A Study of Displaced Populations: Infrastructure, Economic Barriers, and Urban Planning Solutions in South Sudan and Uganda

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Urban and Regional Planning)
in the University of Michigan
2025

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Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to express my profound gratitude to Tinate Zebedayo. Your unwavering encouragement, patience, and understanding have been my guiding light through countless challenges and long nights. This accomplishment is as much yours as it is mine, and I am eternally grateful for your presence in my life. I truly could not have done this without you.

I am also deeply thankful to my mother, Jane Sell, and father, Philip Berke, for their steadfast support and for their openness to engaging in discussions on a variety of research topics. Their insights have provided me with invaluable intellectual grounding and emotional encouragement.

My heartfelt thanks go to my dissertation committee: Dr. Marin Murray, Dr. Lesli Hoey, and Dr. Ana Paula Pimentel Walker. Your guidance, feedback, and dedication to my academic growth have been instrumental in shaping this dissertation. I am particularly grateful to my advisor, Dr. Larissa Larsen, for her consistent mentorship and support. Without her, this dissertation would not have reached its fruition.

Special recognition goes to Konyum Robina, the late Charles Wani, and Repent for their indispensable support and facilitation of data collection. Your contributions were crucial to the success of my research. I am equally grateful to Sarah Vivian, Jackson Jacob, Emmanuel Fabiano, and Minalah Rose for their assistance in administering the household survey data collection in Juba, South Sudan.

I owe a significant debt of gratitude to Peter Deng and Emanuel Deng for their support and encouragement in my pursuit of a Ph.D. Their insights and life guidance during my time in South Sudan were crucial to both my personal life and academic research.

To my exceptional friends, Nabin, Taru, Fabricio, and Rand: sharing moments of spirited debate and mutual support with you all has kept me grounded and hopeful throughout this journey. Your friendship has been a continuous source of joy and inspiration.

I am deeply grateful to the local administrators, chiefs, and residents of Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement, Gurei, Gumbo, and Joppa residential areas in Juba, and the Mangateen IDP Camp. Your generous collaboration and interpretive insights have enriched this research immeasurably.

Finally, I acknowledge the financial support from the Rackham Graduate School, the International Institute, the African Studies Center, and the Center for Global Health Equity. Your support was pivotal in making this research possible.

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates the complexities of urban planning for displaced persons and host communities in South Sudan and Uganda, focusing on different approaches to helping achieve self-reliance. The study explores the experiences and needs of refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), returnees, and host residents in urban areas, aiming to inform more effective integration strategies. The research adopts a mixed-methods approach, combining household surveys (n=240), 75 semi-structured interviews, five focus group discussions, participant observation, GIS analysis, and document analysis. The dissertation findings are structured around three chapters.

Chapter 1 examines the priorities for city infrastructure and services among displaced populations and host communities in Juba, South Sudan. The findings reveal that the perception and prioritization of city services varied significantly by household status (host, IDP, returnee) rather than by the residential area in which households lived. Across 12 city services, cheaper transportation was perceived as the most impactful service for both host and IDP households. For the category of "basic service," security emerged as critical for all groups. Among the category of "shared facilities," hosts valued better markets, attributing their importance to income generation opportunities. In contrast, IDPs and returnees placed higher importance on parks, reflecting their rural and camp-living backgrounds. The study's regression analysis indicated that households that experienced more days without food gave higher importance to all city services, and female-headed households valued city services more than male-headed households. Overall, although host residents and IDPs both live in extreme poverty and experience frequent food insecurity, hosts have higher expectations for city services most likely due to their perceived stability compared to the more transient IDPs. Finally, it is recommended that humanitarian agencies work closely with city officials to design and implement development projects by engaging and empowering existing IDP and returnee networks.

Chapter 2 explores the income-generating barriers faced by displaced persons and host residents in Juba, South Sudan. IDPs were significantly more likely to experience economic shocks, with 37% of IDP households reporting such events compared to 17% of host households. When coping with these shocks, IDPs often took on more casual labor (52%), while hosts mostly did "nothing in particular" (46%), suggesting hosts had stronger safety nets. Both groups heavily relied on microenterprises, but IDPs were more likely to participate in casual labor, whereas hosts had higher rates of salaried employment. Regarding barriers to income generation, lack of capital was the most significant barrier for both groups. Interestingly, when controlling for household characteristics, hosts viewed legal documentation as a greater barrier compared to IDPs because of increased municipal requirements in informal market settings. IDPs face more pronounced challenges in accessing loans and forming family or political connections. Despite these differences, both groups shared common challenges, such as access to capital and food insecurity.

The high level of economic vulnerability in both groups suggests that integrated, community-based approaches may be more effective than targeted demographic strategies in addressing these systemic barriers and enhancing socioeconomic well-being.

Chapter 3 explores Uganda's innovative policy of allocating land to refugees to promote self-reliance, particularly within the Bidi Bidi integrated settlement. While the policy initially succeeded in promoting agricultural self-reliance, diminishing plot sizes and environmental degradation highlight the need for diversified self-reliance strategies. The study also emphasizes the importance of involving local and district administrators, host community leaders, and refugees in planning and managing integrated settlements for more sustainable and effective outcomes.

The dissertation concludes with policy recommendations, including enhancing urban planning and service provision, reframing self-reliance, fostering strong social networks, and emphasizing environmental sustainability. Future research should focus on comparative urban integration strategies, health outcomes, and specific needs of climate-displaced versus conflict-displaced persons. By adopting inclusive, flexible, and context-specific approaches, policymakers and planners can create resilient settings that meet the needs of both displaced populations and host communities.

Chapter 1 Introduction

Displaced Persons

Due to the increasing number of natural disasters and conflicts, the number of forcibly displaced persons is rapidly rising. According to the UNHCR, approximately 118 million individuals—about 1.5% of the world's population—are currently displaced, more than doubling over the last decade (UNHCR, 2023a). In addition, the length of displacement is increasing. From 1993 to 2003, the average duration of major refugee situations increased from 9 to 17 years (UNHCR, 2004). In 2023, the European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (ECHO) estimated that refugees often remain displaced for 20 years and internally displaced persons (IDPs) for over ten years (ECHO, 2023). This trend for longer periods of displacement is expected to persist for two main reasons: increasing incidents causing displacement and insufficient durable solutions for assisting displaced individuals.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the international entity that oversees displacement, differentiates among displaced persons as individuals who are 1) internally displaced, 2) seeking asylum, 3) refugees, and 4) returnees. Internally displaced persons (IDPs), who form about 65% of the displaced population, are individuals forced to leave their homes but remain within their country's borders due to conflict, violence, or disasters (as cited by Van der Auweraert, P., 2013 in Awa Davi, 2012). Although IDPs are not protected by international law, they can seek humanitarian assistance (Concern Worldwide, 2019). Asylum seekers, making up roughly 5% of displaced persons, have fled their countries due to persecution fears or serious human rights violations and are in the process of seeking formal refugee status. Refugees, comprising about 25% of displaced persons (UNHCR, 2023a), have been granted asylum and receive international and host country protection and assistance as per the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol-(UNHCR A, 2019). Returnees are former refugees who have voluntarily returned to their home countries but are still reintegrating (UNHCR, 2023b). This process requires time, especially after extended periods of displacement. In some cases, they can also be considered IDPs if they return to their country of origin but not their city or town of origin (UNHCR, 2023b). For this dissertation, unless specified, I will often use the term ‘displaced persons’ to refer to IDPs, refugees, and returnees (Crisp et al., 2012). For more details about these definitions, see Appendix 1.

Camps as a Traditional Housing Approach for Displaced Persons

With increasing populations and longer periods of displacement, costs to support these populations are rising, and this makes finding robust solutions more challenging. Historically, UN agencies and hosting governments have used a camp approach to house displaced persons. ‘Camps’ are

broadly associated with aid-dependent residents (those seeking food, water, shelter, etc.) who are confined in dense areas and heavily segregated from host populations (Schmidt, 2002). The camp approach has been used because it is efficient and effective in delivering aid in emergencies and because state actors often associate displaced persons with economic burdens (Owens 2009) that drain the limited services and resources in low-resource cities. Generally, in a traditional camp, refugees are denied freedom of movement (in and out of the camp), legal employment, and must live in segregated areas away from surrounding host communities. Consequently, the traditional segregated camps fail to provide displaced individuals with the chance to achieve self-reliance and improve their future. While the camp approach is still used, displaced persons are migrating to urban settings, suggesting there is a mismatch between where humanitarian aid is being provided and where it is needed.

Migration of Displaced Persons to Urban Settings

Over one-half of the world's displaced persons live in urban areas (UNHCR, 2019; Crisp et al., 2012; IIED, 2021; Crawford et al., 2010; UNHCR, 2019), often without access to humanitarian aid. Cities offer opportunities for income generation and access to various services such as education, healthcare, transportation, urban markets, and broader networks often absent from rural settings. However, 76% of forcibly displaced persons are moving to cities in lower-income countries (UNHCR, 2023a). The arrival of displaced persons is often perceived negatively by the existing residents, whom I refer to as 'host residents' because they compete for resources and opportunities (Van der Auweraert, P., 2013). However, the arrival of displaced persons can offer development opportunities for rapidly urbanizing, under-resourced cities and governments. These opportunities include external inputs from various United Nations agencies, bilateral donors, and international NGOs.

Lack of Knowledge about Urban Displaced Populations

While some research has explored how displaced persons meet their needs in traditional, rural encampments (Alix-Garcia et al., 2018; Bilgili et al., 2019; Taylor et al., 2016), little research has been done on how displaced persons fare in cities (Betts et al., 2019; Majidi, 2011; Betts et al., 2024; Rabrenovic & Bunar, 2021). More information about the interpersonal dynamics between displaced individuals and established host residents is needed. It is vital for effective urban policies and urban planning to understand community dynamics and various stakeholders (hosts, refugees, IDPs, and returnees). By gaining more insight into the needs and perspectives of both displaced and host residents, urban planners and policymakers can ensure that their initiatives are well-tailored to address the unique challenges and opportunities within the urban environment.

Self-Reliance Framework

The United Nations and humanitarian agencies often state that self-reliance is their goal when assisting displaced persons. Therefore, in my dissertation, I have used self-reliance as the concept that embodies the desired outcome for displaced persons.

Betts et al. (2020) developed a framework highlighting the key components necessary for refugee self-reliance. The framework, illustrated in Figure 1.1, shows that self-reliance encompasses not just socio-economic outcomes like access to food, water, shelter, protection, health, education, and autonomy from aid, but also involves long-term enabling factors. These enabling factors, derived from UNHCR's Handbook for Self-reliance, include the environment, assets, access to networks, access to markets, and access to public goods. These factors facilitate economic activities and contribute to socio-economic welfare by supporting income-generating activities. In this framework, aid has a dual role; humanitarian aid addresses immediate needs, while development aid enhances self-reliance-enabling factors that promote long-term autonomy. This framework also highlights feedback loops between socio-economic outcomes and enabling factors, suggesting that investment in enabling factors can lead to sustainable development over time.

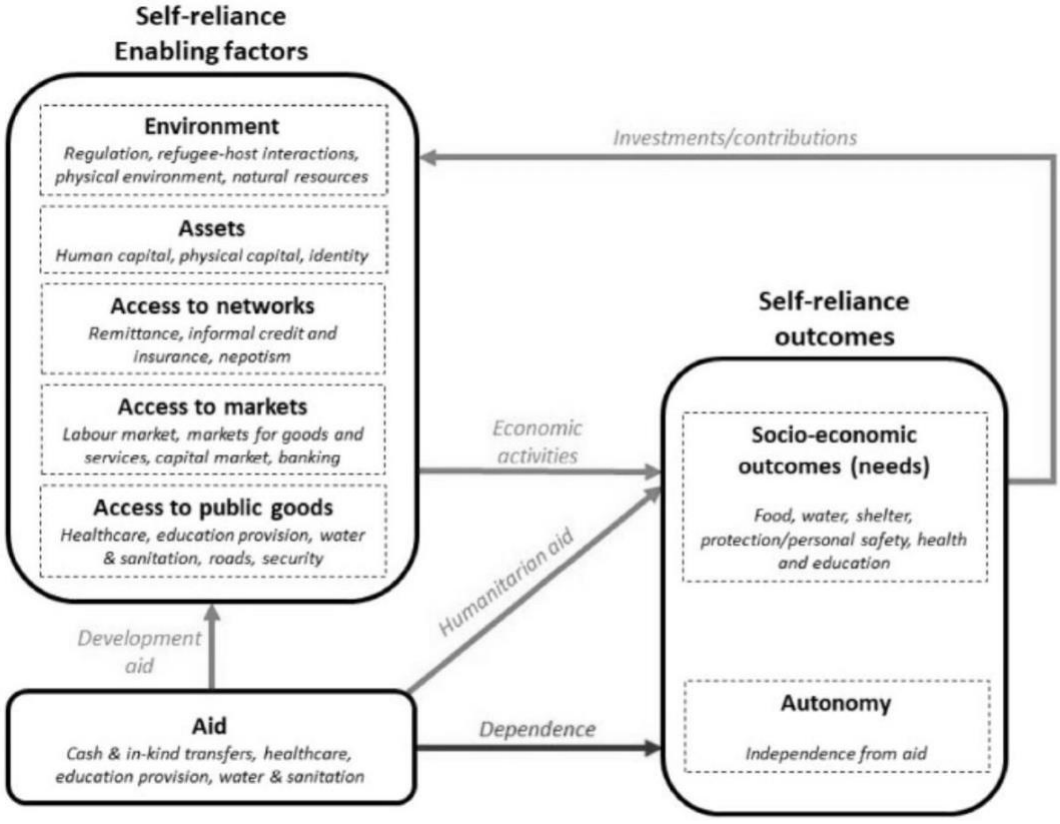


Figure 1-1: Betts et al. (2020) Conceptual Framework for Understanding Self-reliance in Relation to Refugees

1.1 Context

South Sudan

Since gaining independence in 2011, South Sudan, Africa's newest nation, has faced numerous challenges, including civil conflicts in 2013 and 2016 that displaced millions of people. Additionally, severe flooding in 2021 further exacerbated the struggles and challenges tied to displacement. Currently, South Sudan has around 2.3 million internally displaced persons and 560,000 refugees affected by conflicts since 2013 (UNHCR, 2023). Moreover, annual flooding since 2021 has displaced an additional 750,000 people (International Crisis Group, 2022).

I selected South Sudan as the focus country due to its large population of displaced persons, low Human Development Index scores (South Sudan 191 out of 193), and its policies promoting 'self-reliance.' Within South Sudan, the capital city of Juba was selected due to its rapid urban growth and large displaced population, comprising 29 percent of Juba's 460,000 residents (IOM, 2023). To identify specific residential areas for data collection, I selected the three highest residential areas with displaced persons integrated with host populations using existing humanitarian displacement data, which was validated with local stakeholders (Gumbo, Gurei, and Joppa). I also selected the largest urban IDP camp, Magateen, located in the city[1].

Uganda

Uganda hosts the largest number of refugees in Africa and the third-largest number in the world (UNHCR, 2020). More than 1.4 million refugees or asylum seekers live in Uganda and most come from South Sudan, Somalia, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (UNHCR, 2020). Often, refugee camps restrict freedom of movement and legal employment, whereas Uganda's "integrated settlements" model allows refugees to live alongside host communities, granting them freedom of movement, legal employment, and access to local markets and services. This approach aims to transform refugee settings from resource-consuming obligations into components of regional development, promoting self-reliance among refugees. Bidi Bidi, established in 2016, is Uganda's largest integrated settlement and houses approximately 250,000 South Sudanese refugees.

Methods

Household surveys, semi-structured interviews, participant observation, GIS analysis, and document analysis were used in this dissertation. The findings presented in chapters 3, 4, and 5 used a combination of mixed methods appropriate for addressing each research question listed below. During the summer of 2019, I interviewed 13 community members, local leaders, and government officials in the Bibi Bidi Refugee Settlement. Additionally, over three different periods from 2022 to 2024, I conducted a household survey (n=240) in three residential neighborhoods and one IDP camp that housed internally displaced persons (IDPs) and host residents in Juba, South

[1] When selecting an IDP camp, I left out the protection of civilian sites as they have different UN mandates and levels of freedom of movement.

Sudan. To provide more context to the household survey results, I conducted approximately 75 semi-structured interviews, five focus group discussions (FGDs), and participant observation with local authorities, NGO staff, and community residents over three different periods from 2022 to 2024.

Purpose

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the dynamics and challenges that displaced persons encounter in urban settings, focusing specifically on their ability to become self-reliant. This research seeks to guide policy-making, improve program design, and inform further research, ensuring that the perspectives of displaced persons are incorporated into these efforts.

1.2 Research Questions and Summary of Findings

In this dissertation, I ask three overarching questions, which are later addressed as three stand alone chapters.

1. Do host residents and displaced persons living within the same urban residential areas prioritize different city services and infrastructure? Understanding the needs of displaced persons and whether their needs for city services differ significantly from host residents will help prioritize future assistance programs (Chapter 3).
2. What are the income-generating barriers displaced persons face in urban settings and are they different from those experienced by host residents? Understanding the economic barriers and social dynamics in urban areas can inform strategies to improve self-reliance and economic well-being for displaced persons and host residents (Chapter 4).
3. How do progressive refugee policies, such as those that provide land for refugees in Bidi Bidi, in North Uganda, impact self-reliance in both urban and integrated settlements? Investigating these aspects will help us understand if similar strategies could be applied in urban contexts to promote self-reliance among displaced persons (Chapter 5)

In the second piece of the dissertation, I divide the literature review into two sections. In the first section, I examine the different political frameworks and the roles of state and non-state actors in managing displaced populations. This includes a description of the traditional approach that uses rural camps to house displaced persons. However, despite these efforts, most displaced people are moving to under-resourced urban settings. In the second section of the literature review, I provide an overview of well-being and poverty in East African cities. I also discuss the specific challenges that displaced persons face in urban environments.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 each address one of the research questions listed above. Additionally, each chapter examines different enabling factors of Betts et al. (2020) self-reliance framework (see Figure 1.1 above).

Chapter 1, "The Importance of City Services to Internally Displaced Persons, Returnees, and Host Residents in Juba, South Sudan," examines how essential city services, such as water, sanitation, electricity, and security, are to the well-being and integration of displaced persons in urban areas. This chapter applies the self-reliance framework of Betts et al. (2020) by exploring assets and access to public goods and the importance of integrating city services to achieve self-reliance. I used a mixed-methods approach (household survey n=180, interviews n=19, and site observation) to compare how IDPs (52), returnees (29), and host residents (94) value these essential services. I found significant differences in how hosts, IDPs, and returning refugees perceived the value of city services, even when accounting for residential areas and household characteristics. Despite these differences, common patterns emerged: both host residents and IDPs identified cheaper transportation as their greatest need, all three groups emphasized the importance of security, and IDPs and returnees placed high value on parks. I recommend that humanitarian agencies work closely with city officials to design and implement development projects by engaging and empowering existing IDP and returnee networks.

Chapter 2, titled "Navigating Income-Generation Barriers: Perceptions of Host Residents and Displaced Persons in Urban Juba, South Sudan," examines how internally displaced persons view the challenges to generating income. Although income generation is crucial for achieving self-reliance, many displaced individuals face significant obstacles in urban environments. In line with Betts et al. (2020) framework, this chapter explores the enabling factors of access to markets and networks. I used a mixed-methods approach (household survey n=146, interviews n=75, five focus group discussions, and site observation) to compare how IDPs (52) and host residents (94) experience income-generating barriers. This chapter reveals that although both groups encountered considerable obstacles to generating income, such as limited access to capital, IDPs experienced more pronounced difficulties in obtaining loans and lacked family or political connections. Interestingly, hosts viewed legal documentation as a greater barrier compared to IDPs because of increased municipal requirements in informal market settings. The findings suggest that improved social engagement can alleviate some of these barriers by promoting community-wide solutions. Therefore, an area-based approach that tackles household poverty, capital access, and infrastructure development may be more effective than targeting specific groups of people in overcoming these barriers and enhancing socioeconomic well-being among both IDPs and host residents.

In Chapter 3, titled "Using Land to Promote Refugee Self-Reliance in Uganda," I highlight Uganda's innovative policy of granting land use rights to refugees within the integrated settlement of Bidi Bidi. By focusing on three main issues—planning the physical layout, understanding the host community's rationale for giving their land, and examining how refugees use the land—the chapter examines the complexities around land use, aligning with Betts et al. (2020) emphasis on the environment and access to public goods. Through 13 interviews, participant observation, GIS analysis, and document review, we gained insights into how refugees modified the settlement's layout to better suit their needs, the unintended impact of extensive deforestation on the most

vulnerable populations, and the shortcomings of land-based strategies in achieving self-reliance. These findings indicate the need to enhance and empower district-level ministries to improve local services for refugees and host community residents and to safeguard the environment to ensure the availability of essential resources. In this way, more options for self-reliance could be developed.

In the conclusion I highlight the key findings from Chapters 3, 4, and 5, and I revisit the literature review to provide recommendations for policies and future research. In this chapter, I note the importance of enhancing urban planning and service provision for displaced populations, specifically, reframing self-reliance as integration with systemic support, integrating community services, and providing program strategies that mainstream strengthening social networks, and emphasizing environmental sustainability. I recommend that future research directions include comparative studies in various urban contexts and longitudinal studies. I also suggest further research on health outcomes among urban displaced populations and distinguishing the specific needs of climate-displaced versus conflict-displaced persons for policy frameworks.

Chapter 2 : Summary Literature Review

While each chapter has a separate literature review tailored to each research question, this summary literature review provides an overview of the literature used across Chapters 3, 4, and 5, and it is divided into two sections. In the first section, I review the different political frameworks and the roles that state and non-state actors play in managing displaced populations. I describe the traditional approach of using rural camps to house displaced persons and note that most displaced people are moving to under-resourced urban settings. In the second section of the literature review, I discuss how urban poverty in East African cities is exacerbated by rapid urbanization, informal settlements, and inadequate governance, which lead to poor housing, limited services, and economic inequalities. I further elaborate that in these settings, displaced persons face greater hardships than longtime residents, including loss of assets, discrimination, the need to form new social networks, and higher rates of extreme poverty, all of which impair their ability to achieve self-reliance.

2.1 Navigating Displacement: Political, Self-Reliance, Migration, and Integration Frameworks for Displaced Persons

In the first section, I review global trends in displacement, highlighting that most displaced persons are primarily hosted in low-income countries. Displaced persons face three potential outcomes: voluntary repatriation, resettlement, or local integration, though repatriation and resettlement are rare. I note that despite many displaced persons moving to urban areas for better opportunities, policies often discourage urban migration, creating a mismatch between where aid is needed and delivered. Finally, I outline two theoretical frameworks of integration and self-reliance, with integration focusing on social and legal acceptance into society and self-reliance emphasizing economic independence, both aiming to enhance displaced persons' stability and well-being.

Displaced persons face three potential outcomes: voluntary repatriation, resettlement, or local integration, though repatriation and resettlement are rare. Despite many internally displaced persons (IDPs) moving to urban areas for better opportunities, policies often discourage urban migration, creating a mismatch between where aid is needed and delivered. Theoretical frameworks on integration and self-reliance are explored, with integration focusing on social and legal acceptance into society, and self-reliance emphasizing economic independence, both aiming to enhance displaced persons' stability and well-being.

2.1.1 Global Trends and International Migration

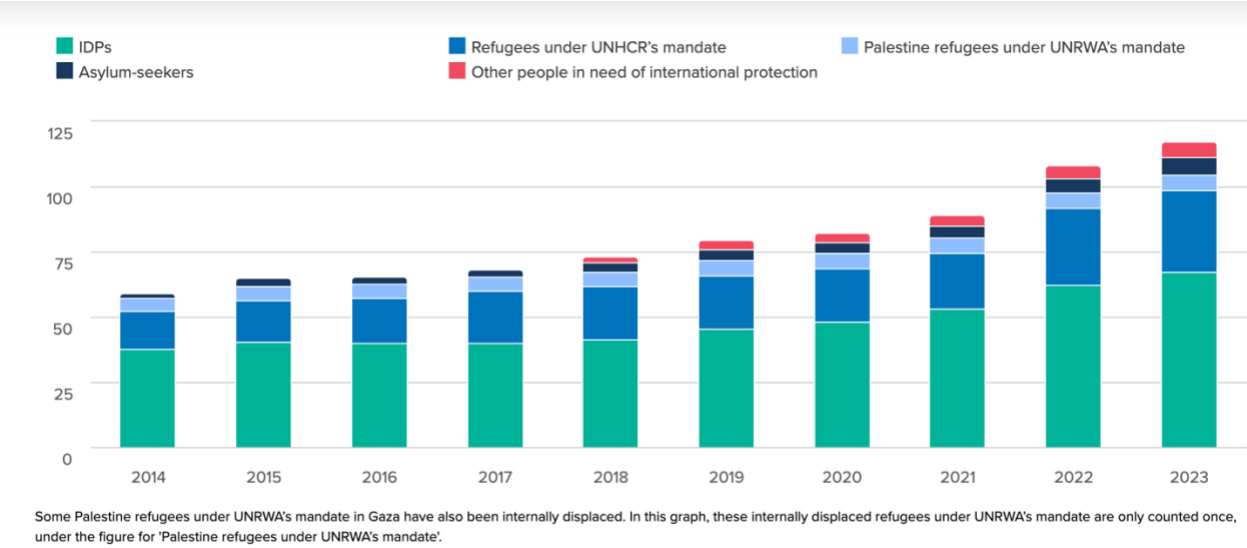


Figure 2-1: People forcibly displaced worldwide from 2014 to 2023 (UNHCR 2023a).

Over the past decade, the total number of displaced persons has more than doubled (see figure 2.1 above). In 2019, over two-thirds (68 percent) of all refugees came from five countries: Syria, Venezuela, Afghanistan, South Sudan, and Myanmar (UNHCR, 2020). Despite the international media's focus on refugees migrating to Europe, the majority of the world's refugees (85 percent) are hosted in developing countries. The top five refugee-hosting countries are Turkey (3.6 million), Colombia (1.8 million), Pakistan (1.4 million), Uganda (1.4 million), and Germany (1.1 million) (UNHCR, 2020). Similar to refugees, IDPs are overwhelmingly located in countries with lower levels of development where host populations also endure extreme poverty and hardship. For example, in 2023, the top three countries with the highest number of internally displaced people were Sudan, Syria, and DR Congo (UNHCR 2024a). For countries struggling to meet the needs of their own residents, addressing the needs of displaced populations is an additional challenge.

Displaced persons will likely experience one of three outcomes: voluntary repatriation, resettlement, or local integration. Voluntary repatriation involves returning individuals to their country of origin or home location when it is deemed safe. In 2019, only seven percent of all displaced persons were able to return to their homes (UNHCR, 2020). In 2023, ECHO estimated that refugees often remain displaced for 20 years and IDPs for over ten years (ECHO, 2023). Resettlement entails permanent relocation to another location or country that has agreed to host

them (e.g., UK, Germany, Australia, USA), although less than one percent of refugees experience this outcome. Local integration, the most complex and often overlooked option (Tuepker & Chi, 2009), results in full and equal citizenship or integration in the host location or country (UNHCR, 2020).

2.1.2 Political Framework of Displacement

State actors play central roles in determining the scale, destination, and length of displacement (World Bank, 2017). The policies of the sending government (in the case of refugees) significantly impact displacement numbers by addressing local conflict, security, development in hazard-prone areas, and human rights abuses. Both sending and receiving state actors (or internal politics) decide on possible durable solutions, such as peace negotiations, reconstruction permits, and supporting integration.

Host governments (domestic and international) are crucial in accepting displaced persons and deciding where humanitarian assistance should be located and what durable solutions are feasible, including pathways to citizenship and pro-integration policies. External actors and agencies like the United Nations (UNHCR, World Bank, World Health Organization, International Organization for Migration), international governments, and NGOs support the adaptation and implementation of responses to displaced persons (World Bank, 2017). While sending and receiving governments are central to policy decisions, the funding for implementation comes from international sources and technical support. For example, in 2019, UNHCR requested 8.7 billion USD for basic services for displaced persons but raised only 4.5 billion. Ninety percent of this funding came from the European Union and other governments, and eight percent from private donations (UNHCR, 2019).

Historically, refugee or IDP camps have been the primary method for housing displaced persons. Camps are an efficient and effective method to provide basic needs such as food, water, and shelter, and also accomplish political goals such as containment and control. For example, they are often located near national borders or in rural areas to avoid urban integration (Schmidt, 2002). This clustering is efficient for aid delivery and data collection but strategically limits urban settlement.

