Subjects of Self-Reliance:
A critical history of refugees and development

October 2018

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Minor Corrections submitted March 2019

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of DPhil in International Development at the University of Oxford

Word Count: 80,569 (107,963 including footnotes and references)

'I would like to write the history of this prison, with all the political investments of the body that it gathers together in its closed architecture. Why? Simply because I am interested in the past? No, if one means by that writing a history of the past in terms of the present. Yes, if one means writing the history of the present.'

(Michel Foucault, 'Discipline and Punish')

'While too we talk in terms of statistics and demarcation of responsibility and finance, we have to remember what all this means in terms of human distress and pauperisation, and loss of initiative and hope if the right course is not taken. Reference to...Tanzania with the people in a semi-starved condition eating their crops before they are ready for harvest and selling their clothes to keep themselves alive, cannot leave us unmoved, the more especially when we realise that for a good or a bad plan, for one which brings hope and positive achievement and for one which perpetuates human misery, the cost is the same.'

(T.F. Betts, Field Director, Oxfam, 'Refugees in Eastern Africa: A Comparative Study', 6th May 1966)

Abstract

In four empirical chapters spanning three regions of the world in the 20th and 21st centuries, I examine continuities and changes in institutional assistance to foster refugee self-reliance. I employ archival and ethnographic methods to document assistance practices and forms of implementation. I draw upon programme and evaluation reports of the League of Nations and UNHCR as key primary texts due to these institutions' historical influence and prominence in refugee assistance, as well as private collections by individual assistance actors. I find that efforts to foster refugee self-reliance have largely occurred through development projects targeting both refugees and locals, and even entire regions; in so doing, this assistance has largely treated refugees as workers in need of employment. This 'refugee self-reliance assistance', as I term it, has been a main feature of refugee assistance yet has been hitherto neglected in academic scholarship in Refugee Studies as well as International Development.

Through a Marxian reading of history I link refugee self-reliance assistance to material interests, outcomes, and changes. Drawing on critical welfare studies, I develop a theoretical framework of 'international welfare' and employ the theoretical concepts of instrumentalisation and reserve army of labour to explain how refugee self-reliance has become an instrument that alternately serves and exemplifies changes in social, political, and economic structures.

The rhetoric surrounding refugee self-reliance belies shifting interests and their underlying values – whether self-reliance is espoused as an economic imperative, a protection instrument, or a human right, for example. The identification of these linkages has implications for understanding the conditions under which refugee self-reliance is 'fostered', for analysing the means through which it is intended to be attained, and its explicit and implicit outcomes. Through this examination, my thesis reveals that refugee self-reliance is not an end in itself but instead a malleable instrument to achieve economic gain, political exploits, and social control.

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Abbreviations & Acronyms

ACTV – African Centre for Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture Victims

ARV – Afghan Refugee Village

CAR – Chief Commissionerate for Afghan Refugees

FGD – Focus Group Discussion

FRC – Finnish Refugee Council

GBP – Great British Pound

GoT – Government of Tanzania

GoU – Government of Uganda

GRSC – Greek Refugee Settlement Commission

GTZ – German Technical Cooperation Agency

HOCW – Hope of Children and Women Victims of Violence

ICARA I and II – International Conferences on Assistance to Refugees in Africa

ICVA – International Council of Voluntary Agencies

ILO – International Labour Organization

IMF – International Monetary Fund

IRC – International Rescue Committee

JRS – Jesuit Refugee Service

KCCA – Kampala City Council Authority

LWF – Lutheran World Service

MDB – Multilateral Development Bank

NWFP – Northwest Frontier Province

RAD – Refugee Aid and Development

RBTU – Rädda Barnen Training Unit

RLP – Refugee Law Project

RTV – Refugee Tentage Village

SAFRON – States and Frontier Regions Ministry

SAP – Structural Adjustment Programme

SRS – Self-Reliance Strategy

TANU – Tanganyika African National Union

TCRS – Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service

TDA – Targeted Development Assistance

UK – United Kingdom

UNDP – United Nations Development Program

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNRISD – United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

UNRRA – United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

US – United States

USD – United States Dollar

WB – World Bank

WFP – World Food Programme

YARID – Young African Refugees for Integral Development

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Acknowledgements

Thank you to my mother, Leslie Easton, whose hours with my infants allowed me to finish this project on time.

Thank you to Professor Alexander Betts, my supervisor and mentor, for our conversations about my work and your support in my academic development over the past six years. Our shared interests mean much to me.

Thank you to Mitch Yasur Artman, for your endless edits, bottomless morning coffee, and being my loving mirror. My best friend and husband, always, all ways. <#

Thank you to William Allen for being my peer, my mentor, and such a loyal, supportive friend.

Thank you to Eleanor Bath, for our shared humour and your keen editing eye, which followed this project through via track changed comments to the end.

This thesis is dedicated to the bookends of my life: To my Abuelo, Edison Easton, whose conversations about entrepreneurship and global economics inspired my interest in this topic, and to my Abuela, Joyce Lindberg Easton, who helped me find the poetry in my words.

And to my daughters, Lilah Joyce and Edie Marie, who joined me for the final stage of this project and are the newest chapter of my history.

This project would not have been possible without generous support from:

The National Geographic Society

Vice-Chancellors' Fund, University of Oxford

Santander Academic Study Award, University of Oxford

Frances Stewart Bursary, Oxford Department of International Development

Europaeum Oxford-Geneva Study Bursary, The Europaeum

Economic History Society, School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Glasgow

Gilbert Murray UN Study Award, London School of Economics

Chapter 1
Introduction

> When refugees gain access to education and labour markets, they can build their skills and become self-reliant, contributing to local economies and fuelling the development of the communities hosting them. Allowing refugees to benefit from national services and integrating them into national development plans is essential for both refugees and the communities hosting them, and is consistent with the pledge to "leave no one behind" in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.[1]

So states the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' overview of the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF). This vision for a systematic response to refugee crises was laid out in the 2016 New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, the world's newest expression of shared responsibility for refugees. One of the CRRF's key pillars is to 'build self-reliance of refugees', demonstrating its importance in contemporary efforts to support refugees.

Indeed, since the beginning of the 21st century, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other assistance actors have all promoted self-reliance as a desirable goal for both individual refugees and their communities. As a Women's Refugee Commission report reads, 'Everyone, from local community-based organizations to international non-governmental organizations to policy makers and donors, wants to

[1] UNHCR (2018) Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework. Geneva: UNHCR. Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/comprehensive-refugee-response-framework-crrf.html.

support, fund and implement more effective programs to support the self-reliance of the displaced.'[2] In 2005, for instance, UNHCR emphasised that, 'Self-reliant refugees are more likely to achieve durable solutions,'[3] and that '[S]elf-reliance is a key component in any strategy aimed at avoiding or addressing protracted refugee situations.'[4] Humanitarian and development actors have further devoted their limited funds to its actualisation at a programmatic level, often by linking it to livelihoods programming.

Current rhetoric depicts refugee self-reliance both as a widespread goal and a panacea. In a 2015 policy brief, for example, former United Nations Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees Alexander Aleinikoff advocates moving 'from dependence to self-reliance' and thus 'changing the paradigm in protracted refugee situations'.[5] The World Bank also explains why fostering self-reliance is important: 'Refugees are vulnerable, having lost their assets and livelihoods, and without the ability to plan their lives. They need help regaining their voice, becoming self-reliant and rebuilding their lives.'[6]

Alongside the humanitarian and development focus on refugee self-reliance has come the engagement of the private sector. The IKEA Foundation has donated over 198 million dollars to UNHCR in a variety of key areas, including livelihoods.[7] In 2016 the billionaire

[2] WRC (Women's Refugee Commission) (2009) Building Livelihoods: A Field Manual for Practitioners in Humanitarian Settings. New York: WRC.
[3] UNHCR (2005) Handbook for Self-Reliance. Geneva: UNHCR. P. iv.
[4] Ibid.: xi.
[5] Aleinikoff, A. (2015) From Dependence to Self-Reliance: Changing the Paradigm in Protracted Refugee Situations. Policy Brief, Transatlantic Council on Migration. Washington, D.C.: Migration Policy Institute.
[6] Bousquet, F. (2018) Doing things differently to help refugees and their host communities. Voices: Perspectives on Development. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group.
[7] UNHCR (2018) IKEA Foundation. Webpage, available at: http://www.unhcr.org/uk/ikea-foundation.html. (accessed August 18, 2018)

George Soros stated his intention to invest 500 million dollars in startups, social enterprises, and businesses founded by migrants and refugees.[8] The founder of Chobani yoghurt began hiring refugees, and started a non-profit grant-making organisation known as the Tent Foundation to fund innovative solutions to displacement. Richard Branson, the CEO of Virgin, has supported refugees and advocated for the role of the private sector in refugee assistance, stating, '[B]usiness has enormous opportunities to put refugees on a pathway to economic self-sufficiency, not simply through employment, but also through the integration of refugee-led businesses into supply chains.'[9] The involvement of such actors in refugee assistance demonstrates the market-based fixation on how best to foster refugee self-reliance and achieve other 'solutions', although the success of such endeavours by the private sector remains to be seen.

Accompanying this emphasis on self-reliance for refugees has been an outpouring of publications and policy papers on the topic. Some recommend self-reliance for refugees as an alternative to the failing 'care and maintenance' model used in protracted refugee settings.[10] Others find value in the concept, but see it as a false panacea for refugees living in camps or constrained environments.[11] For others, the promotion of self-reliance is

[8] Soros, G. (2016) Why I'm Investing $500 Million in Migrants. September 20, Wall Street Journal. Available at: https://www.wsj.com/articles/why-im-investing-500-million-in-migrants-1474344001. (accessed August 1, 2018)

[9] Branson, R. (2018) How business can make a difference for refugees. July 18. Webpage, available at: https://www.virgin.com/richard-branson/how-business-can-make-difference-refugees. (accessed August 18, 2018)

[10] Crisp, J. (2010) 'Forced Displacement in Africa: Dimensions, Difficulties, and Policy Directions'. *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 29 (3): 1-27. Available at https://doi.org/10.1083/rsq/hdq031. (accessed on 25 June 2018)

[11] Omata, N. (2017) *The Myth of Self-Reliance: Economic Lives Inside a Liberian Refugee Camp*. Oxford: Berghahn.; Easton-Calabria, E. and Omata, N. (2018) 'Panacea for the refugee crisis? Rethinking the promotion of 'self-reliance' for refugees'. *Third World Quarterly*. Available at https://doi.org/10/1080/01436597.2018.1458301.

inherently flawed as an ultimately 'self-serving' strategy for donors 'focused on the reduction of material assistance' due to budgetary concerns.[12] Proponents of this view point out that a focus on self-reliance has increased as assistance programmes for long-term refugee situations became increasingly deprived of adequate funding, and a recognition by UNHCR that it is unable to ensure meeting essential needs for all prolonged refugee populations.[13] The rhetoric and practice of refugee self-reliance is thus perceived by different actors as fulfilling dichotomous functions, including either actualising or neglecting protection and assistance.

A crucial question, however, remains: what exactly is refugee self-reliance?

Despite the wide range of viewpoints, refugee self-reliance nonetheless remains poorly defined. Its meaning is often assumed to be self-evident, belying a lack of critical engagement. Yet Zetter reminds us of the political intentions behind labelling and categorization, such as that of a 'self-reliant refugee': '[L]abels do not exist in a vacuum. They are the tangible representation of policies and programmes…labels develop their own rationale and legitimacy and become a convenient and accepted shorthand.'[14]

In this thesis I treat 'refugee self-reliance' as an essentially contested concept,[15] recognising it as a historically and culturally contingent discourse and set of practices

[12] Hunter, M. (2009) The failure of self-reliance in refugee settlements. *Polis Journal*, *2*, 1-46. P. 1.
[13] Jamal, A. (2000) 'Minimum Standards and Essential Needs in a Protracted Refugee Situation: A Review of the UNHCR Programme in Kakuma, Kenya'. Geneva: Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, UNHCR.
[14] Zetter, R. (2007) More labels, fewer refugees: Remaking the refugee label in an era of globalization. *Journal of refugee studies*, *20*(2): 172-192. P. 180.
[15] Gallie, W. B. (1955) Essentially contested concepts. In *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society,* Aristotelian Society, 56: 167-198.

which afford legitimacy to particular actors and interests. However, for the purposes of this study, I define it as the state of refugees' living independently from institutionally provided material assistance. I define refugee self-reliance assistance as programmes, projects, and other forms of support intended to help refugees live independently from this assistance.

My definition of self-reliance is intentionally broad, providing a starting point for identifying relevant assistance endeavours in the archival research I conduct. It is borne out of both current rhetoric and reoccurring aims I found in archives. However, I explore the definition of self-reliance throughout this thesis by examining how it was conceived by different actors over time. My main focus lies in the assistance provided to foster refugee self-reliance and so I generally concentrate on the programme outcomes that aid and development agencies implement in its name rather than that which refugees themselves undertake.

As will be demonstrated throughout this thesis, I argue that refugee self-reliance is a development tool, as assistance intended to foster refugee self-reliance is often conceptualised and implemented to promote the aims of national and international development plans. I broadly define 'development' as the process to change regions or countries according to particular understandings of progress and improvement (themselves inherently contested concepts), generally connected to economic growth; development therefore can refer to both national and international projects and aims.

Livelihoods creation is presented in current discourse as a main way for refugees to attain self-reliance; thus refugee self-reliance and livelihoods are often presented in tandem. This is discussed in greater depth in my fourth empirical chapter focusing on urban refugees in Kampala, Uganda, which utilises contemporary literature and policy documents on the topic.

The Need for Critical and Historical Perspectives on Refugee Self-Reliance

Scholarly and policy work on refugee self-reliance is largely contemporary and acritical, with recommendations or reflections often drawing on current case studies or recent experiences.[16] While this work advances examinations of the relationship between refugees and work, much of this literature presents refugee self-reliance as an end state to be attained, and one largely possible through individual economic engagement in local markets. The concept of refugee self-reliance is largely restricted to individual and local factors. Work by scholars such as Karen Jacobsen and Alexander Betts presents refugees as economic actors in this way, as do guiding practitioner documents by agencies such as the Women's Refugee Commission and UNHCR.[17] In 'The Economic Lives of Refugees' Jacobsen draws on a range of scholarly work on livelihoods to provide a contemporary

[16] Macchiavello, M. (2003) 'Forced Migrants as an Under-Utilized Asset: Refugee Sills, Livelihoods, and Achievements in Kampala, Uganda'. New Issues in Refugee Research, UNHCR Working Paper No. 95. Geneva: UNHCR.; Macchiavello, M. (2004) 'Livelihoods Strategies of Urban Refugees in Kampala'. Forced Migration Review, 20: 26-27.; Jacobsen, K. (2005) The Economic Life of Refugees. Bloomfield: Kumarian Press.; Porter, G., Hampshire, K., Kyei, P., Adjaloo, M., Rapoo, G., & Kilpatrick, K. (2008) Linkages between livelihood opportunities and refugee–host relations: learning from the experiences of Liberian camp-based refugees in Ghana. *Journal of refugee studies*, *21*(2): 230-252.

[17] Jacobsen, 'The Economic Lives of Refugees'; WRC, 'Refugee Livelihoods'; UNHCR (2012) Livelihood Programming in UNHCR: Operational Guidelines. Geneva: UNHCR.; Betts, A., Bloom, L., Kaplan, J. D., & Omata, N. (2014) *Refugee economies: Rethinking popular assumptions*. Oxford: Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford.

analysis of refugees' engagement with economies in host and third countries of asylum, as well as the role of the international refugee regime in promoting or hindering refugees' livelihoods strategies.[18] She ultimately argues that the protracted nature of most refugee situations necessitates 'direct[ing] refugee policies and assistance program[me]s towards granting refugees their economic rights and enabling them to pursue livelihoods'.[19] While critical of the 'temporariness' of the international refugee regime's responses to refugees and aim of 'rapid repatriation', Jacobsen's work ultimately provides a policy rather than theoretical critique of assistance to foster refugee self-reliance. In 'Refugee Economies', Betts et al. theorise variation in refugees' economic outcomes, creating a conceptual framework of refugees' activities from a practical rather than a critical theoretical perspective.[20] This work helps us understand the state of refugee economies but does little to advance a critical understanding of refugee self-reliance as linked to different actors and interests beyond host country economic and political constraints.

However, a growing body of literature both complements and contrasts such work on refugee self-reliance through critically examining programmes and conceptualisations. Kaiser and Meyer explore refugee livelihoods in Uganda within the ambit of the country's Self-Reliance Strategy (SRS), finding notable disconnects between the stated aims of the strategy and its outcomes.[21] Strongly echoed in Meyer's findings, as well, Kaiser writes,

> …[T]he handover of services from UNHCR and its implementing partners to the

[18] Jacobsen,'The Economic Lives of Refugees'.
[19] Ibid., P. 108.
[20] Betts, A., Bloom, L., Kaplan, J., & Omata, N. (2016) *Refugee economies: Forced displacement and development* (First ed., Oxford scholarship online). Oxford: University of Oxford.
[21] Kaiser, T. (2006) 'Between a Camp and a Hard Place: Rights, Livelihood and Experiences of the Local Settlement System for Long-Term Refugees in Uganda'. Journal of Modern African Studies 44(4): 597–621.; Meyer, S. (2006) *The "Refugee Aid and Development" Approach in Uganda: Empowerment and Self-reliance of Refugees in Practice*. UNHCR Working Paper Series, no. 131. Geneva: UNHCR.

> district authorities represents a mechanism for the reduction of services for refugees and a cost saving strategy. The SRS is commonly perceived as designed to support the development of Uganda's refugee hosting areas, rather than the refugees themselves…[22]

More recent academic work interrogates the aims and methods of fostering refugee self-reliance today, finding a similar trend of its employment as a cost-effective exit strategy.[23] This marks a key shift from altruistic policy to vested interest. Omata's monograph on 'self-reliant' Liberian refugees in Ghana's Buduburam refugee camp questions whether the camp's high level of economic commerce resulted in high levels of economic well-being, and examines the role of UNHCR's withdrawal of aid to foster self-reliance.[24] He reveals that the central economic driver of the camp was access to overseas remittances, which was unrelated to UNHCR initiatives to increase self-reliance through aid withdrawal. While refugees who received remittances were able to satisfy their basic day-to-day needs, those who had no connections to the diaspora remained deeply impoverished. Similar to other refugee-hosting countries in developing regions, Ghana virtually excluded refugees from formal labour markets and limited their engagement in commercial activities outside the camp. With little access to meaningful economic opportunities, refugees survived by relying on mutual support networks with other refugees. This example alarmingly demonstrates how the concept – or 'myth' as Omata terms it – of self-reliance can enable negligence by aid agencies to protect vulnerable refugee groups living in desperate conditions. However, the majority of work on this

22 Kaiser, 'Between a Camp and a Hard Place,' p. 613.
23 Easton-Calabria & Omata, 'Panacea for the Refugee Crisis?'
24 Omata, N. (2017) *The Myth of Self-reliance: Economic Lives Inside a Liberian Refugee Camp* (Vol. 36). Oxford: Berghahn Books.

subject examines a single case study in a particular time period, thereby failing to capture a larger diachronic or 'global' picture of refugee self-reliance assistance.

Other literature questions common suppositions about self-reliance, such as it being a fixed state once attained and largely enacted at an individual level. Barbelet and Wake reveal, for example, that refugees often fare better in the direct aftermath of displacement due to the prevalence of assets and prior social networks, and struggle more in later months and years – at a time when they are paradoxically assumed to be self-reliant.[25] The authors therefore posit:

> [T]here is a strong case for early support to livelihoods, especially geared towards the protection of assets and the prevention of indebtedness. In Cameroon, for example, by the time aid agencies started thinking about livelihoods many refugees had exhausted the assets they had brought with them, and the small-scale livelihoods support they received – which was not designed with their input – failed to create sustainable livelihoods opportunities.[26]

Similarly refuting current rhetoric, Field et al.'s work on refugee self-reliance in Delhi finds that rather than existing at the individual level, refugee self-reliance is achieved at the household and communal level, though this often remains unacknowledged by humanitarian actors.[27] A range of other work problematises the notion of self-reliance as individually and economically based and in so doing begins to reconceive understandings of appropriate support to foster it.[28]

[25] Barbelet and Wake (2017) Livelihoods in Displacement: From refugee perspectives to aid agency response. Humanitarian Policy Group Report, September. London: ODI.
[26] Ibid.: 23-24.
[27] Field, J., Tiwari, A., & Mookherjee, Y. (2017) Urban refugees in Delhi: identity, entitlements and well-being. IIED Working Paper, October. P. 54.
[28] Easton-Calabria, E. (ed.) (2017) Rethinking Refugee Self-Reliance: Moving beyond the marketplace. RSC Research in Brief, no. 7. Oxford: RSC.

While the accounts above provide detailed technical and critical analyses of refugees' economic lives both within and beyond camps, the historical evolution of approaches to foster refugee self-reliance is rarely broached. The emergency nature of many refugee crises has encouraged forward-thinking and contemporary research instead of in-depth archival analysis.[29] This has in turn obscured the reality of refugees' historic involvement in development as well as recognition of longer trends and changes in refugee assistance. In this way, the lack of history on refugee self-reliance assistance also reflects a larger lacuna in historical literature within Refugee Studies.[30]

Existing literature on refugee development assistance largely focuses only on the 1980s and beyond, such as work by political scientist Robert Gorman which provides an important intellectual history of refugees in development in this period, including analyses of international conferences.[31] In several pieces, Gorman discusses the challenges and possibilities of the International Conferences on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA I and II),[32] which sought to facilitate proposals to foster refugee self-reliance through

[29] Crisp, J. (2003) No Solution in Sight: The Problem of Protracted Refugee Situations in Africa, Center for Comparative Immigration Studies (CCIS) Working Paper No. 68. CCIS: San Diego. P. 223.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Chambers, R. (1982) 'Rural Refugees in Africa: Past Experiences, Future Pointers'. Disasters, 6(1): 21–30.; Cuenod, J. (1989) Refugees: Development or relief? In: Loescher, G. M. L. (ed.) Refugees and international relations. New York: Oxford University Press.; Gorman, R. (1986) Beyond ICARA II: Implementing Refugee-Related Development Assistance. *International Migration Review, 20*(2): 283-98.; Gorman, R. (1993) Refugee Aid and Development: Theory and Practice. Westport: Greenwood.; Gorman, R. (1994) Historical Dictionary of Refugee and Disaster Relief Organizations. London: Scarecrow Press.; Betts, A. (2004) International Cooperation and Targeting Development Assistance for Refugee Solutions, New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper No. 107. Geneva: UNHCR.; Betts, A. (2008) 'North–South Cooperation in the Refugee Regime: The Role of Linkages'. Global Governance 14(2): 157–178.; Betts, A. (2009) Development Assistance and Refugees: Towards a North–South Grand Bargain?. Oxford: Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford Department of International Development.
[32] Gorman, R. (1986) Beyond ICARA II: Implementing Refugee-Related Development Assistance. *International Migration Review, 20*(2), 283-98.; Gorman, R. (1987) Taking Stock of the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA II). *Journal of African Studies, 14*(1), 4-11.

increased development assistance to African host countries. He acknowledges that 'Third World development needs rarely excite the same level of attention as does humanitarian assistance' and so provides suggestions for improving the chances for development projects while simultaneously supporting refugee programmes to be funded and successfully implemented. His focus highlights ongoing challenges to project implementation such as inter-agency cooperation as well as the propensity for emergency needs to be funded instead of longer-term development projects. Through these discussions, he provides important insight into longstanding issues and the 'failures' of linking refugees and development assistance.[33]

With a similar focus on identifying policy and practical challenges and successes, a Refugee Policy Group report on older refugee settlements in Africa existing since the 1960s and 1970s examines the track record for attaining self-sufficiency, including operational problems in defining it and overall obstacles to attaining it.[34] By focusing mainly on the 30 settlements that had been declared self-sufficient in 1982, the report identifies both purported reasons for success, such as self-sufficiency only being reached once settlement population had declined, and ongoing barriers such as poor soil quality in settlement sites, harmful agricultural policies, and negative relations with host communities.[35] However, such information is rarely incorporated into current humanitarian and development discussions regarding refugee assistance, precluding

[33] Gorman, 'Beyond ICARA II', P. 295-6.
[34] RPG (Refugee Policy Group) (1985) Older Refugee Settlements in Africa: Final Report. Washington, DC: Refugee Policy Group.; The RPG was a think tank based in Washington, D.C., now no longer in existence.
[35] RPG, 'Older Refugee Settlements'.

learning from past assistance practices.

Historical reports often document older settlements and point out lessons for policy and practice, yet these and other contemporary scholarly literature tends to analyse events through practical rather than critical frameworks.[36] Such a lens elides analysis of why and for whom refugee self-reliance continues to be a theme in refugee assistance, and neglects the opportunities that historical and critical theory tools offer for the advancement of our understanding of refugee self-reliance in current rhetoric and practice. Ultimately, the critical history of refugee self-reliance assistance remains largely unexplored, meaning that little is known of how and with which results practices to foster refugee self-reliance have changed over time.

[36] Vernant, J. (1953) The Refugee in the Post-War World. London: G. Allen & Unwin.; Holborn, L.W. (1956) Refugees, a Problem of Our Time: The Work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1951–1972. London: Oxford University Press.; Marrus, M. (1985) The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century. Oxford: Oxford University Press.; Loescher, G. and Scanlan, J.A. (1986) Calculated Kindness: Refugees and America's Half-Open Door, 1945 to the Present. London: Collier Macmillan.; Loescher, G. (2001) The UNHCR and World Politics: A Perilous Path. New York: Oxford University Press.; Gatrell, P. (2005). *A whole empire walking [electronic resource: Refugees in Russia during World War I* (1st pbk. ed., Indiana-Michigan series in Russian and East European studies). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.; Gatrell, P. (2008). Refugees and forced migrants during the First World War. *Immigrants & Minorities*, *26*(1-2), 82-110.; LONG, K. (2009) 'Early Repatriation Policy: Russian Refugee Return 1922–1924'. Journal of Refugee Studies 22(1): 133–154.; Long, K. (2013) 'When Refugees Stopped Being Migrants: Movement, Labour and Humanitarian Protection'. Migration Studies 1(1): 4–26.; but see Orchard, P. (2014). A Right to Flee: Refugees, States, and the Construction of International Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Stein, B. (1981) Refugees and Economic Activities in Africa. Report prepared for: Office of Policy Development and Program Review, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination. Agency for International Development.

Questions

My overarching research question is:

How has the practice of refugee self-reliance assistance changed over time?

In this thesis I seek to examine the continuities and changes of refugee self-reliance assistance in the 20th and 21st century. To answer my main research question, I document the specific practices employed by the international humanitarian community to foster refugee self-reliance as well as the structures through which this assistance was provided. Examining practices such as agricultural settlement or micro-finance enables understanding of how these practices reflect or diverge from larger strategies of development and social welfare at different times. This in turn helps illuminate broader economic and social influences on assistance. Focusing on the structure of assistance – such as which actors mainly provided assistance and how refugees were involved in its provision – offers a means to explore the power relations of fostering self-reliance at micro, meso, and macro levels. However, I do not attempt to definitively answer this question, as my research is centred around just four case studies located in different eras and regions. While, as I go on to explain, I do attempt to capture a broad overview of trends and changes in practice, my results are necessarily confined to the cases I cover and any conclusions I draw are based only on the documentation I was able to gather, and thus are limited.

A critical examination of the dynamics of refugee self-reliance includes a focus on continuity – the consistent existence of a practice or structure over time, and change as the act or process of a practice or structure becoming different. While the terms to denote self-reliance, for example, may change, the means to foster it may remain consistent. Understanding how the practice of refugee self-reliance assistance has changed over time demonstrates its relationship to other factors such as world events, and economic and social trends. Viewing this assistance in relation to larger systems provides a means to interrogate the present rhetoric of universalism through which refugee self-reliance is described. It also helps explain why specific changes in assistance have occurred as well as identify undeviating pillars in the conceptualisation and practice of fostering refugee self-reliance.

I further divide my main question into three sub-questions aimed at addressing micro, meso, and macro levels of continuity and change in refugee self-reliance assistance:

How are practices of refugee self-reliance assistance related to wider historical eras?

This question aims to understand how 'micro' practices of refugee self-reliance assistance existing in the programmes I research are linked to macro-level economic, social, and political trends and events. Examining this assistance within broader contexts enables a deeper understanding of why and how dominant self-reliance trends and model programmes emerged. I am thus able to attribute both direct influence from these macro

phenomena as well as identify parallels in refugee self-reliance assistance and these wider trends.

Whose interests shape the practices of self-reliance assistance?

