

# Making Refugee Integration Sustainable in Uganda: Access to Employment and Employability Programmes in the Host Country Labour Market

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## Abstract

*Registered and undocumented refugees are officially denied the right to work, while refugees' unofficial employment inside and outside refugee camps has been accepted by the Ugandan government. However, refugees' engagement in the informal economy makes them vulnerable to very low wages and unethical employment practices, leaving them without recourse to legal protection if abused. Restrictions on the freedom of movement and access to education further compromise the possibility of self-reliance, although limited positive change has taken place in 2019 in Uganda in relation to access to employment and employability programmes in the labour market. Furthermore, various initiatives to facilitate refugees' access to work have been suppressed or replaced by restrictive measures. This study adopted a cross-sectional survey design where purely qualitative data approaches were used for the research. The study recommends that host countries must assess the potential for opening their labour markets to refugees, and enhancing access to decent work. Refugee integration should be approached holistically, rather than the focus being predominately on economic self-sufficiency.*

**Key words:** Refugees, convention, asylum, camp, Office of the Prime Minister

## Introduction and Background

This study examines access to employment and employability programmes in the labour market by refugees in Nakivale Camp, Uganda. For refugees, the right to work and access to labour markets are key to becoming self-reliant, rebuilding their lives and securing dignity, and contributing to host communities' development. Integrating refugees into the labour market will help bridge the divide between short-term humanitarian assistance and longer-term development strategies. Host countries must assess the potential for opening their labour markets to refugees and enhancing access to decent work (Kibirango, 2017:37).

International instruments recognise the right of refugees to work, and encourage states to facilitate refugees in their territory in this regard. Specifically, the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (also called the 1951 Refugee Convention) provides under Article 17, paragraph 1, that "the Contracting States shall accord to refugees lawfully staying in their territory the most favorable treatment accorded to nationals of a foreign country in the same circumstances, as regards the right to engage in wage-earning employment" (Haines, 2017). The convention provides that in any case, restrictive measures imposed on aliens or the

employment of aliens for the protection of the national labour market shall not be applied to a refugee who was already exempt from them at the date of entry into force of the Convention for the Contracting State concerned, or who fulfils one of the following conditions: he/she has completed three years' residence in the country, or he/she has a spouse possessing the nationality of the country of residence. A refugee may not invoke the benefit of this provision if he/she has abandoned his/her spouse, and he/she has one or more children possessing the nationality of the country of residence.

Many host countries are, however, reluctant to allow refugees the right to work, as they are concerned, among other factors, about negative impacts on the employment and wages of nationals. Studies show, however, that the overall impacts on the economy are positive. Reducing the dependency of refugees and allowing them to become productive members of society will decrease the burden that refugees place on the host country. In the short term, however, workers who are close substitutes to refugees might be negatively affected and those with complementary skills might benefit. Article 17 of the 1951 Refugee Convention accords refugees "the most favourable treatment accorded to nationals of a foreign country in the same circumstances, as regards the right to engage in wage-earning employment" and exempts refugees from the restrictive measures imposed on foreigners if they have completed three years of residence in the country or have a spouse or child possessing the nationality of the country. The 1951 Refugee Convention requires state parties to give "sympathetic consideration" to granting the right to engage in wage-earning employment on the same basis as nationals (Azad & Jakea, 2013:45). Articles 18-19 provide for opportunities for self-employment and employment in liberal professions.

Of the 145 state parties to the 1951 Refugee Convention, only 75 formally grant refugees the right to work through domestic employment laws. Almost half of the signatory countries declare reservations, often in full, and those that grant the right may impose conditions or reservations to this right (Ogwang, 2017). The same limitations apply to many of the 48 states that are not parties to this convention. Some countries legally bar refugees completely from work; be it as an employee or starting a business. Furthermore, paragraph 3 of Article 18 provides that "the Contracting States shall give sympathetic consideration to assimilating the rights of all refugees with regard to wage-earning employment to those of nationals" (Haines, 2005).

