



FORCED DISPLACEMENT IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION

A DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

Forced Displacement in the Great Lakes Region



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Cover Photo:

Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) / Thousands flee the IDP site and surrounding area in Kibati, North Kivu, DRC on Friday, November 7, 2008. Gunfire was heard near the IDP site causing a panic leaving a steady stream of IDPs heading south towards the provincial capital Goma. / UNHCR / P. Taggart / November 2008

Table of Contents

Acronyms	6
Acknowledgements	8
Executive Summary	9
Introduction	13
Purpose and perspective of the study	14
Definitions.....	16
Methods and approach.....	16
Structure of the report.....	17
History, Scope, and Character of Forced Displacement in the GLR	18
Historic overview of displacement in the region: Scope and trends	18
Specific country situations	23
Burundi	23
DRC.....	25
Rwanda	27
Tanzania.....	29
Uganda.....	30
Zambia	31
Political, Legal, and Policy Frameworks	33
Potential for political cooperation	33
Global conventions and protocols	34
Country-specific legislation and policies	34
Causes, Drivers, and Political Economy of Displacement	37
Causes and drivers of displacement	37
Actors and interests	39
Governments of GLR countries	39
Military groups.....	41
International organizations.....	41
Host communities	42
Prospects for Return and Other Durable Solutions	44
GLR return processes	44
Prospects for return.....	46
Prospects for local integration	48
Resettlement to third country	49
Toward durable solutions	50
Development Needs and Opportunities of the Displaced	52
Displaced settings	52
Livelihoods	53

Representation and governance.....	54
Social services	55
Gender	56
Vulnerabilities	58
Conclusions.....	59
Recommendations	62
Bibliography	70
Annex 1. Statistical Profile	77
Annex 2. Methodology on Quantitative Data and Issues Concerning Data on Forced Displacement in the GLR	80
Annex 3. List of Persons Met and Key Contacts	82

Acronyms

AFDL	Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération
AU	African Union
CAR	Central African Republic
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDRC	Eastern DRC
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FDLR	Front Démocratique pour la Libération du Rwanda
FNL	Front de Libération Nationale (Burundian armed group in SK)
GDRC	government of the DRC
GLR	Great Lakes region
GLRI	Great Lakes Regional Initiative (World Bank)
GoB	government of Burundi
GoR	government of Rwanda
GoT	government of Tanzania
GoU	government of Uganda
GRZ	government of the Republic of Zambia
ICGLR	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
IDA	International Development Association
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDP	internally displaced person
IOM	International Organization for Migration
I4S	International Security and Stabilization Support Strategy
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MIDIMAR	Ministry of Disaster Management and Refugee Affairs (Rwanda)
MONUSCO	United Nations Stabilization Mission in the Congo
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NK	North Kivu
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PEA	political economy analysis
PSCF	Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region
REHOPE	Refugees and Host Population Empowerment Framework
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
SGBV	sexual and gender-based violence

SK	South Kivu
UN	United Nations
UNDAF	UN Development Assistance Framework
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VRI	rural integrated village

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Executive Summary

At the end of 2013, there were about 3.3 million people who remained forcibly displaced within the Great Lakes region (GLR) of Africa. Of these, 82 percent were internally displaced persons (IDPs) and 18 percent refugees; 64 percent were under 18 years old. This report analyzes the extent, causes, and character of this forced displacement, with particular attention to the following situations:

Burundi

- IDPs
- hosts refugees¹ from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Rwanda
- refugees returned since 2000, mainly from Tanzania

DRC

- IDPs
- refugees from Burundi and Rwanda
- refugees returned from Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia

Rwanda

- hosts refugees from Burundi and the DRC
- refugees returned since 1994, from Burundi, Tanzania, the DRC, and Uganda

Tanzania

- hosts refugees from Burundi and the DRC
- offers naturalization to former refugees from Burundi and their offspring

Uganda

- hosts refugees from Burundi, the DRC, and Rwanda

Zambia

- hosts refugees from Angola, the DRC, and Rwanda
- offers local integration to former refugees from Angola

The present-day scope of displacement stems from more than fifty years of complex population movement in response to armed conflict in the region. These conflicts have been caused by multiple factors, including the divisive legacies of colonialism; contested identities; state weakness and inability to exert power and functionality; the prevalence of patrimonial politics; scarcity of land and land conflict; opaque management of natural resources; ethnic tensions; poverty and vulnerability; and regional power balances. The displaced have fled the insecurity and violence associated with these conflicts.

Over the last several decades, some of the GLR conflicts have been resolved and displaced people have been able to return home. The largest return processes in the region have included the return of Rwandan refugees from Uganda, the DRC, and Tanzania in the 1990s; the return of Burundian refugees from Tanzania in the 2000s; and the return of Congolese refugees to the DRC from Uganda,

¹ Including asylum seekers; unless noted an approach of including asylum seekers in refugee statistics is consistent throughout the report.

Tanzania, and Burundi in 2010. Although return is the preferred option for many displaced people and their host communities and governments, returnees often face reintegration and development challenges. In Burundi, for example, it has been difficult for returnees to access the land they need to restart productive agriculture.

There are mixed prospects for further returns across the region. Ongoing spontaneous returns from Uganda and Rwanda to the DRC, for example, are occurring. But in many cases the factors causing the initial displacement remain unresolved, or the conflict is ongoing and return is unlikely. In several cases, displacement situations have become protracted (lasting over five years) and look likely to continue.

Across the GLR there is a relatively robust policy and legal framework in place to protect those affected by conflict-induced displacement. All six countries covered by this report have signed and ratified the UN Refugee Convention and signed the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of IDPs in Africa. In line with these conventions, each of the GLR countries has, to differing extents, laws that protect and establish responsibilities for the care of displaced persons. There are some good practice examples of legal reform to support the displaced. The Refugee Act in Uganda, for example, is regarded as a model for Africa. It serves to promote refugees' self-reliance, allowing them to work and establish life not in camps but in settlements, where they have access to services and land. The presence of regional frameworks—such as the African Union's Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region (PSCF), and the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR)—also reinforce attention to the plight of displaced persons.

In practice, however, the situation of displaced persons is defined less by the existence and signature of protective legal frameworks and more by realities on the ground. The factors and interests that affect the ability to find durable solutions for displaced persons include the political incentives of host governments; the motives and activities of military groups; the funding priorities and policies of international organizations; and local context dynamics, such as relations with hosting communities, where relations are often supportive but tensions can sometimes exist over access to services, land, and other resources.

In some cases, these factors have come together to influence a response toward the displaced that facilitates their integration and self-reliance. Some refugee populations in Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia have been enabled to become economically self-sufficient and to make productive contributions to local and national economies. In both Zambia and Tanzania, a promising process is currently underway for the strategic integration of refugees, including formalizing their legal status and allocating land to them. There is a correlation between how displaced persons are settled and their ability to become self-reliant. Those in settlements with services, freedom of movement, and access to productive assets, or those in urban areas, appear to do better than those in camps.

Despite some cases of more successful integration, displacement-affected persons across the GLR continue to face clear development challenges. IDPs in the DRC and refugees from the DRC in Tanzania are faring particularly badly in terms of being able to generate their own production and income; many remain highly dependent on humanitarian assistance. Other development challenges

include: (i) representation and governance—civil society is underdeveloped and few formal structures exist to communicate and consult with local and national authorities; (ii) access to social services—access to education and educational achievement are low amongst displaced persons across the region; and (iii) gender—including significant risk of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) and disruption to gender roles. Vulnerable subgroups within the displaced face all of these challenges even more acutely; these include female-headed households, the elderly, those with psychological challenges, and the disabled.

This report establishes that there is a real opportunity to pay more attention to the challenges of forced displacement within existing regional political frameworks, processes, and bodies such as the PSCF, the ICGLR, the African Union, and the UN Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region. Addressing displacement in the GLR lends itself to a political regional response because of a number of factors:

- Current IDPs may end up becoming refugees—early, proactive, and multicountry investments geared toward integrating IDPs today may prevent larger refugee crises in future.
- 81 percent of refugees in the GLR originate from the region itself—governments of GLR countries are already mutually involved in hosting and caring for the citizens of their neighbors.
- Failing to address displacement is likely to negatively affect regional development and security.
- Regional engagement of a larger group of countries provides opportunities to break out of current political stalemates, which affect displaced persons' prospects and options.
- Regional cooperation will allow host governments to exchange good practices for implementing durable solutions for the displaced.

Recommendations

The report recommends that in addition to governments and international agencies responding to the humanitarian crises, development agencies should become more involved in addressing displacement in the GLR. Interventions for the displaced have long been driven by humanitarian responses focused on immediate and medium-term needs, which have been invaluable in ensuring the survival of those affected. Development actors are well placed to address the longer-term needs of the displaced, including ensuring their sustainable return and integration, their ability to generate their own income, their access to services, governance and representation issues, and gender dimensions.

The report makes the following recommendations:

- Refugees, IDPs, and returnees should be integrated into broader development strategies and operations, such as National Development Plans, the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) and World Bank Country Partnership Strategies. This particularly applies to the urban, land, livelihoods, and social services sectors.
- Increased commitment to the improvement in quality and extension of mainstream education and health services to the displaced.

- Land issues for IDPs and returnees should be addressed in wider land reform programs.
- Further attention should be paid regarding how to include the displaced into trading networks and economic opportunities. Existing regional political frameworks, which guarantee freedom of movement and residence, could be explored to identify alternative legal status for refugees to facilitate their economic integration.
- There should be increased psychosocial support for the displaced.
- Additional attention should be given to female empowerment and to addressing domestic and other forms of violence.

The report offers particular recommendations for designing a proposed World Bank investment-lending project focused on the displaced in countries where the governments that are willing to engage, which (based on initial interest from the governments) is currently expected to be implemented in the DRC, Tanzania, and Zambia. The report suggests there are two immediate opportunities where, subject to government agreement, World Bank financing could help secure durable solutions for displaced persons: (i) funding implementation of the Strategic Framework for the Local Integration of Former Refugees in Zambia; and (ii) support for the full socio-economic integration of former Burundian refugees living in Tanzania. In both cases, it is recommended that some project financing be put into activities that will also benefit the host communities that are local to the refugee settlements. For the DRC, the report recommends building on existing World Bank recovery and reconstruction activities in Eastern DRC (EDRC) to extend short-term employment opportunities to IDPs and give support to victims of SGBV.

Introduction

The African Union’s Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region (PSCF) was signed in Addis Ababa in February 2013. It is an important foundational agreement that brings together the individual countries and the international community, including African regional organizations, to seek durable solutions to conflict in the Great Lakes region (GLR).² As a principal development partner in the region, the World Bank has pledged to define and finance development investments, which will further the peace and security aims of the PSCF. The details of World Bank engagement in the GLR are elaborated in a Great Lakes Regional Initiative (GLRI) for peace, stability, and economic development titled “Reviving the Great Lakes” (World Bank, 2013).

Those affected by forced displacement—refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), returnees, and the communities that host the displaced—have been identified as a group for particular focus under the World Bank’s GLRI for a number of reasons. First, those affected by forced displacement are a particularly poor and vulnerable group in the GLR. The displaced are most impacted by the conflicts in the region and are impoverished and often marginalized by their displacement.

Second, forced displacement is an issue that connects the countries of the GLR. Eighty-one percent of the registered refugees hosted in the GLR originate from countries within the GLR (see Figure 1). GLR countries are therefore mutually involved in sheltering and caring for citizens of their neighbors, making it a joint responsibility.

Moreover, issues related to displaced people’s vulnerability and the impacts of displacement can be a source of fragility for the region. Displacement has the potential to negatively affect the stability and prospects for economic development in the GLR as a whole. Indeed, the GLR has been the location of one of the most volatile cases of displacement in recent times. When a vast number of Rwandan refugees fled into the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) after the 1994 genocide, the underlying tensions in Eastern DRC (EDRC) were aggravated and became the focus of further waves of conflict. These events had lasting impact on peace and development in the region.

A major challenge for governments and other regional development actors is to prevent and mitigate the potentially destabilizing impact of displacement and support the positive contribution and productive capacities of the displaced. This may entail allowing the displaced to involve themselves in local economies and communities in areas of displacement, while also ensuring solutions for durable social and economic reintegration in the context of returns. This approach has already been used in many places in the GLR. Against all odds, many of the displaced have shown remarkable resilience and are living productive and capable lives. In a poor region where many institutions are weak, this human capital—this tenacity and determination—is a rich resource for

² For the purpose of this study, the GLR is defined to include Burundi, the DRC, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia.

development. There is much to learn from the instances in which the displaced have benefitted from supportive policies, available resources, and enjoyed limited tensions with the local hosting communities that have enabled this resilience, integration, and contribution.

Purpose and perspective of the study

The objective of this study is to analyze the extent, causes, and character of forced displacement in the GLR in order to provide governments, the World Bank, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and their partners with information on (i) the development needs of the displaced; (ii) opportunities for development interventions in support of the displaced; and (iii) recommendations for the design of displacement-sensitive policy and operational activities. In particular, the study is intended to inform the design of a US\$100 million investment-lending project being funded under the World Bank GLRI in support of durable solutions for the displaced in the GLR, preliminarily entitled “Improving Resilience and Cohesion for Displaced Persons and Border Communities.”

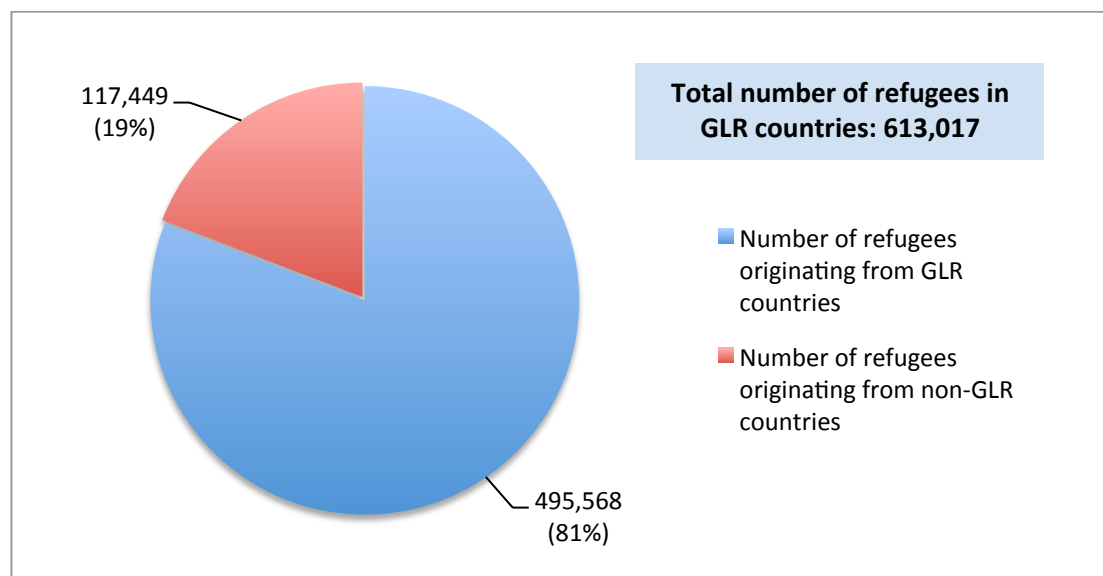
Since the study focuses specifically on GLR-related aspects of displacement and durable solutions, it does not cover all displacement in and from the six countries concerned. Major displaced populations in the region not covered in this study include: South Sudanese refugees in Uganda; IDPs and returnees in Uganda; refugees from the Central Africa Republic in the DRC; and refugees from the DRC in the Republic of Congo. The displacement situations covered by this study include:

- a) In Burundi
 - all internal displacement
 - refugees from the DRC and Rwanda
 - returned refugees from the DRC and Tanzania
- b) In the DRC
 - internal displacement in Katanga, Orientale, Maniema, South Kivu, and North Kivu provinces
 - refugees from Burundi and Rwanda
 - returned refugees from Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia
- c) In Rwanda
 - refugees from the DRC and a small number from Burundi
 - returned refugees
- d) In Tanzania
 - refugees from Burundi (including those in the process of naturalization) and the DRC
- e) In Uganda
 - refugees from Burundi, the DRC, and Rwanda
- f) In Zambia
 - refugees from Angola, the DRC, and Rwanda

Interventions for the displaced have long been driven by humanitarian responses and focused on protection as well as immediate needs such as shelter, water, sanitation, and food security. These responses have been invaluable in ensuring the protection and survival of the displaced, as well as meeting their material needs. To complement addressing immediate requirements, this report highlights the longer-term development needs of the displaced, such as access to services, livelihood opportunities, access to and protection of property assets (such as land and housing), and issues related to representation, governance, and gender, all of which need to be addressed for the sustainable development and positive inclusion of the displaced. In addition, it situates those development needs within political, policy, and legal contexts, within which solutions will need to be found.

The report offers a number of recommendations on how to bring a longer-term development response to the challenges of forced displacement in the GLR. Turning those recommendations into concrete action will require a comprehensive set of commitments from a wide set of stakeholders. This report is intended as a starting point for an inclusive dialogue on how to make that happen. This process is not envisaged as being simple; for starters, the security and cross-border issues of forced displacement are politically sensitive and tackling them requires negotiation, skill and compromise. In addition, there remains too little evidence on the effective design of development investments, which can support the displaced. By advocating a development response to forced displacement, UNHCR and the World Bank are taking on a new frontier of engagement in which there is still much to learn. What is clear, however, is that unless governments and development actors take steps to apply development financing and tools to displacement challenges, those affected will be at risk of further social and economic marginalization, and unlikely to achieve durable solutions.

Figure 1. Refugees in GLR countries, 2013 (end of year)



Source: Calculation based on UNHCR Populations Statistics database 2013.

Note Figures include asylum-seekers.

Definitions

For the purposes of this study, *forced displacement* is defined as the experience of being forced or obliged to flee a country of nationality or a place of habitual residence in order to avoid the risk of persecution, armed conflict, or situations of generalized violence. The study will not specifically analyze displacement as a result of environmental degradation, natural disasters, or economic migration, though it is acknowledged that the distinctions in some cases are not entirely clear.

Within the concept of displacement, a distinction is made between refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). *Refugees* are persons displaced outside their country of nationality or of habitual residence, as a result of violence, conflict, or a well-founded fear of persecution, and are thus in need of international protection. *Internally displaced persons* are persons who have been forced or obliged to flee and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border, and thus remain under the legal protection of their own government. The study also assesses processes that so-called *returnees* go through after they return to their country of origin (in the case of refugees) or to the specific location they had left behind (in the case of IDPs).

Durable solutions for the displaced are defined as processes that achieve the point at which the displaced no longer require specific assistance or protection associated with their displacement and can exercise and enjoy their human rights. Durable solutions are usually focused on achieving a sustainable outcome of return, integration, or resettlement.

Protracted displacement refers to situations that have moved beyond the emergency and initial protection and assistance phase but for which durable solutions do not exist in the foreseeable future. UNHCR identifies a major protracted displacement situation as one in which more than 25,000 forcibly displaced persons have been in exile for more than five years. They are not always static populations; there are often periods of increase and decrease in the numbers of people displaced and changes within the population.

Methods and approach

The study was undertaken by a group of World Bank staff and consultants and was jointly funded and implemented by the World Bank and UNHCR, apart from in Rwanda where the work was only facilitated by UNHCR. The information presented in this study was collected through a variety of methods. The team collected quantitative data on forced displacement from UNHCR's Population Statistics database, as well as other international databases and reports. The team then compiled a dataset on the extent and characteristics of forced displacement in the region. Particular attention was given to the numbers of registered refugees (and asylum-seekers), IDPs, and returnees, trends over time, gender differences, demographics, and location.³ The research team also conducted desk research for each of the countries in the region, as well as some regional aspects, on the basis of relevant literature collected.⁴

³ Annex 2 offers more detail on specific issues and limitations concerning data on forced displacement in the GLR.

⁴ See the Bibliography at the end of the paper.

In addition to the desk research and quantitative data analysis, members of the team conducted field research in each of the six countries from April–June, 2014. This fieldwork, facilitated by UNHCR, enabled the team to collect additional qualitative data, visit a number of refugee/IDP camps or settlements in each country, and hold focus group discussions with refugees and IDPs (male and female; different ages). The researchers held a total of 31 focus group discussions with refugees or IDPs. They also had discussions with a wide range of stakeholders, such as government officials, traditional authorities, World Bank and UNHCR staff and managers, UN officials, donor representatives, representatives of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) (advocacy NGOs as well as project implementers), and academics and other researchers. In Rwanda, the fieldwork was more limited than in other countries; it did not involve visits to refugee camps or meetings with government officials.

Structure of the report

The report analyzes the extent, causes, and character of displacement in the region under the following themes: (i) the history, extent, and character of forced displacement in the GLR; (ii) opportunities and constraints in the existing policy and legislative framework on displacement; (iii) key political economy considerations that influence displacement contexts and solutions, including causes, current actors, and interests; (iv) prospects for return and integration solutions; and (v) the development needs of the displaced. This content lays the groundwork for the report’s closing analytic sections.

