the fact that the encampment was against the will of refugees who decided to live in urban areas and the

repatriation was not totally voluntary, it is not plausible to see this as a camp-friendly policy in true sense.

In addition, the physical characteristics of refugee camps in Kenya are not favorable to ensure refugees' self-reliance within the camp. Basically, the structure of refugee camps in Kenya was design in favor of controlling or disciplining refugees. In terms of geographical location, Dadaab refugee camp is a little less than 500 km away from Nairobi. Its location is prone to attacks from militias around the national borders and has restriction to benefit from the policies of central government. Also, it was difficult for refugees in Dadaab refugee camp to achieve self-reliance as they had to build their homes in the vicinity of the camp so that the authority can maintain its surveillance powerful (Rose, 2011)²⁸.

Furthermore, the Kenyan government has been attempting to close Dadaab refugee camps since 2016 leaving only one possible option for Somali refugees, returning to Somalia. This repatriation project was implemented under the good name of 'voluntary repatriation,' but in reality, it did not meet the international standards of genuine 'voluntary repatriation.' This is because the Kenyan government fostered fear among Somali refugees that they might be forced to leave the refugee camp if they decided to remain in Kenya. As a result, Somali refugees had to bite the bullet and

²⁸ Rose Jaji. 2011. "Social Technology and Refugee Encampment in Kenya". *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 25(2): 221-238.

went back to Somalia, where there was a high possibility that they could face danger, persecution and hunger. Moreover, informed decision, which is one of basic principles of voluntary repatriations, was not guaranteed during Somalis' repatriation. In other words, Somalis had no choice but to return to Somalia without any guarantee that they would be able to live safe and dignified lives in Somalia.²⁹ The High Court of Kenya judged that the Kenyan government's decision to close Dadaab camp is unconstitutional and Dadaab refugee camps were saved from being closed.³⁰ However, the government of Kenya again issued ultimatum to UNHCR that it would close Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps in March 2021.³¹

Therefore, it can be said that the government of Kenya does not recognize refugee camps as equal to other solutions for refugees. Instead, for the Kenyan government, refugee camps are places that should be controlled by the authority and have to be closed ultimately.

5.3. Economic opportunities in Dadaab Refugee Camps

5.3.1. The Refugee Employment and Skills Initiative (RESI)

²⁹ Library of Congress. Refugee Law and Policy: Kenya. <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/refugee-law/kenya.php> (Accessed on 18 April 2021)

³⁰ High Court of Kenya. Constitutional Petition No. 227 of 2016. <http://kenyalaw.org/caselaw/cases/view/131173> (Accessed on 18 April 2021)

³¹ Sally Hayden. 2021. "No other home": Refugees in Kenya camps devastated over closure". *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/4/5/no-other-home-refugees-in-kenya-camps-devastated-over-closure> (Access on 20 April 2021).

Garissa county, where Dadaab refugee camps are located in, has long been marginalized economically and socially in Kenya. Land of Garissa county is communally owned, and majority of the population is pastoralists. Also, local people of Garissa County do farming activities nearby Tana River.³² In this pastoral land, the influx of refugees ignited the creation of new economic opportunities, which is the Refugee Employment and Skills Initiative (RESI).

In a nutshell, the Refugee Employment and Skills Initiative (RESI) is an initiative designed to support youth population to provide them with access to online platforms, namely Upwork, where they can seek job opportunities, source of income and start online freelancing business. The RESI was first initiated in 2018 with five guiding pillars to concentrate its design and implementation: collaboration, understanding, inclusivity, sustainability and results.³³ It is implemented by the International Trade Centre (ITC) in close partnership with the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) and the government of Netherlands supports this programme.

³² Government of Kenya, Executive Office of the President. 2018. "Kenya Development Response to Displacement Impacts Project (KDRDIP) Additional Financing."

³³ International Trade Centre. 2018. "Connecting Somali Refugees And Their Kenyan Hosts To Online Markets." *ITC News*.
<https://www.intracen.org/news/Connecting-Somali-refugees-and-their-Kenyan-hosts-to-online-markets/> (Accessed on 27 April 2021)

Picture 5.3. Five guiding pillars of the RESI



Source: International Trade Centre (ITC)

The RESI has mainly two stages. First stage is to train and educate refugees and members of the host communities. Because online freelancing and home décor are new economic activities in Dadaab refugee camps, people in and around Dadaab refugee camps needs vocational training in order to be competent human resources in the online freelancing market. Thus, the RESI provides three vocational training programmes to refugees so as to equip them with appropriate skillset to utilize in the market both in domestic and international level. First, the RESI has computer secretariat programme to train the participants basic to advanced computer applications. Also, participants can become graphic designers or web developers through graphic design and web development programme. Last but not least, there is an introductory course for online freelancing. Through this course, refugees and the host community can have better understanding about the world of

online freelancing. Only successful trainees who completed the training course and passed the examination are given the opportunity to move on. The training normally takes 12 to 16 weeks and younger generation aged between 15 and 35 are the main target of the training.

Picture 5.4. Training course of the RESI



Source: Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC)

After completion of the training course, the main focus of the RESI appears in the second stage, the connection to online freelancing platforms. The RESI is not only about providing vocational training to refugees and the host community, but also, or more, focused on allowing them to have jobs based on the skills they obtained throughout the first stage. By building partnership with freelancing platforms, trained freelancers in Dadaab

refugee camps can benefit from the opportunity to run their business online. The representative online freelancing platform is Upwork. In Upwork, Dadaab Collective Freelancing Agency is formed, and graduate refugees and members of the host communities can join in this platform and seek job opportunities. Through this platform, clients can sign online contracts with refugees and host community members who have skills such as web research, graphic design, translation, and etc.

Also, the RESI organizes a support network so that a freelancer can be mentored by a successful freelancer and can share good practices with other freelancers by joining online freelance community. This network will further guarantee that freelancers in Dadaab refugee camps can manage their own business more successfully and reliably.³⁴

5.3.2. Findings of the RESI

In brief, in the first year, 70 have joined the Dadaab Online Freelancing Agency in Upwork and more than 35 projects were undertaken which led to over USD 6,000 of profit. And 50 refugees and host community members had formed five artisan groups via Nyota Farsamo Collective, which is an employment platform for home décor. Through Nyota Farsamo Collective, five artisan groups had earned over USD 3,000.