Since the 1951 Refugee Convention, 147 countries have signed the resulting protocol. Article 1 of the protocol defines a refugee as a person who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his/her nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to avail him-/herself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his/her former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to return to it (Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951-1967). Refugees' work rights, including the right to engage in wage-earning employment and self-employment, are explicitly provided for in Chapter III of the 1951 Refugee Convention. Refugees' work rights under the 1951 Refugee Convention are supported by other regional and international human rights treaties. The International Covenant

on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) recognises the “right of everyone to the opportunity to gain his living by work which he freely chooses or accepts”.

In Uganda, the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development defines the rights, protections, and responsibilities of all workers and employers. Ugandan labour laws do not mention or infer “refugee” or “asylum seeker”. The vast majority of refugees in Uganda are South Sudanese. Certainly, providing refugees with a legal right to work is insufficient without corresponding compliance and enforcement mechanisms.

### **Barriers to Refugees’ Employment in Uganda**

For refugees, the right to work and to access to labour markets are key to becoming self-reliant and rebuilding their lives (Kiragu, Li Rosi & Morris, 2011:20). The International Labour Organization (ILO), the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHCR), and the government of Uganda are collaborating on an “out-of-camp” policy that allows some relaxation of restrictions on movement and eases access to employment/self-employment in camps and surrounding host communities. Despite attempts by refugee organisations like Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS) to offer refugees practical assistance, computer and language lessons, and facilitating links to labour opportunities, there are still gaps in terms of access to employment and labour market information. Uganda has gaps in its national legislation regarding extending work rights to refugees. Nationals and refugees are not treated equally, by law or in practice, because of discrimination and xenophobia. There are bureaucratic barriers, including unreasonable fees, complex paperwork, permits, delays in employment, and restrictions on the freedom of movement that do not allow refugees to move to where economic opportunities are, or restrictions on their ability to own property, or open a business or a bank account (Kirumira, 2017). The majority of refugees in Uganda are unemployed or work in the informal sector, but under much less satisfactory and more exploitative conditions compared to the nationals (Action for Relief and Development [ARD], 2017). Although the government of Uganda is easing processes by providing incentives for refugees to find employment by recognising qualifications and improving skills training, many proactive policies hinder refugees from becoming economically self-sufficient as soon as possible (Ogwang, 2017). It is against this background that the researchers were prompted to conduct this study.

### **Conceptual Analysis: Refugee Integration and Employment in Uganda**

A refugee is a foreigner who is granted refugee status in accordance with the procedures laid down in the Law on the Legal Status of Aliens. Subsidiary protection status is granted to an asylum seeker who is out of his/her country of origin and cannot return for a well-founded fear of: 1) torture, cruel or degrading treatment, or deprivation of dignity or other punishment; 2) a threat of capital punishment or execution; and/or 3) a serious and individual threat to life, health, safety, or freedom relating to violence in situations of international or internal armed conflict.

In collaboration with non-governmental organisations (NGOs), donors, and international organisations, some governments facilitate refugees’ access to labour markets through

programmes that promote refugee employment (such as wage subsidies or free work permits), provide start-up training and finance, or grant a plot of land for farming (Kibirango, 2017). They grant access to vocational training, education, and language training, as well as public employment services. They also inform employers of refugees' right to work, as many employers are not aware that they are allowed to employ refugees. Informing refugees of their legal entitlements, granting them access to legal advice and justice, and implementing anti-discrimination laws can also have positive impacts (Ogwang, 2017). Even if refugees have the legal right to work and governments promote it, several mediating factors facilitate or hamper refugees' integration into the labour market. Refugees usually do not have the social networks needed to find employment and often face discrimination. Compared to economic migrants, they have fewer choices over their destination, which means that they more often lack the skills needed in the labour market and may not speak the language of the host country (Hammarberg & Rishmawi, 2018). A considerable percentage of refugees are traumatised or face physical health issues, which make employment difficult. Many host countries also already face high unemployment and underemployment of their national population (Ogwang, 2017). If the informal sector plays an important role in the economy and if there is a significant influx of refugees within a short period of time, employment options for refugees in the formal sector will be even more limited (Kiragu *et al.*, 2011). Given all these factors, the overwhelming majority of refugees (regardless of status and right to work) are thus unemployed or employed in the informal sector. The conditions under which they work are often less satisfactory and worse compared to nationals, with women and children especially at risk. In Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, where refugees have the right to work once they are recognised, they are far behind other immigrants and nationals in terms of employment rate, and require time to close this gap.