Current policies discourage displaced persons from relocating to urban areas for two main reasons. First, hosting cities (domestic or international) are overwhelmed with providing infrastructure and services to existing populations, and keeping displaced persons out of cities lessens this burden (Zetter & Deikun, 2010). Second, the humanitarian approach to service delivery is not designed for urban settings (Albuja & Ceballos, 2010; IDMC, 2013). Sub-Saharan African nations and the international donor community have policies and assumptions that disincentivize urban migration of displaced persons.

2.1.3 Displaced Persons' Migration to Urban Areas

While there is inadequate data on tracking displaced persons, it is widely accepted that most IDPs move to urban areas (IIED, 2021; Crawford et al., 2010), and many choose to stay in these cities indefinitely (Crisp, Morris, and Refstie, 2012). Cities offer opportunities for income generation and access to various services such as education, healthcare, transportation, urban markets, and broader networks often absent from rural settings. Forced migration has contributed to city growth, yet little attention has been given to this process (Crisp et al., 2012).

The traditional humanitarian and state approaches to addressing displacement have focused on rural development, not urban services, and infrastructure (Parnell & Pieterse, 2014; IIED, 2021). Existing humanitarian organizations primarily focus on helping displaced persons in rural 'camp' settings, even though most displaced persons choose to live in urban environments (Barratt & Ross, 2021; IIED, 2022). Therefore, there is a mismatch between where humanitarian aid is delivered and where it is needed.

UNHCR formally recognized urban displacement only in 2009. Darling (2017) identifies two drivers for this increased focus: political claims by city authorities and refugees, and the perception that cities offer safety and independence not found in camps (Crisp et al., 2012; Darling, 2017). The United Nations has been slow to adapt its service delivery models, as seen in the allocation of budgets. For example, in Kenya, displaced children in urban areas had lower school enrollment rates than those in camps, but UNHCR's 2009 education budget allocated only 40 thousand USD for urban areas, compared to 3.7 million for camps (Crisp et al., 2012).

Because urban displaced populations are hard to identify (World Bank, 2017), research is limited. Crawford et al., 2010). Profiling exercises in Somalia, Iraq, and Syria have highlighted the importance of understanding urban displacement to better inform broader service delivery (IDMC, 2019).

2.1.4 Theoretical Frameworks

Two theoretical frameworks have been important to this work. First, I provide an overview of Ager and Strang's (2008) theoretical framework for integration. Integration is a broader term that encompasses social, legal, economic, and cultural acceptance into a new society. Second, I provide an overview of Betts et al. (2020) Self Reliance Framework. Self-reliance in this context is individuals' ability to meet their basic needs with dignity by strengthening their livelihoods and reducing their reliance on external resources aid.

Integration

As displaced persons enter new locations with different governance, communities with different cultures, or cities with new environments, they are presented with a variety of challenges and opportunities. Immigration and migration studies have offered different theories for understanding

the social dynamics of ethnicity and multiculturalism. Integration theory has gained traction over the past decade and is part of all three durable solutions for displaced persons (voluntary repatriation, resettlement, and local integration). Integration is a key policy objective for nations and institutions working with displaced persons (UNHCR, 2019; Ager & Strang, 2008).

While there is no consistent definition of what constitutes (re)integration, I define reintegration as self-sufficiency. Reintegration challenges for refugees, IDPs, and returnees involve establishing new livelihoods, accessing basic services, and benefiting from the rule of law (UNHCR, 2008). Ager & Strang conceptualized an integration framework that provides us with an understanding of what displaced persons need to acquire to regain stability and well-being. The framework is not used to map all the complex factors influencing integration but rather to provide a conceptual structure for the key components of integration.

Ager & Strang suggest that there are ten core domains for understanding and structuring an analysis of integration (see Figure 2.2 below) "*the domains cover achievement and access across the sectors of employment, housing, education and health; assumptions and practice regarding citizenship and rights; processes of social connection within and between groups in the community; and barriers to such connection, particularly stemming from lack of linguistic and cultural competences and from fear and instability*" (Ager & Strang, 2008, pp. 184-185). According to UNHCR (for both IDPs and returnees), the current focus on urban displacement should be reflected in national development planning in countries of return. While Ager & Strang 2008 were principally concerned with refugee integration resettlement in new countries, their ten core domains for analysis provide useful insight for (re)integration in countries of origin as well.

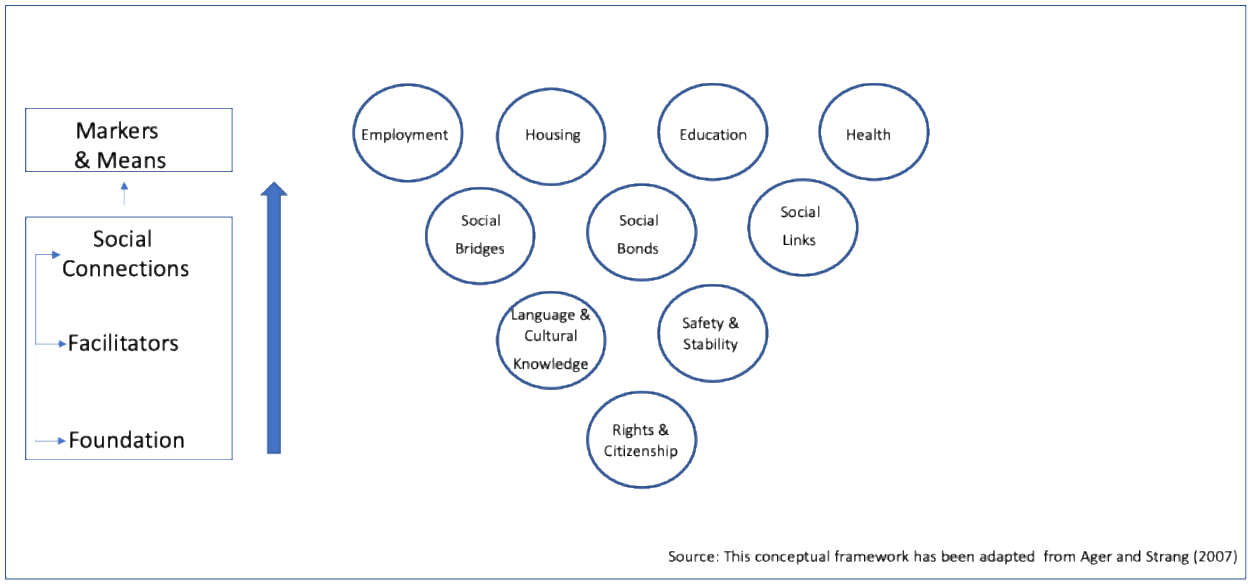


Figure 2-2: Conceptual Framework of Integrated Domains (Ager and Strang, 2007).

Figure 2.2 illustrates how the ten domains relate. Starting from the bottom of Figure 3, the foundation domain summarizes the displaced person's legal rights and citizenship opportunities in the host country (domestic or international). For example, the ability for the displaced person to freely travel and access services (e.g., police, fire departments, health care, education) creates a sense of safety and provides opportunities for interactions with host community members through which they can learn about their culture and languages. Also, the members within the host community begin to learn and feel safe amongst newly arrived displaced people. Over time, displaced persons build relationships and social networks amongst themselves (social bridges) with long-term host populations (social bonds) and with service providers such as government officials (social links). As these networks grow, if new displaced persons arrive, then they are able to leverage those networks to find employment, housing, and educational opportunities and navigate healthcare services (which are the 'markers and means' of integration). Successful integration across all ten domains provides an overall framework for the well-being of the new population and those hosting them. In this dissertation, I specifically examine well-being through integration and social capital concepts (social bridges, social bonds, social links) that influence employment and economic self-sufficiency.

Self Reliance

When considering the well-being of displaced persons, the United Nations and humanitarian agencies often use the term self-reliance[2]. UNHCR defines self-reliance as '*the social and economic ability of an individual, a household or a community to meet essential needs (including protection, food, water, shelter, personal safety, health, and education) in a sustainable manner and with dignity'* and as a program approach based on '*developing and strengthening livelihoods of persons of concern, and reducing their vulnerability and long-term reliance on humanitarian/external assistance* (UNHCR 2005, as cited in Betts et al., 2020). Betts et al. (2020) presented a framework identifying the necessary components for self-reliance based on the UNHCR handbook for self-reliance and research conducted with refugees in a refugee settlement in Kenya. The framework in Figure 1 highlights that self-reliance is not merely a list of socioeconomic outcomes but a process involving various enabling factors that affect people's ability to meet their needs independently over the long run.

The diagram outlines self-reliance outcomes concerning socio-economic welfare, which includes access to food, water, shelter, protection, health, education, and autonomy, meaning independence from aid.

The left-hand side of the diagram illustrates two categories of self-reliance inputs: self-reliance-enabling factors and aid, which this dissertation focuses on. Self-reliance-enabling factors shape

[2] It is important to note that this definition of self-reliance is from the lens of aid agencies and policymakers. Displaced persons do not necessarily define it in their various contexts (see Dalal, 2018; Hunter, 2009; Berke & Larsen, 2022). We address these concerns in the conclusion section of the paper.

people's ability to meet their needs autonomously. Bett's et al. (2020) draw these five enabling factors from UNHCR's Handbook for Self-reliance and categorized them into the environment (regulations, refugee-host interactions, physical environment, and natural resources), assets (human capital, physical capital, and identity), access to networks (remittances, informal credit, insurance, and nepotism), access to markets (labor markets, markets for goods and services, and banking), and access to public goods (health care, education, water, sanitation, roads, and security). These enabling factors contribute to socio-economic outcomes by facilitating the economic activities of individuals, households, and communities, including income-generating activities.

Aid has a mixed impact on self-reliance outcomes. While humanitarian aid addresses refugees' immediate needs, particularly in emergencies, development aid aims to strengthen enabling factors and foster socio-economic welfare in the medium to long term. Although aid can also reduce refugees' autonomy in the short run, it can enhance autonomy in the long run by improving self-reliance-enabling factors. The self-reliance framework also emphasizes that feedback loops exist between socio-economic outcomes and enabling factors, whereby individuals, households, and communities can invest in or contribute to strengthening enabling factors, thereby promoting sustainable development in the long run.

This dissertation focuses on all five enabling factors of self-reliance. However, unlike Bett's model, we did not include any feedback loops in the framework, as household survey data collection was only conducted once, which limited our ability to understand the feedback loops. Each factor is composed of sub-factors: the environment (both physical and regulatory) (Chapter 3), assets (human and physical capital) (aspects in Chapters 1, 2 & 3), access to markets (labor markets, goods, and services) (Chapter 2), access to networks (social capital and support systems), and access to public goods (healthcare, education, and security) (Chapters 1 & 3). This framework provides a valuable framework that links the themes and findings of the three chapters in this dissertation.

While integration and self-reliance frameworks are closely related and share commonalities in their objectives and some domains, they differ in their conceptual focus on social versus economic independence. Both frameworks aim to enhance the well-being and stability of displaced persons. Integration is "successfully achieved" through overall stability and well-being within the community, facilitated by effective social connections and participation in civic life. On the other hand, self-reliance is based on socio-economic welfare outcomes such as access to basic needs (food, water, shelter, health, education), economic autonomy, and no longer being dependent on aid or welfare. Integration focuses on stable and independent living through community involvement, while self-reliance emphasizes the ability to meet one's needs autonomously over the long term.

2.2 – Urban Poverty in African Cities and the Special Challenges of Displaced Persons

While both host and displaced persons seek better lives in urban settings, they are often confronted with barriers, such as poverty. I begin with an overview of the literature on well-being and poverty in relation to the Global South and summarize different ways of defining and measuring them (income, livelihoods, and capabilities). In the second subsection, I describe urban poverty in East African cities and its impacts on housing and employment opportunities. Finally, in the last subsection, I identify some of the challenges that displaced persons face in these urban environments.

2.2.1 Poverty and Vulnerability

A person that is poor is someone whose economic well-being is low or defined as the *"lack of one or more of those things that determine quality of life"* (Fox & Goodfellow, 2016, pp.100). While poverty is multidimensional, it is often conceptualized as one dimension of well-being, such as employment or income (Gamboaet al, 2020). Fox & Goodfellow, (2016) argue that constant vulnerability is perhaps the most important characteristic of the urban poor in developing countries. The authors identify the key characteristics of urban poverty and vulnerability as: *poor quality housing, insecurity of tenure (for both owners and tenants), lack of access to basic infrastructure and affordable services, susceptibility to disease and accidents, environmental hazards, social fragmentation, exposure to violence and crime (or fear of violence), increasing exposure to armed conflict and terrorist attacks, reliance on monetized economy, and reliance on employment in the informal economy* (Fox & Goodfellow, 2016, pp.113). Poverty and vulnerability are particularly pronounced in developing economies, with Sub-Saharan Africa being notably affected (Mba et al., 2021). Thus, understanding and addressing economic shocks and associated vulnerabilities is crucial for mitigating poverty and enhancing economic stability in these regions. According to Wisner et al. (2014), vulnerability is also influenced by factors such as class, occupation, caste, ethnicity, gender, disability, health status, age, immigration status, and social networks.

Displaced persons often encounter a range of severe needs and vulnerabilities, including the urgent need for shelter and food security, limited access to essential services, and heightened risks stemming from recent crises or shocks. The literature indicates that displaced persons face distinct and often greater challenges in urban poverty compared to longtime host residents. These challenges arise from the loss of material assets during displacement, experiences of discrimination and stigmatization, the necessity of building new social networks, and higher incidences of extreme poverty. Consequently, displaced individuals not only contend with the general hardships of urban poverty but also with additional, specific challenges that hinder their ability to achieve economic stability and social integration (Albuja & Ceballos, 2010; Monteith & Lwasa, 2017; World Bank, 2017).

2.2.2 Urbanization of African Cities

By 2030, over half of Africa's residents (818 million) will be living in urban settings, and the absolute number of urban residents in Africa will outnumber the number of urban residents living in cities in Europe, Australasia, and North and South America (Parnell & Pieterse, 2014). East Africa is expected to have 2.5 times more urban inhabitants in 2030 compared to 2007 data (UN-HABITAT, 2008, pp. 103). Therefore, the rapid rate of urban development makes proactive planning for services difficult. In lower-income countries such as those in East Africa, the challenge of rapidly providing city services is further complicated by the presence of informal settlements and weak urban governance structures.

2.2.3 Informal Settlements

Often in low and middle-income countries, many of the urban poor lack affordable housing options, live in informal settlements and participate in the informal economy. For example, the majority (67 percent) of East African urban populations live in informal settings (Murphy & Carmody, 2019; Sverdlik, 2011). The concept of informality is ambiguous and often carries a negative connotation, lacking a clear distinction from formal settlements (Payne, 2001, Fox, 2014). Informal settlements generally consist of unauthorized land divisions or squatter communities. While "informality" is typically linked with "slum" conditions, UN-Habitat differentiates between them. Slum housing is characterized by the absence of legal land use rights, construction with inadequate materials, and a lack of essential services and weather protection for low-income residents. Houses are often constructed of plastic tarps, iron sheets, mud, and scavenged wood. Additionally, these settlements are often characterized by exploitation. For example, informal markets for water services are exceptionally expensive when compared to formal state regulated water services (Fox & Goodfellow, 2016) However, not all informal housing is considered slum housing. In several cities such as Kampala, Nairobi, Juba, and Kigali, well-constructed middle-class homes exist without formal approvals, a phenomenon Roy (2014) describes as 'elite informality.'

Rapid urbanization and poorly managed growth in East African cities have significantly contributed to the rise of informal settlements. The shortage of affordable housing hampers economic growth widens inequalities and degrades the environment (Parnell & Pieterse, 2014; Murphy & Carmody, 2019). The water, sanitation, and hygiene infrastructure systems in East African cities are often overburdened. This leads to slum conditions where essential services are lacking. For instance, in Kampala, Uganda, only 40% of the city's waste is properly managed. The remaining 60% gets disposed of in unauthorized locations and often inadvertently affecting environmental and human health (Komakech et al., 2014). Glaeser highlights that financing these urban infrastructures and social services is "one of the greatest challenges facing the poorer cities of the world" (1990, p. 88).

UN-Habitat (2008) points out that land use regulations and housing policies contribute to the persistent growth of urban informal settlements in East Africa. Contributing factors include a limited supply of affordable urban land, unrealistic construction standards and regulations, and a private housing market targeting middle and high-income groups. While governmental intervention, regulation, and financial support are crucial to addressing the issues of informality and informal settlements, local authorities and governments often neglect these areas. When they do engage, efforts are frequently politicized and quickly abandoned after elections (UN-Habitat, 2008, p. 115).

2.2.4 Governance and Service Provision

East Africa's colonial history led to urban development that marginalized native populations (Fox, 2014). Even post-independence, high-ranking officials and business elites perpetuated exclusion through practices like land registration and building codes (Beall et al., 2003; Fox, 2014). These centralized modernist approaches, aimed at catching up with the West, did not prioritize pro-poor policies (Watson, 2009).

The legacy of exclusion continues, partly due to limited urbanization policies and ineffective decentralization (Smit & Pieterse, 2014). Over the past 40 years, there has been a shift towards decentralization, transferring some responsibilities from central governments to local authorities. This change aimed to improve urban governance by leveraging elected local governments to more effectively manage public services and engage residents (Resnick, 2021). By 2017, 75% of Sub-Saharan African countries had elected city leadership, up from half in 1990 (Resnick, 2021). However, Parnell and Pieterse (2010) note that the success of decentralization has been uneven, often incomplete (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007).

Financial constraints and political interference often hinder the implementation of urban plans and policies. For instance, Goodfellow (2012) found that the Kampala City Council's efforts to regulate development were frequently undermined by the central government. If regulatory rules are not enforced, local regulations will have minimal impact.

Due to limited financial resources, East African governments often rely on the private sector, which can lead to service delivery inequalities, especially in poor areas (Fox & Goodfellow, 2016). Private sector involvement in essential services like water can be cost-prohibitive for poorer residents. As O'Keefe, Lüthi, Tumwebaze, and Tobias (2015) argue, while private providers can assist with service delivery, overall strategies require government direction, regulation, and financial support.

2.2.5 Informal Economies

Informal economies are how capital accumulation is accomplished by the marginalized and it interplays across a vast network both within the city, region and global aspects (Simone, 2019). People are attracted to cities for potential employment and earnings, but because the state cannot be relied upon, informal economies develop. In Sub-Saharan Africa, 66 percent of the economy is informal economy, which contributes to poor residents' vulnerability (Fox & Goodfellow, 2016). The term "Popular economies" has begun to be used among scholars as it provides the aspect of organizing the production and accumulation of capital that "*enable them to participate in the larger circuits of the sociality and to elaborate the semblance a public infrastructure*" (Simone, 2019). While informal work or popular economies offer autonomy, flexibility, and mobility, informal work does not provide the social and legal protections of the formal sector (Fox & Goodfellow, 2016). It is important to note that the informal economy does not mean that the work is "illegal." Rather, informal work is not regulated by the state. For example, someone selling fruit on the side of the road (self-employed) or an unpaid family caregiver who supports family workers are both a part of the informal economy (Chen, 2016). The types of employment in the informal economy vary (Chen, 2016) but are often associated with self-employment. For example, informal self-employment includes many street vendors, beauticians, construction workers, rickshaw drivers, waste pickers, and domestic workers.

Banerjee & Duflo, (2012) suggest that while the informal economy is heavily entrepreneurial, most of the businesses are very small and generally provide little money. Thus, the prospects of making it out of poverty through the informal economy is limited. The World Bank found that 93 percent of informal business owners in Kampala, Uganda, fell below the IPL of $1.90/day. Urban poor do not see self-employment as something to aspire to as it is not associated with stability and a dependable monthly wage (e.g., in government) (Banerjee & Duflo, 2012).

Monteith & Lwasa (2017) studied Somali refugees, Congolese refugees, and internally displaced Acholi people in Kampala, Uganda. They found that religious institutions aided all groups in finding employment and housing and that displaced persons earned significantly less than poor Ugandan residents in comparable jobs. In general, displaced persons face additional challenges in urban poverty than longtime host residents because they have lost material assets during displacement, face discrimination and stigmatization, have to form new social networks, and have higher rates of extreme poverty (Albuja & Ceballos, 2010; World Bank, 2017).

2.3 Summary of Literature

In the first section of this literature review, I trace the global displacement trends, noting that the majority of displaced persons are hosted within low and middle-income countries. Displaced individuals typically face three outcomes: voluntary repatriation, resettlement, or local integration, each fraught with complexities and limited successes. State policies significantly impact displacement, while traditional refugee camps, often in rural areas, have efficiently provided basic

needs but hinder urban integration. Despite policies aimed at keeping displaced persons out of urban areas due to overwhelmed city infrastructures and service limitations, many still migrate to cities to access better income opportunities and services. This trend has created a mismatch between where aid is allocated and where it is needed. This brings me to ask, do displaced persons, compared to host residents living within the same urban areas, prioritize different city services and infrastructure (Chapter 3)?

Theoretical frameworks like Ager and Strang's (2007) integration and Betts et al. (2020) self-reliance stress the importance of socio-economic independence and stability for displaced persons, emphasizing the need for a comprehensive approach to aid and integration. This consideration leads me to ask: How do progressive policies, such as those in Uganda, that aim to integrate service provision and provide land for refugees, impact self-reliance in urbanizing settings (Chapter 5)?

In the second section of the literature review, I discuss how urban poverty in East African cities is exacerbated by rapid urbanization, informal settlements, and inadequate governance, which has led to poor housing, limited services, and economic inequalities. I further elaborate that in these settings, displaced persons face greater hardships than longtime residents, including loss of assets, discrimination, the need to form new social networks, and higher rates of extreme poverty, all of which impair their ability to achieve self-reliance. This leads me to ask, what are the income-generating barriers displaced persons face in urban settings, and are they different from those experienced by host residents (chapter 4)?

Chapter 3 : The Importance of City Services to Internally Displaced Persons, Returnees, and Host Residents in Juba, South Sudan

Abstract

Increasing numbers of people are displaced worldwide (108 million), and well over half of the displaced persons move to urban areas in lower-income countries. While some research has focused on how displaced persons fare in camps, little research focuses on displaced persons, returnees, and host residents living together in urban areas. This research uses a mixed-methods approach for data collection, including 60 randomly selected households in three residential areas (n=180) in Juba, South Sudan. Household surveys compared how displaced persons valued basic city services (water, latrine/wastewater, electricity, and security), transportation, and shared facilities (hospitals, schools, parks, and markets) relative to host residents and returnees. Using linear regression modeling, our research found that the perceived value of city services amongst hosts, IDPs, and returning refugees varied significantly when controlling for residential areas and household characteristics. However, many common patterns existed among the three groups. Host residents and IDPs rated *cheaper transportation* as their greatest need. All three groups highly rated the need for security, and IDPs and returnees highly rated the need for parks. When designing and implementing development projects, we recommend that humanitarian agencies collaborate with city officials to engage with existing IDP and returnee networks.

Keywords: Forcibly Displaced Persons, South Sudan, Cities, IDPs, Infrastructure

3.1 Introduction

The number of forcibly displaced persons, including internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees, is at a record high due to civil conflict, political unrest, and climate change-related disasters. Forcibly displaced persons include all people who have been forced to leave their homes due to conflict or natural disasters versus economic migrants who voluntarily move in search of better economic opportunities (World Bank, 2017). As the number of displaced persons increases, so does the length of their displacement. From 1990 to 2010, which included significant events of forcible displacement, such as the Bulacan war and the Rwandan genocide, the total number of displaced persons hovered around 40 million (UNHCR, 2020). By the end of 2022, this number had significantly increased to an estimated 108 million people worldwide who have been forcibly displaced from their homes (UNHCR, 2023a). This trend is forecasted to continue for two reasons: more people will be displaced due to catastrophic events (conflict

and climate-related disasters), and few durable solutions permit displaced persons to either return home or settle in place for the long term.

3.1.1 Displaced Persons in Urban Settings

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) differentiates among forcibly displaced persons as individuals who are 1) internally displaced, 2) seeking asylum, and 3) refugees. The largest category of displaced persons (58%) is composed of internally displaced persons (IDPs) (UNHCR, 2023a). An IDP is someone who has been forced to leave their home but remains within their country's legal borders.

Returnees also fall within UNHCR's mandate. Returnees are "*former refugees who have returned to their country of origin spontaneously or in an organized fashion but have not yet been entirely (re)integrated"* (UNHCR, 2023b). Voluntary repatriation is the term used to describe when people voluntarily return home based on their own evaluation. Voluntary repatriation is one of the most common modes for refugees to become returnees. While displaced persons can be exiled from their homes for years or decades, reintegration takes time.

While there is no consistent definition of what constitutes (re)integration, we define reintegration as self-sufficiency. The challenges of reintegration for both IDPs and returnees involve establishing new livelihoods, accessing basic services, and benefiting from the rule of law (UNHCR, 2008). While Ager & Strang 2008 were principally concerned with refugee integration resettlement in new countries, their ten core domains for analysis provide useful insight for reintegration in countries of origin. Ager & Strang suggest that "*the domains cover achievement and access across the sectors of employment, housing, education and health; assumptions and practice regarding citizenship and rights; processes of social connection within and between groups in the community; and barriers to such connection, particularly stemming from lack of linguistic and cultural competences and from fear and instability*" (Ager & Strang, 2008, pp. 184-185). According to UNHCR (for both IDPs and returnees), the current focus on urban displacement should be reflected in national development planning in countries of return. This paper will focus on internally displaced persons (IDPs) and returnees who are vulnerable due to their experiences of displacement and return (Majidi, 2011).

While there is inadequate data on tracking displaced persons, it is widely accepted that most IDPs move to urban areas (IIED, 2021; Crawford et al., 2010), and many choose to stay in these cities indefinitely (Crisp, Morris, and Refstie, 2012). In 2023, the European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (ECHO) estimated that refugees often remain displaced for 20 years and IDPs for over ten years (ECHO, 2023). Cities offer opportunities for income generation and access to various services such as education, healthcare, transportation, urban markets, and broader networks often absent from rural settings. As 76% of forcibly displaced persons reside in lower-income countries (UNHCR, 2023a), their arrival can offer development opportunities for rapidly urbanizing, under-resourced cities and governments. These opportunities include external inputs from various United Nations agencies, bilateral donors, and international NGOs. To take advantage of opportunities for mutual benefit (e.g., increased infrastructure, economic inputs, and social services needed to support displaced persons and

host residents) and to mitigate impacts (e.g., competition over natural resources and city services), we need to better understand better the needs of both existing host residents, displaced populations, and returnees.

The traditional humanitarian and state approaches to addressing displacement have focused on rural development, not urban services, and infrastructure (Parnell & Pieterse, 2014; IIED, 2021). Existing humanitarian organizations primarily focus on helping displaced persons in rural 'camp' settings, even though most displaced persons choose to live in urban environments (Barratt & Ross, 2021; IIED, 2022). Therefore, there is a mismatch between where humanitarian aid is delivered and where it is needed.

While urban planning and development scholars are paying greater attention to this topic (as indicated in 2021 special issues in the Journal of Urban Affairs focused on "Refugees in the City" (Rabrenovic & Bunar (2021)), little research in the Global South has focused on displaced populations within urban areas because displaced persons are hard to identify (World Bank, 2017). Little is known about how the urban displaced manage their lives and whether their voices are heard by city planners and policymakers (Crisp et al., 2012). A major conclusion of the 2019 report on Global Report on Internal Displacement called for *"more specific urban planning expertise and additional time and resources to generate more detailed results*" (IDMC, 2019, p. 90). Understanding the needs of displaced persons and whether their need for city services differs significantly from host residents will help prioritize future assistance programs.

3.2 Literature Review

Providing city services is challenging in the Global South. The following section highlights how rapid urbanization, informality, and weak urban governance undermine city services in many sub-Saharan African cities.

Much of the literature describing the benefits of living in cities focuses on economic growth and considers how proximity can increase economic productivity and efficient service delivery. Beginning with Jacobs' argument that cities were more relevant to a resident's well-being than the nation-state, many have argued that agglomeration economies are key to economic growth. In discussing cities and urbanization in lower-income countries, Fox and Goodfellow note, "*the benefits of agglomeration appear to outweigh the costs for most people-otherwise cities wouldn't exist at all. But getting the most from cities requires active government efforts to maximize the benefits of agglomeration and minimize the costs.*" (2016, 85). While the economic impacts of cities are important, in this research, we focus on the household and their perceived values for different public goods and social services.

In this literature review, understanding that most forcibly displaced persons move to urban areas (IIED, 2021), we explore the topics of rapid urbanization in sub-Saharan Africa, highlighting issues such as informal settlements and urban governance. The last section discusses Betts et al.'s (2020) framework linking enabling factors, such as city services, to refugee self-reliance.