A number of limitations need to be acknowledged. First, there is considerable variety in the circumstances of the displaced across the region. The report seeks to offer a balance between regional trends and specific country situations, but it is not possible for the report to do full justice to the complexity of these multiple situations. Second, the discussion of the political and historical dimensions of the causes and circumstances of displacement is abridged. Given the multiple perspectives and contested narratives over conflict events in the GLR, the report has attempted neutral language that is acceptable to a range of different parties. The limitation of this approach is the degree of simplification entailed. Third, partial and absent quantitative data was one of the study’s main challenges, particularly regarding the specific situations in each country. Simply establishing the numbers of refugees and IDPs in the region proved time-consuming, and the final calculations remain imprecise. In addition, the data used is not entirely current and since the report was finalized there has already been significant change in some displaced populations.⁵ Several data gaps exist on poverty levels, employment levels, economic participation, access to services, and other displacement impacts, each of which requires dedicated attention beyond this study.

⁵ As described in Annex One, the approach of the report is to use a consistent cut-off date for population statistics across the different contexts, except where noted. The biggest discrepancy in statistics used in the report and the current situation are in the numbers of refugees displaced from Burundi, DRC, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia; the number of refugees hosted by Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda.

History, Scope, and Character of Forced Displacement in the GLR

This section describes the history, extent, and character of forced displacement in the GLR. It first identifies historical and regional trends in the patterns and demographics of displacement; it then provides country-specific profiles of the movement and numbers of displaced, along with government responses.

Historic overview of displacement in the region: Scope and trends

The present-day character and scope of forced displacement in the GLR results from more than fifty years of complex population movement in response to armed conflict and violence in the region. Over the last five decades, the largest waves of population flow have been related to the following events:

1. 1950s Rwandan refugee flows, mainly to Uganda but also the DRC, as a result of interethnic fighting in Rwanda;
2. 1970s Burundian refugee flows, mainly to Tanzania, as a result of interethnic fighting in Burundi;
3. 1994 post-genocide flows of Rwandan refugees to the DRC and Tanzania, and to a lesser extent, Burundi and Uganda;
4. 1994 post-genocide return of Rwandan refugees from Uganda to Rwanda;
5. 1996–present return of Rwandan refugees from the DRC to Rwanda;
6. 2000–2008 return of Burundian refugees to Burundi; and
7. 1992–1996, 1996–2007, 1998–2003, and 2003–present conflict in the DRC, resulting in refugee flows to Rwanda, Uganda, and internal displacement.

At the end of 2013, there were about 3.3 million people who remained forcibly displaced within the GLR (see Table 1 and Annex 2 for methodology on data).⁶ Today, the largest outstanding populations of displaced persons are (see Table 2):⁷

1. IDPs in the DRC
2. refugees from Burundi in Tanzania
3. refugees from the DRC in Uganda
4. refugees from the DRC in Tanzania
5. refugees from the DRC in Burundi
6. refugees from Rwanda in the DRC
7. refugees from the DRC in Rwanda

⁶ In addition, an estimated 261,000 refugees from the six countries of the GLR are outside of the region. Countries in the GLR also host about 117,500 refugees from outside the region.

⁷ See Table 1 and 2 for more details. All statistics given in this section should be treated with caution. Refugees' movements are sometimes rather complex, and therefore difficult to capture in statistics. In some instances they could move back and forth across borders in short periods of time, making it possible for significant groups to go unnoticed by official refugee agencies. In other cases, refugees arrive in one country after having spent time in another country—other than their own. For a more complete discussion of the methodological challenges associated with collecting data on displacement in the GLR, see Annex 2.

Over time, the region's displacement crisis has shifted in nature. In the early 1990s it was predominantly a refugee crisis; in the mid-1990s there were large-scale return processes (see Figure 2). The present situation is predominantly an IDP crisis driven by large-scale internal displacement in the DRC. Of those presently displaced, 82 percent are IDPs and 18 percent are refugees.

Burundi, the DRC, and Rwanda have largely driven the major flows of displacement in the GLR; in 2013, 98 percent of the registered refugees from the region came from these three countries. Of the three countries, the DRC is the largest contributor, having alone sent 74 percent of all registered refugees (of which about 66 percent remain in the region) and produced 96 percent of the IDPs.⁸

Uganda is currently hosting the largest number of registered refugees in the region, followed by the DRC and Tanzania.⁹ Only Uganda and the DRC host large numbers of refugees from outside the GLR.

Table 1. Extent of forced displacement in the GLR region, by country, 2013 (end of the year)

	IDPs	Number of refugees hosted by**	Number of refugees displaced from
Burundi	78,948	51,535	86,926
DRC	2,963,799	51,207	563,376
Rwanda		73,563*	92,418
Tanzania		102,506	2,051
Uganda		244,776	11,764
Zambia		25,814	524

Source: Calculations based on UNHCR Populations Statistics database, end 2013. Data on IDPs is from the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) website (accessed October 20, 2014). Source for IDPs in the DRC is UNHCR, 2014c.

Note: Figures include asylum-seekers.

* Figure for Rwanda was 73,563 at the end of 2013, 74,012 end of August 2014 and 73,591 at end of 2014. These three figures are used in various points of the report in accordance with the specified date.

**These figures have changed since the writing of this report. Between end-year 2013 and mid-year 2014, there was a change in refugees displaced from Burundi (86,926 to 89,885), DRC (563,376 to 567,428), Rwanda (92,418 to 92,323), Tanzania (2,051 to 2,032), Uganda (11,764 to 6,688), and Zambia (524 to 233). There was a decrease in the number of refugees hosted by Burundi (51,535 to 47,805) and Tanzania (102,506 to 90,650). Due to armed conflict in South Sudan, Uganda experienced a large increase in the number of refugees hosted (244,776 end 2013 to 400,001 individuals as of August 31, 2014).

⁸ See Annex 1 for more detail.

⁹ See Annex 1 for more detail.

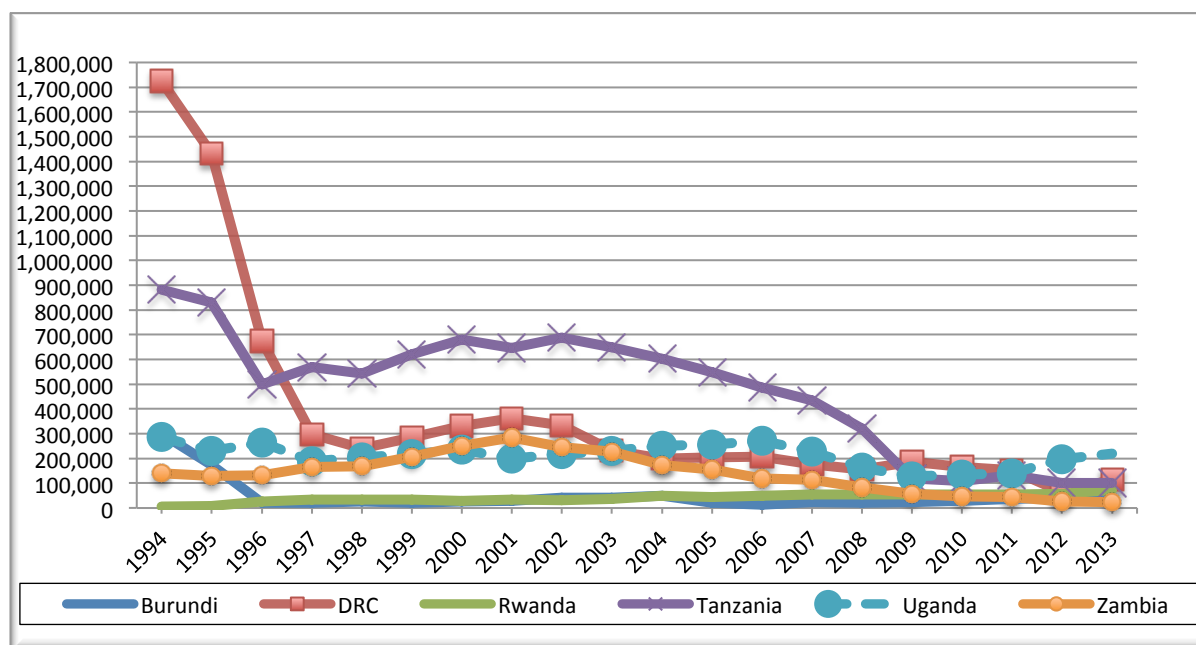
Table 2. Largest forced displacement situations in the GLR

Displacement situation	Overview	Population	Month/year of data	Source
IDPs in Burundi	Located in northern and central provinces. Total of 120 camps.	78,948	Sep 2013	UNHCR, 2014g; UNHCR, 2014i
Refugees in Burundi	98% from the DRC. In camps 30,880 (64%); urban-based 17,774 (36%)—excluding asylum-seekers.	57,773	mid- 2014	UNHCR, 2014b
IDPs in the DRC	South Kivu, 618,326 (Sep 2014); Katanga, 607,223 (Aug 2014); North Kivu, 900,212 (Aug 25, 2014); Province Orientale, 439,215 (Jul 2014); Maniema, 165,225 (Jul 2014).	2,730,201	Sept 2014	UNHCR, 2014c; OCHA, 2014a; OCHA, 2014d; OCHA, 2014c
Refugees in the DRC ¹⁰	Burundi 9,259, Rwanda 40,735, Uganda 1,213	51,207	Dec 2014	UNHCR, n.d.
Refugees in Rwanda	99.3% from the DRC. In Kigali (2,025); and in 5 camps: Kigeme (18,521), Kiziba (16,936), Gihembe (15,397), Nyabiheke (14,281), Mugombwa (6,852).	74,012	Aug 2014	UNHCR, n.d.
Refugees in Tanzania	From the DRC, 55,870, from Burundi 34,739 :	90,609	mid 2014	UNHCR Pop Stats; UNHCR, 2013b; UNHCR, n.d.
Burundians naturalized in Tanzania	Former Burundian refugees in Tanzania from 1972 granted citizenship.	162,156	Oct 2014	UNHCR, 2014j
Refugees in Uganda	184,421 from the DRC, 16,051 Rwandan, 13,396 Burundian (and others incl. 148,229 from South Sudan). Approx. 81% of refugees arrived in the last 5 years.	400,001	Aug 2014	UNHCR, 2014q; UNHCR, 2014r
Former refugees in Zambia	22,962 Angolan former refugees; 3,961 Rwandan former refugees. Provisions for local integration	26,923	Feb 2014	Government of the Republic of Zambia/UNHCR, 2014; UNHCR, 2014e
Refugees in Zambia	From the DRC 18,803; from Burundi 2,514; from Rwanda 2,107. Located in two settlements (northwest), self-settled, urban.	26,188	Feb 2014	UNHCR, 2014f; Government of the Republic of Zambia/UNHCR, 2014

Note: Figures of “refugees” include asylum-seekers.

¹⁰ These figures are currently being verified and there are indications that it could a far larger number.

Figure 2. Refugee trends in Great Lakes Region (1994–2013), by country of asylum



Source: Elaboration based on UNHCR Populations Statistics database.

Note: For Tanzania, the drop in refugees since 2009 is due to the naturalization of about 162,000 Burundian refugees.

There is a significant range in the amount of time people have remained displaced in the region. In many cases, the displacement is of a protracted nature. Some refugees—for example, those from Angola in Zambia or from Burundi in Tanzania—have even been forced to live away from their places of origin for more than forty years. Other populations living in long-term protracted displacement include Burundians and Rwandans in the DRC; those from Burundi, the DRC, and Rwanda in Zambia; and those from Burundi and the DRC in Rwanda. In other cases, the displacement is from a more recent period. Tanzania illustrates the range of displacement experiences; besides the long-term Burundian population, it has also received arrivals from the DRC over the past few years. The refugee situation in Uganda and Rwanda is also of a mixture, but has been quite fluid over the years. According to UNHCR, 81 percent of the refugees and asylum seekers who were in Uganda in April 2014 have arrived in the past five years.¹¹ In Rwanda, while the first wave of DRC refugees arrived in the mid-1990s and early 2000s, nearly 50 percent of refugees from the DRC have arrived since April 2012.

Unique to the GLR is the rapid onset of enormous forced population movement within a short space of time. This was the case for the exodus of Rwandans to Tanzania and the DRC in the 1990s (an estimated 1.4 million Rwandans arrived in the DRC during 1994) and continues to be the case of IDPs within the DRC. In the northern Katanga region, for example, armed clashes caused the number of IDPs to increase from 50,000 to more than 600,000 between early 2013 and August 2014.

The large majority of the displaced in the GLR remains in rural environments. The displaced population there has not followed the global pattern, in which high proportions of forcibly displaced

¹¹ It should be noted that this estimate includes the recent inflow of refugees from South Sudan.

are heading to urban settings. Table 3 shows that most of the displaced are located in rural areas, although the data should be treated with caution, particularly in the DRC (largely unavailable). Governments in the region generally prefer the displaced to live away from urban areas.

Table 3. Rural/urban breakdown of forced displacement in GLR countries (2013)

Country	Rural	Urban	Unknown**	Total population of concern to UNHCR*
Burundi	29,336	22,662	82,376	134,374
DRC	108,941	3,630	3,700,936	3,813,507
Rwanda	74,562	6,429	499-	81,490
Tanzania	262,594	2,168	-	264,762
Uganda	251,394	43,379	7-	294,780
Zambia	29,172	9,133	14,714	53,019***
TOTAL	755,999	87,401	3,798,532	4,588,913

Source: Calculation based on UNHCR Populations Statistics database and Statistical Annex.

*Including refugees, asylum-seekers, IDPs protected by UNHCR, returned refugees, returned IDPs, stateless persons, and others. UNHCR presents the urban vs. rural data not differentiated by categories (such as refugees, IDPs, and so on); instead, they are all grouped together under the label "Total Population of Concern to UNHCR."

**Most evidence from other sources indicates they are in rural areas.

***This number includes Angolans and Rwandans whose refugee status has ceased but who continue to be recorded as of concern, given the local integration activities undertaken by UNHCR on their behalf.

Aggregate data show that overall there are about as many male as female refugees in the region (see Table 4). In individual countries the male-female balance does not deviate far from 50–50, but in Rwanda, 56 percent of the refugees are female. Only in Zambia are there more refugee men (54 percent) than women (46 percent).

Across the board, refugees in the region are young; 64 percent are less than 18 years old. In Uganda, which hosts the largest refugee population in the region, as many as 78 percent of the refugees are less than 18 years old.

Table 4. Demographics of refugees in GLR countries (2013)

Country	Refugees* for which demographic data is available	Share of age group in total					Percentage female per age group						% coverage (to total number of refugees*)
		0–4	5–11	12–17	18–59	60+>	0–4	5–11	12–17	18–59	60+>	Total	
Burundi	45,490	16%	25%	16%	40%	2%	49%	50%	49%	55%	58%	52%	100%
DRC	113,362	17%	23%	16%	41%	3%	49%	53%	48%	54%	57%	52%	100%
Rwanda**	73,349	16%	23%	17%	40%	4%	50%	50%	52%	62%	58%	56%	100%
Tanzania	102,099	15%	22%	19%	41%	3%	50%	50%	50%	53%	49%	51%	100%
Uganda	220,555	21%	28%	28%	21%	1%	50%	49%	50%	51%	57%	50%	100%
Zambia	22,494	12%	21%	16%	48%	3%	50%	50%	49%	43%	38%	46%	95%
TOTAL	577,349	18%	25%	21%	34%	2%	50%	50%	50%	54%	54%	51%	99.8%

Source: Calculation based on UNHCR Populations Statistics database.

*Excluding asylum-seekers. ** Figures from Rwanda are from end 2014.

Specific country situations

Burundi

Interethnic violence pushed the first large wave of Burundians from the country in 1972. Successive cycles of violence have caused further refugee flows, primarily into neighboring Tanzania. Between 2000 and 2003 there were over half a million Burundians living in Tanzania, with smaller numbers in other neighboring countries. Since then, large numbers have returned each year (see Figure 3). At the end of 2013, slightly more than 35,000 remained with refugee status in Tanzania; more than 162,000 were on the path toward citizenship in Tanzania; almost 25,000 lived in other countries in the GLR; and another 27,000 were in countries outside of the region (see Figure 4).

Some of the largest specific groups of refugees that returned to Burundi from Tanzania were:

1. A group of more than 53,600 people who were displaced in 1972. They (and their offspring) returned in 2008–2009, mostly with UNHCR assistance. They had opted not to remain in Tanzania and naturalize.
2. An organized repatriation of some 34,052 Burundian refugees in 2012, following the closure of the Mtabila Camp, based on the agreement reached between UNHCR and the governments of both countries concerned.

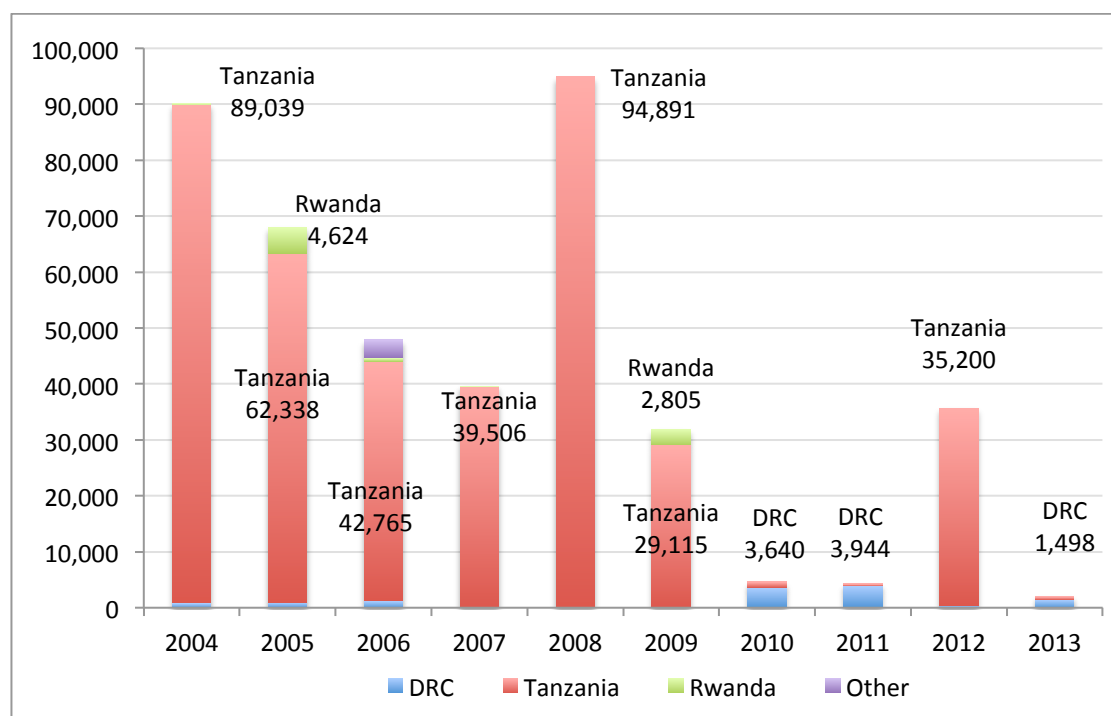
A number of returned households in Burundi have been settled in rural integrated villages (VRIs), which the government of Burundi (GoB) and UN agencies designed expressly for returnees from the 1972 caseload who could no longer access their land. All in all, eight VRIs have been constructed for about 250 inhabitants each (UNHCR, 2014g). The VRIs are situated mainly in the south of the country and were constructed by a number of collaborating UN agencies, including the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the UNDP, UNHCR, and UNICEF. In order to facilitate the social reintegration process, the new residents in the VRIs are 80 percent returnees and 20 percent other vulnerable households from the area (Fransen and Kuschminder, 2012).

Returns to and within Burundi find themselves affected by the country’s complex land issues and the associated efforts toward land reform, which have been ongoing since the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement, which formally ended the civil war in 2000. Land is at a premium in Burundi due to its small size, high population density, and largely agrarian society. As each wave of refugees left the country, their land was usually taken over, and/or in some cases redistributed to others. Recovering this land or finding alternative land access complicates the return process.

In 2010, the government of Tanzania (GoT) offered naturalization to more than 162,000 Burundians who had lived in the country as refugees since the early 1970s. However, the implementation of this process ran into difficulties, and for many years their status was not formalized nor their planned relocation underway. On October 17, 2014, a breakthrough was achieved when the president of Tanzania officially announced that the naturalization process for the more than 162,000 Burundians and their offspring can now be completed (these issues are further explored in the section on Tanzania, below).

Internal displacement was a particular characteristic of the violence that started in 1993. Currently, some 79,000 IDPs remain in settlements throughout Burundi (UNHCR, 2014). In 2012, there were 120 settlements, mainly in northern and central Burundi. Most IDPs do not live far from their original homes; the distance varies between 5 and 50 kilometers.

