UNIFIED OR DIVIDED?
THE EFFECT OF UGANDA'S REFUGEE SETTLEMENT STRUCTURES ON REFUGEE IDENTITY AND GROUP RELATIONS

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ABSTRACT

This paper argues that the refugee settlements of Uganda impose a particular identity upon the refugee population that resides within them. It will draw upon literature and theory regarding constructivism, identity theory and issues of displacement. This will be built upon by the use of primary interviews conducted in Western Uganda with members of the Kyangwali and Kyaka II settlements refugee population and those working for the organisations that govern them. Using a constructivist lens it will be shown that the interactions between the many different national, ethnic and social economic demographics highlighted within the refugee population and the structures that surround them, results in previously held identities being eroded and replaced with a 'refugee identity'. This has a negative impact on the refugee population by demeaning and undermining their ability to pursue a fulfilling life. Thus, the conclusion will demonstrate how being a refugee has deep negative social connotations and means more than simply being a person who has been forced across a boarder with the hope of returning. This meaning is pushed upon the population from the structures that preside over them and holds negative connotations.
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<td>CETPEA</td>
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AUTHORS DECELERATION

I hereby declare that the following work is of my own composition and that I have fully acknowledged any supporting sources.

Sean Darby

Word Count: 17,760
CHAPTER ONE:
INTRODUCTION

In many parts of Africa people lack a sense of identity, ethnic or national. They are culturally uprooted, unsure of who they are and what they want to become. The old ways forgotten, many Africans have not yet worked out new ones. As Romuald Hazoume, the Beninois artist, says of the slave trade and today's Africans: 'They did not know where they were going but they knew where they came from. Today we do not know where we are going and we have forgotten where we came from.'

(Dowden 2009:93)

The Kyangwali Refugee Settlement appears to be like Congo, away from Congo. Found in Western Uganda, Kyangwali is spread out over 220 squared hectors, with fourteen villages of various sizes. From much of the settlement you can see the Congolese province of North Kivu where many of the refugees came from. Indeed it is only a short one dollar boat journey across Lake Albert. Three hours away is Kyaka II, slightly smaller but in all other aspects extremely similar to Kyangwali. In both some of the population appear to travel back and forth across the border from time to time to see relatives, with many more travelling out of the settlements into the local community. There are no fences surrounding the settlements with motorbike taxis speeding back and forth across the boundary unchallenged. The image of white United Nations (UN) tents stretching as far as the eye can see, which are often invoked by the term 'refugee camp', are largely absent. Upon arriving you are met by smiling, waving people. There are schools, shops, bars, open pool tables and weekly markets. The villages are spread out over large expanses of land, within each of which small groups of huts have been built by each family, with some having built up fences round their perimeter. What is life like for those within Kyangwali, Kyaka II and other settlements like them, living in what appears to be relative normality? Once you start to emerge yourself into settlement life it quickly becomes clear that the lives of those within them are far from normal.

States of conflict and its effect on people can be contextualised and better understood if seen as being on a theoretical scale. On one extreme of this scale of violence we have a Hobsian 'State of Nature', where there is total conflict between each and every person with no safety or wellbeing afforded to anyone (Hobbes 1651:78). At
the other end of the scale could be a Rawlsian society where institutions are based on the ideals of 'justice as fairness'. Here everyone is guaranteed equal basic rights, with social and economic inequalities only being deemed just if they advantage the least well off the most (Rawls 1971:14). These two hypothetical societies can be seen as unattainable absolutes; complete chaos or complete safety, total individual peril or total individual freedom. Each allows and justifies different types of interactions with fellow citizens and state apparatus. While these places may not exist, we can see that the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) would be at the opposite end of the scale to Norway. The effect of this level of chaos on the people within the societies will be dramatically different at each end of the scale.

The refugees have gone through various degree of Hobsian terror and emerged from it. In this study the refugees now find themselves in settlements. Remaining with our theoretical scale, the settlements can almost be seen like a form of purgatory, where individuals are temporarily removed from society while waiting to see if the conflict will catch up with them or gain the chance for a permanent residency abroad. It is almost a void from which the extremes of the scale are removed, there is safety but there is no hope of improving your position in life. While they are not in direct danger of being attacked by militia groups, as many of them will have been in the past, they have all aspects of their life controlled; where they can grow their crops, where their children can go to school, how much movement they are allowed and what type of trade they are allowed to conduct. In exchange for the provision of safety, restrictions are placed on the population by both the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Ugandan Government.

There are many different groups within the settlements. They are separated by various fault lines and have numerous different types of interactions. There is a variety of nationalities and ethnicities, people who have different levels of wealth, education and languages. Some have been in the settlements for over a decade, where as some are still housed in, or have recently left the transit centre as new arrivals. Some are elderly and remember the reign of Mobutu back in DRC, some know nothing other than life in the settlement having been born and raised there. This leads to many different types of inter-group relations, being mixed with groups of peoples whom if not in a refugee settlement they would never have had reason to. Likewise the refugee population as a
whole now interacts with the structures that surround them, also something that they would not have experienced in their previous life.

What then has the larger effect on the population's identity? The new group interactions, or the interactions with the surrounding structures? Issues of identity and group relations are two distinct but intrinsically connected concepts. The paper will demonstrate that there is a distinct 'refugee identity' – being a refugee goes much deeper then the simple definition of a displaced person who has moved across a border. There are cognitive and emotional impacts that come about from being in this situation. What this paper will explore is what holds greater importance to the population; the separate groups, or the over arching identity? If there is a singular identity, then how is this formed? What is this identity and what does it mean for the population?

The paper will argue that the structures that surround the refugee population have such a large impact on their life that they create a unified 'refugee identity'. Taking a constructivist approach to identity we can see it is a fluid concept. Within the settlement the large disparities in power between the population and the structures that surround them mean that their interactions with these structures take on heightened meaning. While there are many different groups within the settlement, all with different identities which should not be trivialised, the power of the structures in relation to the refugee population mean separate group identities are suppressed in relation to the 'refugee identity'.

Others may put forward different explanations for the population taking on this identity, for example it may be instrumental in order to receive more assistance, or from the psychological toll of fleeing their home country. This paper holds that these alternative theories, while playing a factor, do not play as big a role in the creation of identity in the settlements. The lack of power that the population holds means that the identity of being a refugee is pushed upon them.
Figure one, Map of Uganda's Refugee Settlements (UNHCRa, 2015)
The research was primarily based on a field trip to Uganda. Originally plans had been formulated to travel to North Kivu in the DRC to study disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) of soldiers in the region. The research was going to focus on whether different types of combatants responded differently to DDR projects. However, security concerns in the region lead to revising the trip and with it the research question. An opportunity arose to work with Think Humanity (TH) in Western Uganda. The organisation works across several sectors aiming to improve the lives of refugees within the settlements, primarily Kyangwali and Kyaka II Settlements, shown as circled above in Figure One. TH's relationship with the population within the settlements and the organisations running them enabled access to both groups for interviews. It was also the initial conversations with the four Congolese refugees whom TH employs which helped formulate the research question. When introducing themselves and saying where they were from, all would inevitably say that they were a 'refugee' and from which settlement they were from, before their country of origin. This lead to asking, what does it mean to put the refugee label on yourself, is it simply a fact of circumstance or does it have deeper connotations surrounding their identity, and if so how did this come about? Their introductions seemed to reflect the opening quote; 'we do not know where we are going and we have forgotten where we have come from'.

The paper will proceed with seven subsequent chapters following this introduction which can be viewed as being presented in three sections. A contextual and theoretical background will be provided in which issues surrounding refugees, Uganda's policies towards them, constructivism and identity theory will be discussed. The field trips methodology will then be outlined, with these first three chapters making up the overture section. Following this the next two chapters make up the analytical section. Firstly in Chapter Five the inter-group relations will be shown, highlighting the different groups within the settlements and some of the key aspects of the relationships between these groups. It will then be shown what a refugee identity is and how it is created in Chapter Six by first highlight the main structures that operate within the settlement, followed by showing the refugee population's external relationships with the structure. The relationship will be categorised with the main effects on identity being a presence of an 'other', a lack of services and total control. From these relationships the paper will draw a general refugee identity, which supersedes the internal dynamics. The final
section will firstly offer some reflections on the works place within the broader academic field and offer several recommendations before finally laying out some concluding thoughts.

The reason this is an important piece of research is twofold. Firstly it aims to provide a greater understanding of what it means to be a refugee. It will be shown what some of the deeper effects are on the refugee population. Rather than just focusing on the material needs of a vulnerable population the paper will show some of the deeper social impacts that they undergo. Furthermore while the paper will be focusing on methods of identity creation and manipulation it will serve an additional purpose. By examining the effects of the settlement model in Uganda it will also highlight and critique this method and the role that organisations working in the settlement have. This will allow those running such settlements to have a greater understanding of the impacts they have on the population. The conclusion will thus provide some broader reflections on this as well as some proposed alternative solutions.
CHAPTER TWO:
CONTEXTUAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction
This chapter firstly aims to provide an insight into the study's variables; the dependent variable being the refugee's identity and the independent variable being the refugee settlement structures. Thus, a background into refugee issues will be outlined, followed by examining Uganda's refugee policies. The second part of the chapter will provide the lens that the independents effect on the dependent variable will be understood through. Firstly withdrawing to a level of abstraction to outline structural constructivism, and then refocusing in on the relevance of this to refugee identity.

Contextual background

The Global Refugee Issue
When we talk about refugee identity and group relations; who is it we are actually discussing, what are the causes of displacement and how are these people accommodated? According to the 1951 Refugee Convention a refugee is someone who,

owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself to the protection of that country (UNHCR 2010:14).

Essentially a person becomes a refugee when they are forced across a border. Whilst this definition was formulated in the aftermath of the Second World War, the persecution of groups and its symptom of displacement have been almost an ever present aspect of global society.

The issue of displacement is one that is increasing, currently at crisis level worldwide. In 2014 there were over 60 million displaced people across the globe, including 14.4 million refugees, the largest amount since the Second World War (The Economist, 2015). There were 2.9 million new refugees in 2014, the highest ever
recorded rise. Of these 51% were children and 86% were hosted in developing countries (UNHCRb, 2015:2). According to the Global Peace Index (GPI) – which uses several measurements, including the number of deaths from organised conflict – the world is becoming an increasingly unstable place, thus contributing to an inevitable rise in displaced peoples (GPI, 2015:46).