3.2.1 Rapid Urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa

Parnell and Pieterse (2014) state that Africa is undergoing an "urban revolution." By 2030, over half of Africa's residents (818 million) will be living in urban settings, and the absolute number of urban residents in Africa will outnumber the number of urban residents living in cities in Europe, Australasia, and North and South America (Parnell & Pieterse, 2014). East Africa is expected to have 2.5 times more urban inhabitants in 2030 compared to 2007 data (UN-HABITAT, 2008, pp. 103). Therefore, the rapid rate of urban development makes proactive planning for services difficult. In lower-income countries such as those in East Africa, the challenge of rapidly providing city services is further complicated by the presence of informal settlements and weak urban governance structures.

3.2.2 Informal Settlements

The definition of informality remains elusive and is associated with a generally negative connotation, with no clear distinction between informal and formal settlements (Payne, 2001). Informal settlements typically refer to unauthorized divisions of land or squatter communities. Although informality usually suggests 'slum' conditions, UN-Habitat distinguishes 'informal' from 'slum' housing, with the latter lacking legal land use, built with inadequate materials, and devoid of essential services and weather protection for its low-income occupants. Not all informal housing qualifies as slum housing. Well-constructed middle-class houses also exist without formal approvals in cities like Kampala, Nairobi, Juba, and Kigali, a concept Roy (2014) terms 'elite informality.'

Rapid urbanization and poorly managed urban growth in East African cities have contributed to informal settlements. The lack of affordable housing holds back economic growth, raises inequalities, and leads to environmental degradation (Parnell & Pieterse, 2014; Murphy & Carmody, 2019). Water, sanitation, and hygiene infrastructure in East African cities have generally been stretched beyond capacity and created slum conditions where essential services are unavailable. For example, in Kampala, Uganda, only 40% of the city's waste is correctly disposed of, while the other 60% is dumped into unauthorized sites, negatively contributing to environmental and human health (Komakech, Bandadda, Kinobe et al., 2014). According to Glaeser, financing these services is "*one of the greatest challenges facing the poorer cities of the world*" (1990, p. 88).

According to UN-Habitat (2008), land use regulations and housing policies help explain the continued growth of urban informal settlements in East Africa: limited supply of affordable urban land, unrealistic construction standards and regulations, and private sector housing aimed at middle and high-income housing. While government involvement, regulation, and financial support are important in addressing the challenges of informality and informal settlements, local authorities and governments rarely address informal settlements. When they do, they are often politicized and forgotten as soon as the ballot count is complete (UN-Habitat, 2008, p. 115).

3.2.3 The Contribution of Urban Governance to the Formation and Maintenance of Informal Settlements

East Africa's colonial past created urban development processes that excluded native populations (Fox, 2014). During the transition to independence, high-ranking government officials and business elites continued these practices of systemized exclusion, such as land registration and building codes (Beall et al., 2003; Fox, 2014) for power and profit. The highly centralized modernist approaches adapted after colonial rule were associated with catching up with the West (Watson, 2009) and did not focus on pro-poor policy agendas.

Building on the historical legacy of exclusion and inequality, Smit & Pieterse (2014) suggest that the lack of capacity of African states to address urbanization is due to two institutional challenges: limited urbanization policies and ineffective decentralization (Smit & Pieterse, 2014, pp. 149). Over the last 40 years, the shift toward decentralization has been one of the most important changes relative to the planning, operation, and management of cities in Sub-Saharan African countries (Resnick, 2021). Decentralization has been an effort to improve urban governance by transferring a selection of responsibilities from the central government to sub-national and city authorities. This change was made in the belief that elected local governments are more suited to effectively plan and manage public service provision, address context-specific problems, and engage residents in decision-making efforts. In 1990, approximately one-half of Sub-Saharan African countries had elected city leadership, and by 2017, this had increased to 75% (Resnick, 2021). Parnell and Pieterse (2010) have characterized this shift as rescaling development from the state to the city level. However, the success of decentralization has varied across African countries, partly because decentralization processes have only been partial (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007).

When cities have created plans and policies to guide development and city service provision, their realization is difficult due to financial limitations or political interference. For example, Goodfellow (2012) found that the efforts of the Kampala City Council to control development and land use were routinely undermined by the central government. If citizens and developers do not expect regulatory rules to be followed, these local regulations and requirements will have little effect.

Limited financial resources and capacity have encouraged East African governments to rely on the private sector. However, serving poor areas is often not profitable, creating inequality in service delivery if left unregulated. The informal markets for water services are extremely expensive compared to private state contracts for water, which dramatically impacts poorer residents in East African cities (Fox & Goodfellow, 2016). "*Private providers can help to deliver sanitation services, but they cannot develop the overall strategy of provision, which needs government direction, regulation, and financial support*" (O'Keefe, Lüthi, Tumwebaze, Tobias, 2015, pp.436).

3.2.4 The Importance of City Services to Self-Reliance

Self-reliance is identified as the desired state for IDPs; city services can help support the achievement of self-reliance. Betts et al. (2020) presented a framework identifying the necessary components for self-reliance based on research conducted with refugees in Uganda

(Figure 3.1). The framework highlights that self-reliance is not merely a list of socio-economic outcomes but a process involving various enabling factors that affect people's ability to meet their needs independently over the long run. This paper focuses on the enabling factor, Access to Public Goods. However, we note that the enabling factor, the Environment, also considers the physical environment and relates to city services.

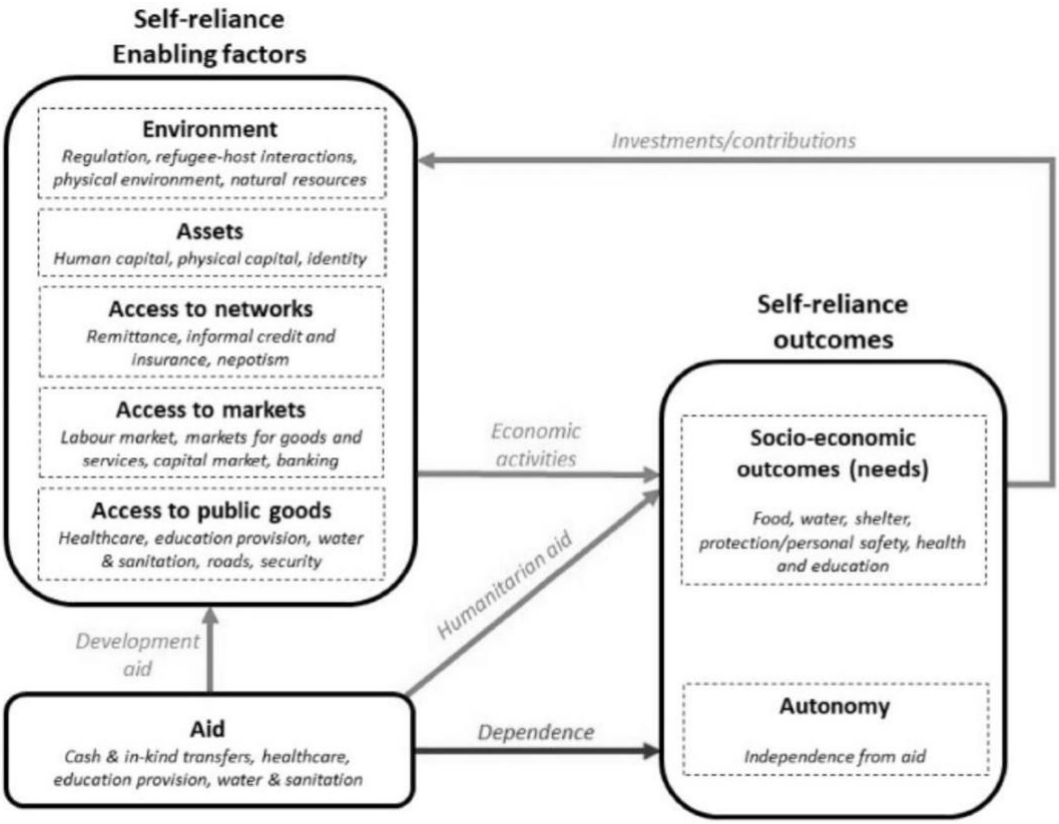


Figure 3-1: Betts et al. (2020) Conceptual Framework for Understanding Self-reliance in Relation to Refugees

Throughout this paper, we refer to these public goods and infrastructure as "city services." We have subdivided city services into three categories:

1. *Basic services* - including water, sanitation systems, electricity, and security. These services are vital to all residents' health and well-being.
2. *Transportation* – includes transportation options, costs, roads, and sidewalks. These services are important to residents because travel throughout the city enables them to seek income-generating opportunities and establish various socioeconomic networks.
3. *Shared facilities* include hospitals, markets, schools, and parks. All residents can enjoy these institutions and collective spaces, which directly impact the quality of life.

3.3 Research Question

While some research has explored how refugees meet their needs in traditional, rural encampments and integrated settlement approaches (Alix-Garcia et al., 2018; Berke & Larsen,

2022; Bilgili et al., 2019; Taylor et al., 2016), little research has been done on how displaced persons fare in cities (Betts et al., 2019; Majidi, 2011). Furthermore, there is even less information on what type of city services displaced persons use and value and if there are different preferences among different groups of displaced persons. It is vital for effective urban policies and urban planning to understand community dynamics and various stakeholders (hosts, IDPs, and returnees). By gaining more insight into different needs and perspectives, urban planners and policymakers can ensure that their initiatives are well-tailored to address the unique challenges and opportunities within the urban environment.

Our research question is, "*Do host residents, IDPs, and returnees value specific basic services, transportation, and shared facilities differently*"?

3.4. Research Design

We carried out case studies in Juba, South Sudan, using mixed methods, including a household survey, interviews, and participatory observation.

3.4.1 South Sudan Selection

We used three criteria to select a focus country. The first was a large population of displaced persons. The second was that the nation-state should be low or middle-income, as these countries host 76 percent of displaced persons (UNHCR, 2023a). Lastly, the nation's policies should be based on 'self-reliance,' in which displaced persons have the right to work and freedom of movement. The United Nations encourages these policy approaches, which are more commonly adopted by hosting nations (UNHCR, 2006; UN News, 2019).

We selected South Sudan as a study site because it fits all three criteria. First, displacement in South Sudan is multi-faceted due to violent conflict and natural disasters. Roughly two million displaced persons within its borders (2.3 million IDPs and 350,000 refugees) are due to civil conflict that erupted in 2013 and 2016 (UNHCR 2023c), and a flood in October 2021 displaced an additional 500,000 residents (International Cris Group 2022). Secondly, South Sudan was ranked 191 out of 193 on the Human Development Index (HDI), with a score of .38 (UNDP, 2022). The HDI index not only measures economics but also considers other aspects of human well-being. HDI broadly measures human development through an index of education, life expectancy, and per capita income (WHO, 2023), with scores varying from 0 to 1. South Sudan's low HDI score suggests that hosting populations endure extreme poverty, and city governance and infrastructure are ill-prepared to meet the needs of an influx of new residents. Thirdly, South Sudan's displacement policies are based on 'self-reliance,' which means displaced persons have the right to work and freedom of movement (UN News, 2019).

3.4.2 Metropolitan Juba City Selection

Within South Sudan, we selected metropolitan Juba, encompassing the capital city, because it has experienced rapid growth over the past decade (UN-Habitat, 2021). This rapid growth is comparable to many other urban cities in Sub-Saharan Africa. Second, Juba has a large, displaced population. In 2023, Juba's population was estimated at 459,000 (UN DESA, 2023),

with 134,647[3] (IOM, 2023) displaced persons (29%). Third, in many cities hosting displaced persons, a significant humanitarian presence often influences the local provision of services. In Juba, there are numerous humanitarian offices, including a United Nations Mission, in Juba, South Sudan (UNMISS).

3.4.3 Residential Area Selection

A Payam in South Sudan is the administrative subdivision of counties. In the greater metropolitan area of Juba, there are six Payams (Figure 3.1). To determine the population of displaced persons, we used the Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) (International Organization for Migration (IOM)) as well as interviews with NGO staff, chiefs, and government officials. First, we used the DTM data set to create a sample frame of the six metropolitan Payams of Juba (Juba, Kator, Munuki, Northern Bari/Luri, Gondokoro, and Rajaf). Within the six Payams, the DTM data set listed 29 "residential areas" hosting displaced persons. While recognizing the variety of issues in identifying a "residential area" (e.g., administrative boundaries vs. perceived residential area) (Montgomery and Hewett, 2005), the first author later defined residential area boundaries with the assistance of the area chiefs through a mapping exercise (see the methods section).

This research question required identifying "integrated residential areas" and not camps. We define an "integrated residential area" as the location where displaced persons live amongst longer-term host residents (rather than in a camp setting). Thus, out of the 29 residential areas listed by DTM, we eliminated all IDP camps, which brought the sample frame to 24 residential areas. Starting with the largest number of IDPs populated residential areas, the first author visited the integrated residential areas throughout Juba and interviewed local key informants (chiefs, NGO staff, and residents) and reviewed secondary documents such as NGO needs assessments to narrow our site selection[4]. Based on this information, we selected three residential areas to collect data after gaining permission from the Payam administrators and local chiefs.[5][6] Below are the characteristics of our three integrated residential areas.

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[3] The displacement figures were calculated by summing the six Payam that consist of Metropolitan Juba (as seen in Figure 4) using DTM's South Sudan Baseline Round 14 assessment.

[4] Due to some security constraints in South Sudan to collect data such as household surveys, the first author spent nearly two months getting permission from the National Bureau of Statistics Director, The Juba County Commissioner, The Episcopal University, National Security, Two Payam administrators, and chiefs in each location.

[5] In two locations (Lemongaba and Hia Vetery) the chiefs could not be located to gain permission to collect data, thus they were not included in the research. However, the three sites selected were estimated among the top five highest number of IDP population of integrated residential areas.

[6] Don Bosco was listed as an IDP camp location however, when conducting a site assessment, Don Bosco residents, two chiefs, and a national NGO staff indicated that many IDPs were living outside of the camp and integrated into the wider community (not formally registered with UNHCR or living within the camp). However, this was not listed on the IOM DTM's data matrix (it was later found that there was a large population of displaced persons). Additionally, Don Bosco is located near the city center but on the other side of the White Nile River, which is located close to infrastructure but provides some variation on location (on the East Side of Juba with the other two on the West side). Based on the interviews, site observation and variation of the neighborhood location, Don Bosco/Gumbo was selected as an integrated neighborhood for observation.

Table 3-1: Integrated Neighborhoods of Observation

State	County	Payam	Residential Area Name	DTM Estimated # of IDP Individuals
Central Equatoria	Juba	Rejaf	Gumbo[7]	3,948
		Northern Bari	Gurei	1,950
		Northern Bari	Joppa	1,674

The section below provides information on the three residential areas (Gurei, Joppa, and Gumbo), including history, population, distance to the central business center, land value, and some public service facilities.

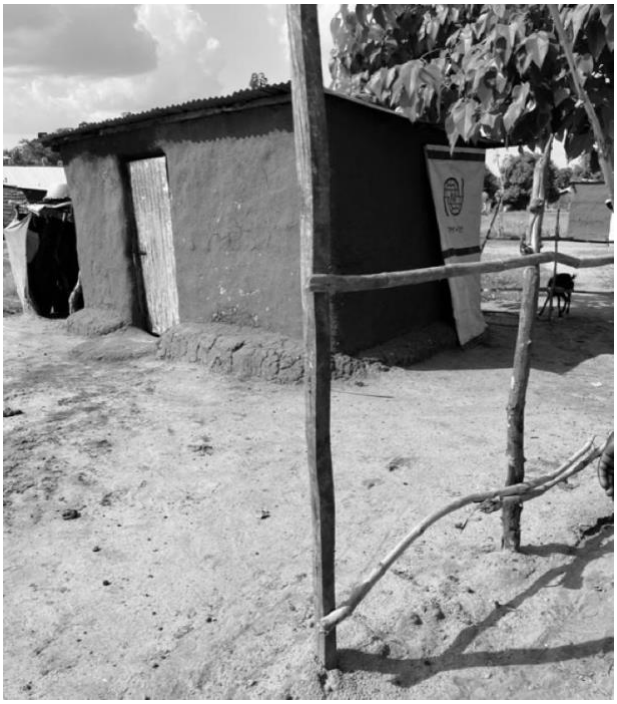
[7] Gumbo/Don Bosco was listed as an IDP camp location however, when conducting a site assessment, Gumbo residents, two chiefs, and a national NGO staff indicated that many IDPs were living outside of the camp and integrated into the wider community (not formally registered with UNHCR or living within the camp). However, this was not listed on the IOM DTM's data matrix (it was later found that there was a large population of displaced persons). Additionally, Gumbo is located near the city center but on the other side of the White Nile River, which is located close to infrastructure but provides some variation on location (on the East Side of Juba with the other two on the West side). Based on the interviews, site observation, and variation of the residential area location, Gumbo was selected as an integrated residential area for observation.

Table 3-2: Description of Three Residential Areas in Juba, South Sudan

	History	**Approximate Population**	**Location and Distance from Central Business Center**	**Approximate Land Value (20m x 20m)**	**Public Services**
Gurei	Gurei was a wooded area on the outskirts of Juba but has grown since its independence in 2011. "Gurei" in Bari means "*a place where one stands and can view other places.*" - Chief	5,800 households (approximately) 48,000 people)	Gurei is located northwest of the Juba city administrative boundary off one of the main A43 roads (Gudele Road) that connects the capital to western and northwestern States. It is roughly 25 kilometers from Juba city center.	11-15 million SSP (approximately 20,000 – 27,000 USD). In 2009, Gurei was demarcated and divided into three blocks.	1 Primary Health Care Centre, supported by one of the larger buildings in the residential area, providing services for surrounding communities. Zero functioning community wells, 2 private schools, and several churches.
Joppa	*"This land used to be Bari and a small village called Joppa Parang... After Juba became the capital (2005), the area hosted many others, and now you can find most of the 64 tribes here."* - Assistant Chief	10,365 households (approximately 89,000 people)	Joppa is located northwest of the Juba city administrative boundary off one of the main roads, A43. It is roughly 20 kilometers from the city center.	10-13 million SSP (approximately 20,000 – 26,000 USD). Ten of the eleven blocks were demarcated in 2012 and 2013.	1 government and 5 private schools. 7 churches, 1 mosque, and 5 small private health clinics
Gumbo	*"Historically Bari land. In 1983, people fled here from the war in Juba City. Gumbo was still mostly forest. Some international agencies (CAT) built a large displacement camp here. This was a camp where people were given food. It was named after women (Gumba) who used to live here."* – Assistant chief.	3,000-3,500 households (approximately 25,500 people)	Gumbo is located east of Juba city administrative boundary on the east bank of the White Nile River. It is roughly 5 kilometers.	6 million SSP (approximately 11,000 USD). Demarcation took place, but official maps of the demarcation have not been shared	1 school, 1 vocational training center, 2 community wells, 3 churches, 2 mosques. 1 public health center supported by INGOs and 4 private small health clinics

All categories were based on interviews with the area chiefs and site observation conducted in June 2022.

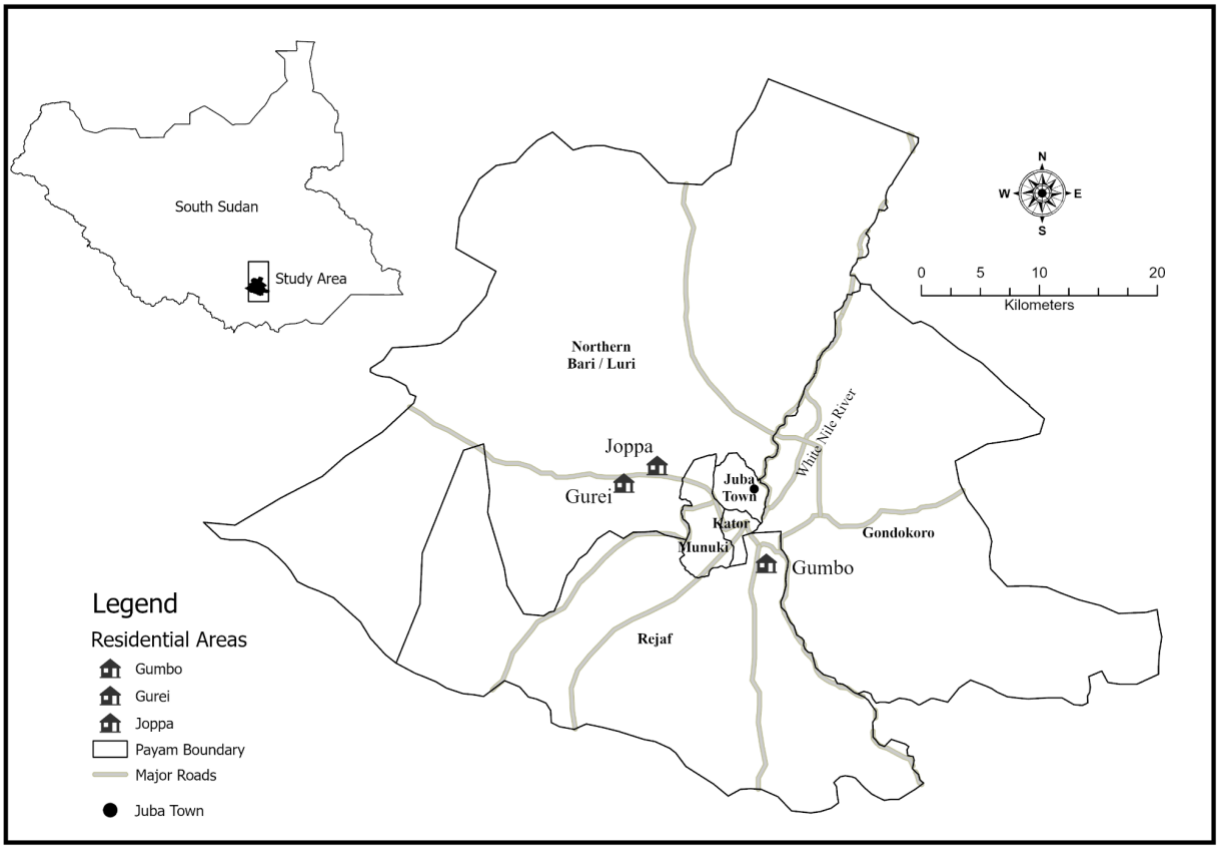
While the research design aimed to select residential areas with high numbers of displaced persons integrated with host residents, there were several differences among the residential areas. In general, some differences included population size (e.g., Gumbo had 25,000 residents while Joppa had 89,000), approximate land value (11,000 - 27,000 USD), distance from the central business district (ranged from 5 to 25 kilometers), and access to basic services such as water and latrine type.



Photograph 3-1: Small Household in Gumbo Residential Area



Photograph 3-2: Small Household in Joppa Residential Area



Photograph 3-3: Map of Metropolitan Juba and the Study Residential Area Locations

3.5 Methods

To conduct the survey, we employed five enumerators. To prepare the enumerators, we conducted a three-day training. The enumerators all spoke Arabic (Juba) and English (among other languages). During the training, key terms were standardized (in Juba Arabic) and verbally translated. Training topics included ethics (e.g., informed consent and confidentiality), interviewing techniques, household and respondent selection, safety, and a review of survey questions and response options. As respondents' literacy was mixed, the enumerators conducted the interviews face-to-face, and the enumerators entered the household responses into ODK software via cellular smartphones.

When designing the survey tool, we used survey questions adapted from various secondary sources used in the Global South (e.g., Parks et al., 2014; World Bank, 2003; IDMC, 2019; Evans, 2007; Gamboa et al., 2020; Monteith & Lwasa, 2017; FLARE, 2022). We conducted two pilot tests of the survey tool. First, the survey tool was piloted among the five enumerators during the three-day training and later piloted with eight household respondents. Based on comments from the pilot tests, we adjusted the survey to clarify confusing terms and add response options.

The final household survey had 110 questions and took approximately 40 minutes to administer. The categories of questions included household demographics, assets, income, access to existing city services, and the perceived value of city services.

We randomly selected 60 households in Gurei, Joppa, and Gumbo for a total of 180 households[8]. We asked area chiefs to draw their boundaries on a map because formal administrative boundaries do not exist in Juba's residential areas. Then, we created a grid pattern and numbered the horizontal and vertical lines. We selected 60 households in each residential area using a random number generator. If an identified location was empty or was a commercial building, we instructed enumerators to choose the nearest household randomly (through the assistance of a mobile phone app).

3.5.1 Analytic Framework

To analyze whether host residents, IDPs, and returnees value specific basic services, transportation, and shared facilities differently, we first consider whether there is a difference among respondents by location using ANOVAs. Then, to further understand the differences, we consider various household characteristics of the responses to further examine differences using OLS regression.

After conducting the survey, we summarized the findings by residential area. The first author returned to Juba to share our preliminary findings with six local chiefs, 3 NGO staff members, and ten residents and ask for their help interpreting the responses. Quotations from these interviews are included in the results section.

3.6 Results

3.6.1 Household Demographics and Access to Utilities

A total of 175 households in Gurei (59), Joppa (59), and Gumbo (57) responded to the demographic questions. Table 3.3 describes the key demographic characteristics by type of respondent and residential area.

[8] Though the population varied from one residential area to another, we selected 60 households in each location for comparative purposes. Given our budget constraints, we conducted the highest number of household surveys possible.

Table 3-3: Demographics for Host, IDP, and Returnee Households by Location

	Total			**Gurie**			**Joppa**			**Gumbo**		
	Host	IDP	Returnee	Host	IDP	Returnee	Host	IDP	Returnee	Host	IDP	Returnee
Number of observations	**94**	**52**	**29**	28	21	10	32	18	9	34	13	10
Number of people per HH	**8.0**	**8.4**	**10.6**	8.1	8.2	9.2	8.5	9.1	15.1	7.5	7.9	7.8
People working in the HH	**1.3**	**1.3**	**1.5**	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.3	1.3	2.1	1.2	1	0.9
Male Headed Households	**52%**	**71%**	**59%**	50%	71%	70%	53%	67%	56%	53%	77%	44%
Household Head Age	**41.0**	**45.0**	**44.0**	46.3	46.4	48	37.2	45.9	39	40	41.8	44.4
Average HH Monthly Income (SSP*)	**40,287 ($77)**	**31,300 ($60)**	**33,414 ($64)**	29,629 ($57)	14,917 ($29)	40,111 ($77)	58,235 ($112)	42,200 ($81)	32,344 ($62)	31,118 ($60)	42,250 ($81)	28,350 ($55)
Days without food in the past 30 days	**8.0**	**6.6**	**5.4**	5.3	6.3	6	6.9	4.6	7.6	11.5	9.6	2.8
Percent that family owns the household	**80%**	**46%**	**45%**	82%	48%	20%	82%	53%	33%	75%	33%	80%
Rent Cost (if renting) (SSP*)	**22,972 ($44)**	**18,115 ($35)**	**16,187 ($31)**	30,400 ($58)	20,272 ($39)	18,000 ($35)	29,100 ($56)	15,429 ($30)	15,000 ($29)	14,500 ($28)	17,500 ($34)	12,500 ($24)
HH Head Education Attainment												
Preschool	**32%**	**39%**	**35%**	32%	38%	0%	24%	33%	22%	38%	46%	80%
Primary	**31%**	**19%**	**24%**	29%	19%	40%	34%	17%	22%	30%	23%	10%
Secondary	**23%**	**23%**	**34%**	18%	19%	50%	24%	33%	56%	26%	15%	0%
Tertiary/University	**14%**	**19%**	**7%**	21%	24%	10%	18%	17%	0%	6%	16%	10%

** Data was collected in June/July 2022 when the South Sudan Pound was valued at 520 to every one USD. Due to inflation this has more than doubled since the data collection to the end of 2023.*

The household size ranged from a high of 40 to a low of 2. The average household had 9 residents. The number of people working in the household ranged from 0 to 6 but averaged just over one person. On average, returnees had slightly larger households (10.6) host, IDPs, and returnee households relied on one to two individuals for income generation. IDPs had a notably higher percentage of male-headed households (71%) relative to host and returnee heads of households (52% and 59%). The average household income was highest for hosts (77 USD), followed by returnees (64 USD), and then IDPs (60 USD). These differences could be attributed to more opportunities for host residents to have steady employment, while returnees and IDPs are more likely to rely on wage labor.

Not surprisingly, host households were more likely to live in a home that was either owned by a relative or a household member (80%) than either IDPs (46%) or returnees (45%). All groups have relatively high ownership due to the country's recent independence (July 2011) and subsequent land surveying. The subdivision of land made it easier for residents already living on the land to gain ownership documentation. Host, IDP, and returnee households all indicated that within the past month, they experienced multiple days without food (5.4 to 8 days)**.** It is interesting to note that the education level of household heads among IDPs ranges across the spectrum from the least educated to the most educated.