I seek to understand at a meso level how the interests of those involved in providing refugee self-reliance assistance – international institutions, host country governments, and donors – shaped which types of assistance were promoted at different points in time. However, identifying motivation is difficult to achieve. I attempt to capture interests through a broadly Marxist lens that examines 'who benefits?' from different programmes and projects targeting refugee self-reliance. Drawing on Marx's conceptualisation of surplus value, I employ the term 'instrumentalisation' to present benefits accrued by particular actors through the concept and outcomes of refugee self-reliance. Theoretically, I expand beyond Marx's examination of how the extraction of surplus value provides benefit to the capitalist by the worker, and instead examine both material and conceptual gains that refugee self-reliance offers a variety of actors beyond the private sector.

What are the outcomes of these practices on refugees?

Finally, I aim to examine the impact of these practices on refugees themselves, particularly in the form of self-reliance outcomes and the construction of refugees (i.e. as migrant workers, aid beneficiaries, and so on). This micro-level analysis leads me to

examine the particularities of the programmes comprising my case studies and as best as possible understand their results in relation to their supposed beneficiaries.

Main Arguments

Since World War II refugees have most commonly been considered as humanitarian subjects, with the dominant perception of them those of hungry people awaiting hand-outs in camps instead of productive employees or entrepreneurs.

This thesis presents a different story. In four empirical chapters spanning three regions of the world in the 20th and 21st century, I reveal how long-term refugee assistance has sought to foster the self-reliance of refugees (defined here as the ability to live independently from humanitarian assistance). This has largely occurred in the cases I cover through development projects targeting both refugees and locals, and even entire regions; in so doing, this assistance has largely treated refugees as workers in need of employment. This 'refugee self-reliance assistance', as I term it, has been a main feature of refugee assistance yet has been hitherto neglected in academic scholarship in Refugee Studies as well as International Development.

In each of my empirical chapters, I explain how refugee self-reliance has become an instrument that alternately serves and exemplifies changes in social, political, and economic structures. Indeed, the rhetoric surrounding refugee self-reliance also reveals main interests at different times – whether self-reliance is espoused as an economic imperative, a protection instrument, or a human right, for example, illustrates the nature

of these interests. The identification of these linkages has implications for understanding the conditions under which refugee self-reliance is 'fostered', for analysing the means through which it is intended to be attained, and its explicit and implicit outcomes. Based on the case studies examined here, refugee self-reliance is revealed not as an end in itself but instead as a malleable instrument to achieve other ends.

The three overarching arguments of my thesis are as follows. Firstly, I argue that fostering refugee self-reliance has been an ongoing aim of the international refugee regime; second, that efforts towards refugee self-reliance have mainly been sought after through the involvement of refugees in host country development projects, thereby demonstrating that refugees have always been development as well as humanitarian subjects. However, the development aims of many countries in the Global South are also driven by international (Western) development interests and economic trends, which refugee self-reliance assistance also becomes embedded within. Thirdly, I argue that refugee self-reliance has not always been attempted by non-refugee actors such as international humanitarian institutions solely for its own sake – instead, in cases outside interests have converged in order to influence the types and amount of self-reliance assistance offered to refugees (including whether it is offered at all). This convergence of interests around a particular aim (here, fostering refugee self-reliance) is often referred to as issue linkages;[37] however, drawing on Marxist conceptions of the extraction of surplus value, I discuss these ulterior motives as resulting in different types of economic (material) and non-economic (conceptual) instrumentalisation.

[37] Haas, E. B. (1980) Why collaborate? Issue-linkage and international regimes. *World Politics*, *32*(3), 357-405.

I answer my primary research questions through my four empirical chapters and then draw out the broader themes from this history in my discussion chapter. The three notable changes I discuss are as follows. First, refugee self-reliance assistance shifts in the cases covered here from occurring mainly through rural agricultural production to urban vocational training and entrepreneurship. This coincides with host countries' changing means of development as well as the rise of urbanisation and globalisation. Secondly, and relatedly, in the last century refugee self-reliance appears to have changed from constituting largely agricultural subsistence (and in some cases surplus) in rural areas to a waged-based market dependency in urban areas; since the 1980s refugees have increasingly been incorporated into the informal working urban poor. This has important implications for refugee protection. Thirdly, and more broadly, this history suggests that, as development has shifted from being considered an outcome created through state action to an outcome of market forces, refugee-serving agencies have shifted from working with the state to foster refugee self-reliance to supporting populations in its absence. They have thereby increased the emphasis on integrating refugees into economies as a means of assistance and in this way continue to be important arbiters in the relationship between refugees and work.

While it is impossible to draw causal conclusions without extensive process tracing and in-depth targeted research on the transfer of ideas and practices, I maintain the existence of dynamic interactions between sectors and 'scales' of societies, such as between welfare and refugee assistance, and international and local policies. In this study I have followed

textual and substantive signposts suggestive of relationships between different arenas, such as an emphasis on individualism in Western welfare assistance that arises in refugee assistance, as well. However, I consider the descriptive inferences I draw to constitute assertions of association but not causality; it is however my hope that future research may shed light on the type and depth of connections between refugee self-reliance assistance and wider political and social agendas.

Case Study Overview

To answer my research questions, I focus on a specific 'success story' of fostering refugee self-reliance in each chapter, which represents a main model of self-reliance assistance in a particular period. I identified these cases through preliminary archival and secondary research, and sought to create case studies on programmes presented as successful models by the institutions offering them and often in popular media such as newspapers and magazine articles. I focus on the years between 1919, when the League of Nations – the first international institution to address refugee affairs – was created, up to 2015, the first year of the implementation of UNHCR Global Strategy for Livelihoods and just prior to the onset of the so-called European refugee crisis.[38] Drawing on Marx's historical materialism expanded on below, I divide this history into four time periods based on economic, social, political, and refugee-specific events and trends that influenced the scope and aims of refugee self-reliance assistance. The history I present does not trace one country or case across time but instead captures cases of refugee self-reliance assistance in different countries based on content availability and the geographic

[38] I started my DPhil in 2015 and thus this history was brought up to the present at the time of commencement.

movement of the international refugee regime. Due to this decision, my ability to delve more deeply into 'micro-level' empirical material was limited. For example, I chose not to expand my focus on how specific employees of organisations or other actors influenced the thought and practice of refugee self-reliance assistance, which may have been possible had I restricted my topic to one particular case study or a diachronic focus of refugee self-reliance assistance in one country.[39]

My focus shifts from interwar and post-war Europe to early post-colonial East Africa, the Middle East, and contemporary East Africa. This choice of case selection enabled me to examine the level of continuity in the implementation of refugee self-reliance assistance across time and space, yet cannot be considered a complete global history of refugee self-reliance. Instead, through focusing on model assistance programmes and examining the wider trends and dominant thought on refugee self-reliance in different eras, I seek to capture the broad arc of changes and continuities in refugee self-reliance assistance throughout the history of the international refugee regime.

My eras of analysis are 1919-1945 (the interwar years, which involved Greek refugees in state formation and the reconstruction of national and international economies), 1945-1979 (the post-war period of African decolonisation, which embedded refugees in

[39] In examining the outside interests involving refugee self-reliance, I focus mainly on macro-level influences such as international and domestic policies; I very rarely deeply investigate the inner impetuses of organisations working with refugees directly. For example, while I at times evoke the funding constraints of international actors working with refugees, such as the League of Nations or the United Nations, I do not give due justice to the intricate processes of individual employees or organizational workings. This is due to a lack of time and space rather than a lack of interest; nonetheless, it is not my aim to provide a work of historical sociology. Instead, I seek to analyse the embeddedness of refugees within international development, and in so doing within the capitalist system itself. For this reason, my gaze points outwards at drivers and interests rather than inwards at organizational functioning.

Tanzania in the so-called ‘development project’ and national projects of self-reliance); 1979-1995 (the so-called ‘Second Cold War’ and post-Cold War era, in which Afghan refugees in Pakistan epitomised the geopolitical and economic instrumentalisation of refugee self-reliance); and 1999 to the present day (in which urbanisation and the rise of neoliberalism has drastically shifted the rhetoric and practice of refugee self-reliance to urban, market-based livelihoods trainings, as seen in Kampala, Uganda).[40]

Theory

I employ a Marxian approach to this thesis in both methodology and theory. I propose Marxism as an important and under-employed analytical tool for Refugee Studies that provides powerful theoretical concepts for examining inequality, labour, and drivers of refugee assistance within a capitalist system. Importantly, drawing on Marxism does not equate with subscribing to all Marxist ideologies or the solutions Marx offers; instead Marxist thought offer a means to elucidate the challenging relationship between refugees, refugee assistance, and the global economy. In this vein I do not strictly apply Marx’s understanding of these concepts to my research but also use them as analytical starting points and heuristics to more deeply engage with my empirical material in each chapter’s discussion.

Through a Marxian reading of history I seek to link refugee self-reliance assistance to

[40] While I review broad trends of self-reliance assistance in the 1990s in my fourth case study (thus closing the gap between case studies, as it were) I chose to end my third case study in 1995 due to the timing of a wave of mass Afghan repatriation from Pakistan, and begin my fourth case study with the advent of Uganda’s Self-Reliance Strategy.

material interests, outcomes, and changes in the spirit of historical materialism, Marx's theory of history.[41] Marx believed that human historical development is driven by the development of human productive power, evinced through the ways society is organised to produce services and goods, called the modes of production. The modes of production comprise the forces of production (human labour power and means of production, such as tools and technology) and the social relations of production (the power and control wielded between governments, social classes, and work relations).[42] Examining history through the prime role of these forces and relations in human development is known as historical materialism. I do not strictly examine changes in refugee assistance as outcomes of dominant modes of production but instead more broadly examine how efforts to foster refugee self-reliance seek to emplace refugees within systems of production and trends in economic and social thought, which change throughout the time period I study.

Theoretically, I develop a Marxian framework drawn from Marxist theories of welfare and centred on the concept of refugee self-reliance assistance as a form of 'international welfare'. As a form of welfare, this assistance upholds core functions of the modern capitalist state, notably processes of accumulation, reproduction, and legitimation/repression.[43] I posit that this assistance seeks to integrate refugees into the economic system of their host country, at times according to the needs of the international economy; this aim parallels a prime aim of domestic welfare systems to develop or employ

[41] Marx, K. (1859/2010) A contribution to the critique of political economy. In *Marx Today* (pp. 91-94). Palgrave Macmillan, New York. See the preface to the book for Marx's own definition.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Gough, I. (1980) Thatcherism and the welfare state: Britain is experiencing the most far-reaching experiment in 'new right' politics in the western world. Marxism Today, pp. 7- 12. P. 9. Note: Gough draws on James O'Connor's analysis of welfare and capitalism: O'Connor, J. (1973) The Fiscal Crisis of the State. New York: St. Martin's Press.

national workers according to domestic economic needs. As a result of this process, refugees become active or reserve members of the industrial army of labour, as which their surplus value is extracted. Expanding from traditional Marxist thought, I do not examine refugees' extraction of surplus value as simply an extraction of workers by capitalists but instead the accruing of both economic and non-economic (material and conceptual) gains to a suite of actors including international institutions, host country governments, and donors, as well as the private sector. Importantly, the provision of refugee self-reliance assistance, and thus the process outlined here, takes place within historical and geographical contexts that enable or constrain refugees' successful self-reliance.

Sources and Methods

I employ archival and ethnographic methods in this thesis. I view these as parallel methods of different time periods, in that each seeks illuminate both specific behavior and the broader context in which it takes place. This combination of methods is highly valuable in offering researchers the ability to examine objects of enquiry from both present and past perspectives and is increasingly used in fields such as anthropology.[44] My decision to undertake both historical and contemporary fieldwork arose out of my aim to write 'the history of the present'[45] in regards to efforts to foster refugee self-reliance I observed while living in Kampala, Uganda, in 2011 and in subsequent trips. While primarily historical (case studies 1-3), my thesis extends to 2015 through contemporary qualitative

[44] Merry, S. (2002) 'Ethnography in the Archives', in J. Starr & M. Goodale, eds. (2002) Practicing Ethnography in Law: New Dialogues, Enduring Methods. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.; Scheppele, K. L. (2004) Constitutional ethnography: an introduction. *Law & Society Review*, *38*(3), 389-406.
[45] Foucault, M. (1977) Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. New York: Pantheon. P. 31.

fieldwork (case study 4). This choice of case study also necessitated contemporary rather than historical methods, as many archives such as UNHCR's have a 20-year time limit on material, meaning that no documents produced prior to 1995 were available when I first began this thesis. The strengths and limitations of each of these methods are discussed in depth in my conclusion chapter.

The comparability of the case studies I selected is important to discuss, as each takes place not only in a different time period and geographic context, but with a different population. My aim was not to write a comprehensive history of refugee self-reliance assistance but instead to illuminate changes and continuities evident through dominant 'model' programmes of different eras and explore how these models related to wider contexts. I therefore selected cases based on what was discussed as successful by the main international institutions addressing refugee assistance in different time periods (primarily the League of Nations and UNHCR). For my first case study of ethnic Greek refugees in Greece, this entailed following the accepted contemporaneous definition of refugees rather than the 1951 definition, as today we would likely classify these people as forced migrants rather than Convention refugees. I justified this selection as the League of Nations and other institutions considered these to be refugees and later refugee assistance built upon these efforts.

Archival research

In my research I draw upon settlement and livelihood programmes and project reports of the League of Nations and UNHCR as key primary texts, due to these institutions' historical influence and prominence in refugee assistance. I also utilise private archives such as Oxford's T.F. Betts Collection, which holds not only primary documents such as journal articles and private letters but programme documents from other international institutions including the UN Development Programme (UNDP), Oxfam, and ILO. I furthermore draw upon historical secondary sources like books. I determined my archival sources based on their relevance to the programmes that each of my case studies is built around, and followed Garraghan et al.'s method of source criticism (source selection) to identify relevant primary sources for each of my case studies.[46]

The main archives I utilise are overviewed below based on the case study in which I utilised them. Documents in these archives provide specific information on the examined programmes as well as reveal dominant thought surrounding refugee assistance and development in different time periods.

Case Study 1:

League of Nations Archive (UN, Geneva)

[46] This method asks: *When* was the source, written or unwritten, produced (date)? *Where* was it produced (localization)? *By whom* was it produced (authorship)? *From what pre-existing material* was it produced (analysis)? *In what original form* was it produced (integrity)? *What is the evidential value* of its contents (credibility)? Source: Garraghan, G.; Delanglez, J., & Appel, L. (1946) A guide to historical method. New York: Fordham University. P. 262.

International Labour Organization Archive (Geneva)

Ruth A. Palmeree Private Papers (Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University)

Brainerd P. Salmon Private Papers (Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University)

Case Study 2:

UNHCR Archives (Geneva)

T.F. Betts Collection (RSC, University of Oxford)

Neldner Collection (RSC, University of Oxford)

Brainerd P. Salmon Private Papers (Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University)

Case Study 3:

UNHCR Archives (Geneva)

T.F. Betts Collection (RSC, University of Oxford)

RSC Grey Literature Collection (RSC, University of Oxford)

P. and M. Centlivres Afghanistan Collection (Geneva Institute)

Digital archive of the Afghanistan Center at Kabul University

Case Study 4:

UNHCR Policy Documents (contemporary, digitally accessed)

Primary qualitative research (methods expanded on below)

For my archival case studies (1-3) I conducted research in both institutional and personal archives to capture 'macro', 'meso', and 'micro' perspectives on refugee self-reliance

assistance. Focusing on these different levels of analysis in data collection offered the ability to compare and contrast findings (e.g. differences between official rhetoric and the reality as reported in private letters), analyse the relationship between them (e.g. did changes in macro refugee policy lead to local changes?) as well as construct a fuller picture of refugee self-reliance assistance at particular times. I selected archives based on the relevance of the material they offered and in the cases of private collections their relevance and lack of previous use in research on refugees.

Macro perspectives included institutional documents from the League of Nations, UNHCR, and ILO that related to broader policy stances or decision-making around assistance provision. Meso perspectives focused on specific programmes led by particular institutions, such as the reports by the Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service in my second case study (found in the T.F. Betts and RSC Grey Literature Collections). Micro perspectives were captured through more personal writing in the form of letters, journal entries, editorials, and notes by people working with refugees (and occasionally by refugees themselves), which revealed not only personal opinions on refugee self-reliance assistance but granular details such as refugee responses to particular incidents not captured in official texts. In my fourth contemporary case study, I sought to discern similar levels of perspective through researching contemporary UNHCR documents relating to livelihoods and self-reliance (macro) and settlement and urban reports on refugee assistance (meso). I also conducted interviews with employees of national and international refugee-serving organisations and with refugees as well as undertook non-

participant observation of livelihoods training to better understand micro situations of fostering refugee self-reliance.

I analyse primary documents in the spirit of Marxist Criticism. As a theoretical tool of analysis most commonly applied to literature, Marxist Criticism analyses literature in light of the historical conditions that created it.[47] While there is not one established approach of Marxist literary criticism, there are, as Szeman states, 'taxonomies of Marxist approaches'.[48] I undertook analysis based on several main foci of Marxist Criticism as drawn from literary theorist Terry Eagleton.[49] While Eagleton places great emphasis on identifying the role of ideology and revolution in texts through Marxist Criticism, I confine my analysis to a more practical as well as material focus. In particular I draw on his focus on analysing texts' content and form as well as examining what he terms the 'unity' between a text and the social relations and productive forces it describes (such as analysing how these latter factors influence the content and form of the text in question). This dialectical enquiry in turn represents an effort to better understand the conditions within which particular texts arose.

[47] In this way, it reflects the core tenets of historical materialism and resides upon three main claims: first, that the social relations, institutions, and main ways of thinking in a society depend in large part on the dominant mode of production; second, changes in the dominant mode of production result in class changes, namely new dominant and subordinate classes; and, third, ideology constitutes human awareness and consciousness, and the dominant ideology perpetuates and legitimises the interests of the dominant class. Drawn from: Abrams, M.H. (1999) Marxist Criticism. *A Glossary of Literary Terms*. 7th ed. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers. Pp. 147-148.

[48] Szeman, I. (2009). Marxist literary criticism, then and now. *Mediations*, *24*(2), 36-47.

[49] See Eagleton, T. (1976/2002) *Marxism and literary criticism*. London: Routledge.; Eagleton, T. (2006) *Criticism and ideology: A study in Marxist literary theory*. London: Verso.

As a method often utilised to analyse novels, Marxist Criticism can be creatively adapted to provide a means to analyse historical reports and other archival material; a literary focus on the meaning and style of fiction, for example, can be applied to the style and content of project reports, such as how refugees are discussed within them. As Eagleton writes, Marxist criticism's 'aim is to *explain* the literary work more fully; and this means a sensitive attention to its forms, styles, and meanings. But it also means grasping those forms, styles and meanings as the products of a particular history'.[50]

In particular, I view the goal of Marxist Criticism as not to simply reduce a text to a display of capitalism, but instead to 'take into account a whole series of "levels" which "mediate" between the text itself and capitalist economy'.[51] I use this method of analysis to better understand how the institutional texts and the refugee assistance described in them (their structure as well as the practices themselves) relate to economic events, trends, and thought throughout the history I examine. This, in turn, helps me understand why and how main forms of refugee self-reliance assistance emerged in different periods.

The different content and form of archival documents can also reveal important information about different eras; for example, in shifting syntax (e.g. if refugees are discussed as individuals or in the aggregate) and main subjects of assistance programmes (e.g. gender or nationality), or the changing structure of project reports and news bulletins. The focus on economic forecasting and planning in the post-war era of the 'development project', for example, provides information on the values of dominant societies emerging

[50] Eagleton, T. (1976/2002) *Marxism and literary criticism*. London: Routledge. P.3.
[51] Eagleton, *Marxism and literary criticism*, P. 14.

out of the social and economic upheaval of two World Wars and the Great Depression. This form of analysis is important for, as Eagleton asserts, 'The languages and devices a writer finds at hand are already saturated with certain ideological modes of perception, certain codified ways of interpreting reality…'[52] Analysing both the content and form of documents in different periods, such as how refugees and host populations are discussed – through columns of statistics or particular adjectives, for example – sheds light on the dominant ideas of refugee assistance, as well as the potential aims of development projects.

However, just as the literary content and form of a text must be analysed, so must the subjects not present in the text at all: an important aspect of literary criticism is its focus on silences and gaps.[53] Indeed, in archival research in particular, this necessitates moving beyond analysis of the text to examining and analysing gaps in archival collections. Derrida reminds us of the 'violence of the archive itself', where the inclusion of texts also signifies the exclusion of others,[54] and the voices we read also reflect all those we do not. In the context of analysing the written language of elites, such as UN settlement reports and official documents relating to refugees, methods for drawing out the subaltern voices of the refugees whom such reports depicted and impacted are necessary. This can occur through examining the subtext of refugees' interests and positions, such as refugees' tacit desire for freedom of movement in reports that dictated the forced encampment of

[52] Ibid. P. 25.
[53] Strange, J. (2011) Reading Language as a Historical Source. Chapter 10. In: Gunn, S., and Faire, L., (eds.) (2011) Research Methods for the Arts and the Humanities: Research Methods for History. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. P. 167.
[54] Derrida, J. (1996) Archive Fever: a Freudian Impression. Trans. Eric Prenowitz Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 1-2, 11-12.

refugees who had 'self-settled' in East Africa in the 1970s.[55] Theoretical concepts and frameworks concerning power and oppression, expanded on below, are also useful tools for accounting for silences and gaps in texts and archives, as well as provide a means to critique the common dearth of diverse voices in official texts, historical and otherwise.

Fieldwork Methods

Chapter 4 is based on fieldwork examining urban livelihoods trainings for refugees in Kampala, Uganda, undertaken over three months between April and June 2015.[56] The study is mainly qualitative and includes interviews with 119 refugees and 12 staff members from 8 different organisations serving refugees in Kampala. This case study approaches my subject matter from a much more micro approach than my historical case studies and in this way illustrates the extent to which dominant discourses on self-reliance and development are enacted in as well as shaped by local contexts.

This contemporary research enables a direct comparison and contrast of current practice with the historical approaches I discuss in my other case studies, and thus supports me in answering my main research question. Through a contemporary case study I come 'full circle' with the literature and rhetoric I review earlier in this introduction, and thus am also better situated to address the critique of current discussions on refugee self-reliance.

[55] IORD (International Organisation For Rural Development) (1971) International Organisation for Rural Development: Annual Report 1970. March, Brussels, Betts Collections: Background, Box 13: 37.
[56] Note: Ethical review was undertaken by the National Geographic Society as part of the grant review process and approval for the grant was given based on meeting all criteria, including ethical considerations. Ethical permission was granted by the University of Oxford on 5.4.2019 after submission of a CUREC 2 form to the International Development Research Ethics Committee and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Committee.

In so doing, I address my sub-question of 'How are practices of refugee self-reliance assistance related to wider historical eras?' through emplacing my case study within the economic, political, and social phenomena of the contemporary era. It is also in this fourth case study that I more clearly answer my last sub-question, 'What are the outcomes of these practices on refugees?'. In contrast to the archival limitations I faced of a general lack of refugee perspectives in documents, I was able to interview refugees for this case study and directly ask them about their experience in self-reliance programmes as well as their outcomes after trainings. Through a contemporary research approach I seek to rectify in some way the top-down nature of my other case studies, though as I reflect on in the methodology chapter, I am not fully successful in doing so.

The research employed a mixed-methods approach consisting of semi-structured in-depth interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs), basic demographics interviews, and non-participant observation. Livelihoods trainings at four organisations were observed, and individual refugees were 'followed' in the process of their livelihoods creation, from participating in trainings to opening their own businesses. While qualitative methods can enable in-depth understanding of topics from the perspective of informants, they of course raise the issue of subjectivity.[57] To this end I triangulated different qualitative methods and sought to identify informants undertaking a range of livelihoods trainings. My methods included:

[57] Hennink, M., Hutter, I., & Bailey, A. (2010) *Qualitative research methods*. London: Sage. P. 10.

FGDs comprised of members of specific livelihoods trainings (such as tailors), as well as FGDs with refugees with different livelihoods (e.g. FGDs included tailors, artists, and hairdressers). The former facilitated in-depth discussions of unique challenges and opportunities within different sectors, while the latter provided the opportunity to corroborate common elements of trainings and livelihoods challenges and successes across different sectors.

Semi-structured interviews with INGOs, NGOs, and refugee-run organisations offering livelihoods trainings, to learn of similarities and differences potentially attributable to an organisation's size, structure, and composition.

Non-participant observation of livelihoods trainings and small enterprises at refugee-led organisations and INGOs in order to compare and contrast the structure and content of trainings offered by different actors.

For semi-structured interviews, I received oral consent after describing the project and research based on the oral consent giving script. Informants were recruited following a snowballing sampling method, whereby refugees were asked for contacts with particular livelihoods or contacts who had taken part in specific livelihoods trainings. Refugees generally called or texted their contacts to see if they were interested in taking part, although at times I also texted people directly to introduce myself. All interview informants who agreed to be interviewed were provided the full project information and ethical consent in person (i.e. this never happened over text or phone).

I undertook non-participant observation of livelihoods trainings at four organisations: the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS), the Bondeko Refugee Livelihoods Centre, Finnish Refugee Council (FRC), and Hope of Children and Women Victims of Violence (HOCW). To access these organisations, I applied at the Office of the Prime Minister in Kampala, the main legal entity working with refugees, for research approval. Once I received this permission, I scheduled a meeting with the head of each organisation and explained my work and my project and to ask for permission to observe. They then suggested livelihoods trainings for me to observe. Next, I met with each livelihoods training teacher to explain my project and my intention with observing, providing the same information as I provided interview informants. If they agreed for me to observe their classes, we agreed upon a day for me to visit and they agreed to tell the class ahead of time about my presence so that anyone who felt uncomfortable could voice their concerns ahead of time. On my first day of observing a training, I introduced myself and the project to the group, and followed the oral consent giving process. In addition to asking for consent, I explained that anyone who felt uncomfortable but didn't want to declare this publicly could speak to the teacher privately, who would then let me know. I received consent for all of my observations. I generally sat at the back or on the side of a classroom and made myself as unobtrusive as possible. I followed one livelihoods training from each organisation for one day a week for either the training duration or the 2.5 months that remained in Kampala after I had received research clearance from the Office of the Prime Minister.

In the second month of research (approximately week 5) I learned that two organisations in Kampala provide counselling and therapy groups to traumatized refugees (JRS and African Center for Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture Victims). After this time, I included this information at the end of interviews as resources that people could access if they were disturbed by memories arising during the interview or in general.

In contrast to the more distant emotional undertaking of archival research, I conducted fieldwork in Kampala with many informants whom I had known for over five years since I had first lived in Uganda. Indeed, my interest in refugee self-reliance and livelihoods was sparked through my community work with grassroots organisations led by refugees, which I had sought to support in a volunteer capacity. Returning to Kampala as a researcher for the first time thus posed both ethical and practical challenges as I sought to navigate my role as a recorder of information rather than an implementer of programmes.

Work reflecting on qualitative research with vulnerable populations holds varying perspectives on researchers' roles as activists, with some researchers finding such work unethical and at odds with 'objective' research[58] and others finding ethical and moral responsibility in moving beyond their stance as observers. Scheper-Hughes writes for example of her 'transformation from "objective" anthropologist to politically and morally engaged *companheira* [companion]' in Brazil as arising from the demands of her research subjects, who had known her in her previous activist capacity in the region. While initially torn in whether to engage in both research and political activism, she found her research

[58] Hastrup, K. and P. Elsass. (1990) Anthropological Advocacy: A Contradiction in Terms?. Current Anthropology, 31(3): 301-311.

perspective enriched through accompanying her subjects in political endeavours, and ultimately was led to ask: 'What makes anthropology and anthropologists exempt from the human responsibility to take an ethical (and even a political) stand on the working out of historical events as we are privileged to witness them?'[59]

In my fieldwork, I came to a similar conclusion that my community work with refugees could not be divorced from my research with them, but that boundaries around when I was acting from different roles needed to be clearly defined. Therefore, meetings with refugee-led organisations in a programmatic capacity took place on Saturdays, while interviews as a researcher were conducted during the week. While in some ways an artificial divide, this division allowed me to fully embrace collecting data without feeling frustrated at my inability to act on some of the practical solutions I felt able to support. As an example, a FGD with a group of refugees making jewelry and handbags highlighted their lack of access to local markets in Kampala. A few days later, I met the owner of a hostel who was open to the idea of selling goods made by refugees at her hostel as well as having refugees lead bead-making workshops for tourists. I was able to facilitate this connection in hopes that the particular group of refugees I spoke with could utilise this venue for selling their wares. However, while I continued my ongoing community work with the refugee-led organisation I had worked with since 2010, instances such as this, in which I forged new connections with refugees in a 'community worker' capacity, were rare. Instead, it was ethically important for me to stress to each informant I interviewed that their participation in my research would likely not have a direct positive effect on

[59] Scheper-Hughes, N. (1995) The Primacy of the Ethical: Propositions for a Militant Anthropology. Current Anthropology, 36(3): 409-440. P. 411.

them, but would hopefully contribute at a broader level to awareness of the state of refugee self-reliance in Kampala. In this way I felt able to navigate my ethical obligations as a researcher without foregoing my personal responsibility to continue to engage with refugee community work.