³⁴ International Trade Centre. Becoming An Online Freelancing Champion. https://stage.intracen.org/uploadedFiles/intracenorg/Content/Redesign/Projects/RESI/Freelancing%20Brochure_v2_pages.pdf (Accessed on 1 May 2021)

To be more specific, in the first year of its implementation, 190 youth (107 male and 83 female) both from refugees and the host communities had completed the training course including construction industry, hotel and hospitality, media and communication, ICT, etc. These skills contributed to enhance their skills for employability and self-employment. After the completion of the first year, there were 884 applicants to showed interest in participating in this programme.

Also, a research conducted in 2019 on the impact of the RESI on the life of Dadaab population clearly demonstrates that the RESI has been improving their lives, particularly in terms of economic stability. During its implementation period, 684 (274 female, 410 male) people received trainings on home décor, Online Freelancing and in Technical Vocational Training (TVET) and 89 per cent of them passed the exam. After graduation, 81 per cent said they were using their skills learned from RESI program to earn their living, and 60 per cent of them responded that they had passed on their skills to others. In terms of the connection to employment platform, almost half of the graduates were connected to Upwork, and other platforms such as Samasource were also providing employment opportunities for the graduates of the RESI.

With its successful achievement in its first implementation, the RESI has been scaled up to Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya and also to Gaza and Jordan.

In short, implementation of the RESI has opened a door to the new

economic world both to refugees and the host communities. In Garissa county, where pastoralist were the main economic actors, refugees and members of the host community are entering into an online freelancing market and competing with others from all over the world with the skills they attained through the training course.

Chapter 6. Case of Uganda

6.1. Uganda in Brief

The history of Uganda of hosting refugees dates back to the early 1940s when it provided protection to Polish refugees who were later resettled to Britain, Australia, and Canada. The first major influx of refugees to Uganda began in 1955, when approximately 78,000 refugees from South Sudan crossed the border to Uganda. Since 1955, Uganda has been home to hundreds of thousands of refugees mainly from South Sudan, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi and other countries (Deborah, 2014)³⁵.

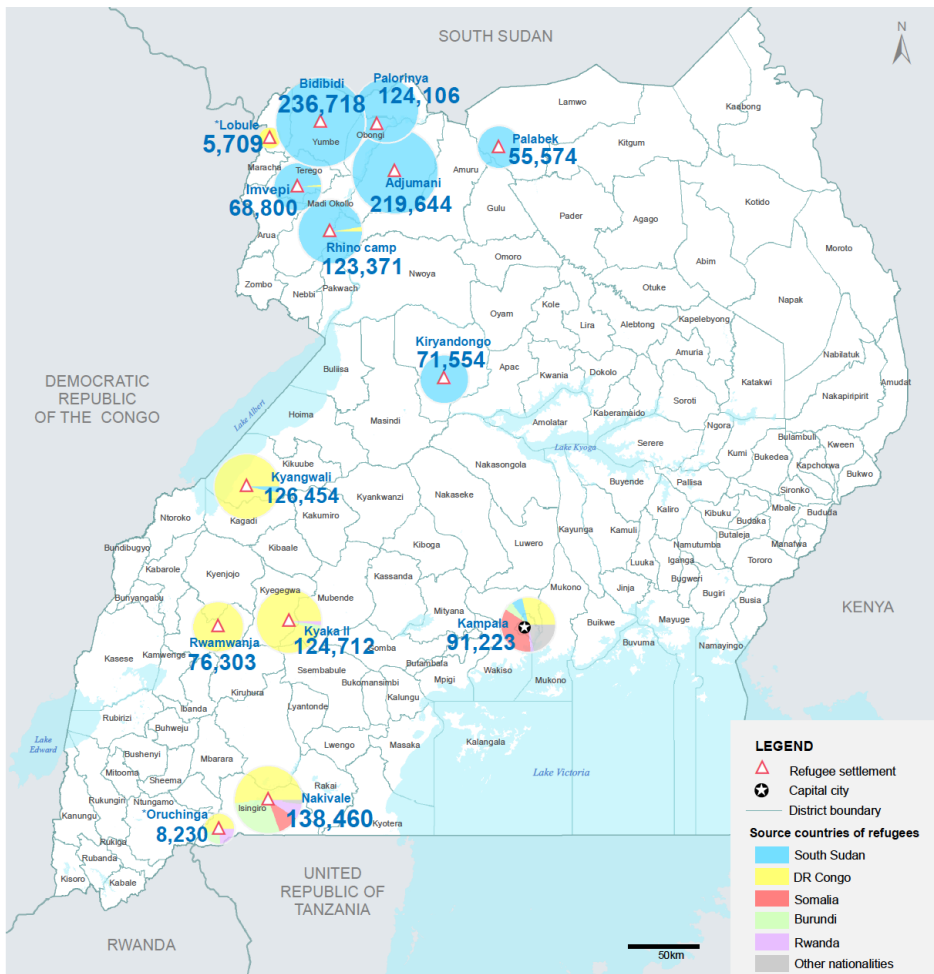
Currently, as of 31 March 2021, Uganda is hosting more than 1,470,000 refugees and asylum seekers. 62 per cent of them are from South Sudan, 29 per cent are from Democratic Republic of the Congo and the rest are from Burundi, Somalia, Rwanda and others. 94 per cent (1,349,994) of the total displaced population are living in refugee camps and 81 per cent of them (1,164,536) are women and children.

Bidibidi refugee camp is located in northwestern Uganda. Bidibidi refugee camp was opened in 2016 to host refugees from South Sudan who had to flee their homes due the outbreak of civil war. Approximately 160,000 South Sudanese refugees crossed the border to Uganda when the

³⁵ Deborah Mulumba. 2014. "Humanitarian Assistance and Its Implications on the Integration of Refugees in Uganda." Makerere University.

civil war broke out.³⁶ Then it quickly has become the second largest refugee camp in the world with a quarter million refugees in the camp.