3.6.2 Household Responses to Access to Utilities by Residential Area

From our survey, we found access to water varied by residential area. For Gurei, 90% of households paid for water to be transported to their home, while 10% used public wells. For Joppa, 48% purchased water, and 47% accessed water from public wells. For Gumbo, 10% of households paid for water to be transported to their home, while 90% had access to public wells. In Gurei (83%) and Joppa (77%) the majority of households had private pit latrines, while in Gumbo, this was notably less with 38%. Overall, all locations had relatively low access to electricity (22% to 32%). Table 3.4 summarizes the differences in toilet type, water source, and electricity by residential area.

Table 3-4: Access to Utilities by Residential Area

	Toilet Type	Water Source	Access to Electricity
Gurei	83% had a private pit latrine, 25% shared latrine, 2% open defecated	90% had to purchase water, 10 public wells	25% of HHs indicated access to electricity
Joppa	77% had a private pit latrine, 15% shared latrine, 8% open defecation	48% purchase water and 47% had access to public wells	32% of HHs indicated access to electricity
Gumbo	38% had a private pit latrine, 40% had shared latrines, and 22% open defecated.	10% purchase water, 90% had access to public wells	22% of HHs indicated access to electricity



Photograph 3-4: Shared Pit Latrine in Gumbo Residential Area



Photograph 3-5: Primary Health Care Center in Gumbo Residential Area



Photograph 3-6: Young Boda Boda (private motor taxi) drivers waiting for customers at their station in Gumbo Residential Area



Photograph 3-7: Community Water Collection Point in Joppa Residential Area

3.6.3 Results of Household Responses to "What city services would help your life the most?"

We used an analysis of variance (ANOVA) to examine whether respondents' value ratings varied significantly by residential area and/or status (host, IDP, returnee). As noted above, while the residential areas were selected to be comparable - variations in some city services existed. This analysis confirmed that ratings of city services varied significantly *by status* but *not by residential area* (see Table 3.5), and there were no significant interaction effects. This suggests that only status affected residents' responses to basic services, transportation, and shared facilities.

Table 3-5: P-Values for Three ANOVA Tests of the Relationship between Status (Host, IDP, and Returnee) and Residential Areas for the value of 1) Basic Services, 2) Transportation, and 3) Shared Facilities

	Status	Residential Area	Interaction Effect
Basic Services (N=175)	**0.00	0.60	0.46

Transportation (N=175)	**0.00	0.52	0.94
Shared Facilities (N=170)	**0.00	0.66	0.82

**p<.001

Table 3.6 shows the means (0 to 5, with 5 being the highest value) for each city service by status. The difference between groups, with hosts having higher scores relative to IDPs and returnees, was consistently expressed across all city services, and we discuss this pattern in the conclusion.

Security was rated as the most important "basic service" (compared to access to clean water, latrines/sewers, and electricity) for hosts, IDPs, and returnees. Host residents rated security as 4.68, while IDPS rated security as 3.94. Returnees gave security the highest score of not just basic services but all the 12 city services, 3.97. One Gumbo resident stated, *"The area is very large, and the police are far - if they come, they cannot find the criminals because it takes so long to arrive because the roads are so bad… Building another police station within the area would be helpful."*

The second most important "basic service" for hosts and IDPs was access to clean water, while electricity was the second highest returnee score. When asked about access to clean water, a Gurei Chief stated, "*We have a water crisis. They [the water tankers] have now raised the price of water to 1,300 SSP per barrel [from 800 SSP]. We had two community wells built by the Red Cross, but they are no longer functioning"*. Both host residents and IDPs consistently seconded this, but it was the least important basic service for returnees.

The second group of city services focused on "transportation" issues. Cheaper transportation received the highest scores of all 12 city services for hosts and IDPs, with average scores of 4.76 and 4.33, respectively. Returnees had slightly lower values for the importance of cheaper transportation relative to the other groups. IDPs ranked 'more transportation options' as their second highest transportation-related priority.

Across all 12 measures, cheaper transportation was ranked as the service with the greatest impact on the quality of life for both host and IDP households. Follow-up interviews and participatory observation confirmed this finding. One woman from Gurei adamantly said, "*The transport price is too much."* Another woman elaborated by saying, "*The price of transport to Don Bosco [the main market] to buy things and come back here to sell them in the market here is a big problem*. To determine the cost of such a trip, the first author traveled from Gurei to the main market and back. The trip costs roughly 5 USD, which is approximately 14% of the monthly income (69 USD) for the average host household. Most of the market vendors in the Guirei market are women who buy wholesale fruits and vegetables from the Don Boso market and must take this trip several times a month.

Another transportation challenge was the quality of the roads (as noted in the security quotation). Better roads were ranked as the second most important "transportation" issue by both the host residents and IDPs. One Chief noted that *"We are located near a main road, but the roads in the neighborhoods are bad during the rainy season. We have lobbied with the government to either tarmac or put mharam [gravel] down, but they have not gotten to them yet. As a community, we*

have had various meetings about hiring a tractor and fixing them ourselves, but it was too expensive" (one tractor is 100-130 USD an hour, and to fix two roads would require 8-9 hours).

For shared facilities, including hospitals, access to better markets, schools, and parks, host residents ranked better markets as having the highest value. Hosts prioritize better markets because they are more likely to generate income by working for or being vendors in the market. Better markets and market access (as noted earlier about cheaper transportation) could increase income generation. At the same time, IDPs and returnees rely on casual labor more often for income generation. Interestingly, hospitals were the least valued shared facility for IDPs and returnees.

IDPs and returnees rated parks as their highest priority within shared facilities. Host residents' greatest priority was for better markets, while IDPs and returnees gave parks their highest rankings in this category. We suspect that IDPs rank parks highly because they generally come from rural areas and are accustomed to more open areas. For returnees, many had lived in camp settings while displaced. These camp settings, specific to Northern Uganda's settlement approach, generally included open spaces for farming and other open spaces for cultural and recreational activities, and many now missed these facilities. In Joppa, host residents and returnees lamented the loss of a popular open space where football games and weddings took place. A military general recently purchased the area, and now soldiers guard the area, and a cement fence has been constructed. While several chiefs had stated that schools were the number one priority, this was not reflected in our findings.

In sum, across all 12 measures of city services, cheaper transportation was ranked as the service with the greatest impact on the quality of life for both host and IDP households, and security was ranked the highest for returnee households.

Table 3-6: Household Responses: Mean Values (0-5) of Basic Services, Transportation, and Shared Facilities by Status [9]

Basic Services (Means)	Host	IDP	Returnee
Clean Water	4.48	3.79	2.72
Latrines/Sewer	4.35	3.42	2.86
Electricity	4.38	3.50	3.38
Security	**4.68**	**3.94**	**3.97**
Transportation (Means)	Host	IDP	Returnee
More Transpiration Options	4.49	3.96	3.69
Cheaper Transportation	**4.76**	**4.33**	**3.76**
Better Roads	4.40	3.48	3.45
Sidewalks	4.05	3.54	3.17
Shared Facilities (Means)	Host	IDP	Returnee
Hospitals	4.42	3.37	2.72
Better Markets	**4.44**	4.17	3.59
Schools	4.35	3.48	3.26
Parks	4.38	**4.21**	**3.62**

Although we determined that status significantly influenced responses, we wanted to investigate whether responses differed due to household characteristics using an Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression analysis. Each categorical variable has a base category (noted in the table)

Consistent with the ANOVA analysis, the OLS regression analysis indicated that respondents' status (host, IDP, and returnee) significantly differed in how they valued city services, while residential areas did not. The OLS regression allows for simultaneous control of multiple independent variables. The OLS yielded two other interesting findings. One, all households (host, IDP, and returnee) that had experienced more days without food in the last month gave all city services higher values. If a household can satisfy their daily needs, such as food, they are more likely to be able to seek out alternative sources to satisfy services, transportation, and shared facilities needs. However, if households cannot satisfy their daily needs, they will depend on existing city services. Two, male-headed households ranked city services significantly lower relative to female-headed households. When discussing the results with an NGO worker and Ministry of Health employee, the significance of the female head of the household was attributed to women members of the household being most likely to use the services. "*Women are more*

[9] In the household survey, respondents were also asked, "*What city services would help your life the most? Rate the following services from 0 to 5, with 0 being the lowest value and 5 being the highest value to you*".

likely to engage with many of the city services (e.g., school, hospitals, transporting water)" - Female, NGO Social Worker.

While the rankings varied significantly by status, the responses were often consistent by priority but significantly differed in the absolute value. Host residents consistently ranked the importance of city services higher than IDPs and returnees. When sharing this finding with an NGO worker, she attributed the difference to each group's connection to place. While we know that IDPs stay for many years, most anticipate they will leave this location in the near future and return to their home area. Therefore, IDPs were less demanding of local services because they didn't anticipate staying in these residential areas. Research on Afghan returnees in urban areas determined that displaced persons' expectations were often unmet upon returning "home" after many years abroad (Schmeidl, 2009; Lietaert et al., 2013). Similarly, South Sudanese returnees who have spent years in Uganda and Kenya also have expectations about returning home and are considering the costs and benefits, including security, of both the situation in Juba and their experiences and opportunities abroad. IDPs anticipating returning home may place lower values on these city services as they continue to have a greater association with their home and see their current situation as temporary.

From our perspective, this research confirms the struggle that both host residents and IDPs face. Both live in extreme poverty, and both regularly go without food.

Table 3-7: OLS Coefficients Results for Household Responses to "What city services would help your life the most?"

	Basic Services		**Transportation**		**Shared Facilities**	
	Coefficients	*Standard Errors*	Coefficients	*Standard Errors*	Coefficients	*Standard Errors*
Status (Base Host)						
IDP	*-.60	*0.27*	*-.38	*0.17*	-0.35	*0.23*
Returnee	**-1.10	*0.31*	**-.74	*0.19*	**-.83	*0.27*
Neighborhood (Base Gurei)						
Joppa	-0.19	*0.27*	-0.18	*0.17*	0.11	*0.23*
gumbo	-0.18	*0.28*	-0.12	*0.18*	0.07	*0.24*
No. Days Food Not Satisfied Last Month	**0.05	*0.15*	**.03	*0.01*	**.04	*0.01*
Male Headed Household	**-.97	*0.24*	**-.60	*0.15*	**-.79	*0.21*
Family Owns House	-0.07	*0.24*	-0.07	*0.15*	0.05	*0.21*
HH Head Education Level (Base None)						
Primary	0.43	*0.29*	**.52	*0.18*	*.52	*0.25*
Secondary	0.40	*0.31*	0.16	*0.20*	0.48	*0.26*
Tertiary/University	-0.17	*0.37*	-0.20	*0.23*	0.03	*0.31*
Model						
Number of Obs.	151		151		146	
Pseudo R2	0.26		0.30		0.25	
Cons.	4.57		4.40		4.07	

*p<.05, **p<.01

3.7 Conclusions and Recommendations

Forced displacement is expected to increase with rapid urbanization, political unrest, and climate change. The results of this study are valuable to humanitarians, policymakers, and urban planners who are contemplating how best to accommodate displaced persons. Although South Sudan has a unique history of conflict and climate change[10], Juba represents a common setting where many displaced persons reside in urban areas alongside residents who also struggle to meet their daily needs. This research contributes to understanding displaced persons' and returnees' values of city services. While displaced persons' values may significantly differ from the values of host residents, there are overlapping priorities, such as cheaper transportation.

As we mentioned, many international agencies and national governments target aid to rural areas or villages. As a Chief in Gurei noted: "*UN people are helping those in the villages, but they think people in the city can help themselves.*" But, as our results demonstrate, there are many specific needs for both urban IDPs and returnees. An urban planning approach is necessary to address the needs of forcibly displaced populations (Majidi, 2011). For example, our findings suggest that both IDPs and returnees placed high value on parks. Future urban decision-making should consider opportunities to help establish and maintain accessible park spaces.

We believe this research also underscores the importance of humanitarian agencies in the development sector, such as JICA, USAID, World Bank, and others, collaborating and coordinating with the Government of South Sudan (GOSS). In cases where the GOSS is facing resource constraints, these agencies can support stronger collaboration frameworks between city government, government ministries, multisectoral clusters, and other non-governmental actors. Humanitarian agencies could also advocate for capacity building within city government and in local-level administrative positions (e.g., the office of Juba City Council).

We recommend that emergency and development aid actors coordinate. Such coordination is vital to ensure that the immediate needs of displaced persons are met while also addressing longer-term development goals. One of the lessons from UNCHR's reintegration handbook was that development actors, including national and local authorities, need *"to be involved in the process of assessment, planning and priority setting from the earliest stage of reintegration programs*" (UNHCR, 2008). For instance, in emergencies, semi-permanent Child-Friendly Spaces (CFS) are often constructed by protection actors. With interagency coordination and planning, these could be built with permanent materials and improve access to shared park facilities for the children of hosts, IDPs, and returnees.

Because each city has its own social and political context, strategies by outside actors interested in developing city services must be flexible. For example, when the city government has limited resources and capacity, private or international development actors can take the lead in convening various government entities and community stakeholders. This research demonstrates that hosts, IDPs, and returnees have different needs, and these should be considered in

[10] It is worth noting that South Sudan has a very low HDI, a long history of conflict, and as of now is the newest nation state in the world.

formulating and implementing city services. In the case of Juba, residential area block leaders and chiefs should engage the existing IDP and returnee networks when lobbying with international agencies or city governments for development projects. As one assistant chief for a residential area said, *"We are the ones helping ourselves. We want water, we bring the issue to the Payam, and then we look for NGOs to come and support."* Likewise, local governments and international agencies should actively engage existing IDP and returnee networks when designing and implementing development projects (e.g., public discussions, surveys, focus groups, participatory budgeting, etc.).

Finally, our results point out areas both for agreement and possible modification of Betts et al. (2020) framework that identified the necessary factors for self-reliance. Without question, security is critical and is more important than other 'hard' infrastructure services, such as water and electricity. From our research, we would argue that security/safety is a distinct enabling factor. Second, the enabling factor, "Access to Markets," might be renamed "Access to Labor and Capital Markets". This would distinguish it from physical markets. In our research, access to better physical markets was the most important shared facility for host residents. Physical markets could be regrouped with "Access to Public Goods." Third, we would recommend that parks be added to the enabling factor category, "Access to Public Goods." Parks were assessed as the most important shared facilities for both IDPs and returnees. Finally, we recommend dividing the current enabling factor, the "Environment," into social and physical environments. Decoupling social and physical concepts could be useful in organizing responses for urban planners who focus on place and specifically address infrastructure, transportation access, and shared facilities.

Local governments must prepare for the influx of displaced persons into cities and consider strategies that serve both host residents and newcomers. Effective urban programs and facilities can only be designed if community dynamics are understood. While our recommendations are based on urban settings in Juba, South Sudan, we encourage further comparative studies in other cities in the Global South to enable broader generalizations. Future research investigating other social and economic issues, such as the income-generating barriers of urban IDPs and returnees, would also complement this work.

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Chapter 4 Navigating Income-Generation Barriers: Perceptions of Host Residents and Displaced Persons in Urban Juba, South Sudan

Abstract

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) identifies displaced persons as internally displaced, asylum seekers, or refugees, reporting that roughly 114 million people—about 1.5% of the global population—are displaced. The number of displaced persons is increasing due to ongoing political conflicts and climate change impacts, with 76% living in low-income countries. Despite efforts to keep displaced populations out of urban areas, over half reside in cities. However, most relief efforts still focus on traditional rural camps rather than urban settings, leaving a gap in understanding urban interactions between displaced individuals and host residents. Further research is needed to examine economic barriers and social dynamics in urban areas, which could inform strategies to improve self-reliance and economic well-being for displaced persons and host residents.

To address this lack of information, we conducted a household survey (n=180) in three residential areas that housed internally displaced persons (IDPs) and host residents in Juba, South Sudan, in 2022. To provide more context to the survey results, the first author conducted approximately 75 semi-structured interviews, five focus group discussions (FGDs), and participant observation with local authorities, NGO staff, and community residents over three different periods from 2022 to 2024. We found that while both groups faced significant barriers to income generation, such as lack of access to capital, IDPs reported greater challenges related to accessing loans and lack of family/political connections. Interestingly, hosts perceived legal documentation as more of a barrier than IDPs, likely due to increased municipal demands in informal market settings. Results indicate that enhanced social engagement can mitigate some of these barriers by fostering community-wide solutions. Thus, an area-based approach that addresses household poverty, capital access, and infrastructure development could be more effective in mitigating these barriers and promote socioeconomic well-being among both IDPs and host residents.

If current trends continue, the world will witness increasing numbers of displaced people due to climate change and conflict. Cities will receive the majority of displaced persons, so we must proactively consider how urban strategies, including income-generating interventions, that can best meet the needs of established residents and new arrivals.

Key Words: Displaced Persons, South Sudan, Livelihoods, Self-reliance, Integration, Urban

4.1 Introduction

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) differentiates among displaced persons as individuals who are 1) internally displaced, 2) seeking asylum, and 3) refugees. The largest category of displaced persons (58%) is composed of internally displaced persons (IDPs) (UNHCR, 2023a). The UNHCR reports that approximately 114 million individuals—about 1.5%

of the world's population—live as displaced persons. Despite all the social and political barriers that state actors have put in place to keep displaced populations out of urban areas and in segregated camp settings, many continue to migrate to cities. Over one-half of the world's displaced persons live in urban areas (UNHCR, 2019; Crisp et al., 2012), often without access to humanitarian aid. Forced migration over the past two decades has clearly contributed to the growth of cities in countries that host displaced persons, yet little attention has been given to this process (Crisp et al., 2012).

The number of displaced persons continues to increase due to ongoing political conflicts and impacts from climate change. Seventy-six percent of forcibly displaced persons are in low-income countries, where state actors have failed to offer adequate social welfare programs and provide basic infrastructure and regulation; thus, residents must rely on social networks and civil society (Meagher, 2005). This lack of infrastructure and social services has led urban residents to depend on social networks and civil society rather than the state. Though more than half of displaced people opt to settle in urban areas (Barratt and Ross, 2021), most relief organizations still focus their services on traditional rural camp settings, such as refugee or internally displaced camps (Van der Auweraert, P., 2013; IIED, 2021). However, the arrival of displaced persons also offers development opportunities for under-resourced cities and governments through external inputs (e.g., roads, schools, health facilities, social services, etc.) from various United Nations agencies, bilateral donors, and international NGOs.

Little research has examined how displaced and host residents interact in urban areas. Some evidence suggests that host residents dislike the arrival of displaced people because they compete for resources and opportunities (Van der Auweraert, P., 2013). However, more information about the interpersonal dynamics between displaced individuals and established urban residents is needed. Economic well-being and self-reliance are goals for both host residents and displaced people. Therefore, examining these dynamics for both IDPs and host residents as they relate to the acquisition of income-generating activities would provide useful insights. Using Betts et al. (2020) model of self-reliance, we ask two questions. First, do host residents and displaced persons living within the same urban residential areas experience similar or different barriers to income generation in relation to access to markets and networks? Second, how do household characteristics influence these barriers for both groups? While research has examined how displaced persons meet their needs in traditional encampments, more must be conducted on lived experiences in urban areas.

To address this lack of information, we conducted a household survey (n=180), 75 interviews, and five focus group discussions in three residential areas that housed internally displaced persons (IDPs) and host residents in Juba, South Sudan, from 2022 through 2024. While in our research, households self-identified as hosts or IDPs, and we can define IDPs as *"persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internally recognized state border." (as cited by* Van der Auweraert, P., 2013 in *Awa Davi, 2012*). Hosts, on the other hand, have not had to flee from their homes.

4.2 Literature Review

Both host and displaced persons seek better lives in urban settings, but they also share common struggles, with poverty being a significant challenge. We begin with an overview of economic well-being and a framework for self-reliance. In the second subsection, we describe the self-reliance enabling factors of access to informal markets in Sub-Saharan African cities and identify some of the challenges displaced persons face in these urban environments. In the third subsection, we highlight the literature on social networks in urban African settings and their roles in self-reliance and livelihoods. We then outline our research questions.

4.2.1 Economic Well-Being, Vulnerability, and Self-Reliance

Key characteristics of urban poverty and vulnerability can be defined as "*poor quality housing, insecurity of tenure (for both owners and tenants), lack of access to basic infrastructure and affordable services, susceptibility to disease and accidents, environmental hazards, social fragmentation, exposure to violence and crime (or fear of violence), increasing exposure to armed conflict and terrorist attacks, reliance on monetized economy, and reliance on employment in the informal economy"* (Fox & Goodfellow, 2016, pp.113). Fox & Goodfellow (2016) argue that constant vulnerability is the most important characteristic of the urban poor in developing countries. Drawing from hazard literature, we use Wisner et al.'s (2014) definition of vulnerability as *"the characteristics of a person or group and their situation that influence their capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover…*" from conflicts or natural hazards. With this definition, vulnerability is influenced by factors such as class, occupation, caste, ethnicity, gender, disability, health status, age, immigration status, and social networks. In general, the literature suggests displaced persons face additional challenges in urban poverty than longtime host residents because they have lost material assets during displacement, face discrimination and stigmatization, have to form new social networks, and have higher rates of extreme poverty (Albuja & Ceballos, 2010; Monteith & Lwasa, 2017; World Bank, 2017). **This leads to the following research question: Do IDPs and hosts differ in household demographics for residents living in the same residential area?**

Displaced persons are often more vulnerable because they have likely experienced an economic shock (among others) related to their displacement. An economic shock is a sudden event that can significantly impact a household's economic well-being, causing adverse effects such as loss of livelihood, shelter, or general financial stability. According to Bird et al. (2002), vulnerability to risk is essentially synonymous with vulnerability to shock, positioning vulnerability as both a cause and consequence of poverty (cited in Mba et al. 2021). Vulnerability to economic shocks is a critical issue as it can exacerbate poverty levels. For instance, a shock can push income-poor households further into poverty or cause non-poor households to fall below the poverty line. This issue is particularly pronounced in developing economies, with Sub-Saharan Africa being notably affected (Mba et al. 2021). Thus, understanding and addressing economic shocks and associated vulnerabilities is crucial for mitigating poverty and enhancing economic stability in these regions.

Vulnerability affects immediate and long-term livelihoods, with some groups facing prolonged challenges in rebuilding after crises, especially those displaced. Economic well-being is crucial in mitigating vulnerability, as those with higher economic stability can better prepare for and recover from crises. Wisner et al.'s (2014) suggest that livelihood frameworks should include resilience

and coping mechanisms, sensitivity, social capital, and collective action to address the relationship between economic well-being and vulnerability. Enhancing economic stability can reduce vulnerability by providing better resources for prevention and recovery (Wisner et al.'s, 2014). **This leads to one of our research questions: do IDPs and host residents employ different tactics to overcome economic shocks?**

When considering the economic well-being of displaced persons, the United Nations and humanitarian agencies often use a self-reliance framework as the desired state for IDPs[11]. UNHCR defines self-reliance as '*the social and economic ability of an individual, a household or a community to meet essential needs (including protection, food, water, shelter, personal safety, health, and education) in a sustainable manner and with dignity'* and as a program approach based on '*developing and strengthening livelihoods of persons of concern, and reducing their vulnerability and long-term reliance on humanitarian/external assistance* (UNHCR 2005, cited in Betts et al., 2020). Betts et al. (2020) presented a framework identifying the necessary components for self-reliance based on research conducted with refugees in a refugee settlement in Kenya. The framework in Figure 4.1 highlights that self-reliance is not merely a list of socioeconomic outcomes but a process involving various enabling factors that affect people's ability to meet their needs independently over the long run.

The diagram outlines self-reliance outcomes concerning socio-economic welfare, which includes access to food, water, shelter, protection, health, education, and autonomy, meaning independence from aid.

The left-hand side of the diagram illustrates two categories of self-reliance inputs: self-reliance-enabling factors and aid. Self-reliance-enabling factors shape people's ability to meet their needs autonomously. Bett's et al. (2020) draw these five enabling factors from UNHCR's Handbook for Self-reliance and categorized them into the environment (regulations, refugee-host interactions, physical environment, and natural resources), assets (human capital, physical capital, and identity), access to networks (remittances, informal credit, insurance, and nepotism), access to markets (labor markets, markets for goods and services, and banking), and access to public goods (health care, education, water, sanitation, roads, and security). These enabling factors contribute to socio-economic outcomes by facilitating the economic activities of individuals, households, and communities, including income-generating activities.

Aid has a mixed impact on self-reliance outcomes. While humanitarian aid addresses refugees' immediate needs, particularly in emergencies, development aid aims to strengthen enabling factors and foster socio-economic welfare in the medium to long term. Although aid can also reduce refugees' autonomy in the short run, it can enhance autonomy in the long run by improving self-reliance-enabling factors. The self-reliance framework also emphasizes that feedback loops exist between socio-economic outcomes and enabling factors, whereby individuals, households, and communities can invest in or contribute to strengthening enabling factors, thereby promoting sustainable development in the long run.

[11] It is important to note that this definition of self-reliance is from the lens of aid agencies and not necessarily defined by IDPs themselves in their various context (see Berke & Larsen ,2022). We address these concern in the discussion section of the paper.

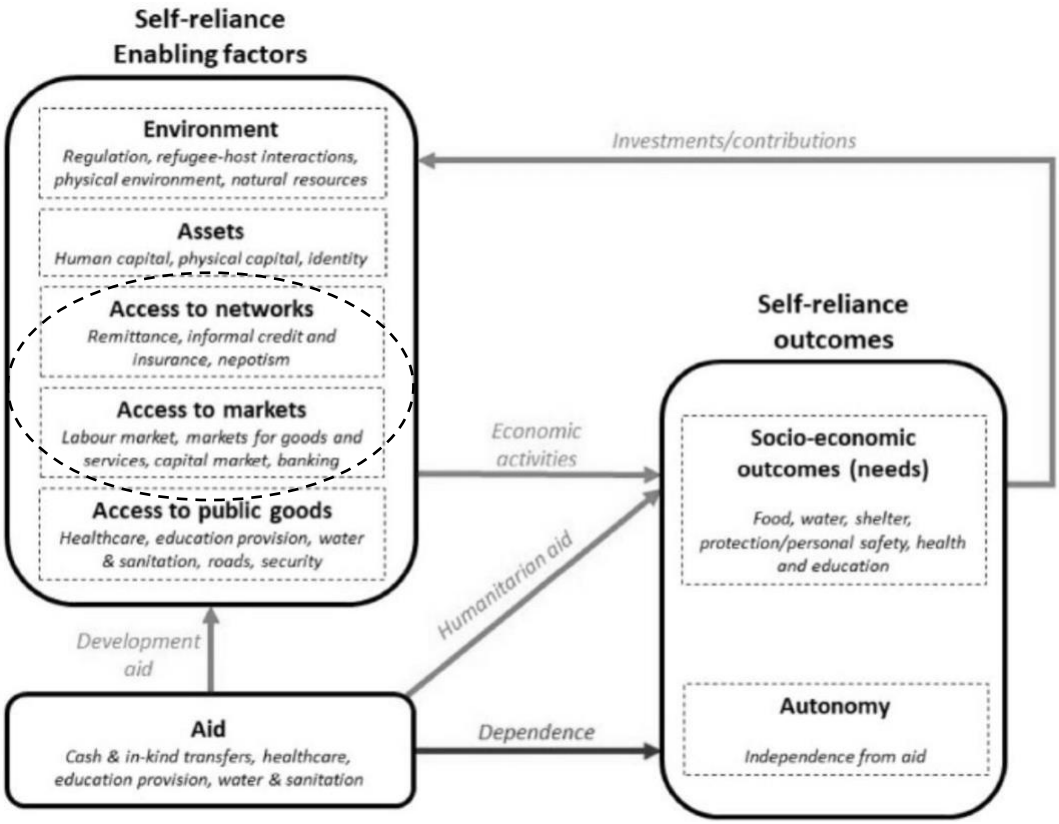


Figure 4-1: Betts et al. (2020) Conceptual Framework for Understanding Self-reliance in Relation to Refugees

This paper focuses on two enabling factors of self-reliance: "Access to Markets" and "Access to Networks. " Each factor is composed of sub-factors. Unlike Bett's model, we did not include any feedback loops in the framework, as data collection was only conducted once, which limited our ability to understand the feedback loops. In Figure 4.2 below, we list the social factors we hypothesize will affect household perceptions of access to markets and networks.