Upon crossing the border and becoming a refugee there are several global conventions which are aimed to be held up universally. The UN Convention on Refugees looks to ensure that in the short term refugees keep their essential travel documents, that families are kept united and that they should have access to sustainable welfare for their moral, legal and material needs. This is intended to be done on a multi-level basis, with NGOs assisting the host government (UNHCR 2010:11). Essentially displaced people should be provided for to a level where they can maintain a level of self dignity. The UNHCR describes three durable solutions for a refugee, which are pursued in the following order of preference and opportunity, situation depending: repatriation, integration or resettlement. Repatriation is the return to the country of origin which vitally must be voluntary; otherwise refoulement is committed. Integration into the first country of asylum means becoming a citizen of the host, however this has varied designs and levels of freedoms differ in different settings. Resettlement is the moving of a person from the first country of asylum to a third country for permanent settlement and citizenship (UNHCR 2006:129). Whilst these are the ideals which are pursued they are dependent on external factors, such as the stability of the country of origin, the policies of the host government and the willingness of third countries to take on additional refugees. This can lead to protracted periods spent in the host country, which is likely to struggle to be able to provide adequate levels of support for a large, desperate population.

It is important to provide this contextual background, whilst the study focuses specifically on the case of refugees in Uganda we can see that the refugee crisis is a global one, affecting millions. Just as the statistics gathered at the macro level help inform policy, the research presented here should be seen within this context. This paper focuses on a relatively micro level with aspects of the findings being applicable to the larger population. It is vital to gain this micro level understanding as a counter balance to the macro, so as to ensure that a population is not reduced to statistics. Whilst it is
easy to see the population as a singular mass the different dynamics in each conflict, country, group and family mean all are individual. The paper will go on to try and see some of the effects of becoming a refugee has on these individuals within Uganda.

**Uganda's Refugee Settlements**

Uganda's refugee issues partially reflect the broader trends outlined above, but with its own particularities and dynamics. The aim of this section is to highlight those points which are more unique to the country. Found in The Great Lakes Region of Africa, Uganda shares a border with five countries, as shown bellow in *Figure Two*. Two of these remain greatly unstable and emerged in conflict; The DRC and South Sudan. Additionally on its Southern border lies Rwanda, which suffered a genocide twenty one years ago. Finally, to its East are the relatively more stable countries of Tanzania and Kenya. Uganda hosts refugees from all of these countries, as well as peoples from further afield including Burundi and Somalia. However, of the 385,500 refugees and 35,500 asylum seekers present, the majority are from DRC and South Sudan – reflecting that these conflicts being two of the major and longstanding humanitarian disasters of current times (UNHCR 2015a). In this conflict-ridden part of the world Uganda is described as being 'more peaceful' than its regional neighbours, except for Tanzania, with South Sudan and DRC being in the ten least stable countries in the world (GPI 2015:13) Uganda's relative stability in this conflict-ridden region is part of the reason it attracts so many refugees. The severity of the conflicts surrounding it affect the type and number of refugees coming into the country, and so also affect the policies created to counter the problem.
This particular study took place in the Kyangwali and Kyaka II Refugee Settlements. Both of these are located in the South West of the country and hold 40,500 and 23,000 refugees respectively. Congolese refugees are the vast majority in both of these settlements but in Kyangwali this is followed by South Sudanese, where as in Kyaka II Rwandans are the second largest population (UNHCRa, 2015). Within these nationalities are a number of different ethnic groups. For example, both Rwandan Hutu and Tutsi groups are present in Kyaka II, South Sudanese Dinka and Nuer in Kyangwali and a host of Congolese ethnicities such as the Banyabwisha Banande and the Nyamulenge. In both locations nationals integrate with the refugee population, sharing services and land. Whilst the locations are slightly different, the similarities are large and representative of the country’s fourteen settlements.

Both Kyangwali and Kyaka II are refugee ‘settlements’, as opposed to ‘camps’, although this distinction is at times somewhat arbitrary. However, the difference is something which is constantly reiterated in all interactions with any government or organisations officials. Even mentioning the word 'camp' you would be quickly cut off

*Figure Two, Map of Central Africa (Lauber, 2012)*
and corrected. It is an idea that people were proud to be working towards, distinguishing their organisation from any association with the negative images surrounding refugee camps. The aim is to create a positive place for all involved. The refugees are granted 'self sufficiency'; by providing a plot of land to farm crops and essential services for refugees, in theory they should no longer be dependent on external assistance with regards to food provision. The refugee population is encouraged to engage with the local market in order to improve their own position in life, although numerous barriers exist that make this entrepreneurship a challenge (UNHCRa, 2015). Organisations are coordinated by the government to ensure there are no overlaps in practice, but given the space to pursue their own agendas and policies. This space can be seen through the constant use of 'buzzwords' from international discourse being used across the settlements, both by organisations who are justifying their work, and by refugees: ‘female empowerment’, ‘sustainable agriculture’, ‘gender based violence prevention’ are all regularly cited. It often appeared that none of these groups truly understand the practices needed to actually undertake and implement the activities implied by these slogans. In the longer term there are plans to urbanise the settlements, providing more infrastructure to allow the refugees to work in large factories, something that is not without deeply problematic concerns (Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), Kyangwali, 2015). Despite potentially positive intentions to give refugees more opportunities, the plan does seem to provoke images of industrialised work camps. The self sustainable model put forward in Uganda looks to take the idea of a refugee camp and improve on it for the benefit of the refugees. The success of this is debatable with many scholars criticising the policy, with some of the implications being examined in later chapters (Crisp 2002 and Kaiser 2005).

This section has aimed to show the makeup of the specific population this study is examining as well as introducing the settlements which they live within. There is a degree of agency involved in the running of the settlements: the Camp Commandant is in charge and his decisions will have impacts within the settlements. The policies though do outweigh this agency. Kyangwali and Kyaka II were run in almost identical ways, just as Rhino and Kiryandongo are in other parts of the country. This allows us to presume a degree of external validity to the findings of the study. The effects being seen in these settlements are largely applicable to others in the country and region.
Theoretical Background

Now that the context has been established, this section aims to provide the theoretical framework to supplement the environmental background. Firstly this paper will introduce structural constructivism. Following this, an introduction to identity will be provided, as well as how it is related to constructivist theory. These concepts underpinned this research and provide an important theoretical structure for the rest of this paper’s argument.

Structural Constructivism

There are several different strands of constructivism, but all have an interpretive epistemology, meaning the world is socially constructed. There is not a real world as such; rather social interactions give meaning to the tangible world. We create norms and beliefs which affect our perceptions and understandings. Thus we find ourselves in political realities which are socially created (Parsons 2010:80). Geertz states how both a rock and a person’s dream are equally ‘real’ in our world; they both have potential power and various effects. Questioning their importance misses the point. We need to understand what, given their particular occurrence and agency, is meant by them. Understanding the meaning of something, rather than understanding what it is, is the ‘thick description’ (Geertz 1973:9). It is therefore important to not simply reach a conclusion of what the effect of a phenomenon is, but what the interactions that have caused the effect are. Instead of trying to understand why something has happened, we look to understand how it happened. Social construction is a process, in showing the process we can see why one outcome was brought about as opposed to an alternative.

These social interactions occur within the structures that surround us. While these structures will have material aspects, for example barbed wire fences, food distribution trucks and guards with guns, the structures are given meaning through our shared understanding of them. The capabilities of the material aspects are not important in and of themselves, but rather the joint understanding of them is what gives them power. There are also purely social structures, shared understanding of a situation creates a norm, which in turn affects actors actions (Wendt 1995:74). We see a two-way relationship. The understanding of the structure gives it power and essentially makes it what it is. However the structure that we operate in, our interactions with it and our
perceptions of it will affect the joint understanding. This in turn affects our perception of self, our norms and our actions (Varadarajan 2004:341). By understanding that norms are produced in particular contexts of interactions we can come to understand how a group's understanding of the world is formed (Lezaun 2002:233). Thus the constructivist emphasis on ideas: ideas are important as we interpret the world we are in to orientate a strategy towards it. Ideas are the mediation between actors and their structure. This means ideas have to have an independent role in the outcomes of political actions. As political actions have material outcomes it leads to the notion of a dialectical relationship between ideas and material aspects, as is the case with agencies and their structure.

When approaching the research question of this paper constructivism becomes a useful tool. Through our discussion we will discover if the settlements have affected identity and may discover what is a 'refugee identity', regularly linking back to these important concepts. However, additionally we seek to achieve a 'thick description', the process by which this happened, the effect of this process and what it means for those involved. As well as whether a refugee identity has been created, we look to understand how it has been created. It is also useful as we are examining the structures surrounding our subjects and their interactions. We aim to see how the interactions the refugees have with the settlements structures affects their relationship and what the 'thick description' of this is.

Refugee identity
This section will analyse definitions and understandings of ‘refugee identity’. When defining identity from a constructivist perspective it is seen as a subjective cultural phenomenon that a group shares. It forms an imagined boundary between different groups. Identity is a dynamic concept which can be applied to various groups at different times, the meaning of which can change (Eller 1999:7). This means that identities are created, or constructed, over time and are transformable because of its socially constructed nature. Its salience and ability to change will be shown in the context of Uganda's settlements, where a refugee identity has been created.

This is not to say that the identities are not of importance. It simply means that when analysing an identity we have to look for a 'thick description'. When we analyse
an identity we need to realise we are looking at complex conceptual structures. These structures can be just as real to members of the society as less tangible concepts (Geertz 2003:162). Identity can develop as groups define themselves in relation to others. By designating political authorities and economic institutions, group boundaries are created dividing some members of a population from others (Nagal 1994:152). However these boundaries and divisions are never clear-cut or static; instead, they are in a constant state of flux. Groups derive their identity from different aspects such as language, nationality or religion in different contexts. An important aspect is that defining identities can come from within a group, as well as being affected by external factors. Leaders from the group can push identity in a certain direction. Interaction with external actors can push it in another way (Gubhaju 1999:146). In this way it can be seen as a constructivist 'idea'. The interactions between internal actors, as well as between the group and the structures that surround it give it meaning. This in turn determines certain types of behaviour. The constructed nature of identity shows that it’s meaning can be transformed.