Picture 6.1. Bidibidi Refugee Camp Map



Source: UNHCR

³⁶ Kevin Sieff. 2016. "Three months ago, it was a tiny Ugandan village. Now it's the world's fourth-largest refugee camp." *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/10/28/three-months-ago-it-was-a-tiny-ugandan-village-now-its-the-worlds-fourth-largest-refugee-camp/> (Accessed on 29 April 2021).

Five zones make up the entire Bidibidi refugee camp and each zone is divided into clusters, and each cluster into individual villages (Alan, 2018)³⁷. 53 per cent of refugees in Bidibidi refugee camp are women, 20 per cent are youth between 15 – 24. The vast majority of refugees in Bidibidi refugee camp is from South Sudan, followed by Sudan, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Nigeria, Somalia and United Republic of Tanzania.

Among the above-mentioned over 1,400,000 displaced population in Uganda, approximately 16 per cent (236,718) are living in Bidibidi refugee camp. According to statistics by the government of Uganda Office of the Prime Minister, 100 per cent of those in Bidibidi refugee camp are recognized refugees.

6.2. Uganda's policy on Bidibidi refugee camp

6.2.1. Uganda's refugee policy

Uganda is a renowned country for its progressive refugee policies to host refugees. Domestically, first enactment of the Ugandan refugee law was the 1955 Control of Refugee from the Sudan Ordinance (the Ordinance). As it can be inferred from the name of the law, the large influx of refugees from South Sudan triggered this enactment and it was followed by the post-independence Control of Alien Refugees Act (CARA) in 1960. Despite

³⁷ Alan Boswell, 2018, "Contested Refuge. The Political Economy and Conflict Dynamics in Uganda's Bidibidi Refugee Settlements." European Union.

some halt and reverse in the refugee laws and policies in 1970s and 1980s due to internal conflict which caused mass displacement crisis to tens of thousands of Ugandans, Uganda had joined the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol in 1976 and also ratified the 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention of Refugees. Then in 1991, UNHCR and the Ugandan government initiated a Self-Reliance Strategy (SRS) for refugees, aiming to complement the Ugandan Poverty Eradication Action Plan which was designed to give an end to mass poverty in Uganda by 2017. However, the SRS failed to comprehensively incorporate host communities in its benefit. Later in 2003, the SRS was replaced with the Development Assistance for Refugee-Hosting Areas (DAR) policy which also put great emphasis on building local stakeholders' capacity. In 2006, Uganda had enforced its own Refugee Act to replace CARA and introduced administrative structures manage refugees in Uganda and also the transparent refugee status determination (RSD) procedures.

In international level, Uganda also actively took part in the implementation of the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) in the context of Uganda. As one of the seven countries who agreed with the CRRF, Uganda had set five reinforcing pillars which are, admission and rights, emergency response and ongoing needs, resilience and self-reliance, expanded solutions and voluntary repatriation and adopted the

CRRF Roadmap in 2018 (Lucy, 2018) ³⁸ . In order to guarantee the successful implementation of the CRRF in a local level, the Ugandan government also co-initiated the Refugee and Host Population Empowerment (ReHoPE) Strategic Framework in close cooperation with the United Nations, in partnership with the World Bank in 2017. ReHoPe aims to harmonize the roles of various stakeholders such as government, humanitarian actors, development actors, donors in order to foster self-reliance of refugees and the host communities. The effort to achieve this will be multilayered. At household level, it will try to ensure household the access to multi-sectoral support and the necessary inputs to become resilient. At community level, it ReHoPe will develop communities' capacity to plan, implement, and account for activities and also concentrate on environmental infrastructure and household livelihoods through community-driven development approach. Lastly at the systems level, ReHoPe will encourage communities' participation into government systems and empower the local government.³⁹

The positions of Uganda toward refugee protection represented by the aforementioned refugee laws and policies in both domestic and international level are often praised for the most forward-looking to host and provide

³⁸ Lucy Hovil. 2018. "Uganda's refugee policies: The history, the politics, the way forward." International Refugee Rights Initiative.

³⁹ ReliefWeb. 2017. ReHoPE – Refugee and Host Population Empowerment Strategic Framework – Uganda (June 2018). <https://reliefweb.int/report/uganda/rehope-refugee-and-host-population-empowerment-strategic-framework-uganda-june-2018-0>. (Accessed on 25 April 2021).

protection to refugees by diverse entities such as international organizations, governments, media and etc. For example, Filippo Grandi, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, praised the Uganda's 'model' treatment of refugees⁴⁰ and the media also described Uganda as 'one of the best places to be a refugee.'⁴¹

Uganda's generous position toward refugees is maintained in dealing with refugees in refugee camps. Regardless of their way of living, basically all refugees including those living in refugee camps are treated equally as Ugandan nationals. While ensuring to provide physical protection for the refugees within the refugee camps, Uganda guarantees freedom of movement, right to work, documentation and registration and other social rights of them. And this is guaranteed and endorsed by the government through regulatory framework. Refugees' right to work was declared in CARA and was further developed in Uganda's Refugee Act of 2006 and freedom of movement is also stipulated in the Refugee Act. Section 29 of the Refugee Act 2006 says, '(1) A recognized refugee shall (e) receive at least the same treatment accorded to aliens generally in similar circumstances relating to (iv) the right to engage in agriculture, industry, handicrafts, and commerce and establish commercial and industrial

⁴⁰ UNHCR. 2021. Grandi praises Uganda's 'model' treatment of refugees, urges regional leaders to make peace. <https://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2018/1/5a716d994/grandi-praises-ugandas-model-treatment-refugees-urges-regional-leaders.html> (Accessed on 24 April 2021)

⁴¹ Catherine Byaruhanga. 2016. "Uganda: 'One of the best places to be a refugee'". *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/36286472> (Accessed on 29 April 2021)

companies in accordance with the applicable laws and regulations in force in Uganda and (v) the right to have access to employment opportunities and engage in gainful employment.’ Based on the above-mentioned social rights, refugees in Uganda can choose where they would like to rebuild their lives and freely interact with the host communities for economic activities.