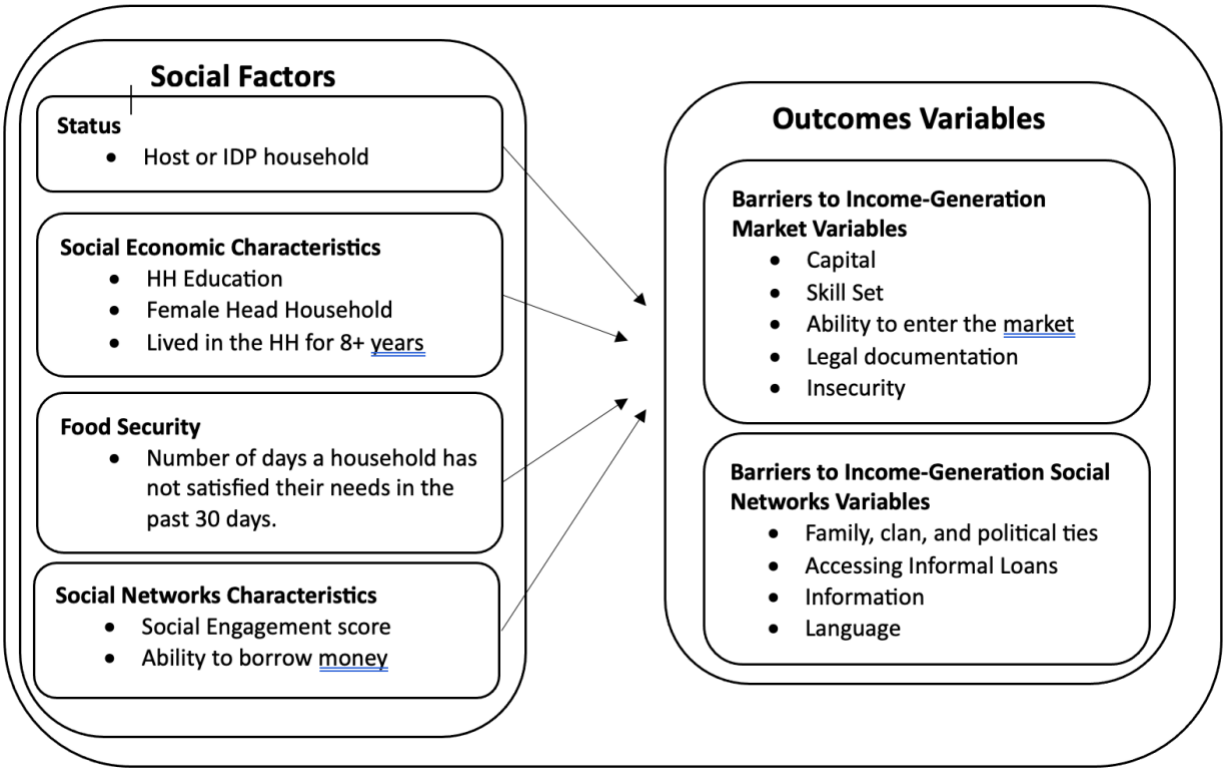


Figure 4-2: Conceptual Framework of Social Factors that Affect Perceptions to Barriers to Income Generation Regarding Access to Markets and Networks

4.2.2 Access to Markets

While the Bett et al. (2020) framework emphasizes incorporating labor markets, markets for goods and services, and capital markets, including banking, most of the Sub-Saharan markets operated within the informal sector. Informal economies are more than just a place for livelihoods. It is how capital accumulation is accomplished by the marginalized and part of a vast network within the city, region, and global aspects (Simone, 2019). In Sub-Saharan Africa, 66 percent of the economy is informal, contributing to poor residents' vulnerability (Fox & Goodfellow, 2016).

While informal work in the market offers autonomy, flexibility, and mobility, it does not provide social and legal protections in formal markets (Fox & Goodfellow, 2016). It is important to note that informal employment does not mean the work is "illegal" but only that the state does not regulate it. For example, someone selling fruit on the side of the road (self-employed) or an unpaid family caregiver who supports family workers are both a part of the informal market (Chen, 2016). The informal market's employment types vary (Chen, 2016) but are often associated with self-employment. For example, informal self-employment includes many street vendors, beauticians, construction workers, rickshaw drivers, waste pickers, and domestic workers.

Banerjee & Duflo, (2012) note that while the informal market is heavily entrepreneurial, most of the businesses are very small and generally provide little money. Thus, the prospects of escaping poverty through the informal market are limited. The World Bank found that 93 percent of informal

business owners in Kampala, Uganda, fell below the IPL of $1.90/day[12]. Urban poor do not see self-employment as something to aspire to as it is not associated with stability and a dependable monthly wage (e.g., in government) (Banerjee & Duflo, 2012).

Monteith & Lwasa, (2017) observed Somali refugees, Congolese refugees, and ethnic Acholi internally displaced persons in Kampala, Uganda. Though religious institutions provided important support for all groups in accessing employment and housing, Somali refugees obtained better housing and employment due to their tight social bonding capital (both within Kampala and seeking financial resources from the diaspora), access to the market, and location within the city when compared to the other two groups. Displaced persons made much less than poor Ugandan host populations in the same sectors of employment (e.g., Congolese $93 a month selling textiles vs. $167 for other Ugandans, and Acholi IDPs 30$ a month selling handmade jewelry vs. 70$ for other Ugandans). This leads to the following research question: **Do IDPs adopt different income-generating activities from host residents living in the same residential area?**

While Bett's et al. (2020) framework emphasizes incorporating labor markets, markets for goods and services, and capital markets, including banking, we include capital accumulation, labor skill sets, the ability to attain access to market spaces, legal documentation to operate a business, and a sense of security for the context in urban informal settings. This leads to the following research question: **Do IDPs and host residents differ in perceived barriers to income generation as they relate to access to the market?**

4.2.3 Access to Networks

Social networks are important to understanding informal economies. Meagher (2005) categorizes the history of social networks and their linkages with the wider society and the state into three groupings: legacies, linkages, and locality.

Legacies are the institutional norms embedded in the networks. Networks emerge from agricultural, criminal, and redistributive (socialist) subversive values. Networks of "accumulation" and "networks of survival" can have divergent and conflicting institutional histories and norms. Contrary to some social capitalist approaches, Meagher (2005) suggests that "survival networks" can hold back capital accumulation through perceived social responsibilities to kinship. For example, if a relative is sick but does not have the means to seek medical care, other relatives may have to cover the medical cost.

Linkages are the network strategies used to respond to changing and fluid circumstances. It has been established that social networks and memberships are restructured and negotiated to adapt to a complex and fluid informal economy (e.g., globalization, etc.) (Meagher, 2005). Meagher (2005) suggests that linkages or network strategies used in changing and fluid circumstances are important to understanding relationships. For example, displaced persons may contact relatives who live in urban settings to help them find housing and income-generating activities as they relocate.

[12] This is now 2.15$ [add citation]

Localities are how the organizational capacity of networks is shaped by the state, either supporting or neglecting or hijacking them. The lack of state regulation (largely attributed to international restructuring programs) in urban Africa has led to overburdened social networks. They have off-loaded all the state responsibilities, such as economic regulation and social welfare provision, to social networks and civil society (Meagher, 2005). This overburden has led urban residents to depend on social networks and civil society, not the state.

Literature of co-ethnic (of same ethnicity) social capital, or "*access to resources controlled by a social network of individuals of the same ethnicity* (Allen 2009, pp. 332), has important impacts on individual outcomes such as health, employment, and transportation (Strand, 1984; Allen 2009). However, Allen (2009) argued that gender plays a vital role in understanding social capital. In his mixed method research with resettled refugees in Portland, Maine, he found that women with access to co-ethnic social capital earned less over time than their male counterparts as they were socially responsible for social obligations with extended family and friends, such as caregiving for other children within their social network. Thus, increased co-ethnic social capital can negatively impact earnings over time for women due to the time required for culturally expected social obligations (Allen, 2009).

As Amir et al. (2020) suggest, social capital, explicitly bonding capital, is strong among people living in poverty. However, they also note that poverty is often associated with weak social links with authorities and policymakers. Neighborhoods hosting large populations of displaced persons have the potential to link hosting persons in poverty with local authorities and humanitarian aid actors. This is because when IDPs are in gathered settings, they have an increased likelihood of being identified and targeted as beneficiaries by humanitarian actors (IDMC, 2013). This has the potential to lead to a combination of two outcomes. First, depending on the intervention, it could cause resentment if impoverished hosts are not benefiting (e.g., not receiving food distributions) and competing for resources (Park et al., 2014). Examples of such competitions might include longer lines at the health clinics or water pumps. However, cooperation might also be achieved. For example, host and displaced persons mutually benefit from increased service (e.g., increased access to water and sanitation services, increased employment, training, education, and market activity (job training, food distribution, etc.) (Alix-Garcia et al. 2018; Bilgili et al. 2019; Taylora et al. 2016; Betts et al. 2019).

Betts et al.'s 2020 self-reliance framework emphasizes the critical enabling factor of access to networks. Based on their conceptualization, they consider access to networks through remittances, informal credit and insurance, and nepotism. Based on the above literature, we examine access to networks, family connections, access to informal credit, information about the market, and languages for the context of urban informal settings. This leads to the following research question: **Do IDPs and host residents differ in perceived barriers to income generation related to access to networks?**

4.2.4 Summary of Research Questions

As we noted, we are focusing on Access to Networks and Access to Markets. While the literature review suggests important factors to consider, there has been limited study on the interactions between displaced people and residents in urban settings. Some research has indicated that urban

residents may resent newcomers for competing for local resources and jobs. Yet, there's a need for more detailed knowledge about how these different groups get along day-to-day in cities. Displaced individuals and city residents aim for self-sufficiency and stability, particularly concerning income generation. This has led us to ask about similarities and differences between IDP and host households in the same residential locations for:

1) The household demographic characteristics, including economic indicators;
2) Experience of economic shocks and coping over the past year;
3) Types of income-generating activities;
4) Perceived barriers to income generation regarding access to markets; and
5) Perceived barriers to income generation in relation to access to networks.

We consider these questions in the context of South Sudan's capital city, Juba, using household surveys (n=180), semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, and site observation in three residential areas.

4.3 Methods

South Sudan Selection

Our selection of South Sudan as the focus country for our study was based on meeting two specific criteria: a substantial population of displaced persons and classification as a low or middle-income country where 76 percent of displaced persons are hosted (UNHCR, 2023a).

South Sudan is an ideal study site, with around 2.3 million IDPs and 350,000 refugees affected by conflicts since 2013 (UNHCR 2023b) and the impact of a flood in 2021, which displaced an additional 500,000 people (International Crises Group, 2022). With a low HDI score of .38, ranking 191 out of 193 (UNDP, 2022), South Sudan illustrates the extreme poverty and challenges of hosting populations in low-resource settings.

4.3.1 Metropolitan Juba City Selection

Within South Sudan, we selected metropolitan Juba, encompassing the capital city, because it has experienced rapid growth over the past decade (UN-Habitat, 2021). This rapid growth is comparable to many other urban cities in Sub-Saharan Africa. Second, Juba has a large, displaced population. In 2023, Juba's population was estimated at 459,000 (UN DESA, 2023), with 134,647 (IOM, 2023) displaced persons (29%). Third, in many cities hosting displaced persons, a significant humanitarian presence often influences the local provision of services. In Juba, there are numerous humanitarian offices, including a United Nations Mission, in Juba, South Sudan (UNMISS).

4.3.2 Residential Area Selection

A Payam in South Sudan is the administrative subdivision of counties. In the greater metropolitan area of Juba, there are six Payams (Figure 3). To determine the population of displaced persons, we used the Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) (International Organization for Migration (IOM)) as well as interviews with NGO staff, chiefs, and government officials. First, we used the DTM data set to create a sample frame of the six metropolitan Payams of Juba (Juba, Kator,

Munuki, Northern Bari/Luri, Gondokoro, and Rajaf). Within the six Payams, the DTM data set listed 29 "residential areas" hosting displaced persons. While recognizing the variety of issues in identifying a "residential area" (e.g., administrative boundaries vs. perceived residential area) (Montgomery and Hewett, 2005), the first author later defined residential area boundaries with the assistance of the area chiefs through a mapping exercise (see the methods section).

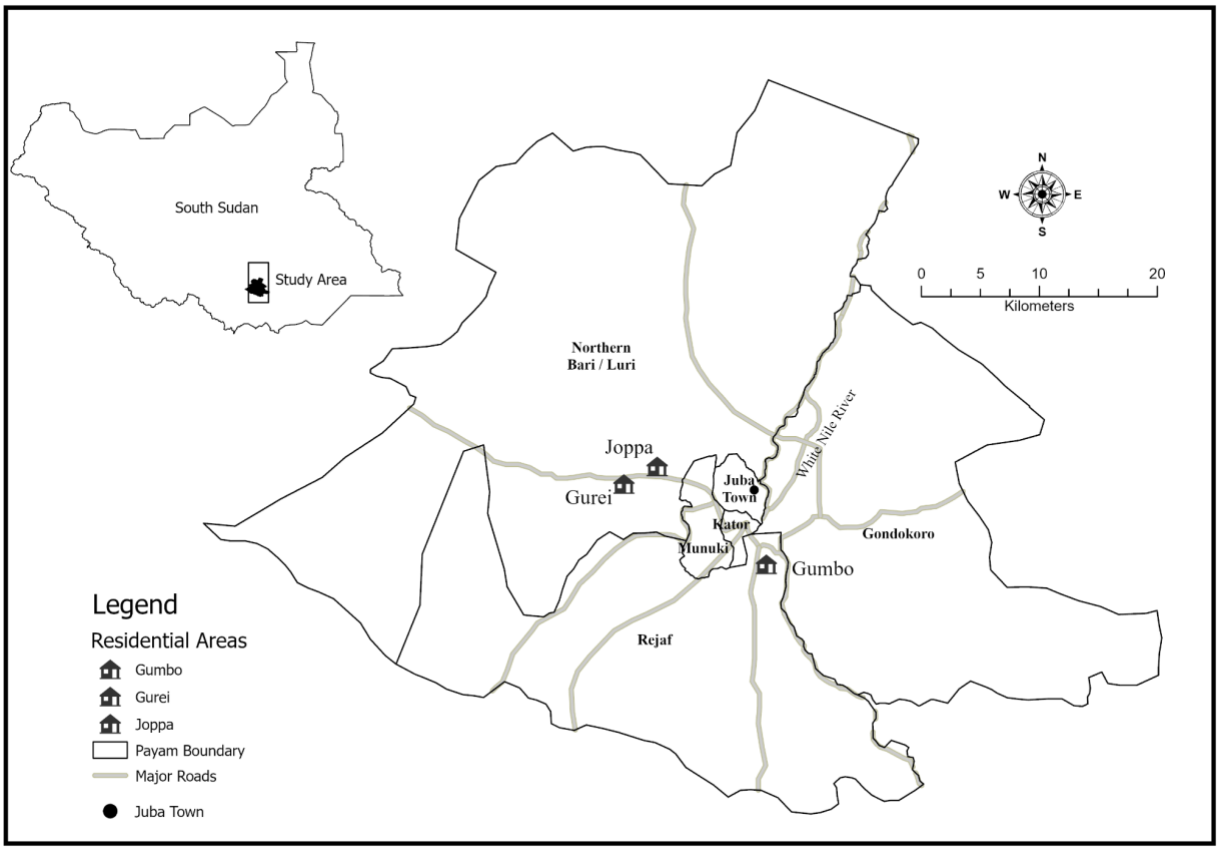


Figure 4-3: Map of Metropolitan Juba and the Study Residential Area Locations

This research question required identifying "integrated residential areas" and not camps. We define an "integrated residential area" as the location where displaced persons live amongst longer-term host residents (rather than in a camp setting). Thus, out of the 29 residential areas listed by DTM, we eliminated all IDP camps, which brought the sample frame to 24 residential areas. Starting with the largest number of IDPs populated residential areas, the first author visited the integrated residential areas throughout Juba and interviewed local key informants (chiefs, NGO staff, and residents) and reviewed secondary documents such as NGO needs assessments to narrow our site selection. Based on this information, we selected three residential areas to collect data after gaining permission from the Payam administrators and local chiefs.

4.3.3 Data Collection Methods

To conduct the survey, we employed five enumerators. To prepare the enumerators, we conducted a three-day training. The enumerators all spoke Arabic (Juba) and English (among other languages). During the training, key terms were standardized (in Juba Arabic) and verbally

translated. Training topics included ethics (e.g., informed consent and confidentiality), interviewing techniques, household and respondent selection, safety, and a review of survey questions and response options. As respondents' literacy was mixed, the enumerators conducted the interviews face-to-face, and the enumerators entered the household responses into ODK software via cellular smartphones.

When designing the survey tool, we used survey questions adapted from various secondary sources used in the Global South (e.g., Parks et al., 2014; World Bank, 2003; IDMC, 2019; Evans, 2007; Gamboa et al., 2020; Monteith & Lwasa, 2017; FLARE, 2022). We conducted two pilot tests of the survey tool. First, the survey tool was piloted among the five enumerators during the three-day training and later piloted with eight household respondents. Based on comments from the pilot tests, we adjusted the survey to clarify confusing terms and add response options.

The final household survey had 110 questions and took approximately 40 minutes to administer. The categories of questions included household demographics, assets, income, access to existing city services, and the perceived value of city services.

We randomly selected 60 households in the three residential areas (Gurei, Joppa, and Gumbo) for a total of 180 households. We asked area chiefs to draw their boundaries on a map because formal administrative boundaries do not exist in Juba's residential areas. Then, we created a grid pattern and numbered the horizontal and vertical lines. We selected 60 households in each residential area using a random number generator. If an identified location was empty or was a commercial building, we instructed enumerators to choose the nearest household randomly (through the assistance of a mobile phone app)[13].

Semi-Structured Interviews for Interpreting the Survey

To mitigate the inherent analytical challenges of surveys, such as limited interpretations (Evens, 2007), semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs), and participant observation were conducted. Semi-structured interviews were used to understand the survey findings better and provide more context of people's barriers to income generation. These were conducted with key informants, district government officials (e.g., Juba County Commissioner, Luri and Rajaf Payam Officials), local authorities (chiefs in Gurie, Joppa, and Gumbo), staff from the International and National Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) and residents of both host and displaced communities.

The first author administered approximately 76 semi-structured interviews and four FGDs over three different periods from 2022 to 2024. The first time was conducted alongside the household survey in 2022. It included approximately six interviews with government officials, six local chiefs, eight NGO staff, 20 residents (8 host and 12 IDPs), and two FGDs with community residents (mixed host and IDPs). The first author returned to Juba in 2023 to share our preliminary findings with six local chiefs, 3 NGO staff members, and ten residents and ask for their help interpreting the responses. Then, to further interpret the survey response, the first author returned in 2024 and interviewed 6 NGO staff, 3 South Sudanese professors, and eight residents (six hosts and

[13] For more details about the survey see Berke & Larsen (2024)

two IDPs). While these interviews were a part of a larger research project, various quotations from these interviews are included in the results section.

4.4 Results

The results section below compares host and IDP household social and economic characteristics, food securities, social networks, perceptions of financial vulnerability and coping mechanisms, income-generating activities, and their perceived barriers to income generation concerning access to markets and networks. Finally, using robust linear regression[14], we consider how the comparisons might be affected by other characteristics of the household. To do this, we use robust linear regression to delineate the effects of social and economic characteristics, food security, and social networks to understand better the perceived barriers to income generation between hosts and IDPs.

Table 1 below provides context by comparing the host and IDP's household social and economic characteristics, food security, and social networks. The bolded variables are later used as controls in a regression analysis.

Table 4-1: Comparisons Between Host and IDP

	Total		
	Host	IDP	P Values
Status			
Number of Observations	94	52	
Social Economic Characteristics			
% Head HH Attained Secondary or Higher Education	37%	42%	p=.55
%Female Headed Household	48%	29%	p=.03**
% of HH has been there for eight years or more	66%	66%	p=.97
Mean Household Monthly Income (SSP*)	40,287 ($77)	31,300 ($60)	p=.29
Reported Mean Monthly Expenditures by Household	60,969	74,550	p=.18
Mean % No. of HH members working	18%	15%	p=.85

[14] Robust regression requires less restrictive assumptions about the data.

Mean No. of Income Sources per Household	1.3	1.5	p=.17
Mean Household size	8	8.4	p=.59
Mean No. of Children per Household	3.6	4.1	p=.20
% Self-employed	47%	67%	p=.06*
% HH Severely impacted by an economic shock last year	17%	37%	p=.00**
Food Security			
Mean Days Without Adequate Food in Past 30 Days	8.04	6.56	p=.33
Social Engagement			
Mean Social Engagement Score	10.9	12.6	p=.07*
Difficulty in borrowing 50 USD (Mean from 1-5)	4.6	4.8	p=.07*
How did you find your job			p=55
Family or Relative	28%	36%	
Friend or Neighbor	15%	9%	
On my own or Job Avert	56%	55%	

** Data was collected in June/July 2022 when the South Sudan Pound was valued at 520 to every one USD. This has more than doubled since the data collection to the end of 2023 due to inflation.*

4.4.1 What are some demographic similarities and differences between the host and IDP households living in the same residential areas?

Social Economic

Table x illustrates the average household income was higher for hosts (77 USD) than for IDPs (60 USD). These differences could be attributed to more opportunities for host residents to have steady employment, while IDPs are more likely to rely on wage labor. Interestingly, the education level of household heads among IDPs (42% with secondary education) is higher than that of host household heads (37%). IDPs had a notably higher percentage of male-headed households (71%) relative to host heads of households (52%)

Food Security

Food security is measured by number of days that a household has not satisfied their household food needs. This is appropriate because it considers household size, while income and expenditure do not. Host and IDP households all indicated that within the past month, they experienced multiple days without food, ranging from 5.4 to 8 days, indicating food insecurity among both groups. It should be noted that the survey data suggested that hosts had more days without food (8 days) compared to IDPs (6.5). However, follow-up interviews with NGO staff, hosts, and IDP residents suggested that the hosts could rely on kinship networks living in the neighborhood for food. This allowed hosts to focus on income-generating activities, while IDPs primarily focused on obtaining food (or money for food) daily. "*Hosts focus on the market to make money. IDPs focus on their family and providing food because, at the end of the day, they do not have relatives to rely on".* – Case Manager for a National NGO.

Social Engagement

We developed a "social engagement score" measure, quantifying social interaction and integration within the community. This involves factors such as participation in community events and engagement in public activities. The scores mentioned are out of a maximum of 30 points. IDP households have an average social engagement score of 12.4, and host households have a slightly lower average score of 10.9, indicating less social engagement than IDP households. The p-value from a t-test of 0.07 indicates the statistical significance for the difference between these two groups. While both IDP and hosting households indicated that borrowing 50 USD from their social networks would be very difficult, IDP households (average of 4.8 out of 5) indicated it is harder to borrow money than host households (average of 4.8 out of 5 with a p-value of 0.07).

4.4.2 Were IDPs more likely to experience an economic shock in the past 12 months than host residents?

As seen in Table 2, 17% of hosts and 37% of IDP households reported experiencing an economic shock which is statistically different. Furthermore, when observing the severity of the economic shock, IDPs were more likely to report being significantly impacted by an economic shock in the past year than host households (t-test p = .03).

Table 4-2: Reported Impact of Economic Shock during the Past Year by Status (N = 146)

	Host	IDP	Total
Severely Impacted	13	14	27
Somewhat	3	5	8
Slightly	8	0	8
Not Impacted	70	33	103
Total	94	52	146

For households that reported being impacted by an economic shot in the past 12 months, did IDP households cope with that shock differently than host communities?

Although there are relatively few responses**,** 52% of IDP households indicated they coped by "*taking on more casual labor,"* and 46% of hosting households indicated "*doing nothing in particular*" to cope (see Table 3 below).

Table 4-3: Responses to "How did your household cope with the economic shock" by Status (n = 55 responses for 42 households)

	Host	IDP	Total
Harvest more agricultural products	2 (7%)	3 (11%)	5 (9%)
Spend cash savings	3 (11%)	1 (4%)	4 (7%)
Sell Assets	1 (4%)	4 (15%)	5 (9%)
Do extra casual labor	4 (14%)	**14 (52%)**	18 (33%)
Assistance from friends or relatives	1 (4%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)
Reduce household food consumption	2 (7%)	2 (7%)	4 (7%)
Purchase products from the market	2 (7%)	2 (7%)	4 (7%)
Did nothing in particular	**13 (46%)**	1 (4%)	14 (25%)
Total Responses	28	27	55

4.4.3 Do displaced persons adopt different income-generating activities than host residents in the same residential areas?

All residents were asked to indicate all household income-generating activities. The hosts (n=94) reported 126 activities, IDPs in the neighborhoods (n=59) reported 78 activities, and this was standardized into percentages so the responses could be compared. The table below was standardized by dividing the frequency of each income generation type by the total reported income-generating archives for east status (e.g., host activities were divided by 126) for comparisons between host and IDP income-generating actives.

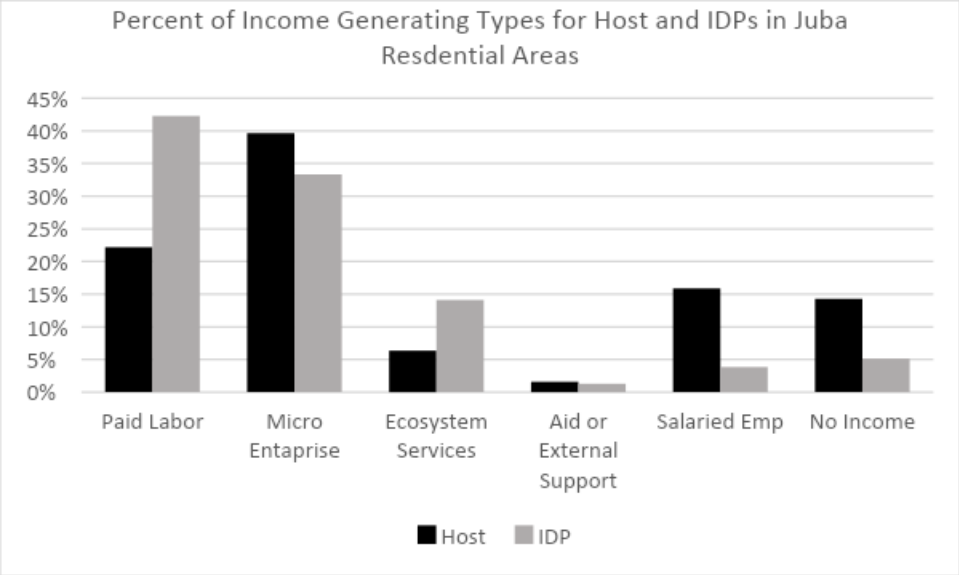


Figure 4-4: Percent of Income Generating Types for Host and IDPs in Juba Residential Areas

Both host and IDPs heavily rely on microenterprises for their livelihoods. However, using a chi2 test, it was found IDPs were significantly more likely to participate in paid labor ($p = .00$), rely on ecosystem services ($p = .04$), and significantly less likely to have salaried employment ($p = .01$). The average household income was highest for hosts (77 USD), and then IDPs (60 USD). These differences could be attributed to more opportunities for host residents to have steady employment. At the same time, IDPs are more likely to rely on wage labor (note government employees have not been paid in 13 months as of October 2024).



Photograph 4-1: Casual day laborers are working on the construction of a house. Photo Source: Tim Berke

Table 4-4: Reported Scores of Obstacles to Income-generation by Status (N = 146). Scores are 1-5, with 1 being strongly disagree and 5 being strongly agree.

	Host Mean	IDP Mean	T-Test P-Values
Access to the Market			
Access to Capital	**4.30**	**4.58**	p=.12
Skills	3.15	2.81	p=.18
Market Access	3.71	3.21	p=.02**
Legal Documentation	3.40	2.69	p=.00**
Insecurity	3.19	2.96	p=.29
Access to Networks			
Family Obstacle	4.07	4.37	p=.09*
Informal Loan	**4.13**	**4.37**	p=.21
Lack of Information	3.71	3.81	p=.68
Language	3.24	3.21	p=.89

*p<.1, **p<.05

4.4.4 What are the perceived barriers to income-generating between hosts and IDPs in access to markets

As seen in Table #, access to capital was perceived as the biggest barrier (rated from 1 to 5) to income generation for Access to Markets for hosts and IDPs. Interestingly, lack of skills was lowest for hosts and second lowest for IDPs. Using a T-test, the perceived barriers to income generation significantly divergent between hosts and IDPs were "lack of legal documentation requirements" and "lack of ability to gain access to markets." Based on interviews with NGOs and host and IDP residents informal market space can be divided into three categories: physical space and taxation rates.

1. The first category is large shops and boutiques that have registered rental documentation that is taxed monthly or annually as a percent of the monthly contract (roughly 20 percent).
2. The second category is small wooden stands for petty trade (e.g., fruits, vegetables, etc.), where individuals or groups pay small monthly rents (1.25 USD) to the owners of the market space. Additionally, they have to pay daily taxes to the county/city (.5 USD), "security" (.75 USD), and waste collection (.5 USD)[15].
3. The third group are mobile, often on the side of the roads or on the outskirts of the markets and use wheelbarrows, lay down plastic sheets, or carry items, and are rarely taxed as they can "leave" when authorities arrive for daily taxation.