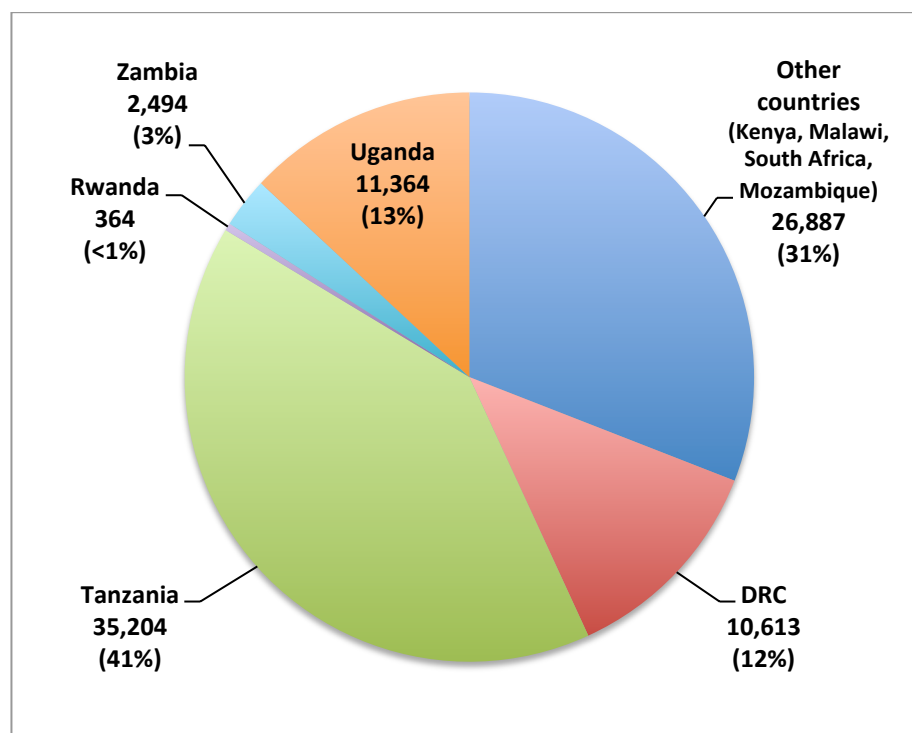
Figure 3. Returnees to Burundi from GLR countries (2004–2013)



Source: Elaboration based on UNHCR Populations Statistics database.

Note: For GLR countries, only data greater than 100 were recorded. For other countries, only data greater than 1,000 were recorded.

Figure 4. Location of Burundian refugees (2013)



Source: Elaboration based on UNHCR Populations Statistics database.

Note: Figures include asylum-seekers.

DRC

The displacement situation in the DRC is extremely complex and results from a number of different situations and varied patterns of violence. Almost all of the forced displacement in the DRC originates from the EDRC. The main periods of conflict that induced displacement can be summarized as follows:

1. Between 1992 and 1996, interethnic clashes, especially in Katanga and North Kivu, caused internal displacement.
2. The 1994 Rwandan genocide was followed by a large influx of Rwandan refugees into the DRC. The spillover of post-genocide Rwanda's political and military tensions caused further displacement.
3. Between 1996 and 1997, the Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération (AFDL) advanced through the EDRC as part of its eventual takeover of the country.
4. Full peace in the EDRC never resumed. The failure of the state in this region has resulted in a plethora of international and local military actors extending control through the use of force. 2003 was a particularly devastating year for displacement, when it was estimated that a total of 3.4 million persons were affected.

The DRC now hosts one of the largest IDP populations in the world. This internal displacement has steadily grown over time to the point where approximately 10 percent of the EDRC's population is currently displaced. The number of IDPs has almost tripled, from about 1 million in 2006 to almost 3 million in 2013 (see Figure 5). As of July 2014, there were a total of 2.6 million IDPs; this was followed by a reduction resulting from the different subregions simultaneously producing

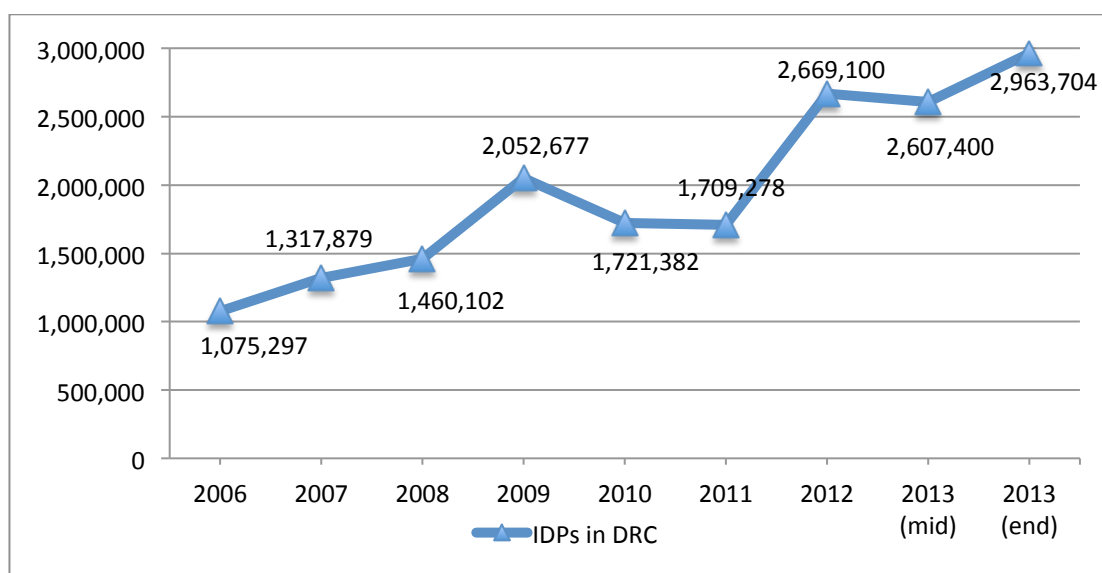
displacement and return, but then rose again to 2.7 million in September 2014. North and South Kivu (NK and SK) host the largest numbers of IDPs—900,000 (August 2014) and 618,000 (September 2014), respectively—which is related to their status as the focal point of military activity and military responses; as well as Katanga, which hosts 607,000 IDPs, as of the end of August 2014.

Internal displacement in the DRC is extremely dynamic, and the overall numbers mask the extent of redisplacement and return. Many IDPs in the DRC have moved from location to location multiple times. In addition, as illustrated by Figure 6, despite the increasing overall figures for IDPs, in almost every year several hundreds of thousands of IDPs return to their original home areas.

The insecurity in the EDRC has also led to large numbers of people leaving the country as refugees. As of December 2013, a total of 563,376 DR Congolese were counted as refugees abroad, of which 66 percent (371,339) resided in GLR neighboring countries. Figure 7 shows that as of Dec 2013 most of the Congolese refugees in the region were in Uganda (29 percent), Rwanda (13 percent), and Tanzania (12 percent). The refugee situation is also dynamic. The number of registered refugees is consistently high, but each year tens of thousands of Congolese refugees return to their country (see Annex 1 for more details).

Despite the problems in the DRC, it hosts refugees from other countries. As of December 2014, there were an estimated 40,735 Rwandan¹² and 9,259 Burundian refugees in the DRC (see Annex 1 for more details). They mostly live in isolated rural areas in NK, SK, and Maniema, among the local population.

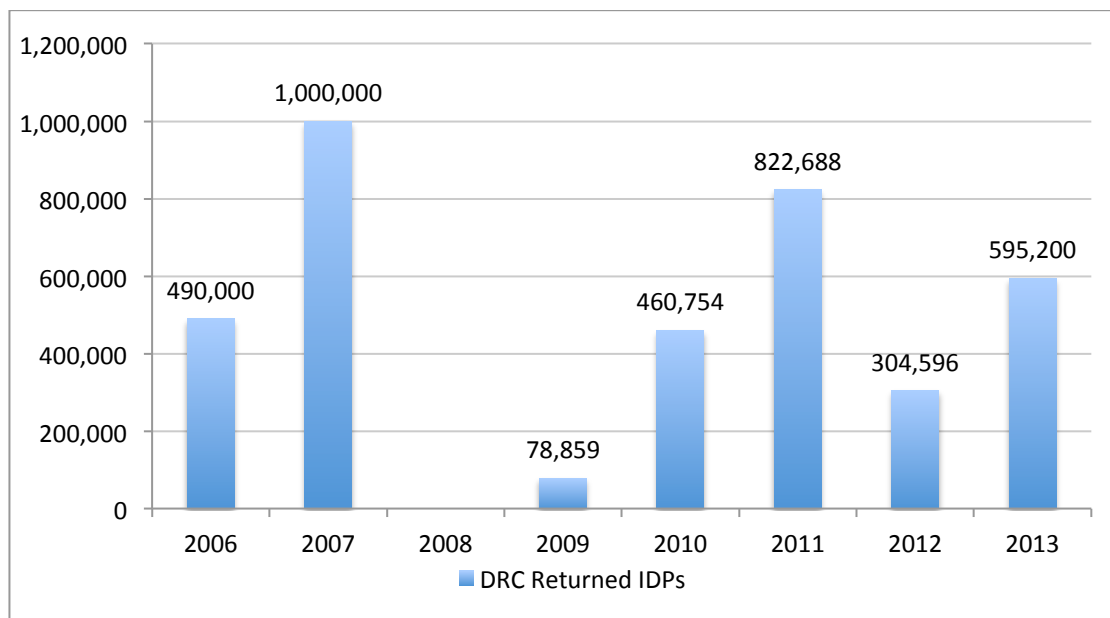
Figure 5. IDPs’ trend in the DRC (2006–2013)



Source: Elaboration based on UNHCR Populations Statistics database, which for IDPs are taken from UN OCHA official statistics.

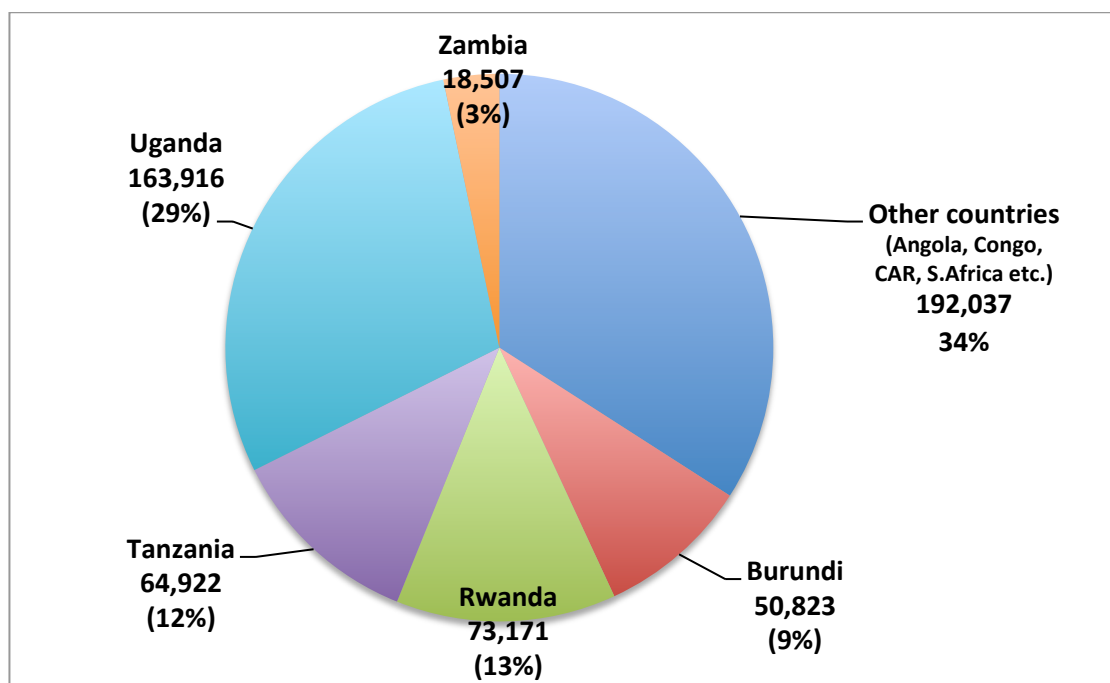
¹² The figures are currently being verified.

Figure 6. Returned IDPs in the DRC (2006–2013)



Source: Elaboration based on UNHCR Populations Statistics database, which for IDPs are taken from UN OCHA official statistics.

Figure 7. Location of DR Congolese refugees (2013)



Source: Elaboration based on UNHCR Populations Statistics database.

Note: As of August 31, 2014, DRC refugees in Uganda increased to an estimated 184,421 individuals, including asylum-seekers.

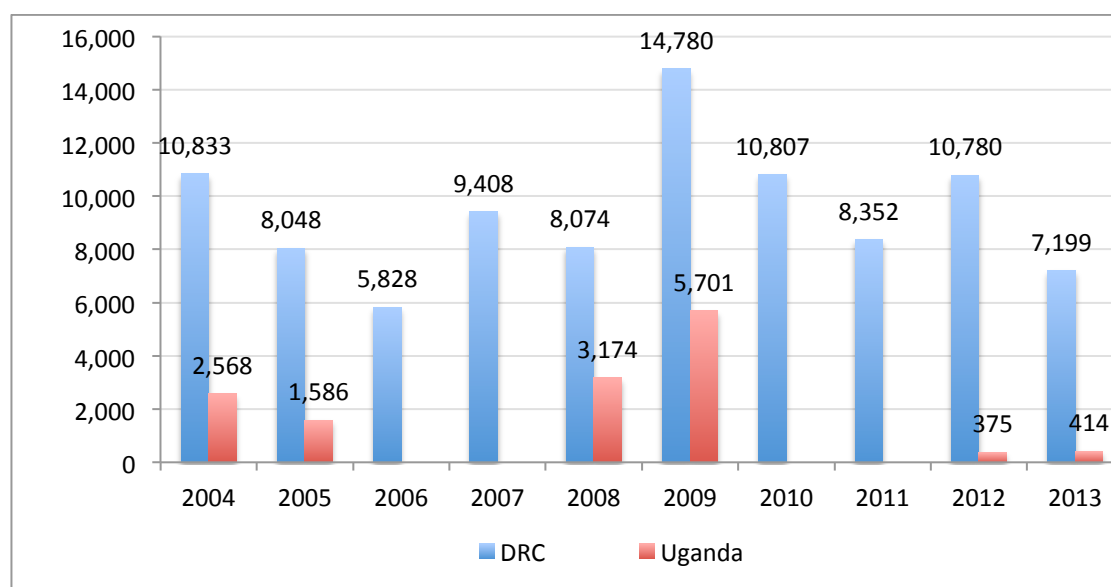
Rwanda

The peak year for Rwandan displacement was 1994, when an estimated 3.4 million Rwandan refugees were outside the country; the largest receiving countries were the DRC and Tanzania. Many of these refugees followed complicated pathways of escape. For example, some who initially went

to Burundi or the DRC were forced to move again in response to violence in those countries, and ended up in Tanzania.¹³

Since 1994, most Rwandan refugees have returned and reintegrated. While the bulk of these returns occurred in the mid- to late 1990s, a return process continues at present (as shown by Figure 8). In November 2012, the government of Rwanda and the One UN launched a Sustainable Return and Reintegration Programme that focuses on support for reintegration in key sectors including governance, health, education, housing, land restitution, environment and food security. While the project addresses some of the critical needs of returnees, it is only able to do so for a fraction of them due to a 70 percent funding shortfall. The challenge for returnees remains timely provision of shelter as well as income generation. Application of the Comprehensive Solutions Strategy for Rwandan Refugees formally came into effect in July 2013 and of which voluntary repatriation is a component. As of December 2013, some 92,418 Rwandese refugees remained outside the country, mostly in the DRC and Uganda.

Figure 8. Returnees to Rwanda from Uganda and the DRC (2004–2013)



Source: Elaboration based on UNHCR Populations Statistics database.

Note: For GLR countries, only data greater than 100 were recorded.

Presently, there are 73,591 refugees¹⁴ in Rwanda from the EDRC and 330 from Burundi. Congolese refugees have fled to Rwanda since the mid-1990s due to insecurity and the humanitarian crisis in the EDRC. About 35,000 of them arrived after April 2012 as a result of fighting between government forces and rebel groups. Most are from NK (90 percent) and the remainder are from SK. These refugees are all located in Rwanda in five camps around the country, including in a newly constructed camp (see Table 2). These camps are physically separated from the surrounding populations but are generally located adjacent to or not too far from the communities in the area.

¹³ These years saw significant internal displacement within Rwanda, as “encampment” was used as a deliberate military strategy.

¹⁴ As of end 2014.

Tanzania

Tanzania has a long history of hosting refugees.¹⁵ Since its independence in 1961, it has hosted well over 2.5 million officially recognized refugees (Landau, 2008, p. 65). The largest inflow occurred between 1993 and 2000, when the country received and hosted almost 1.5 million refugees, mostly from Burundi and Rwanda, concentrated in the Kagera and Kigoma regions. Numbers have declined since the mid-1990s due to repatriations and the initiation of a naturalization process for a group of former Burundians, though Tanzania continues to host about 102,000 registered refugees from Burundi, the DRC, and Somalia, with a small number from Rwanda.

Refugees from Burundi in Tanzania can be divided into two main groups: those who arrived in 1972 and those who arrived in the early and mid-1990s. The population from 1972 lives mainly in the so-called Old Settlements in western Tanzania, where they have become well integrated with local society and largely self-sufficient. In addition to the people in the Old Settlements, some 22,500 refugees of the 1972 caseload spontaneously settled in villages in the Kigoma region.

In 2007, the governments of Tanzania and Burundi, along with UNHCR, established an Old Settlements Task Force tasked with developing a strategy for resolving the protracted refugee situation. Following a census, registration, and a socioeconomic study, a strategy for solutions was developed, with three main components: (i) voluntary repatriation to Burundi; (ii) naturalization of refugees who have expressed a desire to remain; and (iii) local integration of those granted citizenship. In 2007 the local integration pillar was based on the view that the population would remain in the Old Settlements. In early 2008, however, the government announced that those who would be naturalized would have to relocate from these settlements.

When given the option, about 20 percent of the group in the Old Settlements returned to Burundi. The remaining 162,000 (and their offspring) were, in 2010, offered naturalization and relocation by the GoT. However, this effort was officially put on hold in August 2011.¹⁶ Recently, on October 17, 2014, the president announced that the naturalization process for all of the more than 162,000 people can now be completed and that the new citizens will be allowed to remain in the settlements or move to any other part of the country if they wish to do so. The government will also start the naturalization process for many of their children, which will benefit some 200,000 people overall (UNHCR, 2014j; UNHCR, 2014k). As citizens they will now have all the associated rights and obligations, including the right to own land, move around the country, and engage in politics.

The Burundian population that arrived in Tanzania during the 1990s were hosted in refugee camps rather than in settlements. In the decade following the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement of 2000, about half a million Burundians returned voluntarily to their home country. Since 2012, their status has been governed by a Tripartite Commission between the GoB, the GoT, and UNHCR. This made provisions for the closure of the camps, additional repatriation of 34,000 Burundians, and

¹⁵ Tanzania has not experienced any internal displacement as a result of conflict. However, it should be noted that a large number of Tanzanians—probably as many as 10 million—were displaced in the process of “villagization” during the height of the Ujamaa period, 1967–1974 (Landau, 2008).

¹⁶ Only 742 of them, who were based in Dar es Salaam, had by mid-2014 fully completed the process and possess all documents.

the protection of those who remain. This latter group currently numbers about 3,000 who reside in the Nyarugusu Camp, Kasulu District.

Refugees from the DRC have arrived in Tanzania since the 1990s. Some organized repatriation took place in the early 2000s. However, the situation in the DRC, and particularly SK, is such that few are willing to voluntarily return home. As of August 2014, Tanzania hosted about 56,000 registered refugees from the DRC (mostly from SK) in the same Nyarugusu Camp as the Burundians.

Uganda

Since independence in 1962, Uganda has seen various different patterns of forced displacement, internally¹⁷ as well as in and out of the country. On average it has hosted 162,000 refugees since 1961. Within that number the largest caseloads in the country have changed over time: Rwandan up to the early 1990s and Sudanese until 2006; since 2008 most refugees are from the DRC.

The current number¹⁸ of registered refugees and asylum seekers in Uganda is higher than ever before—400,001—and there is concern it might continue to increase as a result of the current political instability and violence in South Sudan. In June 2014, fifty-seven percent of the refugees and asylum seekers in Uganda were from the five other GLR countries; 47 percent from the DRC (181,240 persons)¹⁹; 4 percent from Rwanda (15,787); and 3 percent from Burundi (13,235) (see Figure 9). It should be noted that of the total current refugee population,²⁰ 83 percent are women and children (younger than 18), and 64 percent are less than 18 years old.