In addition to these Uganda’s top-down refugee policies to provide sufficient free space for refugees in refugee camps, there is also a bottom-up reporting line that refugees can pitch their issues to the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), which is the branch of the Ugandan government in charge of dealing with refugee issues in Uganda. This is particularly well implemented in Bidibidi refugee camp. This bottom-up line is implemented by the Refugee Welfare Council (RWC) with elected refugee leaders as the member of the council. Also, the OPM examines tentative protection or security issues that could happened to refugee camps and this information is delivered to the Resident District Commissioners (RDC), which oversees the government’s activities in the Yumbe district, and Local Community Councils (LCC), which provides background information about the reported issues to the RDC. ⁴² (Kelsey Hoff, 2019) Through this reporting mechanism, refugees and the host communities can proactively raise their concerns to the authorities and the security issues within the camp can be

⁴² Kelsey Hoff. 2019. The Ugandan Model Under Pressure: Protection and Justice in Refugee Settlements: Protection and Justice in Refugee Settlements. French Institute for Research in Africa.

more effectively managed.

6.2.2. Uganda's policy on Bidibidi refugee camp

Unlike the conventional refugee camps full of temporary facilities, Uganda has been building permanent infrastructures in Bidibidi refugee camp. Schools, clinics, water systems are permanently installed. The shape of housing in Bidibidi refugee camp are almost identical to those of Ugandan nationals in other areas. And when the conflict in South Sudan comes to an end and refugees in Bidibidi can return to their country of origin, local Ugandans will still be able to make the most of the newly built



schools, medical facilities and piped water.

Picture 6.2. Bidibidi refugee camp

Source: UNHCR

Therefore, on the whole, the government of Uganda has been maintaining friendly position to both refugees in and out of refugee camps. Judging from its policies, the government of Uganda considers refugee camps equivalent to other ways to provide protection. Refugees' social rights in refugee camps are endorsed by the legal framework of Uganda and no intention or attempt of the government was found to close refugee camps and settle refugees in other areas. Instead, there were constant efforts to ensure protection of refugees within refugee camps.

6.3. Economic opportunities in Bidibidi Refugee Camp

Bidibidi refugee camp is located in Yumbe district, Northern Uganda. Traditionally, the main economic activity of Yumbe district is agriculture. Nearly 80 per cent of the Yumbe population are depending on agriculture for their source of income. Main crops are cassava (38 per cent), maize (28 per cent), and beans (11 per cent). People in Yumbe district also participate in retail and wholesale, metal and wood fabrication, art and crafts production, fish farming and livestock farming for income generation. Also, for religious reasons of the Muslim communities in the district, there is an increasing demand for goat husbandry.⁴³

⁴³ United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Uganda Investment Authority. 2017. Yumbe District Investment Profile.

The economy of refugees in Bidibidi refugee camp is not different from that of the host communities of Yumbe district. Refugees in Bidibidi refugee camp can enjoy the freedom of movement and the right to work. In other words, refugees in Bidibidi refugee camp have access to all economic opportunities in Yumbe district such as agriculture, livestock farming, casual labor. In addition to this relatively constraint-free environment, refugees receive a parcel of land and a “starter kit” that includes seed, tools and other items.⁴⁴ Under this economic environment, similar to the most of local people in Yumbe district, refugees in Bidibidi refugee camp heavily depend on agriculture for their income. They mainly do subsistence farming for their living.

However, there are also other sources of income for refugees such as cash transfer, selling woodfuel, tailoring, but it only accounted for a small proportion. Host community members had more various opportunity in terms of source of income compared to refugees. They did casual labor, woodfuel sales, food exchange, etc. With these opportunities for livelihoods, 81.6 per cent of refugees had source of income in Bidibidi refugee camp while it was 95.8 per cent for host community members.⁴⁵ Also, some rich refugees also sold the food aid as they could make their living without the

⁴⁴ Merle Kreibbaum. 2016. Build Towns Instead of Camps: Uganda as an Example of Integrative Refugee Policy. German Development Institute.

⁴⁵ The World Bank Group. 2019. Rapid Assessment of Natural Resource Degradation in Refugee Impacted Areas in Northern Uganda. World Bank Publications.

food ration or traded goat to earn money.⁴⁶ (Henry, 2017)

Furthermore, the freedom of movement in and out of Bidibidi refugee camp made refugees to seek source of income even in South Sudan. In pursuit of income, some refugees crossed the border back to South Sudan, the country of origin of them and the country they had to flee from persecution, as they had relatively less economic opportunities compared to the host community members in Yumbe district.⁴⁷ (Kelsey, 2019)

To conclude, refugees in Bidibidi refugee camps found agriculture and small-scale business as their main source of income which already existed in the Yumbe district.

⁴⁶ Henry Narangui. 2017. Rapid Household Economy Analysis, Bidibidi Refugee Settlement, Yumbe District, Uganda. DanChurchAid-DCA and Save the Children.

⁴⁷ Kelsey Hoff. 2019. The Ugandan Model Under Pressure: Protection and Justice in Refugee Settlements. French Institute for Research in Africa.

Chapter 7. Conclusions

7.1. Analysis

Based on the categorization of the different types of refugee camps in the African continent and a closer analysis on Dadaab refugee camps in Kenya and Bidibidi refugee camp in Uganda, this paper aimed to explore the possibility of refugee camps to be reconsidered as a place where opportunities for durable source of income for refugees exist and thus more stable lives for both refugees and members of the host community are achievable. Also, it explored the ways to demonstrate that only sticking to three globally acknowledged durable solutions (voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement) to provide protection for refugees sometimes does not reflect the real-life conditions that many refugees are confronting. Instead, this paper discovered the undermentioned potentiality of refugee camps as a place full of economic opportunities that can offer refugees sustainable source of income, thus rendering stable life within refugee camps.

In order to make a long story short, it is analyzed that type D is

potentially more desirable to provide sustainable environment to refugees and also for the host communities. This conclusion was drawn by considering mainly two elements, sustainability or flexibility of the economic opportunities implemented in each refugee camp and consideration for both refugees and local people which were illustrated through the comparison of two refugee camps, Dadaab refugee camps in Kenya and Bidibidi refugee camp in Uganda.