[15] These rates were based on an interview with three women who shared a table space (1.5 meters x 1.5 meters) and sold peanut butter, tomatoes, cucumbers, onions, and small art in Gurie market space.



Photograph 4-2: Class 1: Shop that pays taxes and rents monthly, Gueri Residential Area, Juba, South Sudan. Photo Source: Tim Berke



Photograph 4-3: Class 2: Women sharing a table selling tomatoes, onion, and peanut butter, paying daily tax and monthly rent, Gurei Market, Juba, South Sudan. – Photo Source: Tim Berke



Photograph 4-4: People selling clothing items on tarps just outskirts of Customs market in Juba, South Sudan. - Photo source: Tim Berke

In an interview with three social workers, they stated "*IDPs often don't have some of the same resources and the scales of their businesses are small, if they are petty trading they are more likely to be moving around with goods on the side of the road*" suggesting they are more likely to be in the third category. Furthermore, when interviewing a group of women traders in Gurei market that had a small table space selling vegetables, they said, "*IDPs could enter the market there, but it was often full, and they had to know someone from the community to be able to rent a space*". The first category of market spaces, such as larger shops and boutiques, were often occupied by host residents, which is likely why they indicated legal documentation as a barrier, as they had to have formal documentation that was taxed monthly or annually.

4.4.5 What are the perceived barriers to income-generating between hosts and IDPs in access to networks?

As seen in Table 4, access to loans was perceived as the biggest barrier to income generation for Access to Networks, followed by a lack of family or political connections. Language was rated lowest barrier for income generation for hosts and second lowest for IDPs. Using a T-test, the perceived barriers to income generation were significantly divergent between hosts and IDPs, with "lack of family/clan or political connections" being the most significant.

How does status (hosts vs. IDPs) influence perceptions of barriers to access to markets and networks when controlling for household characteristics?

To address this question, we used Robust Liner Regression (OLS) to control for household characteristics to better understand the perceived barriers to income generation between host and IDPs. Robust regression is less sensitive to outliers and heterogeneity of variances.

Table 4-5: Robust OLS Coefficients Results for Household Responses to "Obstacles to Income-generation"

	Access to Markets					Access to Networks			
	Lack of Capital Obstacle	Lack of Skills Obstacle	Access to the Market Obstacle	Legal Doc. Obstacle	Lack of Security Obstacle	Lack of Family Connections	Accessing a Loan Obstacle	Information Obstacle	Language Obstacle
Status (Base Host)			(ANOVA sig?)	*-.7		.37**	.32**		
No. Days Food Not Satisfied Last Month		.06**		.03*				.05**	
HH Head Education (Primary vs. Secondary +)		*-.66		**-.94	**-.75				**-.94
Female-Headed Household				.91**		**-.33	**-.33		
Lived in the HH 8 + years		.59*	**-.95			*-0.32			
Social Engagement Index	*-.03							*-0.07	
Able to Borrow 50 USD	.62**						.23**		
Model	0	0	0.1	0	0.16	0.08	0	0.03	0.13
Number of Obs.	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90

*p<.1, **p<.05

Interpretation of the Table

In Table 5, only statically significant coefficients are reported (p<.1), and the level of significance is indicated by a * (e.g., *= p<.1 and ** = p.<.05). In the below sections, we have reported on the nine dependent variables, which are the perceived barriers of income generation for both self-reliance enabling categories of "access to markets" and "access to networks." Respondents scored each dependent variable one through five, with one strongly disagreed and five strongly agreeing that that variable was a barrier to income generation. For example, the dependent variable "lack of family connections" was significantly higher (.37 on their rating from 1-5) for IDPs compared to hosts while controlling for all other household characteristics. In interpreting the results, we also integrate our quantitative findings (interviews and FGDs) to provide more context to the household survey.

Access to Markets

Lack of Capital

This was rated as the highest barrier to income generation for hosts and IDPs in this study. The social engagement index (0-30) and ability to borrow were significant explanatory variables for perceiving "Lack of start-up capital (seed capital) is an obstacle that members of this community face in generating income" while controlling for other household characteristics. The more community meetings a household attends, the more likely they perceive the lack of startup capital as less of a barrier to income generation. The more difficult respondents said it was to borrow 50 USD, the more perceived lack of capital was a barrier to income generation. Qualitative data from an FGD with women said they could only borrow from other women in the market but not family. In sum, higher social engagement scores were associated with perceiving a lack of capital as a lesser burden in generating income when controlling for the other household characteristics in Table 5.

Lack of Skills

In relation to other barriers, "Lack of or inadequate skills" was not perceived as a significant obstacle to income generation for hosts and IDPs. However, households that experienced more days without satisfying their food needs in the past 30 days viewed skills as a bigger barrier to income generation than those better able to meet their household nutrition needs, controlling for other household characteristics. This may suggest that those who are the most food insecure households are the most in need of skills training for income generation. Households where the head of the household had attained a secondary education or higher significantly perceived a lack of skills as less of a barrier to income generation compared to household heads that did not attain a secondary education. The longer the household lived in the region, was also associated with viewing the lack of skills as a larger barrier to income generation. This was perhaps because they already had access to market space but wanted jobs upskilled jobs that needed formal training such as electricians or mechanics.

Access to the Market

"Lack of access to markets" perceived barriers of income generation were significantly divergent between host and IDPs when just comparing them without controls. However, controlling other household characteristics in the statistical model, the difference disappeared. A variable that did have an effect, given the controls, was the length of time at the residence. Residents who lived in their residential area for over eight years perceived access to the market as less of a barrier to income than those who lived there less than eight years. Shedding some light on this, both the interviews and focus group discussions indicated that it was not easy to get a space in the market. People remarked that "it took time to find a good space in the market," and you had to "know someone that could get you in."

Lack of Legal Documentation Requirements

Controlling for other characteristics, households that had more days without satisfying their food needs in the past 30 days viewed the "Lack of legal documentation requirements" as a bigger barrier to income generation than those better able to satisfy their household nutrition needs. IDPs significantly perceived a lack of legal documentation requirements as a lesser barrier to income generation than host community members when controlling for other household characteristics. Based on interviews with NGO staff, host and IDP residents, and data presented in Table x (employment type), this is likely because host community members are more likely to be involved in petty trade and market-based income generation. Over the past few years, the Juba City Council has required more documentation, taxing vendors (e.g., paying for waste collection), registration, and code enforcement (open-air restaurants and shops need vinal panels facing the road, etc.). Furthermore, households in which the head of the household had attained a secondary education or higher significantly perceived a lack of legal documentation requirements as less of a barrier to income generation compared to households that did not attain a secondary education. While controlling for other household contexts, female-headed households indicated that lack of legal documentation requirements is a larger barrier to income generation than male-headed households. This is likely the case, as most of the markets are dominated by women vendors.

Lack of Security as an Obstacle

Households where the head of the household had attained a secondary education or higher significantly perceived "insecurity in area of residence" as less of a barrier to income generation compared to household heads that did not attain a secondary education, controlling for other household characteristics.

Access to Networks

Lack of Family and Political Connections

The "lack of family/clan or political connections" was perceived as a significant barrier to income generation by IDPs compared to host communities when controlling for other household contexts, as shown in Table x. It is also important to note that this was rated as a reasonably important factor when looking at the means (top 3 for both host and IDPs) compared to the other barriers. While

controlling for other household contexts, both female-headed households and households that have lived there for a longer time indicated that family connections were less of a barrier to income generation than male-headed households and households that have lived in the residential areas for a shorter time.

Accessing a Loan

IDPs significantly perceived accessing a loan as a larger barrier to income generation than host community members when controlling for other household characteristics, including length of stay and education. This could be due to lack of trust and instability. For example, one NGO staff suggested that *IDPs are not settled, and they might leave the area without paying the loan back. Also, they are from differ communities [ethnicities] and people might not know them.* Additionally, Female-headed households significantly indicated accessing a loan was less of a barrier for income generation when compared to male-headed households while controlling for household characteristics listed in Table x. In various interviews with NGO staff and host residents it was indicated that women were more reliable than men to pay loans back and perceived as less risky. For example, one NGO staff stated "*women are more consistent about their business because they support their children. If they don't pay back a loan it destroys their livelihood. Men can take the loan and just go get drunk or they could even be called to leave and fight [if in the army]*". Finally, the more difficult it is to borrow 50 USD (scale 1-5) was associated with perceiving lack of access to a loan as a barrier to income generation.

Lack of Information

Households that went longer without satisfying their food needs in the past 30 days viewed the "lack of information about the local labor market" as a bigger barrier to income generation than those better able to satisfy their household nutrition needs, controlling for other household characteristics. Additionally, the more community meetings a household attends, the more likely they perceive the lack of information about the local labor market as less of a barrier to income generation than households that attended fewer community meetings.

Language as an Obstacle

Households in which the head of the household had attained a secondary education or higher significantly perceived language as less of a barrier to income generation than households that did not attain a secondary education.

4.5 Discussion

This paper compared hosts and IDPs within the same urban, residential areas. We focused on two components of obtaining self-reliance: Access to Networks and Access to Markets. We first considered the differences between host and IDP households. We examined the characteristics of household members, economic shock experiences and coping over the past year, and income-generating activities. Additionally, we asked whether the barriers to income generation are

perceived similarly or differently by hosts and IDPs and whether social engagement scores and household characteristics influence the perceived barriers to these activities for both groups.

We found that while there were differences between Hosts and IDPs, there were more similarities. In terms of differences, IDPs, more so than hosts, perceived that accessing loans and lack of family and political connections were greater barriers to economic well-being. However, the similarities in their responses were striking. For both groups, lack of access to capital was perceived as the biggest barrier, while for most, lack of skills was not seen as a large barrier. The exception to this was that those who were most food insecure did rate lack of skills as an important barrier to income generation.

What these findings suggest about programs and policies about access to networks and access to markets:

IDPs

As mentioned, IDPs viewed that lack of family and political connections were challenges to income-generation. This is unsurprising given that they have been uprooted and moved (some several times). Former lives and social connections have been severed. It is also the case, however that all households had less issues with capital and with information about the market when they were more socially engaged. Service providers can encourage such social connection through programs oriented toward community needs. For example, there could be designed health programs that might provide information for caregivers about access to community services. These could scaffold so that once some community members become knowledgeable, they can then teach others.

Hosts

A surprising finding was that hosts felt that legal requirements were greater problems than IDPs. Based on our qualitative data, this most likely relates to increased demands from the city. Part of such increased demands requires increased help; but it is also the case that when such "legal" issues grow, there is less incentive to move to operate shops markets.

As we noted, there are similarities between the IDPs and the Hosts that are striking: these are households that are suffering from extreme poverty. While IDPs had lower reported incomes than Hosts, neither could not consistently feed their household members. All needed access to capital. These communities are fast-growing and in need of opportunities. As a result, infrastructure and service-based programs and policies might be more effective using an entire community-based approach, often called an area-based approach, which is fitting for addressing the community as a whole that struggles with poverty. While there is still an important place for targeted approaches that aim to support specific populations (e.g., gender or IDP-focused programs), area-based

programs should combine both short-term emergency aid (e.g., food distribution) and long-term development aid (e.g., better roads, markets, etc.). Furthermore, some evidence has suggested that host residents and displaced persons supported by humanitarian organizations provide positive social interactions among and between groups through market interactions (Alix-Garcia et al., 2018; Betts et al., 2019; Taylor et al., 2016).

Finally, we refer back to the literature we considered in this paper. The Betts model was helpful in terms of its focus on Access to Markets and Access to Networks. However, access to these should be modified based on the initial type of need and urban context. In the case of extreme poverty and food insecurity, self-reliance and longer-term challenges in urban environments can also be addressed simultaneously, partly because some infrastructure can be improved with community involvement and labor.

4.6 References

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Chapter 5 : Using Land to Promote Refugee Self-Reliance in Uganda

Abstract: Around the world, the number of people displaced from their homes continues to increase due to political conflict and climate change. The Ugandan government's policy for settling refugees shifts the focus from seeing refugees as humanitarian obligations to recognizing that refugee settlements bring improved services and infrastructure that can serve both refugees and residents of the host communities. A key aspect of this policy is to provide refugees with land use rights so they are able to achieve "self-reliance". This research investigates (1) the role of planning in establishing the physical layout of Bidi Bidi, Uganda's largest integrated settlement, (2) the host community's rationale for allowing refugees access to their land, and (3) how refugees used this land. Based on interviews, participant observation, GIS analysis, and document analysis, we learned how refugees altered the settlement's layout to better meet their needs, the unintended consequences of large- scale deforestation on the most vulnerable, and the limitations of the land-based approach to achieve self-reliance. These findings suggest expanding the avenues to achieve self-reliance, improving "integration" of service provision between refugees and residents of the host community, and protecting the area's environment to maintain needed resources.

Keywords: refugee; land use; integration; self-reliance; host community; Uganda

5.1. Introduction

Globally, the number of persons displaced by persecution, violence, technological disasters, or weather-related disasters is rising. Currently, 79.5 million people are displaced from their homes with a subset of 33.8 million people also displaced from their country [1].

According to the United Nations' High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the UN's Refugee Agency, approximately forty percent of displaced persons live in refugee camps/settlements [2]. While refugee camps efficiently offer short-term emergency aid, many residents remain for extended periods. From 1993 to 2003, the average duration of major refugee situations has increased from 9 to 17 years [3]. The majority of refugee camps are located near host communities whose residents resemble the refugees in their extreme poverty, lack of basic infrastructure and social programs, and frequent experiences of food scarcity. Unruh writes, "The enormity of the African refugee problem underscores the importance of resettlement issues in land use planning" [4] (p. 49).

Uganda has the largest number of displaced persons in Africa and the third-largest number in the world [5]. More than 1.4 million refugees or asylum seekers live in Uganda and most come from South Sudan, Somalia, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) [5]. Generally, in a traditional camp, refugees are denied freedom of movement and legal employment, and live in segregated areas away from surrounding communities. Starting more than 20 years before, Ugandan officials formalized their practice of creating "integrated settlements" in 2006 [6]. The

integrated settlement approach recasts the notion of a traditional camp from a humanitarian obligation that consumes resources [7] to a component of regional development that attracts investment. Unlike traditional camps, integrated settlements are located adjacent to a host community's settlement and offer residents of the host community access to the camp's services, schools, and infrastructure upgrades [8]. Refugees living in integrated settlements are permitted freedom of movement, legal employment, access to the host community's markets, and use rights to allocated plots of land. Integrated settlements are intended to foster refugee self-reliance.

The existing literature on Uganda's refugee policy, integrated settlements, and refugees' achievement of self-reliance (from before and after the 2006 Refugee Act) fails to specifically address land negotiations and acquisition, pre-construction planning efforts, and the settlement's physical layout [6,9–16]. Bidi Bidi is the largest integrated settlement in Northern Uganda. We use this as an exemplary case because of its scale and its recent 2016 establishment. This research is based upon 13 interviews with tribal leaders, local and national planners, public officials, and employees of aid organizations conducted in 2019, five site visits from 2016–2019, participant observation in the settlement and with service provision coordination meetings, and a review of relevant documents (e.g., UNDP evaluation reports and humanitarian and governmental reports) and academic literature.

This article has three purposes. The first purpose is to describe the Yumbe District of Uganda and the host community before the arrival of South Sudanese refugees in 2016. Then, based on our interviews and participant observations, we explain how and why the local leaders gave the refugees use rights to their communal land. The second purpose is to describe the construction process of Bidi Bidi and analyze the challenges associated with planning and implementation. We supplement this text with a site plan and photographs to illustrate the spatial configuration of an integrated settlement in relation to areas of the host community. We find that the South Sudanese refugees adjusted Bidi Bidi's spatial layout to better meet their needs. We also note that the loss of forested areas on and near the site has resulted in extreme hardship and contributed to gender based violence. The third purpose of this article is to analyze and critique the land-based component of the self-reliance approach and note the importance of increasing integration between the refugee and host community populations.

5.2. Literature

In this section, we begin by clarifying the definitions of displaced persons, asylum seekers, and refugees. We draw from the extensive literature in anthropology, sociology, and political science to provide an overview of how refugee camps and integrated settlements vary in the freedoms and opportunities given to refugees. Finally, we highlight a study that compared indicators of well-being between refugees in an integrated settlement in Nakivale, Uganda with refugees in a "traditional" refugee camp in nearby Kakuma, Kenya to better understand self-reliance in this context.

5.2.1. Defining Displaced Persons

UNHCR differentiates among individuals who are internally displaced, displaced, seeking asylum or have obtained refugee status. An internally displaced person (IDP) is someone who has been

forced to leave his or her home but still remains within his/her own country's legal borders. IDPs are not protected by international law because they remain under the protection of their own government. An asylum seeker is a person that has been forced to flee their home country due to fear of persecution (see United Nations 1951 Convention, amended in 1967 for the full definition). Once an asylum seeker has been registered, they obtain refugee status, which entitles the individual to international and host country rights (e.g., protection, aid, etc.). [Note 1]

While the focus of this article is on integrated settlements and "traditional" refugee camps, it is important to note that millions of displaced persons do not live in either circumstance but live in spontaneous settlements or foreign cities. Akin to informal settlements, spontaneous settlements are regularly located in areas that are vacant because they are prone to natural disasters, such as flooding and landslides [18–20]. Displaced persons living in these spontaneous settlements may be without the legal right of occupation and have little to no access to emergency aid, physical infrastructure, or social services. Additionally, a significant number of displaced persons make their way to cities in foreign countries. Although countries vary in their policies, generally in African nations, these urbanized displaced persons are considered illegal residents and are without access to emergency aid offered in camps.

5.2.2. Refugee Camps

Approximately 6.6 million people currently live in refugee camps [21]. The UNHCR defines refugee camps as "temporary facilities built to provide immediate protection and assistance to people who have been forced to flee due to conflict, violence or persecution. While camps are not intended to provide permanent solutions, they offer a safe haven for refugees where they receive medical treatment, food, shelter, and other basic services during emergencies" [22]. As noted above, in most refugee camps, refugees are not permitted to freely leave and return to the camp, and refugees cannot seek legal employment [8]. "Camps" are broadly associated with aid-dependent residents (those seeking food, water, shelter, etc.) who are confined in dense areas and heavily segregated from host populations (see Figure 5.1) [8,23]. In addition to being an efficient and effective method by which to deliver aid in emergencies, refugee camps also accomplish political goals such as containment and control [23]. Since many hosting nations consider displaced persons as an economic burden [24] that drains the limited services and resources away from long-term residents, the separated camps intentionally keep refugees from integrating with host communities [25]. While in policy many humanitarian organizations promote bottom-up participatory approaches within the camps, they are designed and located to restrict political agency [26–31] [Note 2]. Thus, integration and self-reliance are difficult goals to achieve when refugees in refugee camps are not allowed to freely move or formally work alongside or with host communities.

In close coordination with UNHCR, willing host governments re-actively determine the site location and layout of the refugee camp(s) or settlement(s) as violence in a neighboring country escalates. This is conducted with the guidance of UNHCR's emergency handbook and camp guidelines. Guidelines recommend locating refugee camps in areas that offer water access, provide stable soil conditions and shade, and have "waste management capabilities". Generally, refugee camps are located no more than one day's walk from the border, so camps are close enough for displaced persons arriving on foot but are far enough to discourage militants from recruiting

refugees to participate in the conflict. The camp location must also permit truck access for the delivery of supplies, with some refugee camps incorporating an airstrip.

Camps have a variety of public spaces, such as health centers, schools, vocational training centers, areas of worship, markets, roads, storage facilities, reception centers, and administration offices [32]. UNHCR has created basic minimum standards to guide the construction of infrastructure, community facilities, and individual plots [33,34]. For example, UNHCR recommends at least one health center with adequate staffing be available for every 20,000 people. In most cases, these guidelines are rarely achieved, as they are dependent on annual fundraising by UNHCR and other NGOs [9]. The first facility generally constructed in a new refugee camp or settlement is the registration center. Here, asylum seekers are registered as refugees with the host government and UNHCR. Once registered, they are recognized by international law providing them rights and entitlements, such as food and non-food items (e.g., a tarp for shelter, plot of land, etc.). It is worth noting that there are multiple critiques that question the way aid organizations implement programs in actual camp settings (see for example [28–31]).



Photograph 5-1: Traditional refugee camp design in Wau, Bahr el Ghazal, South Sudan. Photograph taken by Bruno Feder, 2017.

5.2.3. Integrated Settlements and Self-Relance

Integrated refugee settlements have the potential to overcome some of the problems of refugee camps. In the literature, those who argue for integrated settlements instead of refugee camps offer two broad reasons. First, refugee integration can provide economic and social benefits that contribute to the host nation, such as increased GDP, agricultural production, and the increased provision of infrastructure funded by humanitarian agencies [9,10,35–39]. Second, unlike in

camps, many refugees living in integrated settlements have the freedom to come and go at will and are legally permitted to work [8,9,13,14,35]. For example, refugees are able to access markets outside of the settlement for trade and income-generating activities that contribute to "self-reliance".

Globally, 85 percent of refugees are hosted in developing countries [1]. Furthermore, many refugees reside in highly impoverished host communities amidst residents who also struggle to survive. Therefore, the provision of aid, social services, and infrastructure for refugees can generate strong feelings of anger and resentment from residents of the host community toward the refugees. In an effort to recognize the unmet needs of host communities, UNHCR generally targets 30% of the humanitarian aid, programs, and infrastructure to local residents. For example, if new water boreholes are drilled, 30% of boreholes will be placed in the host community. Some elements of the development, such as roads and markets, generally benefit both communities.

Several studies have examined the impacts of refugees on host communities in African countries [10,36–38]. The majority of these assessments have focused on either the economic [10,36,38], educational [10,37], or health impacts [12,40] on host community members living near refugee camps. Most studies indicate that there are positive economic impacts on host communities due to the infusion of international funding that accompanies the influx of refugees. The creation of infrastructure, particularly roads and water, plus humanitarian aid, alters local trading, employment, and consumption patterns. However, some of the negative impacts associated with hosting refugees include increased competition over natural resources, such as water and trees (for construction and energy) [41], and employment (if refugees have the right to work). Other negative impacts include claims that refugees increase crime and petty theft [42] and introduce new illnesses. In sum, Jacobsen [39] argues that refugee-hosting governments must balance the direct and indirect political, social, and economical benefits that refugees provide while minimizing security threats and capacity issues. Host states also need to ensure adequate resources are provided where refugees are located (rural border areas) and ensure adequate staffing to coordinate services and provide security.

The "integrated settlement" concept has gained international attention and inspired the framework for UNHCR's Transitional Solutions Initiative (TSI) [43]. With the support of the World Bank and UNDP (United Nations Development Programs), the TSI is intended to integrate the provision of emergency services with the improvement of the host community and permit displaced persons to move toward self-reliance. Later in 2016, Uganda state officials committed to the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) and pledged (1) to continue its integrated settlement approach, (2) to provide access to education and formal employment to refugees, and (3) to empower host and refugee communities [44]. This was later reaffirmed during the Kampala Declaration in 2017, which promoted the refugee self-reliance model. As defined by Harrell-Bond, integration is "a situation in which host and refugee communities are able to co-exist, sharing the same resources both economic and social with no greater mutual conflict than that which exists within the host community" [45]. "Self-reliance" in this context is defined as the "social and economic ability of an individual, a household or a community to meet essential needs (including protection, food, water, shelter, personal safety, health, and education) in a sustainable manner and with dignity. Self-reliance, as a programme approach, refers to developing and strengthening livelihoods of persons of concern, and reducing their vulnerability and long-term reliance on

humanitarian/external assistance" [46]. Implicit in the notion of self-reliance in Uganda's integrated settlements is the belief that the majority of refugees will achieve self-reliance through agriculture on designated plots of land. It is also important to note here that this definition of self-reliance is that of aid agencies and romanticizes that notion of subsistence farming to meet the needs of refugee communities [47] (p. 36).

Betts and colleagues (2019) [10] have conducted some of the most thorough research comparing the indicators of the effectiveness of the Ugandan self-reliance approach with the traditional refugee camp approach. The researchers assessed the impact of the refugees' right to work and move, and the provision of land and access to markets on income levels, employment levels, mobility patterns, educational attainment, and the need for continuing assistance. The researchers surveyed over 8000 refugees in Uganda (where the integrated settlement policy exists) and Kenya (where the policy does not).

Most relevant to this study were their findings related to the impact of providing refugees with land and whether agriculture eliminated the need for aid and permitted self-reliance through the sale of surplus food. Because land is a finite resource and refugees had continued to arrive at the integrated settlement at Nakivale, Uganda, the size of plots had decreased as had the availability of plots for new arrivals. Initially, refugees were given a shelter plot measuring 15 m by 20 m as well as a cultivation plot measuring 50 m by 50 m. Over time, continuing demand required decreasing agricultural plots to 20 m by 50 m. Understandably, refugees had greater success in moving toward self-reliance with the larger plots. Another change over time related to the provision of land for agriculture was the decrease in soil fertility due to constant cultivation. So, as the agricultural plots became smaller, they also became less productive.

5.2.4. Context

In this section, we provide an overview of Bidi Bidi's context within the Yumbe District of northwest Uganda (630 km (391 miles) north of Kampala). The Yumbe District lies directly adjacent to the South Sudanese border. The southernmost counties of South Sudan are Kajo Keji and Moyo. Yumbe's topography is relatively flat with some rolling hills. The average annual rainfall is 1250 mm (50 inches), but it is concentrated into two periods. Agriculture occupies approximately 80% of the district [48]. Common crops are millet, potatoes, beans, and cassava. The remaining portion of the Yumbe District is forested. The forested areas includes acacia, cumbrietta, and fig trees [48].

According to Uganda's 2014 census, prior to the influx, 484,822 people lived in the Yumbe District and only 6% of the population lived in urban settlements [49]. The Aringa people have traditionally lived in this area, and the majority are followers of Islam. The Yumbe District has historically been one of the poorest regions in Uganda. The development of infrastructure, schools, and economic diversification have lagged behind the country's averages. Most residents of Yumbe live in mud huts (tukels) with thatched roofs (Figure 5.2).



Photograph 5-2: These are typical homes in the Yumbe District of northern Uganda. The residents are drying sorghum. Photograph taken by Tim Berke, 2019.

5.3. Methods

In summer 2019, the first author spent time during June through August accompanying staff of the non-governmental organization, Sustainable Children Aid (SCA), who introduced him to community members, local leaders, and government officials at the district and federal level [Note 3]. Using a snowball sample method after initial introductions, the first author was able to formally interview 13 respondents, 9 men and 4 women (with IRB approval and the special permission of the Ugandan Prime Minister's Office). The first author interviewed 3 local Yumbe officials, 1 member of the Office of the Prime Minister, 3 traditional local leaders, 4 employees of different international aid organizations, one UN site planner, and one UNICEF protection officer [Note 4].

All respondents were asked where they would like to be interviewed. Some interviews took place in respondents' offices, while others occurred in informal settings. For example, local district officials provided several "ride-alongs" in which the first author participated in day-to-day and special activities, such as tree planting. Additionally, local leaders were interviewed outside their homes. Recorded semi-formal interviews were conducted in English and lasted between 1 and 2 hours [Note 5].

The interviews were semi-structured and included questions about how refugees received land, coordination between and among service providers, lessons learned from establishing settlements for displaced peoples in emergencies, and many others.

The first author also attended and observed service provider coordination meetings, assessments, and public forums (e.g., World Refugee Day in Bidi Bidi). To validate and compare observation and interview data, we reviewed United Nations (UN) policy documents and reports, such as

international standardized refugee camp planning guidelines, toolkits, and public reports about the Bidi Bidi settlement.

After transcribing the in-person interviews, the first author used an abductive approach of analysis by openly coding the transcriptions [50]. The initial phase included examining surprising findings and dilemmas to generate themes. Once several themes began to emerge, (e.g., environmental derogation, issues of subsistence farming, coordination, and physical layout of the camp design), the first author used them to focus code the transcriptions while simultaneously reading the literature and relevant policy documents. Based on these sources of evidence, we began to understand how the planning and construction of Bidi Bidi had occurred, how the loss of trees negatively impacted refugees, why local leaders gave the refugees use rights to the land, and the strengths and weaknesses of the Ugandan integrated settlement policy.

5.4. Results

The results are divided into three sections. In the first section, we describe the establishment of the integrated settlement and the current conditions. In the second section, we summarize how the size of the al-located agricultural plots is decreasing and thereby threatening the viability of agriculture to meet refugees' subsistence needs and promote self-reliance. We also note that the rapid settlement process neglected to involve local leaders and district government officials. In our final section, we recount how site preparation practices removing trees exacerbated the loss of wood needed to provide refugees with materials for construction and fuel energy. The lack of wood has increased problems with gender based violence and the lack of wood combined with the lack of sufficient land for farming has caused some refugees to return to South Sudan despite continuing violence.