While examining the relationship between identity and conflict, constructivists developed the cohesion theory. This is the thought that during times of conflict any internal divisions within a group are laid aside. A vision of unity is created, resulting in centralisation of the group. It is thought that conflict is the catalyst for the construction of a group identity. It is for this reason that many groups may not have formed if it was not for conflict. As well as this, conflict changes the internal dynamics and social setting of the group. Histories will be created to unify a set of people so as to justify them fighting for each other. Conflict also changes the meaning of an identity group for outsiders. Those in conflict with a group will create stereotypes to mobilise against them (Smith 1981:378). This paper follows the cohesion theories thinking but aims to show that it can be applied beyond situations of conflict. In circumstances of hardship, such as living in a refugee settlement where the structures in place appear to work against you cohesion theory may also apply. Differences are put aside, perhaps unintentionally, as there is acknowledgment that everyone is in the same situation.

This section has aimed to give a background into what it means by identity, within the context of constructivist theory. We can see some of the processes by which a group identity can be created. This theoretical background gives us a better ability to tackle
our central question; do the structures within Uganda's refugee settlements create a unified identity, or further drive the existing various identities further apart? Scholars now understand that the key to this question lies in understanding the relationship between the group and the structures that surround them. From these interactions we will be able to see the meanings assigned to them and the effect this has on group perception both of the structure, and of the group identity.

Conclusion
This chapter has provided the background upon which the analytical section of the paper will be developed on. Each of these sections could have been expanded on, with each having questions and debates of their own. This paper has attempted to acknowledge these debates where applicable, without losing focus on the relevant information to the question at hand. The chapter started by outlining its units of analysis, the refugee and Uganda's settlement's, before moving on to giving a background into constructivism and identity theory. The paper will now progress to use these theories to examine the interactions between the units of analysis.
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction
This chapter will outline the methodology used to conduct the study. It will highlight the particularities of examining identity within the context outlined above; that of Uganda's refugee settlements through a constructivist lens. This is important as the subject, location and understanding of the topic informs the methodology. The chapter proceeds by outlining the studies general approach, followed by its particular methods. After this an insight into some of the ethical and logistical problems encountered will be provided. Where possible, methodological flaws will be highlighted, whilst providing potential solutions to these problems.

Approach
The field work was conducted in Western Uganda, being based in Hoima Town, Kyaka II and predominantly Kyanhgali Refugee settlement. The research was conducted subscribing to Agozino's notion of data 'reception' rather than that of data 'collection'. Thus, the researcher received information through observations and direct interactions with participants. The information was freely volunteered by independent individuals, as opposed to at any point theorising a hierarchical form of collection in which the researcher possesses any power over the participant (Agozino 2000:15). This is important in the context of a refugee settlement where many of the participants are vulnerable persons. Therefore the notion of 'receiving' informs both the conduct of the researcher and the approach that was used.

No research is strictly quantitative or qualitative, their broad definitions and designs lead to overlaps and convergences (Cooper 2012:6). However, this study had a heavy qualitative focus. The primary research technique was the use of interviews. It could be said that this leads to interpretative findings that are context specific, as opposed to finding positivist 'facts' that can be more widely generalized (Whitemoore et al. 2001:524). While the opening three chapters use secondary sources, the main analytical section will draw mainly on primary research due to its specific focus on these settlements. However, while the research does focus on a specific context it does
provide an understanding of the long-term effects of life in a refugee settlement. The aim in any form of research is for the findings extracted from the interviews to be representative of the broader population and preferably generalisable to other settings (Becker 1998:67). Drawing results from multiple settlements also increases the generalisability and so allows us to draw lessons for future cases. Further to this, in order to ensure reliability, triangulation was used for key results, checking findings against a number of alternative sources.

This qualitative data reception understanding fits in with constructivism. Instead of trying to find positivist facts it is the interactions and relations between the material and ideational factors that is the focus (Lupovici 2009:197). Designing methodology in this way means we are not simply answering whether or not there is a refugee identity, but striving to find out how this came about. This constructivist lens informed the initial methodological plans for the research trip, as well as dictating the interaction with, and interpretation of the information that was received.

Methods
During the research trip a total of twenty-four interviews were conducted with a variety of stakeholders; international NGOs, government agencies, local NGOs, teachers and community leaders. The participants were chosen so as to look at the issue of identity from as many different levels and perspectives as possible. This was important to see how the interactions are perceived both by communities, as well as those who work with and around them. Unfortunately there was not the opportunity to interview health officials or religious leaders who may have been able to provide additional perspectives. Moreover due to ethical and time constraints there was not the opportunity to interview refugees who were not community leaders. It should be noted as well that amongst the refugees that were interviewed, the majority were Congolese. This is partly due to the fact that the bulk of the refugees in both settlements were Congolese and also because TH has closer ties to this community and was able to provide more access. Finally all refugee participants were male; this was not intended but was an unfortunate reflection of those who held the positions of power within the settlements. It is acknowledged that these are gaps in the study's methodology. Given more time some of these participant gaps could have been filled, which would have potentially allowed for alternative views
on the subject. The interviews were supplemented by observations made from working with TH both in the settlements and in Hoima.

When conducting interviews, a 'general interview guide approach' was used. This is where the contents of the interview were drawn up in advance to ensure that similar questions were being asked in each interview (Patton 1980:200). The interview participants were split into two categories; firstly refugees, which included the community leaders and local NGOs, and secondly the international NGOs and government officials. This was due to the fact that different sensitivities needed to be considered when interviewing each of these two broad groups and different types of information could be gained from each. By carefully deciding what would be discussed it ensured that the limited time available was efficiently utilised. It still however gives the space to go into further depth on certain issues with different interviewees. For example more time was spent discussing aspects of day-to-day life with community leaders where as interviews with the second group tended to focus on settlement policy. Within these groups different trajectories would emerge from the initial set of questions.

**Ethics**

An ethical challenge of working in the settlements was the expectations people held of you due to being Western. Simply being a foreign academic seemed to lead people to believe the researcher was in a position to directly change an individual's situation, either through raising a person's case with UNHCR or by providing financial assistance. This perception is so ingrained that people thought associates such as taxi drivers and translators would be able to help them simply due to their association with a Western researcher. It was troubling to think that you are disturbing the power balances in a negative way for those you associate with. Mechanisms at a researcher's disposal to deal with this situation are to be extremely clear of the purpose of the visit and the personal capabilities to effect change, by explaining that the trip was for conducting research for a Masters degree, not for work as a UNHCR official. This was done both in conversation and by providing full and thorough information and consent sheets at the start of each interview (see Appendices One).

A key ethical consideration in any study is to 'do no harm'. This is focused on participants; it is essential they undergo no harm, risk or disadvantage from partaking in
the study (Flick 2007:73). Some participants may have been traumatised directly during the conflict that led to them being a refugee and so pushing for certain answers may have negative psychological effects on the interviewee. To counter this, the level of sensitivity of the subject being discussed must be taken into consideration when formulating every question. Additionally there are possible negative consequences for a participant if a report is circulated in which they are identified. This could either be for participants who disagree with their organisations policies, or for refugees who speak against the organisations and government officials. Maintaining the anonymity of all subjects therefore helps ensure the do no harm principle.

An issue encountered was that of neutrality. It is important to not have any bias going into the interview. Whilst conveying the importance of the person you are interviewing and their experiences to your research, one must not react either favourably or negatively to the content being discussed. This can be achieved through ensuring that the questions you ask are open ended instead of leading to a certain type of answer. This ensures that you are not putting your own thoughts into the answers of the interviewee (Patton 1980:231). A time when this was particularly hard was when interviewing organisations after speaking to community leaders and interacting with members of the general population. It becomes tough to not internalise what has been said and what has been seen. It proved difficult at times to remain neutral when a spokesperson talked about a policy which appeared to either not be working, or not actually being implemented. When personal bonds have been formed with members of the refugee populations it is important to not use the interview as a chance to put forward one specific case due to a personal attachment. This is when it is most important to keep absolute professionalism and ensure questions remain open.

**Logistics**

Having laid out the broad approach, the methods used and some of the ethical considerations that were accounted for in conducting and developing the projects methodology, the paper will now provide an insight into some logistical issues. Some of these were more easily overcome then others. For example TH proved to be excellent 'gate keepers' and were able to provide competent translators and assist in identifying and gaining access to participants. This would have taken considerably longer then the
time restrictions of the field trip would have allowed for if done alone. They also assisted in organising transport between the settlements and Hoima town.

However there were several aspects of which proved to provide considerably more difficulty. To enter and work within the settlements you must have a letter of permission from the OPM. This letter is obtained from Kampala and must be presented to the Camp Commandant upon arrival to the settlement. When attempting to organise an interview with UNHCR their officials raised issue with the fact that the word 'research' was not on the letter of access, instead it was purely to work with TH. Due to this they reported the issue to the Commandant, who despite previously approving for the research to be conducted then requested the researcher to leave the settlement and retrieve a new letter from Kampala. This lead to a week outside of the settlement, during which further interviews had been planned and as such could no longer be conducted.

In a similar event, Action Africa Help (AAH), UNHCRs main implementing partner in Kyangwali, postponed and cancelled attempted interviews several times. When an actual interview was conducted it was cut to twenty minutes with only two follow up questions allowed after an initial presentation. In both of these cases there seemed to be a general suspicion of researchers, avoiding interactions for fear of scrutinisation of practices they appeared unsure of.

**Conclusion**

There is sympathy for the view held by some of that in order to gain the most information you should be proactive when conducting research and not restrict oneself with models and over think the practice (Punch 1994:84). However this section of self-reflection ensures that both ethical and practical standards are kept to their highest possible level. It seeks to show the nuances of research within the particularities of a refugee settlement being studied from a constructivist background. This aims to ensure both the do no harm principle and that the results obtained are of a high standard.
CHAPTER FOUR: INTER-GROUP RELATIONS AND DIVIDED IDENTITIES

Introduction
This chapter aims to show the different dynamics within the refugee populations of Kyangwali and Kyaka II refugee settlements. The makeup of any social group is affected by the intra-group relations between sub-groups. Indeed, these internal groups affect the trajectory of the over-arching group identity (Bush 2003:5). It is important that this paper acknowledges internal identities, ensuring they are not dismissed or trivialised whilst still arguing that there is an over-arching 'refugee identity'. These groups within groups can hold great importance in the daily lives of individuals. As stated in chapter two, identities separate groups from one another and are real structures when we see them as having a 'thick description'.