In the case of Bidibidi refugee camp, despite its worldwide reputation for being the most progressive and inclusive refugee policies, potential issues which could severely jeopardize the sustainability were discovered. The most notable one was the conflict and tension between refugees and the host communities. As there were no new economic opportunities in Bidibidi refugee camp, both refugees and the host communities had no choice but to stick to the existing economic activities. However, the existing main source of income in and around Bidibidi refugee camp is agriculture-based, and this means that the land for cultivation, the number of buyers, types of crops remained the almost same as before whereas the number of competitors depending on this livelihood has increased due to the influx of refugees into Yumbe district. Furthermore, the use of firewood tends to intensify the tension between the two sides. Refugees and host communities use firewood on a daily basis for cooking, housing, or even for sales. Adding on to this tension, the host communities feel more marginalized both politically and economically, as refugees

receive humanitarian assistance such as food, cash, non-food items even from the Ugandan government whereas there is no benefit for them to host refugees.⁴⁸

Also, it was reported that refugees still faced hardship in finding stable source of income in Yumbe district even though freedom and right to work were guaranteed. And due to this aspect, some refugees traveled back to South Sudan to find to earn money. This movement also gave birth to additional problems of protection and security of refugees as they were exposed to dangers such as crime and abuse during their journey to and from South Sudan. A field work done by Kelsey Hoff shows that this dangerous journey drove some refugees even to death. Thus, the freedom of movement given to the refugees in Bidibidi refugee camp to ensure their social rights also had drawbacks in this respect (Kelsey, 2019)⁴⁹. Moreover, the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic showed that following already established economic activities could also lead refugees and host communities to a more vulnerable situation as the situation of main economic activities such as subsistence agriculture, petty trade was deteriorated by the global crisis.

On top of the above-mentioned conflict between refugees and the

⁴⁸ Alan Boswell, 2018, "Contested Refuge. The Political Economy and Conflict Dynamics in Uganda's Bidibidi Refugee Settlements." European Union. 17, 24.

⁴⁹ Kelsey Hoff. 2019. "The Ugandan Model Under Pressure: Protection and Justice in Refugee Settlements." French Institute for Research in Africa.

host community members and vulnerable characteristic of sticking to the existing economic opportunities, the emotional bond of the host community to the land also gave birth to the conflict between the host community and the government of Uganda. The host community members have long been establishing attachment both emotionally and culturally to the land. However, refugees were provided with this land. This land issue seems like a refugee-host community conflict to the eye, but behind that, the government's lack of consideration to incorporate both sides in its *progressive* refugee policy. For refugees, those allocated lands did not lead to direct income generation as they were not suitable for crops cultivation because they were rocky, too close to livestock or too far from homes. On the other hand, it had negative impact on the host community members as they were deprived of their beloved land to refugees but the compensation that the Ugandan government promised have not been made. As a result, the Ugandan government's intervention to give the land to refugees caused land dispute without notable benefit to both sides.⁵⁰

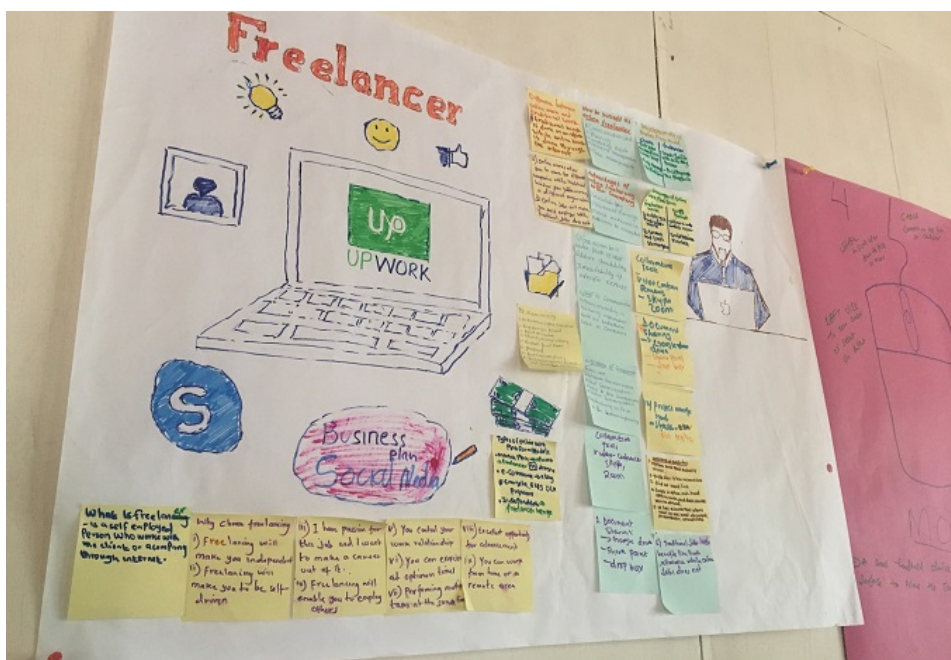
Therefore, it can be said that although Uganda's progressive policy has failed to successfully incorporate both refugees and the host communities and this aspect has the potential to play a certain role as a disincentive to guarantee sustainability of lives of refugees and the host

⁵⁰ Irene Dawa. 2018. "Conflict Dynamics in the Bidibidi refugee settlement in Uganda." The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD). <https://www.accord.org.za/conflict-trends/conflict-dynamics-in-the-bidibidi-refugee-settlement-in-uganda/> (Accessed on 21 April 2021)

communities in the district. Furthermore, as the nature of the relationship between refugees and the host community tend to be bearing tension and tentative latent conflict, the case of Uganda cannot be scaled up to the higher level unless solutions to alleviate this state of tension and benefit the host community members equally to refugees. Furthermore, the negative sentiment that the host communities have against the government due to their marginalization should also be dealt with so as to render Bidibidi refugee camp as an alternative to ‘alternatives to camp’.