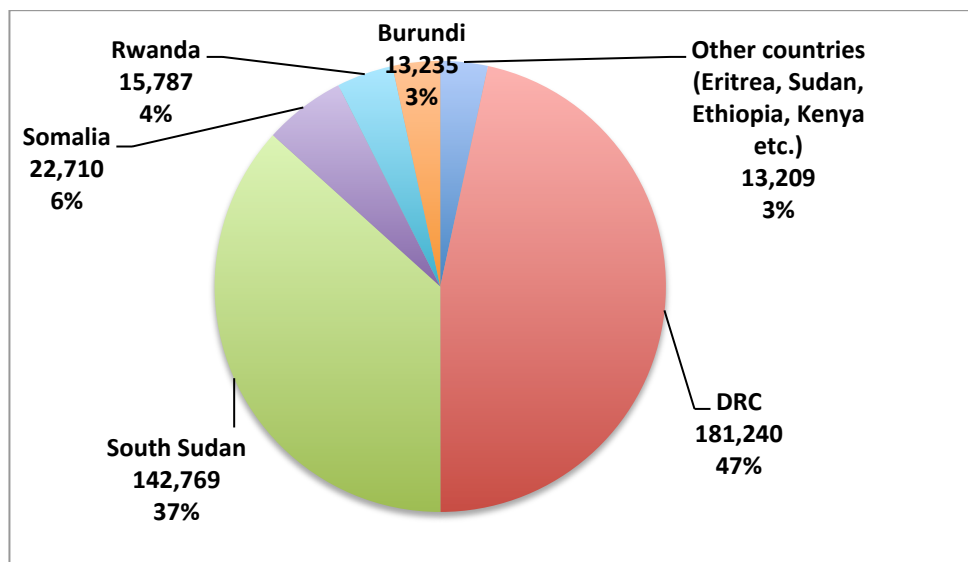
¹⁷ Uganda has also a long history of internal displacement, mostly as a result of internal strife. Particularly in the previous decade, the displacement in northern Uganda as a result of the conflict with the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) has been dramatic. At the height of the displacement in 2005, about 1.8 million people in the Acholi and Lango region were displaced into IDP camps. Almost all of the displacement as a result of the LRA conflict has by now been resolved/reversed. Some displacement continues to exist, however, mainly as a result of insecurity and the threat of cattle rustling in and around the Karamoja region in the northeast of the country, as well as due to natural disasters. This situation is not covered by this report, as it will be included in other World Bank assessments on forced displacement in the Horn of Africa region. Likewise, the situation of South Sudanese and Somali refugees in Uganda will be covered elsewhere.

¹⁸ As of August 31, 2014 (see Table 2).

¹⁹ Some 66,000 Congolese entered Uganda after a wave of attacks in July 2013.

²⁰ As of June 30, 2014.

Figure 9. Refugees in Uganda, by country of origin (June 2014)



Source: Calculation based on UNHCR data.

The majority (86 percent)²¹ of the refugees in Uganda are based in nine large refugee settlements, mostly in western parts of the country where they receive government and international support. The GoU has made large stretches of (gazetted) government land available for refugee settlements and extended them health and education services. UNHCR’s implementing partners are providing specific services in the settlement areas, including augmenting the government staffing level to the standards required. Each refugee family is allocated land for agricultural production. Refugees are allowed free mobility around the country; to exit the settlement, however, refugees need a permit from the Settlement Commander.

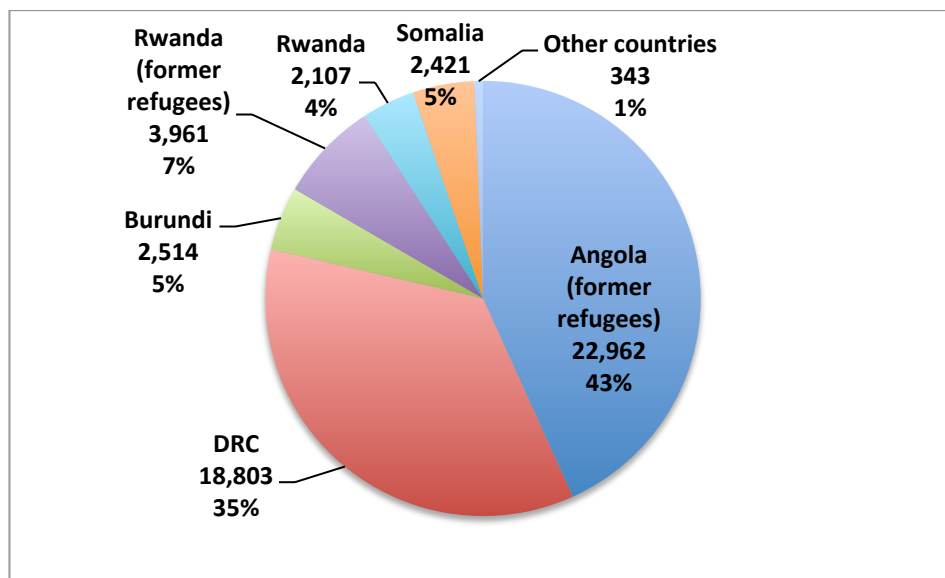
Zambia

Zambia has been a refugee-hosting country for more than fifty years. Angolans fled to Zambia over five decades seeking sanctuary from the anti-colonial struggle and postcolonial conflicts. Rwandans started to take refuge in Zambia beginning in 1990. The largest numbers came in 1994, and again in the 1996–2000 period. Most Congolese refugees in Zambia left the DRC after 1994 and small numbers continue to arrive today.

As of February 2014, Zambia hosts 22,962 former Angolan refugees, 18,803 Congolese refugees, 3,961 former Rwandan refugees, 2,514 Burundian refugees, and 2,107 Rwandan refugees (see Figure 10). The majority of these populations live alongside each other in the Maheba and Mayukwayukwa settlements, while the rest are in urban areas or integrated into local communities. It is significant that of the total number of refugees in Zambia in urban areas, more than 50 percent are Congolese. The Congolese are primarily traders, political refugees, and generally more educated than the Angolans or Rwandans.

²¹ The rest, 14 percent of the registered refugees and asylum seekers, live in urban areas, mainly in the low-income areas of Kampala.

Figure 10. Refugees in Zambia, by country of origin (February 2014)



Source: Calculation based on UNHCR Populations Statistics database.

Zambia is one of the few African countries to embark on a program of local integration of former refugees. In 2014, UNHCR and the government of Zambia (GRZ) produced the Strategic Framework for the Local Integration of Former Refugees in Zambia, which detailed a plan for dealing with Angolans and Rwandans former refugees who do not intend to return to those countries. This plan commits both parties to finding durable solutions for 10,000 former Angolan refugees as well as possibly approximately 4,000 former Rwandan refugees in a manner that promotes legal status and socioeconomic empowerment. The strategic framework does not deal with the other major group of refugees—the Congolese refugees in Zambia—or the Burundians.

Under the strategic framework, both the Maheba and Mayakwayukwa settlement areas—which are large tracts of land in some of the poorest areas of the country—will be effectively divided into two separate pieces and distributed for private ownership to both eligible former refugees and local populations. Urban and self-settled former refugees living outside the settlements and former refugees in the settlements eligible under the framework will benefit from formalization of their legal status (including residence permits).

Political, Legal, and Policy Frameworks

This section describes the existing political, policy, and legal frameworks, which influences responses toward the displaced in the GLR. It identifies constraints and opportunities for regional political cooperation, the state of legislative reform in line with international provisions for refugees and IDPs, as well as country-specific implementation of those provisions, and the formulation of corresponding policies.

Potential for political cooperation

Despite limitations in its implementation, the PSCF (African Union, 2013) remains an important political framework for peace and security in the region. The purpose of the framework in the DRC is to consolidate state authority and support decentralization, economic development, structural reform, and reconciliation. The PSCF does not commit to specific cooperation and actions on forced displacement, although the issue is recognized in the document. Paragraph 3 of the PSCF indicates that displacement is a consequence of violence by noting, “The consequences of this violence have been nothing short of devastating. Acts of sexual violence and serious violations of human rights are used regularly and almost daily as weapons of war. Displacement figures are among the highest in the world and persistently hover near two million people” (African Union, 2013, p. 1). As such, the PSCF offers a potential opportunity to foster further intergovernmental dialogue and collaboration to address the issue.

The International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) was founded in 2000 following a call from the UN Security Council for an international conference on peace, security, democracy, and development in the Great Lakes region.²² ICGLR countries have adopted a Pact on Security, Stability and Development, which entered into force in June 2008. It makes specific provision for displaced people in its Article 12 and related Protocol on the Protection and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons, and Article 13 and related Protocol on Property Rights of Returning Persons (ICGLR, 2004; ICGLR, 2006a; ICGLR, 2006b). The ICGLR IDP protocol promotes adherence to the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (see below) through domestication into national law; the returnee protocol encourages member states to protect the property of displaced persons (NRC, IDMC, and IRRI, 2008). The existence of this pact presents a real opportunity to enter into policy dialogue with the signatory governments about how to take it forward into practice. To date the ICGLR has, however, not had the capacity to do so. Besides specific pacts on displacement, the ICGLR also has protocols on freedom of movement and residence for citizens of the GLR, which have the potential to be applied to refugees.

²² The ICGLR is made up of twelve member states, including the six covered in this study, namely: Angola, **Burundi**, Central African Republic, Republic of Congo, **Democratic Republic of Congo**, Kenya, **Uganda**, **Rwanda**, Republic of South Sudan, **Tanzania**, and **Zambia**.

Global conventions and protocols

All six countries have signed and ratified the UN Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol²³ as well as the Regional Organization of African Unity Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa. The conventions outline, among others, the rights of refugees, which include freedom of religion and movement; the right to work; receive an education; and have access to travel documents. Furthermore, it protects refugees from being returned to a country where they fear persecution. It also underscores a refugee's obligations to a host government, primarily in terms of following its laws.

The UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement were presented in 1998 to the UN Commission on Human Rights. The purpose of the guiding principles is to guide governments, international organizations, and other actors as they provide assistance and protection to IDPs. They provide protection against arbitrary displacement, offer a basis for protection during displacement, and set guarantees for safe return, resettlement, and reintegration. A General Assembly Resolution recognized the guiding principles as "an important international framework for the protection of internally displaced persons." They do not constitute a binding instrument, but reflect international law.

A strong opportunity unique to the GLR is progress on adopting the guiding principles through relatively strong endorsement of the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of IDPs in Africa—the so-called Kampala Convention—adopted in Uganda on October 23, 2009. The purpose of the convention is to provide a new, comprehensive framework to protect IDPs in Africa, and it is the first continental treaty to do so. The convention entered into force on December 6, 2012 and, following ratification, states are required to incorporate the convention's provisions into their domestic law, develop national policies on internal displacement, designate a national institutional focal point, and provide resources for protection and assistance activities. All six countries covered in this study have signed the convention, but Burundi and Tanzania have not yet ratified it.²⁴

Country-specific legislation and policies

Each of the individual countries in the GLR has laws and policies that address refugees and associated processes. In each country these frameworks are in principle consistent with the UN Refugee Convention and the 1967 protocol. They deal with a wide range of issues, from legal principles to specific roles and responsibilities.

In 2006, Uganda adopted refugee legislation, the Refugees Act, which is widely regarded as a model for Africa. The act, formally launched in 2009, reflects the international standards of refugee protection provided in international legal instruments. It recognizes the right of the refugees to work, establish businesses, move around freely within the country, and live in refugee settlements, rather than camps. It also outlines how a refugee situation can cease, once durable solutions have been found. The act promotes refugees' self-reliance and clearly favors a development-based approach to

²³ The 1967 protocol removed the geographical and temporal restrictions that had been established in the 1951 convention.

²⁴ Ratification in the DRC is recent and occurred in July 2014.

refugee assistance. In 2010, Uganda also passed refugee regulations. Through this approach, the GoU allows the refugees to be self-reliant. Currently the approach does not lead to permanency since the Uganda Constitution does not (in its present interpretation) accept naturalization of refugees although there are commitments from the government that this policy could shift. In 2014, the GoU made a pledge to pursue further possibilities for local integration for refugees in protracted displacement. An ongoing Supreme Court Case seeks the interpretation of the law that bar refugees from naturalization. Meanwhile discussions on other alternative legal status (such as long residence permits and, where applicable, dual citizenship) have commenced.²⁵

The GoR has also domesticated the 1951 Refugee Convention and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention since 1979. In 2014 the GoR promulgated a new National Law on Refugees, which superseded earlier laws from 2001 and 2006. This law is more closely aligned with international principles, including the provision of nonrefoulement and exercise all socioeconomic rights.

The GDRC ratified a refugee law in 2002 and the constitution recognizes the right to seek asylum in the DRC, but actual implementation of the legal provisions has proven problematic. The GDRC ratified the Kampala Convention on 8 July 2014, which signifies a recent, clearer commitment from the government towards IDP protection. The Parliament has adopted a new Bill on IDPs, a Bill which was drafted by the Ministry of Interior with support of UNHCR and through multi-stakeholder consultation.

The GRZ made four reservations to the 1951 Refugee Convention and 1967 Protocol when it signed. The most important from a development perspective is that it allows no freedom of movement and restricts formal employment for refugees. The GRZ reservation on freedom of movement has turned into a settlement policy; refugees may live in Maheba or Mayukwayukwa settlements unless they qualify for a permit to live in urban areas. Urban permits are granted to those who meet conditions such as being employed in needed occupations, being self-employed, being a student, serving a medical or security purpose, or having family/dependent links with refugees who are eligible for such a permit. Those in the settlement areas are allowed to leave the camp with permission from the Commission of Refugees (COR) for a period of 30 days. It may or may not be renewed, but must be renewed in the camp. UNHCR and the High Commission for Human Rights are actively lobbying the GRZ to remove its reservations and adjust its constitution and legislation to reflect international norms regarding the treatment of refugees.

The government of Burundi made three reservations to the 1951 Convention: reservations to the right to freedom of movement, the right to education, and the right to work. By contrast, however, the country's 2008 refugee law allows refugees in Burundi to work, have access to education, and have freedom of movement.

²⁵ These discussions have particularly been in reference to seeking alternative residency status for Rwandan refugees who fall within the terms of the cessation clause, and protracted South Sudanese and Congolese cases.

Actual policies regarding refugees are still quite basic in the region. Even Uganda, which has made major steps in terms of legislation, still needs to develop its policy accordingly, to guide the implementation of the act and the regulations. UNHCR is providing technical assistance in the development of the policy.

With regard to IDPs, the legal provisions are usually less defined, and the policy frameworks even weaker than for refugees. In 2004, Uganda led the way in Africa in terms of establishing a national IDP policy. It guarantees the right of IDPs to choose between return, local integration, and settlement elsewhere in the country.

In DRC, a framework for IDP support is found in the International Security and Stabilization Support Strategy (I4S). This was developed in 2008–2009 to support the transition from peacekeeping to peacebuilding, establish sustainable security forces, and consolidate state authority with focus on the EDRC. Implementing partners of I4S include UN agencies, NGOs, private contractors, and the UN Stabilization Mission in the Congo (MONUSCO). However, the GDRC's international commitments, national legislation, and policies regarding IDPs are not yet congruent with best practices. The ones that are congruent, unfortunately, are not implemented on the ground. IDPs, in practice, are moved around and “managed” on an ad hoc basis by national and regional authorities with no legal authority to do so, and often with poor results.

Causes, Drivers, and Political Economy of Displacement

This section describes first the drivers of conflict and displacement in the region. This is significant because the causes of the conflict affect the possibility for durable solutions. The second part of the section identifies the main actors associated with the displacement and illustrates their influence on the situations in the region.²⁶

Causes and drivers of displacement

The scale and nature of forced displacement in the GLR is related to the region's long and intractable conflicts. The causes and drivers of those conflicts have been analyzed in detail elsewhere and will not be discussed extensively here. They can be summarized as follows, although their relative impact and historical confluence is different for every conflict and country:

1. *Divisive legacies of colonialism, including the imposition of rigid national boundaries and states.* These did not mirror the complexity of the region's ethnic associations, population movements, and trade patterns and led to the creation of new social, political, and economic ruptures and alliances.
2. *Contested identity loyalties between ethnicity and nationality.* This dynamic has been particularly powerful in the DRC where there are ongoing disputes about who is legitimately Congolese, after a large organized movement of Kinyarwanda speakers to the EDRC under the Belgian administration brought in a new population perceived as foreign.
3. *The state's weakness and inability to exert central power and functions throughout the territory.* Again, this issue is salient in the DRC, where there has been limited capacity to control and deliver to all reaches of the vast territory. In many areas—particularly in the east of the country—the state is totally absent, unable to protect people from political and criminal violence. Other groups, often armed, assume roles that should normally be fulfilled by state institutions, and groups of people who feel threatened see no alternative than to seek the protection of these groups, which only boosts their power.
4. *Prevalence of patrimonial politics.* Control of key state functions (including provision of security) by political factions that have used them to extend personality or ethnicity-based patronage and vested interests.
5. *Scarcity of land.* The GLR has some rich agricultural land, which has caused competition over access to this resource. Land competition has been especially intense in Burundi and Rwanda, closely related to population pressure.²⁷ Even when ethnic groups have found ways to live together, in some instances land disputes trigger further violent conflict and associated displacement. Difference in land use by pastoral groups and sedentary farmers has also been a source of tension.

²⁶ This report cannot do full justice to the variety of ways these political economy actors and interests influence each individual displacement situations across the region; each situation warrants a fuller political economy analysis in its own right.

²⁷ Population density in Rwanda is 430 per square kilometer in 2010 (World Bank, forthcoming).

6. *Inability to transparently and fairly manage natural resources, including minerals and forest resources.* In the EDRC in particular, most access to mineral wealth is disputed, and ongoing instability allows some parties to benefit from unregulated access to these resources.
7. *Ethnic tensions.* In some cases, a sense of insecurity among various ethnic groups in the region undermines trust in public institutions and collaboration among each other. In other cases, groups have armed themselves along ethnic lines.
8. *Poverty, vulnerability, and lack of economic opportunity.* Many people feel they have no way to provide for themselves and their families other than turning to illicit or armed activities.
9. *Regional power plays.* Leaders and countries have sought different alliances to consolidate their interest in the region and across the continent. In this context, minor armed groups have sought collaboration with larger forces to extend their own power, and combatants from one country have pursued military aims on the territory of another. These alliances have shifted over time, and these transitions have opened up new fighting fronts.
10. *Struggle for control over trading routes from the DRC to the coast, mostly through Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, and Rwanda.* This two-way commerce—raw materials exported and finished goods imported—appears to be highly profitable and tends to make resolving violent conflicts more difficult.

Throughout the region, grievances related to these issues have been politically manipulated by leaders and armed groups; they have become the cause over which people have taken up arms and joined military groups. The displaced have fled the insecurity and violence associated with these conflicts. Most of them have directly experienced violence, and all too often they have suffered major atrocities and the loss of family members, neighbors, and friends. Many of them have faced destruction of homes and material possessions. Others have fled the threat of violence. Since most people in the GLR are poor, vulnerable, and often marginalized from recourse to justice and security, they have few defense mechanisms. Usually, moving away from the area in which they are threatened—for shorter or longer periods—is the only option they have.

Sometimes, however, the scale of forced displacement can be disproportionate to the levels of violence. What is notable in the DRC, for example, is that small-scale military type actions displace huge numbers of people. With few exceptions, armed groups rarely actually do much direct fighting against each other. Rather, they largely burn, pillage, kill and rape in the villages in the area where an opposition group is or was operating. With this modus operandi, noncombatants become caught in the middle and experience disproportionate amounts of devastation compared to the level of military conflict, heightening the pressure to leave the area.

Also distinctive to the GLR is the degree to which displacement has been destabilizing. Describing the full details and impact of the regional wars is beyond the scope of this paper, but the history of the FDLR and the subsequent campaign of the AFDL are clear examples of what happens when large-scale displacement takes place in an already fragile, fractured, and politicized environment, and of how massively damaging it can be when displacement is not politically, socially, or economically well managed.

Box 1. Fieldwork Snapshots of Appalling Misery and Extraordinary Resilience

A blind woman in her fifties or sixties, a refugee from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, sits alone in a pile of rubble adjacent to a modest cottage. The camp authorities tell us that this one room dwelling will be reconstructed in the near future for her to live in. In the meantime, she depends on UNHCR for food and on her neighbors for everything else. She lives alone in Maheba Settlement, in northwest Zambia, with no family within a thousand kilometers. All that is keeping this woman alive is her will to live and the generosity of others.

A girl, age five, receives post-rape treatment and counseling in Mugunga III camp outside of Goma. She was raped by another IDP. Despite the fact that this was not the first, or even the second time that she was raped by this person, the family does not report the incident to the authorities for fear of retribution. The horror faced by this girl is real for hundreds of thousands like her in Eastern DRC.

A large group of Rwandans fled their country after the genocide in 1994, and walked through the Kivus, Maniema, and Kasai Orientale in the DRC. Hundreds died along the way. They attempted to enter Angola, but were denied entry by the government. They then walked around northeast Angola until they came to a part of the border controlled by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola UNITA, which allowed them to enter. They eventually found refuge in the UNHCR camp called Haa, located in Luena Province, near the Zambian border. One of the researchers of this study, who was at that time working on the Angola peace process, met this group of refugees in Haa soon after their arrival. They were emaciated, malnourished, sick, dressed in rags, shoeless, and terrified. When UNITA was defeated, and the national government reestablished territorial administration in eastern Angola, they were kicked out of Angola, crossed into Zambia, and made their way to the Maheba settlement. Some of them are now refugee camp leaders in Maheba, where the same researcher met them 17 years later. These people demonstrate tenacity, resilience, self-reliance, and extraordinary courage in the starkest terms.

Actors and interests

Across the GLR, current political economy dynamics²⁸ affect the status and opportunities of the displaced and determine the prospects of defining or delivering assistance to address their needs and achieve durable solutions. This section identifies the main actors associated with the displacement and illustrates their influence on the displacement situations in the region.

Governments of GLR countries

Signature and ratification of the protective frameworks for refugees and IDPs is relatively advanced among the governments of the GLR (see above). But the political will to implement these provisions and frame a positive response toward the displaced is—as is common across the world—often determined less by accountability to the policy frameworks and more by the political incentives for that response. In Zambia, for example, the government’s progressive Strategic Framework for the

²⁸ For the purposes of this report, the term “political economy” is used for the study of factors, actors, and interests whose political position may influence responses to displacement.