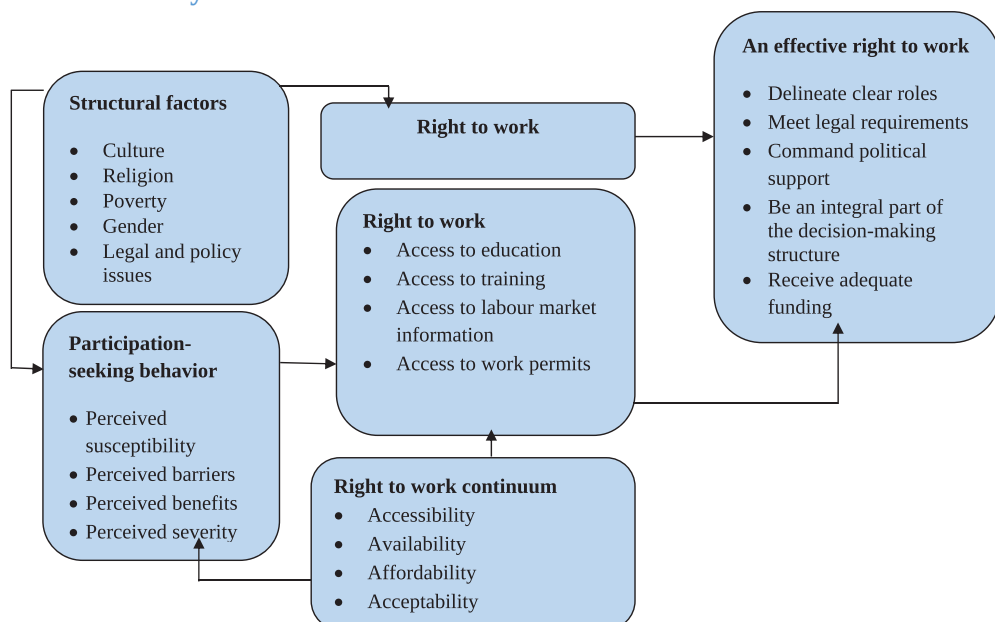
## Theoretical Framework

This study was guided by the value expectation model: "Expectations, the act of looking forward in anticipation of the future, are a dynamic research focus because they capture the process of evaluating future outcomes of alternative decisions" (De Jong, 2000). In this study, expectations relate to young refugees' hopes for the implementation of rights concerning their status as asylum-seeking refugees, therefore expectations of rights. They aim their expectations towards the authorities of the host state and institutions formally commissioned for the implementation of refugees' and children's rights by the international community under international law. Accordingly, frameworks are limited to initial expectations of voluntarily migrants. Here, expectations are linked to the motivation to migrate based on push-pull and gravity factors (De Haas, 2011) through a rational cost-benefit calculation of income-maximisation.