On the other hand, in the case of Dadaab refugee camps, whole new economic opportunities were open to both refugees and host communities through the implementation of the RESI. The first element that the RESI can make both refugees and the host communities more self-reliant is that it does not provide the job opportunity without any strings attached. Only qualified trainees who have completed all courses and passed the examination can move on to the next step, which is the connection to online freelancing platform. In other words, the RESI aims to achieve refugees’ self-reliance by training them to be self-reliant from the beginning rather than treating them as those who are dependent on receiving assistance from others. The second element is that the RESI guarantees to connect refugees and members of host communities with the job opportunity. By established partnership with online freelancing platforms such as Upwork, Fiverr, Freelancer.com, Toptal, the RESI ensures that the trainees can find the most appropriate platform where they can make the most of their own skills

acquired from the training course of the RESI.



Picture 7.1. Upwork Online Freelancing

Source: International Trade Centre

Also, as mentioned in the previous paragraphs, not only refugees are eligible to be the beneficiary of the RESI. This initiative is also open to the host community members so that they can find new and innovative ways for sources of income. The openness of the RESI to both refugees and the host community members will play an imperative role in securing the sustainability of the initiative as there could be less conflict between both sides when they do not have to compete for limited resources or economic opportunities.

It is analyzed that the RESI in Dadaab refugee camps has been successful until now. Somali refugees are making the most of online

freelancing opportunities and getting jobs such as online translator. Unlike the previous and conventional job opportunities provided to refugees, which was directly related to the local economy, the RESI enabled refugees to have less conflict with the host community and more sustainability and durability even under difficult situations such as COVID-19 because refugees can earn money from online platforms with less influence from the situation of the district.

Therefore, based on the above comparison of two representative cases of type A and type D, it can be said that providing existing economic opportunities under camp-friendly government is not enough to make a refugee camp as an economically sustainable space for refugees. However friendly the government is to the refugee camp, it is difficult to solve the problems happening in the field such as conflicts between refugees and the host communities over limited resources, economic activities, etc. And this becomes even more intense when the two groups have to compete for already established opportunities. Therefore, even though the government is against to host refugees within refugee camps, type D, where innovative economic opportunities exist, appears to be a better option for making refugee camps a more sustainable place for both refugees and the host communities.

7.2. Limitations of the study

Firstly, the Refugee Employment and Skills Initiative (RESI) is an ongoing project in Dadaab Refugee camps and this aspect adds the uncertainty to prove that it is the most desirable initiative to scale up to other refugee-hosting countries in order to transform refugee camps into a more sustainable place.

Secondly, in the case of Dadaab refugee camps, friendly relationship between refugees and the host communities was already established, which could have positive influence on the successful implementation of the RESI so far. Both sides use identical language and have common ground in religion and culture, which rendered a sense of homogeneity between them. Based on this symbiotic relationship, refugees and members of the host community in Dadaab refugee camps already had market exchanges and refugees were playing certain roles as informal human resources for local businesspeople even before introduction of the RESI.⁵¹ In other words, Dadaab refugee camps already had a good environment for the RESI not to fail.

However, amicable relationship between refugees and host communities are not common or guaranteed in other refugee camps. Even in other refugee camps within Kenya, there was a widespread perception toward refugees that they are burden in terms of local economies and competitors for a limited number of job opportunities, thus leading to conflicts between

⁵¹ UNHCR and ILO. 2019. Doing Business in Dadaab.

them. For example, in Kakuma refugee camp, refugees and the host communities had to compete for water as there is only one water source, River Tarach, for both sides around Kakuma refugee camp. This conflict became more intense with the increasing number of incoming refugees to Kakuma camp. Apart from scarcity of resource such as water, there are other elements that triggered conflicts between refugee and the host communities in Kakuma refugee camp including social welfare, economies.⁵² (Jecinta and Witchayanee, 2018)

Also, there were many cases that even refugees themselves had internal conflict among them due to ethnicity, national backgrounds, culture, and etc. Therefore, more research must be done how to guarantee innovative but sustainable source of income for both refugees and host communities while also mitigating the conflict between both sides.

Thirdly, it is apparent that the RESI is an innovative initiative to provide refugees and the host communities with digital work opportunities. However, there are people who could be left behind without the opportunities due to failure of completing the courses. In the long run, this meritocratic element will be ideal because participants will have the chance to be genuinely self-reliant when they have to achieve their self-reliance on their own. However, those who fail to catch up with this initiative could fall

⁵² Jecinta Anomat Ali and Witchayanee Ocha. 2018. "East Africa Refugee Crisis: Causes of Tensions and Conflicts between the Local Community and Refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya." *Journal of Social Science Studies*, 5(1), 298-315.

into more vulnerable circumstance as their lives were already torn due to persecution, civil war, etc. Therefore, safety net in order to leave no one behind should also be prepared simultaneously with the RESI, if it is to be scaled up.

Furthermore, each refugee camp had its unique characteristic according to its geographical location, relationship between refugees and host communities, number of hosted refugees, etc. Even the features of refugee camps varied within a country. Therefore, it would not be plausible that the categorization of refugee camps in this thesis based on the top five refugee hosting countries in the African continent had covered all types of refugee camps in the region without exception. In order to generalize the lessons from this study, more case studies should be done in order to consider more aspects in the typology and find the best practice.

7.3. Policy implications

Through this study, it was apparently found that the introduction of new economic opportunities was imperative to foster sustainable life in and around refugee camps for both refugees and the host communities. Therefore, in order to scale up the success of the RESI to other regions, exploring innovative economic opportunities that can be implemented within the refugee camp should be prioritized in order to transform the refugee camp as ‘an alternative to alternatives to camp.’

However, prioritizing the provision of new economic opportunities should not be interpreted as the government's position on refugee camps can be ignored. As discussed in Chapter 4 and also can be known from the common sense, the impact of new economic opportunities will be greater if there is the host government's endorsement. Therefore, more discussions must be done for the transformations in perception not to see refugee camp as a place of temporality but as a place where opportunities for new life can be born. The fact that government actors (government of the Netherlands, Government of Japan), private sector (Afrika Handmade, Samasource, Goodie's Interiors and Gifts and etc) and the UNHCR is partnering with this initiative can be a good starting point for the discussion. With these diverse actors from different backgrounds already in agreement with the RESI, it can be said that the environment for the discussion for the paradigm shift has been created.