This chapter proceeds by outlining the dynamics between the different nationalities within the settlements. The next section will then further break down these dynamics by looking at the ethnic relations within these national groups. Following this the paper will explore the relationships between different 'caseloads', or refugees who have been in the settlements for different amounts of time. These are, as the paper sees it, the three main different types of internal groups within the refugee population. A fourth section will examine some of the other differences within the settlement, such as levels of wealth and education, which whilst being present, are not as prominent. As previously stated, as the paper is examining the dynamics of a specific area it will draw almost solely on primary interviews.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. Firstly, the analysis will show the effect that the settlements have on these intra-group relations; particularly how the policies in place change these identities. It will be argued that because of these policies differences within the population, which in some contexts could hold much greater importance, for example ethnic differences in the home country, are reduced here. This leads to the second aim of the chapter, which will highlight how while there are large differences within the population, these differences do not lead to conflict within the settlement, whereas in other situations they might. Examples include conflict between Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda, or between Rwandans and Congolese in the DRC whereas these
groups live side by side in the settlements. This will then be developed further in the following chapter where the paper will outline the refugee identity that supersedes these still significant internal differences.

**Nationality**
The first of the three major fault lines within the population is the different nationalities. As has been said previously, there are a wide number of nationalities within the settlements; how do these national identities affect daily life, how do different nationalities interact and how does the settlements alter these dynamics? It will be shown that while national differences are prominent, their importance is reduced by circumstance, not being able to practice their cultural heritage, as well as by choice, subverting differences in order to focus on cross-cutting issues.

In Kyangwali Settlement the two major national groups are the Congolese followed by the South Sudanese. The South Sudanese minority are separated by their language, speaking Arabic as opposed to the predominant Swahili. Another factor separating them from the Congolese is physical; they live principally in two of the fourteen villages. It is reported that this makes the group harder to work with then the Congolese due to how remote they are. They are also separated by settlement policy, with resettlement programmes not including the South Sudanese. This has an inadvertently positive effect in that the South Sudanese are more likely to develop their properties and land, keeping the long term in mind instead of thinking they will soon be relocated (American Refugee Council (ARC), Kyangwali, 2015). We see a separation coming from the group itself, through physical separation and language. Externally we see separation coming from the policy of focusing on Congolese resettlement. However, any animosity caused for the South Sudanese by this is not aimed at the Congolese, but at the implementing partners (Refugee Welfare Council (RWC) Candidate, Kyangwali, 2015). It was stated that these differences are minor, once their passport, freedom to move and rights have been removed by circumstance there is no space to 'be Congolese or Sudanese'. Instead, due to the hardships of settlement life people work together to share ideas on issues from giving birth without medical assistance to farming (TCHEYEYE, Kyangwali, 2015). Thus, we see that settlement policy does separate the groups, but they focus on bi-partisanship for self-gain.
In Kyaka II, the main group once again is the Congolese. However, the largest minority there is Rwandan. There is more acrimony between these two nationalities than with those in Kyanwali, as both blame the other for the situation they are currently in. While there have been no reports of direct violence, fear that this may happen leads to settlement policy separating where they live (African Initiatives for Relief and Development (AIRD), Kyaka II, 2015). We also see cases of local organisations focusing their efforts on their own nationality. For example, an organisation may say that as the Rwandans were already here, they do not need the help of Congolese organisations and that the Congolese have no interest in helping them (Solution Community Making Club (SCMC), Kyaka II, 2015). Once again we see that the population have separated themselves, with settlement policy making similar efforts. However, we also see again how these national differences are not held as being of great importance. Instead, there is an eroding of the separate cultures. The only time that cultural practices are shown is on educational days where they are shared with members of other nationalities. Now there is an adoption of a 'Kyaka culture', coming from the mixing of people (RWC2 Secretary, Kyaka II, 2015). Despite larger differences between these two groups, they are set aside due to the circumstance of where they are.

It has been shown what differences between the two largest national groups in Kyanwali and Kyaka II are present and how they arose. They partly come from the populations themselves, but also from the policy of the settlement structures. This provides an example of how living in a settlement could affect one type of group relations. It has also been shown how these differences, while present, are minor. The relations lead to no direct violence (Ugandan Police, Kyangwali, 2015). In general, younger generations from across the national gaps know very little about their home cultures (Windle Trust, Kyaka II, 2015). Thus, while settlement policy may create splits between national groups, life in the settlement lessens the importance of these differences.
**Ethnicity**

Ethnic divisions within the settlement are similar to national divisions. Self-identified groups, separating themselves from others, bring out these divisions. There are several differences between ethnic and national divisions. The ethnic relations, as witnessed by the author, were internal to national groups. For example South Sudanese Dinka do not speak about relations with Rwandan Hutu. Rather it was South Sudanese relations with Rwandans. Ethnic groups are a layer within the national group. Living with different ethnic groups can be seen as a positive, a chance to learn about other people from your home country who were not previously accessible. Ultimately the differences are not seen as significant or important (TCHEYEYE, Kyangwali, 2015). This section will demonstrate the presence of, yet diminished magnitude of, ethnic relations in Uganda's settlements.

As previously stated, Kyaka II holds a large Rwandan population. Many of these refugees are present from the Civil War and Genocide of 1994. Within this settlement Hutu and Tutsi Rwandans, both displaced by armed factions from the alternative ethnic group, now live side by side. The relationship in this case is widely described as being a Cold War like situation, they may not like each other, but due to the situation that they are in they work together (RWC 2 Kyaka II, 2015). Due to the history of violence between the two groups organisations within the settlement make a conscious effort to bring them together. Emphasising the importance of their shared language, both groups are brought together to share their dances, food and traditions with one another (AIRD, Kyaka II, 2015). It was stated that upon fleeing a country there is no time to keep feelings of fear or animosity from past conflicts; instead refugees must focus on working together for survival. People come to realise that that there are more similarities amongst them than differences (TCHEYEYE, Kyangwali, 2015). Here we see how the circumstance of working for survival, as well as active policies by the settlement structures leads to reduced emphasis on ethnic differences.

A factor that does occasionally increase ethnic tensions comes from outside the settlements. Many within the settlements have personal radios, which due to the settlements' proximity to the DRC, can tune in to stations from North Kivu. Much of the population follow news from home closely and thus when a new wave of violence occurs the settlement finds out quickly. An example of violence is the M23 attacks of
2013. The researcher observed many propaganda posters in shop windows, both for and against the rebel group. In addition to this, the violence brought a new wave of refugees, putting a further strain on resources and an additional ethnic dimension. However, it was stated that while the news is followed eagerly, with many having an opinion for or against the group, the violence did not spread over to the settlement (Ugandan Police, Kyangwali, 2015). Any signs of tension are quickly tackled in a number of ways, for example through seminars which highlight greater, more direct problems, such as a lack of food (International Youth Organisation to Transform Africa (CIYOTA), Kyangwali, 2015). This serves to show that tensions within the settlement are minimal, tackled directly by settlement structure policies and indirectly by the situation it leaves people in. It is instead external effects that heighten differences.

It has been shown that whether it is Rwandan Hutu and Tutsi or any of the myriads of Congolese ethnic groups, the differences are present, but do not lead necessarily to problems. The same could be said for the Sudanese Dinka and Nuer. This is further highlighted by the Red Cross stating that they rarely get requests for individuals to be put in contact with people based on ethnicities (Red Cross, Kyangwali, 2015). On top of the effect of simply being in the settlement, leading individuals to draw their focus away from ethnic strife, we can also see there is a larger direct impact on ethnic relations by the settlement structures. While the settlement structures actively separate nationalities, they work towards reducing the prominence of ethnic identity.

**Caseload**

Perhaps the largest factor that separates individuals from one another is the duration for which they have been living in the settlements. It is not their ethnic or national identity that a person brings with them when moving to another settlement. On the contrary it is their ability to be able to work efficiently within the settlement system and thus gain the correct resources. While it may not seem like a conventional identity group, it does fit the definition used previously, of a group being defined in relation to others, with a boundary separating them from other members of the population (Nagal 1994:152). Whilst there is a steady influx of refugees into both settlements, they tend to arrive in small amounts. A caseload of refugees refers to when a large group comes on mass. Uganda's main caseloads came in 1997, 2002, 2009 and 2013, with the Sudanese
coming in the 2002 case load (AAH, Kyangwali, 2015). This section will show how people differentiate themselves based on how long they have been in the settlement, and the structure policies further these differences. The main difference is that those who have been in the settlement longer have had a greater effect on their individual identities, but also due to more experience are more able to access settlement services.

During July 2013 there was an influx of 20,000 new refugees to Kyangwali due to the increase in violence resulting from the M23 uprising in the DRC. It was found that the new refugees struggled to adapt to several cultural, legal and practical particularities of life in the settlement. For example, many engaged in marrying those whom under the Ugandan laws which are practiced in the settlement, were deemed to be underage. This led to several prosecutions and several sensitisation projects. Additionally, many of these people were previously hunter-gatherers, and so when provided with materials to grow crops were unsure of how to do so. A lack of properly transferred information meant that upon receiving their food allocation, many ate it straight away, not realising that this was only a monthly activity (ARC, Kyangwali, 2015). It was also noted that they quickly grew to work as a group, realising they were all victims who had suffered, despite previously being from groups whom had fought with one another (CITOYA, Kyangwali, 2015). Being new to the situation of settlement life meant that they lacked knowledge of certain expectations that those who had been in the settlement longer were aware of; this both pulled them together as a group and separated them from the rest of the population.