Contribution to Knowledge

My thesis aims to chronicle refugee self-reliance assistance throughout the history of the international refugee regime. In so doing, I provide three main contributions to knowledge. The first is a history of development assistance for refugees, as current literature on this topic rarely precedes the 1980s, meaning that refugees' historical involvement in development has not been explicated. Through this history I aim to provide empirical evidence to counter the longstanding perception that refugees' greatest needs lie in humanitarian rather than developmental support. Secondly, I draw on Marxist thought to write a history of refugees as *workers*, and examine how refugees' economic participation is enabled through self-reliance assistance – itself shaped by and fulfilling functions of welfare assistance. Theoretically I advance the concept of refugee self-reliance assistance as a form of 'international welfare', and in so doing document how engagement with international assistance has always included efforts to manage refugee participation in markets. This contributes towards a small body of literature that treats refugees not as humanitarian but as economic subjects.[60] Lastly, I explore the ways in which refugee self-reliance assistance has been intimately bound with larger economic,

[60] Rolfe, C. and Harper, M. (1987) Refugee Enterprise: it can be done. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.; Jacobsen, 'The Economic Lives of Refugees'; Betts et al., 'Refugee Economies'.

social, and political trends and events, demonstrating that refugee self-reliance is a dynamic concept that reveals power relations and predominant modes of thoughts at different points in time. In so doing I contribute a critical perspective on refugee self-reliance to a field that has largely treated the concept as technical and ahistorical.[61]

As Nigerian author Emman Ikoku once wrote, '[S]elf-reliance is the oldest idea. It is the story of normal human existence.'[62] Examining this story more closely, and in particular the intent and result of the 'idea' of refugee self-reliance assistance enables an understanding of refugees' implicit and explicit links to the modern capitalist economic system, where both economic thought and events such as recessions play a role in shaping refugee development assistance. A main aim of this project is to increase understanding of refugees' self-reliance and the history of assistance that has both promoted and stifled it. The ability to become self-reliant in even the most disadvantaged of circumstances is worthy of respect and illumination. Understanding which forms of assistance support or hinder these endeavours – and how and why these practices arose – is worthy of the same.

Thesis Structure

The following chapter of this thesis (Chapter 2) situates this work alongside existing work focused on development employing critical theory in Refugee and Forced Migration

[61] IFAD (International Fund for Agricultural Development) (1987) *International consultation on strengthening national agricultural research systems: Wheat and rice research and training*. 26-28 January. Rome: International Fund for Agricultural Development.; UNHCR (2005a) Handbook for Implementing and Planning: Development Assistance for Refugees (DAR) Programmes. Geneva: UNHCR. Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/44c484902.pdf.; WRC, 'Building Livelihoods'.
[62] Ikoku, E. (1980) 'Self-Reliance: Africa's Survival'. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.

Studies and Development Studies, and establishes my theoretical framework. In particular I elucidate the value of Marxian methodologies and concepts for Refugee Studies and expound on the particular concepts I employ in this thesis. In Chapter 3 I present my methodology and expand on my research process.

In Chapter 4 I introduce my first empirical case study of ethnic Greek refugees in Greece in the 1920s. This chapter presents the first international response to refugees led by the League of Nations and highlights the dominant self-reliance assistance practices undertaken at the time by the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, created to assist the 1.5 million ethnic Greek refugees from Asia Minor forced to relocate to Greece between 1922-1924. The population exchange signifies the upholding of the post-World War I new 'world order', the creation of nation-states after the collapse and break-up of multi-ethnic European empires, and a corresponding attempt to return to the successful international economy of the pre-World War I world. In this way, this case study highlights the primacy of states at this point of time and examines the ways refugee development assistance explicitly targeted state needs (in this case, Greece's) through the dominant force of production – agriculture. The population exchanges of the interwar years, of which the Greek-Turkish exchange was only one, and the focus on returning displaced people to their countries in order to 'reconstruct' economies and 'restore' peace demonstrates an economic motive of instrumentalising refugees for both peace and labour through development.

My second empirical chapter (Chapter 5) examines the nature of refugee development

assistance within the post-war ‘development project’ in post-colonial Tanzania following the wars of decolonisation in the 1960s. I link the promotion of many East African refugee self-reliance settlements through mono-crop cultivation for national exportation to wider development policies at the time, which focused on domestic production and international economic participation as a means to achieve mass well-being. Refugees’ extraction of economic surplus value therefore came in the form of growing cash crops intended to be for both subsistence and export. In so doing, conceptual surplus value was also extracted, as refugees contributed to the so-called ‘development project’ through participating in development programmes premised on modernization. Through detailing how self-reliance assistance contributed to this extraction of surplus value, I demonstrate the ulterior aims of this assistance as related to the international economy and refugees’ role as labourers according to exogeneously determined dictates.

In Chapter 6 I shift focus to Afghan refugees in Pakistan between 1979 and 1995 and examine UNHCR’s largest operation in the 1980s, which was largely focused on self-reliance and livelihoods. I posit that in this period, refugees’ extraction of surplus value was both material and conceptual. Contributing (at least in theory) to host country development, refugees served as ‘development pawns’ for host and donor countries alike, as host countries sought to receive more development and aid funding due to hosting refugees, and donor countries utilized funding for refugees as a means to fight Communism and incentivize the restructuring of Southern economies. I present three phases of self-reliance assistance for Afghan refugees, which correspond to shifts in broader economic trends from Keynesian economics to neoliberalism. The practice of

self-reliance assistance promoted large-scale employment, individual income-generation, and ultimately acted as a protective mechanism for vulnerable populations unable to succeed in the market-based economy. These stages of self-reliance assistance encompass periods of humanitarian focus on so-called 'refugee dependency syndrome' and self-reliance as psycho-social support, holding parallels to the practice and discourse of contemporaneous Anglophone Western welfare systems. This chapter demonstrates the dynamism of self-reliance as both a concept and a practice.

Chapter 7, my final empirical chapter, brings the history of refugee self-reliance assistance up to the present through a case study of urban refugee livelihoods trainings in Kampala, Uganda. In this chapter I undertake qualitative research using ethnographic methods to explore how the contemporary global discourse of refugee self-reliance is transposed on to a local context. I research livelihoods trainings offered by national and international organisations, and interview and 'follow' refugee informants through their post-training livelihoods creation; in so doing I seek to understand the impact of trainings on refugee self-reliance as well as the local constraints refugees face in achieving self-reliance in Kampala. This chapter also focuses on the impact of neoliberal tenets on contemporary refugee assistance as well as the impact of urbanization and informalisation. As a concluding chapter to the history I present in previous chapters, this chapter comes full circle with the rhetoric that this introduction opened with, thus illustrating how the discourse of refugee self-reliance assistance has long roots and holds pliable definitions in different eras.

I conclude this thesis in Chapter 8 with a broader overview of this history, returning to my main research question of the continuities and changes present in refugee self-reliance assistance over time. I present the academic contributions of this project, notably its empirical contribution to Refugee Studies and Development Studies as well as its theoretical contribution. I also review methodological limitations in both archival and ethnographic methods. I discuss practical and policy implications, such as the ability to alter the current ahistorical approach of refugee self-reliance programming and the value of refugee participation in practice. I conclude with future directions for this research, discussing projects that archival research presented that could be followed up on and practical changes to be implemented in order to make refugee self-reliance a reality, rather than an elusive objective for refugees and practitioners alike.

Chapter 2.
Theoretical Contributions and Framework

‘*Their labour is often all that refugees have to sell…*’

(Robert Chambers 1979, Rural Refugees: What the Eye Does Not See)

Introduction

In the early 1980s political scientist Robert Cox famously discussed the useful distinction between problem-solving and critical theory.[63] Problem-solving theory views the world in its current structure, focusing on solving the issues present within it without questioning the social and power relationships or systems they exist within.[64] Critical theory, on the other hand, ‘is directed towards an appraisal of the very framework for action, or problematic, which problem-solving theory accepts as its parameters.’[65] Placing Refugee Studies and refugee-related Development Studies literature within either problem-solving or critical theory paradigms demonstrates the existing gap in explicit theoretical examination of refugee self-reliance.

[63] Cox, R. (1981) ‘Social forces, states and world orders: Beyond international relations theory’. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 10: 126-155.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid. P. 88.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the majority of literature on refugee self-reliance is technocratic and policy-oriented.[66] Existing critical engagement often focuses on refugee self-reliance programmes in practice[67] and tends to be implicitly liberal, presenting refugee self-reliance and livelihoods creation as development 'solutions' upholding refugees' human dignity and respecting their right to work.[68] While a small body of literature on refugee self-reliance has cited a 'disconnect' between benefactors and beneficiaries, and stated and intended aims and outcomes,[69] many of these studies nonetheless fall within a problem-solving theory paradigm. Similarly scarce in discussions on refugee self-reliance are critical examinations of its politico-economic history and its relationship to larger structures such as economic systems. This obscures linkages between Western domestic social and economic norms and international development policy, reflected in turn in changing refugee assistance policies, programming, and terminology.

This thesis utilises critical rather than problem-solving theory and seeks to contribute to Refugee Studies through a theoretical framework comprising Marxist concepts and drawing on applied Marxist theories in critical welfare studies. In the following sections,

[66] IFAD (1987) *International consultation on strengthening national agricultural research systems: Wheat and rice research and training*. 26-28 January. Rome: International Fund for Agricultural Development.; Gorman, R. (1993) *Refugee aid and development: theory and practice.* Westport: Greenwood.; Jacobsen, K. (2005) *The economic life of refugees.* Bloomfield: Kumarian Press, Inc.
[67] Daley, P. (1989) Refugees and Underdevelopment in Africa: The case of Barundi refugees in Tanzania. Thesis (DPhil), Oxford: University of Oxford. P. 133.; Meyer, S. (2006) *The "Refugee Aid and Development" Approach in Uganda: Empowerment and Self-reliance of Refugees in Practice*. UNHCR Working Paper Series, no. 131. Geneva: UNHCR.
[68] See for example: UNHCR (2005a) Handbook for Implementing and Planning: Development Assistance for Refugees (DAR) Programmes. Geneva: UNHCR. Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/44c484902.pdf.
[69] Kaiser, T. (2006) 'Between a Camp and a Hard Place: Rights, Livelihood and Experiences of the Local Settlement System for Long-Term Refugees in Uganda'. Journal of Modern African Studies 44(4): 597–621.; Meyer, 'The "Refugee Aid and Development" Approach'; As overviewed in the introduction, Omata's (2017) work is an important critical exception to this trend.

I review the broader literature on refugees and economic systems and relevant theoretical work in Refugee Studies and Development Studies in order to position the thesis within a gap in critical theoretical and historical studies on refugees as economic actors. Then I discuss relevant theoretical contributions in Development Studies and the value of their application in Refugee Studies. This leads to a discussion of the value of a Marxian critical theoretical approach, and a brief review of the spectrum of Marxist thought and where this thesis fits on it. The second half of this chapter focuses on the theoretical framework employed in this thesis, namely the concept of 'international welfare' created through applying Marxist theories of welfare to refugee self-reliance assistance; an examination of refugees as an 'industrial reserve army of labour'; and how, based on refugees' role as armies of labour, their surplus value has been extracted in various ways. Although at points in the thesis I explicate the specific material and conceptual surplus value that refugees offer, more often I present these as the 'instrumentalisation' of refugees, referring to the gains other actors receive based on refugees' labour or construction as workers. The final section of this chapter summarises the theoretical application to come in the following empirical chapters.

The Need for a Critical and Marxist Approach in Refugee Studies

While Refugee Studies scholars have engaged with many of the underlying concepts in Development Studies, the discipline has largely ignored Development Studies tools of critical analysis, despite widespread postulations of the salience of development as a tool for refugees. Much of the literature on refugee self-reliance and livelihoods involves explicit or implicit discussions of development. Yet the modern boom in literature on

refugees and development lacks critical theoretical engagement with refugees' relation to systemic causes of 'underdevelopment', dominant actors' aims in involving refugees in development, and even critical discussion of development terms, including 'self-reliance' and 'development' itself. Within Development Studies, however, these issues are well-theorised and have been examined both historically[70] and in contemporary settings.[71]

The relevance of themes of power, inequality, and economic interests for refugees in a development context suggests many unexplored parallels between Refugee Studies and Development Studies. Indeed, examining the relationship between refugees and development necessitates extending analyses of power beyond just refugees and assistance agents, and instead encompassing national development goals in host countries, Western influences in setting development agendas and terms, and the ultimate aims of development. All of these issues are connected to capital on national and global levels, which refugees become inherently entwined with as soon as assistance aims include 'putting refugees on the development agenda'.[72]

I posit that many critical theories that constitute the backbone of Development Studies stem from a rich Marxist tradition that Refugee Studies has rarely explored. Two of the

[70] Frank, A.G. (1966) The Development of Underdevelopment. Boston: New England Free Press.; Laclau 1971; Bauer 1973; Wallerstein 1974; Arrighi 1971, 1978;

[71] Escobar, A. (1995) *Encountering development: The making and unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton studies in culture/power/history). Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.; Cowen, M., & Shenton, R. (1996). *Doctrines of development*. London; New York: Routledge; Sachs, W. (Ed.). (1997) *Development dictionary, The: A guide to knowledge as power*. Orient Blackswan.

[72] UNHCR (2005b) Putting Refugees on the Development Agenda: how refugees and returnees can contribute to achieving the Millennium Development Goals. High Commissioner's Forum. FORUM/2005/4. 18 May.

most historically paramount theories are dependency[73] and world systems theory.[74] These theories seek to explain macro global inequality and the often exploitative relationship between rich and poor nation-states while also accounting for specific national processes. Importantly, these theories also emphasise understanding historical change in order to explain the modern world system. Although the terms used to describe global inequality have changed since the 1960s and 1970s, variants of these theories are still applied to examine the contemporary world order. World systems theory in particular has been updated to better account for contemporary globalisation,[75] though criticisms of it remain.[76]

In addition to providing a means to analyse linkages between macro and micro phenomena, critical development theory also offers Refugee Studies the opportunity to consider central development topics from a historical perspective. This is crucially needed, as literature on development assistance for refugees rarely precedes the 1980s, meaning that refugees' historical involvement in development has not been explicated, nor have critical historical methods been applied to trace the evolution and contemporary manifestation of refugee development assistance. Regarding critical theory in

[73] Baran, P., & Sweezy, P. (1966) Monopoly capitalism. *An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order*.; Frank, 'The Development of Underdevelopment'.; Amin, S. (1972) Underdevelopment and dependence in Black Africa—origins and contemporary forms. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, *10*(4), 503-524.; Amin, S. (1976). Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism, translated by Brian Pearce. *NY: Monthly Review Press.*
[74] Wallerstein, I. (1974) Dependence in an interdependent world: the limited possibilities of transformation within the capitalist world economy. *African Studies Review*, *17*(1), 1-26.; Gereffi, G. (1989) Rethinking Development Theory: Insights from East Asia and Latin America. *Sociological Forum,* 4(4): 505-533.; Evans, P. (1995) Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
[75] Wallerstein, I. M. (2004). *World-systems analysis: An introduction*. Durham: Duke University Press.
[76] Shannon, T. R. (2018). *An introduction to the world-system perspective*. London: Routledge. Pp. 155-184.

Development Studies, Schuurman states that, among other characteristics, it ‘attempts *to uncover historic processes* which link the various elements of a particular social reality without falling into the trap of reductionism…’ [emphasis in text][77] He goes on to characterize critical development research as:

> 1) an object of research which concerns the lack of emancipation of large groups of people, the structural causes thereof and attempts to do something about it; 2) an explanatory framework using the inner (but globalising) logic of the capitalist system in terms of production, market and consumption; and 3) challenging accepted ideas, ideologies and policies (…the ‘subversive’ side of critical theory).[78]

The second and third characteristics of his description in particular, and the structural analysis it advocates, provides opportunities for critical development theory to contribute to Refugee Studies.

The creation of refugees as well as responses to them do not occur within the boundary of a single state; understandings of refugee issues must therefore come from an understanding of larger global systems, including the expansion and shifting forms of capitalism across the world.[79] Critical development theory provides one such means to examine refugee issues, including their creation, not only from the framework of the nation-state, as is commonly the case, but from that of the capitalist system. Such a perspective offers new angles for analysis that can transcend borders and nationalities and instead delve into systemic issues related to capital at a variety of scales, including but in no way limited to local and global class systems and the transnational money flows of the

[77] Schuurman, F. J. (2009) Critical Development Theory: moving out of the twilight zone. *Third world quarterly*, *30*(5), 831-848. P. 836.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Daley, P. (1989) Refugees and Underdevelopment in Africa: The case of Barundi refugees in Tanzania. Thesis (DPhil), Oxford: University of Oxford. P. 133. P. 2.

so-called industrial humanitarian complex. In this thesis, I address refugee self-reliance assistance as existing within the framework of the global capitalist system, and also as influencing refugee's engagement with it. I seek to identify and explain ways that this enduring assistance focus is in fact linked to different capitalist impulses at the national and international level at different times. Secondly, I also challenge the generally accepted concept of refugee self-reliance, and seek to both explore and problematize it throughout this study, thereby fulfilling the 'subversive' side of critical theory.

Marxist Theoretical Approaches

Explicit theoretical engagement with Marx is notably missing in Refugee Studies, reflecting the larger lack of critical theory in the discipline mentioned above.[80] While theoretical work is present in areas such as international relations[81] and refugee integration,[82] Refugee Studies still lacks theory regarding linkages between refugees and development, including their self-reliance, integration in host countries in the Global South, and economic participation. Much of the theorizing that has taken place is implicitly rather than explicitly presented, offering only underlying frameworks for examining refugees' economic lives and thus circumventing opportunities to do so with a 'structured and dynamic view of larger wholes'.[83]

[80] Black, R. (2001) Fifty years of refugee studies: From theory to policy. *International Migration Review*, *35*(1): 57-78. P. 71.
[81] Betts, A. (2009) *Development assistance and refugees: Towards a north-south grand bargain?*, Oxford: Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford Department of International Development.
[82] E.g. Ager, A. and Strang, A. (2008) 'Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework', *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 21(2): 166-191.
[83] Cox, 'Social forces, states and world orders'. P. 126.

Drawing on Marxist concepts as employed within critical development theory, what I term a Marxian critical theoretical approach, provides a means to examine the wider context refugee self-reliance assistance was borne out of and exists within, as well as interrogate its historic and current usage. A Marxian critical theoretical approach offers an alternative to the liberal approach of reading self-reliance, placing an emphasis not on *how* refugee self-reliance can be achieved within social and economic structures but on interrogating the larger structures it is promoted within, *why* it continues to be promoted at all, and for whom and for which ultimate ends – in essence a framework through which to examine the integration of refugees into the international global economy and self-reliance as part of a wider set of ideals and practices linked to capitalism.

Over the years a broad spectrum of Marxist applications have emerged, ranging from the material to the ideational. The classical Marxist tradition refers to the theories advanced by Marx and Engels rather than later iterations of Marxism, and includes core concepts such as reserve army of labour, exploitation, and alienation. However, the distinction of terms such as 'Marxian' (the adherence to Marx and Engels' critique of classical political economy, and thus a focus on economic approaches) and 'Marxist' (broadly defined as Marx's political ideology, including advocating for class revolution) demonstrate the multifaceted applicability of Marx,[84] whose work can be interpreted and applied as philosophy, politics, sociology, and ideology in addition to economics. The Hungarian Marxist philosopher Georg Lukacs developed the philosophical strand of so-called Western Marxism in the 20th century, focusing on class consciousness and totality and

[84] Note, one must not be politically Marxist in order to be economically Marxian.

drawing on Marx's earlier work. Antonio Gramsci's preoccupation with Marx's work was also ideational, contributing the concept of hegemony to analyses of capitalist society, which he saw as operating not only through force but consent and ideology.[85] Members of the so-called Frankfurt School in the 1930s such as the philosophers Adorno, Horkheimer, Fromm, and Habermas developed a critical theory of Marxism that sought to change rather than just explain the totality of society through integrating multiple social science disciplines including psychology and sociology.

In particular, Gramsci's discussion of the importance of civil society in the formation of hegemony, the domination of intellectual and cultural forms as dictated by leading groups in a society,[86] has implications for this study. According to Gramscian discourse, civil society involves institutions such as church and schools, yet has also been extended to humanitarian and development agencies.[87] Crucially, through positing civil society's role in maintaining hegemonic regimes through culture and ideology, Gramsci situates civil society members as important actors in situations of power and domination at a variety of levels.[88] Although I do not take an explicitly Gramscian approach here, I ascribe assistance actors a similarly key role in power relations and in this way draw on Gramsci's work on civil society.

[85] Although this thesis does not take its point of departure from Western Marxism, Lukacs' focus on totality and Gramsci's discussion of historic blocs and the actors involved in their creation were influential in the initial framing of this project.
[86] Gramsci, A., Hoare, Q., & Nowell-Smith, G. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. New York: International. This topic is discussed throughout *The Prison Notebooks* but for a brief definition of hegemony and civil society's role in it, see pp. 144-145.
[87] See: Katz, H. (2006). Gramsci, hegemony, and global civil society networks. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, *17*(4), 332-347.
[88] Gramsci, *Selections from the prison notebooks*. In particular, see pp. 445-508 of State and Civil Society'.

These strands of Marxism are complemented (though some might say complicated) by Structural Marxism, a branch of Marxist philosophy integrating linguistics and structuralism developed by Louis Althusser. And, in addition to these, further strands such as Cultural Marxism, Analytical Marxism, Marxist humanism, and even Post-Marxism exist. These varied interpretations of Marx hold value in presenting new concepts and understandings, including calls to action and emphasising how Marxist philosophy can move beyond economic models and address the structure of societies.

However, criticisms also abound and to many Marxism is seen as outdated, rigid, or as a failed project.[89] There are issues with the heavy emphasis on structuralism that many variants of Marxism espouse, such as adherence to the base-superstructure model, which in turn can be seen as neglecting both individual agency and a necessary contextualisation of situations.[90] Historical materialism as a whole has received criticism for its economic and historical determinism, such as its core claim that economic forces constitute the primary driver of historical change and thus neglect the importance of social and political movements.[91] In part, the current lack of Marxist theoretical applications can be attributed

[89] For a review of some of these debates, see: Campbell, D. (1996) The Failure of Marxism. New York: Transaction Publications.; McLennan, G. (1996). Post-Marxism and the ‘four sins' of modernist theorizing. New Left Review, (218), 53.

[90] Divergences over the importance placed on, respectively, structure and agency account in part for the development of separate branches of Marxism known as Structuralist Marxism and Marxist humanism. While often accused of being heavily structuralist, Marx to a disputed extent did account for individual agency, as well, as evident through his well-known quote that, ‘Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past.’ Marx, K., & De Leon, D. (2005) *The eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. New York: Mondial. P. 5.

[91] Aronowitz, S. (1990) *The crisis in historical materialism: Class, politics and culture in Marxist theory*. London: MacMillan Press.

to the mid-1980s 'Marxist impasse'[92] involving the misapplication of Marxist theory in explicitly teleological deployments[93] and criticisms of Marx's theoretical inconsistencies.[94] In the new millennium, however, there has been a small revival of Marxist ideas, yet as Rees points out, it is highly selective, focusing on the crisis of capitalism rather than emancipatory revolutions.[95]

Indeed, despite the significant potential of Marxist thought to contribute both systemic understanding and critical theoretical analysis of refugee issues, within Refugee Studies itself very little literature utilises an explicit Marxist perspective to examine issues relating to refugees and development. Of that which does, studies are mainly focused on single-country cases, such as Vickers' examination of refugees in Britain, which discusses refugees as an international labour reserve army.[96] Vickers combines qualitative empirical data with a Marxist analysis and focuses on refugees and asylum seekers in Britain as one segment of the international working class which remains oppressed through the British state's 'refugee relations industry'.[97] Focusing on the role of imperialism, Vickers posits that migration holds an emancipatory potential for workers of 'oppressed' and 'imperialist' countries to unite, but acknowledges the struggles of actualising this, writing:

> It is not migration which divides workers and undermines the position of organised labour, but imperialism that creates a material split in the working class… The

[92] See Kiely, R. (1995). Marxism, post-Marxism and development fetishism. *Capital & Class*, *19*(1), 73-101.; Westra, R. (2004) The "impasse" debate and socialist development. Chapter 10. In: Albritton, R., Bell, S., & Westra, R. (Eds.). (2004) *New socialisms: futures beyond globalization*. London: Routledge.
[93] Gill, S. (1993) 'Gramsci and Global Politics: Towards a Post-Hegemonic Research Agenda'. In: *Gramsci, historical materialism and international relations.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. P. 2.
[94] Kliman, A. (2007) *Reclaiming Marx's "Capital": A Refutation of the Myth of Inconsistency.* Lanham: Lexington Books. P. 7.
[95] Rees, J. (1998) 'The Return of Marx?'. *International Socialism*, 79.
[96] Vickers, T. (2016) *Refugees, Capitalism and the British State: Implications for social workers, volunteers and activists*. London: Routledge.
[97] Ibid. P. 2.

> functioning of the international reserve army of labour is thus interdependent with the division of the world into oppressed and oppressor nations, and the two processes form mutually reinforcing elements of the wider system of imperialism.[98]

While Vickers embraces both the material and emancipatory aspects of Marxist theories, many other Marxist analyses involving refugees are not so outright. These include Chimni's discussion[99] of advanced capitalist countries' efforts to dismantle the institution of asylum, and Basok's underlying Marxist critique of Canada's asylum policy.[100] Writing of Canada's immigration policies in the 1990s, Basok argues that despite a humanitarian veneer the Canadian government has 'attempted to boost that part of the immigration inflow expected to contribute to capital accumulation and reduce significantly the numbers of those who are assume to incur some social cost' and that despite globalisation trends, the state has assumed more control in the area of refugee and immigration.[101] Marxian theories of borders and containment in the broader Migration Studies literature are evident in the work of Castles and Duffield discussed below, yet these only rarely attribute Marx directly and instead focus on broader economic critiques.

Despite the lack of explicit theoretical engagement with Marx, a small handful of scholars in Refugee Studies have broached discussions of the role of capital in refugee affairs. B. S. Chimni and Stephen Castles are two notable and widely valued contributors to the topic, whose structural examinations of capitalism and causes of migration flows including

[98] Ibid. P. 14.
[99] Chimni, B. S. (2000) Globalization, humanitarianism and the erosion of refugee protection. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *13*(3): 243-263.
[100] Basok, T. (1996) Refugee policy: Globalization, radical challenge, or state control?. *Studies in Political Economy*, *50*(1) : 133-166.
[101] Ibid. Pp. 159-160.

refugees demonstrate important connections between Refugee, Migration, and Development Studies.[102] Castles, for instance, has analysed the systemic role of capitalism in broader international migration,[103] and its effect on citizenry,[104] arguing that we cannot understand modern movement without taking economic factors into account. Similar to the work in this thesis, he also draws attention to the importance of the welfare state, stating, 'Central to the political economy of the global labour market is an understanding of the changing character of the welfare state. The notion of human labour power as a commodity that can be bought and sold like other commodities is essential for individual capitalists, as Marx pointed out in Capital'.[105] However, a crucial gap remains, as Castles' political economy work on migration generally discusses refugees as one type of migrant, mentioning them in relation to other migrants yet failing to acknowledge and theorise the particularities of refugeedom as related to political economy.

Chimni compellingly addresses the relationship between Refugee Studies and humanitarian practice to colonialism, geopolitics, transnational capital, and the needs and interest of hegemonic (i.e. Western) states.[106] Analysing the connection between humanitarianism and neoliberal globalization agendas, he writes,

[102] Chimni, B. S. (2004) From resettlement to involuntary repatriation: towards a critical history of durable solutions to refugee problems. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, *23*(3), 55-73.; Castles, S. (1998) Globalization and migration: Some pressing contradictions. *International Social Science Journal*, *50*(156), 179-186.; Castles, S. (2000). *Ethnicity and globalization*. London: Sage.
[103] See among other work: Castles, S. (2012) Cosmopolitanism and freedom? Lessons of the global economic crisis. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *35*(11), 1843-1852.; Castles, S. (2013). The Forces Driving Global Migration. *Journal of Intercultural Studies,34*(2): 122-140.
[104] Castles, S. (2005) Nation and empire: Hierarchies of citizenship in the new global order. *International Politics*, *42*(2): 203-224.
[105] Castles, S. (2011) Migration, Crisis, and the Global Labour Market, Globalizations, 8(3): 311-324. Pgs. 315-316.
[106] Chimni, B. S. (1998) The geopolitics of refugee studies: A view from the South. *Journal of refugee studies*, *11*(4): 350-374.; Chimni, B. S. (2000) Globalization, humanitarianism and the erosion of refugee

> [T]he ideology of humanitarianism has used the vocabulary of human rights to legitimize the language of security in refugee discourse, blur legal categories and institutional roles, turn repatriation into the only solution, and promote a neo-liberal agenda in post-conflict societies leading to the systematic erosion of the principles of protection and the rights of refugees.[107]

In this way Chimni brings together the role of humanitarian discourse, capitalism, and resulting deleterious effects on refugees to reflect on the international refugee regime within broader economic and social trends. However, his work generally utilises a political economy framework that analyses these important linkages without breaking down the specific mechanisms through which grand concepts such as 'humanitarianism' and 'imperialism' operate in tandem.