5.4.1. Establishment of Bidi Bidi

On 8 July 2016, civil conflict broke out in South Sudan's capital between troops loyal to the South Sudanese President Salva Kiir and those loyal to Vice President Riak Machar. Subsequently, the violence dis-placed over four million South Sudanese. Roughly 1.9 million people were internally displaced while another 2.2 million South Sudanese people fled the country [51]. As the conflict spread southward in South Sudan, many displaced people walked to Uganda seeking safety and asylum.

After the conflict in South Sudan erupted in July 2016, Uganda state officials and UNHCR anticipated an influx of refugees into Northern Uganda. In response, the Office of the Prime Minister of Uganda (OPM) met with local authorities from the Yumbe district office to lobby for land to settle the newly arriving refugees. During this time, humanitarian actors (e.g., UN, NGOs, etc.) also began to coordinate emergency service delivery (the first author participated in four of these multi-sectoral meetings). In northern Uganda, most of the land is considered communal and governed by customary laws of a specific clan that has a historical claim to the territory. There is a "land chief" (or "landlord") that serves as the community representative overseeing how the land is used.

When asked why the local people would give land for the settlement, the Yumbe District official responded that the land was provided to help the refugees, with the expectation that development accompanying the refugees would also benefit the host community.

> *"The land belongs to the people. It is not government land. And when the refugees came, the people willingly gave their land, freely without any money—because of the plight of the Sudanese refugees. When the refugees will go back to their country this land falls back to the landlords who gave it…[the local people benefit by getting access to] education, health, and then there are also other social services. Like they are giving water drilled, boreholes...They [the residents of the host community] get cheap food from the refugees they buy. They can even exchange animals because communities have animals and the refugees can give them food [in exchange]. The residents of the host community get services like road construction, maintenance of the road, and so on."*

Additionally, this was supported by interviews with local landlords who suggested that local (at the district level) Ugandans could gain employment through international and national aid organizations. This was consistent with the findings of Vogelsang [52], who interviewed Ugandan landlords about their expectations of hosting refugees.

An official from the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) recounted how they planned and constructed the settlement. Within days of the first influx of refugees, a UNHCR site planner created a basic master plan in "3–5 days". In the Director's description, he detailed the chaotic situation.

> *"We (OPM) started demarcating that area and we produced, I think, over 2000 plots within one or two days. And then the refugees came... we spotted them along the road. And the UNHCR bulldozer started creating the roads inside, because it was a thicket. And besides that, there were streams. There were no bridges or culverts to pass on. And then, there were rocky areas but people had to be put on the land because the next day another 4000 people would come to the reception center…. So that's how we started it. And then later on, of course, the site planner (UNHCR) kept on drawing his plan but the movements of people were so great that within 4 months Bidi Bidi was already full with over 200,000 persons…we made 40 kilometers of roads inside there and … in the host community where the roads would pass. And then the rest of the infrastructure was just put there later on, the schools, health centers…"*

Though the master plan provided guidance on general development (e.g., where roads, bridges, and residential areas would be located), it did not carefully consider the existing natural environment, and the recommended Environmental Impact Assessment was not performed. A preliminary report conducted by UNDP noted that the physical planning of Bidi Bidi had been limited due to financial constraints [53]. A later UNDP report noted concerns that the OPM and UNHCR had not fully involved the local district administrators/town councils in the land use planning and policies for the refugee settlement [53]. Local officials confirmed that they were not involved in the physical planning process and had not met the UNHCR site planners. While local

landlords never mentioned frustration with refugees, they complained that OPM used the land without further consultation. "*Once the land is given the host community has no say over how it is used*"—Local Landlord [Note 6].

District officials regularly expressed concerns about the longevity of the infrastructure and the lack of coordination in establishing where to locate facilities. Bidi Bidi, currently under the control of the OPM, recognized district administration as "token" parallel service providers who were eventually expected to assume full responsibility. The district officials suggested this temporary infrastructure, and district officials' lack of meaningful involvement could undermine the benefits of host communities.

> *"…we have an emergency situation so most infrastructure put in is temporary. We need to put facilities that can accommodate people for the meantime. … from now onwards investments we need to do when in regards to infrastructure we need to put in permanent structures that can outlive the situation we are in in case the registration of refugees ends infrastructure needs to benefit the local community, as far as infrastructure development goes."*

The national officials were aware of the concerns from district officials. When the regional director of the OPM was asked about permanence of the infrastructure he said, "*That is the proposal but you know these things are determined by money…The emergency started with temporary structures, so if money comes from donors we move to permanent. That is what has been going on."*

The Yumbe district officials wanted a detailed physical development plan to accompany UNHCR's rough master plan. However, the scale and speed of the emergency overwhelmed their efforts as well as their abilities to coordinate the hundreds of various stakeholders (e.g., NGOs, UN agencies, OPM, host community, refugees, etc.). District officials believed that a context-specific physical development plan would have helped them guide and coordinate the numerous NGOs developing structures (e.g., schools, health clinics, etc.). Waters [28] discusses the challenges of one-size-fits-all planning and the frustration local administrators often face when implementing them. District officials also stated that if local officials and local leaders had been consulted by the disaster management committee, a better plan would have resulted. For example, the Yumbe district planner said:

> *"One key recommendation should have been administration whereby you want to start NGO, camp, IDP camp, one thing you should ensure is such area, should have physical development, structured plan."*
>
> *The minister of disaster came out clearly and said we need to get areas where we can relocate people, and how do we relocate these people? You need to plan those areas. Meaning there is some bit of disaster management plan, but whatever we do in Uganda here has been in a piecemeal way. We have not been having something comprehensive. We just come and do something in a piecemeal way, to arrest a situation. And when this situation is done, we tend to forget, and not until we also succumb to a similar situation…But I think, what has happened with Bidi Bidi has*

taught all of us, has given us a lesson and we're now looking at handling issues in a comprehensive way."

"As a physical planner, the physical development plan is very key because it is going to streamline all the other small activities going to take place there. It will lay out the infrastructure plan ... to be very clear."

While district officials expressed concerns about the longevity of some of the infrastructure, they were encouraged by the amount of development in Bidi Bidi (see Figures 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5). When a government official was asked about the future of Bidi Bidi, he suggested that if permanent structures were implemented and maintained, Bidi Bidi could turn into a model city.

"*Actually, it has beaten the town because of the beautiful structures which they have put [in]... the already existing roads, eh, should be well maintained. If they get the funds to allow they can even tarmac the roads…And then if we have proper physical planning, that.. can involve the local government in planning and so on, the settlement can become a model city in the future."*

Another official suggested that Bidi Bidi could become the Central Business District (CBD) of Yumbe, "*Well with the trend of things are going there I would say I could see it becoming a very big city. Very busy town. In the situation of Bidi Bidi [it is] even having what kind of con-version to [Central Business District] CBD".* He then provided many examples of businesses that were growing within the camp (Figure 4) such as transportation hubs.

The district OPM official explained that they had incorporated les-sons learned from past settlements, such as ensuring that there are cemeteries. *"In the past we were not planning for cemeteries but this time we had to plan for cemeteries because it was causing a lot of stress in other settlements."*

5.4.2. Current Conditions

Refugees living in Bidi Bidi now constitute 1/3 of Yumbe's popu-lation. Bidi Bidi now occupies approximately 32 percent (764 km2 (295 mi2) of 2393 km2) of the Yumbe district and is divided into five zones (Figure 5.1). According to UNDP, 83% of the settled areas of Bidi Bidi are now fully occupied [53] (p. 7). The camp is sectioned into five different "zones". Zone 1 is located in Romogi (sub-county), Zone 2 in Kochi, Zone 3 in Kululu, Zone 4 in Odravu, and Zone 5 in Ariwa. Each zone has areas for residential and agricultural uses, a small market area, health facility, schools, and 10 to 20 "villages". The villages could be likened to neighborhoods. In between the five zones live residents of the host community, and the Figure 6 map illustrates the smaller areas of host residents relative to the areas for refugees. The market in Zone 2 has evolved into the largest of the area's markets. Based on our efforts to geolocate UNHCR maps, we estimate that the refugee settlement area measures 55 km2 (7%), and the designated agricultural plots constitute 49 km2 (6%). Large portions of the area remain open as traditional hunting grounds.



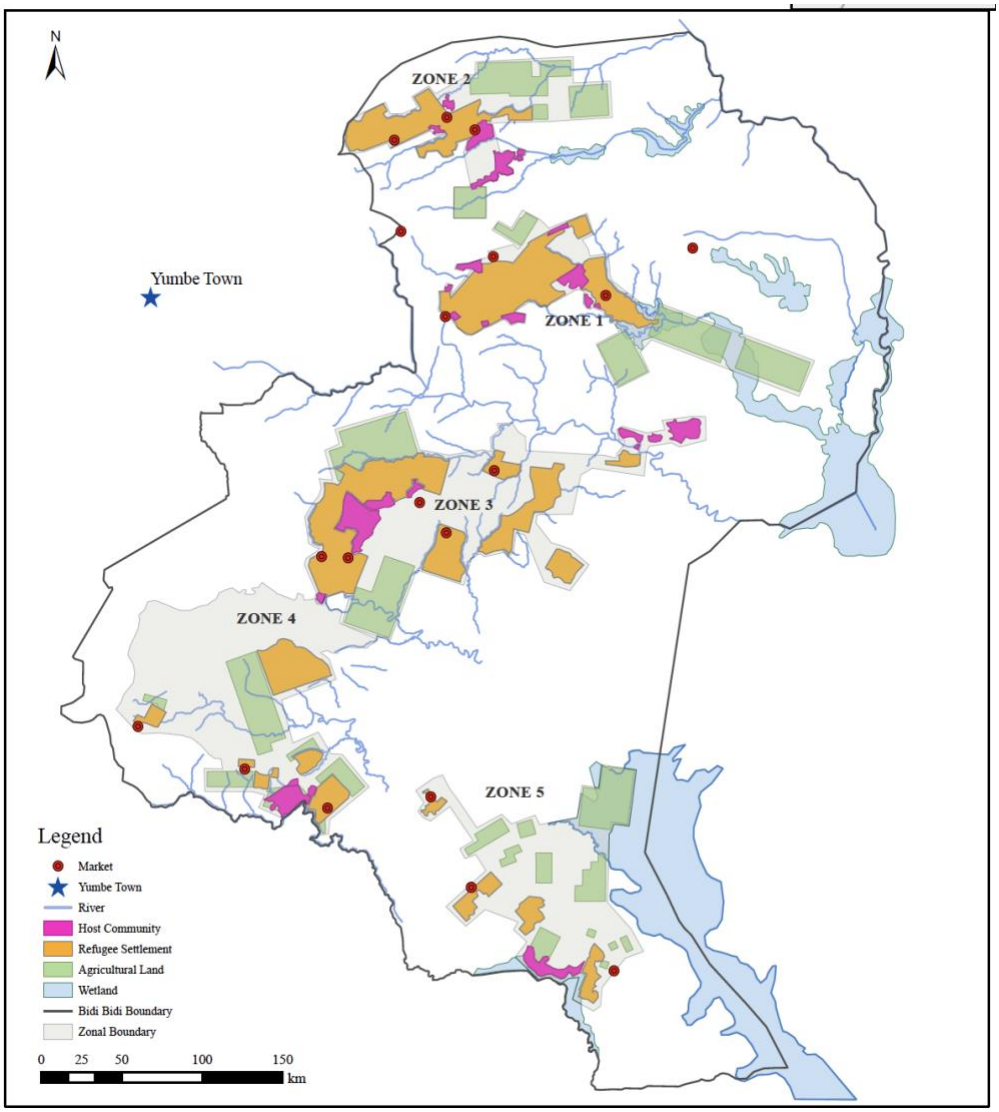
Photograph 5-3: These refugee homes are indistinguishable from the homes of the host community's residents. In addition to farming their allocated plot, this family has established a small store in front of their homes. Photograph taken by Tim Berke, 2019.



Photograph 5-4: The market in Zone 2 is the largest market in Bidi Bidi. On this day, a national holiday, the market is quiet. Photograph taken by Tim Berke, 2019



Photograph 5-5: This is one of the elementary schools in Bidi Bidi. Photograph taken by Tim Berke, 2019.



Photograph 5-6: Map of the Bidi Bidi settlement. The map was created using UNHCR documents and materials dated 16 May 2019.

When planning refugee settlements, UNHCR applies a standard-ized grid pattern for residential space. Therefore, in Bidi Bidi, a grid pattern was used to organize the agricultural plots and shelter sites. When first allocating plots of land in a grid layout, UNHCR and OPM assigned shelter sites for the house adjacent to the 50 m by 50 m agri-cultural plot. The intention, according to a UNHCR site planner, was that people could "eat from day one, have that ability to be self-sufficient, generate an income". However, as land was assigned and the influx of refugees continued, OPM reduced this plot size to 30 m by 30 m to accommodate new arrivals.

Generally, refugee households now receive a 30 m by 30 m plot [53] (p. 4). Using United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) data, UNDP conducted an analysis to assess the potential productivity of a 30 m by 30 m plot, assuming fertile soil and maximum yields. In the analysis, they found that plots of this size could not meet the dietary needs of refugees in the absence of food rations [53] (p. 9). The same report suggested that the quality of the land given to refugees varied widely, with some rocky and infertile areas amidst fertile areas. These findings

challenge the assumption that refugee households could become self-reliant through subsistence farming [53] (p. 7). This was reinforced by a recent UNHCR report (April 2020) stating 97% of Bidi Bidi households were still receiving food assistance [5].
In addition to insufficient fertile land, weather variation complicates refugees' efforts. Uganda has two rainy seasons, usually from September through December and February through April. The dry seasons (when harvesting takes place) are generally in January and July. In 2018, Uganda experienced a drought that resulted in extensive crop loss and constrained access to water, which seriously impacted refugees [54]. Climate change is expected to exacerbate drought and flooding and either weather condition could significantly reduce refugees' ability to rely on subsistence agriculture.

Since the camp's establishment in 2016, the refugees have modified its layout to better meet their needs7. A UNHCR site planner noted that many people did not live on the allocated settlement site adjacent to their agricultural plot but opted to cluster their homes near friends and rela-tives and walk to their fields.

> *"The settlements are really sprawling out... People while initially may have been allocated these orthogonal [plots], rather generous in terms of size, but people are actually more densely ... clustered around trading center hubs. And they would leave for ...agriculture, they separated entirely, and they'd farm different parts of the landscape. So...what I'm trying to say is that people [are] not really sticking to the expected grid… the tendency was to have the thriving more urban center, the residential and trading and markets, etc. And then to have buffers between these hubs, you actually [have more] agri-cultural land…It wasn't planned. But that has been the tendencies, so people would be allocated these parts, but then they would actually not build on them. They would use those parts purely for agriculture. And then they would build next to neighbors and friends and extended relatives, families who'd already crossed circles".*

5.4.3. Deforestation

While we focused our interview questions on how refugees were using land and whether it was sufficient to support self-reliance, we quickly learned that the lack of another natural resource, trees, was imposing considerable hardship on both the refugees and host com-munity residents. In addition to using trees for construction materials (for homes and homesteads), wood is relied upon for cooking [Note 8]. As mentioned above, large areas of trees were removed in the initial construction process to "clear" the settlement area. Interviewees noted that greater care should have been taken to preserve some of the stands of trees on the site during the initial construction phase. Post-constructsion need by refugees and host community residents had quickly deplted surrounding wooded areas [Note 9].
Generally, South Sudanese women and girls are responsible for collecting firewood to cook. One of the main concerns when collecting firewood is the potential threat of gender-based violence, specifically rape. When the Bidi Bidi settlement was first established in 2016, refugee women and girls could walk a few minutes to safely collect firewood. According to the Yumbe District Staff member, this changed rapidly. The following year (2017), women and girls had to walk 5 km and then in 2018, ten kilometers. As the settlement grew and the demand for firewood increased, the

need to walk farther and farther created a situation in which women and girls were exposed to longer, unsafe daily journeys.

In interviews with two social workers and a protection manager employed by a national NGO, they emphasized that deforestation was leading to gender-based violence, death, and relocation of refugees. One of the social workers explained "*If you go to the bush to collect firewood—the people from the host community...they attack you and they kill you. So, they [the refugees] also fear that."*

From the interviews, we learned that a small number of refugees were returning to South Sudan despite danger from the continuing conflict. When asked why people would risk going back (to the IDP camps in Kajo Keji), the national NGO employee responded that these refugees felt they had better chances to collect firewood, and the land was more fertile to farm, which meant they could generate an income by selling produce (and not buying fuelwood). For some refugees, having a higher degree of self-sufficiency in the conflict zone outweighed the offerings of the integrated settlement outside the conflict zone.

5.5. Discussion

While there is literature on Uganda's refugee policy and self-reliance [6,9–16], it focuses on the policy and not the planning process of establishing the physical settlement and the resulting outcomes. Additionally, while there have been some UN evaluations of Bidi Bidi, few academic investigations have been published despite its position as the largest refugee settlement in Uganda (see [55]).

This research has documented some of the changes that have oc-curred in Uganda's Yumbe District since the establishment of the Bidi Bidi integrated settlement in 2016. The district population has rapidly increased from 484,822 to approximately 715,887 in four years [53]. The local leaders have given use rights to a portion of their land in exchange for the investment, infrastructure, local employment, and social services that they expect to accompany humanitarian assistance. The planning, plot survey, and initial road construction occurred in approximately 3 days. This rapid settlement process neglected the involvement of local tribal leaders and district government officials and has resulted in environmental degradation. The current settlement is approximately 765 km2 (295 miles2) and it is divided into five zones/sub-areas. While the total area of Bidi Bidi is relatively large, the large numbers of refugees and the diversity of their skills have meant that the land-based approach to self-reliance is insufficient.

We conclude by extracting three key findings from our research and suggest policy and practice modifications to better serve refugees and residents of the host community in a more environmentally sustainable way. These findings concern expanding the paths to self-reliance, im-proving "integration" for both refugees and residents of the host com-munity, and protecting the area's environmental resources to permit their continued use.

5.5.1. Plot Allocation and Reality of Self-Reliance

The first conclusion concerns the questionable reality of the self-reliance program based on agricultural plots due to limited land availability and the diverse backgrounds and abilities of refugees. Hunter [47] suggests the UNHCR self-reliance strategies place a romantic and unrealistic

emphasis on subsistence farming to meet the needs of refugee communities [47] (p. 36). While we support Betts and colleagues' [10] finding that "a functioning land allocation system can be an effective means to support refugees from agricultural backgrounds", our research found that by subdividing the agricultural plots to meet demand, the smaller plots weren't sufficient to provide food for the family and generate a surplus that could be sold. Additionally, as refugees stay for longer periods, family sizes get larger, and soil fertility decreases [13]. Land is a finite resource of varying fertility. As revealed by Werker [14], we found that the land provided to refugees was often not as fertile as host areas. Within refugee integrated settlements, the number of agricultural plots should be limited in number and focused on fertile areas. Reducing everyone's plot size gradually to meet the needs of new arrivals is re-moving this as a viable route to self-reliance. This highlights the need for diversifying the livelihood options beyond crop cultivation. For example, Grosrenaud et al. (2021) [56] found that if refugees are active participants in preserving the environment in the settlement agroforestry, it improves all livelihoods and increases nutrition rates.

Working with refugees and members of the host community in a collaborative planning process may generate an expanded array of options. Jahre et al. [32] conducted a comprehensive assessment of the integrated settlement approach in Kenya, Ethiopia, Greece, and Turkey. They found that the top-down approach existed during the initial planning and construction phase of the integrated settlement. However, as the settlement matured, more bottom-up participatory decision-making began to occur. Werker [14] argues humanitarian agencies and planners can reduce the constraints refugees experience in accessing the market by either providing transportation or locating the camps closer to existing markets. Considering refugees' likelihood of experiencing an extended stay in the integrated settlement, workforce development that helps move residents toward self-reliance and fosters access to markets will lessen the amount of long-term support required.

5.5.2. The Need for Integration

Our second and third conclusions echo the words of a district staff member. When asked to share the lessons he had learned from his experiences in Bidi Bidi, he identified the need to improve social integration and protect the environment for the settlement's long-term viability. Our second conclusion addresses the issue of integration from three persectives: (1) the lack of integration between the local planners/administrators and host community leaders with OPM, the UNHCR, and non-governmental organizations, (2) the lack of integration between the refugees and residents of the host community, and (3) the lack of integration of the refugees into Ugandan citizenship.

Our research found that local and district administrators/town councils and host community leaders were not involved in the on-going planning and management of Bidi Bidi. Interviews with individuals working in the OPM, UNHCR, non-governmental organizations, and local authorities all recognized that this omission resulted in many problems. These included the district officials and host community leaders' unmet expectations to provide input on land use planning and preservation of the wooded areas. In part, the initial disconnect may have occurred because of the speed of the construction. However, once some stability had been achieved, efforts should have engaged the local planners and people. Policy decisions intended to benefit local officials and host community members are being made in Kampala and Geneva. The issue of top-down planning is an enduring problem. If goals, such as self-sufficiency, continue to be set and defined by

international agencies and donors (Waters, 2001) without an understanding of how refugees and host communities live, programs will continue to be ineffective [29]. The Regional Durable Solutions Secretariat (ReDSS), a consortium in East Africa that focuses on durable solutions policy development (e.g., service integration), suggested: "There should be a greater investment of time and resources in settlement and site planning, including attention to building local capacities to participate more effectively in these processes" [57].

Another form of integration concerns integrated service provision. Our findings suggest that district officials had concerns over the longevity of infrastructure and the lack of coordination around siting facilities for social services such as education and health care. Integrated service provision is based on the concept that refugees and residents of the host community will have access to the same quality of facilities and services. In Uganda's refugee policy, 30 percent of refugee services are intended to serve the host population, and in most refugee settings, humanitarian actors operate distinct parallel services for refugees and for residents of the host community. In addition to maintaining separation between the refugees and residents, operating parallel services can be costly and inefficient [58]. Currently, OPM, with the support of UNHCR, directly oversees all refugee processes and service delivery. While research in-dicates that integrated services are resulting in some positive impacts for both host and refugees, the structure and administration of services de-livery has not been decentralized to the district level. Similar to Tuepker and Chi [12], ReDSS [57], and Jacobsen (2002) [39], we recommend that as the settlement matures, more responsibilities for service delivery should fall upon the appropriate ministries, districts, and local administrations versus OPM and UNHCR. Expanding integrative services into admin-istrative structures in Bidi Bidi would support the host community's buy-in, reduce any parallel service delivery, and promote community integration.

Finally, the truest form of integration would be offering refugees steps toward legal citizenship in Uganda. While a topic beyond the focus of this paper, Uganda's settlement policy does not provide a "durable solution" (citizenship) for protracted refugees, nor do they incorporate refugees' views of durable solutions [59,60].

5.5.3. Protecting the Environment from Irreparable Damage

Our third conclusion concerns the need to recognize that both refugees and residents of the host community rely on the environment beyond agricultural land. In the initial stages of establishing Bidi Bidi, greater care should have been taken to preserve trees. One of the biggest problems in Bidi Bidi is now the lack of wood for construction and fuel energy. Recent reports have estimated that each household would need a 50 m by 50 m plot to grow trees to meet their fuelwood needs [61]. However, plots have already been reduced to 30 m by 30 m and are intended for agricultural and residential purposes. The local officials stated that while the environment was neglected in the first two years of Bidi Bidi's establishment, it is now recognized as a top priority amongst all stakeholders (e.g., host, refugees, government, and humanitarians). Tree planting programs are currently underway.

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) has created guidelines for safe access to firewood and alternative energy in humanitarian settings to reduce gender-based violence. The guidelines advocate for designated areas for woodlots, efficient stoves, and farming

that produces both food and fuel [62]. Tree planting activities can be used to support peacekeeping activities and reduce tensions between refugees and residents. In an interview, a local official recommended including tree seedlings in the packet of non-perishable emergency aid supplies distributed to refugees upon entry.

This finding highlights the need to consciously recognize that the initial settlement is likely to host refugees for extended periods and will have lasting impacts on the host community. Therefore, the integrated settlement needs to balance short-time emergency relief provision with the land use and environmental planning necessary for a viable settlement. We recognize this is no easy task and it may require a phased approach where refugee families move to "permanent" locations within the settlement after their initial period of stabilization. With this phased approach, refugees could express their needs and preferences related to livelihood opportunities and living near family/former community members. Currently, refugees are assigned their permanent place upon registration, without their input.

Integrated settlements are not a simple solution to the refugee "problem", but they can offer refugees opportunities and empowerment while providing host communities with needed improvements and economic investment. While continuing research can identify effective modifications to the integrated settlement approach, this needs to be performed concurrently with global discussions of collective responsibility of all countries, regardless of proximity. This discussion of collective responsibility was a major aspect of the 2016 New York Declaration [50]. All UN member nations agreed to acknowledge their global responsibility by accepting refugees into their own countries as well as to financially support other countries, such as Uganda, that provide many refugees protection.

Notes

1. This can be a challenging and complex process, but in countries such as Uganda that experience largescale influxes of displaced persons they receive refugee status on a prima facie basis. This means the state recognizes refugee status due to "basis of the readily apparent, objective circumstances in the country of origin giving rise to exodus" [17].
2. While the camps restrict political agency, they open new spaces for resistance, contestation, and new possibilities for political action [26,27].
3. The first author established social and professional networks working with SCA and other organizations on the border of South Sudan and Uganda for four years.
4. Although the first author interacted (e.g., lived and ate) with refugees, time constraints prevented acquiring approval from IRB and OPM to formally record and interview refugees. Although we incorporated participant observation, we acknowledged the limitations of not formally intervieing the refugees themselves. We are actively persuing permission to conduct such interviews.
5. Although formal interviews were in English, there were times in which Arabic (Juba) was used in interactions with refugees.
6. Based on many conversations with residents, resentment was not expressed toward refugees as they understood their plight. However, some of their resentment was

directed toward the office of the prime minister for lack of adequate "compensation" for their land.

7. While most refugees in Bidi Bidi are South Sudanese, they do not share a single, homogenous culture. While some of the refugees come from urban areas such as Juba, the majority come from rural areas and are either agriculturalists or pastoralists and self-identify as farmers [53]. Even though many refugees were farmers, conflicts have arisen between "agriculturalists" and "pastoralists".
8. Recent assessment conducted by UNHCR estimated that on average 3.5 kg of fuelwood was used per person per day in Bidi Bidi [61].
9. To demonstrate the importance of deforestation being experienced within and outside of Bidi Bidi, World Refugee Day on 20 June 2018 was held under the theme of "Take a step #withrefugees protect the environment". Numerous local, national (including the Ugandan vice president), international and refugee leaders publicly discussed the pressing use of deforestation in Bidi Bidi. This was followed with a symbolic joint activity of planting 10,000 trees by both host and refugee community members (the first author took part in public discussion and activity).

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Chapter 6 Conclusion and Discussion

In this section, I begin by revisiting my dissertation questions and highlighting the key findings. Next, I offer policy recommendations derived from these findings. Following this, I provide guidance for further research in the area. Finally, I conclude with my overall thoughts and reflections.

6.1 Context and Research Questions

There is an increasing number of forcibly displaced persons due to conflicts and natural disasters. This trend will likely continue, driven by climate-related disasters, conflict, and insufficient long-term solutions for displaced populations (ECHO, 2023). Historically, UN agencies and governments have housed displaced persons in camps, which are efficient but limit residents' freedom and opportunities for integration and self-reliance. Over the past few decades, the majority of displaced individuals have begun to migrate to urban areas, seeking better opportunities, posing both challenges and development opportunities for under-resourced cities (IIED, 2021).

Research on how displaced persons fare in urban settings is limited, and cities face competition for resources between displaced populations and long-term residents. Understanding the needs of both groups is crucial for developing effective urban policies and solutions.

This dissertation explores the challenges and needs of displaced persons, emphasizing the importance of balancing support for both displaced individuals and host communities to foster mutual benefits and stability. To achieve this, I pose three overarching questions:

1. Do host residents and displaced persons living within the same urban residential areas prioritize different city services and infrastructure? Understanding the needs of displaced persons and whether their needs for city services differ significantly from host residents will help prioritize future assistance programs (Chapter 3).
2. What are the income-generating barriers displaced persons face in urban settings and are they different from those experienced by host residents? Understanding the economic barriers and social dynamics in urban areas can inform strategies to improve self-reliance and economic well-being for displaced persons and host residents (Chapter 4).
3. How do progressive refugee policies, such as those that provide land for refugees in Bidi Bidi, in North Uganda, impact self-reliance in both urban and integrated settlements? Investigating these aspects will help us understand if similar strategies could be applied in urban contexts to promote self-reliance among displaced persons (Chapter 5)

The United Nations and humanitarian agencies commonly use self-reliance as the goal for policies and programs aimed at displaced persons. Betts et al. (2020) developed a framework to illustrate

the key components necessary for refugee self-reliance. I used Betts et al.'s (2020) framework to guide my research questions and derive the findings.