An added risk to the newer refugees is the lack of food and shelter meaning that they are more susceptible to diseases like malaria. However, it was seen that they quickly come together to help one another and are also helped by the older refugees to establish themselves and gain access to medication (TCHEYEYE, Kyangwali, 2015). With newer refugees getting less resources then previous case loads, essentials such as poles and plastic sheets to build houses have to be sourced from elsewhere, normally with the help of other members of the refugee population (RWC 3 Chairman, Kyaka II, 2015). It is not just the lack of these resources which the newer refugees suffer from, it is a lack of knowledge of how the system works, meaning they struggle to engage with it in a way that results in positive outcomes for themselves (AAH, Kyangwali, 2015). This shows us yet another way in which the settlements structures affect internal
dynamics, both in their direct provisions and in the way its mechanisms need to be engaged with to provide for oneself. We also see a sense of a refugee community, with those who have been there for a long time coming to the aid of those who have not.

This section has shown how the refugees from the more recent caseloads have in effect formed a separate group within the settlement. This comes from the way that the settlement structures treat them differently, in providing them with different amounts of resources, and from the way that they interact with the structures that surround them. It has also been shown how instead of ostracising the new group, the existing population is quick to assist them. On the other side of this, it was described how, for those who have been in the settlements for much longer than others, they no longer hold onto their home culture. Their old languages die out in favour of the settlement’s Swahili, as opposed to the newer refugees who still hold their home cultures (RWC2 Chairman, Kagoma, 2015). This shows once again the diverse effect that the settlement structures have on internal group dynamics.

**Other Group Dynamics**

This section will highlight how, aside from the three previous mentioned different types of groups within the settlement, there are many others. The parameters of the paper do not allow a detailed examination of these, instead focusing on nationality, ethnicity and caseload as the major separating factors. It is important to touch upon other factors as they highlight the complexity of the settlements and the many divergences within it. Thus, when it is shown in the next chapter that a singular refugee identity transcends all of these differences, the prominence of this phenomenon is evidenced.

Educational levels present a source of separation within the settlements. It is hoped that those who become educated will be able to go onto become leaders within the communities and pass their new knowledge on to the rest of the population (Windle Trust, Kyaka II, 2015). Access to the schools in the system is dependent upon being able to afford to take tests and being able to speak Swahili. Many newer refugees come with a level of education but are forced to go back to primary schools to learn the language, resulting in them dropping out (Mukondo Primary School, Kyaka II, 2015). Thus, it is found that some have more access to full time education than others. Despite it being seen as a desirable asset to gain an education, because of the settlement
structures many who do, then find themselves trapped within a form of glass ceiling, unable to put their education to good use.

A further form of group dynamic, as in any society, is level of wealth. One aspect of this is that there are those within the settlements who came from wealthier backgrounds but lost their wealth and with it their status when they became a refugee. This can lead to them finding it harder to adjust to life in the settlement (Windle Trust, Kyaka II, 2015). There are also suggestions of exploitation by those who have managed to accumulate more wealth over those who have not in the settlements, and charging others to use land they have managed to gain access to (RWC 2, Kyangwali, 2015). While the disparities in wealth are not massive, it does have a large impact on people's lives and is something that settlement policy struggles to counter.

Religion can be seen as a unifying feature within the settlement. The majority of the refugees actively practice a religion, which is overwhelmingly Christianity. There is a wide range of denominations within both settlements, however many have mixed ethnic and national congregations, bringing people together in the name of religion (RWC 2 Candidate, Kyangwali, 2015). Additionally religion provides people with something to unite around and acts as a platform to develop community building organisations to improve their own lives (SCMC, Kyaka II, 2015). While people do engage in different denominations and practice different faiths, religion provides an example that acts as a counter to the settlement structures. While it still creates different groupings, it operates outside of the control of the structures, allowing refugees a platform to develop their community.

It is hoped that this section has shown how in addition to different nationalities, ethnicities and caseloads, there are also the educated and uneducated, the wealthier and poorer and members of different denominations within the settlements. The group could be split further by gender, age, marital status or a host of other variables. Each of these forms a different group dynamic. However, all of these different groups are made up of refugees and all of the dynamics between the groups happen within the settlements structures and are thus affected by them.
Conclusion

By walking around either of the settlements, it is impossible to tell whether someone is from South Sudan or the DRC, whether someone is a Hutu or a Tutsi, how long someone has been in the settlement or any of the other things that make up one’s individual identity. However, these groups are present and separate from one another. Those within a certain group will know who else is in it, perhaps through the use of a specific language. The organisations that run the settlement also know who is in which group through taking censuses and issuing ID cards (RWC 3 Chairman, Kyangwali, 2015). While the differences are still there and acknowledged, they are also diminishing. There is neither the space nor time, due to the struggle to achieve self sustainability, to practice cultures that previously made the identity so important, making some elders worry that traditional cultures will die out completely (RWC 1, Kyaka II, 2015). We also see the differences diminishing through increased intermarriage between groups and with prolonged time spent inside the settlements individuals having more shared experiences with those from different groups (Windle Trust, Kyaka II, 2015). We therefore see that there are divided identities within Uganda’s refugee settlements, and that the relationships between these different identity groups are complex and ever changing. Relationships between refugees all happen within the settlements structures, with each interacting with the structures in its own way, all being altered slightly differently. This paper can therefore say, that in general, the structures reduce the importance of these internal group dynamics. This paves the way for, as will be shown below, an overarching refugee identity, which all of the above identities come to fit within.
CHAPTER FIVE:
UNIFYING IDENTITY

Introduction
This chapter provides the second half of the papers main analytical section. The paper has highlighted the effect that Uganda's settlement policies have had on group dynamics amongst the refugees, while also outlining some of the fault lines within the population. The chapter will show the policies effect on creating a unified identity amongst the population. This will be done by first outlining the main structures that will be referred to in the chapter, their roles in the settlements and some of their attitudes. It will be shown that these interactions take place in three main ways. Firstly 'the presence of an 'other''-the nationals within and surrounding the settlements. Secondly a 'lack of adequate services' for the population on a range of needs. Thirdly, 'total control' of the refugee population's daily lives. We will see how these three phenomenons epitomise the refugee populations' interactions with the surrounding structures, each of which push a certain identity on the population. Finally there will be a concluding section for the chapter.

The Main Structures
This section will give a brief introduction to the main structures that make up the settlement. Further information about the specifics of these structures will be provided throughout the chapter. As has been noted, constructivism lays out that interactions with structures give them their social power. However, they must have objective aspects to interact with and attach a perception to (Bourdieu, 1985:727). The paper will outline the objective aspects of the government agencies and international NGOs, followed by the services that are provided for the refugees. Finally, what can be seen as the counter structures, are the RWC and local NGOs. This will then allow the rest of the chapter to outline the subjective effects of these structures.

The government agencies and international NGOs are at the top level of the power hierarchy within the settlements. The law enforcement agency is the Ugandan police force who have sixty men whom patrol the unfenced boarders of the settlement (Ugandan Police, Kyangwali, 2015). They work under the OPM who are a broad government agency which looks 'To instil and maintain efficient and effective systems
in Government that enable Uganda to develop rapidly' (OPM 2015). They run the settlement on behalf of the government and operate under the guidance of a Camp Commandant. The Government agencies are assisted by international NGOs, headed by the UNHCR who base their work on the UN 1951 Convention on Refugees. In practice, this is assisting the government in supporting the refugees in areas of protection, providing materials and monitoring the ongoing situation (UNHCR, Kyaka II, 2015). They are supported by numerous other partners who work in coordination with UNHCR.

These organisations work together to provide services for the refugee population. In Kyangwali the core of these services are five health centres run by three doctors, two lab clinicians and thirty-five other assistants. There are seven primary schools run by the organisations with an additional school that is run by the community and also a secondary school. The teachers for all of these schools are funded by the above organisations. Furthermore there are 110 water stations throughout the settlements for the refugees to use (AAH, Kyangwali, 2015). This is supplemented by organisations performing a large number of services on a smaller scale, such as providing mosquito nets, assistance on legal issues or sensitisation projects.

As well as the external structures that run the settlements, there are also several internal ones. These are run by the refugees and are used to provide a communal voice that can be used to potentially change their situation. The main one of these is the RWC. This is a democratically elected local system of governance which looks to mitigate small scale, personal conflicts within their constituency and also to allocate resources to those whom need them the most. Additionally they look to mobilise the population on issues that affect them all, such as the spread of malaria (RWC 3 Chairman, Kyangwali, 2015). The RWC is set up in three layers, level 3 is a singular council that runs the whole settlements, level 2 represents a village and level 1 is a block of 24 to 30 houses. Each council has a Chair and eleven other committee members who represent issues ranging from security to hygiene (see Appendices Two for full list) (ARC, Kyangwali, 2015). In addition to this, there are a large number of locally formed NGOs that look to have a positive impact on issues extending to agriculture and female empowerment.

The RWC shows us several factors about living within the settlement. It is seen as means of both voicing one's opinions and also working together across ethnic and
national boundaries in order to benefit those within the settlement. However, it also serves as a reminder that the population is confined to the settlement and that they can make no real political gains due to the surrounding structures. They are all refugees and all victims (RWC 3, Kyangwali, 2015). The section has aimed to provide a further insight into life in the settlement by detailing some of the structures whose effects will be further analysed below.

**The Creation of an Identity**

The following section will explore how the 'refugee identity' which has been mentioned throughout the paper so far has been created. The paper is attempting to show how the settlements structures create an identity. The people in the settlements are united by the fact that they are a refugee, giving this term much more importance than a simple label. Above and more important than a person's nationality, ethnicity, religion, or any other diversifying factor, when in the settlement is that the individuals are refugees (Ugandan Police, Kyangwali, 2015). The population in the settlements are now much safer than they were during the conflicts they fled from. There are no militia present in the settlements, or fear of one attacking it. Where people before may have lived in fear of having their village attached, this is not an aspect of their daily life any more. Within the settlements they are safe, but what is life like within this safety net and what comes with the safety that the structures provide? The population has formed a singular refugee group and it will be argued that this occurs due to three main types of interactions. Firstly, interactions with those who are not refugees. Ugandan nationals are able to come and go as they please within the settlement, sharing some of the services with the refugees. These Ugandan nationals act as a way of highlighting the position of the refugees. Secondly, lack of adequate services from the settlement providers creates a more desperate population and as a consequence, the population have to look towards each other to achieve an acceptable standard of living and to pursue certain goals. Finally, we will see how the power of the structures over the refugees is absolute, resulting in total control. Even the smallest of the refugee's daily activities and movements must be approved by the authorities of the settlement. This results in a down trodden population who are unable to pursue basic freedoms. We see how the settlements structures have three main types of interactions with the refugee population
each feeding into the refugee populations identity, this is visualised bellow in *Figure Three*. Each of these three types of interaction will be expanded in turn using interviews from both the population and representatives of the structures organisations.