Local Integration of Former Refugees in Zambia is driven by a number of conducive political incentives. The refugee population is relatively small, long term, and integrated, which brings economic gain to the hosting regions. As such, it poses no security threat to the Zambian population. In addition, there are available land resources for the refugees, and a process of land allocation for former refugees is unlikely to cause grievance or competition. By giving attention to Angolan refugees, the government may achieve reciprocal good treatment for its own citizens resident in Angola. Indeed the GRZ is using the liberality of the framework as an incentive in wider foreign relations, including discussions where it hopes to achieve regional trade concessions. By contrast, the GoR's response to Congolese refugees in Rwanda—offering refugee protection of a protracted nature—matches the harsh reality of lack of land (as Rwanda is a heavily populated country) and limitation of other self-reliance prospects for the refugee population. While the Government is currently drafting an Order of the Prime Minister on local integration, it will be extremely challenging for a local integration approach to include land distribution given the scarcity of land.

The approach of the GoT has shifted over time. It allowed Burundian refugees who arrived in the early 1970s to access land and other economic opportunities, but it restricted new waves of refugees in the 1990s to a camp environment with limited economic opportunities. The shift is associated with the general movement in Tanzania over that period from Pan-Africanism and guidance by the state toward economic liberalization and competition. Currently, repatriation is the GoT's preferred durable solution for recently arrived refugees. The displaced are vulnerable to this wider political context, including internal politics. Having offered naturalization to some 162,000 Burundian refugees from the 1970s caseload, the GoT had subsequently stalled the process. The reason reported was that there had been insufficient consultations within government, especially with regional and district authorities in the proposed receiving regions. At that time, there were also negotiations with a U.S. company interesting in using the land. This all left the former refugees in limbo for several years, with reduced prospect of sustainable integration and improvement in their lives. Only recently, in October 2014, has a breakthrough taken place, allowing former Burundians to stay in the settlements (or freely move to other areas in the country) and plan for life as full Tanzanian citizens.

In the GLR, the political will for governments to assist the displaced can be weak where the displaced belong to communities deemed responsible for an insurgency, or in cases where the displaced belong to minorities generally marginalized by the government. Conversely, political will to provide assistance might be strong if the displaced belong to a group with whom the government hopes to gain political capital. There are perceptions that such forces are at play in Burundi, for example, where returnees are considered to receive more attention from the current government than IDPs, with this discrimination seen as being based on ethnic lines.

Government responses to the displaced are also determined by their administrative and implementation capacity, which is variable across the region. The GoR managed the return of millions of refugees through clearly defined processes and the creation of a dedicated, well resourced, and strategically placed ministerial agency, the Ministry of Disaster Management and Refugee Affairs (MIDIMAR). Given that it is well positioned within broader government systems, this ministry has ensured that returnees are included into broader development programs within the governments' Economic Development and Poverty Reduction strategies from 2010 until 2020.

Uganda's response to refugees also has a strong profile within overall government structures; the Refugee Department falls within the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM). At the other end of the scale, in the DRC, government action for the displaced is hampered by the fact that mandates for refugees and IDPs fall under a number of different government entities, all of which have limited resources and representation in the affected districts.

Military groups

The impunity of some military or armed groups, combined with the failure of state systems of security and justice, has been a key aspect of the political economy of displacement. Without adequate physical and legal protection, the displaced have not been spared the worst abuses of the fighting, and yet perversely often come to rely on military actors for protection. This makes them extremely vulnerable to the patronage of violent actors who are less concerned with the development and prosperity of the displaced and more focused on building political and military power bases. This influence is clearly at work in the EDRC, where displacement is used as a deliberate military strategy by armed groups, which serve to detach people from their origins and from formal government structures, leaving them dependant on and more easily manipulated by armed groups. Military leaders' lack of political will to resolve displacement in the DRC is due to the fact that they are often pursuing their more pressing aims for destabilization, patronage, economic gain, electoral advantage, or secessionist purposes.

International organizations

International organizations, notably UNHCR, have given sustained support for the region's displaced, and championed their rights and development prospects. They have been important actors in policy breakthroughs on behalf of the displaced. For example, UNHCR was a key partner in the creation of the Comprehensive Solutions Strategy for returnees in Rwanda and the Tripartite Commission for Burundian refugees in Tanzania, both of which have paved the way for durable solutions.

Nevertheless, the displaced can be subject to the political economy challenges of UNHCR and its partner agencies. Funding levels is one such factor. Humanitarian responses to the many predicaments faced by the displaced are expensive. It can be hard for agencies to sustain that level of funding when donors have their attention turned to other global crises. Given that conflict and instability in the GLR is so enduring, it has suffered from a "compassion fatigue" that has seen funding levels decrease. Interestingly, decreased humanitarian budgets can act as an incentive to seek durable development responses for the displaced; mainstreaming the displaced into wider development programs is seen as a more cost-effective approach. In Rwanda, the UNHCR operation has experienced a budget cut of US\$9 million in the past two years. In Zambia, for example, the UNHCR budget faces a shortfall, and UNHCR support to the Strategic Framework for the Local Integration of Former Refugees in Zambia is seen as a way to get new donors involved in the issue and ease the UNHCR's transition out of the engagement.

Other limitations for humanitarian agencies include the constraints of their mandate and technical expertise, which affect their ability to tackle the longer-term development dimensions of displacement. Generally working on short planning time frames and without the technical capacity to understand displacement in its fullest social and economic terms, these agencies tend to revert to

ad hoc, small-scale and unsustainable initiatives when it comes to the achievement of durable solutions and livelihoods support.

While development actors can be well positioned to finance and implement durable solutions for the displaced, they are often reluctant to take on this role. This reluctance can be influenced by the political sensitivity of displacement work; their perception that displacement is a humanitarian issue; their relationships with client governments; lack of capacity; and their need for selectivity in development investments. Consequently, seeking development responses and durable solutions for the displaced can fall in the gap between humanitarian and development responses. In 2014 the Solutions Alliance was established to close this gap and to seek to bring development stakeholders more centrally into displacement work. However, implementation of such coordination mechanisms is only nascent in the GLR.

Host communities

The influence and attitude of receiving or neighboring communities play an important role in the dynamics of displacement, integration, return, and reintegration. These dynamics are especially influential because the displaced are often located in the poorest areas of already poor countries. Factors that particularly influence the relationship between the displaced and these communities include the level of poverty in the hosting communities; the availability and utilization of land and other natural resources; the availability of economic opportunities; the incentives of local government actors; and the presence and capacity of state agencies, such as the police and judiciary.

For most IDPs in the EDRC, their hosting communities have been critical to their survival. Often, poor communities have hosted these IDPs in their midst and provided them shelter, even if they arrived as complete strangers. In Burundi, IDPs found shelter in locations where they experience less immediate threat, usually due to the vicinity of security forces. Most of the Burundian IDPs live on state-owned, private, or church-owned property. The arrangements for use of property and land around these settlements frequently lead to tension and disputes between the displaced and nondisplaced populations. Government capacity (and at times willingness) to mediate in these conflicts is limited. On the other hand, numerous IDPs and their current neighbors marry; their children attend the same schools; and they join in social activities without major resentments (Zeender, 2011).

In situations where refugees are hosted in camps or settlements, they depend less on the direct relationship with the neighboring communities. Their relationship with these communities depends primarily on whether and how refugees are restricted in their movements and activities. In camp settings, such as in Burundi, Rwanda, and Tanzania, the host government defines the space for interaction. In Rwanda,²⁹ while refugees from the EDRC have been systematically recognized, and refugees benefit from freedom of movement in the country, space is very limited and they are largely confined to camps. In cases where trade is allowed or tolerated, the camps constitute a

²⁹ In Rwanda, management of the camps has caused nearby environmental destruction, which seriously affects the well-being of neighboring communities.

market for goods and services supplied by the communities. In settlements where refugees have been living for protracted periods, such as in Uganda and Tanzania, economic interactions are even more common, and communities experience the benefits. In Uganda, refugees in the settlements produce cereals that are sold in the market through Ugandan agents. They even rent trucks and trade cereal crops around the country.

In some instances, such as in the DRC, most refugees are living closely—and in similar circumstances—to the local population. Refugees from Rwanda live among the local population in the DRC. Most of the almost 10,000 Burundian refugees in the EDRC are married to Congolese citizens. For refugees in urban settings, trading relations develop with the other inhabitants of the city, or beyond. Incidents of social tension between the displaced and their urban hosts occur, but are believed to be more the exception than the rule.

For returnees, their return generally involves numerous challenges in their local communities, in terms of access to land and other property, poor infrastructure, limited social services, and few economic opportunities. Upon return some find little left of their possessions. Other people might have occupied their land; such is often the case in Burundi. In addition, communities and social structures might have significantly changed. Indeed, reintegration depends on the general social acceptance by the community, which might in some cases be a slow process. In many instances in Burundi, the receiving community turned hostile when they perceived the returnees as a threat to their land and livelihood. Other problems might be related to persisting trauma associated with past massacres and the impunity of people who have killed civilians and still live in the area.

Targeted support for the displaced carries with it the risk of over-privileging refugees, IDPs, and returnees to the exclusion of wider hosting communities. While those affected by displacement have distinct vulnerabilities and needs that can justify special attention, hosting communities may resent this attention when they themselves may also be poor, have low nutritional status, poor health and education services, and generally constrained development options. The challenge is to extend development programs so that hosting communities can benefit while also identifying and tackling the particular vulnerabilities of the displaced.

Prospects for Return and Other Durable Solutions

For many affected displaced persons and the governments that host them, return to their place of origin is the preferred durable solution. But the likelihood of the displaced being able to return to their place of origin is influenced by whether the factors which initially drove the conflict have been addressed; the level of security; and the wider interests of influential actors—all of which have been described above. This section maps out the prospects for return across the region. In lieu of prospects for durable return, it assesses the prospects for other durable solutions, such as local integration and third country resettlement. It concludes by noting that for many hundreds of thousands of refugees and IDPs in the region, the prospects for durable solutions might be limited, but this should not preclude the applicability of a development response to foster their self-reliance.

GLR return processes

Over the last twenty years, the GLR has witnessed some major return and repatriation processes. Most of the refugees who fled Rwanda in 1994, for example, have returned in subsequent years (see Table 5). In the decade following the signing of the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement in 2000, about half a million refugees have returned to Burundi and reestablished their lives in various ways. Figure 11³⁰ shows that Burundi, the DRC, and Rwanda have received returnees almost every year over the past decade. In Burundi and the DRC, IDPs return almost continuously, though most of the time in small occasional numbers.

There is much to learn from these return processes. Rwanda, for example, offers an example of large-scale repatriation achieved through strong, formalized institutional arrangements (see Box 2). But the returns to Burundi illustrate that unless wider contextual challenges are addressed—in this case land reform and land restitution—returnees have more limited prospects for sustainable reintegration.

There is emerging evidence that the degree of self-reliance refugees have experienced in their host countries during their displacement influences their likelihood of creating a new livelihood upon return to their own country, or after resettlement to a third country. Some Congolese refugees in Uganda reported that they have sharpened their knowledge and skills while in the refugee settlements, which will help them restart livelihoods on their return. This pattern is also reported about returnees to Burundi from Tanzania. Some who had been displaced since 1972 returned with capital assets as well as knowledge of new agricultural methods, energy conservation, and appropriate cooking stoves, as well as the ability to speak English, all of which facilitated their reintegration.

³⁰ More detail is provided in Table A1 in Annex 1.

Further research is warranted into the factors that contribute to a successful return and reintegration process, and whether returnees have been able to achieve income, enjoyment of civil rights, service access, and social and economic inclusion on par with the nondisplaced. The early indication, however, is that a supportive, development-focused response while refugees and IDPs are displaced (investing in their skills, self-reliance, and livelihoods) will lead to more positive results upon their return. There are, it seems, regional developmental benefits to be gained from investments to support economic opportunities for the displaced while they remain away from their places of origin.

Box 2. Assisting Returned Refugees in Rwanda

There is a wide variety in terms of implementation of the support to the displaced who have returned home across the GLR. The process in Rwanda has been effectively managed by the GoR, with the Ministry of Disaster Management and Refugee Affairs (MIDIMAR) currently in charge but there is an ongoing need for financing to support the program. The program for returning refugees included:³¹

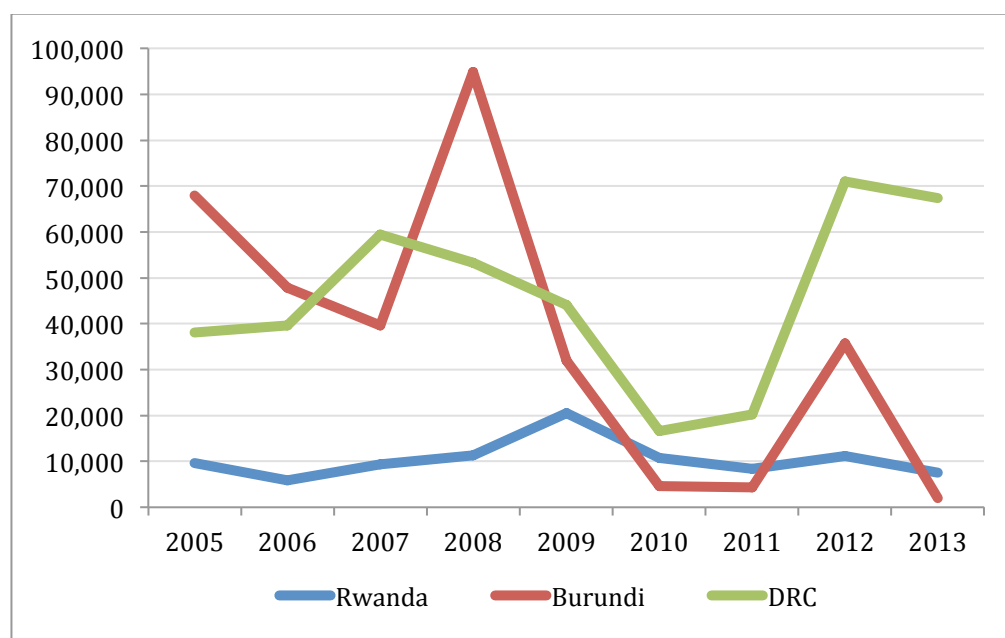
- The creation of MIDIMAR at the ministerial level to initiate mechanisms and coordinate all programs meant for the repatriation and reintegration of Rwandan refugees.
- The GoR and the UNHCR shared the expenses of repatriation and providing emergency travel documents.
- For those arriving overland, refugees are received at transit centers in Western Province, where they are registered, photographed, given a three-month supply of food and nonfood items, and then taken to their respective home areas.
- For those arriving at the airport, UNHCR covers air transport costs and offers a cash package. Adults receive US\$100 and children get US\$50.
- MIDIMAR teamed up with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) to implement since 2010 the “Enhancing Socioeconomic Opportunities for Rwandan Returnees and other Vulnerable Groups.” In general terms, they receive capital such as construction materials, livestock, or technical training.
- The GoR and the One UN program have launched a US\$11 million effort called the Joint Programme for the Sustainable Return and Reintegration of Rwandan Returnees. Up to 70,000 new or future returnees are targeted with assistance in governance education, health nutrition, housing, justice, and food security.
- In addition to these programs, returnees are integrated into all existing poverty alleviation programs like other citizens.
- Mechanisms are in place to facilitate returnees’ ability to recover their properties, including land.
- MIDIMAR periodically monitors on an individual level to ensure that smooth reintegration takes place.

³¹ In 2014, MIDIMAR published its “Repatriation and Reintegration Programs for Rwandan Refugees & an Overview of Socioeconomic Progress in Rwanda.”

Table 5. Major return situations

DISPLACEMENT SITUATION: RETURN	POPULATION	MONTH/YEAR	SOURCE
Return of Burundian refugees to Burundi from Tanzania (mainly), the DRC, and other countries	552,610 (2002–2013); 1,450 (Jan–Dec 2013)	2002–2013	UNHCR, 2014g
Return of DRC refugees to Équateur province from Republic of Congo	111,226 (tot.); 2,341 (Jan–Feb 2014)	May 2012– Feb 2014	UNCHR/DRC, 2014
Return of Rwandan refugees to Rwanda from the DRC	4,913 (Jan–Sep 2013); or, 7,305 for that entire year; 20,000 (2014, est.)	Jan–Sep 2013	UNHCR, 2013c; UNHCR, 2013d
Return of DRC refugees to the DRC from Uganda	N/A	Jan–Feb 2014	UNHCR, 2014p
Return of Angolan and Rwandan refugees to Angola and Rwanda from Zambia	1,666	2013	UNHCR, 2014e

Figure 11. Returned refugees' trends in GLR countries, 2005–2013



Source: Calculation based on UNHCR Populations Statistics database.

Prospects for return

Research suggests that across the region, voluntary return of the displaced in safety and dignity remains the preferred durable solution of many displaced persons and host governments. All return intention surveys in the DRC indicate that in order for most IDPs to return to their original locations, it is essential that security is present and that they can regain access to their land. In Burundi, survey

outcomes have shown significant variations. A study by the IDMC concluded that in 2010, 90 percent of the IDPs wanted to integrate locally (Zeender, 2011). UNHCR conducted evaluations and a survey of intentions in 19 IDP sites. About 79 percent of respondents expressed their willingness to settle in their current place of displacement. However, a more recent survey among current IDPs in the provinces of Bubanza and Bujumbura Rural shows that for 54 percent of the respondents, return would be the preferred option; 34 percent would like to further integrate locally (MSNDPHG, 2014). In July 2014, UNHCR initiated a pilot project for the voluntary return of 320 households living in five IDP settlements to their areas of origin. Much depends on the improvement of the security situation in their home area, socioeconomic opportunities, access to services, and the availability of housing (almost half of all respondents reported that their original homes had been partially or fully destroyed).

The governments of two of the major refugee-hosting countries in the region—Tanzania and Uganda—have hosted refugees for long periods of time. They would, however, also welcome the eventual repatriation of the refugees they are currently hosting.

There appear to be opportunities for further returns across the region, although none are without complicating factors. The prospects for repatriating more Rwandan refugees from the DRC to Rwanda continue to exist with ongoing facilitation of return. Since 1994, the GoR and UNHCR have assisted nearly 3.35 million Rwandans to return home in safety and dignity. The implementation of the Comprehensive Solutions Strategy for Rwandan Refugees has since July 2013 provided additional avenues for return. Indeed, seven countries have invoked the cessation clause. However, meaningful support is needed on the part of the international community to ensure that all Rwandan refugees find a solution within the framework of the Comprehensive Solutions Strategy.

Some spontaneous returns of refugees in Uganda back to the DRC are ongoing, especially since March 2014. People appear to be “testing the water;” they are quite well informed about the situation back home and make their own risk assessments. Generally, there is currently some optimism that the situation will continue to improve in the relevant areas in the EDRC, allowing for their safe return. The Tripartite Commission is preparing for some assisted spontaneous return. However, in discussions with Congolese refugees (from NK) in the Ugandan refugee settlement of Rwamwanja, the general expectation was that in five years at least half of them would still be in Uganda.

In other cases the factors causing the initial displacement remain, and the displacement is likely to become protracted. Although the GoR hopes that the Congolese refugees will return to the DRC, the most recent UNHCR return intentions survey indicated that only 2 percent of the Congolese refugees in Rwanda would consider doing so at this point in time, and it is likely that some of the EDRC’s military groups would oppose their return. It remains a highly politicized issue that has little immediate chance of being resolved.

In the DRC, many of the 2.7 million IDPs live in appalling circumstances, barely able to survive. They are extremely vulnerable. Return to their original location would be the preferred option, provided that security is established and return assistance is adequately provided. But the EDRC continues to suffer from high levels of violence, with some variation among provinces, and is expected to remain

in conflict for the near and perhaps medium term. Progress with regard to security and access to previous property (in order to enable return) is likely to be uneven, with some areas stabilized and land disputes resolved, and others with slow or absent progress.

Burundi is unlikely to receive many returnees in the near future. Most Burundians in Tanzania who had the intention have already returned. Those remaining are either in the process of naturalization or have genuine reasons to remain refugees. In light of Burundi's current political developments, returns from the DRC and Uganda are also projected to be limited. Lastly, most of the Congolese currently in Zambia will in all likelihood not go back to the DRC; only a few will consider returning if the situation stabilizes significantly.

Prospects for local integration

An alternative to return is the option of local integration—that is, refugees and IDPs permanently stay where they are displaced. Sometimes the incentives for the displaced to stay outweigh those for return, especially where they are positively involved in local communities, where insecurity still prevails in the places of origin, and where they have good access to services. For refugees from Burundi in Uganda, it seems that the level of education received in Uganda is an incentive for refugees to postpone their return to Burundi. There can also be regional political economy incentives for local integration; local integration of refugees from Burundi and Rwanda in refugee hosting countries, such as Tanzania and Uganda, would allow for some reduction of pressure on the land in Burundi and Rwanda.