Also, in the process of introducing new opportunities to refugees and the host communities, competency-based approach should also be pursued simultaneously rather than opening the opportunity for the beneficiaries unconditionally. This is because the ultimate purpose of exploring new market in refugee camps is to make refugees self-reliant. Therefore, if refugees are trained to be self-reliant from the beginning by developing their capacity to attain the eligibility to enjoy the new opportunity, the self-reliance will be embedded in them. Furthermore, this embedded self-reliance will be further developed as they have to keep building their

capability to be a competent economic agent in the new market.

Last but not least, ways to provide the people with opportunities for longer term projects should be explored. This is because, as the online freelancing platform is basically based on the contract between individuals, most of the projects that refugees and the host community members can undertake are one-off or temporary. Even though there are numerous and almost endless opportunities on the online freelancing platforms provided by the RESI, depending on short-term income source will have more uncertainty and instability compared to having long-term projects. Therefore, the implementation of the RESI itself should not be a one-off initiative or a district-level initiative but must be a signal to a greater platform in which refugees and the host communities have the opportunity for longer-term projects.

Reference

Kristoffer Andre Grindhein. 2013. "Exploring the impacts of refugee camps on host communities. A case study of Kakuma host community in Kenya." University of Agder: 86-87

Asit K Biswas, Cecilia Tortajada. 1996. "Environmental Impacts of Refugees: A case study." *Impact Assessment*, 14(1): 21-39.

Rose Jaji. 2011. "Social Technology and Refugee Encampment in Kenya". *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 25(2): 221-238.

Merle Kreibaum. 2016. "Build Towns Instead of Camps: Uganda as an Example of Integrative Refugee Policy". German Development Institute.

Deborah Mulumba. 2014. "Humanitarian Assistance and Its Implications on the Integration of Refugees in Uganda." Makerere University.

Lucy Hovil. 2018. "Uganda's refugee policies: The history, the politics, the way forward." International Refugee Rights Initiative.

Alexander Betts et al. 2019. "Refugee Economies in Uganda: What Difference Does the Self-Reliance Model Make?" Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford.

Henry Narangui. 2017. "Rapid Household Economy Analysis, Bidibidi Refugee Settlement, Yumbe District, Uganda." DanChurchAid-DCA and Save the Children.

Kelsey Hoff. 2019. "The Ugandan Model Under Pressure: Protection and Justice in Refugee Settlements." French Institute for Research in Africa.

Fred Bidandi. 2018. "Understanding Refugee Durable Solutions by International Players: Does Dialogue Form a Missing Link?" *Cogent social sciences*, 4(1).

James Milner. 2014. "Can Global Refugee Policy Leverage Durable Solutions? Lessons from Tanzania's Naturalization of Burundian Refugees." *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 27(4): 553-573.

Irene Dawa. 2018. "Conflict Dynamics in the Bidibidi refugee settlement in Uganda." *The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD)*.

<https://www.accord.org.za/conflict-trends/conflict-dynamics-in-the-bidibidi-refugee-settlement-in-uganda/> (Accessed on 21 April 2021)

Jecinta Anomat Ali and Witchayanee Ocha. 2018. "East Africa Refugee Crisis: Causes of Tensions and Conflicts between the Local Community and Refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya." *Journal of Social Science Studies*, 5(1), 298-315.

Alan Boswell, 2018, "Contested Refuge. The Political Economy and Conflict Dynamics in Uganda's Bidibidi Refugee Settlements." *European Union*.

Lacey Andrews Gale. 2008. "The Invisible Refugee Camp: Durable Solutions for Boreah 'Residuals' in Guinea" *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(4).

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Uganda Investment Authority. 2017. "Yumbe District Investment Profile."

The World Bank Group. 2019. "Rapid Assessment of Natural Resource Degradation in Refugee Impacted Areas in Northern Uganda." *World Bank Publications*.

ReliefWeb. 2017. ReHoPE – Refugee and Host Population Empowerment Strategic Framework – Uganda (June 2018).

<https://reliefweb.int/report/uganda/rehope-refugee-and-host-population-empowerment-strategic-framework-uganda-june-2018-0>. (Accessed on 25 April 2021)

Government of Kenya, Executive Office of the President. 2018. "Kenya Development Response to Displacement Impacts Project (KDRDIP) Additional Financing."

Refugee Consortium of Kenya. Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Returnees.
<https://www.rckkenya.org/refugees-asylum-seekers-and-returnees/>
(Accessed on 18 April 2021)

Library of Congress. Refugee Law and Policy: Kenya.
<https://www.loc.gov/law/help/refugee-law/kenya.php> (Accessed on 18 April 2021)

High Court of Kenya. Constitutional Petition No. 227 of 2016.
<http://kenyalaw.org/caselaw/cases/view/131173> (Access on 18 April 2021)

Sally Hayden. 2021. “‘No other home’: Refugees in Kenya camps devastated over closure”. *Al Jazeera*.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/4/5/no-other-home-refugees-in-kenya-camps-devastated-over-closure> (Access on 20 April 2021)

International Trade Centre. 2018. “Connecting Somali Refugees And Their Kenyan Hosts To Online Markets.” *ITC News*.
<https://www.intracen.org/news/Connecting-Somali-refugees-and-their-Kenyan-hosts-to-online-markets/> (Accessed on 27 April 2021)

Catherine Byaruhanga. 2016. “Uganda: ‘One of the best places to be a refugee’”. *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/36286472> (Accessed on 29 April 2021)

Kevin Sieff. 2016. “Three months ago, it was a tiny Ugandan village. Now it’s the world’s fourth-largest refugee camp.” *The Washington Post*.
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/10/28/three-months-ago-it-was-a-tiny-ugandan-village-now-its-the-worlds-fourth-largest-refugee-camp/> (Accessed on 29 April 2021)

International Trade Centre. Becoming An Online Freelancing Champion.
https://stage.intracen.org/uploadedFiles/intracenorg/Content/Redesign/Projects/RESI/Freelancing%20Brochure_v2_pages.pdf (Accessed on 1 May 2021)

UNHCR (2020), UNHCR Global Trends 2019.