*Figure Three*, Constitutive Interactions

*The Presence of an 'Other'*

This section will examine how the presence of an external group to the refugee population acts as an 'other', strengthening the group identity amongst the population. In this case, the 'other' is represented by the presence of the national citizens of Uganda. A relevant aspect of identity theory at this point is the need for an us/them dynamic to form a collective identity (Mouffe 2000:13). Here, the nationals form a way to define the refugee identity in opposition to their own group, providing the us/them dynamic. The differences between them are exacerbated by the settlement's policies, which encourage interactions, occasionally create conflict and seemingly ignore existing
tensions. The section will proceed by providing an analysis of the interactions between the two groups, demonstrating the role of the settlements structures in these interactions. This will be followed by highlighting the main particularities of the identity that are created by the presence of an ‘other’ creates.

Firstly, existing hostilities between the nationals and the refugee population are evident. The camps are structured in such a way that the nationals are allowed to enter the settlements at will due to their unfenced nature, meaning they can interact with refugees as and when they choose. Each refugee is allocated a small plot of land to grow crops on, an essential aspect of the self sustainability model. However we see that the nationals are known to destroy these crops by grazing their cows on them and then refuse to compensate the refugee population. This is an issue that when reported to the authorities are ignored (RWC3, Kyanwali, 2015). Additionally it has been reported that when nationals are in charge of providing aid they have been known to sell the goods and buy cheaper materials to give to the refugees (RWC 2, Kyeyita, 2015). We see how the settlements structures allow nationals to enter the settlement at their own discretion, operating at the expense of the refugees. This further empowers the national's position and allows them to make supplementary gains.

There was a case in Kyangwali in 2013 where the new caseload of refugees was moved to an area called Bukinda. This is an area on the edge of the settlement where nationals lived, but were forcibly removed from the area to accommodate the refugee population. Several months later the decision was reversed with the nationals being allowed to move back into the area, after many of the buildings had been destroyed. This decision created massive tensions between the refugee population and the nationals. It served to form greater unity between the newer refugees and the older ones, with the nationals not being able to distinguish between the case loads, they all received the same hostilities. In response there were cases of refugees from different case loads, nationalities and ethnicities helping one another deal with the situation (ARC, Kyangwali, 2015). One extreme case of hostilities at this time was reported when a couple attempted to move to the local town and were chased out and killed for being refugees outside of the settlement (RWC2, Kyeyita, 2015). We see how, despite Bukinda being an extreme case, the settlement structures created a situation of hostility between the two groups furthering the us/them notion and brought the refugee
population closer together. Thus highlighting the notion that they are refugees, therefore not welcome in the area.

To highlight the outlook of the settlement structures to the situation, we can see the disparities in their opinions compared to members of the refugee population on the issue. Ugandan police stated that there are never any problems, suggesting that because of the prolonged establishment of the settlement, there is a readily established productive relationship between the two groups (Ugandan Police, Kyangwali, 2015). An alternative to this is the opinion that the nationals can never understand the situation of the refugees. Even those who live near the settlement and are in similar financial situations have hope of leaving, whereas the refugees do not. Even those who try to be positive are aware the nationals have 'something that sets them apart from us' (CITOYA, Kyangwali, 2015). We see how the groups who preside over the refugees and the nationals lack an appreciation of the full complexities of the relationship dynamics between the two. The nationals presence further highlights to the refugee population the abnormality of their situation, furthering and deepening the notion of their refugee identity.

We see how the presence of the nationals within and surrounding the settlements creates a situation of us/them with the refugees. The interactions between the groups feed into what it means to be a refugee for those living in Uganda. Aspects of being unwanted, shown by being chased out of the local town and attacked within the settlement, being taken advantage of during cases of crop destruction and aid manipulation and a general feeling of separation and abnormality from interactions with those who are not part of their group. It serves to bring the group further together and strengthen the group identity. It means that, with the presence of an other, people feel safer within the settlement knowing they will take care of one another (RWC 2 Secretary, Kyaka II, 2015). This is a situation that is ignored, not realised or made worse by the policies of the settlement structures. Thus we see an aspect of the settlement policies, and the respective interactions with it, that bypass the differences within the refugee population. Consequently, this affects them all evenly in a negative way, thus enforcing a refugee identity which, as has been shown due to the degrading relationship with the Ugandan nationals, has negative connotations.
Lack of adequate services

The settlement structures support the notion of self sustainability. They acknowledge however that this cannot be, and never will be given the circumstances, absolute. A refugee population, given adequate means may be able to provide food for themselves, however certain services have to be provided for them in order to achieve a basic standard of living. If we use Sen's notion of 'Development as Freedom' as a foundation for a basic standard of living, members of the population should be able to have some control over the outcome of theirs, and their children's, lives (Sen 1994:4). While it is acknowledged that this is much harder to achieve for a refugee population given the nature of their confinement, an adequate level of service provision would mean that the population were a lot closer to achieving this, rather than simply continuing to barely sustain themselves. This section will proceed by highlighting some of the key areas where there is an apparent lack of services. These areas include; legal assistance, education, healthcare and care for victims of trauma. Throughout this it will be highlighted the effect that this has on the populations group dynamic before examining the effect that this has on the populations ability to provide for themselves.

One of the most prominent essential services that is not available to the refugee population is adequate legal protection. The police force do not have the resources to patrol all sections of the settlement due to how remote some areas are. On top of this, when suspects are detained there can be as many as ten prisoners sharing the detention centres two blankets, without a budget to feed any of them (Ugandan Police, Kyangwali, 2015). Upon being detained there is a lack of legal representation for the refugees. The OPM has been reported to block this type of representation for fear of cases being brought against them. This has lead to several people, whom the local leader has stated were known rapists, being released from detention as the victim had no way to bring a case against them (RWC 2, Kagoma, 2015). If a case is taken to court, many of the local population cannot attend any court proceedings as they are not able to access the local towns where the courts are located. While the police transport the suspects, the victim has to provide their own transport. As this is often not a viable option, the victim bares no witness to, or receives any representation at the trial (RWC 2, Kyangwali, 2015). Through this, we see how within the settlement the refugees are
made more vulnerable due to lack of necessary services, which in this case is adequate legal representation and protection, leading to increased vulnerability of the population.

A further area where service provision does not meet the demand or need of the population comes in the form of education. A frequent complaint in interviews conducted was the lack of ability to access education for the interviewee’s children. Across the settlement there is only one secondary school, which is shared with the national population and which is too far away from many parts of the settlement for many to access. Even the primary schools are hard to access, and those who do have access to them often find that there are not enough qualified teachers within them (RWC2, Kagoma, 2015). Those who are within reach of a school often lack the finances for uniforms, tests and other necessary payments to send their children there (RWC2, Kyangwali, 2015). Education within the settlement is something many aspire to achieve as it is seen as a potential way to alleviate oneself from their current situation, or to gain a job when they return to their home country. However, the schools are taught in English based on the Ugandan curriculum. This means that if a child was to return to DRC they find they lack the necessary knowledge to gain a job in the French speaking country. This combined with the lack of access to jobs within Uganda for refugees means that those who do gain an education are not able to fulfil the dream of accessing a job in either country (CIYOTA, Kyangwali, 2015). Once again we see how the settlement fails to provide adequate services for members of the refugee population, where it does provide it fails to serve the desired purpose. This again leaves a population unable to progress beyond merely continuing to sustain itself with no sign of change.

Potentially the most important service that is not provided for in adequate amounts for the population is medical care. This is a problem that came up in almost every conversation, both in interviews and in casual situations around the settlement. The clinics that are in the settlement were again reported to be hard to get to for some members of the population in more remote villages. Upon getting to one of the clinics it was often reported that there was a lack of medication (RWC 2 Chairman, Kyangwali, 2015). The service of getting seen by a clinical officer is free, but if the person in question is found to be sick they are often told to go and buy their own medicine, which is something they are not in a position to do (RWC 2, Kagoma, 2015). In more serious
cases such as complications surrounding childbirth, women have to be transferred three hours across dirt roads to Hoima. There have been many cases reported where due to the distance between the settlement and the town, women die on route (RWC 2 Candidate, Kyangwali, 2015). We see again how a basic yet vital service needed to live to a basic standard of living is not available to the refugee population. This is an issue that brings the refugees closer together as a group and increases the vulnerability of their identity.

A more specific aspect of medical care relates to trauma care. Many of the population have been subjected to, or witnessed something that can reasonably be deemed traumatic, some of which have long-term psychological impacts. Victims were categorized as either being 'primary' or 'secondary' in nature. Those who have been directly attacked, raped or intimidated are primary victims, while those who had to flee their homes due to fear of violence are secondary victims. The majority of those in the settlements are secondary victims but there is a large portion of primary victims (RWC 3 Chair, Kyangwali, 2015). A community leader spoke of a woman in his constituency who was raped eight times in a single day while fleeing to the settlement, leading her to be in a situation where she is not able to care for herself. Due to the lack of professionals or adequate training for the community leader she has not had access to support structures that are deemed necessary to assist her (RWC 3, Kyaka II, 2015). We see how the lack of services in the case of trauma not only denies some members of the population the opportunity to live a fulfilling life, but restrict the ability to operate on a level where they can engage in self sustainability tasks. It is possible to see the desperate nature of some of the population’s situation, and the desire for improvement, but a lack of ability for other members of the population to assist them. The lack of this service again shows the bringing together of the population to protect the weaker members.