This is conceptualised by the value-expectancy framework (De Jong & Fawcett, 1981), which states that voluntary move decisions are based on a set of alternative places by maximising the sum of expected utilities and social relationships. These utilities include dimensions of suggestion, comfort, wealth, status, autonomy, affiliation, and morality, which can change over time and differ between sexes (De Haas, 2011). Several individual and

household characteristics, social and cultural norms, personality factors (e.g. risk-taking), information flows prior to migration, or social relationships (e.g. living near family) indirectly influence the decision to move and where to move (Haug, 2009). In this, especially social relationships may be important to understanding the rights' expectations of unaccompanied minors and youths since they remain loyal to the mission most of them received prior to flight (Derluyn & Broekaert, 2007). Although refugees' decision processes may also be driven by value expectancy to some extent, it appears that the usefulness of the value-expectancy framework for this study's aims is limited. This limitation stems from several gaps. Firstly, the framework is rather static in its attempt to explain expectations, since expectations are a dynamic, complex, and agentic process that involves emotional reasons, as well as different individual strategies. Secondly, the framework does not sufficiently take into consideration the expectations of migrants regarding their rights as such in the new host country, and to an even lesser extent acknowledges those of refugees and young forced migrants. Thirdly, the value-expectancy framework only considers migrants' expectations, yet omits the expectations of receiving countries. In sum, young refugees and their families have various motivations to migrate. It is clear that refugees also make use of expectation value and balance different possibilities to attempt to maximise the outcome of their flight. Nevertheless, in forced migration the choices are limited, which consequently restricts the use of a rational approach to migration that the value-expectancy framework supposes. Besides, the latter does not explain expectations of refugees regarding their rights. Thus, in the rest of this paper the researchers uses the term "expectation" instead of anticipation and thereby mean refugees' expectations about their rights as such in the receiving country. These expectations of their rights as refugees can be indirectly included in refugees' formulated initial moving decisions and needs. A summary of the theoretical framework used in this research (as discussed above) is summarised in Figure 1.

**Figure 1: Summary of the theoretical framework used in this research**



*Source: Adopted from literature review and modified by the researchers*

## Methodology and Scientific Orientation

The methodological approach to this study was qualitative in nature, whereby an unstructured questionnaire and unstructured interview guide were utilised. The qualitative aspect not only investigated the “what”, “where”, and “when”, but also the “why” and “how” of decision making. Following the decision on the appropriate methodology to use in this research based on the ontological and epistemological assumptions, the next step was to decide on the research design. The choice of research design was influenced largely by the methodology (quantitative or qualitative), as well as the philosophical assumptions guiding the research process (ontology and epistemology). A descriptive cross-sectional survey design was adopted for this study as it was intended to permit in-depth study of fundamental themes. In line with the research purpose and the unit of analysis in this study, the study population comprised refugees in Nakivale Camp; Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) officials; Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development officials; refugee civil society organisation officials (such as the UNHCR, JRS, American Refugee Committee International, and the Adventist Development and Relief Agency [ADRA] Uganda); Amnesty International officials; and judicial officers. A total of 490 respondents were selected for the study, of which 298 were female and 192 male. This study was multi-dimensional, hence multiple sampling techniques were used for specific groups of informants. Simple random sampling, purposive sampling, and convenience sampling were used. The survey was used to perform three steps. Initially, a pre-survey included visits to Nakivale Camp. Through close collaboration with the local authorities, a translated questionnaire and interview guide were designed and used to collect data for the study. Data were sorted and analysed using content thematic analysis.

## Findings and Discussion

There is little consistency in implementing refugees’ right to work in Uganda. A key finding of the study is that assessing refugees’ right to work based simply on a country’s legal and normative frameworks and its policies towards refugees is rarely sufficient. Providing refugees with a legal right to work is insufficient without corresponding compliance and enforcement mechanisms. Refugees often need a work permit (usually obtained through a costly and administratively burdensome process) and/or a residence permit in addition to their refugee status, or need a job offer from an employer before they can obtain a work permit. Negative gender stereotypes, gender-based social discrimination, and violence against women were prevalent in labour markets across the sample. For instance, refugees who seek petty jobs around Nakivale are grossly harassed and derogatorily referred to as *Abasudani* meaning South Sudanese migrants even when they are of different origin. There was also evidence that a lack of formal employment opportunities and the right to work for adults increased the levels of youth and child labour. A significant implication of all these limitations and others beyond those mentioned here is that refugees in Nakivale Camp are rarely able to accumulate sufficient capital or skills either to finance their own legitimate pathways to self-reliance (and possible integration) or to support their return and reintegration to their home countries. Because employment opportunities inside the camp are either non-existent or very limited, refugees are seeking employment in trading centres, mainly working in the informal