The durable solution of integration is being formally pursued to varying degrees across the region. The most advanced example is the GRZ/UNHCR Strategic Framework for the Local Integration of Former Refugees in Zambia, which (bolstered by the political incentives outlined above) commits both parties to finding durable integration solutions for 10,000 (and possibly more) former Angolan refugees and possibly 4,000 former Rwandan refugees in a manner that promotes legal status and socioeconomic empowerment. It will be actualized through land redistribution and livelihood support actions.

There are (partially formal) local integration processes underway in Tanzania and Uganda. As discussed above, the large group of over 162,000 former Burundian refugees that has been in Tanzania since the early 1970s (or was born there) is unlikely to ever return to Burundi. Those that were given and have taken that option returned between 2008 and 2010. Those that did not then entered the track toward naturalization and full integration into Tanzania. Due to some political disagreements within Tanzania, it turned into a drawn-out process with some negative effects on durable solutions. For a long time, the former Burundians did not know what to expect and plan for. This affected their welfare prospects and was marked by a drop in agricultural production in the Old Settlements, since the impasse started a deterioration of social services, mainly due to staff attrition. As indicated above, only very recently was a breakthrough achieved when in October 2014 the GoT officially announced that the naturalization process for all the 162,000 and their offspring could now be completed and that the new citizens would be allowed to remain in the settlements or move to other parts of the country.

In Uganda, the government has pursued a lenient policy (provision of land; few restrictions on work and trade), which in many cases achieved de facto local integration for refugees. Currently this approach stops short of offering refugees full naturalization. However, as discussed above, the government has made recent commitments to explore an alternative residency status as a potential solution to long-term displacement (United Nations, 2014).

De facto local integration has also occurred outside formal integration processes, especially where the displaced have stayed for long periods of time, settled in urban areas, intermarried with the population, and/or contributed skills and trade to local economies. In the DRC, significant numbers of Burundian refugees have de facto integrated locally, and all expectations are that most of them will stay in the EDRC, albeit in illegal status. The same has occurred for Congolese refugees in urban settings in Burundi, mostly in Bujumbura.

There could be some prospects for local integration of IDPs in the DRC. Land is available in Katanga and Ueles. In Ituri, NK, or SK, however, which are all densely populated and suffer from intertribal conflict, it is likely that IDPs will remain in flux and the subject of humanitarian attention only.

Congolese refugees are less likely to be locally integrated in Zambia than are the former Angolan and Rwandan refugees. The reasons for this are legal, since the retention of refugee status precludes provision under the legal immigration framework, and those with refugee status cannot receive a residence permit. Another factor undermining the possibility for integration is a widespread comparatively negative attitude towards Congolese, both at a community as well as an official level.

Resettlement to third country

The third durable solution is resettlement; refugees move to a country outside of the region for permanent settlement. Resettling to a third country has been offered to some of the refugees in the region and is mainly based on facilitation by UNHCR.

In 2012, UNHCR initiated the Enhanced Congolese Resettlement to Third Countries program. It focuses on refugees from the DRC in the GLR and Southern Africa Region.³² As a rule, UNHCR proposes a number of individuals for resettlement. UNHCR screens them, determines their potential admissibility, and then makes a proposition to those countries that are willing to take a quota of refugees for resettlement. The candidates then go through a screening process conducted by the government of the potential receiving country.³³

The U.S. is the major third-country destination for Congolese. The U.S. government accepts refugees from the DRC as one of the priority refugee groups for settlement. In FY 2012, 4,415 refugees from the DRC were accepted for resettlement in the US; in FY 2013, this number reached more than

³² In light of the region's conflict history, the third-country option is seen as the most viable for many of the Congolese Tutsis and Hutus who left their country.

³³ For the USA, some of the exclusionary and inclusionary criteria are: (i) cannot be an ex-combatant; (ii) cannot have aided or abetted an armed group in any way (waivers can be made for children, "sex slaves" or "servants"); and (iii) "women at risk" are prioritized.

8,000. Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia and Scandinavian countries are also important destinations.

Toward durable solutions

Progress made toward durable solutions—return, local integration, and resettlement—is extremely complex and variable across the GLR. Some of the more formal processes are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6. Status of durable solutions in the GLR

Durable solution	Return	Local integration	Resettlement
Largely complete	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Return of Burundian refugees to Burundi from Tanzania Return of Rwandan refugees to Rwanda from the DRC 		
Ongoing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Return of Congolese refugees to the DRC from Uganda Return of IDPs in the DRC Return of Rwandan refugees to Rwanda from the DRC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Naturalization and local integration for (old caseload) Burundian refugees in Tanzania Refugees in Uganda, including pursuit of innovative solutions for legal status 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formal process of resettlement of refugees originating from the DRC, mainly to the U.S.
Commencing		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Angolan and Rwandan refugees in Zambia 	

Development responses for the displaced often only start when a durable solution has been found; that is, investment in livelihoods, service delivery, restitution, or allocation of land only commence once refugees and IDPs have returned home or when there is a formal agreement for their local integration. But this approach fails to respond to a number of findings: (i) there are few prospects for durable solutions for a large number of displaced in the GLR, as it is likely they will remain in protracted displacement; (ii) as has been seen in Uganda, there are benefits of targeting the displaced with a development response, which enhances their economic potential and encourages their self-reliance, even if their long-term scenario is unclear—doing so can set the displaced up well for the eventual durable solution when it occurs; and (iii) continuing a long-term humanitarian response in absence of a durable solution and for those in protracted displacement may be costly and detrimental to those affected. There is increasing consensus among stakeholders that searching

for innovative ways to help the displaced build their self-reliance must become a priority, even in unresolved situations.

The findings of this study indicate that alongside support for durable solutions in the region, development responses could be extended to displaced persons and the community hosting them, even if a durable solution is not yet apparent. Indeed, this approach is already underway in some instances. Rwanda, for example, has recently become open to the idea of allowing refugees from the DRC to access mainstream health and education services. In Uganda, the response toward refugees has long fostered their active economic engagement.

Development Needs and Opportunities of the Displaced

This section describes where the greatest development needs and opportunities for refugees, returnees, and IDPs lie in the GLR, and which sectors and activities might be most relevant for engagement.

Displaced settings

It is challenging to identify a general set of development needs for the displaced across the region when their situations vary so greatly. Nevertheless, a basic pattern does emerge that indicates the ability of the forcibly displaced to be self-reliant and to access services is related to the type of setting in which they reside. The locations of refugees in the region range from makeshift camps to rented accommodation in towns and cities (see Table 7). In broad terms, refugees and IDPs have a better standard of living and more opportunities in managed, long-term settlements (such as those in western Tanzania and western Uganda) where investments by UNHCR and other international actors, lenient policies by the government, and good relations with host communities lead to better arrangements. At the other end of the scale, those who seek sanctuary outside the radar of official institutions, such as IDPs in the DRC who are largely taken in on an ad hoc basis by already poor host communities, face the worst conditions regarding access to services, livelihood opportunities, and accommodation.

Shelter and housing in these settings range from makeshift tents and huts to permanent structures. In Burundi, IDPs sometimes occupy old or makeshift structures not at all suited for human occupancy. In refugee camps, tents are often supplied by UNHCR and its implementing agencies. In Ugandan settlements, refugees are provided with some basic material (poles and sheeting) and are themselves responsible for the actual construction of a home. Over a period of several years, they are usually able to build a reasonable house.

Table 7. Refugees' location in GLR countries (2013)

Country	Planned/ managed camp	Individual accommodation (private)	Self-settled camp	Reception/ transit camp	Total no. of refugees*
Burundi	28,548	16,942	-	-	45,490
DRC	22,784	90,040	538	-	113,362
Rwanda**	-	1,838	63,411	8,342	73,591
Tanzania	68,888	22,231	10,975	5	102,099
Uganda	11,986	208,569	-	-	220,555
Zambia	11,815	6,179	5,600	-	23,594
Total	144,021	345,799	80,282	8,347	578,449

Source: UNHCR 2013 Statistical Annexes (Table 17), at <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c4d6.html>.

Note: A dash (-) indicates that the value is zero or not available.

* Excluding asylum-seekers.

** Figures from Rwanda are from end 2014

Livelihoods

In rural areas, the ability of the displaced to generate income for themselves and their families and to create sustainable livelihoods is linked to several factors: (i) access to land; (ii) ability to trade; (iii) freedom of movement; (iv) availability of tools and material assets; (v) length of displacement; (vi) level of poverty in the surrounding communities; and (viii) quality of infrastructure and connectivity. A common market for trade with the surrounding communities generally benefits the development of the displaced as well as their neighboring communities. In addition, being allowed to (at least temporarily) move in and out of their camp or settlement allows the displaced to be more active in the economy and generate business ideas, make social and economic contacts, and accumulate life skills.

Field research undertaken for this study found that these factors are mostly absent for refugees and IDPs in camps, where they have usually only few viable economic opportunities. For example, the Congolese refugees in Tanzania have hardly any agricultural land at their disposal, even to produce some basic food for home consumption. They also have limited opportunities to trade with the surrounding communities and beyond.

With the exception of those displaced near to their previous residences, refugees and IDPs in camps are rarely self-reliant. As a result of economic and mobility restrictions, those in camps depend mostly on support provided by humanitarian agencies—governmental, international, or nongovernmental—usually delivered through implementing partners. Dependency on humanitarian agencies tends to erode the skills and entrepreneurial spirit of the displaced over time. Depending on the environment, the productive capacity and social capital of the displaced is sometimes negatively affected. Livelihood challenges can be compounded by traditional gender relations, as husbands may prevent women from spending the income they have generated (Kanyange, 2014).

By contrast, refugees who live in settlements where land was made available have become economically active and their collective contribution to the wider economy can be significant. The refugee communities in the Old Settlements in Tanzania, for example, had become self-reliant by the mid-1980s. The refugees no longer required outside assistance to make a living. Furthermore, their agricultural production makes a serious contribution to food security in the region.

Given that a large proportion of the displaced in the GLR are rurally based, access to land is perhaps the single most important factor in achieving livelihoods. Access to land can determine the viability of durable solutions. In Burundi, authorities have not yet provided valid land titles to returnees in VRIs (UNHCR, 2014g). In a focus group discussion facilitated by the study team, some frustration was aired and a few residents of VRIs mentioned that they are considering going back to Tanzania. The houses as well as the plots of land in the VRI are considered to be too small, and maintaining a livelihood has proven to be more difficult than in the Old Settlements in Tanzania.

Access to land in the EDRC is likewise a critical factor in whether IDPs are able to develop viable livelihoods. But in cases where the displaced have access to land, the means to utilize the land for

agricultural purposes depends on whether they were able to retain some of their physical capital (such as tools) when they fled, which is not often the case.

The IDPs in Burundi are usually not far from their original homes; the distance reportedly varies between 20 and 50 kilometers (MSNDPHG, 2014). But some IDPs met by the research team in Bujumbura Rural were 5–9 kilometers away from the land they used to own. According to a survey conducted by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) in 2005, 75 percent of the IDPs continued to cultivate the land they worked prior to their displacement (Zeender, 2011). It has been reported to the study team, however, that some of them are no longer planting crops, since these tend to get stolen. Disruptions of the communities have apparently affected trust and social capital that would otherwise have likely prevented such theft.

Groups of refugees and IDPs who have been in one location for an extended period have usually achieved a reasonable level of self-sufficiency. Over time, their development needs tend to converge with those of the host population, and the constraints on their livelihoods are the same as those faced by the broader population. The former Burundian refugees located in the Old Settlements in Tanzania, for example, live similar lives, with similar needs, as their neighboring communities. In addition, the group of almost 10,000 Burundian refugees that has been in the DRC for two decades or more has largely integrated into the population. Most have married Congolese citizens.

In urban environments, the displaced are engaged in a wide variety of manual and professional jobs. Some are quite successful, while others merely make ends meet. In Uganda, where about 14 percent of the registered refugees and asylum seekers live in (low-income areas of) the capital Kampala, research found that frequent business transactions take place between refugee populations in Kampala and those in the refugee settlements (Omata and Kaplan, 2013). Given the economic gains available in urban settings, some families, which were officially registered in settlements, would in fact have one or more of their members in Kampala, the capital, for economic reasons (Omata, 2012).³⁴

Representation and governance

The role of displaced people in decision making is usually limited to representation in refugee committees in camps or settlements. Government officials supervise the organized refugee settlements in Tanzania and Uganda, for example, and meet regularly with representatives of the refugee community. Implementing partners for the government and UNHCR consult refugees in the process of improving livelihood support provided to them. But it is rare for these mechanisms to be streamlined with wider representative for a. Uniquely in Zambia, refugees in the settlements have elected councils that interface directly with the GRZ authorities on settlement issues. When they are not living in a camp or settlement, the voice of the displaced is usually even more limited. The Rwandan and Burundian refugees in the DRC for instance, are almost uniformly voiceless. They tend to avoid contact with government officials or actively flee from them.

³⁴ The Ugandan refugee policy permits freedom of movement, so long as refugees living outside settlements can support themselves.

Civil society representing the displaced is sparse across the region. However, as a positive exception, there is an association of refugees in Zambia called the Lusaka Refugee Community Coordination. It appears to mostly represent Lusaka-based Congolese, Rwandan, and Burundian refugees. Its subsidiary, the Great Lakes Women Refugee Association, is officially registered in Zambia. Faith-based communities are more common ways for the displaced to seek connections to people in power and influence.

For IDPs in the DRC, overall they have little to no ability to communicate their needs and desires to decision makers, although the picture is mixed. Much depends on to where they are displaced. In Katanga, those in camps have access to DRC officials and communicate regularly with them through periodic meetings. This is similar in the Ueles, where IDPs are mostly concentrated near bases of the UN Stabilization Mission in the Congo (MONUSCO). In the Kivus, where most IDPs are with host families, they are thought to be mostly without voice, and have no ability to interface in a meaningful way with local authorities, who are mostly not present. In SK, however, it is common for whole villages to displace simultaneously, bringing with them their traditional authorities. In these cases, they do have a seat at the decision-making table with the resident local authorities. How much real voice they have, is however debatable, as the link between the village authorities and the upstream administrators is usually weak.

As a positive example, the displaced in Burundi are found to have witnessed some empowerment of women through the process of displacement. Combinations of government and international initiatives have served to alter some gender relations and increase women's participation in governance. The displacement situation has allowed some women to develop leadership roles in the presence or absence of men. Women have been trained in conflict resolution, leadership, gender issues, and combating sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), and they express a sense of empowerment, often contributing to the management of camps (Kanyange, 2014).

Social services

Where data exists, it seems to suggest that access to education and educational achievement are low among displaced populations in the region. For example, in Uganda, according to UNHCR data, primary school enrollment of refugees is estimated at 65 percent countrywide, with 74 percent in urban areas. A survey in two provinces in Burundi (Bubanza and Bujumbura Rural) found that 52 percent of IDP children are not attending school and 81 percent of IDPs do not know how to read and write (MSNDPHG, 2014). Schools are often far and generally overcrowded, and many IDP children in Burundi have no money for uniforms and other school materials.

Enrollment rates drop even further for secondary education, higher education, and access to vocational training. Contributing factors to this include: (i) lack of schooling facilities and staff in camps and settlements; (ii) the cost of learning materials; and (iii) inability to pay school fees.

How and whether to invest in the education of refugees and IDPs in their areas of displacement is a policy and resource challenge for host governments. It is also a political decision; allowing refugee

children access to national educational systems can send signals that the government is favoring local integration over return. The GLR countries have resolved these dilemmas in different ways. In Uganda, for example, all education to refugees is provided through the Ugandan education system, and thus according to the Ugandan curriculum, so the primary language is English. In Tanzania, the education of Congolese refugees is currently provided according to the DRC curriculum, signaling that they are orientated toward return rather than integration.

Commonly, educational services for the displaced are provided through a parallel system that is financed and implemented by international actors. Only recently in Rwanda has the government demonstrated more willingness to integrate refugees into national health insurance and education schemes. This approach has benefits in that it avoids the costs of building up parallel systems and allows an appropriate balance with the needs of the surrounding communities. However the systems often work imperfectly for local residents let alone refugees and ensuring full coverage for refugees alongside Rwanda citizens will require continued funding and administration.

In general terms, health care for the displaced also falls below the standards for the nondisplaced. In the officially managed camps and settlements, some form of health care is usually available, although the accessibility and quality reportedly varies per host country and specific setting.³⁵ Implementing partners assisting in the management of the facilities have usually also installed sanitation facilities, even if these are only basic. By contrast, IDPs in the DRC are only occasionally able to access health services.

Access to health care, education, and other services for displaced people who have returned is limited. For example, the social infrastructure in Burundi and the DRC has deteriorated in quality, particularly in areas from which people have fled. The return of refugees to Burundi put the system under enormous pressure. For those who return to the DRC with UNHCR assistance, the UNHCR has a relatively robust return support program and apparatus in place. When returnees arrive in the DRC, refugees receive a package of return assistance including transportation, a resettlement kit, housing materials, a valid ID card issued by UNHCR, and assistance with school fees and medical expenses. UNHCR also provides financial, health and medical support on a community basis. Returning IDPs are also part of UNHCR's people of concern. However, returning refugees in most cases receive more benefits. Spontaneous returnees can still benefit from UNHCR assistance if there is a return structure in place, which is often the case in Eastern DRC. In case there is not, it is harder for UNHCR to provide humanitarian assistance.

Gender

There are strong gender dimensions to the impacts of displacement in the GLR. First, it is clear that displaced persons are at significant risk of SGBV. Women in the GLR face multiple constraints, including: (i) high levels of violence; (ii) inadequate control over their health; (iii) limited economic opportunities; and (iv) lack of control over resources. The lack of adequate economic opportunities affects all vulnerable females, but is particularly critical for survivors of SGBV because of their

³⁵ Survivors and victims of SGBV often receive some additional support through humanitarian agencies.

reduced psychological and economic functioning and potential isolation from family and community (World Bank, 2014a). Most victims of SGBV are women, but the victims also include men. The displaced are particularly vulnerable to SGBV as a result of losing social networks and having limited knowledge of new terrain and people, and because it has been used deliberately as part of the conflict. In the DRC, numerous reports (IDMC, 2010; Jenks, 2013b; Tamm and Lauterbach, 2011) indicate that rape occurs frequently during or subsequent to armed attacks on another ethnic group, as a weapon of war or for revenge, and that these take place in or near the villages concerned.

The long-term effects of SGBV can be deeply detrimental. Trauma can lead to family breakdown and separation. SGBV can prevail even in more stable contexts. A study conducted in late 2012 in the Kyaka II refugee settlement in Uganda found that adolescent girls are concerned about issues such as various forms of physical insecurity, overwork, and widespread experiences of sexual exploitation and abuse (Women's Refugee Commission, 2013). There is also a problem in some places of the early marriage of refugee women. Similarly, a recent study among urban refugee women in Kampala found that refugee girls have serious protection concerns; women with children born from rape and survival sex workers struggle with discrimination and abuse (Refugee Law Project, 2014).

A key area of intervention for UNHCR and its partners is to prevent and respond to SGBV by providing direct services or facilitating the strengthening of government institutions, including support to law and order functions. In the Old Settlement areas in Tanzania, for example, UNHCR facilitates the revival of a primary court system to ensure that SGBV survivors have quick access to justice. But it is widely agreed that overall operational efforts to prevent and tackle SGBV prevalence in the Great Lakes region requires further longer term developmental reinforcement since victims of SGBV are in urgent need of legal assistance and socio-economic integration. Interviews with professionals in the camps, settlements, and communities in the DRC suggest that the displaced victims of SGBV have largely equivalent access to information and referral services as the population in the proximate areas, but that poverty and access to transportation may be an important constraint affecting IDPs more than the nondisplaced in actually accessing the services. In Zambia, impact evaluations have shown that dual-pronged approaches of providing direct services while conducting public outreach and sensitization campaigns at all levels can be an effective way to address SGBV (World Bank, 2014b).

More than the prevalence of SGBV, displacement also appears to have disrupted social roles and changed gender relations. Gender dynamics have changed as a result of demographics (more men die in conflict), changes in household roles, and women's increased economic and social participation as part of household coping strategies. Research suggests that men often resent their lack of ability to provide physical protection to their wives and children, which challenges their sense of masculinity. Furthermore, some men have felt supplanted by humanitarian agencies "providing" for their families (LOGiCA/GPFD, 2013). In Burundi, gender-targeted livelihood programs—which may have a positive effect on reducing violence and empowering women—appear to be resented by some men, who consider this a way of disrupting the traditional values. Conversely, women complain that men take advantage of irregular marriage registration at camps and take on multiple wives (Kanyange, 2014). In fact, not all programs focused on women's economic empowerment

necessarily reduce the risk of violence. Violence may increase in the short term, when women first obtain access to resources, but the risk of violence may be higher in cases where a woman is the first in a group of peers to access empowerment support.

Gender plays a particularly powerful influence when it comes to access to land. In Burundi, where access to land is already contested, women's land ownership remains minimal, with an estimated 90 percent of land titled to men (International Crisis Group, 2014b). Access to land is more difficult for displaced women in this country, as many have been unable to reclaim land held under customary law without their husbands.

Vulnerabilities

Besides gender-related issues, there are a number of other vulnerabilities that affect the lives of displaced people in the Great Lakes Region. The issues outlined above (livelihoods, access to services, voice, and representation) are even more challenging for some subsets of the displaced population, particularly those:

1. in single-headed households;
2. in separated households, especially unaccompanied children;
3. who are old and can no longer be economically active;
4. directly or indirectly affected by alcohol and other drug abuse;
5. with physical disabilities;
6. with psychological trauma or other mental problems;
7. who are survivors of torture; and
8. who have HIV/AIDS.