We see a lack of adequate resources across a number of different key services. This provides the means of one of the key interactions that the population has with the settlement structures. The people who are meant to be enabling the population to achieve a basic standard of living while in refuge from their country of origin fall short on legal, educational and medical services. This interaction helps inform the social meaning subscribed to the structures, as well as feeding into the self given identity of the refugee population, or their thick description. If there is a problem, there are limited
services or means to resolve it. It is known that the service providers will not provide the needed resources. While promises of assistance of various types regularly, they often come up short of following through on them (RWC2 Candidate, Kyangwali, 2015). This leaves a refugee population within the structure that despite previous differences, are all in the same position of need. They are all equal in this shared vulnerability. They are all as desperate. They are all simply refugees. The differences between them are made less important in the face of the desperation of the situation (RWC 2 Chairman, Kyangwali, 2015). There is no way to alleviate oneself from this situation. Even those who have adequate qualifications will not get hired as businesses favour nationals (RWC2 Chairman, Kyeyita, 2015). We see how this key interaction with the settlement structures diminishes the prominence of the intra group relations, bringing the refugee group closer together as a group and feeding into its identity.

**Total Control**

The paper will now focus on the third of the main aspects of interaction between the settlement structures and the refugee population, that of total control. By this, the paper means the absolute power that the structures hold over the population. This will be shown by detailing the lack of consultation and cooperation with the population and some of the tools of manipulation. This will be followed by highlighting the tight hierarchical collaboration between the structures operators and their negative attitudes towards the population. The nature of this hierarchical structure is shown bellow in *Figure Four*. We see the OPM as the settlements overarching power, linked to the UNHCR and other international NGOs. This combination makes up the settlements main structures. In terms of control they have a one-way relationship with the refugee population, directly asserting power over them with no influence moving in the other direction. The refugee population themselves have some influence over the RWC and local NGOs, but these are ineffective in influencing any of the structures above them. This leaves a massive power disparity between the structures and the refugees, resulting in the total control over them. It will be shown how this further tightens the refugee group together and feeds into their identity.
Figure Four, Power Disparities

One of the key aspects of interaction between the population and the agencies that highlights the nature and degree of control is the lack of feedback and productive interaction between the two. The RWC is the main method for refugees to raise queries to the systems structures. However, the OPM's rule over them is absolute and with no consultation, it is seen as more direct, due to its proximity, than governance in the DRC (CITOYA, Kyangwali, 2015). Indeed it was stated that the RWC was created as a way to manipulate the community and push the population's behaviour in a certain direction (AAH, Kyangwali, 2015). One leader said that when individuals go to the OPM with a problem they are offered no protection and there is no feedback given. If they attempt to bypass the Government organisation through a neutral organisation they 'become an enemy of OPM' (RWC 2 Chairman, Kagoma, 2015). While the RWC does bring people together in identifying common problems, when these problems are taken to the settlements structures operators, they are largely ignored. One candidate reported that he was threatened by OPM for running for RWC 3 on account of being South Sudanese, which was not thought to be in the interest of the settlement (RWC 3 Candidate, Kyangwali, 2015). This can be seen to bring the group closer together in their distance
and powerlessness from the systems structures resulting in a lack of ability to have a positive impact on their lives.

An example of the effect that the systems structures have had on the refugee population come from the makeup of local NGOs. In several interviews with local NGOs, much of the time was spent going into great detail of the different branches of their organisation, their board positions and the different 'buzz words' that they would be focusing on. It appeared that they had spent much less time on how the organisation would deliver its goals. They were set up in mirror images of the implementing partners of the settlement structures. The system has had such an effect on the refugees lives, being seen as the only mechanism to bring about change in their daily lives that refugees set up 'legitimate NGO's' in line with perceived international standards rather than pursuing the self help model that the structure proposes to support in order to achieve more than mere daily existence. The relationships constructivist effect results in an attempt to replicate the structures in order to enact change in one's life due to their pronounced levels of influence and effect.

One of the tools that is used as a form of control over the population is the promise of resettlement. There is currently a 'Congolese Enhanced Resettlement Programme', with a focus on this nationality due to the prolonged nature of their war. Everyone eighteen and above is interviewed to establish basic information. There is then a long series of checks by different UNHCR offices and the potential new host country. The focus is on the most vulnerable; those who have problems that cannot be adequately alleviated in Uganda. Due to the long legal process required in Uganda to gain citizenship, integration is nonexistent and the security situation in both South Sudan and DRC means voluntary repatriation is not a viable option either. Some people have resorted to spontaneous return without the permission of UNHCR, such as in 2013 when a boat sunk in Lake Albert killing hundreds (UNHCR, Kyangwali, 2015). This desperation comes from many not understanding the process of resettlement (ARC, Kyangwali, 2015). There is a general impression amongst the population that they are up for resettlement and that it is a matter of time before they are moved abroad. The belief that there is a viable end in sight helps maintain control over the population, who keep going based on the hope that they will soon be resettled. This is despite only 1% of the population actually being resettled (US Department of State, 2015). When hope
turns to desperation as a consequence of long periods of waiting for resettlement, it results in situations similar to the 2013 boat disaster.

A striking and slightly shocking feature that was present across the organisations was their attitude towards the refugee population. There seems little regard for the individuality within the population. It was emphasised how they are all simply 'refugees', with the differences between them of little importance, contrary to what was shown in the previous chapter (ARC, Kyangwali, 2015). When describing what a refugee is, they are simply someone who has crossed a boarder and is now living somewhere else, forced to be dependent on others. They were described as being 'like babies being weaned off their mother's milk, if you offer them the teat they will keep taking it and when you stop they kick and scream but you have to teach them to fend for themselves' (AAH, Kyangwali, 2015). There seemed to be little concern as to why they were 'kicking and screaming' and more of a focus on how to wean them off the milk. This attitude is further shown by reports that police have killed members of the population through beatings, tear gas and shootings. In a more recent case, a community leader witnessed a pregnant woman being beaten at the Reception Centre. In all cases when reports were filled to the UNHCR there was no follow up provided (RWC 2, Kagoma, 2015). The researcher witnessed several beatings and a general disregard for members of the population's well being at a UNHCR distribution for shoes and soap for the elderly and young. When asked about complaints against the OPM relating to these aspects it was said that 'the refugee is normally part of the problem' having done something wrong themselves (UNHCR, Kyangwali, 2015). By holding and practicing these attitudes we can see from a constructivist lens how any interaction with these structures by the population would result in a negative impact on self identifying processes, leading to a feeling of hopelessness and unimportance.

It should be noted that these observations are not particular to one organisation. While some may be slightly worse or better in their feedback and practice with the population, largely they form a unified and singular face. There is an active effort to provide a singular voice to the refugee population from the different organisations, believing working together will achieve more (ARC, Kyangwali, 2015). This is done through an annual 'Joint Assessment Mission', in which all organisations work together to form a plan of what services should be targeted to increase (UNHCR, Kyangwali,
It was widely stated amongst the refugee population that they had little involvement with this assessment. Many organisations highlighted the importance of working closely with the OPM. Given some of the grievances made by the population in regards to the OPM and OPM's position of absolute power over the other organisations it brings up questions of neutrality in disputes between the population and OPM, by the other organisations. When questioning the UNHCR about this it was stated that they would oppose anything that does not fulfil the UN Refugee Convention, however the realities of these claims are questionable (UNHCR, Kyangwali, 2015). This highlights the nature of the strength of the systems structures as a singular unit, removed from and over arching the refugee population.

This section has attempted to show how the settlements structures have complete control over the refugee population with little to no collaboration in policy. This is so entrenched that it results in attempts to replicate the organisations that operate above them. By maintaining a united front and using tools such as the promise of resettlement the settlement structures maintain complete control over the daily lives of the refugees. What's more is that this control is wielded by a force that holds the population it is meant to be serving in extremely low regard. This results in a population coming together as a united group to protect themselves. The interactions typified by referring to the population as 'you refugees, you refugees' lead to associating the word, and the person you now are as part of that group, in a negative way (RWC2 Candidate, Kyangwali, 2015).

**Conclusion**

This chapter has aimed to show how the main structures that preside over the settlement, policies and actions lead to three main types of interactions for the refugees. They lead to further and worse relations with the national population, they result in a lack of adequate services and rule through total control. As outlined previously, constructivism explains how the interactions between a group and a structure can lead to a social meaning being designated to both the group and the structures. The identity of the refugee population is pushed upon them by the interactions they hold with these structures. It results in bringing a group full of varied sub groups closer together and unifying a 'refugee population'. These relationships push a particular identity on the
group that, while not replacing it, superposes as the primary identity, over their previously held identity. It leaves a group struggling to provide for itself, subverted by the organisations that provide for them, desperate and unwanted.
CHAPTER SIX:
REFLECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter aims to offer some broader reflections on this study to show where the findings fit within the wider context and hence the potential for future work in this area. The paper started from a high level of abstraction before focusing on some of the specific phenomenon surrounding the refugees in Uganda and now it will once again withdraw to highlight that the refugee crisis is a manifestation of a larger problem. While tending to the needs of the refugee population is of the upmost importance, this can be seen as treating the symptoms, rather than the cause. This will be followed by offering some recommendations. Firstly on potential lines for future research and then on the practicalities within the current settlement system, focusing on Kyangwali and Kyaka II.

As previously stated the majority of the refugees in Kyaka II and Kyangwali were from either the DRC or South Sudan. The DRC has essentially been in constant conflict since 'Africa's First World War' broke out in 1997 (Prunier 2009:364). South Sudan has had ongoing conflicts for twenty-one years in the lead up to its independence in 2005 and the conflict has continued in the world's newest country since then (Arnold 2007:489). In 2015 alone over a billion dollars is being spent on peacekeeping in each country respectively (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2015). Individually these missions cost almost double the total UNHCR budget of $579 million in the Great Lakes Region and Uganda (UNHCR Global Appeal 2014-2015-Uganda, 2015:6, UNHCR Central Africa and Great Lakes, 2015). This suggests that the UN system is attempting to address the conflicts that are at the root of the refugee problem, and not just the symptoms abroad. The funding of refugee settlements and camps can only deal with the manifestation of the ongoing conflict, without any power to resolve them. However with vulnerable people still emerging from both of these conflicts and neither appearing to be entering a period of prolonged stability the UN's current approaches do not appear to be yielding results. This paper would therefore suggest that more research into pursuing alternative methods of conflict resolution and peace keeping in the two main countries of origins may be of benefit. This would not only allow for the voluntary return of refugees to their country of origin but also stem the flow of new caseloads.
Developing on this research a study looking into the long-term effects of developing a refugee identity may be of value. When a refugee is resettled abroad, integrated into the host country or is able to return home, what are the long-term social effects upon the individual? Is having developed a refugee identity something that effects that persons future identities and how they label and define themselves, or when removed from a refugee settlement and camp is it something that is easily shed? This would be of interest in and of itself to see the long-term effects of the settlements as well as potentially supporting the papers argument that there is a deep social impact upon the population. In addition, a comparative study examining how identity differs between refugees within settlements, camps and those in urban areas as this could strengthen the validity of the current findings. Given the rise in the number of global refugees as detailed above in Chapter Two, combined with the degrading nature of the settlements detailed in this paper further research into long term alternatives for the support of refugees could provide benefits to those whom appear to be trapped in their current situation almost indefinitely.