economy. Although Uganda has ratified the ILO's Minimum Age Convention (No. 138) and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182), and while prohibited under national law, in practice child labour remains a major problem because of the lack of enforcement and insufficient labour inspection. Many refugee children end up working for Ugandan families to help their own families survive. For example, a university graduate teacher from South Sudan who teaches classes in Nakivale Camp noted that "some children do not attend because they go out to look for some money to survive by doing petty work for Ugandan families. Being refugees has left many of these children who were in school before migration traumatised". When asked why he did not enrol in the public service of Uganda as a teacher, he noted that "for refugees who may be seeking employment in the formal sector, anecdotal evidence suggests delays in the recognition of foreign qualifications. Many think we do not have the skills to cope up with the Ugandan curriculum". As Hammarberg & Rishmawi (2018) noted, compared to economic migrants, refugees have less choice over their destination, which means that they more often lack the skills needed in the labour market and may not speak the language of the host country. A considerable percentage of refugees are traumatised or face physical health issues, which make employment difficult. Sudanese refugee women and girls suffer from low social status, with limited rights and economic power. Women's disempowerment contributes to gender-based violence. The UNHCR (2014) reported that a large group of women and girls left Nakivale Camp to stay in the nearby town, seeking work opportunities during the day such as brick making, building walls, carrying water, cutting wood, or carrying out domestic chores. There have also been reports of abuse and exploitation at the hands of local inhabitants, and some women do not receive their wages. Some of these refugee girls have become prostitutes and engage in "survival sex". Although Uganda has ratified the UN Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution, and child pornography, enforcement is largely absent. Most refugees work in the informal sector where they are vulnerable to abuse and exploitation. Proactive efforts to promote refugees' self-reliance and strengthen their resilience and that of their host communities, including government policies on land allocation and alternatives to camps, supported by the UNHCR, indicate a shifting agenda. Although the Ugandan government has adopted a self-reliance approach and has granted refugees and returnees access to arable land for agricultural production and provided broader support for agriculture in refugee-hosting areas and developed social and economic integration strategies for better refugee integration. However, several factors limit refugees' ability to become self-reliant, including harsh socioeconomic realities and the scarcity of water, firewood, and arable land, which intensify competition and conflict between refugees, returnees, internally displaced persons, and the host communities. As a result, the majority of refugees in Nakivale Camp continue to depend almost entirely on humanitarian assistance for their basic needs.

There was some evidence that governments, international organisations, and NGOs are beginning to tackle some of these constraints, albeit unsystematically, such as through easing processes for obtaining work permits, providing incentives for refugees to find employment, recognising qualifications, and improving skills training. For example, ADRA Uganda, JRS and American Refugee Committee International are involved in offering refugees humanitarian assistance, and teaching refugees technical skills and local languages. A JRS official who