Although focusing more broadly on aid and development, Mark Duffield contributes a similarly valuable critical perspective to the theme of capital, including its role in policies that promote the containment of populations in the Global South which might otherwise migrate to Northern countries to seek both jobs and welfare benefits.[108] He also directly addresses the topic of self-reliance, such as through his conceptualisation of sustainable development as a bio-political technology for containing 'non-insured populations' which are required to improve their resilience and strengthen self-reliance within their given conditions.[109] These populations are valued in terms of their ability to effectively manage life's challenges at their own risk, largely in order to reduce the obligation of states and

protection. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *13*(3), 243-263.; Chimni, B. S. (2009). The birth of a 'discipline': From refugee to forced migration studies. *Journal of Refugee studies*, *22*(1): 11-29.

[107] Chimni, 'Globalization, humanitarianism and the erosion of refugee protection'.

[108] Duffield, M. (2008) Global civil war: The non-insured, international containment and post-interventionary society. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *21*(2): 145-165.; Duffield, M. (2002). Social reconstruction and the radicalization of development: aid as a relation of global liberal governance. *Development and change*, *33*(5): 1049-1071.

[109] Duffield, M. (2006) Racism, Migration and Development: The Foundations of Planetary Order. Progress in Development Studies, 6(1): 68–79.

humanitarian actors rather than as a means to increase their own well-being. However, Duffield's work is often not grounded in case studies or empirics, making it difficult to unearth the specific mechanisms and contextualized outcomes of the societal shifts he critiques.

Together, these scholars offer an important critical foundation for analysing refugees and capitalism yet also provide considerable scope for more detailed critical analyses of refugees' specific relationship to capital as well as linkages between refugee assistance, development, and capitalism. Indeed, with these authors as important exceptions, the role of capital remains under-theorised in Refugee Studies, including in discussions regarding the formation of the international refugee regime, 'root causes' of refugees, and contemporary drivers of refugee self-reliance and livelihoods.

Theoretical Framework

In this thesis, I seek to explicate the role of refugees not solely as humanitarian subjects but also as economic actors whose economic participation is enabled through self-reliance assistance. Although the construction of refugees as humanitarian subjects remains dominant, the unemployment of refugees has been tackled throughout the history of the international refugee regime, including through employment in public works programmes, vocational training, micro-finance loans, cash stipends, and agricultural support. Indeed, I argue that refugees have been considered economic subjects since the inception of the international refugee regime.

Article 17 of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Rights of Refugee (the '1951 Convention') stipulates that refugees should be provided the same treatment as nationals in relation to the 'right to engage in wage-earning employment'.[110] The article goes on to state that 'restrictive measures imposed on aliens or the employment of aliens for the protection of the national labour market' should not apply to refugees. Article 18 of the convention concerns refugees' self-employment, and proposes that refugees be provided 'the right to engage on his [sic] own account in agriculture, industry, handicrafts and commerce and to establish commercial and industrial companies.'[111] Together, these articles and Article 19 on liberal professions demonstrate the labour rights of refugees, and a desire for them to be given the means to engage in labour markets in host countries. Although written in 1951, these articles draw on interwar year recommendations and arrangements, including one concerning wage-earning employment for Russian and Armenian refugees and refugees' exemption from national labour market restrictions in the 1933 and 1938 Conventions.[112] These articles are significant in that they demonstrate the historical recognition of refugees as holding the right to work.

Understanding refugees as workers offers a novel theoretical framework through which to view long-term refugee assistance: as welfare provided to unemployed workers awaiting re-integration into the economic system. I define welfare as government-provided assistance for those unable to support themselves. This theoretical perspective

[110] UNHCR (1951) Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, Article 17. Geneva: UNHCR. Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/uk/3b66c2aa10. (accessed August 1, 2017)
[111] Ibid. Article 18.
[112] Labman, S. (2010) Looking Back, Moving Forward: The History and Future of Refugee Protection. *Chicago-Kent Journal of International and Comparative Law*, *10*(1), 2.

provides both a means to elucidate the role of refugees in the capitalist system and the ways that humanitarian assistance has emulated welfare assistance in promoting the role of wage-labourers through fostering self-reliance. In so doing, I seek to insert refugees into existing literature on humanitarianism's connection to capitalism,[113] which currently only indirectly sheds light on refugee assistance. 'In order to explain the rise of humanitarianism,' Ashworth writes, '…we need to focus on the relationship between capitalist and wage-laborer.'[114] The same can be said of refugees and welfare.

In my theoretical framework I draw on concepts in the classical Marxist tradition and critical approaches to welfare. In particular I draw on Ferguson et al.'s volume on 'Rethinking Welfare', which argues that Classical Marxism can 'provide an analysis of social welfare that is nuanced and attuned to the contradictions of welfare in capitalist society…It is an approach that contains concepts which aid analysis of welfare regimes and their priorities, of welfare clients and of welfare workers…'[115] I consequently focus on Marx's material contributions to the understanding of the workings of capitalism and their impact on wage labourers and different societies rather than the promise of working-class revolution. In this way, I take a Marxian rather than Marxist theoretical approach.

[113] Ashworth, J. (1987) The relationship between capitalism and humanitarianism. *The American historical review*, *92*(4): 813-828.; Haskell, T. L. (1985a) Capitalism and the origins of the humanitarian sensibility, Part 1. *The American Historical Review*, *90*(2): 339-361.; Haskell, T. L. (1985b) Capitalism and the origins of the humanitarian sensibility, Part 2. *The American Historical Review*, *90*(3): 547-566.
[114] Ashworth, 'The Relationship Between Capitalism and Humanitarianism'. P. 821.
[115] Ferguson, I., Lavalette, M., & Mooney, G. (2002). *Rethinking welfare: A critical perspective*. London: Sage. P. 3.

Through a Marxian framework, refugee assistance is a form of 'international welfare' created as a temporary remedy for capitalism's unavoidable plights, such as wars leading to forced migration and high unemployment rates in host countries. I employ the Marxist concepts of the industrial army of labour and extraction of surplus value to examine refugees' relationship to the capitalist system and refugee assistance as a function of modern capitalism integrally related to both labour and unemployment. Through analogous international welfare, refugees are treated as industrial armies of labour, of which several sub-types exist (overviewed below), from whom surplus value is extracted. Notably, I do not conceptualise this as a strictly material extraction of labour but instead discuss the material and conceptual forms this can take. This process exists within enabling or constraining host country contexts, such as those allowing the legal right to work or with restricted formal sector access. While refugees were also members of the industrial army of labour in some form in their country of origin, my specific focus is how self-reliance assistance as international welfare impacts their integration or reintegration into the labour market of their host country. My claims are both theoretical and empirical, as I draw on historical and contemporary evidence in each chapter to substantiate the claim that refugee self-reliance assistance has predominantly treated refugees as workers in need of employment. This assistance for refugees takes on characteristics of welfare in both the types and aims of assistance provided, which in turn provide benefits for actors other than refugees themselves.

Marxist Theories of Welfare

While some view welfare as a symbol of altruism, an area of life untouched by market values, or as a political instrument, Marxist theories of welfare present welfare assistance (what Marx termed 'charity') as a temporary balm for the inevitable hardship that arises out of capitalism.[116] Welfare assistance is not perceived as a separate arena but instead as an inextricably linked part of the capitalist system.[117] Indeed, drawing on Hegel, classical Marxist perspectives advocate the *totality* of systems, wherein even seemingly disparate elements of society are interrelated. Capitalism itself is viewed as a contradictory totality, wherein its internal contradictory elements interact to produce change. It therefore follows that welfare assistance cannot be fully understood if it is divorced from those elements that partially created it – namely, the modern state system and the modern economy (themselves integrally linked).

Marxist views on welfare posit that it upholds core functions of the modern capitalist state, notably processes of accumulation, reproduction, and legitimation/repression.[118] Accumulation refers to how the state strives to uphold conditions favourable for capital accumulation. According to Marx, the process of capital accumulation in production comes in a series of separate but connected moments. For the purposes of this thesis, those most relevant are the initial investment of capital in labour power and the means of

[116] I define capitalism here as a system where private individuals own the means of production, and a system characterized by a divide between the ruling class (those who own and control the wealth in society, the *bourgeoisie*) and the working class (those who must sell their labour power in order survive).
[117] Gough, I. (1979) *The political economy of the welfare state*. London: Macmillan International Higher Education.
[118] Gough, I. (1980) Thatcherism and the welfare state: Britain is experiencing the most far-reaching experiment in 'new right' politics in the western world. Marxism Today, pp. 7- 12. P. 9. Note: Gough draws on James O'Connor's analysis of welfare and capitalism: O'Connor, J. (1973) The Fiscal Crisis of the State, St James Press.

production, and the authority to dictate surplus labour and the uses to which it is put.[119] Welfare programmes help direct labour power through training subjects or helping them become employed in particular sectors desired by the state or capitalists within it. Reproduction refers to the state organisation of social reproduction, including socialization, economic consumption, and biological reproduction: 'in short…the way individuals as social beings are "produced" rather than goods and services in the process of production'.[120] Correlated to this, legitimation and repression are necessary in order to maintain the dominant social order without harming the state and private capital. The welfare state plays a role in each of these functions, such as through particular policies with economic outcomes or others such as education that contribute to social control.

Indeed, multiple writers have demonstrated the coercive nature of both historical and contemporary welfare laws, which sought to create a productive, docile workforce[121] and meet the evolving needs of capitalism. The British historian John Saville discusses, for example, that,

> Industrial capitalism requires an increasing range of technical expertise; and that means an improving educational system. A labour force that suffers from a high incidence of disease – the result of dirt, poor housing, inadequate diet – is an inefficient labour force; and therefore the improvement of the physical environment in which working people live, the means of purchasing an adequate food supply, the availability of medical services in sufficient quantity and at a

[119] See Marx, K. (1867/2015) Das Kapital, Volume 1. London: Penguin Books.
[120] Ibid. P. 9.
[121] Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to review it in depth, there is an established literature on welfare and social control; for an overview of seminal authors and variants of social control theory, see Higgins, J. (1980) Social control theories of social policy. *Journal of Social Policy*, *9*(1), 1-23.; Relatedly, much literature has deployed a Foucauldian perspective on and discursive approach to social control and disciplinary power to analyse a range of issues related to welfare and social policy. For a collection of work that includes both Foucauldian and Marxian approaches, see: Lewis, G., Gewirtz, S., & Clarke, J. (Eds.). (2000). *Rethinking social policy*. London: Sage.

> satisfactory level of competence, are all necessary if the industrial machine is to work at full stretch.[122]

In addition to the provision of social services such as healthcare and education, welfare's intent to create a productive workforce is apparent through historical and contemporary forms of assistance that directly aim to employ those on welfare through either skills training or job searching, such as the UK 'Workfare' programmes of the 1980s.[123] For national populations, social services aiming to ensure trained or trainable healthy workers can be provided by capitalists (such as insurance schemes linked to companies) or by the state. In the instance of refugees, I posit that these services are provided by humanitarian and development agencies, which fulfil many functions of basic welfare.

Refugee assistance as 'international welfare'

Much of the extant literature on refugees and welfare examines the treatment of refugees and migrants within existing, largely Western welfare systems.[124] These discussions have often centred on the concept of 'deservingness',[125] including employing the concept of 'welfare chauvinism' to denote the opinion that immigrants are less deserving of welfare benefits than citizens.[126] Literature has at times sought to interrogate negative public

[122] Saville, J. (1983) 'The Origins of the Welfare State', in M. Loney, D. Boswell and J. Clarke (eds), Social Policy and Social Welfare. Buckingham: Open University Press. P. 13.
[123] Mittelstadt, J. (2005) *From welfare to workfare: the unintended consequences of liberal reform, 1945-1965*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
[124] See Critical Social Policy (2002) Special Issue: Asylum and Welfare, 22(3), August.
[125] Sales, R. (2002) The deserving and the undeserving? Refugees, asylum seekers and welfare in Britain. *Critical social policy*, *22*(3), 456-478.
[126] Andersen, J. G., & Bjørklund, T. (1990) Structural changes and new cleavages: The Progress Parties in Denmark and Norway. *Acta Sociologica*, *33*(3), 195-217.; Van der Waal, J., Achterberg, P., Houtman, D., De Koster, W., & Manevska, K. (2010) 'Some are more equal than others': Economic egalitarianism and welfare chauvinism in the Netherlands. *Journal of European Social Policy*, *20*(4), 350-363.; De Koster, W., Achterberg, P., & Van der Waal, J. (2013) The new right and the welfare state: The electoral relevance of

discourse on migrants and the welfare state, including the concept of 'welfare tourism',[127] and also examined refugees' integration into welfare states[128] and ways in which refugees and migrants are and are not able to claim social rights.[129] A smaller body of literature tracing the historic evolution of immigrants' welfare entitlements has found that they broadly follow the ebbs and flows of the postwar welfare state, including the large rise of rights in the 1970s, yet faced an inordinate share of the constraints on entitlements caused by the economic recession and welfare scale-backs of the 1980s, 1990s, and beyond.[130] However, little work has examined humanitarian and development assistance to refugees as welfare as such; instead, these arenas are usually theoretically and empirically treated separately. This is due perhaps to an overall assumption that welfare exists within the national bounds of a state and mainly provides assistance to citizens or residents in the industrialised Global North while humanitarian and development assistance is perceived to cross international borders in order to support under-served populations in the impoverished Global South.

I posit there is theoretical utility in understanding refugee assistance as welfare to unemployed workers (refugees) as it helps us critically analyse refugee assistance from a

welfare chauvinism and welfare populism in the Netherlands. *International Political Science Review*, *34*(1), 3-20.

[127] Corrigan, O. (2010) Migrants, Welfare Systems and Social Citizenship in Ireland and Britain: Users or Abusers? *Journal of Social Policy* 39(3): 415-37.

[128] Valenta, M. and Bunar, N. (2010) 'State Assisted Integration: Refugee Integration Policies in Scandinavian Welfare States: The Swedish and Norwegian Experience'. *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 23(4): 463-83.

[129] Aleinikoff, T. A., & Klusmeyer, D. (Eds.). (2011) *Citizenship policies for an age of migration*. Washington, D.C.: Migration Policy Institute.; Sainsbury, D. (2006) 'Immigrants' Social Rights in Comparative Perspective: Welfare Regimes, Forms in Immigration and Immigration Policy Regimes'. *Journal of European Social Policy,* 16(3): 229-44.

[130] Sainsbury, 'Immigrants' Social Rights'.; Lucassen, L. (2018) 'Peeling an Onion: The "Refugee Crisis" from a Historical Perspective.' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 41(3): 1-28.

more comprehensive perspective, understanding concepts of refugee livelihoods and self-reliance within a broader framework of a 'humanitarian' system designed to promote their economic capacities. When refugees are viewed as workers, the assistance they receive no longer takes the strict form of aid but instead becomes akin to a form of 'international welfare', transnational in scope yet retaining many tenets of the welfare systems from which its donor come.

Understanding the relationship between refugees and refugee assistance as one between worker and welfare system exposes the contract of long-term aid, where refugees are not the primary beneficiaries of their own self-reliance but instead are supported for ulterior aims and in particular ways according to outside economic interests and trends. As the Refugee Studies scholar and activist Barbara Harrell-Bond once wrote, '...as relief is a gift, it is not expected that any (most especially the recipients) should examine the quality, or quantity, of what is given.'[131] Examining the quality and quantity and, furthermore, the intent and result of the 'gift' of refugee self-reliance assistance enables an understanding of refugees' implicit and explicit links to the modern capitalist economic system, where both economic thought and events such as recessions play a role in shaping refugee development assistance. In this sense, I follow Pierson's proclamation that 'the conditions that are placed on state benefits…are often orientated not to the meeting of recipient's needs but rather to the requirement not to undermine the dynamics of the labour market'.[132]

[131] Harrell-Bond, B. E. (1986) Imposing Aid: Emergency assistance to refugees, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
[132] Pierson, C. (1991). *Beyond the welfare state?: The new political economy of welfare*. Cambridge: Polity. P. 53.

I argue that international welfare for refugees functions in much the same way as domestic welfare systems in upholding the core functions of capitalist economies discussed above: accumulation, reproduction, and legitimation/repression. Through the type of work refugees are supported to undertake to foster self-reliance, particular processes of accumulation are promoted. Through trainings and expectations that self-reliance assistance holds for refugees, such as 'sensitisation trainings' in a variety of areas and expectations of becoming self-reliant as individuals or a collective, particular social patterns are reproduced. Lastly, through policies directly affecting refugees' ability to become self-reliant, such as through the right to work or have freedom of movement or lack thereof, both refugees' agency and means of fostering their own self-reliance is either condoned or repressed by assistance. The discussion section of the empirical chapters of this thesis examine these functions in particular case study contexts in more depth.

I focus in particular on welfare's aim to create a productive national labour force and posit that both host countries and donor countries benefit from refugee self-reliance assistance, as they receive either the necessary workers or desired stability for the continued accumulation process and commodity production comprising capitalism. Although refugees are meant to be provided access to social services under Article 23 ('Public Relief') and 24 ('Labour Legislation and Social Security') of the 1951 Convention, this does not occur in many poor countries.[133] Throughout this thesis I focus my main analysis on protracted refugee situations in contexts where formal domestic social welfare systems

[133] UNHCR, 'Convention and Protocol'.

were weak and refugees were generally locked out of them. Due to this, a parallel system of assistance to refugees was necessary, though it was generally packaged as aid or development assistance rather than as explicit social services.

The concept of international welfare can be applied to a multitude of fields where help ranging from food assistance to healthcare is provided. Here I focus in particular on the strand of welfare that explicitly aims to create a productive national labour force through trainings and employment programmes, as these most closely relate to assistance to foster refugee self-reliance. In relation to refugees, this assistance has generally occurred in one or more of the following ways: rural agricultural settlement (farming), micro-finance loans (to start or stimulate businesses), employment-matching (placing refugees into employment), public works projects, and vocational training (training to become employable).[134] Notably, each of these practices targets refugees not just as beneficiaries but as people capable of regaining or developing livelihoods. In other words, refugee self-reliance assistance itself treats refugees as *workers.*

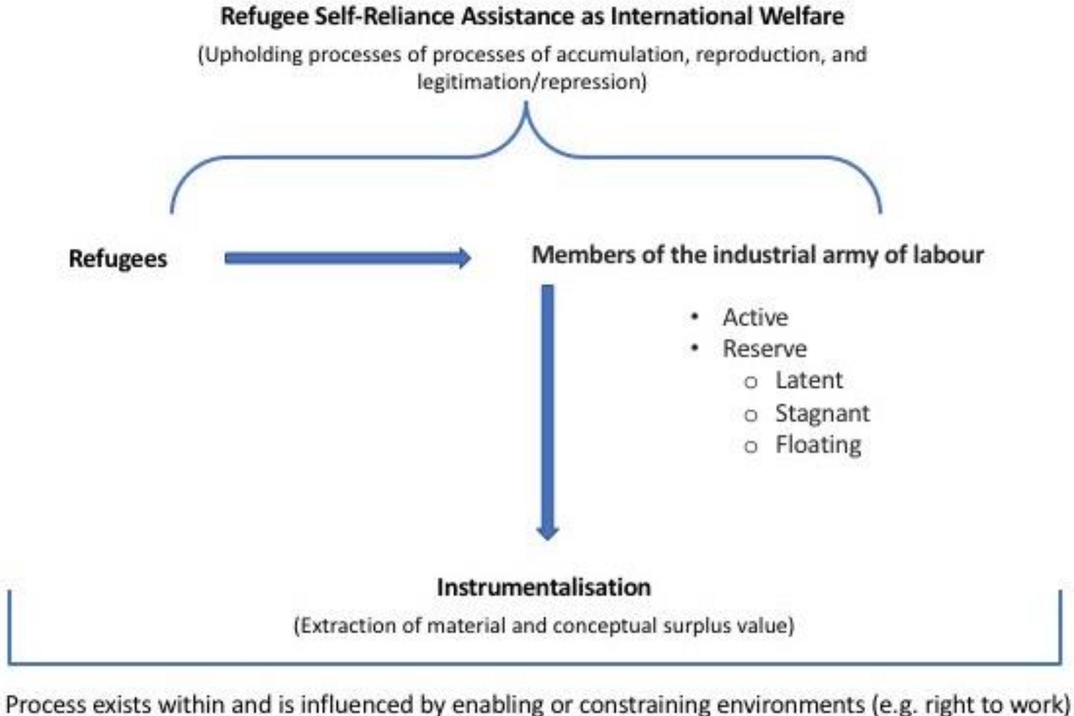
When refugee self-reliance assistance is understood as a type of welfare assistance, it becomes apparent that it too is integral to the workings of capitalism. It aims to increase refugees' labour productivity while meeting the economic needs of host states and plays a large role in regulating and controlling the lives of refugees (such as requiring that refugees register in order to access services, or stipulating the content of livelihoods trainings and thus the type of jobs that refugees later acquire). At the same time it operates

[134] Easton-Calabria, E. (2015) From Bottom-Up to Top-Down: The 'Pre-History' of Refugee Livelihoods Assistance from 1919 to 1979. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 28 (3): 412-436.

under an ideological guise of altruism and humanitarianism. This humanitarian veneer is not necessarily false, for self-reliance assistance has and can assuredly contribute to the well-being of refugees. However, it is the contradictions inherent in the promotion of refugee self-reliance assistance – the upholding of the dignity and agency of refugees while simultaneously and complicitly integrating them into an exploitative system – that I problematise and explore throughout this thesis.

The following figure demonstrates how the concepts discussed in this chapter interact with each other.

Figure 1. Theoretical Framework of International Welfare



The Industrial Reserve Army of Labour

I post that in aggregate, refugees enacting their own self-reliance and contributing as workers to the project of capitalism creates a population beholden to the economic system – through the guidance of international assistance and host country governments. With the support provided by international welfare assistance, refugees become members of what Marx termed the industrial reserve army of labour. While some refugees join the active labour army as full-time, stable employees, the majority fall under the classification of the 'reserve army'. Through this concept Marx discussed workers' dependence on job availability, as they could easily be employed in times of growth and quickly let go of when production slowed. This army is inherent to the successful working of capitalism, for it provides the necessary labour for production and the internal competition to drive down wages. As he states:

> The greater the social wealth, the functioning capital, the extent and energy of its growth, and therefore also the greater the absolute mass of the proletariat and the productivity of its labour, the greater is the industrial reserve army…But the greater this reserve army in proportion to the active labour army, the greater is the mass of a consolidated surplus population, whose misery is in inverse ratio to the amount of torture it has to undergo in the form of labour. The more extensive, finally, the pauperized sections of the working class and the industrial reserve army, the greater is official pauperism. This is the absolute [abstract] general law of capitalist accumulation.[135]

Marx defined three types of reserve army: latent, floating, and stagnant. The latent reserve army is conceptualised as a rural population that had been rendered superfluous through agricultural mechanisation. As such, members of this army are agricultural workers drawn to urban areas for work, 'constantly on the point of passing over into an urban or

[135] Marx, K. (1867/2015) Das Kapital. London: Penguin Books. P. 798. Note: Marx immediately qualified this passage with, 'Like all other laws, it is modified in its workings by circumstances, the analysis of which does not concern us here.' This suggests the importance of context.

manufacturing proletariat, and on the look-out for circumstances favourable to this transformation.'[136] These workers are thus easily employable, and also easily expendable, as it is assumed they will drift back to rural areas during periods of unemployment. The floating reserve army was defined by Marx as those in industry and capitalistic organisations who have become unemployed due to younger workers willing to work for lower wages; have been rendered obsolete through technical advances; or are injured, too old, or otherwise unable to continue working. Similar to the agricultural workers depicted in the latent reserve army, Marx defined the stagnant reserve army as workers in small-scale industry that could be incorporated into the regular economy when production increased. However, the stagnant reserve is marked by their low living conditions and irregular employment. In addition to those working for the lowest wages, this group also includes criminals and those in the illicit economy, as well as those unable to work, whom Marx termed 'paupers'. The three types of Marx's reserve army are briefly outlined and examined in regard to refugees below.

The Latent Reserve Army

Marx's concept of a latent reserve army of labour is the most commonly applied type of reserve army, and is the most salient for this thesis. The latent reserve army of labour is often discussed in critical feminist studies from the 1970s and 1980s, which problematize women's subordinate role in the labour market.[137] World War II and the post-war period

[136] Ibid. P. 642.

[137] See for example: Bruegel, I. (1979) Women as a reserve army of labour: a note on recent British experience. *Feminist Review*, *3*(1): 12-23.; Kalpagam, U. (1985) Women and the Industrial Reserve Army: A Reappraisal. *Social Scientist*, 95-115.

provide historical examples of women's movement from the household to the workforce, and feminist critiques explicate the sexist ideologies employed to justify the firing of women in times of recession (e.g. women 'belong' in the home).[138] However, this concept has also been employed at length in relation to race, class, and its intersections,[139] and increasingly in global examinations involving workers in or from the Global South.[140] These current applications of the industrial reserve army are relevant to refugees due to the intersectionality of where refugee populations are overwhelmingly located (in the Global South) and the increasing poverty of these regions for nationals and non-nationals alike. However, one of only very few applications of this concept to Refugee Studies is a single-country case study of refugees in Britain;[141] while Vickers' analysis of refugees and asylum seekers as a segment of the international working class is useful and convincing, the monograph falls short of unpacking the broader connections between humanitarian and social assistance and refugees' role as workers. Nonetheless, this and other more recent applications of the concept of the industrial reserve army of labour demonstrate the value of this concept to examine refugees and their relationship to capital.

I posit three main situations where refugees constitute a latent reserve army of labour:

[138] Humphries, J. (1983) The 'Emancipation' of women in the 1970s and 1980s: From the latent to the floating. *Capital & Class*, *7*(2): 6-28.
[139] Peet, R. (1975). Inequality and poverty: a Marxist-geographic theory. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *65*(4): 564-571.; Cole, M. (2009) The Color-Line and the Class Struggle: a Marxist response to critical race theory in education as it arrives in the United Kingdom. *Power and Education*, *1*(1): 111-124.; Wills, J., May, J., Datta, K., Evans, Y., Herbert, J., & McLlwaine, C. (2009) London's migrant division of labour. *European urban and regional studies*,*16*(3): 257-271.
[140] Bernstein, H. (2007). Capital and labour from centre to margins. In *Keynote address for conference on Living on the Margins. Vulnerability, Exclusion and the State in the Informal Economy, Cape Town*. Pp. 26-28.; Yalman, G. L. (Ed.). (2009) *Economic Transitions to Neoliberalism in Middle-income Countries: Policy Dilemmas, Crises, Mass Resistance*. London: Routledge.; Foster, J. B., Mcchesney, R. W., & Jonna, R. J. (2011) The global reserve army of labor and the new imperialism. *Monthly Review*, *63*(6): 1.
[141] Vickers, 'Refugees, Capitalism and the British State'.

1) In situations of encampment in host countries, when refugees are explicitly prohibited from engaging in national economies, and other situations where refugees are denied the right to work. This often occurs in countries with high rates of unemployment, and simulates situations where the reserve army is rendered superfluous and expected to leave the economy (e.g. by going back to rural areas). Following the concept of the reserve army of labour, workers' exclusion from the workforce at particular times plays has as large a role as their inclusion within it at other times.

2) In host countries when refugees move from rural settlements and camps into cities, either under the radar or through the recognized right to freedom of movement. Theory would expect that when industrial jobs are unattainable, they would return to camps where their basic needs are provided for through material assistance by international humanitarians.