Conclusions

Displacement in the Great Lakes Region should be considered a development issue

Displacement of refugees and IDPs is not only an urgent humanitarian issue, but also an **important development issue** for the GLR:

1. More than 3.3 million people are currently displaced in the region. Most of them are living in dire poverty, in temporary accommodation, and with limited access to education and health care. Most of the adults are not able to exercise their own full economic potential.
2. The bulk of the displacement in the region is within countries (82 percent); the DRC alone has 2.7 million IDPs. Their displacement significantly disrupts development, both in their region of origin as well as their current location, and therefore the development prospects of the country as a whole.
3. A large segment of the displaced depends on humanitarian assistance, public resources that could otherwise be used for the region's development.
4. The conflicts in the region as well as the durable solutions for displacements are often related to governance of land, which can only be fully addressed through a development approach.
5. About 64 percent of the displaced in the GLR are less than 18 years old. Not investing sufficiently in the education and health of these children risks future development in the region. Most displaced youth lack a positive perspective on their life. Humanitarian tools alone cannot tackle this predicament.

The displaced themselves have significant **economic development potential**, as shown by the following:

1. In countries such as Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia, refugee communities make productive contributions to the national economy, producing surpluses of mostly agricultural crops for the market.
2. Particularly if hosted in settlements rather than in camps, refugees show that they have the potential to become economically self-sufficient.
3. As dynamic economic actors, the displaced develop their own livelihoods, skills, and ambitions, and often train and inspire others along the way.
4. Some of the displaced have specific expertise and skills they acquired in their country of origin, which they apply in their host country and/or could be part of the assistance structure for the displaced.
5. Upon returning to their countries or areas of origin, former displaced have the potential to make significant contributions to their communities, specifically to those that have been heavily affected by war or other violence.

Some countries in the region, namely Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia, have been able **to foster and utilize refugees' economic potential**. Doing so has benefitted their own economies, and meanwhile

supported the potential of all three durable solutions. Development investments that focus on livelihoods and engagement in the broader economy will be able to further develop and benefit from this economic potential.

Displacement in the Great Lakes Region is a regional issue

Displacement of refugees and IDPs in the GLR is a fitting issue to include under a regional strategy. Durable solutions have to be developed within a regional framework and, in some cases, through a regional approach. This regional imperative is largely driven by the following factors, identified or confirmed in the research:

1. The internally displaced in the DRC, which make up 78 percent of all the displaced in the region, are a large group in the country that is central to the region's conflict, and the country that has the population with the greatest potential to turn into refugees. Positive and coordinated engagement of the neighboring countries in finding durable solutions is therefore essential.
2. Refugees in the GLR cross borders, sometimes several borders, on their journeys. In addition, 81 percent of the refugees in the GLR originate from the region itself. Their challenges and opportunities are therefore regional. Bilateral arrangements (even with UNHCR facilitation) are not sufficient to ensure return of all caseloads of refugees.
3. Leaving displacement unaddressed is likely to threaten regional stability and security. Meanwhile, a regional approach to displacement has the potential to generate and support political will, where lacking.
4. Strong and transparent regional cooperation could boost refugees' confidence in governments that they would otherwise not trust. The Tripartite processes facilitated by UNHCR are an example of how this could initially start between two countries.
5. Regional engagement of a larger group of countries provides opportunities to break out of bilateral political stalemates, such as between the DRC and Rwanda. Moreover, the region could jointly address issues if third countries would be affected.
6. Joint regional interest in durable solutions can be reflected in joint (infrastructure, trade, or energy) investments and joint fundraising, with more likelihood of succeeding.
7. Regional cooperation provides scope to think about land pressure at a regional level. Potential win-win solutions could be developed over a longer period of time.
8. Regional cooperation and exchange allows countries to learn from each other about durable solutions and economic contributions of refugees. Moreover, general transparency about the situation and experience with certain approaches tends to create confidence and reduce tensions.

The support that regional governments currently provide to refugees (from each other's countries) **demonstrates significant regional commitment**. In several countries, such as Uganda and Zambia, it also shows recognition of the need for a development approach. These regional development responses for refugees involve governments' acceptance that they will extend their own development resources to citizens of another country.

All six countries in the region are currently involved in discussions and efforts toward regional solutions. Several **regional institutions and platforms** already exist that could be further utilized for regional cooperation on displacement, particularly the ICGLR (including its IDP protocol), the PSCF, and the Kampala Convention. The wider international community could support regional and development-oriented solutions for displacement in the GLR through assistance to the specific activities of these regional institutions.

Durable solutions

Displacement in the region currently shows a **diverse picture** in terms of location, duration, causes, living conditions, needs and services, and possible durable solutions. Furthermore, the approaches that countries in the region take toward refugees, IDPs, and returnees vary significantly. Responses therefore need to be developed to address specific situations and specific opportunities.

The main **development needs** of the region's displaced are related to a lack of livelihood opportunities. Particularly in cases of more protracted displacement, access to land is often a critical factor. Other important development needs of this population include basic housing, education (64 percent are under 18 year old) and health care.

A highly sought-after durable solution by the displaced, as well as the governments of their host countries, is repatriation and/or return to their original home area. Over the past decades, large returns have indeed taken place. Some host countries, in particular Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia, have been able to create conditions in which refugees could prepare themselves for the repatriation and livelihoods back home. In cases where return/repatriation is not (yet) a realistic option, other scenarios are being explored. But thus far only relatively small numbers of refugees in the GLR have been able to settle in third countries. In addition, local integration has been mostly problematic, with a noteworthy exception for some refugees in Tanzania and Zambia.

Recommendations

Assistance to the displaced in the GLR must go **beyond humanitarian efforts**. Investing development resources in durable solutions for the displaced has the potential to strengthen the regional economy and create positive linkages between countries in the region. Supporting development-oriented aspects of the durable solutions also has the potential to reduce the base for further conflict and overcome some of the fragilities in countries of the region. Based on the study, the following broad regional recommendations have been developed for governments, the World Bank, UNHCR, and other actors to tackle the development challenge of displacement in the GLR.

To **prevent forced displacement**, governments, regional institutions, and development partners should consider to what extent all their political and development activities would affect possible displacement. On all accounts, addressing the causes and drivers of conflict and displacement is better than having to deal with displacement once it has happened. Governments in the region have the opportunity to do this themselves at the national level, as well as regionally through the established institutional frameworks, such as those provided by the AU and ICGLR.

To address the development needs of those who remain displaced in the GLR, the **governments** in the region are recommended to:

1. Allocate additional resources toward context-appropriate durable solutions for the displacement issues in their countries, aimed at increasing self-reliance for refugees, IDPs, as well as returnees. High levels of self-sufficiency among the displaced will benefit the broader communities and have positive social and economic gains for the whole country.
2. Include refugees, IDPs, returnees, and host communities in national development strategies and programs, such as those for infrastructure, urban upgrading, land ownership and utilization, livelihood development, education, and health services. This inclusion can be done in such a way that it improves development outcomes and institutions for the wider poor and other vulnerable groups. At the same time, those development initiatives will need to be customized and adapted to take into account the distinct vulnerabilities and circumstances of the displaced.
3. Allow refugees to move more freely around the country and engage more actively in economic activities, by lifting restrictions on their work and livelihood opportunities, and loosening any confinement to camps or settlements. Creating common markets where refugees and their neighboring communities can trade is usually beneficial for both communities. Likewise, it would be beneficial to help refugees formalize their businesses in urban areas.
4. Facilitate the participation of refugees and IDPs in existing national education and health services. This will require additional investment in these services in areas where large numbers reside. In Rwanda, where the government has already shown it is open to this

approach, it is recommended that UNHCR engage with the relevant ministries in the government of Rwanda to develop a multi-year proposal on how to integrate refugees into the national health care and education programs, and fundraise for it.

5. Include the interests and voice of refugees, IDPs, and returnees in land planning and reform processes. In doing so, ensure that displaced women are appropriately included.
6. In those countries where it is still required, amend legislation in line with the Convention of Refugees and Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement.
7. Use this study for internal discussions within government, as well as for external conversations with civil society, development partners, and other stakeholders to further identify policy issues and investment opportunities toward durable solutions that would simultaneously benefit the country.

The **international community** is recommended to:

1. On the basis of this study, and through partnerships such as the Solutions Alliance, engage in an exchange of ideas with the countries in the region and the regional institutions. These should feature creative development approaches that could be applied toward durable solutions for displacement in the region.
2. Ensure that displacement is given greater attention within the ongoing political processes for peace and security in the GLR through renewed commitment to the processes guided by the ICGLR and the PSCF, among others. Within these processes, regional leaders could be encouraged to reach political agreement and joint resolutions on concrete and practical issues such as:
 - a) addressing key factors that continue to cause displacement, particularly in the DRC, such as the presence of armed groups;
 - b) granting refugees the right to move freely and engage in productive activities in line with existing protocols on the freedom of movement;³⁶
 - c) easing bureaucratic processes for refugees who wish to replace identity documents or gain travel permits;
 - d) elevating the issue of combating SGBV and women's empowerment to the level of the other regional commitments to ensure peace and stability in the region; and
 - e) including refugee children in the education services of their host community, without discrimination on the basis of their citizenship or origin.
3. Ensure that institutions working in support of these political processes (such as the AU, the ICGLR, and the Office of the UN Special Envoy for the Great Lakes region) have the knowledge, understanding, and capacity to monitor and address displacement issues. For

³⁶ A precedent exists in West Africa, where provision for freedom of economic movement is made within ECOWAS treaties. It has been applied in the case of Sierra Leonians in Liberia to enhance their rights to employment in the host country.

example, this could be accomplished by providing specific technical assistance grants, allowing these institutions to have internal training programs and other capacity-building activities.

4. Support relevant governments as they continue to amend their legislation in line with the Convention of Refugees and Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement.
5. Discuss within the broader regional framework the need for further analytic work to explore positive economic and social contributions refugees and IDPs might make if they are provided opportunities for sustainable livelihoods. It could also involve peer-to-peer learning from positive regional examples where self-reliance approaches have resulted in social and economic benefits, such as in Uganda.

All development actors in the region are encouraged to **support and disseminate further research** on critical issues to better understand the region's displacement dynamics and underpin the development of durable solutions. Such studies could be coordinated through mechanisms such as the recently established Solutions Alliance. Some critical issues would include:

1. the livelihoods and economics of the displaced, including their levels of self-reliance, economic relations with surrounding communities, and specific economic contribution to their host countries;
2. the actual poverty levels of the displaced compared to their neighboring communities;
3. the factors that contribute to successful return/repatriation processes and subsequent long-term economic reintegration, including possibly the skills, experience, and assets acquired while displaced; and
4. active engagement of the displaced in the management, logistics, and construction of displacement camps and settlements, as well as the associated human capital formation.

In their **development operations**, the World Bank, UN agencies, and other external development actors are recommended to:

1. Align their funding according to the specific approaches for durable solutions developed in each country, as well as to bilateral cross-border approaches and at the regional level.
2. Encourage refugees, IDPs, returnees, and their host communities to be included in mainstream development strategies and operations. This may particularly apply to the urban, land, livelihoods, and social services sectors, such as granting refugee children access to mainstream education. It could also imply supporting the financial and governance capacity of areas and communities to host refugees and IDPs. For UN agencies this would involve including displacement issues in the UN Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) in the various countries.
3. Consider providing budget support with policy conditions that encourage governments to address displacement issues in an integrated fashion.

4. Ensure that broader hosting communities also benefit from activities that are primarily aimed at the displaced or returning groups.
5. In addition to general support to regions where the displaced are settled, help should be offered to address the specific development needs and vulnerabilities (legal, psychosocial, protection, social, health-related, and so on) of the displaced and returnees.
6. Customize specific externally supported projects and programs so they include activities that would benefit durable solutions for displaced populations and returnees (see Box 3 for examples of global experience on this matter).
7. Provide funds strategically in support of the regional political engagement to address displacement issues, for example by seeking agreement between governments that additional regional World Bank International Development Association (IDA) resources can be used to implement displacement-related regional political agreements.
8. Consider supporting processes of refugee return (and attractiveness of return) by ensuring that returnees benefit from wider development programs in their home country.
9. Support broad education efforts to improve the level of literacy and skills among (young) displaced in the region. Structural and practical problems that keep enrollment low should be addressed, particularly removing barriers to girls' education. If done creatively, and with the involvement of refugees and the hosting/neighborhood communities, this could have a major impact and be implemented quite cost-effectively. These efforts could also include:
 - a) Providing support to UNHCR's Education Strategy 2012–2016.
 - b) Including refugees in mainstream national health and education systems by ensuring that additional resources are deployed to meet the associated financial requirements.
 - c) Together with governments, UNHCR and implementing agencies should explore possible opportunities to directly help refugees acquire skills and experience while in camps or settlements. Such opportunities could, for example, consist of training refugees as nurses while providing health services and involving refugees more actively in the logistics and construction of the camps.
 - d) Across the region, identify skilled professionals among the displaced population. Enhance their qualifications and ability to practice their profession in their places of displacement.
10. Ensure that particular land access issues faced by IDPs and returnees (including restitution and compensation) are addressed, especially if taking place within broader land reform programs. Strengthen associated land mediation services while making them more accessible for the displaced and returnees. Land laws and practices differ between countries and even within countries, so appropriate measures would also vary in different situations.

Box 3. Development Responses to Forced Displacement—Global Examples of Projects and Approaches

Budget support

In Georgia, budget support from the EU has displacement-related triggers. These include the development of a livelihood strategy for internally displaced persons, the construction of new housing for IDPs, and the development of institutional capacity for supporting the livelihoods of IDPs. Although monitoring results and accountability on displacement triggers can be challenging under budget support, there is the possibility that hybrid models could be used to increase monitoring control; for example, combining development policy lending with results-based performance financing.

Area development customized for the displaced

In Mali, the World Bank Reconstruction and Economic Recovery Project aims to rehabilitate basic infrastructure and restore productive activities of communities impacted by the crisis there. It is targeted toward the north of the country, where many communities have been impoverished by insecurity and conflict, and by the flight of some of the more affluent members of society who sought sanctuary as refugees and IDPs. The project activities will support poor communities generally and will have special customized activities to support the reintegration of returnees. Project designs that enable area development and pay special attention to those affected by displacement include community-driven development activities, with additional resource quotas for projects that build cohesion between the displaced and the nondisplaced.

Improved poverty measurement of the displaced

Mali, South Sudan, Somalia, Lebanon, and Jordan offer examples of panel household surveys, which gather comprehensive poverty data for refugee and IDP populations. In some cases they also sample hosting communities so it is possible to make a comparative analysis of poverty rates between the displaced and the nondisplaced. In Azerbaijan, the national household poverty survey was modified to include an IDP identifier, an additional module for IDP respondents, and oversampling of IDP households. This yielded nationally significant data that compared the living standards, access to utilities, poverty rates, and employment status of IDPs and non-IDPs.

Livelihood support

In the DRC, the World Bank funds a Social Fund that includes IDPs as a target group in public works activities. This allows IDPs to access short-term cash employment activities and some skills programs. In Azerbaijan and Georgia, World Bank livelihood support for the displaced has included the adaption and extension of micro-credit facilities, start-up funding, and support for micro-enterprise and youth skills apprenticeship programs. In Georgia, there is a technical assistance initiative to increase IDPs' access to land through secure rental agreements. In Turkey, the World Bank is involved in labor market assessment to inform the government's position on work permits for Syrian refugees that would allow them to enter the wider labor market.

1. Assist in the construction of common markets for the displaced and their host/neighboring communities to engage in trade and facilitate other kinds of engagement with these communities.

2. Increase psychosocial support, SGBV support, and women's empowerment with respect to ownership of land, access to health care and education, and retention of earnings, with a particular focus on the forcibly displaced female population.
3. Develop and fund approaches to enhance the voice and representation of displaced communities by strengthening their civil society and contact with local authorities.

The **World Bank** is recommended to continue enhancing relevant partnerships within the international community in its work for durable solutions. It should strengthen working relationships with UNHCR and other relevant UN agencies to work together toward the three durable solutions for IDPs and refugees.

The US\$100 million **Improving Resilience and Social Cohesion in Border Communities project** is currently expected to be implemented in the DRC, Tanzania, and Zambia. The following recommendations are geared toward the design of this project and are subject to government agreement and would need to be further refined. During project preparation the team will continue to apply political economy analysis to assess the appropriateness and feasibility of the approaches suggested for durable solutions.

1. There are two immediate and important opportunities in the region where, subject to government agreement, World Bank financing could help secure durable solutions for displaced persons:
 - a) funding implementation and sustainability of the Strategic Framework for the Local Integration of Former Refugees in Zambia; and
 - b) supporting the completion of the naturalization process for former Burundian refugees living in Tanzania, now that the political deadlock has been resolved, with particular attention to the socio-economic local integration of the former refugees.

The advantages of these two cases include a conducive political environment, strong existing engagement by UNHCR, and good existing relationships between refugees and host communities. Moreover, both cases have the potential to inspire other countries in the region and beyond.

In **Zambia**, it is recommended that the GRZ, UNHCR, and the World Bank immediately develop an integrated development plan to facilitate completion of the implementation of the 'Strategic Framework for Local Integration' and to ensure planning for the long term viability of the re-settlement schemes. World Bank financing could fund development investments to ensure the long term sustainability of the resettlement schemes, while also extending benefits to refugee settlements and local host communities.

In **Tanzania**, it is recommended that the World Bank and other development partners engage with the GoT in support of an approach to fully integrate the settlements into the national economy. A strategic identification and planning exercise could define the socio-

economic, housing, services, and infrastructure needs of the newly naturalized Burundian former refugees. Respective roles and responsibilities of the various government institutions would need to be clarified in light of the now permanent situation in the (former) settlements. World Bank financing could fund those roles to be undertaken by the GoT.

In both cases, it is recommended that at least some of the activities supported will also benefit the hosting communities and local authorities close to the refugee settlements. Community-driven development mechanisms could be used to offer grants to address local needs that have been defined through a participatory process that includes both host communities and former refugees.

In both cases, it is suggested that other caseloads of refugees not be neglected and that the World Bank advocates extending benefits, which have been achieved for specific groups, to other beneficiaries, such as refugees from the DRC.

It is recommended that the GRZ and the GoT take part in exchange visits and peer learning to benefit from mutual experience on local integration for refugees.

2. Within **the DRC**, it is more challenging to define use of World Bank financing, given that so many of the IDPs' needs are still humanitarian in nature. However, it may be possible to build upon existing World Bank work in the EDRC to extend short-term employment opportunities to IDPs and give support to victims of SGBV. It is also critical to address the needs of host communities, given that so many IDPs are entirely dependent on their hosts. There can be particular focus on supporting a sustainable return process for those refugees and IDPs who head back to their places of origin.
3. It is also suggested that some project financing be reserved for an initiative that is **truly regional**, and goes beyond the specific country contexts. For example, through the PSCF and ICGLR, governments could be engaged to consider regional political commitments that allow refugee children to participate in mainstream schooling in their host communities. Project funding could be allocated to back up and roll out implementation of such commitments.
4. Throughout project implementation it is proposed that:
 - a) Project activities be coupled with policy dialogue and coordination with NGO and UN stakeholders.
 - b) Displacement-affected persons be fully consulted in project preparation; displaced women, youth, and community leaders should specifically be included in the decision-making processes.
 - c) All interventions in favor of the forcibly displaced should benefit host communities in addition to the displaced.

As **next steps** it is recommended that:

5. The World Bank should continue to actively use its convening power to raise awareness and develop partnerships within the humanitarian and development community in the GLR. This

should be done with the goal of supporting the need to view the displaced as a development resource and opportunity; promoting their inclusion in development activities at all levels; and bridging the gap between development and humanitarian actors in the sector.

6. A project team should engage with a broad set of stakeholders on the basis of this current report and discuss concrete opportunities to develop and enhance durable solutions for displacement in the region. These stakeholders would be at all levels and include national and local governments, regional organizations, UN agencies, NGOs active in the region (including research institutions and faith-based organizations), and representatives of refugees and IDPs.
7. The team should conduct more internal discussions with World Bank staff working in the region, seeking their input in the general argument developed in the report and regarding specific concerns and opportunities.
8. In the follow-up process, the World Bank should also continue to engage on policy issues in **Burundi** and **Uganda**, discussing the possible implications of the findings of the report in the region and these countries in particular. The study concluded that the displaced in both countries have clear development needs and potential, including improving rates of education among refugees in Uganda and securing access to and restitution of land for returnees and IDPs in Burundi. In Uganda, opportunities for engagement are available through the GoU's Settlement Transformation Agenda and the Refugees and Host Population Empowerment Framework (REHOPE) prepared by the UN system. This intends to bring together government, humanitarian, development, and public-private partners to enhance coordination and effectiveness in delivering assistance to refugees and their host communities.