teaches classes for refugees in Kampala noted that “sometimes new immigrants arrive with high levels of education, others have low levels of education or are illiterate. With this diversity of educational needs among the refugees, programmes have been created to address the spectrum of educational demands”. An OPM official, in corroboration, stated that “the needs change, I’ve seen a connection between the populations. So, when we had the largest influx of refugees in the last four years, mainly from South Sudan, they needed more tailored training and specific services to help them transition, culturally and language. We had a lot of individuals who were preliterate, did not even read in their own culture and language. So that need is different”. Two officials from the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development noted that “the barriers to education in relation to refugee integration is pre-literacy, in both English language and academic education, particularly regarding refugee populations who were preliterate. Refugees that arrive with little to no previous education can find it challenging to learn overall”. This barrier to increasing education prevents many preliterate refugees from engaging with others outside of their linguistic community, as their means of communication and learning are through the spoken word. When asked whether not knowing English is an impediment for refugees to getting jobs, an official from the American Refugee Committee noted that “for some refugees, obstacles to gaining employment are not necessarily tied to language skills or educational background, obstacles may occur from job availability”. When asked about the paperwork needed for refugees to be allowed to work in formal employment in Uganda, an official from the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development noted that “bureaucratic barriers, including unreasonable fees, complex paperwork, and permits delay refugee employment in Uganda in the formal sector”. A refugee noted that “most of the jobs advertised in newspapers specifically focus on nationals [Ugandans] than foreigners”. Kirumira (2017) attributed the discrimination to economic forces and social ills, and furthermore, many host countries already face high unemployment and underemployment of their national population. As Ogwang (2017) noted, opening dialogue at the national level on the employment of refugees is the way forward. He further recommended the development of a refugee policy, strengthening the labour migration policy, and actively implementing labour laws.

Many employers, however, are reluctant to employ refugees because of the lack of clarity regarding the legal provisions of allowing refugees to work. In Uganda, for example, there appears to be confusion among employers regarding the varying right to work for refugees and for foreign nationals, and the study found that refugee documents state that they are allowed to work in Uganda, but employers do not recognise this entitlement. Although the government of Uganda has adopted among the most progressive policies in the world to support refugee self-reliance, many impediments exist that cannot be overcome soon. However, Uganda boasts good refugee ambience; therefore this enabling environment includes refugees having freedom of movement but a great deal must be done to create an enabling environment for the right to work, and thus access to employment by refugees.

## Conclusion

The main challenges to refugee integration in Nakivale Camp are language barriers and



difficulty accessing housing and financial support. As Hines (2014) noted, limited knowledge of the language and the lack of employment opportunities limit employment choices to unskilled and low-wage jobs. Furthermore, employment agencies are difficult to reach due to limited travel options between the Refugee Reception Centre and bigger cities or between cities (UNHCR, 2014).

However, despite the challenges highlighted in this analysis, evidence suggests that the refugee integration policy in Uganda is experiencing significant developments; from changes in the legal framework to reconsideration of refugee integration infrastructure. While the government has not put forward a systematic “early intervention” approach, in the context of the relocation and resettlement programme, the OPM initiated a pilot project that allows relocated and resettled refugees to be accommodated in locations alternative to the programme, ideally in a less culturally, socially, and economically limited environment. A number of NGOs, funded by the UNHCR and other international agencies such as the American Refugee Council (ARC), are playing a key role in providing integration measures. The pilot project was initiated in Nakivale Camp (for families participating in the pilot project). This initiative facilitates the access of refugees to the labour market and to services such as healthcare and education. However, the pilot project is in the development phase, without any official evaluation. Contrary to the Rwandan differential system, asylum seekers in Uganda are not categorised and they do not have access to the labour market. However, in Uganda, as in Rwanda, asylum procedures have been shortened to six months. Uganda is far from effective integration of refugees in the labour market. As Kibirango (2017) noted, new measures need to be enacted to facilitate refugee integration in the labour market. More specifically, a refugee or a person with subsidiary protection is entitled to additional support, which could be considered the best integration practice. One of the most significant refugee integration measures adopted in neighbouring Rwanda by new legislation is the entitlement of people granted asylum to receive additional support for employment. Together with other socially vulnerable groups, refugees living in Uganda will be provided financial support for professional training, travelling expenses, and starting an individual activity (self-employment), while employers will be financially encouraged to employ individuals who have been granted asylum.