3) In situations of resettlement or irregular movement, when refugees move to Western countries and become part of the 'international reserve army of labour'. Theory predicts, however, that refugees are not an ideal surplus migrant worker, for they carry rights with them under International Refugee Law (e.g. non-refoulement). This means they can't be deported in times of high unemployment or at the whims of employers or governments. The challenge this poses to these entities was made explicit through Britain's postwar European Volunteer

Worker's scheme, when – despite trying to choose only 'healthy' refugee workers of select nationalities – Britain was forced to accept a wide variety of refugees, eventually without the possibility of legally deporting them due to mounting humanitarian pressure.[142]

These situations demonstrate the singularity of refugees as a labour force; first, through the role that international humanitarian organisations play in providing them with assistance, and, second, through the 'impediment' of International Refugee Law in preventing refugees from being forcibly returned to their countries of origin when work in their host country is unavailable. At the same time, refugees are often at risk of exploitative working conditions or of not receiving the same rights or benefits as citizens due to their immigrant status,[143] and thus can be differentiated from national populations in this regard, as well. This suggests the value of keeping refugees as a latent army that can be excluded from employment in times of austerity or drawn into it to support economies when desired by governments.

The concept of the latent reserve army is therefore useful to examine refugees and the ways their right to work is and has historically been promoted or hindered in different contexts. However, when applied to real-world contexts, the concept deviate from Marx's original conception in interesting ways. In my first case study of 1920s Greece, for example, refugee labour was explicitly promoted by international and national

[142] Kay, D., & Miles, R. (1988) Refugees or migrant workers? The case of the European Volunteer Workers in Britain (1946–1951). *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *1*(3-4): 214-236.
[143] Barbelet, V., & Wake, C. (2017) The lives and livelihoods of Syrian refugees in Turkey and Jordan. *London: ODI and BMZ.*

organisations as well as condoned by the government; in this way the enormous influx of Greek refugees from Asia Minor created a latent reserve army whose labour could be utilised. However, rather than moving to urban centres and filling labour gaps there, they provided Greece with surplus value through their relocation to 'empty' agricultural regions of the country. I posit that refugees were similarly construed as an agricultural labour force in my second case study of East African refugees in Tanzania in the 1960s and 1970s. However, their form of labour was carefully dictated and confined to settlements, with punitive measures taken for those who did not comply.[144] This suggests that refugees were only selectively constructed and drawn upon as a reserve army. Different refugee contexts of employment and instrumentalisation are discussed in this thesis through the concept of the latent reserve army, thereby demonstrating the ability for this concept to extend in scope while still retaining theoretical utility.

The Floating Reserve Army

Marx discussed the floating reserve army as workers who have become replaced and unemployed, or for other reasons are unable to continue working. Peet defines the floating reserve army of today as increasingly consisting of 'recent immigrants to the city and discarded past migrants who otherwise subsist on welfare payments.'[145] Although immigrants, including refugees, may fill the part of the floating reserve, I posit that refugees and other migrants are much more likely to be *substitutes* for these newly

[144] Morsink (1971) Report on Training and Employment (TRE). Betts Collection: Compiled Reports and Reviews of East African Refugee Settlement Schemes (Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, 1971–1976), Betts Collection: General Box 1.
[145] Peet, 'Inequality and Poverty'. P. 567.

unemployed workers (the floating reserve army). This happens in the case of resettled refugees in the Global North as well as those in the Global South.

The most obvious contemporary manifestation of this is outsourcing, where foreign workers (including refugees) substitute national workers both domestically and offshore. Refugees do not currently comprise a large percentage of workers involved in the 'great global job shift' from North to South,[146] but recent advances in distance learning and job training in refugee camps suggests movement in this direction. It is important to note, however, that refugees may find themselves as a more protected category targeted for outsourcing, due to the oversight, for example, of international humanitarian organisations in refugee camps. Corresponding to this is the possibility that refugees may be less desirable as workers due to the humane working conditions corporations must then in theory ensure them.

The Stagnant Reserve Army

The stagnant reserve army is conceptualised as irregular, generally very poor workers who, similar to the latent reserve army, could be employed when production demanded it. Marx describes them as:

> [T]he demoralized, the ragged and those unable to work, chiefly people who succumb to their incapacity for adaptation, an incapacity which results from the division of labour; people who have lived beyond the worker's average life-span; and the victims of industry, whose number increases with the growth of dangerous machinery, of mines, chemical works etc., the mutilated, the sickly, the widows,

[146] Gereffi, G. (2006) The New Offshoring of Jobs and Global Development. ILO Social Policy Lectures, Jamaica, December 2005. Geneva: International Institute for Labour Studies.

> etc. Pauperism is the hospital of the active labour-army and the dead weight of the industrial reserve army.[147]

Peet defines the stagnant reserve army of today as those employed in the '"peripheral economy" or "secondary labor market," where workers have low productivity, substandard wages, and unstable jobs.'[148] While refugees resettled in the Global North are more likely to be the 'substitutes' for the floating reserve army, the contemporary stagnant reserve army predominantly resides in the Global South. These can be seen as refugees reliant on assistance in refugee camps, or, to provide a historical example, those remaining in Displaced Person (DP) camps after World War II, who were too old, sick, or young to be resettled as labourers. The existence of this category of worker leads most naturally to discussions of refugee assistance's parallels to welfare, for it was primarily to assist people in this 'army' to re-enter employment that the modern welfare system was created.

The Extraction of Surplus Value and the Instrumentalisation of Refugees

Yet, what does it mean to theorise refugees as members of the industrial reserve army of labour? I argue that this cannot occur without a broader analysis of the role of workers within capitalism. Refugees' involvement in capitalism as workers is the result of the commodification of their labour power, premised upon the Marxist concept of extraction of surplus value. Marx believed that labour could be divided into necessary and surplus labour. Necessary labour is that which a worker must undertake in order to create the value ('socially necessary labour time') of his or her earnings. However, all labour

[147] Marx, 'Das Kapital'. P. 796.
[148] Peet, 'Inequality and Poverty'. P. 567.

undertaken after that time is considered surplus labour, which creates surplus value – value which in essence belongs to capitalist employers and not to workers themselves. Extracting surplus value is also known as exploitation, yet is, according to Marx, the source of all profit under capitalism. Workers, therefore, although 'free' in the sense of not being enslaved, are in this way dependent on selling their labour in order to produce value that ultimately enriches others.

Marx attributes the forced depeasantisation of 18th century England to capitalists' desire to create a labour force from which to extract surplus value. In this way, although Marx did not write of refugees *per se*, he did write of displacement: people 'forcibly expropriated' from their land. Speaking of 18th century legislation in England, which dictated that 'every man in good health…without means of subsistence and not practicing a trade, should be sent to the galleys', he writes,

> Thus were the agricultural folk first forcibly expropriated from the soil, driven from their homes, turned into vagabonds, and then whipped, branded, and tortured by grotesquely terroristic laws into accepting the discipline necessary for the system of wage-labour.[149]

Whereas the peasant population in England was forcibly displaced, refugees are an already uprooted population – in this sense, the work of driving them from their lands has already occurred, thus paving the way for their introduction to the market system. For example, in the 1960s and 1970s, as will be discussed in the second empirical case study, East African refugee settlement programmes incorporated refugees into larger national development goals, in part through constructing them as labourers and placing them in

[149] Marx, 'Das Kapital', P. 899.

'self-reliance settlements' designed to aid the growth of national cash crop exportation.[150] After the crops needed for subsistence were grown, anything extra cultivated by refugees created a surplus value that could then be exported to feed the national economy and fuel the wider international market system. In this way, the surplus value of refugees was easily extracted in the name of their own self-reliance, supported by the work of humanitarian and development organisations.

In this thesis, I break the extraction of refugees' labour into three layers of analysis: 1) the necessary labour needed to create self-reliance (generally described in this thesis as basic subsistence without supplementary assistance from humanitarian agencies); 2) the extraction of their economic (material) surplus value (labour), and 3) the extraction of their non-economic (conceptual) surplus value, including their political value, the social and political agendas their assistance reinforces, and other non-economic functions they hold. I denote material surplus value as the physical acts of labour that refugees undertake with the support of self-reliance assistance, such as farming or business creation enabled through livelihoods training or micro-finance loans. In contrast, I present conceptual surplus value as having overt social or political aims and, in contrast to material surplus value, an indirect rather than direct economic function. Although this conceptual surplus value ultimately leads to material gain for those whose interests are promoted, I choose to retain this sphere as a separate area of analysis in contrast to other strands of Marxist thought.

150 Easton-Calabria, 'From Bottom-Up to Top-Down'.

In the extraction of both refugees' material and conceptual surplus value, self-reliance assistance plays a crucial role in mediating refugees' engagement with and integration into local and national economies and the international/global economy. Crucially, the types of self-reliance assistance provided is not neutral or dictated solely by the needs of refugees, but instead influenced by economic, social, and political trends at different times. As the needs and the shape of the capitalist system change, so does the surplus value it needs to extract – in response, self-reliance assistance has changed to meet those demands. In this way, refugee self-reliance becomes instrumentalised.

Application of Theoretical Framework

As refugees work towards their own self-reliance, aided by international development support, they also provide surplus value of forms other than monetary surplus (profit). Throughout the 20th and 21st century, refugees have been an industrial reserve army of labour who have produced both material and conceptual types of surplus value. Refugee self-reliance assistance has aided the extraction of refugees' surplus value in different ways at different times and has often occurred under the umbrella term of development assistance, which has served explicitly economic as well as political and ideological ends. Host and donor government and private sector actors are guided in this production of surplus value by self-reliance assistance, which at different points in the history of the international refugee regime has provided vocational training, agricultural settlement, micro-finance loans, and job placements for refugees. Self-reliance assistance thus has

strong parallels to welfare assistance, which from a Marxist perspective holds an inherent function to produce workers for and smooth over gaps (e.g. periods of unemployment or recession) in the capitalist system.

Examining both the types of surplus value refugees have produced and the ways self-reliance assistance has been provided to increase the extraction of value reveals global economic, political, and shifts over time, including the changing actors who have sought to accumulate refugees' surplus value. This includes the formation of the modern nation-state system (the political), the rise of neoliberalism (the economic), and the rise (and fall) of the welfare state (the social). For each of these shifts, refugee self-reliance has become an instrument that alternately serves and exemplifies these changes in world order. Indeed, the rhetoric surrounding refugee self-reliance also reveals dominant values at different times – whether self-reliance is espoused as an economic imperative, for example, a protection instrument, or a human right. The identification of these linkages has implications for understanding the conditions under which refugee self-reliance is 'fostered', for analysing the means through which it is intended to be attained, and its explicit and implicit outcomes.

In my empirical chapters, I argue and attempt to show throughout the ways in which refugees have been treated as workers by the international refugee regime. I identify this in archives through explicit statements about or implicit references to refugees and the work they are expected to undertake or the support provided to help them become

employed. Based on this research, I identify main methods of refugee self-reliance assistance.

In the discussion sections of my empirical chapters I undertake three areas of analysis. First, I analyse refugee self-reliance assistance practices in relation to trends in national as well as dominant Western Anglophone welfare, discussed through the American and British systems. I then link these trends to economic influences in different time periods. Secondly, I examine how refugee self-reliance has been instrumentalised through employing a Marxian critical framework of refugee self-reliance assistance as international welfare. Drawing on Marx's conceptualisation of surplus value, I use the term 'instrumentalisation' to discuss benefits that particular actors receive through the concept and outcomes of refugee self-reliance. I ascertained modes of instrumentalisation in the archives through identifying core functions of the modern capitalist state – processes of accumulation, reproduction, and legitimation/repression[151] – that different assistance projects upheld. I then examined how these aspects of projects provided benefits to different actors. My broadly Marxist lens also led me to analyse different programmes and projects through dissecting the function of assistance in relationship to capitalism by 'following the money' and asking 'who benefits?' from refugee self-reliance.

[151] Gough, I. (1980) Thatcherism and the welfare state: Britain is experiencing the most far-reaching experiment in 'new right' politics in the western world. Marxism Today, pp. 7- 12. P. 9. Note: Gough draws on James O'Connor's analysis of welfare and capitalism: O'Connor, J. (1973) The Fiscal Crisis of the State. London: St James Press.

Thirdly, I examine which mode of industrial army the main practices of self-reliance assistance treat refugees as. I identified refugees as latent, floating, or stagnant armies based on the way they were incorporated into the capitalist system. Put simply, I looked for instances of where refugees filled or were meant to fill gaps in labour forces or were excluded from labour markets in ways that behooved particular actors. For example, I expanded the term latent reserve army of labour to include refugees who became agricultural workers in areas of host countries in need of agricultural production, such as in interwar Greece and 1960s and 1970s Tanzania. Such needs were openly discussed in historical documents at the time as well as often in secondary literature.

However, evidence was not always so explicit. At other times, the outcomes of refugee self-reliance assistance also provided information about which type of labour army refugees become. In my fourth case study of urban refugees in Kampala, for example, no specific piece of evidence discusses actively trying to exclude refugees from local and global markets. Instead, I analysed the aggregate outcome of refugee self-reliance assistance – their limited, informal work – and the set of constraints faced in their daily work life to determine their 'use' as a particular army to different actors.

Figure 2. below provides a historical overview of refugee self-reliance assistance. First I outline the main types of self-reliance assistance employed in each case study period, and the type of reserve army refugees entered into through this assistance. I then present how material and conceptual surplus value was extracted, and which economy was supported through this extraction. The final column presents macro trends evidenced by the

production and extraction of surplus value reviewed in the previous columns. The discussion sections of each of my corresponding case studies review these elements in more depth and situate these findings alongside the empirical material presented in each chapter.

Figure 2. Historical Overview of Refugee Self-Reliance Assistance

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	Main type of self-reliance assistance - international welfare	Type of reserve army	Extraction of economic surplus value - material instrumentalisation	Economy supported by economic surplus value	Extraction of non-economic surplus value - conceptual instrumentalisation	Economy supported by non-economic surplus value	Historical changes evidenced by production and extraction of surplus value
1919-1945 **Case Study 1**	Rural settlement Employment-matching Public works	Latent	Agricultural labour Participation in national development (e.g. public works)	National and international economy	- Upholding nation-state system - Promoting peace - Preventing social unrest/rise of Communism	International economy	- *Political*: Nation-state dominance - *Social*: Nascent welfare state - *Economic*: Great Depression, attempts to return to international economy
1945-1979 **Case Study 2**	Rural settlement	Latent	Agricultural labour Participation in national development (e.g. cash crops, building infrastructure)	National and international economy	- Contributing to the 'development project' - Preventing social unrest/spread of Communism -Tanzania national self-reliance agenda	National and Western international economy	- *Political:* Nation-state dominance - *Social:* Rise of welfare state, modernisation (development) - *Economic:* Keynesian economics, international economic expansion
1979-1995 **Case Study 3**	Livelihoods training Public works	Latent, Floating, Stagnant	Small-scale entrepreneurs Involvement in Structural Adjustment Programmes (e.g. World Bank)	Informal national economy/ Global economy	- Political pawns of capitalism (Fighting Communism) - Development aid to host countries - Structural adjustment	Global economy	- *Political*: Cold War - *Social*: 'Decline' of the welfare state, collective to individual welfare - *Economic*: Rise of neoliberalism
1999-2015 **Case Study 4**	Livelihoods training Micro-finance loans	Stagnant	Small-scale entrepreneurs	Informal national economy/ Global economy	- Promoting peace - Building democracy - Exclusion from economy	Global economy	- *Political*: Private sector dominance - *Social*: Individual welfare - *Economic*: neoliberalism, informalisation, globalisation

Chapter 3. Methodology

Introduction

In this chapter I expand on the methods and methodology section in my introduction and present a map of my research process as it unfolded. My introduction chapter reviewed my sources, sites of archival research and contemporary field site, ethical conditions, and methods for analysis. Here I extend these discussions to include a more thorough overview of the research process, critical reflections on source reliability and bias, epistemological reflections, and historical approaches and objectives. I begin with an overview of the inception of the project.

I began this project in the summer of 2013 as a research assistant for the University of Oxford's Refuge Studies Centre Humanitarian Innovation Project. My supervisor, Alexander Betts, was interested in learning about the history of refugee livelihoods and employed me to conduct research due to my own interest in this topic. The opening question for my research was exploratory, aimed at gaining an overview of the state of the field: 'What literature on refugee livelihoods and self-reliance exists between 1919 and the present in both academia and the policy/practice of forced migration?' After the initial research stage, I shortened the period of study to go only up to 1979 due to the

plethora of relatively unexplored material I discovered for these earlier decades, with the plan of returning to examining literature from 1979 and onwards at a later date.[152]

Following Arksey and O'Malley,[153] I initially employed a scoping study methodology for this research to map available literature underpinning the concept of refugee livelihoods and refugee livelihoods assistance between 1919 and 1979. A scoping study might be undertaken to examine the extent, range and nature of a research topic; to determine whether undertaking a full systematic review holds value; to summarise and disseminate research findings; and to identify gaps in extant literature.[154] In this case, I sought in particular to understand the nature of refugee livelihoods prior to 2000, when literature on the topic burgeoned. Included in my search terms, however, was 'self-reliance', and thus many findings were also relevant for this DPhil project. I then updated the study at the beginning of the DPhil to continue up to 2015 and to focus specifically on refugee self-reliance and self-reliance assistance; the original research conducted was published as an article in the Journal of Refugee Studies in 2015.[155]

Scoping studies are often part of a longer process of systematic review and are useful when an undefined amount of evidence exists.[156] As Mays et al. write, scoping studies

[152] As will be further explained in my second case study, in 1979 a major conference known as the Arusha Conference was held to discuss the responsibility-sharing of African refugees; it was here that a focus on Refugees Aid and Development (RAD) emerged as a concrete agenda, and thus this time period is commonly attributed as the 'beginning' of focusing on refugee self-reliance and development.
[153] Arksey, H., & O'Malley, L. (2005). Scoping studies: towards a methodological framework. *International journal of social research methodology*, *8*(1), 19-32.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Easton-Calabria, E. (2015) 'From Bottom-Up to Top-Down: The 'Pre-History' of Refugee Livelihoods Assistance from 1919 – 1979'. *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 28(3): 412-436.
[156] Levac, D., Colquhoun, H., & O'Brien, K. K. (2010). Scoping studies: advancing the methodology. *Implementation science*, *5*(1), 69.

‘aim to map *rapidly* the key concepts underpinning a research area and the main sources and types of evidence available, and can be undertaken as stand- alone projects in their own right, especially where an area is complex or has not been reviewed comprehensively before’.[157] [emphasis in original] Scoping studies are an iterative rather than linear process, with studies included as they are found in reference lists, new relevant search words identified in the literature and used in subsequent searches, archives visited and revisited, and so on. The scoping study stages and my process is overviewed below.

Scoping Study Stages Framework:

Stage 1: Identifying the research question

Stage 2: Identifying relevant studies

Stage 3: Study selection

Stage 4: Charting the data

Stage 5: Collating, summarising and reporting the results.

Plus parallel ‘“consultation exercise” to inform and validate findings from the main scoping review.’[158] [see further below]

[157] Mays, N., Roberts, E., & Popay, J. (2001) Synthesising research evidence. *Studying the organisation and delivery of health services: Research methods*, *220*. P. 194.
[158] Arksey, H., & O'Malley, L., Scoping Studies. P. 11.

Scoping Study for Refugee Livelihoods and Self-Reliance, 1919-1979

Stage 1: Research Question

What literature on refugee livelihoods and self-reliance exists between 1919 and 1979 in both academia and the policy/practice of forced migration? (Taking various terms for 'livelihoods' and 'self-reliance' into account)

Stage 2: Identifying relevant studies

Search strategy (pilot plus refined)

Scope limited to:

Conceptual literature domains: refugee livelihoods, refugee self-reliance

Methodological literature domains: Qualitative, Quantitative

Search terms used:

Refugee AND

Business development

Economic activities

Economic capacities

Enterprise/enterprise development

Entrepreneurs

Employment-generating projects

Employment promotion/creation

Income-generation/-generating activities

Livelihoods

Rehabilitation

Self-employment

Self-help

Self-reliance

Self-sufficiency

Series of search waves

Waves 1 and 2: Published and grey literature based upon search terms, with new keywords found in initial searches added to search string

Wave 3: Further studies identified based upon reference lists of literature found in Waves 1 and 2

Searching for research evidence via different sources (limited to resources in the English language):

Electronic databases

Refworld

Applied Social Sciences Index & Abstracts (ASSIA)

Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI)

ProQuest Dissertation & Theses

GoogleScholar

Journals (electronic and physical)

Forced Migration Review

International Migration Review

International Labour Review

Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies

Journal of Refugee Studies (1988-)

Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees

Refugees Survey Quarterly (1982-)

Archives

RSC Grey Literature/Rolling Stacks

International Labour Organisation Library Depository

Bodleian Law Library Archives

League of Nations archives

UN/UNHCR archives

Existing networks, relevant organisations, institutions and conferences (e.g. Refugee Livelihoods Network)

Migration/refugee-relevant research institutions (overview available on Refworld)

European Economic Commission

IOM

UN

World Food Programme

UNHCR

Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, ‘New Issues in Refugee Research’

Overseas Development Institute (ODI), Humanitarian Policy Group (HPG)

World Bank

Reference lists (bibliographies of studies found through the database searches)

Stage 3: Study selection

Inclusion/exclusion criteria (centrality of livelihoods, focus on refugees...)

Based upon title, abstract, determine whether full article should be read/reviewed (if unclear, rea

Note: Bibliographic information for relevant literature catalogued through Zotero (bibliographic library)

Stage 4: Charting the data

Conceptual, geographic, and temporal domains of literature

Literature classified according to:

Policy/practice

Reports

Analysis

Proposals

OR

Academia

Theoretical

Critical

Theses/dissertations

Peer-reviewed article

Book

As well as:

Published work

Grey literature

Referenced/cross-referenced according to different domains:

Geographic (region, country)

Temporal (year, era)

Conceptual

Rural

Urban

Camp

Environment/climate-change related (?)

Returnees/repatriated refugees

IDPs

Micro-finance/small loans

Vocational training

Stage 5: Collating, summarising and reporting the results

Created:

Library of searched documents for future reference in Zotero reference software

Summary document (1/2 page to 3 pages in length) for each piece, including:

Abstract

Summary (with bullet points and pin citations)

Brief analytical notes when relevant

I identified relevant primary literature in a series of iterative waves from July to September 2013 using Social Science Citation Index (SSCI), Social Science Research Network, Applied Social Sciences Index & Abstracts (ASSIA), Labordoc and the Campbell Library, supplemented by Google Scholar searches. Initially retrieved studies prompted further searches of bibliographies, which in turn generated more relevant literature. I initially screened each piece of literature on keywords, title and, if available, an abstract. Relevant studies were then obtained, charted, tagged with the keywords listed above and stored in an electronic database.

A total of 312 items comprising books (38), research articles (129), institutional reports (134) and private documents (11) were collected and examined in the first course of the study between August 2013 and June 2014. In the subsequent course of study, which took

place in iterative waves between October 2015 and March 2018, I did not record the number and types of data collected as my focus was primarily on the content of the data itself, which was recorded in the form of notes as well as direct annotations on documents.

The relevance of the historical documents I identified in non-digitised archives lay the groundwork for undertaking a primarily archival DPhil project. I was excited by the information on refugee livelihoods and self-reliance I discovered in the archives and was surprised to learn how little it had been drawn upon in Refugee Studies literature. As discussed in the methodology section of my introduction chapter, primary literature consulted includes documents from the League, UN and ILO archives, as well as the University of Oxford Refugee Studies Centre Betts Collection, comprising the formerly classified reports and private documents of Tristam F. Betts. Despite their availability in archives, many of these personal and technical documents by development workers and personnel of long-standing institutions are nondigitised, are therefore not easily accessible, and have been unexamined for content involving refugee self-reliance and livelihoods. Although I was cognisant of the impossibility of constructing a 'definitive history' of refugee self-reliance assistance, I sought to conduct a project that could shed light on some of the important yet little-examined history of this assistance.

Case Study selection

Through my first period of study, I identified the ethnic Greek refugees and the assistance response it engendered as a notable case study for self-reliance assistance for two particular reasons (expounded on in the following empirical chapter): first, it was the first

international institutional response to refugees, and second, it was heralded as a model for future refugee settlement. Given my constraints in writing a thorough history through only four case studies that spanned time, regions, refugee populations, and even assistance agencies, I became interested in pursuing *model cases* as exemplars of dominant or ideal types of refugee self-reliance assistance at different times. This approach, I reasoned, would enable me to examine both the particularities and potential continuities of refugee self-reliance assistance in different contexts, as well as potentially identify influences from broader economic and social trends. It would also provide a continuity in my enquiry besides my subject of self-reliance assistance itself.

However, in order to determine which cases could truly be considered models, I recognised I had to read a variety of primary and secondary sources whenever possible. Indeed, as Gilham states, the 'use of multiple sources of evidence, each with its strengths and weaknesses, is a key characteristic of case study research'.[159] Although one project, such as the UNHCR/World Bank project in Pakistan in the 1980s might be called a model by the implementers themselves, were other actors also acknowledging, learning from, and perhaps emulating this work? This was not always possible to concretely determine based on my sources but it was with this intention that I examined 'model' projects. Rather than simply relying on institutional reports, I sought to corroborate these models through private writing, journal articles, and when available through other secondary sources. I ascertained the larger assistance trends that I argue became models themselves, such as

[159] Gillham, B. (2000) *Case study research methods*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing. P. 2.

agricultural settlement or vocational training, through their repeated use by different actors across the time periods I studied.

My empirical chapters provide detailed explanations for why each case was considered a model, but in sum I chose case study countries that had large-scale refugee influxes in the time period I studied, were assisted by international agencies such as UNHCR, and for which I had evidence from a range of sources of 'model' self-reliance assistance practices. This latter point was a means to ascertain the external validity of the case study, traditionally considered one of the main weaknesses of case study research.[160]

This selection criteria ultimately led me to dismiss interesting cases that I had originally considered for inclusion. For example, I ended up focusing my case study on self-reliance assistance in the 1980s on Afghans in Pakistan in the 1980s instead of to Afghans in Iran. Although both countries had millions of refugees, Iran received very little international assistance and thus I felt it would be incongruent to focus on the structure and practices of self-reliance assistance there. I had also originally planned on my fourth case study being on Central American refugees in Campeche, Mexico, in the 1990s, as I had identified secondary evidence of successful self-reliance programmes there. However, I ultimately chose against this case study for two reasons; first, these self-reliance programmes had received very little international acclaim in the humanitarian world, and thus could not reliably be considered as models; and, second, my limited knowledge of Spanish meant that I was not able to conduct in-depth archival analysis of documents.

160 Ruzzene, A. (2012) Drawing lessons from case studies by enhancing comparability. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, *42*(1), 99-120. Pp. 100-101.

Thus, I felt I would not have been able to do justice to this case, nor have the academic rigour necessary for successful research. In the end, I chose to create a contemporary case study of urban refugees in Uganda due to the country's acclaim as a model for refugee self-reliance, as well as my past experience conducting fieldwork in the city.

I had two further aims in my case study selection. First, I sought to broadly identify cases in different geographical regions, with the idea that important information could be gleaned through examining continuity and change of self-reliance assistance as enacted in different parts of the world. Secondly, I sought to find case studies through which I could discuss broader social, economic, and political events and trends. While this assuredly would have been possible through many different case studies, I decided for example that as part of my historical narrative a discussion of the Cold War's influence on refugee self-reliance assistance was important, given its effect on wider refugee assistance.[161] This focus helped me choose the case of Afghan refugees in Pakistan in the 1980s, for example, as their displacement and the assistance they received was directly connected to Cold War politics.

Archives and Source Selection

This project utilised multiple archives due to several rationales. First, the different time periods and geographic regions of my three historical case studies meant that relevant sources were held in different locations. Secondly, although I sought to write a history of

[161] Loescher, UNHCR and World Politics.

refugee self-reliance assistance, and thus mainly a history from the perspective of assistance institutions, I could only do this through capturing as thorough a picture of self-reliance assistance possible in a few key cases. As mentioned in my introductory chapter, my thesis sub-questions were targeted at the macro, meso, and micro level; accordingly, I originally identified archives and sources that I hoped could provide information from these different 'levels' of history. However, it became clear through my course of study that archives revealed a wide variety of perspectives and breadth of information, and thus did not always neatly correspond to these different levels of examination. For example, archives from all different types of actors, ranging from institutional agencies to individual humanitarians, were relevant in providing findings for my 'meso'-level question ('Whose interests shape the practice of self-reliance assistance?'). I realised, however, that maintaining a broad heuristic of micro-meso-macro investigation in selecting archives remained valuable, in particular due to the different types of documents generally held in different types of collections.

As mentioned in my introductory chapter, at the macro level of international institutions and policy, I researched the League of Nations (case study 1) and UNHCR archives (case studies 2 and 3) in Geneva. During the course of my research in the T.F. Betts Collection at the University of Oxford, I came across multiple International Labour Organization documents that were relevant to refugee self-reliance. In year two of my DPhil, I therefore also conducted research at the ILO archives in Geneva (I had already and continued to make use of the ILO online archive catalogue, Labordoc).