Finding viable alternatives to refugee settlements or ending decade long conflicts will not happen overnight. In the mean time it is more feasible to make changes within the current systems that are in use. There are numerous, potentially extremely broad changes that that could be made within settlements. Having spent time within the settlements of Western Uganda the researcher would recommend four main aspects that could be rectified relatively easily within Kyangwali and Kyaka II. It is acknowledged that these changes may not be as relevant to other settlements in other countries. While it is recognised that there is a limit on the amount of resources available the four recommendations are; an increase in medical supplies, an increase in legal assistance, a clear separation of UNHCR and the OPM and finally increased clarity on resettlement. Firstly, an increase in medical supplies, all doctors and refugees spoken to and interviewed stated that the amount of prescription drugs available was bellow what was needed, which can leave a diagnosis untreated by the correct medicine to alleviate the condition. This negatively impacts on the most basic right of living a healthy life within the settlement. A further resource that would be of benefit is legal aid. Allowing the refugees access to further legal representation would allow for clarification on issues of potential misunderstanding and ensure that they receive full legal protection from any
wrong doing against them. One way in which this could potentially be helped is linked to the following third recommendation. While there is a benefit of close coordination between partners who organise the settlements for efficiency, a further separation between the UNHCR and OPM could be of benefit. Emphasising the UNHCR’s independence and neutrality instead of working under the direction of the OPM would allow them to further assist the refugee population, especially in regards to complaints made against the OPM and police forces. The final recommendation would be for there to be more transparency and clarity on issues of resettlement by UNHCR. Instead of building up individuals with false hope of receiving resettlement to a more developed country, refugees should be explicitly made aware of the full process and likelihood of going through this project. While attempts are made to do this, the perception that resettlement is a formality waiting to happen was present with almost every refugee that the researcher met. Addressing this would allow members of the population who are waiting to be resettled to instead concentrate on improving the quality of their lives now, within the settlements, and not live their life based upon false hope.

This chapter has aimed to highlight the context of the study within the crisis that has caused it to be necessary. Emphasising that while there are currently attempts to end the conflicts and partly alleviate the refugee crisis that the conflicts continue. Acknowledging that these are an ongoing reality for which the answer does not appear to be forthcoming imminently, recommendations have been made on working with this veracity. Thus the paper has provided several non-hortatory research and practical recommendations. There are opportunities to develop on this study by examining the long-term effects on refugee identity as well as the effect that different situations and locations may have on this identity. Additionally, four practical changes within the researched settlements could be enacted quickly to have a positive effect on the lives of the refugees there have been shown.
CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION
SETTLEMENT IDENTITY-UNIFIED OR DIVIDED?

The paper has examined what holds greater importance for a refugee population, their separate identities or a unified identity. If it is the unified identity, then what brings about this refugee identity and leads it to have such a deep hold over a divergent population? Further to this what are the social impacts on the population, what does this identity mean for someone who is part of the social group? In other words, the topic of the paper has been a 'refugee identity' and has looked to examine three questions surrounding it; if there is one, how it comes about and what its effects are. By looking at the effect of the structures on the refugees the paper has naturally had to examine the structures themselves. In doing this some of their negative aspects have been highlighted, providing a critique of them as a secondary aim to the argument showing there is a unified refugee identity.

To extract these answers the paper has focused on the refugee population found in the settlements of Kyaka II and Kyangwali in Western Uganda. The refugees that preside in these settlements come from a variety of countries including the DRC, South Sudan and Rwanda and they thus become the subject of the study. In order to reach an answer on the above questions interviews and observations in the two settlements were backed up with secondary sources. The essay progressed by detailing the theoretical and contextual background, that of constructivism and refugees in Uganda's settlements. This was followed by highlighting the many differences within the settlements and how these groups interact with the settlements structures and each other. Leading on from this was the interactions that the whole of the population collectively goes through with the structures that surround them.

It was found that the independent variable of the refugee settlement structures did affect the dependent variable of the refugee identity. This effect came about through constructivist interactions between the two variables resulting in the creation of a refugee identity. Chapter four showed that there are many differences within this population, they are separated by their nationality, their ethnicity, how long they have been in the settlement as well as a variety of other factors. Each of these sub groups
interact with one another in different ways, all within, and so affected by the settlement structures that surround them. Despite the differences we see a form of cohesion theory where times of hardship bring together and help form an identity group (Smith 1981:378). However in this case it is not that those being studied formed a cohesive group due to conflict with another group as in Smiths theory, rather due to their interactions with the settlement structures. The interactions with these structures typified by the presence of an other, a lack of services and total control constitute a meaning and give identity to the group. Thus through an examination of the dynamics within the group we can conclude that there is a refugee identity as well as showing how it came about, through a constructivist interaction with the settlements structures.

This leads us to the third sub-question, what is this identity and what does it mean for the population? The researcher observed and has attempted to show that the population has come together in its separation from those whom surround them. The population's interactions with the structures mean they have many similar traits which go beyond the boundaries. They are mainly a desperate population, lacking certain essential services such as medical supplies and a right to a fair level of education. This leaves a population desperate to improve their own standard of living without the capabilities to do so. They are a group who are ostracised by the local nationals, a relationship acknowledged and worsened by the structural policies. They are once again put down further by the structures organisations who treat them almost like pests whom must be tolerated. The population is thus constantly reminded of their unimportance to society and how they are not wanted in the region. They are however a hopeful people, hoping for a chance at resettlement which they naively put all their dreams on despite the chance of this happening being far more unrealistic then they are lead to believe. They are a controlled population, subverted by the organisations that rule over them, controlling every aspect of what they can and cannot do.

It highlights that the main people that a refugee can look towards for support are other refugees. That if they are in need of assistance of any sort the RWC and their neighbours will be the only people who fully understand their dilemmas and problems and thus the only people who can or will assist them. It shows that being a refugee goes much deeper than simply being a person who has been persecuted and had to flee across
a border. How they are treated and viewed results in deep social impacts and therefore upon how they view themselves and thus how they carry themselves and act.

We return once more to the opening quote by Dowden (2009:93). The refugees in this study are indeed an uprooted people, both culturally and physically. They have forgotten many of the 'old ways', being unable to practice them inside the confines of the settlements. Many of the population do not know where they are going either, as he suggests with his quote. However, the paper has shown how the nature of identity is fluid and complicated, adapting to circumstance. Refugees have not forgotten their ethnic or national identity; these aspects are still an important part of who they are. They remember or are told about where they come from, shown by the differences between those within the settlements who have come from different countries. In addition to this they have added another layer to their identity. Superseding the differences created from where they come from is that they are all now part of a new group, which holds a 'refugee identity' at the forefront of who they are. Far from lacking a sense of identity being in the settlements and interacting with the structures which make it up they have formed a unified refugee group and taken on the identity which comes with it.
APPENDICIES

Appendices One

Research Project Information Sheet

Research Brief:
My name is Sean and I am a Masters student at the University of York in the United Kingdom, studying in the Post War Reconstruction and Development Unit (PRDU). The purpose of my research is to investigate identity formation within the refugee camp. I wish to explore what factors and institutions contribute to new identity formation within the refugee settlements. The research will be used to write up my thesis as part of my course.

The research will consist of brief 45-60 minute interviews with members of the refugee community in Uganda.

- There is no payment for participation in the research, and you can stop your participation at any time without penalty.

As an interview participant, you have the choice to remain anonymous, with no information stored or published which could identify you and/or your organisation. In all cases, any paper notes taken will be uploaded to a secure (encrypted and password-protected) hard drive within 24 hours, before being destroyed. Audio or video recordings will not be made/stored/used without your consent. Any recordings will also be uploaded to a secure (encrypted and password-protected) external hard drive within 24 hours before being erased.

Also, at any time you may ask for any data you have supplied not to be used in this research. To do this, please email sd764@york.ac.uk with the words “I no longer want my data used in the research study”, your Participant Number (found at the top of this form), and your name or initials.

If you have any questions about the research you can always contact me directly at sd764@york.ac.uk.

Consent:

1. I have read the above brief and understand the purpose of the research.
2. My participation in this research is voluntary. I understand I will not be paid for my participation, and I may withdraw my participation at any time without penalty.
3. I understand the researcher will not publish any information which could reveal my identity, and my information will be securely stored.
4. I have read and understood the explanation provided to me. All of my questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.
5. I have been given a copy of the consent form.

Your initials: _______________ Date: _______________
Appendices One Continued  

Research Interview Consent Form

Researcher: Sean Darby, PRDU, University of York

Consent Checklist

This form is for you to state whether or not you agree to take part in the study. Please read and answer every question. If there is anything you do not understand, or if you want more information, please ask the researcher.

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<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Yes □ No □</th>
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<td>Have you read and understood the information leaflet about the study?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Have you had an opportunity to ask questions about the study?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you understand that the information you provide will be held in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>confidence by the research team?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you understand that you may withdraw from the study for any reason,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>without affecting any services you receive?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you understand that the information you provide may be used in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future research?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you agree to take part in the study?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If yes, do you agree to your interviews being recorded? (You may take</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part in the study without agreeing to this).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

☐ I wish to remain anonymous.

*All data is held in accordance with the Data Protection Act.*

________________________________________________________

Your name (Print): ____________________________________________

Your signature: ______________________________________________

Interviewer’s name: Sean Darby                                Date: _____________, 2015
Appendices Two:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The makeup of a Refugee Welfare Council's council:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Chairman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Vice Chairman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Hygiene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Three additional councillors</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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**Interview.** (2015). *RWC 3 Chairman.* Kyaka II, Uganda. Interviewed by Sean Darby