UNHCR (2020), Mid-Year Trends 2020.

UNHCR (2003), Framework for Durable Solutions for Refugees and Persons of Concern.

UNHCR. Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees.
<https://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10> (Accessed on 1 April 2021)

UNHCR. Persons of Concern to UNHCR.
<https://www.unhcr.org/ph/persons-concern-unhcr> (Accessed on 1 April 2021)

UNHCR. Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons.
<https://www.unhcr.org/protection/statelessness/3bbb25729/convention-relating-status-stateless-persons.html> (Accessed on 1 April 2021)

UNHCR (2014). UNHCR Policy on Alternatives to Camps.
<https://www.unhcr.org/5422b8f09.html> (Accessed on 28 March 2021)

UNHCR. Refugee camps.
<https://www.unrefugees.org/refugee-facts/camps/> (Accessed on 28 March 2021)

UNHCR. Trends at a glance.
<https://www.unhcr.org/globaltrends2019/> (Accessed on 1 April 2021)

UNHCR. Refugee Data Finder
<https://www.unhcr.org/refugee-statistics/download/?url=9qoL2I> (Accessed on 28 March 2021)

UNHCR. Kenya, Registered refugees and asylum-seekers.
<https://www.unhcr.org/ke/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2020/08/Kenya-Infographics-28-February-2021.pdf> (Accessed on 18 April 2021)

UNHCR and ILO. 2019. Doing Business in Dadaab.

UNHCR. Kenya. Dadaab Operational Updates.
<https://www.unhcr.org/ke/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2021/03/Dadaab-Operational-Updates-JANUARY-2021-1.pdf> (Accessed on 18 April 2021)

UNHCR. Kenya. Voluntary Repatriation of Somali Refugees From Kenya.
<https://www.unhcr.org/ke/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2018/05/Voluntary-Repatriation-Analysis-06042018.pdf> (Accessed on 10 April 2021)

UNHCR. Uganda. Uganda – Refugee Statistics September 2020.
<https://reliefweb.int/report/uganda/uganda-refugee-statistics-september-2020> (Accessed on 24 April 2021)

UNHCR. 2021. Grandi praises Uganda's 'model' treatment of refugees, urges regional leaders to make peace.
<https://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2018/1/5a716d994/grandi-praises-ugandas-model-treatment-refugees-urges-regional-leaders.html> (Accessed on 24 April 2021)

<국문초록>

기존 ‘난민 캠프의 대안’들에 대한 대안:

지속가능한 공간으로서의 난민 캠프 재조명

- 다답(Dadaab) 난민 캠프와 비디비디(Bidibidi) 난민

캠프를 중심으로

이 새 길

국제학과 국제협력전공

서울대학교 국제대학원

전 세계 실형 사태는 점점 더 많은 사람들로 하여금
강제로 집을 떠나게 만들고 있다. 2019년 말 기준, 전 세계적으로
약 7,950만 명의 사람들이 박해, 분쟁, 강제 징집 등을 피해 집을

떠났다. 유엔난민기구(UNHCR)은 2021년의 강제이주민의 숫자가 8천만 명을 넘을 것으로 예상하고 있다. 이처럼 점점 증가하는 강제이주민에게 보호를 제공하기 위해 국제기구, 수용국 및 난민 발생국, 비정부기구(NGO), 민간 부문, 그리고 난민들의 지속적인 노력이 있었다. 그리고 이러한 노력들은 주로 자발적 귀환, 현지 통합 그리고 재정착이라는 세 가지 영구적 해결책에 중점을 두고 이루어졌다. 반면 난민 캠프는 임시적 특성과 불안정이 도사리고 있는, 바람직하지 않은 보호 방법으로 인식되어왔다. 하지만 위에서 언급한 영구적 해결책이라고 할 수 있는 ‘난민 캠프에 대한 대안들’의 혜택은 소수의 난민만이 누릴 수 있었으며, 여전히 상당수의 난민들은 난민 캠프에서 살고 있다.

이러한 상황 속에서 본 논문인 ‘기존 ‘난민 캠프의 대안’들에 대한 대안: 지속가능한 공간으로서의 난민 캠프 재조명 – 다답(Dadaab) 난민 캠프와 비디비디(Bidibidi) 난민 캠프를 중심으로’는 난민들이 삶을 지속가능한 방식으로 재건하고, 수용 지역사회 주민들 또한 상생할 수 있는 장소로서의 난민 캠프를 재조명하고자 한다. 다시 말해, 이 연구를 통해 ‘난민 캠프의 대안’들에 대한 대안을 난민 캠프를 통해 제시하고자 한다.

이를 위해 먼저 아프리카의 난민 캠프들에 대한 사례 연구를 실시할 것이다. 또한 수용국 정부의 난민 캠프에 대한

태도와 주요 경제 활동이라는 두 가지 기준을 바탕으로 아프리카의 난민 캠프들을 네 가지 유형으로 구분할 것이다. 그리고 케냐의 다답(Dadaab) 난민 캠프와 우간다의 비디비디(Bidibidi) 난민 캠프의 사례의 비교 분석을 통해 난민들과 수용 지역사회 주민들 모두 지속가능한 생활을 영위할 수 있는 장소로 난민 캠프가 변화할 수 있는 방법을 모색할 것이다. 각 사례마다 해당 국가의 난민 수용의 역사와 배경, 정부의 난민 정책, 경제 및 소득 창출 활동 등이 면밀히 분석될 것이다.

본 연구는 위의 비교분석을 통해 난민 캠프를 이해할 수 있는 새로운 시각을 제시하고, 나아가 난민 캠프에 대한 인식 변화를 위한 정책적 함의를 제시할 것이다.

핵심어: 실향, 난민 캠프, 다답 난민 캠프, 케냐, 비디비디 난민 캠프, 우간다

학번: 2019-27803