In order to better understand the meso level, what I defined as operations by national organisations as well as local projects funded and led by international organisations in specific countries, I sought reports and reflections on particular programmes and settlements, as well as their administration. While League and UNHCR archives were helpful in this regard to a certain extent, I particularly made use of the T.F. Betts Collection (case study 2 and 3), P. and M. Centlivres Afghanistan Collection (case study 3) and the digital archive of the Afghanistan Center at Kabul University (case study 3).

Lastly, I sought the personal perspectives of actors living through the case study periods and involved in self-reliance assistance in some way. Attempts to gain this micro perspective was also an attempt to corroborate or enrich the information found in formal, institutional documents. For example, in my first case study of ethnic Greek refugees in Greece, my knowledge of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission was augmented through the journal entries and letters of Ruth A. Palmeree, which contained similar information of the main challenges on the ground as that of the Commission, and thus made their justification for actions more plausible. A less formal, micro perspective was gained, as well, through the Brainerd P. Salmon Private Papers (case study 1 and 2), the Neldner Collection (case study 2) and the T.F. Betts Collection (case study 2 and 3).

Types of Documents: Validity, Reliability, and Bias

A variety of sources were contained within this breadth of archives, some of which I felt able to trust more fully than others in the information they presented. While I felt able to

determine the validity (authenticity) of my documents through following Garraghan et al.'s source criticism[162] (overviewed in the 'archival research' section of my introduction), an ongoing point of interrogation was the *reliability* of my sources. To this end I asked a series of questions to reflect on the original purpose of a document and determine the level of 'truth' I believe it held. These included: What might have been the author's intention with creating this record? For whom was the document intended (e.g. intended original audience)? Did the author have anything to gain from the narrative relayed in the document? What sort of biases might the author have (based off any secondary information possible, e.g. author background)?

Many of the documents I examined were project or settlement reports from UNHCR, the League of Nations, ILO, UNDP, World Bank, or national organisations such as the Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service. These documents were often interim or final project reports which detailed the inception, funding, implementation, and outcomes of programmes. Thus, they likely targeted donors and senior organisational staff, and for this reason I treated them as valuable sources of information but not necessarily sources of 'truth'. I specifically took potential bias into account regarding records of project success, such as the UNHCR/World Bank project in Pakistan which employed both refugees and locals during the 1980s and was extended for multiple years. While project reports detailed the meeting of programme objectives (such as a certain percentage of refugees employed and local habitation restored), it was difficult to corroborate such statements without firsthand accounts from outside sources. However, I was able to find speeches

[162] Garraghan, G. et al., A guide to historical method. P. 262.

from UNHCR High Commissioner Hocke lauding the programme and depicting it as a model to be replicated. I also located contemporaneous secondary academic sources discussing the project as a success. What I garnered from this research of outside sources was not confirmation that the UNHCR/World Bank project was indeed a success, but instead that it was widely *presented* as one, including by arguably the most influential head of an institution representing refugee assistance (UNHCR). As this, after all, was the focus of my project – to examine programmes presented as models and successes, not necessarily *successful* programmes themselves – this project merited inclusion.

In contrast to many of the official reports I researched, sources such as journal entries and private letters appeared to hold more reliability due to the presumed intentions with which they were written. The copious journal entries and letters to family and friends by Ruth A. Palmeree, for example, appeared to be written only for her intended audience as a form of regular communication and connection, as well as personal solace. The consistent style of letters across years, which often depicted the minutiae of daily life, such as how many babies were born in the hospital Dr. Palmeree ran or the furnishings of the new apartment she moved into, demonstrated the author as a reliable narrator whose depictions could largely be understood as true according to her. Similarly, private letters found in the T.F. Betts and Neldner Collections between settlement commandants, staff, and other contacts often contained a directness that contributed to their air of reliability. One example (provided in depth in case study 2) is a letter by a programme supervisor of TCRS Agricultural Programme to Mr Neldner following a negative UNHCR appraisal of their programme: ‘The people who have made the comments have talked much about the

negative aspects in the settlements and not talked enough about the positive sides. This is a very important thing and the field staff should be told that they have to be careful about making negative remarks.'[163] Such frank statements about the need for control suggest a confidential correspondence where true feelings and perceptions about events were shared, thus making it a more reliable document.

Reflexivity and Reliability during Fieldwork

I also dealt with issues of reliability in my fieldwork. I attempted to gain the firsthand perspective of both refugees and assistance agencies through primary qualitative research for my fourth case study of urban refugees in Kampala, Uganda. As detailed in the fieldwork section of my introduction, my methods included non-participant observation, semi-structured qualitative interviews, and focus group discussions. While I strove to gain thorough and accurate information from my participants, I was constantly aware of how my informants' perception of me mediated their responses as well as the extent to which I was included or excluded in situations such as meetings where I might have gained valuable information. My status as a white, relatively young, female foreigner from the United States with limited French and Swahili skills assuredly all affected the reliability of accounts I gained during the course of fieldwork.

I tried to address these limitations in a variety of ways. I sought to remain reflexive during my fieldwork period, and adjust my language, demeanour, and even clothing based on the

[163] Jernaes, J. (1971) Letter to Mr. Neldner, Regarding Mr. Feldman's Report 25th September. Neldner Archives, Bodleian Social Science Library, University of Oxford. RSP/NELD/LT 59.44 FEL.

informants I met with and the environments in which I conducted research. To this end, it was useful to draw on Archer's definition of reflexivity as a practice of 'internal conversation' particularly around issues of personal identity and presentation that one can consider 'in relation to their contexts (and vice versa)'.[164] I also found value in non-participant observation as a method, where I had the ability to 'sit back' and watch livelihoods trainings unfold without direct engagement with participants. Although I am aware my presence affected the proceedings of trainings in some unquantifiable form, I believe that regularly attending specific trainings and becoming known to my informants as a temporary fixture of the training environment helped the reliability of the data I collected through this observation.

A Note on Connecting Historical and Contemporary Methods and Cases

If appropriately undertaken, I believe that archival and contemporary research can be complementary approaches to learning of assistance to refugees. Both archival analysis and qualitative research, such as semi-structured interviews and non-participant observation, offer the means to gain information on specific topics as well as analyse discourse to learn of power dynamics and interests. Indeed, scholars such as Lerner have asserted the social process of archival research, describing an attempt to 're-create social worlds' through tracing 'histories…and the people who were represented in those

[164] Archer, M. (2007) Making our Way through the World: Human Reflexivity and Social Mobility. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. P. 4.

histories'.[165] Contemporary research can be seen as having the opportunity to enter social worlds in 'real-time' – yet with a researcher still facing the significant task thereafter of 're-creating' them through analysis and writing up findings.

In deciding how best to document the social world I experienced in Kampala, I faced an ongoing tension with the style in which I wrote my fourth case study, as I felt stuck between continuing to take an institutional perspective similar to the previous three case studies and allowing the primary accounts of refugees to form the empirical basis for the chapter. In the end, I do not feel I did justice to this aspect of my research, as the bulk of my analysis remained on the practices and rhetoric of international assistance agencies as I tried to remain consistent with my former case studies. However, I believe this was due to choices I made in writing my chapter rather than the variety of historical and contemporary methods I employed in research. It is my hope that a future output from this research will more thoroughly present refugees' perspectives on self-reliance assistance in Kampala.

Epistemological Reflections

An ongoing point of internal discussion throughout the course of my DPhil was my epistemology as I approached both my empirical data collection and theoretical framework. Given the 'spectrum of Marxisms' I overview in my theoretical chapter, I had to make decisions about how I identified 'truth' in my documents alongside how I sought

[165] Lerner, N. (2010) Archival research as a social process. In: Ramsey, A. E., Sharer, W. B., L'Eplattenier, B., & Mastrangelo, L. (Eds.). (2009). *Working in the archives: Practical research methods for rhetoric and composition*. Southern Illinois: SIU Press., 195-205. P. 196.

to determine which evidence 'mattered' for my project. While some perceive Marx as a classic positivist interested only in the material workings of society, and thus the material interests of actors, others advocate for Marxism's to account for the role of language and discourse as forming an important part of reality.[166] As I sought to isolate my own stance along this pole, I regularly asked myself how much I believed I could reasonably interpret actor's behaviour from the rationalist standpoint as I came across them in the archives in the form of programmes and stated aims and objectives, and how much I could substantively infer from documents.

In the end, I situated myself in line with a critical theory epistemology that draws on historical materialism (thus containing elements of positivism) yet maintains that all knowledge must be put in historical, social, and situational context (thus drawing on constructivism, in that perceptions of the world are constructed by individuals, who in turn are influenced by their contexts).[167] As such, while I examined documents for concrete events, programmes, and so on, I also maintained a critical eye towards the document author or publisher, the time period in which it was written, the intended audience, and so on (see section on source selection). I ultimately construed documents, as well as the qualitative interviews I held, as containing truth as constructed by the individual author, organisation, or informant, not necessarily as objective truth unto itself. That being said, I undertook this research with a belief that objective truth in the form of

[166] Maesse, J. (2018). Discursive Marxism: How Marx treats the economy and what discourse studies contribute to it. *Critical Discourse Studies,15*(4), 364-376.
[167] This stance is in line with scholars such as Lincoln and Guba who assert the complementary objectives of constructionism and critical theory. See: Lincoln, Y. & Guba, E. (2000) 'Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences.' In: Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. (eds) Handbook of Qualitative Methods. 2nd Ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage. Pp. 163 - 188.

facts and key events (such as the formation of the League's Refugee Settlement Commission or the end of World War II) does exist, though narratives surrounding and perceptions of such events will differ.

Ultimately, although my case studies are on historical time periods and actual events, I acknowledge that this project follows a narrative that is my own. Were another researcher to have undertaken this enquiry, the conclusions they would draw from examination of the same texts may differ, or signal another sort of relevance entirely. To this end, reflexivity as a researcher was key, as I sought to remain 'true' to my archival material and qualitative fieldwork through describing and sharing the information they contained while also using my Marxian theoretical lens to examine material interests and power relations.

Therefore, in a positivist sense, I examined archival documents for material interests, both explicit and implicit, such as Western development actors' emphasis on the cultivation of cash crops by refugees in post-colonial East Africa that corresponded to colonial trade relations. In other words, as I have stated elsewhere, I sought to 'follow the money', by which I mean the interests of actors, be they political, social (such as gaining status), or economic. Following Marx, I rationalised that even in cases where interests were apparently political, material interests could always be found; however, to account for the important differences that nonetheless remained, I found utility in separating economic and non-economic aims, which I termed material and conceptual. Much more in line with a neo-Marxist mentality, I also found enormous utility in examining the role of discourse

and language in shaping the reality of the relevant actors in the case studies I presented, though this generally formed an implicit rather explicit part of my analysis.

Historical Approaches and Objectives

Another question I asked myself throughout this project was a simple one: Why historicise? More specifically, why was it important for me to historicise refugee self-reliance assistance? By historicise I mean here to recontextualise with historical information and, as Fraser writes, to reread texts 'in light of categories and problems not available to their authors'.[168] I sought to bring a materialist historical reading to the topic of refugee self-reliance with the objective of seeking to better understand different actors' interests, namely assistance agencies and governments, as they undertook self-reliance programmes. I also undertook this particular reading of history in order to better identify the relationship between capital and refugee self-reliance assistance; I attempted to do this through identifying and analysing material interactions, interests, and influences such as wider economic phenomena. At the same time I accounted for the role of political and social interactions and events, which I analysed as part of the broader historical contexts I presented in each case study.

However, history is of course written and read from the perspective of a variety of intellectual disciplines, with their different methodologies, and definitions of evidence. Comparative history, intellectual history, cultural history, and social history are only a

[168] Fraser, N. (2003) From discipline to flexibilization? Rereading Foucault in the shadow of globalization. *Constellations*, *10*(2), 160-171.

few of the many different schools of historiography.[169] I chose a materialist reading of history for this thesis for several reasons.

A materialist approach felt key to me as it enabled an opportunity to bring a new perspective to current discussions on refugee self-reliance and corresponding assistance, particularly as much of the contemporary rhetoric and academic research on this subject is economically focused. So often this economic focus equates refugee self-reliance with jobs and livelihoods, on one hand, and the assistance to foster it with a reduction of aid tied to funding shortfalls, on the other. Thus the topic of refugee self-reliance retains a focus on money when it could instead be associated with so many other aspects of life, such as political freedom, community self-determination, or sustainable and sovereign food production. However, it was the persistence of this financial focus in current rhetoric that engendered both my curiosity and my criticism about how refugee self-reliance was viewed, and which practices were undertaken to foster it in the past. This interest led me to seek a reading of history that would allow me to observe linkages between refugee self-reliance assistance and material interests and influences. As expounded in my theory chapter, while my approach is Marxian, my reading of history is not materialist in the sense of traditional historical materialism's teleological focus on progress. Instead, I sought to focus on the material interests and outcomes of refugee self-reliance assistance rather than the very different lens that, for example, a feminist reading of history would bring.

[169] Cannadine, D. (ed.) (2002) *Introduction: What is history now?* Basingstoke: Palgrave. P. 37.

Conclusion

The previous sections of this chapter have reflected on various components of methods and methodology, expanding on the methods discussion in my introduction chapter. I first explained the origin of my project and the scoping study methodology with which I began the research process. I then explained my case study selection, discussing in particular my aim of finding model cases within large-scale refugee responses by international institutions. I also reflected on my archives and source selection, expanding on the discussion in my introduction on the micro, meso, and macro levels I sought to analyse, and how archival collections corresponded to these levels.

I discussed the types of documents I analysed, and the validity, reliability, and biases I tested. In particular, I explained how I determined the reliability of my sources. This issue was also relevant during my contemporary fieldwork as I received information through interviews and non-participant observation. I ended this section with a note on connecting historical and contemporary methods and cases, as I employed a unique blend of archival and contemporary qualitative methods in this thesis. This chapter concluded with epistemological reflections and a discussion of the historical approach I chose for this project and my corresponding objectives through this reading of history. The following chapters present the empirical material generated through the methods and methodology reviewed here.

Chapter 4.
Refugee Self-Reliance Assistance in the Interwar Years

Introduction

On one mild day in October 1922, an American doctor named Ruth Parmelee arrived in Salonika, Greece. Although not her intended destination – she was meant to begin work in Smyrna after summer holidays in America – the activities she would undertake would become her life's main calling. 'I now began, this time in Greece, a period of service which lasted thirty years,' she writes in the final sentence of her memoir.[170] She was not the only new arrival who would stay so long. On September 9, 1922, the Turkish army entered the city of Smyrna, spurring on the start of a population transfer between Greece and Turkey that would eventually uproot over 1.5 million people. In the course of that month, hundreds of thousands of Ottoman Greeks and Armenians left Smyrna for Greece. That October, Dr Parmelee estimated that there were 100,000 refugees in Salonika alone, and these flows were just the beginning. 'Many are flooding in from Thrace,' she wrote in a letter to friends in November, '[O]ne day we walked [to] the market to buy a loaf of bread, and were told that the bakeries were empty, because seven shiploads of refugees had just arrived.'[171]

[170] Parmelee, R. A. (1967/2002) *A pioneer in the Euphrates Valley*. Ann Arbor: Gomidas Institute Books.
[171] Parmelee, R. (1922a) Letter to family and friends. 1922. Ruth A. Parmelee Papers, Box 1, Folder 1.2., Notebook 1. Hoover Institution Archives.

Over the following decades, through her prolific reports to the American Women's Hospitals' headquarters and letter-writing to friends and families, Dr Parmelee became a documenter of the Greek-Turkish population exchange and its aftermath – notably of the emergency and development assistance provided to refugees. In the same letter to friends that November, she wrote,

> This morning I saw evidence of the efforts on the part of the government to place families in the country where they may till the fields and make their living…Aside from attempts on the part of the government to find some sort of shelter for these bodies, they are giving daily food rations, and furnishing some facilities for medical care. The Greek government is working and doing all they can, although they are a bankrupt institution. But they cannot begin to do it all and need the cooperation of all the relief agencies available.[172]

Beyond her role as a witness, Dr Parmelee became an active part of refugee relief and development work itself. As a doctor she directly assisted in emergency medicine, and in later years fought to open training schools for refugee nurses. In this way she simultaneously provided emergency and development refugee assistance. As we shall see, her work in many ways not only documents but also exemplifies the multi-pronged refugee assistance provided in the interwar years by relief agencies and institutions. In the 1920s, the nascent international humanitarian system experienced its largest task to date with the compulsory population exchange. Similar to many humanitarians, Dr Parmelee was battling entropy, striving to make order from disorder, to bring new lives – in the form of obstetrics as well as vocational training – to those refugees from Asia Minor who had been forced into Greece. It is therefore fitting to include her work with the American Women's Hospitals alongside other humanitarian agencies and the broader work of the

[172] Ibid.

League of Nations and Greek Refugee Settlement Commission at the time. Short of trained staff, money, and even space for hospital beds, Dr Parmelee struggled to expand and institutionalise the *ad hoc* response to the Greek refugees. She sought to shift the humanitarian gaze from refugees' short-term emergency needs to the potential of longer-term skills they and their surrounding host communities could utilise throughout their lives. However, self-reliance was no easy task, for either refugees themselves or the outside entities seeking to foster it. Nor is it simple to dissect efforts to create self-reliance from the coinciding nationalistic aims or economic priorities of states and institutions. Refugee self-reliance assistance was and continues to be embedded within larger social, political, and economic structures. It is often guided by invisible hands, and the archival texts designated to document it rarely hold explanations for its origins.

This chapter presents the main forms of assistance to refugees beyond the emergency phase – agriculture settlements, micro-finance, employment in public works, employment-matching, and vocational training – and demonstrates that they have existed since the 1920s. Although ranging in scope, these practices all target self-reliance, defined here as living without institutional assistance. This suggests a base belief by humanitarian and development actors at the time in the productive capability of refugees, evident in the discourse and corresponding construction of refugees as workers at different points in the history of the international refugee regime. This also suggests an instrumentalisation of both refugee self-reliance assistance and the refugee labour that arose from it, wherein the types of development assistance utilise the productive capabilities of refugees in different ways – ostensibly to promote self-reliance yet with the larger aim of serving host

governments' interests. This chapter focuses primarily on how refugees' efforts towards self-reliance were guided by assistance projects that contributed to the national and international project of statebuilding. This project, in turn, was pivotal to creating the modern capitalist economy, which in the interwar years was incubated by states and fed by the international economy. Using the response to the Greek refugee crisis by the League of Nations and supporting organisations, I examine the relationship between refugee self-reliance assistance and states' economic and non-economic aims both nationally and internationally, with a focus on the pervasive nationalist ideology present in the interwar era.

Self-reliance assistance practices furthermore provide the basis for which to discuss the self-reliance assistance practices occurring in later eras, and in this way provide a foundational insight into the material instrumentalisation of refugees in different ways at different times. While the material instrumentalisation of refugees took place through concrete practices of self-reliance, I argue that refugees were conceptually instrumentalised as an ethnic population to support nationalism and the nation-state system in this period.

In this period, refugee settlement premised on employability was readily utilised as a solution when labour was needed in countries of resettlement – and refused when it was not. Examining the larger landscape at the time also demonstrates how refugee assistance by the League of Nations, Greek government, and international charities such as the AWHs were in many cases pivotal to successful refugee settlement and in this way

became integral arbiters in instrumentalisation. I conclude with a discussion and application of the theoretical concepts of international welfare, instrumentalisation, and reserve army of labour to the empirical evidence I provide. These concepts elucidate the aims and effects of the types and structure of self-reliance assistance as well as the relationship between this assistance and Greece's national economy and the international economy in the interwar period.

Context

The establishment of the formal commission on the League of Nations on 25 January, 1919 provided an unprecedented basis for international cooperation and oversight as well as the first attempts by an international body to respond to mass displacement. The League was formed with the primary goal of maintaining peace, for the countries comprising it had in many cases been devastated by World War I. With the League's creation, states envisaged a security system to prevent war by increasing international dialogue, accountability and upholding newly drawn state lines, even condoning forced displacement through population exchanges to adhere to these borders.

In 1921, the League of Nations created the High Commission for Refugees (hereafter, the High Commission), in part to diminish the perceived threat of European destabilisation posed by displaced people. Approximately nine to ten million refugees were in Europe during the interwar period;[173] those supported by the League included Russians, Greeks,

[173] Marrus, M. (1985) The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century. Oxford; OUP. P. 51.

Armenians, Bulgarians, Turks, Saarlaenders and Jewish, mainly German, citizens.[174] The end of World War I and the interwar years constituted a continuous era of humanitarian efforts based on states' developing but still nascent propensity to take responsibility for populations in need and respond through international coordination and organizations.[175] Yet throughout this era, welfare provision by states was largely unfamiliar, and they maintained an overall ethos of self-reliance for citizens as well as refugees.

This focus on self-reliance was evident through the aim of the few welfare measures created during this time. One of the League's main areas of focus was unemployment, which after World War I was an area multiple countries needed to address. As Pironti writes, 'The regeneration of national economies at the end of war was closely linked to the need to find a solution to labour problems where the greatest social tensions were nested. All countries faced similar problems concerning labour reconversion and the risk of mass unemployment.'[176] Widespread unemployment and the social needs that accompanied it thus formed a premise for an international debate on social issues and solutions, and led to the creation of important social security models, such as the International Labour Organization's (ILO) international model of social insurance.[177] A main means to combat unemployment proposed by the ILO and later more widely

174 Fanshawe, M. and Macartney, C.A. (1933) What the League Has Done: 1920–1932, League of Nations Union, O.LNU/1933. P. 9.

175 Barnett, M.N. (2011) Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism. Ithaca: Cornell. P. 87.

176 Pironti, P. (2017) Post-war Welfare Policies. Encyclopedia Online,1914-1918. Webpage. Available at: http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/post-war_welfare_policies. (Accessed June 18, 2017)

177 Sauthier, I. L. (2013) Modern Unemployment: From the Creation of the Concept to the International Labour Office's First Standards. In Kott, S., & Droux, J. (eds) (2013) *Globalizing social rights: The international labour organization and beyond* (International Labour Organization century series). Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York. P. 80.

considered by the League was public works[178], which were expanded as a main foundation of welfare assistance in the United States through the New Deal between 1933 and 1938. The interwar years also saw the rise of other social welfare policies such as the UK's Unemployment Insurance Act of 1920, which offered insurance to approximately 20 million workers in an attempt to address the dysfunctions of the market.[179]

The focus on assistance to enable employment was also evidenced within the League; the High Commission, renamed the Nansen International Office for Refugees in the 1930s, had a strict 'no-charity' philosophy and conceptualised refugees as an economic and 'technical' problem with economic solutions.[180] As Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, the High Commissioner for Refugees, stated in 1923, 'The guiding principle was not indiscriminate charity which tends to the degeneration of the refugees, but to encourage them to work for themselves and thus become producers of wealth and independent citizens as soon as possible.'[181] This was enabled through the common naturalization of refugees at the time, which significantly reduced barriers to accessing work. The provision of material assistance to refugees was innovative for the time and 'League initiatives in helping refugees achieve self-sufficiency were a dramatic departure from the past'.[182] The League's overall doctrine of refugee self-reliance persisted into the 1930s, reflecting the tenets of state non-interference regarding citizen welfare.

[178] Ibid. P. 79.
[179] Garside, W. R. (2002) *British Unemployment 1919-1939: A Study in Public Policy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. P. 37.
[180] ILO (1928) 'Refugee Problems and Their Solution'. International Labour Review, 1768–85.
[181] LN (1923) Near East Refugees, Western Thrace Refugee Settlement. Report by Dr. Nansen, High Commissioner for Refugees. To League of Nations, Communicated to the Council. Geneva, April 22, 1923.
[182] Skran, C. (1985) 'The Refugee Problem in Interwar Europe, 1919–1939', MPhil thesis, Oxford, University of Oxford. P. 113.

The no-charity philosophy of the League also stemmed from the Commission's own financial constraints and its mandate to coordinate rather than implement programmes. Refugees were originally assumed to be an ephemeral phenomenon, and the Commission was only meant to be temporary.[183] The High Commission, and later Nansen Office, had to fight to remain in existence up to the start of World War II.[184] Indeed, both offices rarely received more than one per cent of the League's budget[185] and thus faced a challenging lack of funding. Due to this and a dearth of prior experience, the League's refugee relief efforts were largely *ad hoc* trials,[186] which became increasingly orchestrated in the late 1930s. The initial provisional nature of assistance facilitated accommodating policies regarding refugee livelihoods and self-sufficiency in rehabilitation and settlement efforts.

Due to social and political trends, internal funding constraints, and a lack of prior experience in refugee assistance, League assistance strategies emphasized bottom-up methods (those sourced from refugees themselves) and refugees' capacity to contribute to independent national commissions and rehabilitation through their own expertise as well as financial means. The promotion of refugee self-sufficiency and professional skills meant that refugees became employed in settlement commissions, served as delegates of the High Commission and even funded other refugees' settlements through microfinance

[183] LN (1934) Human Welfare and the League, League of Nations Union, O.LNU/1934(13). P. 66.
[184] Hansson, M. (1938) The Refugee Problem and the League of Nations: Conference Given at the Nobel Institute Oslo on January 7th 1938. Geneva: Nansen International Office for Refugees.
[185] Johnson, T.F. (1938) International Tramps: From Chaos to Permanent World Peace. London: Hutchinson. P. 207.
[186] Housden, M. (2012) The League of Nations and the Organization of Peace. Harlow: Longman. P. 59.

loans. However, they were also subjects of material and conceptual instrumentalisation by states, co-opted nationally and internationally for political, social, and economic gains.

Self-Reliance Assistance in Interwar Greece

After the break-up of the German, Russian, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires, nationalism became a main agenda for the myriad minorities throughout Europe. Nationalist movements that had been brewing prior to the war found themselves able to legitimately form new nations, as nation-states were to be governed by the principle of self-determination based on Wilson's Fourteen Points, an outline of principles for world peace set out during the peace negotiations to end the First World War.[187] The nation-state was conceived as a sovereign entity that presided over a homogenous group of people of (ambiguously) shared language, religion, culture, and descent. With the creation of nine new nation-states, the Great War and its conclusion in the Treaty of Versailles marked the transition from the age of empire to the age of the nation-state.[188] According to the guiding tenets of the modern nation-state system, peace could be maintained if people who 'belonged' within particular territories stayed there – or were moved there by force.

Despite the efforts to maintain peace, the formation of nation-states was anything but peaceful for the over two million people forcibly displaced after the war. In 1919, under

187 Wilson, W. (1918) President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points. 8 January. Available at: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/wilson14.asp. (accessed September 1, 2017)

188 The Ottoman Turks, for example, were forced to relinquish large swathes of land in southwest Asia and the Middle East, which became independent nation-states, and in Europe were left only with its successor state, the newfound Republic of Turkey. Source: Shaw, S. J., & Shaw, E. K. (1977). *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume 2, Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey 1808-1975* (Vol. 11). Cambridge University Press.

the Treaty of Neuilly, Greeks from Bulgaria were ‘exchanged’ with Bulgarian inhabitants of Salinik (soon to become Thessaloniki).[189] The tens of thousands exchanged in 1919 soon burgeoned. Although the Great War was over, the final chapter of the life of the Ottoman Empire was the Greek-Turkish war, which spanned 1919-1922 and led to the forced – and condoned – displacement of approximately 1.5 million people. Approximately one million ethnic Greek refugees and 500,000 ethnic Turkish refugees were the product of a population transfer between Turkey and Greece that began in 1922 and became compulsory in 1923. Soguk writes that human-induced displacements

> were a manifestation of statecraft, that is, something that happened in the course of statecraft or was a result of statecraft, something that manifested the difficulties of statecraft yet also was useful to the task of statecraft, something that escaped the control of statecraft but also was harnessed to the task of statecraft.[190]

This statement is overarchingly accurate in this context, for as scholars such as Zolberg have argued, the interwar era formation of nation-states cannot be divorced from the human displacement that partially created new nations.[191]

The Greek-Turkish population exchange was a monumental and tragic affair. It became a model for later forced transfers, including never-implemented plans by the British in 1930s Palestine to settle the Jewish-Arab ‘dispute’.[192] Bolstered by the ‘success’ of the Greek-Turkish population exchange, this concept began to be perceived as a way to settle

[189] Mazower, M. (1992) The refugees, the economic crisis and the collapse of Venizelist hegemony, 1929–1932. *Deltion Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon [Bulletin of the Centre of Asia Minor Studies]*, *9*: 119-134.
[190] Soguk, N. (1999) *States and Strangers: Refugees and Displacements of Statecraft.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. P. 66.
[191] Zolberg, A. (1983) The Formation of New States as a Refugee-Generating Process. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 467*, P. 24.
[192] Katz, Y. (1992) Transfer of population as a solution to international disputes. *Political Geography, 11*(1): 55-72.

minority conflicts as well as international problems, and retained broad acceptance through and beyond World War II.[193]

The Greek-Turkish exchange is well documented and has been analysed from multiple angles, including as a model for nationbuilding[194] and peacemaking.[195] It has also been discussed in Refugee Studies as evidence for the interwar years constituting the first international refugee regime[196] and as a case study of forced migration and population exchanges in the 20th century.[197] However, comparatively less examined is the long-term assistance provided to refugees in Greece during this time by the League of Nations-sponsored assistance body and humanitarian agencies. Its main aim of self-reliance and how this assistance compares to long-term refugee assistance in later years has been hitherto neglected despite the important precedent it set in refugee assistance.