In this dissertation, I explored the complexities of urban and settlement integration for forcibly displaced persons, focusing specifically on South Sudan and Uganda. Using a mixed-methods approach that included household surveys, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, and participatory observation, I examined the experiences of displaced persons and host communities in urban environments. The three chapters below address each of the questions systematically.

6.2 Overview of Key Findings and Their Implications

Chapter 1: The Importance of City Services to Internally Displaced Persons, Returnees, and Host Residents in Juba, South Sudan

This chapter found that city services are vital for the well-being and integration of displaced individuals in Juba, South Sudan, with perceptions and priorities varying significantly by household status (host, IDP, or returnee) rather than residential area. The research suggests modifications to self-reliance models, such as those proposed by Betts et al. (2020), by identifying security as a distinct enabling factor and refining categories like "Access to Markets" to encompass labor and capital markets. The findings advocate for the importance of holistic urban planning that integrates the needs of displaced populations alongside host residents. This involves prioritizing shared resources like parks and transportation, and emphasizes the need for collaboration between humanitarian agencies, local authorities, and international organizations. I recommend that strategies be flexible and tailored to the unique socio-political contexts of each city, encouraging local governments and development actors to engage with IDP and returnee networks in planning and implementing urban services. Additionally, the research suggests that coordinated efforts between emergency and development aid actors can effectively address both immediate needs and long-term goals. By doing so, these approaches can enhance infrastructural and social resilience, making cities like Juba more accommodating for displaced populations while also fostering community well-being.

Chapter 2: Navigating Income-Generation Barriers: Perceptions of Host Residents and Displaced Persons in Urban Juba, South Sudan

In this chapter, I investigated the barriers to income generation faced by both IDPs and host residents in urban settings. Both groups experience extreme poverty and a lack of access to capital, suggesting interventions should support the entire community rather than targeting specific groups. The findings imply that models like Betts's et al. 2020 should be adapted for urban areas struggling with extreme poverty and food insecurity. The results emphasize adopting a community-based approach that integrates short-term emergency aid with long-term development initiatives. The economic vulnerability of both groups indicates that such integrated approaches may be more effective than targeted demographic strategies in addressing systemic barriers and enhancing

socioeconomic well-being. This involves supporting social engagement programs to rebuild IDPs' connections and addressing legal barriers affecting hosts. By fostering social interactions through market activities and enhancing infrastructure with community involvement, these programs can improve access to capital and networks, promoting economic resilience and self-reliance. This holistic approach is crucial in rapidly growing urban settings where both hosts and IDPs face significant economic challenges.

Chapter 3: Using Land to Promote Refugee Self-Reliance in Uganda

This chapter offers insights into the planning and implementation of Uganda's refugee policy that integrates both refugees and host communities. By examining the Bidi Bidi settlement and identifying key areas for improvement—such as diversifying pathways to self-reliance, enhancing social integration, and conserving environmental resources—these findings contribute significantly to both theoretical and practical discussions on sustainable refugee management. Theoretically, the research challenges existing models that overly rely on land-based self-reliance, advocating for more diversified livelihood strategies that account for the varied backgrounds and skills of refugees. Practically, it emphasizes the importance of participatory planning that includes local and district authorities, promoting integration and reducing inefficiencies like parallel service delivery. Furthermore, the chapter highlights the importance of environmental stewardship during the planning process to ensure long-term viability of settlements and mitigate resource depletion, which impact the most vulnerable populations. These insights informs ongoing academic discourse on refugee policies and offers actionable recommendations for policymakers and humanitarian organizations looking to improve outcomes for displaced populations and their host communities.

6.3 Policy Recommendations

6.3.1 Enhanced Urban Planning and Service Provision

Urban planners and policymakers should prioritize the inclusion of internally displaced persons (IDPs) and returnees in the planning process. Engaging these populations can help tailor services to their specific needs, improve service delivery, and foster better integration with host communities. By considering the unique challenges and contributions of IDPs and returnees, urban planners can support more comprehensive and effective urban development.

Over the past few decades, displaced persons have increasingly migrated to urban settings, seeking better opportunities and resources. However, humanitarian agencies often face difficulties managing the complexities inherent in urban environments. The 2019 Global Report on Internal Displacement highlighted “the need for more specific urban planning expertise and additional time and resources to generate more detailed data.” (IDMC, 2019).

In urban settings, area-based approaches are gaining traction among humanitarian organizations such as UNHCR and UN-Habitat. Area-based approaches typically involve: (a) targeting geographic areas with high levels of need, defined by physical, social, or administrative

boundaries; (b) adopting a multi-sectoral approach that addresses needs, capacities, and access to services across all sectors; (c) implementing an inclusive approach that considers all population groups in the location, including hosts, displaced persons, returnees, the poor, and those with specific vulnerabilities; and (d) employing participatory modalities that involve all actors present in the location, such as local authorities, local civil society and service providers, and international organizations (Schell et al., 2020) These approaches are critical as more displaced populations move to urban settings, and urban planners have the skill set to be playing a vital role.

Traditionally, urban and regional planning integrates participatory and technical processes. Plans derived from these processes incorporate long-term visions that reflect local aspirations and values for future development. The value of an urban plan is that local and technical knowledge is used to identify the most suitable places for development, incorporating public health, economic, housing, social services, and general infrastructure to meet expected future demand. However, how do planners help develop visions for urban and rural change, given the unpredictability of conflict, climate change, and a subsequent mass influx or outflux of displaced populations?

Urban planners can play a role in bringing together a broad and diverse group of stakeholders, including government entities (at the national, state, and local levels), community leaders, IDPs, returnees, and international and national aid agencies. By facilitating coordination and collaboration among these groups, planners can contribute to identifying locally based solutions and promoting sustainable, equitable urban development. This inclusive approach aims to ensure that the needs of all urban residents, including the displaced, are considered and addressed.

Understanding that resources and capacity are often limited, urban planners can leverage existing resources and coordinate with humanitarian actors already collecting data on displaced populations (IOM, REACH, IDMC, UNHCR, etc.) and strive to understand the unique needs and challenges faced by different stakeholders, particularly displaced populations. They should also provide technical support to local authorities and community organizations, empowering them to address displacement issues effectively. Establishing regular platforms for recurring (e.g., monthly) dialogues and consultations will provide all participants, especially displaced individuals, with the opportunity to express their concerns in the planning process in urban environments.

By involving various perspectives and focusing on long-term, sustainable development, urban planners and policymakers can work towards building cities that support the well-being of both displaced persons and host communities.

6.3.2 Reframing Self-Reliance and Integration

The UNHCR describes self-reliance as “the social and economic ability of an individual, household, or community to meet essential needs (including protection, food, water, shelter, personal safety, health, and education) in a sustainable manner and with dignity.” This concept also

involves “developing and strengthening livelihoods for persons of concern, thereby reducing their vulnerability and long-term reliance on humanitarian or external assistance” (UNHCR 2005, cited in Betts et al., 2020). However, relying solely on agricultural self-reliance—as evidenced in the Ugandan case discussed in Chapter 5—is insufficient. Programs must incorporate diverse pathways to self-reliance to effectively support displaced persons.

Though this dissertation focuses on self-reliance, I believe it is crucial to recognize that achieving self-reliance should not be the ultimate goal. Self-reliance, often framed as a neoliberal approach, implies that through entrepreneurial efforts, displaced persons will no longer rely on aid or the state—an expectation not expected of host residents (Hunter, 2009; McAteer & Leeson, 2024). Additionally, the concept is inherently binary: individuals either achieve self-reliance or not. Many humanitarian livelihood programs frame single programs as if they lead individuals to self-reliance. For example, forming women’s groups to empower members through knitting and bead-making can supplement income but does not necessarily result in self-reliance.

Humanitarian policymakers define the concept of self-reliance, but displaced persons my define what self-reliance differently (Waters, 2001). The term is constructed to benefit host countries, aid agencies, and displaced persons in a seemingly win-win-win scenario, where displaced persons no longer depend on host cities and humanitarian resources as a long-term solution (McAteer & Leeson, 2024). This approach, however, oversimplifies the path to sustainable integration and falls short in addressing the complexity of displaced persons’ needs. Every individual likely defines self-reliance differently based on their context and circumstances, which can change over time.

Integration, in contrast, provides a more comprehensive framework. The aim should not just be to reduce displaced persons’ dependence on city resources but to support their full integration into the community. Integration as a concept goes beyond the notion of self-reliance by emphasizing the interconnectedness of communities and the importance of inclusive approaches to support displaced persons. It recognizes that for displaced persons to thrive, there needs to be a concerted effort to weave displaced persons in host society, as valued community members. This encompasses social, economic, and cultural dimensions.

For example, integration involves creating pathways for displaced persons to participate fully in the economic life. This includes access to employment opportunities and recognition of qualifications acquired in their home countries foresting financial stability while contributing to the host economy. Integration also addresses the social and cultural inclusion of both the host community and displaced persons, promoting cross-cultural understanding and mutual respect. This can be achieved through community programs and initiatives that encourage interaction and dialogue, as well as access to education for displaced children and adults to help bridge cultural gaps.

Integration of structural and systemic support systems is vital to ensure that displaced persons have access to essential services, such as healthcare, education, and housing equitable with other residents. This systemic aspect of integration is crucial, as it lays the groundwork for displaced persons to establish a stable and secure life, allowing them to focus on long-term prospects rather than just survival. Lastly, integration is a continuous and dynamic process, acknowledging that both the needs and the contexts of displaced persons change over time. Policies and programs need to be adaptable, with regular assessments and adjustments to remove barriers and address evolving challenges

Self-reliance should be viewed as a step towards achieving a durable solution rather than the solution itself. This requires a holistic urban planning strategy centered on inclusion and integration, often called an area-based approach. As the majority of displaced persons are now migrating to urban settings, channeling the mismatch of aid directed towards the creation of rural camps (e.g., building roads, schools, health clinics, and other infrastructure) could be used to upgrade residential areas that include both host and displaced residents. An area-based approach also has the potential to mitigate xenophobia and dissemination of displaced persons as their arrival can also be perceived as bringing additional city services. These policies also need to guarantee the right to work and freedom of movement for refugees.

6.3.3 Integrated Service Provision

Ensuring that services cater to both displaced persons and host residents can reduce competition over resources and foster cooperation. Infrastructure projects, such as building roads, schools, and healthcare facilities, can benefit entire communities. For example, in Uganda, 30 percent of development aid is targeted to reach host community members. If a school for 1,000 students is built, 300 seats are suggested to serve host children alongside refugees. However, local governments and city officials often have little say in development projects, as these are negotiated bilaterally between national government officials and international agencies.

Through my research in Bidi Bidi, I learned there was a need for better coordination among local planners, community leaders, the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), UNHCR, and NGOs involved in constructing the Bidi Bidi refugee settlement. Local and district administrators, town councils, and community leaders were excluded from planning and managing the settlement, resulting in unmet expectations and issues like inefficient land use. The top-down decision-making approach employed by the Office of the Prime Minister and international agencies based in Kampala and Geneva (UN agencies) proved to be problematic.

As argued in both chapters 5 and 6, bilateral agreements among national governments and international development aid agencies (e.g., UNHCR, UNDP, World Bank, etc.) aimed at enhancing services and infrastructure at the city level should be accompanied by an increase in the capacity of decentralized local governance structures, both human and technical. For example, when more schools are built, local education ministries at the city and county levels must be

empowered and prepared to manage increasing students, teachers, and schools. This means that capacity and number of district-level staff should be developed to effectively deliver services. While these agreements can be established nationally, responsibilities should shift from national ministries and international agencies to local ministries and district administrations (ReDSS, 2018).

6.3.4 Strengthened Social Networks

Strengthening social connections within communities can help overcome economic barriers and facilitate displaced residents' integration, as demonstrated in Chapter 4. Community engagement programs and social activities can enhance social capital, which is vital for both financial activities and personal well-being. For instance, developing shared public spaces, such as parks and markets, can promote social cohesion and create opportunities for economic activities.

Moreover, integrating social cohesion into existing programs can promote social networks. This can include incorporating social elements into vaccine campaigns, sports programs, or monthly parent programs within existing humanitarian efforts at child-friendly spaces (CFS) as noted in Chapter 3.

6.3.5 Environmental Sustainability

Incorporating environmental conservation into planning efforts is essential, particularly for integrated settlements, as seen in Chapter 5. Tree-planting initiatives, sustainable land use planning, and agroforestry promotion can help maintain ecological balance.

Through my research in Bidi Bidi and Juba, I found that IDPs and refugees relied on environmental resources such as a collection of firewood or charcoal. In the case of Bidi Bid,i this was causing tensions with the host community and also resulted in gender-based violence, as women and girls ventured farther away from their homes to collect firewood. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) has created guidelines for safe access to firewood and alternative energy in rural humanitarian settings to reduce gender-based violence. District-level officials suggested that if they were involved with the design and implementation of constructing Bidi Bidi they would have been able to mitigate some of the deforestation. For example, they recommended including tree seedlings in the emergency aid supplies from the beginning for refugees to acknowledge the likelihood of extended settlement and its lasting impact on the host community. Although these suggestions are relevant for newly urbanizing areas, such as Bidi Bidi, more research is required to effectively integrate environmental conservation into urban environments that are experiencing rapid growth and particularly an influx of displaced populations.

6.3.6 Flexible and Inclusive Policy Frameworks

Each city has its own unique social and political context, and strategies for developing city services must remain adaptable. When city governments are resource-constrained, private entities or international development actors can take the initiative to bring together various government bodies and community stakeholders. This research, highlighted in chapter 3, indicates that the city service needs of hosts, internally displaced persons (IDPs), and returnees differ. These differences should be considered when formulating city services. In Juba, for instance, local leaders should involve IDP and returnee networks in discussions with international agencies or city governments about development projects. Active engagement of these networks through public discussions, surveys, focus groups, and participatory budgeting by local governments and international agencies is crucial for effectively designing and implementing development projects

Furthermore, policies around refugee populations should include pathways to citizenship or permanent residency. Integrating displaced persons into the host countries and city's social and legal systems is crucial for long-term stability and integration. This would involve bilateral agreements at the national level for citizenship and decentralized implementation at the local levels for social integration (e.g., access to healthcare and education systems).

6.3.7 Future Research Directions

The findings from this dissertation suggest several avenues for further research. Comparative studies in other urban contexts in the Global South can provide broader generalizations and help identify best practices for urban integration. Additionally, longitudinal studies tracking the long-term integration outcomes of displaced persons will offer deeper insights into the effectiveness of various policy interventions. Further exploring private sector engagement in supporting displaced populations could also uncover significant potential for economic integration.

Health outcomes also require focused attention (Walnycki et al. 2019). Research could investigate if there are disparities in water access, water-related illnesses, and food shortages between displaced persons and host residents. Such studies should be co-designed with displaced persons and host communities to highlight critical areas for intervention and improvement.

Additionally, it is important to distinguish between those displaced by natural disasters and those displaced by conflict. As climate change continues to impact populations, further research is needed to understand if there are specific needs unique to climate-displaced persons compared to those who are conflict-displaced. This understanding will be increasingly vital as climate change is expected to cause more displacement in the future. While there are similarities between both types of displaced persons, such as loss of property, trauma, and family separations, differences arise in the duration and solutions for displacement. For example, in general, persons displaced due to a natural disaster can often return home much quicker than those displaced by conflict. However, the potential long-term impacts of climate change, such as rising sea levels, may render

return impossible. Additionally, while both groups of displaced persons experience trauma from the events, trauma from conflict-induced displacement is likely much more severe and needs different interventions, such as exposure to gender-based violence in clinic settings (Ferris, 2008).

Understanding the unique challenges and opportunities in urban settings will require ongoing, collaboratively designed localized studies that adapt findings to the specific contexts of different cities and regions. This continued focus will be essential in evolving policy frameworks and implementation strategies that effectively address the needs of diverse displaced populations and host communities.

6.3.8 Modifications to Self-Reliance Frameworks

Recognizing the increasingly prolonged conflicts in recent decades, the humanitarian community has shifted its approach from merely providing assistance to actively fostering resilience and self-reliance for internally displaced persons (IDPs), returnees, and refugees. According to UNHCR, self-reliance entails the social and economic ability to meet essential needs sustainably and with dignity. However, as mentioned above, self-reliance as a goal is problematic. This reflex upon various conceptual models, including Betts et al. 2020, which often focus too narrowly on self-reliance's financial aspects of the environment, assets, and access to networks, markets, and public goods (Steff et al., 2021).

In Chapter 3, we propose that security should be recognized as a distinct and paramount enabling factor, surpassing other infrastructure services like water and electricity in importance. Furthermore, "Access to Markets" could be reframed as "Access to Labor and Capital Markets" to distinguish it from physical markets, which are crucial shared facilities and could be grouped under "Access to Public Goods." Additionally, parks should be included under "Access to Public Goods." The enabling factor "Environment" should be divided into social and physical environments to better organize responses for urban planners focusing on infrastructure and shared facilities.

Future models of self-reliance should incorporate social self-reliance and integration, which encompasses well-being, social bonds, and personal safety, as these are equally essential components (Steff et al., 2021). Additionally, as suggested by Skran and Easton-Calabria (2020), self-reliance should be measured not only at the individual level but also at the household and community levels. New models and indices, such as the Self-Reliance Index (SRI), are already beginning to incorporate overall well-being.

Overall, while Betts et al.'s (2020) self-reliance framework is a valuable starting point, my proposed refinements can enhance its effectiveness in various urban settings by addressing both immediate needs and opportunities for long-term growth.

6.4 Concluding Thoughts

The problem of displaced populations is escalating at an alarming rate. The number of displaced persons, driven by conflicts and natural disasters, continues to rise dramatically. Over the past decade alone, this number has doubled, underscoring the severity of the crisis. The trend shows no signs of abating, due to increasing pressures of climate-related disasters, ongoing conflicts, and a glaring lack of sustainable long-term solutions for those uprooted from their homes.

The increasing number of forcibly displaced persons in urban areas presents both challenges and opportunities. Effective urban integration strategies require a holistic understanding of the needs and aspirations of displaced individuals and host communities. By adopting inclusive, flexible, and context-specific approaches, policymakers and urban planners can foster resilient, dynamic cities that thrive on diversity and address the multifaceted needs of their populations. This dissertation contributes to this ongoing effort by providing empirical insights and practical recommendations aimed at fostering more inclusive and sustainable urban environments for all. Planners, humanitarian actors, and city officials should consider the needs of displaced persons in urban settings.

The challenging job of integrating forcibly displaced people in cities can't be handled by humanitarian agencies alone. It needs coordinated efforts from national governments, local authorities, international donors, nonprofits, and private businesses. Through collaborative, well-informed policies and practices, we can build urban spaces where displaced people are not just getting by but actively contributing and benefiting from city life. This inclusive approach is essential to turning the issue of displacement into a chance for growth, resilience, and mutual benefit in cities around the world.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Types of Displaced Persons

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) differentiates among forcibly displaced persons as individuals who are 1) internally displaced, 2) seeking asylum, 3) refugees, and 4) returnees.

IDPs

An internally displaced person (IDP) is someone who has been forced to leave his or her home but remains within his/her own country's legal borders. IDPs are defined as "persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internally recognized state border" (as cited by Van der Auweraert, P., 2013 in Awa Davi, 2012).

The largest category of displaced persons (roughly 65 percent) is composed of internally displaced persons (IDPs) (UNHCR, 2023a). According to UNHCR, IDPs are not protected by international law because they remain under the protection of their government though they do have the right to seek humanitarian assistance (Concern Worldwide, 2019). However, most nations have adopted guiding principles for providing protection to IDPs. For example, most East African Nations adopted the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention) in 2009.

Asylum Seekers

An asylum seeker (roughly five percent of displaced persons) is a person who has been forced to flee their home country due to fear of persecution (see United Nations 1951 Convention, amended in 1967 for the full definition). Once an asylum seeker has been registered, they obtain refugee status, which entitles the individual to international and host country rights (e.g., protection, aid, etc.). This can be a challenging and complex process, but in countries such as Uganda or South Sudan that experience large-scale influxes of displaced persons, asylum seekers receive refugee status on a prima facie basis. This means the state recognizes refugee status due to the "basis of the readily apparent, objective circumstances in the country of origin giving rise to exodus" (UNHCR, 2002)[16].

Refugees

[16] UNHCR. Prima Facie Status and Refugee Protection. New Issues in Refugee Research. 2002. Available online: https://www.unhcr.org/3db9636c4.pdf (accessed on 15 November 2021).

Refugees are individuals who have successfully sought asylum and are given international and host country rights (roughly 25 percent of displaced persons). The term refugee (over one-third of displaced persons) confers that the individual has legal protection and material assistance. This is due to the United Nations 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol, which outlines the rights of refugees, as well as each state's legal obligations to protect them (UNHCR A, 2019). This status ensures the individual receives protection, aid, and other forms of assistance to facilitate their integration or resettlement into their host country.

Returnees

Returnees also fall within UNHCR's mandate. Returnees are "former refugees who have returned to their country of origin spontaneously or in an organized fashion but have not yet been entirely (re)integrated" (UNHCR, 2023b). Voluntary repatriation is the term used to describe when people voluntarily return home based on their own evaluation. Voluntary repatriation is one of the most common modes for refugees to become returnees. While displaced persons can be exiled from their homes for years or decades, reintegration takes time.

Appendix 2: Survey Tool

label::English
SURVEY TYPE
Is the a test or live survey?
SURVEY INFORMATION
Village area where you are collecting data
Enumerator Name:
Enumerator ID
Household ID
Interview Start Date

Hello, my name is ${enum_name}. I am part of a University of Michigan research team that measures the impact of forced displacement on household livelihoods and the environment. We will be interviewing approximately (300) households to understand how people are doing, these days. We have selected you as one of the households we would like to interview. We are committed to keeping all identifying information confidential for all respondents. Thus, any information you tell us will be kept confidential, and only used for the purposes of our study. We will make sure that your statements cannot be traced back to you. This survey is completely voluntary and you may stop at any time. Equally, if you participate in it, you may choose not to answer any questions that are uncomfortable for you. We would greatly appreciate your cooperation and time. This interview will take approximately 45 minutes. Do you agree to take this survey?

GPS reference for household

HOUSEHOLD MEMBER INFORMATION

Did this group of people live together 8 years ago (in 2015/16)? This may have been in the same place , or somewhere else.

Did this household live here in this house 8 years ago?

How many total individuals live in this houehold?

How many individuals are working or earning money?

How many children are age 15 years old and younger?

Do all children in this household of school age attend school almost every day while school is in session?

What is the number of household members that have finished primary education?

Do you consider yourself and IDP, returnee or host?

Are any household members IDPs?

If yes , how many?

If yes, from where were they displaced?

Are any household members Returnees (retruned from being displaced)?

If yes , how many?

If yes, from where were they returning from?

What is the sex of the Household Head?

What is the age of the Household Head?

What is the level of education the household head has completed?

What is the Household Head's primary occupation?

How many members of the household ever migrated to another location?

What are the commenly spoken languges in your household?

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE INFORMATION

Please select all the types of income-generating activities in which this household participates:

Are you employed by someone else or self-employed?

If self-employed did you start this business because you could not find employment?

How did you find that empoyment or start your busness?

Before being displaced (or returning) which type of income-generating activities did this household participates

To the best of your knowlage, what is the last months cash income in SSP that this household received

To the best of your knowlage what was the monthly income that this household received **before to being displaced**

In the past month, did this household receive help in the form of money or goods from another individual?

To the best of your knowlage, how many Individuals sent this household remittance (money or goods)?

What is your relationship to the people that send you remittance?

To the best of your knowledge, how much or what was the total value of the amount sent?

Where does the person(s) live that sent you money or goods in kind?

In the last month, did anyone in this household give or send money to relatives or friends?

If yes, how much?

If yes, how many people did you or anyone in the household send money to?

If yes, which country and if within South Sudan which county?

What is the type of the ownership of this dwelling?

If you rent how much do you pay in rent a month?

On average how much do you spend on transport per a month?

Thinking of all members in this household and all types of expenses, what is the average monthly expenditure for this household?

Do anyone in your household currently receive any food assistance (e.g. from the UN)?

OBSTICALS TO EMPLOYMENT AND INFRASTRUCTURE

In this next section of the survey think about obstacles that members of this area face earning income (e.g. employment). Please indicate if you strongly agree, agree, are neutral, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following:

Lack of or inadequate skills is an obstacles that members of this community face in earning income (e.g. employment)

Lack of information about the local labor market is an obstacles that members of this community face in earning income (e.g. employment)

Lack of family/clan or political connections is an obstacles that members of this community face in earning income (e.g. employment)

Language barrier is an obstacles that members of this community face in earning income (e.g. employment)

Lack of legal documentation requirements is an obstacles that members of this community face in earning income (e.g. employment)

Insecurity in area of residence is an obstacles that members of this community face in earning income (e.g. employment)

Lack of start-up capital (seed capital) is an obstacle that members of this community face in earning income (e.g. employment)

Lack of access to loans or micro-credit is an obstacles that members of this community face in earning income (e.g. employment)

Lack of access to markets is an obstacles that members of this community face in earning income (e.g. employment)

Is there an important obstacle not mentioned?

If yes, please share what this obstacle(s) is

How long does it take you to walk to the nearest market from your home?

What is your most commonly used mode of transport to reach the market?

Using that mode of transport how many minutes does it usually take you to reach the market?

Using this mode of transport how much money does it cost you in SSP to travel there and back home (SSP)?

What are the two best things about living in this area?

Wht are the two worst things about living in this area?

Thinking about where you live, which type of infrastructure improvement is your highest priority?

What city services would help your life the most? Rate the following services from 0 to 5 with 0 being the lost value and 5 being the hights value to use.

Cheaper transportation would help my life a lot
Access to more transportation options would help my life a lot
Spaces to walk on the side of the road (e.g. on the side of the raod) would help my life a lot
Parks/areas for children to play would help my life a lot
Better markets would help my life a lot
Better roads would help my life a lot
Schools
Security
Electricity
Hosptials
Clean water
Latrine/sewer systems

In your opinion, what are the two main challenge people in this area face when accessing housing?

Do you think these challenges are different for displaced persons?

In your opinion, what are the two main challenge members of the displced community (IDPs, refugees, and returnees) face when accessing housing

To the best of your knowlage, is or has anyone in the household involved in a land dispute?

HOUSEHOLD SHOCKS AND IMPACTS

During the past 12 months, how affected was your household by the following events?

Climate related (floods/storms, droughts)

How did your household cope with the climate related impacts experienced?

Illness/death

How did your household cope with the illness/death impacts experienced?

Economic shocks (theft, fire, crop disease)

. How did your household cope with the economic shock?

War/violence

How did your household cope with the conflict impacts experienced?

Corona Virus (COVID-19)

How did your household cope with the corona virous impacts experienced?

HEALTH AND NUTRITION

How many days in the last month has your household not been able to satisfy its food needs?

HOUSEHOLD INTERACTIONS WITH VILLAGE AND EXTRA-VILLAGE GOVERNANCE

How often did any of your household member attend the following meetings over the last 12 months?

Area meetings
Clan or tribal committee meetings
Payam or County meetings
Religious meetings
Work associations meetings
Village credit group meetings

How easy would it be to borrow 25,000 SSP (50USD) from social network (friends, familiy, relatives, neighbors, etc.)?

HOUSEHOLD CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS

The walls of the main dwelling are predominantly made of what material?

The roof of the main dwelling is predominantly made of what material?

The floor of the main dwelling is predominantly made of what material?

Does this household have electricity?

What kind of toilet facility do members of your household usually use?

Do you share this toilet facility with other household(s)?

What is the main source of drinking water for members of your household?

SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING

Overall, how happy are you with life as a whole?

Overall, how happy were you with life as a whole before being displaced?

DISPLACEMENT EXPOSURE

To your knowledge, are there any NGOs or UN agencies operating in your neighborhood?

If yes, do they provide any of the following income-generating support to anyone in the neighborhood?

To your knowledge, did the arrival of displaced persons affect any of the following?

What private benefits have your household received since the arrival of displaced persons?

What is the monetary value of all private benefits that your household has received since the arrival of displaced persons?

What collective benefits did the arrival of the displaced provide?

What type of effect on the whole did the arrival of displaced persons (IDPs, refugees, and returnees) have on the members of this household?

Please note down any comments about this interview.

Thank you so much for answering our questions, we really appreciate your insight and wish you a great day!