The other problem is that employers in Uganda have failed to recognise foreign qualifications of refugees like the South Sudanese. They feel that the education standards in South Sudan are low compared to Uganda. Similarly, De Haas (2011) noted that a welcome development is the practice of informal recognition of professional qualifications of refugees in the workplace, which is increasingly adopted in some regional labour exchange offices. Such a practice seems to be a positive collateral effect of the subsidised employment schemes, as employers started to show greater interest in employing refugees and demanding more flexible solutions. However, contrary to the case of Kenya, qualification recognition in the workplace in Uganda is still in the early development phase. Recognised professional and academic certificates are often required when applying for work. Therefore, recognition of these documents is a significant success factor in terms of integration in the labour market. In general, contrary to the case of Rwanda, recognition of qualification, language training in the workplace, and a welcoming workplace environment in Kenya are less inclusive. According

to research data (OPM, 2016), many challenges are related to the recognition of qualifications, which are mostly related to the lack of identification documents and/or original education certificates. Moreover, the procedure for the recognition of qualifications is relatively long, which means that refugees are excluded from the labour market. JRS has for many years trained refugees in vocational skills, and some of these refugees were previously in camps like Nakivale. Vocational language training courses are a key element of integration programmes in Uganda. As Kibirango (2017) noted, during the integration programme, regular Ugandan language courses are provided without linking these courses to vocational training. These courses are also not institutionalised in any governmental initiative or programme.

## Recommendations

Based on the above discussion, it is clear that Uganda needs to assess the impacts of opening its labour markets to refugees, understand who would be affected and how, compare this with the current situation, and develop ways to buffer potential negative effects. Uganda also needs to assess which laws, regulations, bureaucratic hurdles, and other factors would need to be changed to actually allow refugees to access the (formal) labour market, or to enhance the speed and scale of access to decent work. In addition to granting the right to work, the Ugandan government must align law and practice in relation to employment. Active labour market policies can facilitate the labour market integration of refugees. For all these activities, the Ugandan government needs support from the international community, as hosting refugees is a global public good.

In addition, the government of Uganda, with the support of donors and international actors, should better align refugee law and practice with national employment policies. These often seem to work in opposite directions. Better coherence would enhance access to labour markets and make the right to work a reality for many refugees. To this end, better coordination between ministries involved with refugee/immigration affairs and those responsible for labour rights would enhance implementation of refugees' right to work and labour market inclusion, by removing some of the administrative and bureaucratic barriers discussed above.

Labour market policies that lead to more sustainable livelihoods and better economic conditions for refugees (and their hosts) are essential. Too often the lack of the right to work or constraints on this right prevent refugees from engaging in decent work in the formal sector, leaving them more exposed in the informal sector to precarious incomes, the absence of contractual rights, and greater risks of exploitative working conditions.

Employers, employers' organisations, and trade unions in Uganda can also contribute to proactive policies that enable access to labour markets and decent employment. They can promote good practice among their members and work with governments and local authorities to promote effective legislation, regulations, and compliance. At the same time, the Ugandan government, employers, trade unions, and civil society all share the responsibility to promote equality of rights and to counter negative discourse or stereotypes of refugees, which limit their participation and integration. These initiatives should also include developing increased awareness of refugees' workplace rights among refugees, as well as among judiciary and

regulatory agencies; too often refugees are unaware of or frightened to exercise their rights and are protected poorly by the authorities.

Furthermore, improved training, education, and language/skills development are critical elements for enhancing refugees' access to the labour market, and employers and training providers must design innovative ways of promoting and delivering these. Similarly, if paths to further education, recertification, and/or academic planning are not actively sought, career development is likely to be stalled, effectively impeding long-term economic progress.

Finally, donors and international and intergovernmental organisations should play a more significant role in addressing crises of forced displacement by introducing policies that provide for refugees' right to work and access to labour markets, especially in poorer countries that host large numbers of refugees where labour markets are most constrained. Here the international funding and underwriting of labour market developments and job promotion should be buttressed by support for legislation, policies, and standards for decent work.

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