Refugee Self-Reliance Assistance Practices

In 1922 in the destination port city of Salonika, the products of the population exchange were the refugees in Dr Parmelee's hands. Despite their vast emergency needs, Dr Parmelee quickly realised other needs, as well. In a 1922 report documenting the work of

193 Katz, Y. (1992) Transfer of population as a solution to international disputes. *Political Geography, 11*(1), 55-72. Pp. 55-56.
194 Özsu, U. (2011) Fabricating fidelity: Nation-building, international law, and the Greek–Turkish population exchange. *Leiden Journal of International Law*, *24*(04): 823-847.
195 Petropulos, J. A. (1976) The Compulsory Exchange of Populations: Greek-Turkish Peacemaking, 1922–1930. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, *2*(1), 135-160.
196 Skran, C. (1995) *Refugees in inter-war Europe: the emergence of a regime*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
197 Zetter, R. (2012) Lands of No Return, Population Exchange and Forced Displacement in the 20th Century. Anemon Productions.

the American Women's Hospital in Salonica in the first few months after her arrival, she writes,

> When trying to look into the actual condition of these Refugees it is natural to think of their physical needs, for at a glance hunger, nakedness, lack of shelter and sickness are visible even to the casual observer. But there are other kinds of suffering that cannot be known to the relief worker, who is doing his work in a wholesale manner. It is only through individual talks with individuals that the heart-ache can be known…Contractors, artisans, manufacturers, professional men, small merchants and farmers were obliged to flee empty handed and leave their all behind; the same with the home-makers…No business, no work, no homes! Such is the destitute conditions of the refugees in Salonica!...The one great cry among these refugees is for work! So often it is said: "We do not want charity bread; we want to earn it!" The Missionary Relief Committee heartily agrees that the most constructive relief work is that, given through some form of industrial work; and along these lines most strenuous efforts for relief are now being made.[198]

In a report written only ten months later, Dr Parmelee[199] discusses the 'Industrial Relief' she has helped to organise, including loans to refugee workers and the opening of a lace factory run by and employing refugee women. The rapid speed in the construction of this work is striking, and suggests that the contemporary strong distinction between emergency relief and development had not yet emerged in the interwar years.

Dr Parmelee and the American Women's Hospitals were not alone in their relief and development efforts. Echoing the League's overall approach to assistance, the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission (GRSC) was formed in 1923 with the sole and immediate aim of settling and fostering the self-reliance of the Greek refugees. The League of Nations baldly and repeatedly stated that the most crucial need for refugees was work and, like later programmes implemented in the 1920s and 1930s, the Commission

[198] Parmelee, R. (1922a) Letter to family and friends. 1922. Ruth A. Parmelee Papers, Box 1, Folder 1.2., Notebook 1. Hoover Institution Archives.
[199] Parmelee, R. (1923) Refugee Work in Salonica, Greece. AWH Report No 2, May 1923. Ruth A. Parmelee Papers, Box 3, Folder 3.12 Work Files, AWH 1922-1932. Hoover Institution Archives.

was forbidden to use funds on relief. The GRSC maintained a close connection to the national government, almost all GRSC staff were Greek and Henry Morgenthau, the first Chairman, stipulated that all posts should be given to Greek refugees.[200] Due to its success, the GRSC became a model for refugee settlements, replicated in further refugee crises in Bulgaria, Syria, and Lebanon. In Bulgaria between 1926 and 1933, for example, approximately 125,000 refugees were settled by a national commission through rural development that included building roads, clearing land and providing refugee farmers with tools and seeds.[201]

The following sections outline the main refugee self-reliance assistance practices undertaken in the interwar years by assistance agencies such as the GRSC, International Labour Organization (ILO), and private charities like AWH. I focus mainly on practices in Greece, due to its status as a model form of settlement, but also discuss larger European efforts to foster refugee self-reliance. These practices are important to highlight as further chapters compare and contrast these initial methods, which were first used in the 1920s as part of international assistance to refugees.

Agricultural settlement

Refugees created by population exchanges often entered states that perceived them as simultaneous economic burdens and opportunities.[202] Agricultural settlement was the

200 Skran, C. (1985) 'The Refugee Problem in Interwar Europe, 1919–1939', MPhil thesis, Oxford, University of Oxford; P. 179.
201 Skran, C. (1985) 'The Refugee Problem in Interwar Europe, 1919–1939', MPhil thesis, Oxford, University of Oxford; P. 49.
202 Howland, C.P. (1926) 'Greece and Her Refugees'. Foreign Affairs 4(613): 613–623.

dominant means of self-reliance assistance at the time and in Greece refugees were pivotal to economic growth, for they provided a cheap workforce as well as a domestic market. And the GRSC, in turn, was pivotal in helping refugees undertake labour at all. Indeed, of the Greek refugees, a 1929 Foreign Affairs article reads,

> The imported agriculturalists… often are better workmen then the indigenous ones, and the standard of Greek agriculture is already being raised by the competition and example of the newcomers…[T]obacco production of Macedonia has been doubled and cereal production greatly increased…In consequence, the large adverse trade balance characteristic of Greek commerce is gradually being reduced. The Commission wisely followed the aim of getting as many of the refugees as possible into productive work on the land, and refused to attract them into the already overcrowded cities by building dwellings for them there. Roughly six-sevenths of the persons "settled" by the Commission have been put on the land.[203]

As this quote states, Greece was able to improve exports and trade relations in part through the agricultural settlement of the majority of Greek refugees. As further detailed, this was supported through the work of the GRSC, which was tasked with placing as many refugees as possible into 'productive work', thereby demonstrating the primacy of labour in refugee assistance. However, the placing of refugees into work did not occur in silos but was instead heavily influenced by national and international demands for labour.

Having had to decide the post-war path to economic growth, Greece continued with agriculture instead of industrialization, which would have been difficult for the largely agrarian society to quickly achieve, and employed a mixture of import substitution and export.[204] As industrialization fell behind agriculture, refugees offered a cheap agrarian

[203] Armstrong, H. (1929) Venizelos Again Supreme in Greece. Foreign Affairs, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Oct., 1929), 120-129: 122-123.

[204] Mazower, M. (1992). The messiah and the bourgeoisie: Venizelos and politics in Greece, 1909–1912. *The Historical Journal*, *35*(4): 885-904. P. 119.

workforce and influenced political decisions leading to land reform. Formerly private land became government property and was then passed on to the GRSC to be reallocated accordingly. As Mazower explains, 'The Greek state shifted the costs of expropriation into the former owners of the land, freeing large areas which were eventually handed over to the Refugee Settlement Commission.'[205] In turn, the GRSC settled refugees on this newly available land, using most of their funds to settle refugees in rural rather than urban areas. Through the work of the GRSC, over 500,000 refugees were settled in rural areas, mainly in the north of Greece.[206] They contributed enormously to the Greek economy as an agrarian workforce.

For homesteading families, the Commission provided tools, animals and seeds for one year, as well as created infrastructure such as schools, hospitals and model farms that also assisted local Greeks.[207] A 1933 League pamphlet discusses a colony of 15 villages created to settle 15,000 refugees, mainly farmers.[208] Refugees lived in tents until material to build huts was provided. In addition to farms, cottage industries such as charcoal burning and carpet weaving were created and, by the end of the first year after resettlement, the majority of refugees had become entirely self-reliant.[209] By 1931, 650,000 people (approximately half of the refugees) had been settled and 2,000 agricultural colonies and urban quarters had been built around Greece.[210] In addition to

205 Ibid. P. 120.
206 Ibid.
207 Skran, C. (1989) 'The International Refugee Regime and the Refugee Problem in Interwar Europe', DPhil dissertation, Oxford, University of Oxford. P. 178.
208 LN (League Of Nations) (1933) Human Welfare and the League, League of Nations Union, January 1933, No. 155. O.LNU/1933(8). P. 72–73.
209 Ibid.
210 Skran, C. (1985) 'The Refugee Problem in Interwar Europe, 1919–1939', MPhil thesis, Oxford, University of Oxford. P. 48.

physical labour provided by refugees, development occurred through the commission's provision of new tools and agricultural methods. Of Greece, Mears writes:

> Better breeds of livestock are being introduced, and nomadic shepherds are being replaced by stock breeders who raise forage crops on their own land. Fallowing has given place to artificial fertilization, and new tools supplied by the Refugee Settlement Commission are gradually causing the peasants to discard antiquated methods of agriculture.[211]

Figures documenting the results of the land reform also suggest the significance of refugees' agricultural contribution to the Greek economy, as the rate of cultivation grew fastest in the new territories where the refugees were settled, mainly Macedonia and Thrace. Between 1922 and 1931 Macedonia's cultivated area expanded from 275,000 to 550,000 hectares and in Thrace from 72,000 to 148,000.[212] This was strikingly large compared to areas of central Greece sparsely populated with refugees, where cultivated land rose only from 260,000 to 330,000.[213] As discussed above, tobacco exports accordingly soared, further suggesting the agricultural benefit of refugees to the economy.

While agricultural settlement was the preferred option by the GRSC and Greek government for settlement, self-reliance through agriculture was not assured. Tobacco had long been an important export for Greece, and one which continued to flourish as Greek refugees took over the agricultural plots that ethnic Turks had been forced to leave behind. In the early 1920s when the GRSC was settling refugees, tobacco prices were high. It was

[211] Mears, E.G. (1929) Greece Today: The Aftermath of the Refugee Impact. Stanford: Stanford University Press. P. 279.; Elliott Mears was a well-respected Stanford Professor known for his work on modern Greece and Turkey. He spent 1916-1920 in the Middle East, 'in the service of the United States Department of Commerce and of economic missions to countries in Asia Minor'. His writings were well-respected and he was a trusted voice on international trade. Source: Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers (1947) Eliot Grinnell Mears, 1889-1946. University of Hawai'I Press, vol. 9. P. 30.

[212] Mazower, M. (1991) Greece and the inter-war economic crisis. Oxford: OUP Catalogue, Oxford University Press. P. 79-80.

[213] Ibid.

in high demand by the Americans at the time due to the cigarette industry, and the United States was the main importer.[214] By the mid-1920s tobacco had become the key commodity of Greece and equaled over half of Greece's export earnings.[215] Given the success of selling tobacco, it was not a problem that refugees were often settled on plots so small that only cash crop cultivation made economic sense. Indeed, to keep up with the demand, the Greek National Bank made loans to refugee farmers with the aim of incentivizing them to expand their cultivation of cash crops. In 1929 it was estimated that 100 out of 131 refugee settlements in the Kavalla region of northern Greece were dependent on tobacco crops as their livelihood.[216] However, in the late 1920s, prices dropped and refugees found themselves unable to earn enough to buy food. Neither the loan assistance provided nor the encouragement from the GRSC to mainly cultivate cash crops seemed as helpful as it once had. Wheat production also failed to support farmer self-sufficiency and in 1930 Greek Minister of Parliament F. Sarantis stated, '[W]heat growing is on the lowest rung of incomes and the shortage of large agricultural ownerships renders problematic the survival of the farmers who insist on wheat cultivation.'[217]

Starvation became a real fear, and the GRSC was accused of financially exploiting refugee farmers 'in the interests of foreign bondholders'.[218] As Mazower writes, 'By 1930 local

[214] Morgenthau, H. (1930) I was Sent to Athens. Journal of Hellenic Studies, 50:167. Pp. 256, 259, 275.
[215] LN (1925) Financial Situation in Greece. Letter and Note from the Representative of the Greek Government. Geneva, September 3, League Greek Delegation, No. 2935. 10/46055/26389.; Mazower, 'Greece and the inter-war economic crisis'. P. 87.
[216] Altsitzoglou, F. (1941) *Oi giakades kai o kampos tis Xanthis*. Athens.
in Mazower, 'Greece and the inter-war economic crisis'. P. 87.
[217] Efimeris Ton Syzitiseon (1930) 38th Session, Feb. 17, 1930, 650–65, 626, Library of the Greek Parliament in Athens. Cited in Kritikos, G. (2005) The agricultural settlement of refugees: A source of productive work and stability in Greece, 1923-1930. *Agricultural history*, 321-346. P. 323.
[218] Mazower, 'Greece and the inter-war economic crisis'. P. 125.

bank managers were extremely worried at prevailing levels of indebtedness: credit was being spent on consumer goods, or wage labour, at levels which could only be sustained so long as the boom kept prices high.'[219] As prices dropped, refugee farmers became unable to pay their loans – and were unable to be self-sufficient, as their plots had not been cultivated for subsistence. Refugees' loss of livelihoods therefore appears to be in part due to the very encouragement to borrow loans and grow cash crops from assistance agencies that sought to foster their self-reliance.

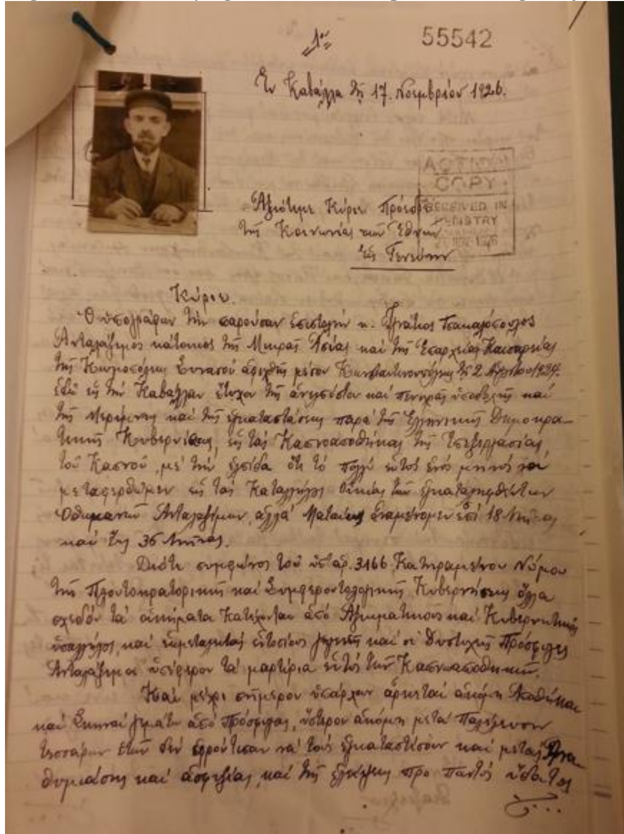
A handwritten letter by a Greek refugee named Ignatios Tsakalopoulos to the League of Nations, written on November 17, 1926, further demonstrates the need to critically examine whom benefitted from refugee assistance and in which ways. In documenting the state of refugee assistance in Cavalla, Greece, he both confirms and refutes institutional accounts of assistance. Tsakalopoulos writes:

> *[I] was poorly received and was installed by the Greek Government in the warehouse of the tobacco factories in the hope that within a month at least we should be transferred to some suitable dwelling of those which had been abandoned by the exchanged Moslems, but for 18, for 36 months we have waited in vain…Even at present there are still quite a large number of warehouses and tents full of refugees. After so many years of suffering no arrangements have yet been made to house them and protect them from suffering, overcrowding and particularly the lack of water. Almost one half the families have died, the deceased including my mother-in-law and aunt….*
>
> *'Both personally and on behalf of a large number of families of my acquaintance, I feel bound to inform you regarding the woeful condition of the refugees and ask you, nay pray you, to send me some reply. So many thousands of human beings have been exchanged... They have been deceived, are without work and are seeking charity…In view of the appalling conditions among the refugees I beg you in God's name to consider our case and send representatives to verify for themselves the conditions of the refugees in order that your sacred aims may be attained by loan…I beg of you not to grant any subsidies or loans for the establishment of refugees if the money is to be wasted in the merry-making and*

[219] Mazower, Greece and the inter-war economic crisis. P. 124.

entertainment of those who receive it, instead of the object for which it is intended…[220]

Figure 3. Letter by Ignatios Tsakalopoulos, League of Nations archives, Geneva. 10/55542X/263891



55542

Ἐν Καβάλλᾳ τῇ 17 Νοεμβρίου 1926.

ACTION COPY

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY

Ἀξιότιμε Κύριε Πρόεδρε
τῆς Κοινωνίας τῶν Ἐθνῶν
εἰς Γενεύην

Κύριε.

The descriptions in this letter contrast with much of the positive rhetoric about refugees' living and working conditions present in institutional documents from the time. Through the overt request for a loan to not be provided for any other purpose than true refugee assistance, this letter illuminates a sense of distrust of Greek authorities as well as a keen awareness of some of the financial activities related to refugee settlement, discussed later in this chapter.

220 Tsakalopoulos, I. (1926) [Letter from a Refugee] By Ignatios Tsakalopoulos (an exchanged person), Cavalla, November 17, 1926. To the President of the Council of the League of Nations, Geneva. 10/55542X/263891.

Urban refugee settlements

The predominant focus of the GRSC on rural development assistance to refugees can be seen through the fact that just a quarter of the initial budget was devoted to urban settlements. Despite the varied success of this approach in Greece, settling refugees in both urban and rural areas became the status quo in countries such as Bulgaria and Lebanon. The economic reasoning behind the notably reduced support to urban refugees as compared to those settled in rural areas is clear: in 1924 the Greek Minister of Agriculture posited that it was easier to settle refugees in rural areas rather than urban ones, stating, 'Because a small piece of land, a small rural dwelling and a few essential tools would not only improve the lot of the peasants, *they would also have an immediate effect in terms of the State Treasury. This is the class that produces faster yields*.'[221] [emphasis added] This demonstrates the strong economic reasoning behind the settlement of refugees in particular areas, as this was determined not only with the aim of fostering refugees' self-reliance but assuring a benefit to the Greek state, as well.

Where urban resettlement was an option, relocated urban dwellers had increased opportunities to continue their past professions and utilise financial and trading skills.[222] Refugees constituted 90% of the labour force for constructing houses in urban areas.[223] In addition to providing temporary jobs in construction, urban support occurred through the

221 Protonotarios, To Prosfygiko Provlima apo Istorikis, Nomikis kai Kratikis Apopseos, 88; Efimeris ton Syzitiseon, 65th Session, June 24, 1924, 458. Cited in Kritikos, The Agricultural Settlement of Refugees. P. 343.
222 Housden, M. (2012) The League of Nations and the Organization of Peace. Harlow: Longman. P. 70.
223 Skran, 'The Refugee Problem'. P. 179.

modest provision of housing, small loans (expanded on below), and some effort to help skilled refugees who sought to continue their trade as a group in urban areas.[224] A League report recalling the Greek refugees stated, 'The famous Smyrna carpet industry has now moved bodily, with the men who used to practice it, from Smyrna to the Piraeus'.[225] However, there are accounts of economic exploitation and mistreatment by native Greeks, and evidence of some Greeks moving from city to city in efforts to escape negative employers.[226] Urban refugees' living situations were often deplorable; over two-thirds of homes that the GRSC visited in 1929 were temporary dwellings that were often overcrowded and squalid.[227] The prewar urban housing crisis was exacerbated by the refugee influx, but complicated rights of tenure and political promises by the government that were never fulfilled affected the Greek refugees for decades.[228]

In the 1920s one of the largest urban refugee quarters in Greece was the district of Kokkina near Piraeus, which in had a refugee population of over 70,000 and an AWH hospital that Dr Parmelee took charge of in 1925.[229] In the 1970s, Dr Renee Hirschon undertook an anthropological study[230] focused on the social life of refugees in Yerania, a neighbourhood in Kokkina and the last to be provided with housing by the GRSC. This

224 Giannuli, D. (1995). Greeks or "Strangers at Home": The Experiences of Ottoman Greek Refugees during Their Exodus to Greece, 1922–1923. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies, 13*(2), 271-287. P. 280.
225 LN (1934) Human Welfare and the League, League of Nations Union, O.LNU/1934(13). P. 74.
226 Giannuli, 'Greeks or "Strangers at Home"'.
227 Morgenthau, 'I was Sent to Athens'. P. 243.
228 Hirschon, R. (1998) *Heirs of the Greek catastrophe: The social life of Asia Minor refugees in Piraeus*. Oxford: Berghahn books.
229 AWH (AMERICAN WOMEN'S HOSPITALS) (1923) AWH Bulletin 1923. Folder 3.13, Work Files AWH 1923-1952, Ruth A. Palmeree Papers, Hoover Institution Archives.; Palmeree, R. (1952) Dedication Piraeus Hospital, 1923. Folder 3.13, Work Files AWH 1923-1952, Ruth A. Palmeree Papers, Hoover Institution Archives.
230 This is one of the few studies in English that focuses on this population. Regrettably, due to time and language constraints, local and national Greek archives were not included in this research.

work reveals longstanding social and economic exclusion stemming from the treatment of urban refugees after the population exchange. In addition to refugees and their children living in overcrowded conditions in poverty, often in areas lacking central sewage systems, she writes, 'The existence of a separate sense of identity through five to six decades is notable since the original refugees and the host population, metropolitan Greeks, shared most social and cultural characteristics. The refugees were all Orthodox Christians, culturally and physically identifiable as Greeks, and the overwhelming majority were Greek-speaking.'[231] Despite ostensible similarities, the Greek refugees were still isolated and marginalized over fifty years since the population exchange, thus calling into question the extent of the 'success' of urban refugee settlement.

Loans for Refugees and the Refugee-led Revolving Fund

Although settlement primarily occurred in rural areas, the GRSC did advocate for refugees to start their own businesses in urban areas, and the government enabled loans to be taken out from the Greek National Bank. Loans were also offered through humanitarian organisations such as the AWH. In 1923, Dr Parmelee wrote in a report that 'time loans' amounting to $1500.00 USD had been provided to refugees. Two loans enabled refugees to open factories where over 150 men, women, and girls were employed to weave cloth, card and spin wool, and make rugs. She expressed hope that more funds would enable the factories to double in size. Multiple smaller loans offered craftsmen such as street vendors and shoemakers to open their own businesses, which enabled more than 75 refugees to be

‘taken from the Charity Roll’.[232]

In addition to receiving loans, refugees also financially contributed to other refugees’ settlement. By the late 1930s, the main source of income for the Nansen Office was provided by refugees themselves through a fee of five gold Francs for the Nansen passport, the identity travel document for refugees designed by Nansen in 1922. With these fees, the so-called Nansen Stamp Fund was created—a revolving fund providing loans to refugees that were repaid as they established themselves.[233] This ultimately ‘formed a nucleus of a humanitarian fund large enough to help refugees become self-supporting’.[234] The system of revolving funds was integral to creating Armenian settlements in Syria and Lebanon, and money donated to the settlements was loaned to refugees with a high success rate of repayment.[235] In the 1930s, small loans to establish businesses such as restaurants and shops were also granted to refugees through the revolving fund. In this way, refugees’ successful livelihoods creation enabled through the Nansen Stamp Fund provided the funding for further refugee rehabilitation.

Through these endeavours the potential for successful loan provision to refugees is apparent, and archival evidence demonstrates that micro-finance for refugees has been provided for almost a century. Through offering loans to refugees in urban areas, refugees contributed to local urban economies as well as supported each other in becoming settled.

232 Palmeree, R. (1923) Untitled private letter. Folder 3.13, Work Files AWH 1923-1952, Ruth A. Palmeree Papers, Hoover Institution Archives.
233 LN (1934) Human Welfare and the League, League of Nations Union, O.LNU/1934(13). P. 69.
234 Skran, C. (1989) ‘The International Refugee Regime and the Refugee Problem in Interwar Europe’, DPhil dissertation, Oxford, University of Oxford. P. 206.
235 Skran, ‘Refugees in Interwar Europe’. P. 181–182.

However, as discussed elsewhere in the chapter, loans to refugees was also a risky means of embedding them in the market economy, as the success of the livelihoods they sought to create through them was not assured.

Vocational Training and Small-Scale Industries

The vocational training of refugees also took place through both the GRSC and independent charities and agencies such as the American Women's Hospitals. These ranged from carpentry to sewing to skills in various cottage industries. In 1923, Dr Parmelee also reported on the positive developments of a lace industry for refugees in Salonica. That April, the number of female refugees employed in the industry had risen to 127, and a training component for others had been added:

> A refugee Armenian girl from Marsovan, Turkey – an only child, whose widowed mother was deported in 1915 and never heard from again – has now been called to assist in this Department. She is giving daily instructions to about 20 girls in the art of needle work; besides assisting in supervising the women mentioned above who are regularly employed. It is hoped these girls now under instruction will soon be added to our list of bread winners.[236]

Near Athens, the Near East Relief created an orphanage that trained over 7000 youth in vocational training, including industrial and 'home-making' skills[237] and Greek women's organisations were created, which sought to rehabilitate refugee women through training and fighting for women's rights, such as the right to vote.[238] The trend of vocational training for refugees also extended beyond Greece to other European countries, and

236 Parmelee, 'Untitled Private Letter'.
237 Barton, J. (1930) *Story of Near East relief (1915-1930): An interpretation*. New York: Macmillan.; Skran, 'The Refugee Problem in Interwar Europe'. P. 88.
238 These included the Christianiki Enosi Neanidon (XEN) (Christian Union for Young Women) in 1922, and Enosi Ellinidon Epistimonon (Union of Greek Women Graduates) in 1924. Source: Lazaridis, 'The feminist movement in Greece'. P. 206.

included Jewish organisations across Europe that provided employment training for refugees and those seeking to emigrate to Palestine.[239]

Dr Parmelee also trained refugees as nurses and doctors to work in American Women's Hospitals across Greece. In so doing she followed the League's trend of employing refugees in assistance efforts, creating a nursing training school for refugees and employing them in AWH hospitals across Greece. 'There were two aims in this training,' she wrote in a speech given decades later,

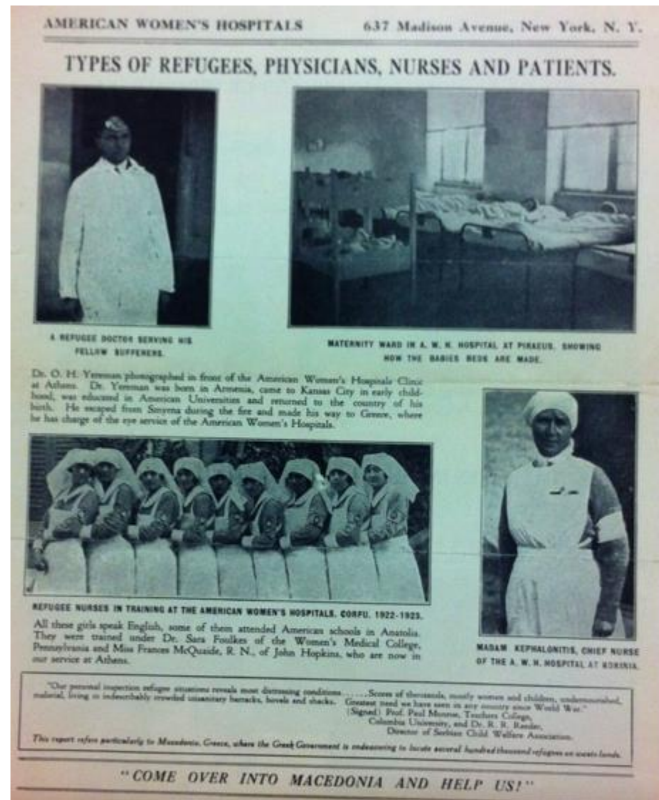
> [First] to assure better nursing care for our patients; and [secondly] to give a practical education to young refugee women which would make them useful in the future…As soon as possible, we reorganized the school of nursing which had been opened in the Salonica American Women's Hospital on January 23, 1923 and carried on the course leading to the full diploma in nursing, eventually graduating three classes. Emphasis was placed on training both in obstetrical nursing and midwivery, also in public health...[240]

One refugee who received this training and of whom Dr Parmelee often wrote was 'Sister Sarra', a Christian refugee from Asia Minor. She worked under Dr Parmelee for months, training and eventually graduating as a nurse. She then went on to run the Maternity ward of the American Women's Hospitals in Salonica. The AWH report, from which the following picture is reproduced, demonstrates a positive portrayal of productive refugees providing desperately needed medical care for fellow refugees. This sentiment was vociferously echoed by Dr Parmelee in letters to family and friends and official AWH reports during her decades in Greece, painting a picture of a situation in which trained medical professionals were few and far between and an era where refugees were perceived

239 Moore, B. (1990) Jewish refugee entrepreneurs and the Dutch economy in the 1930s. Immigrants & Minorities, 9(1): 46-63.
240 Palmeree, R. (1952) Dedication Piraeus Hospital, 1923. Folder 3.13, Work Files AWH 1923-1952, Ruth A. Palmeree Papers, Hoover Institution Archives.

as those best suited to offering assistance.