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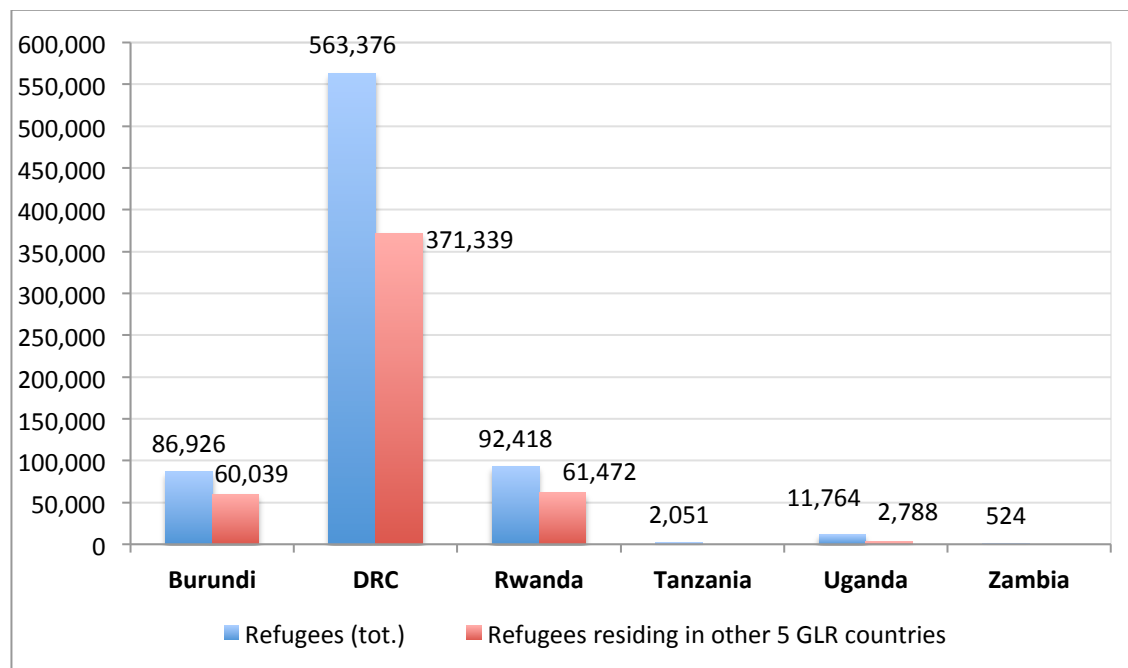
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Annex 1. Statistical Profile

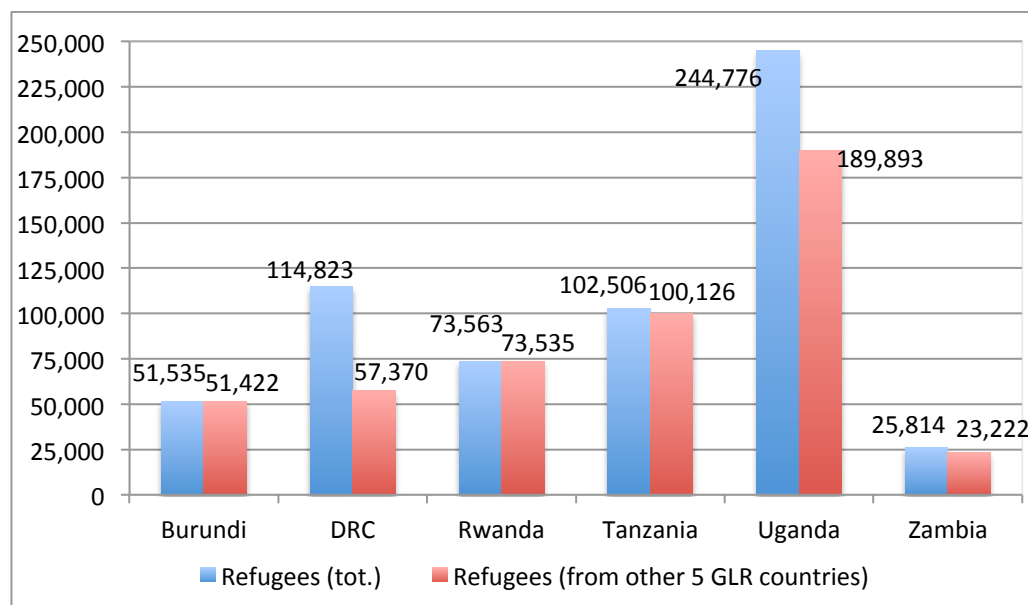
Figure A1. Refugees from each country, 2013



Source: Calculation based on UNHCR Populations Statistics database.

Note: Figures include asylum-seekers.

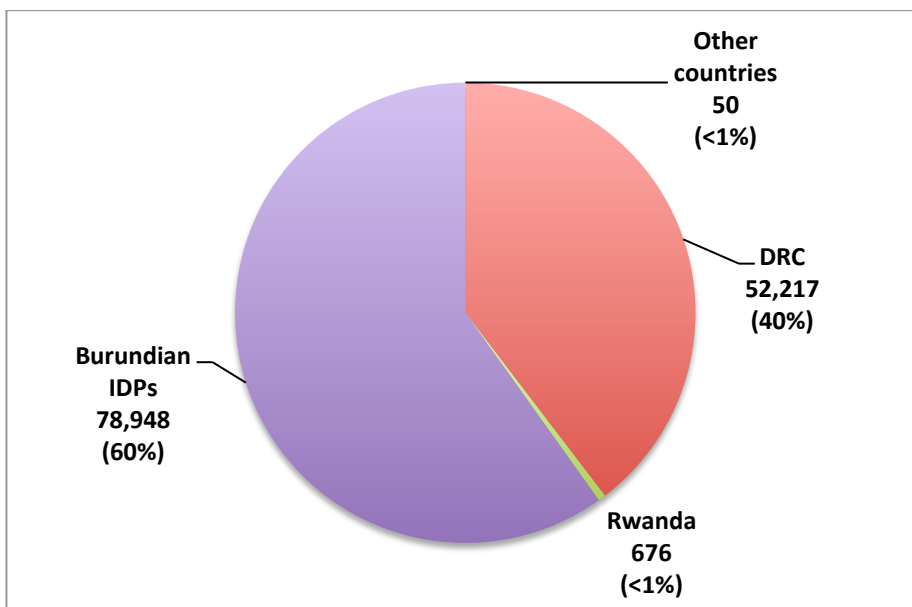
Figure A2. Refugees residing in each country, 2013



Source: Calculation based on UNHCR Populations Statistics database.

Note: Figures include asylum-seekers.

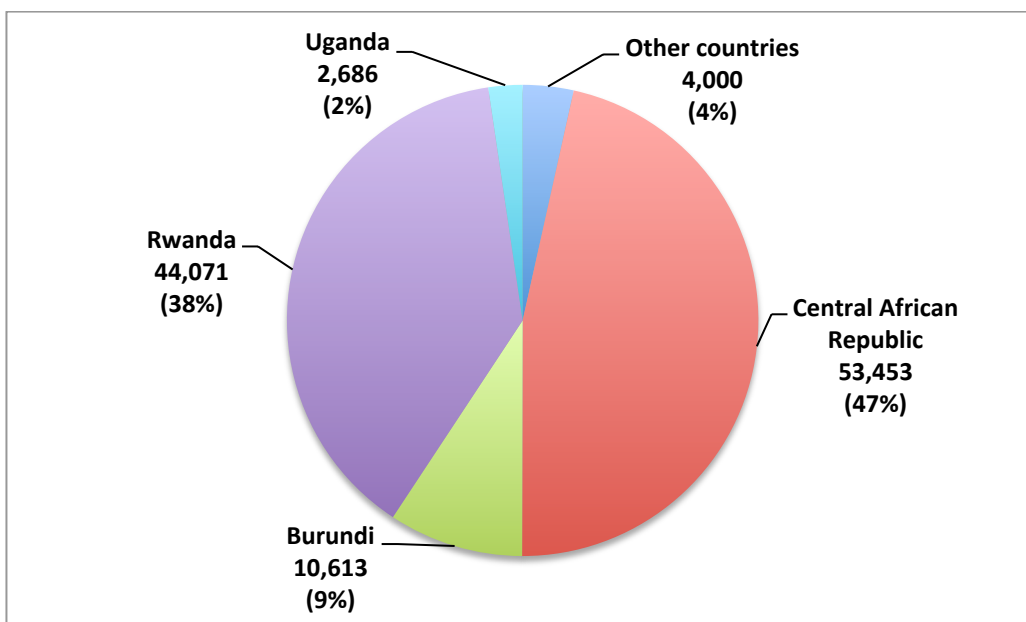
Figure A3. IDPs and refugees residing in Burundi (2013)



Source: Elaboration from UNHCR (2014a).

Note: Figures include asylum-seekers.

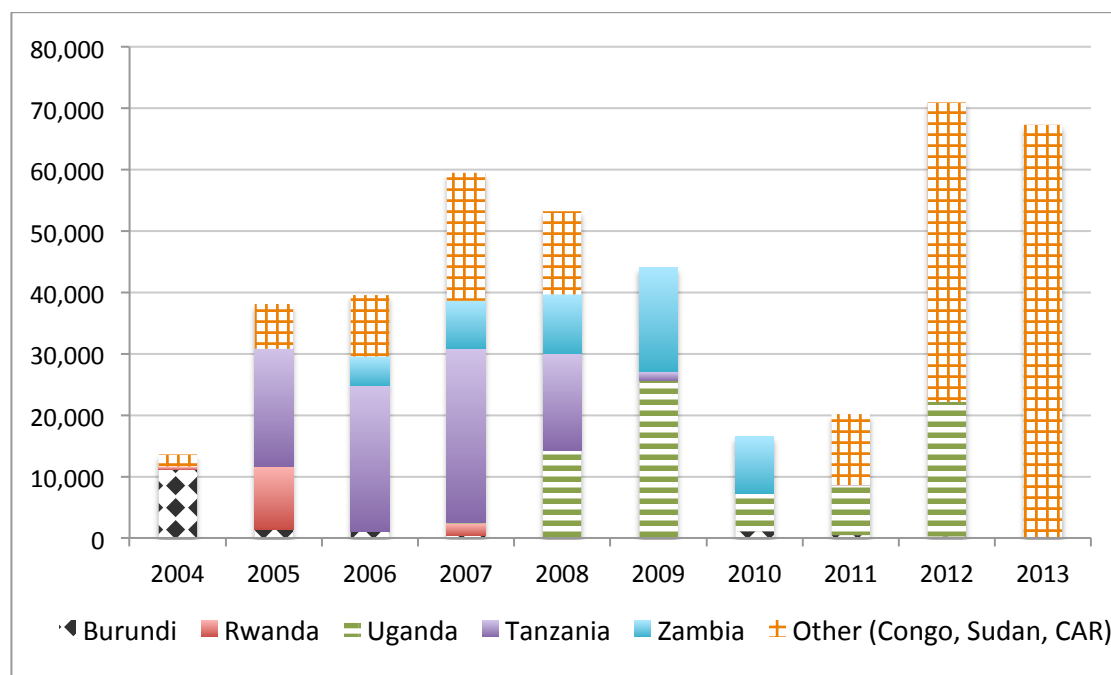
Figure A4. Refugees residing in the DRC (2013)



Source: Elaboration based on UNHCR Populations Statistics database.

Note: As of end of February 2014, refugees from the CAR in the DRC increased to an estimated 62,972 individuals, including asylum-seekers.

Figure A5. Returnees to the DRC from GLR countries (2004–2013)



Source: Elaboration based on UNHCR Populations Statistics database.

Note: For GLR countries, only data greater than 100 were recorded. For other countries, only data greater than 1,000 were recorded.

Table A1. Returnees in the GLR region, by country of origin (2005–2013)

Country of origin	Returning from	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Burundi	DRC	1,002	1,284				3,640	3,944	476	1,498
	Tanzania	62,338	42,765	39,506	94,891	29,115	1,012	339	35,200	505
	Rwanda	4,624	615	112		2,805				
	other		3,208							
DRC	(IDPs)		490,000	1,000,000		78,859	460,754	822,688	304,596	595,200
	Burundi	1,428	1,097	377			1,101	486	260	
	Rwanda	10,225		1,933						
	Uganda			158	14,327	25,616	6,177	7,985	21,912	
	Tanzania	19,156	23,735	28,370	15,681	1,458		102		
	Zambia		4,742	7,826	9,700	16,985	9,265			
	other	7,286	10,034	20,765	13,557			11,641	48,821	67,335
Rwanda	DRC	8,048	5,828	9,408	8,074	14,780	10,807	8,352	10,780	7,199
	Uganda	1,586			3,174	5,701			375	414
Uganda	(IDPs)		300,000	579,000	603,000	407,700	302,991	95,822		
	DRC		5,035							

Source: Elaboration based on UNHCR Populations Statistics database.

Annex 2. Methodology on Quantitative Data and Issues Concerning Data on Forced Displacement in the GLR

This study on forced displacement in the GLR placed critical emphasis on the collection of quantitative data on forced displacement, alongside qualitative data and field research. Relying on secondary sources (the UNHCR Population Statistics database, UNHCR and OCHA country reports, and IDMC data, among others), the research team compiled a dataset on the extent and characteristics of forced displacement in the region. Particular attention was given to the numbers of refugees, IDPs and returnees, trends over time, demographics, and location in order to show how forced displacement in the GLR has both regional and country-based dimensions.

The availability of reliable and up-to-date data on forced displacement is one of the challenges that policy makers face in devising appropriate responses to the plight of refugees and IDPs. As with other dimensions and impacts of violent conflict, data on forced displacement suffers from a number of shortcomings, including: (i) differences in definitions of who is a refugee, which leads to registration discrepancy among countries (*a methodological issue*); (ii) problematic gathering of reliable data in a context of insecurity and/or protection deficit, which also hampers efforts to regularly update data (*an availability issue*); and (iii) the issue of forced displacement may be used by a national government as a domestic or international political tool. Thus, political dynamics affect the collection of data, that is, numbers may be either inflated or reduced (*a political sensitivity issue*).

The UNHCR collects yearly data on the extent of forced displacement, including figures on refugees, asylum-seekers, IDPs (though only those assisted by the UNHCR itself), returnees, resettlement applications, as well as basic demographic data on gender, age, and location. Data sources include national governments, NGOs, OCHA reports, and UNHCR field offices. Besides simple registration of UNHCR population of concern (which is the overwhelming prevalent methodology), more disaggregated data is collected through ad hoc surveys and censuses, which, in turn, may suffer from weak representation and generalization, and from the difficulty of capturing a trend over time. The UNHCR makes all of its data publicly available on its web portal on population statistics and through a yearly Global Trends report series, which are the main sources of quantitative data for this study. The Geneva-based Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) collects country-based data on IDPs only.

Even though the UNHCR publishes occasional updates on the number of refugees, asylum-seekers, and returnees through a variety of outlets (emergency web portal for the DRC, periodic country fact sheets, and so on), these updates are not systematic or linked to data concerning other countries. For example, given the size of its displacement, the DRC may have several fact sheets published per year, and its data updated on almost a monthly basis; Zambia, on the other hand, would require fewer updates throughout the year. Therefore, the UNHCR website and statistical personnel recommend data users rely on its end-of-year statistical annexes rather than on periodic updates. End-of-year statistics include data that are vetted and consistent across countries, and, thus allow for comparability. For these reasons, the team used December 31, 2013, as cutoff date for most of

its tables and figures. Nonetheless, given the fact that forced displacement is a highly dynamic phenomenon, the team also relied on more recent updates—for example, in Table 2 on the largest forced displacement situations—especially when articulated with qualitative data from field research.

Specifically related to the GLR, additional challenges include:

- The regional dimension of GLR armed conflicts make it more difficult to capture the extent of forced displacement in the individual countries.
- With respect to durable solutions in the GLR, there is little quantitative data on return, local integration, and socioeconomic variables. For example, there is not enough evidence on returnees' reintegration dynamics, including livelihoods and employment, which is a crucial indicator to measure dependency patterns of forcefully displaced people on aid organizations vis-à-vis self-reliance.
- Data on some of the protracted displacement, on sequential displacement to third or fourth countries, and on repeated cycles of displacement (that is, differentiation and scale of secondary displacement) is not available. For example, UN figures of IDPs in the DRC only include people who have been in displacement since January 2009. Nonetheless, it is unclear if the previously estimated 1.4 million IDPs (as of December 2008) have found durable solutions or are still in displacement.
- As urban displacement is an emerging and worrisome trend—in which refugees and IDPs often suffer additional social and economic vulnerabilities and a deficit of rights and protection—data are weak and mostly anecdotal.

Main data sources

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Annex 3. List of Persons Met and Key Contacts

Burundi

Chantal Hatungimana	Director of Department of Repatriation and Reintegration of the “Sinistrés” of the War, at the Ministry of National Solidarity, Human Rights and Gender
Anselme Nyandwi	Governor of Bubanza Province
Fabien Yamuremye	Director, Project to Support the Repatriation and Reintegration of the “Sinistrés” (PARESI), Ministry of National Solidarity, Human Rights and Gender
Fr. Emmanuel Ntakarutimana	President, Independent National Human Rights Commission
Venaut Birorimana	Communal Secretary, Rumonge
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Laurent Grosbois	Sr. Protection Officer, UNHCR
Alix Nijimbere	Public Information and Communication Assistant Administrator, UNHCR
Charles Mballa	Sr. Protection Officer, UNHCR
Aimery Mbuunkap	Programme Officer, UNHCR
Xavier Michon	Country Director, UNDP
Gaspard Kabundege	Representative, UNHABITAT
Prof. Ntumba Luaba	Executive Secretary, International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
Jolke Oppewal	Ambassador, Netherlands Embassy
Florence Ferrari	Technical Advisor, Swiss Cooperation
Mushingwankiko Juma	Executive Secretary, League Iteka
Geoff Andrews	Chef de Mission, ZOA

Richard Crothers	Country Director, IRC
Sarah Moldenhauer	Deputy Director, Programs, IRC
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Pamphile Nyandwi	Project Manager, ACCORD

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Emmanuel Kalobelo	Regional Administrative Secretary, Katavi Region
Harrison Mseke	Acting Director, Refugees Department, Ministry of Home Affairs
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Helen Shariari	Sr. Social Development Specialist, World Bank
Joyce Mends-Cole	Representative, UNHCR
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Marjorie Mua	Associate Programme Officer, UNHCR
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Fleuret Mehaule	OCHA
Steffen Lajoie	OXFAM
Bernardo Santos	UNHCR
Chantal Rugenera	STAREC
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Marie Shematsi Baeni	NK Provincial Government

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Valerie Bah	UNHCR/Kinshasa

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Jay Nash	OFDA Representative for the DRC, USAID/Kinshasa
Raymond Bongole	Directeur en charge d'assistance aux, Ministere des Affaires Sociales, Action
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M. Kibatsi	Chef de division protection nord kivu GOMA, Idem
Kibukusa-Mukunda Gaspard	Chef de division assistance humanitaire, Idem
Reverien Musina	UNHCR/Lubumbashi
Clément Lachenal-Chevallet	Conseiller en résilience communautaire, UNDP/Kinshasa
Rufin Bo-Elongo Kimuemue	Coordinateur General, Fonds Social de la RDC
Eric Madison	Deputy Chief of Mission, US Embassy Kinshasa
Alfred Bulakali	Kinshasa, Head of Office Katanaga—Gender Team Leader, SFCG—Centre Lokole
Non Zicherman	Chief, Emergency and Transition Section, UNICEF/Kinshasa
Jimmy Matumona bin Tana	Assistant Chief of Mission, MSF Belgique/Kinshasa
Norbert	Syce, Cercle Hippique de Kinshasa
Francoise van de Ven	President, Forestry Association of the DRC
Mary Lange	PRM, State Department Washington, DC
Bryan Lupton	PRM, State Department Washington, DC
Jyl Kucznski	PRM, State Department Washington, DC
Katherine Perkins	PRM, State Department Washington, DC
Victor Ngezayo	President, Groupe Ngezayo Goma
Nyota Ngezayo	Director of Administration, Groupe Ngezayo Goma
Ana Viana	Owner, Restaurant Villa Tricana on Justice
James Swan	Ambassador, US Embassy Kinshasa

Rwanda

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Harald Hinkel	DDR and Conflict Advisor, World Bank Kigali and Goma
Matthew Crentsil	Deputy (and Acting) Representative, UNHCR Kigali
Mehreen Afzal	Protection Officer, UNHCR Kigali
Neimah Warsame	Representative (former), UNHCR Kigali
Francois Abiyingoma	Program Officer, UNHCR Kigali
Said Osman Yassin	Principal Program Administrator, UNHCR Kigali

Zambia

Dr. Peter Mwaba	Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs
Jacob Mphepo	Commissioner for Refugees, Ministry of Home Affairs
Tammy	Secretary to the PS, Ministry of Home Affairs
Lena Nordstrom	Ambassador, Embassy of Sweden
Dr. Andrew Choga	Chief of Mission, IOM
Emile Hatungimana	Chairman General, Lusaka Refugee Community Coordination
Yohondamkoul Sakor	Senior Program Officer, UNHCR/Zambia
Brian Grandjean	Vice Consul, US Embassy Lusaka
Laura Lo Castro	Representative, UNHCR/Zambia
Mothobi Matila	Principal Macro, Economist AFDB/Zambia
Peter Rasmussen	Principal Country, Economist AFDB/Zambia
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Peter Janssen	Senior Protection Officer, UNHCR/Zambia
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