Figure 4 AWH Bulletin 1923-1924, Ruth A. Parmelee Papers, Folder 3.13, Work Files AWH 1923-1952, Box 3. Hoover Institution.



AMERICAN WOMEN'S HOSPITALS 637 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

TYPES OF REFUGEES, PHYSICIANS, NURSES AND PATIENTS.

A REFUGEE DOCTOR SERVING HIS FELLOW SUFFERERS.

MATERNITY WARD IN A. W. H. HOSPITAL AT PIRAEUS, SHOWING HOW THE BABIES BEDS ARE MADE.

Dr. O. H. Yereman photographed in front of the American Women's Hospitals Clinic at Athens. Dr. Yereman was born in Armenia, came to Kansas City in early childhood, was educated in American Universities and returned to the country of his birth. He escaped from Smyrna during the fire and made his way to Greece, where he has charge of the eye service of the American Women's Hospitals.

REFUGEE NURSES IN TRAINING AT THE AMERICAN WOMEN'S HOSPITALS, CORFU, 1922-1923.

All these girls speak English, some of them attended American schools in Anatolia. They were trained under Dr. Sara Foulkes of the Women's Medical College, Pennsylvania and Miss Frances McQuaide, R. N., of John Hopkins, who are now in our service at Athens.

MADAM KEPHALONITIS, CHIEF NURSE OF THE A. W. H. HOSPITAL AT KOKINIA.

"Our personal inspection refugee situations reveals most distressing conditions......Scores of thousands, mostly women and children, undernourished, malarial, living in indescribably crowded insanitary barracks, hovels and shacks. Greatest need we have seen in any country since World War."
(Signed) Prof. Paul Monroe, Teachers College,
Columbia University, and Dr. R. R. Reeder,
Director of Serbian Child Welfare Association.

This report refers particularly to Macedonia, Greece, where the Greek Government is endeavoring to locate several hundred thousand refugees on waste lands.

"COME OVER INTO MACEDONIA AND HELP US!"

These industries and vocational training centres in Greece are notable for several reasons. First, many of these trainings and industries, such as the one detailed by Dr Parmelee above, were led by refugees for refugees. They arose out of loans by organisations as well as by refugees themselves through the Nansen Stamp Fund and demonstrate the extent of refugees' embeddedness in refugee assistance. Secondly, the fact that these trainings and industries were in many instances created just months after refugees arrived demonstrates the commitment of humanitarian assistance at the time to offer both relief and development support. As previously mentioned, Dr Parmelee had already written of plans

for the lace industry for refugee women in December, 1922, hardly two months after she and many refugees had arrived in Salonica. In 1925, she wrote, 'One of our [nursing] pupils is now district nurse for her refugee village near Ekaterini. Another is serving the "Patriotic League" in the city of Salonica in child welfare work and visiting in the homes. Two have gone to London to take the full hospital course in nurse's training. Others have served other hospitals of the organization in Greece as head-nurses.'[241]

Over the course of the following year, the High Commissariat of the League of Nations placed considerable effort in creating small-scale industries for refugees, including brick-making and road-making. The charcoal burning industry in Gumuldjina, a district of Western Thrace, was placed under control of the High Commissariat and became one such self-supporting industry that employed some of the 611 refugees that had found jobs in industries supported by the League.[242] A League report from 1923 on the subject stated:

> While the reconstruction work undertaken by the High Commissariat is very small in comparison with the vastness of the Greek Refugee problem, it must be remembered that our object has been to set an example of what can and should be done on a very much larger scale, if a terrible catastrophe is to be avoided…some 11,000 refugees will have become self-supporting members of the community by July next, at an approximate cost to the League of 1 GBP per head.[243]

This focus on reconstruction and cost-effective support to refugees, in turn, helps explains the GRSC's own mandate when it was formed in 1923 – to provide refugees with permanent, productive labour. For those living in urban areas, particularly, training or

[241] Palmeree, R. (1925) American Women's Hospital for Women and Children. Salonica, Greece. Report. Ruth A. Parmelee Papers, Box 3, Folder 3.12, Work Files, AWH 1922-1932. Hoover Institution Archives.
[242] Nansen, F. (1923) Report: Near East Refugees, Western Thrace Refugee Settlement. League of Nations, Communicated to the Council. Geneva, April 22. R395 League of Nations Archive, Registry Files, 1919-1927, Section: No 10 Series 25480 to 26389 Files 42710 to 27191.
[243] Ibid. P. 6.

retraining offered a means to lead them into wage labour, which in turns offered a means to support local economies as both employees and entrepreneurs. The efforts by the League and the AWH speak to the broader trend at the time of a nascent public welfare system that could not provide endless humanitarian assistance and the resulting necessity for people to support themselves.

Refugee Employment and ILO's Employment-Matching Scheme

Although the Greek settlement was considered a success, refugees in countries like Lebanon and Syria struggled to find employment.[244] By 1924, it had become clear that the refugee 'problem' was not a temporary one and that 'in the main their problem was to find work, or have it found for them'.[245] In response, the ILO was incorporated into refugee relief and rehabilitation efforts to address 'the employment, emigration and settlement of refugees'.[246] On September 25, 1924, 'the technical work still to be accomplished on behalf of Russian and Armenian refugees' was transferred from the High Commissioner, Fridtjof Nansen, to the ILO.[247] From 1925 to 1929, ILO facilitated the technical aspects of refugee emigration, including transportation. Its efforts in refugee settlement illustrate the centrality of refugees' existing livelihoods in assistance strategies, and the dominant perception of refugees as individual workers with specific skill sets.

244 Migliorino, N. (2008) (Re)Constructing Armenia in Lebanon and Syria: Ethno-Cultural Diversity and the State in the Aftermath of a Refugee Crisis. Oxford: Berghan. P. 75–77.

245 LN (1933) Human Welfare and the League, League of Nations Union, January 1933, No. 155. O.LNU/1933(8). P. 67.

246 ILO (1928) 'Refugee Problems and Their Solution'. International Labour Review, 68–85. P. 68.

247 ILO (1926) Refugees and Labour Conditions in Bulgaria. International Labour Organization Report. Geneva: International Labour Office.

Between 1925 and 1929, ILO initiated a successful 'employment-matching scheme' through asking European countries about their needs for foreign employment in order to place skilled refugees, largely based on their existing livelihoods, into suitable positions. ILO, as well as charities, provided oversight in the resettlement process in an effort to prevent the exploitation of refugees. Fifty thousand refugees, mainly from China and European countries, were employed through this endeavour, which proved both cost-effective and successful in enabling refugee self-reliance.[248] During the first half of 1925, over 15,000 Russian refugees and 2,600 Armenian refugees had been brought into employment by the ILO.[249] By 1929, ILO had notably reduced the number of able-bodied refugees seeking employment from 400,000 to 200,000.[250]

Such means of assistance suggest the mixed reliance of humanitarian organisations on the economic system to support refugees in both urban and rural areas. In particular urban areas, we see how refugees were successfully incorporated into national economies as much-needed labourers – and that this employment-matching took place as a major form of assistance. The majority of refugees that benefitted from this scheme for example were placed in France, which was desirous of able-bodied labourers due to the heavy losses it had suffered during World War I. In rural areas, the majority of refugees were encouraged to move beyond agricultural subsistence and expand to cash crop farming, which led to a similar reliance on the market economy. While subsistence farming seems to have been largely successful, cash crop schemes, as we saw above, presented various challenges that

248 ILO, 'Refugee Problems and Their Solution'. Pp. 84–85.
249 ILO, 'Refugees and Labour Conditions'.
250 Skran, 'The Refugee Problem in Interwar Europe'. P. 205.

ultimately constrained refugees' ability to become self-reliant. While temporary funds could be secured to train refugees in vocational activities, the end aim of such training was not self-reliance in the sense of personal subsistence such as farming, but instead refugees' reliance on the market economy through securing employment, commercial farming, or becoming an entrepreneur. GRSC and League documents from the time depict a domestic and international humanitarian system strained by a lack of funds, which perhaps helps to explain the emphasis on agricultural subsistence and farming, which promised a quicker way to get refugees' off the GRSC's payroll than costly urban settlement. Despite the predominant emphasis of assistance through employment or productive work, refugee assistance was, in fact, too high for Greece to finance on its own.

The Refugee Loan

Between 1923 and 1928, the League helped issue nine loans to European countries. As the League had no funding pool for loans itself, it acted mainly as a legitimizer for countries that were too unstable to receive loans through other forms of recourse. As one report stated, countries that received loans from the League would 'have found it impossible to borrow abroad by any other method'.[251] After the Great War, many countries had debt overhangs that impeded their ability to easily borrow new loans in international capital markets. At the same time, the disruption in international trade meant that these same countries faced challenges in economic recovery. While the League loans

[251] Royal Institute of International Affairs. (1937) The Problem of International Investment: A Report by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. London, New York: Oxford University Press.

have been criticized due to their failure to prevent the economic depression of the 1930s, they have also been lauded for the support they provided to countries like Greece to 'reestablish the productive basis of their economies'.[252]

While most of these so-called 'League Loans' were for reconstruction and currency stabilization, loans provided to Greece and Bulgaria were also intended for refugee settlement. Greece had lost credibility in international capital markets after the Smyrna invasion but the country's credit-worthiness improved from 1923, thus enabling the so-called 'Refugee Loan' as well as a later one in 1927. In 1924, a 10 million GBP bond loan was issued in London and New York at 88% and provided to the GRSC. It was to be repaid with a 7% interest rate over 40 years. The loan provided the financial means to provide settlement, with rural settlement heavily preferenced. At the beginning of 1929, £9,117,362 had been used for the agricultural settlement of refugees and only £1,302,734 for urban settlement.[253]

However, the loan also embedded Greece in the international economy through its heavy regulation.[254] Lazareto examines Greece's financial history and posits that foreign investors provided loans to the Greek government in the 19th and 20th century, including during the 1920s, only in cases 'in which the latter credibly committed itself to the drachma's participation in the international monetary system'.[255] The reliance of Greece

[252] Myers, M. G. (1945) The League Loans. Political Science Quarterly, 60(4): 492–526. P. 505.
[253] Kritikos, 'The agricultural settlement of refugees'.
[254] The loan to Bulgaria was similarly heavily regulated.
[255] Kritikos, 'The agricultural settlement of refugees'. P. 231.

on other countries in the interwar years set up a situation in which adherence to loan standards and stipulations was necessary. As Flores and Decorzant write,

> [A] major issue concerned the integration of these new countries into the world economy by fostering international trade on the one hand and by creating access to capital markets on the other. Most of those countries had to build up their productive activities and set up stable monetary and fiscal systems, for which foreign investment was necessary.[256]

This generally occurred through adhering to the gold standard in order to receive better lending rates, due to a lower risk of default. This is seen in a further international loan issued to the Greek government in 1927 for nine million pounds (at 91%). Interestingly, only 3 million pounds went towards refugee settlement while the remaining 6 million was divided evenly between 'budget arrears' and 'strengthening the Bank'. This was explained through a report by Financial Committee on the loan proposal to the League, which stated:

> It is obvious that, as indicated in the Committee's last report, the possibilities of raising a new loan for this purpose under satisfactory conditions depend very largely indeed upon the general financial position in Greece – *upon the prospects of the stability of the currency and the equilibrium of the budget*. The Committee is therefore glad to learn that the Greek Government has asked the Council of the League for its assistance in connection with *a comprehensive scheme designed to secure financial stabilization and reform as well as to meet the needs of the refugee work*.[257] [emphasis added]

It was agreed that the Greek government and National Bank would stabilize the drachma on a gold exchange rate and undertake comprehensive 'monetary and banking reorganization' as part of the loan agreement.[258] As M. Caphandaris, the Minister of Finance of Greece, wrote in a letter to the Secretary-General of the League, 'It would be

[256] Flores, J., & Decorzant, Y. (2012) Public borrowing in harsh times: The League of Nations loans revisited. *Department of Economics Working Paper Series no*, *2091*. Geneva: University of Geneva. P. 7.
[257] LN (1927) Settlement of Greek Refugees. Report of the Financial Committee. C.322.1927.II.F.410. Geneva, June 14th, 1927. R397, 10, 60557, 26389.
[258] Caphandaris, M. (1927) Annex. Letter from M. Caphandaris, Minister of Finance of Greece, to the Secretary-General of the League. Geneva, June 14th, 1927. League of Nations Archives, R397.

impossible to continue the refugee settlement work with any hope of rapid and successful completion without concluding a supplementary loan abroad, and thus make it possible to adopt a far-reaching plan of systematic reform.' He went on to request a 'single loan intended to finish the settlement work, stabilize the currency and liquidate the deficits'.[259]

The conditions of this second loan evidence the ways in which refugees' livelihoods and self-reliance were integral to it as both refugees' assets and their assistance from the GRSC was used as loan security. This collateral was determined in a meeting of the League of Nations Council as comprising:

i. Property belong to the "exchangables" which have been definitely transferred to the RSC [Greek Refugee Settlement Commission]
ii. Cultivable land being in the definite possession of the RSC
iii. Buildings and lots of land for building purposes of urban settlements ceded to the RSC
iv. Collection in cash by the RSC from refugees' debts.[260]

Through this we see that refugee self-reliance settlement was intricately bound up in Greece's financial reform, driven from both within and outside the country. By sparking the initial need for such a loan, refugee assistance contributed to the expansion of the modern capitalist system in Greece, which was forced to undertake financial reform according to monetary loan stipulations and in this way become assimilated into the post-war international economy.

Refugees' contribution to agricultural production in Greece further benefitted the international market economy through the increased international export and import of

[259] Ibid.
[260] LN Council (1927) Extract from Process Verbal of 6th Meeting of 45th Session of the Council, June 17th 1927. Work of the Greek [RSC] 10.60185.26389.

cash crops. One way that refugees were meant to help repay the international Refugee Loan was through agricultural outputs such as tobacco. However, as detailed above, the drop in tobacco prices not only impoverished refugees, who found themselves unable to repay loans, but strained refugee assistance, which counted on refugees' repayment in order to repay the Refugee Loan. Partial agreements were eventually reached, such as the Greek Government taking on a large portion of the cost of settlement, yet tensions continued into the 1930s. This struggle demonstrates the tenuous nature of fostering refugee self-reliance alongside meeting other goals; indeed, given the types of collateral outlined above, it is questionable whether Greece would have obtained a loan without the work of both refugee assistance and refugees themselves. Although refugee settlement was the main justification for this loan, two-thirds of it was provided in hopes of helping Greece participate more effectively in the international market. Refugees' self-reliance as well as their property, labour, and capital became risky collateral in a loan intended not merely to support refugee settlement but instead to undertake a far-reaching and systematic financial reform of Greece. The danger of this collateral on the self-reliance of refugees themselves appeared to have been an afterthought not taken into consideration.

The Great Depression and Refugee Settlement

Unfortunately, despite the limited agency some refugees already felt, the Great Depression and ensuing austerity beginning in the late 1920s and continuing into the 1930s had the effect of further constraining it through reducing settlement options. France's stance on receiving refugees shifted and became more restrictive in the 1930s

due to the economic recession. As the recession hit, other countries throughout Europe became more restrictionist as well and no longer viewed refugees as valuable sources of labour. Instead, fears of rising unemployment and the economic burden of refugee settlement became paramount. Lamenting refugees' lack of opportunity for foreign employment, in 1938 the president of the Nansen Office stated, 'Under these changed conditions it has proved impossible to solve the refugee problem which, to a large extent, is an economic problem.'[261] While in some senses accurate, the League had also striven to remain apolitical in refugee affairs, and continued to construe refugees as an economic problem with an economic solution, even in the face of the discriminatory causes of German Jewish displacement.[262]

The recession also reduced employment positions for refugees within the Nansen Office. In contrast to the 1920s, refugees in the 1930s were gradually excluded from holding decision-making or practical roles in settlement implementation. In 1938, Michael Hansson, president of the Nansen Office, discussed replacing refugee workers with foreign employees, likely due to the struggle that non-refugees now also experienced in finding work. He stated:

> There is no denying the great advantage that has been derived from the employment of refugees themselves as collaborators in the countries where the Nansen Office has been obliged to maintain representatives . . . But should it prove necessary, or desirable, there is no reason why non-refugees should not be employed as widely as possible, wherever of course people be found who are willing to devote themselves to this work.[263]

[261] Hansson, M. (1938) The Refugee Problem and the League of Nations: Conference Given at the Nobel Institute Oslo on January 7th 1938. Geneva: Nansen International Office for Refugees. P. 15–16.
[262] Mcdonald, J.G., Breitman, R., Stewart, B.M. and Hochberg, S. (eds) (2007) Advocate for the Doomed: The Diaries and Papers of James G. McDonald, 1932–1935. Vol. 1. Indiana: Indiana University Press.
[263] Hansson, 'The Refugee Problem'. Pp. 25–26.

To combat virulent European restrictionism to both German Jews and other refugee groups, the League also proposed 'solutions' to refugee settlement outside of Europe. We therefore see refugee self-reliance through employment or homesteading redirected to non-European countries with labour opportunities. Plans included a League resettlement scheme in Latin and South American countries with sufficient employment opportunities, to be partially coordinated by the ILO.[264] In Paraguay, for example, 'a Colony bearing Nansen's name [was] established with the support of the Government and under the supervision of a Swiss landowner.'[265] Although few such schemes were ever implemented, a 1939 review of suitable countries included Brazil, Venezuela and Chile due to their vast land resources. Rural 'pioneering' was proffered for refugees with agricultural backgrounds to combat population rise in already overcrowded cities:

> Take a great part of the interior of Brazil, Venezuela, Colombia, or some other suitable section; move in with modern machinery and medicine; clear off the land, drain the swamps, bridge the streams; build settlements, initiate farming, cattle raising, and industrial activities. Let hardy refugees themselves…be important participants in the enterprise. The remarkable accomplishments of Henry Ford in building a modern industrial community away up in the interior of Brazil in the Amazon jungle shows the possibility of such a dream.[266]

The proposed plans for refugee settlement in South America exemplify the broader intellectual and institutional shifts that began even before World War II and greatly influenced conceptions of and support for refugee assistance. The suggestion of a 'made to order' community[267] demonstrates a heightened regard for science, technology and planning in language that portends the post-war discourse of development. The creativity

264 ILO, 'Refugee Problems and Their Solution'; Inman, S.G. (1939) 'Refugee Settlement in Latin America'. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 203: 183–193.
265 Hansson, 'The Refugee Problem'. P. 9.
266 Inman, 'Refugee Settlement in Latin America'. P. 193.
267 Ibid.

of these plans only thinly disguises their 'outsourcing' nature, foreshadowing as well the treatment of refugees not as labourers or even victims, but rather as 'surplus' to be used or discarded.

Yet amidst these changes, refugee self-reliance assistance continued. Dr Parmelee opened a training school for nurses, and then another. During World War II, she supported Greeks suffering under German occupation, and undertook medical work that was later taken over by United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). From Greece she went to Palestine, using the knowledge she had gained during the interwar years – much as the international refugee regime did – to support other refugees in other places in the aftermath of war.

Discussion

This chapter has examined refugee self-reliance assistance in the interwar years, using the Greek refugees and the international response they fostered as a case study. Despite their *ad hoc* nature, the interwar years saw the emergence of not only the first international refugee regime, but a participatory assistance regime with the joint aims of refugee self-reliance and host country and international economic development. League-sponsored resettlement commissions in the 1920s and 1930s are powerful examples of the first international bodies attempting to foster self-reliance 'systematically, and along international lines' with displaced populations.[268] Innovative rehabilitation strategies

[268] Macartney, C. A. (1930) Refugees: The Work of the League. London: League of Nations Union. P. 5.

included material assistance while emphasising bottom-up methods and refugees' ability to contribute through their own skills, expertise, and financial means.

This discussion examines refugee self-reliance assistance through the concepts of international welfare, instrumentalisation, and the industrial reserve army of labour, as outlined in my theory chapter. I begin with an overview of refugee self-reliance assistance as a form of development assistance that parallels welfare assistance. I then elucidate the effects of refugee self-reliance assistance through a discussion of its instrumentalisation of refugees, and go on to argue that the aims and structure of self-reliance assistance contributed to refugees' creating their own livelihoods in ways that echoed larger processes of capitalist expansion. This assistance treated refugees as a latent reserve army of labour. I conclude with a brief overview of connections between the refugee self-reliance assistance of the interwar years and the assistance of the following era, as discussed in the next chapter.

Refugee Self-Reliance Assistance as 'International Welfare'

As expounded in my introduction chapter, I argue that the refugee self-reliance assistance offered to refugees in Greece as well as other countries with League-sponsored assistance bodies such as Bulgaria constitutes development assistance. This assistance has generally occurred in one or more of the following ways: rural agricultural settlement (farming), micro-finance loans (to start or stimulate businesses), employment-matching (placing refugees into employment), or vocational training (training to become employable). To a

lesser extent, public works programmes were also used. Notably, each of these practices targets refugees not just as beneficiaries but as people capable of regaining or developing livelihoods. This treatment of refugees as workers through the assistance offered echoes forms of domestic welfare to citizens promoted at the time in countries such as the US and UK, which focused on supporting people to enter employment or assist them in times of unemployment. Emerging forms of European social security and the public works programmes emerging from the US' New Deal demonstrate efforts to support citizens in employment or in its absence.

When workers are unemployed or unskilled, welfare assistance seeks to provide them with the means to re-enter the workforce – through means akin to the self-reliance assistance that refugees in the interwar years received. When viewed as a form of welfare, the often innocuously perceived refugee assistance is presented in a new light, as a supportive component of modern capitalism due to its efforts to support refugees' economic integration according to the needs of the economy. As explicated in my theory chapter, welfare can be understood as a means of economic oppression that ultimately maintains a capitalist ideology, acting as a 'balm' for the wounds that capitalism necessitates to function. This, in turn, necessitates a critical examination of the types of assistance refugees were provided and in the case of Greece the means through which it was secured by the Greek government and GRSC.

The international welfare offered to refugees at the time parallels domestic welfare trends in its minimalism: rather than the international humanitarian community supporting

refugees through 'hand-outs' for months or years before transitioning them to self-reliance assistance – what in later eras would become known as development support – the interwar years offered the latter form of support almost immediately, and at times proffered it simultaneously with or even instead of emergency relief. This state- and internationally-funded assistance, which was limited and designated as 'no-charity', therefore reflected the tenets of state non-interference regarding citizen welfare and the nascent welfare state systems at the time. Although the British welfare state, for example, saw an expansion compared to the years leading up to World War I, the relationship between unemployment and the need for healthcare as well as for other 'basic necessities' went largely unrecognised.[269] Indeed, the types and aims of the provision of refugee assistance in the interwar years suggest an era where emergency relief was quickly replaced with assistance intended to help refugees' get out of states' pockets and onto their pay rolls.

When we examine the case of Greek refugees and the assistance provided, parallels between welfare's aim to create a productive national labour force are evident. Similar to the gains that welfare provides, both host and donor countries benefit from refugee self-reliance assistance, as they receive either the necessary workers or desired stability for the continued accumulation process and commodity production comprising capitalism. As we have seen in this chapter, the self-reliance assistance offered to foster refugee self-reliance focused on integrating or reintegrating refugees into a market system, be it through commercial farming, vocational training, or loans to support both refugee farmers and

[269] Thanes, P. (1988) The British Welfare State: Its Origin and Character. Refresh, Volume 6, Spring. Pp. 5-8.

entrepreneurs. In light of this, refugee assistance acted as a form of international welfare, offered in this instance by governments (the Greek government and countries comprising the League of Nations), the GRSC, and charitable organisations such as the AWH.

Strikingly, rural settlements in the 1920s were the first attempts to undertake integrated development programmes that targeted locals as well as refugees, which became known in the 1980s as 'Refugee Aid and Development' and in the 2000s as 'Development Assistance for Refugees'. What remains noteworthy, however, for those aware of the longstanding 'humanitarian-development gap' in refugee assistance, is the relatively immediate nature of interwar self-reliance assistance. While refugees did receive food and emergency medical care, their 'rehabilitation' centred on the fostering of self-reliance rather than the mere perpetuation of survival. For example, Dr Ruth Parmelee began working on opening factories and vocational training centres for refugees in the months directly after their arrival in Greece, at the same time as she combatted bouts of typhoid, malaria, and other diseases. Similarly, the GRSC offered tools and loans alongside food, expecting refugees to become self-sufficient soon after a successful harvest. In this way, the notion of so-called 'refugee dependency' was not even a potential outcome of assistance, in stark contrast to the protracted refugee situations of today. Understanding the extent to which self-reliance assistance was integrated into the refugee response challenges the contemporary notion of refugees as mainly humanitarian subjects as well as the purported division between emergency and development assistance.

We can begin to understand the simultaneous nature of humanitarian and development assistance through recognizing that refugees during the interwar years were largely viewed as an economic and technical problem with economic solutions.[270] This construction demonstrates refugees' classification as labourers and members of a surplus population waiting to be integrated into national economies. As Long states, '…refugee protection was constructed around the twin facets of migration—movement and employment—in the first decades of the international refugee regime.'[271] In the 1920s and into the 1930s refugees were considered labour migrants rather than subjects—or masses—of humanitarian need. Rehabilitation efforts corresponded to states' growing but still limited perception of responsibility towards both nationals and refugees, but largely on the basis of their perceived capability to work rather than their assumed right to protection. This construction was largely congruent with the nature of the assistance offered to them, which sought to quickly place them into employment or help them become 'productive'. And, this construction makes sense due to host country aims, as countries recovering from World War I were often in need of labourers (at least up until the recession). In this way we see that the construction of refugees as workers aligned with their broader instrumentalisation.

Yet, just as striking as the construction of refugees as workers might be to Refugee Studies scholars and humanitarians today is the determined lack of a political refugee construction in League of Nations and GRSC documents. The construction of refugees as economic

270 ILO, 'Refugee Problems and Their Solution'.
271 Long, K. (2013) 'When Refugees Stopped Being Migrants: Movement, Labour and Humanitarian Protection'. Migration Studies 1(1): 4–26. P. 8.

and technical problems perpetuated their identity as apolitical labourers. Yet, refugees were also instrumentalised for political means. The political relationship between refugees in the interwar years and the nation-state also goes beyond just the displacer and the displaced. Scholars such as Baron and Gatrell[272] have sought to examine the refugees created in the interwar years as more than just victims of policies and treaties but important actors in nation building. Indeed, they go so far as to 'insist that refugees and returnees were not merely passive objects of policy, but often themselves participated in nationalist and state-building projects and in negotiating their status in the new collectives.'[273] Despite this apparent reality, this depiction is largely missing from League and government documents, perhaps reflecting the general wariness of political tension at the time.

It is also worth reflecting on the label of 'refugee' that people accrued during the interwar years, instead of perhaps the more apt title of 'forcibly displaced people'. While 'forced displacement' was not a term employed in common parlance at the time, which therefore largely accounts for its absence, the term 'refugee' also serves to distance the entity that caused the displacement in the first place – nation-states. The construction of refugees as workers rather than victims also, whether intended or otherwise, fits into the dominant idea of refugees 'rightfully' moved to their 'homeland' and able to contribute to it as naturalised citizens. In this way, the culpability of states is elided as is acknowledgement of the victims that refugees also became through the redrawing of state lines.

[272] Baron, N., & Gatrell, P. (2003) Population displacement, state-building, and social identity in the lands of the former Russian Empire, 1917-23. *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, *4*(1): 51-100.
[273] Baron and Gatrell, 'Population displacement'. P. 52.

The Instrumentalisation of Refugee Self-Reliance Assistance

Through the self-reliance assistance they received, refugees were instrumentalised by governments and assistance institutions. The concept of instrumentalisation is a useful heuristic for differentiating situations where refugees undertook actions that fostered their self-reliance or those that primarily served the interests of others – under the banner of self-reliance. The instrumentalisation of refugees through self-reliance assistance occurred both materially and conceptually, and in some cases simultaneously. In each instance, economic benefit to states and the political elites within them can be identified. In some cases, this instrumentalisation provided a sort of 'win-win' for refugees and host countries alike, such as when skilled refugees were supported by ILO to find relevant work in host countries. However, in other instances assistance did not truly support refugee self-reliance or take refugees' needs as precedent; instead, in such cases, refugee self-reliance assistance became a justification for others' gains.

In the interwar years, self-reliance assistance to refugees was largely a means to link refugees' need for employment or production with host countries' (and the capitalists' within them) desire for labour of various kinds. Refugees took on the role of a workforce both industrially and agriculturally through acting as surplus workers that could be utilized to meet different economic demands both domestically and internationally. As a workforce, refugees' material instrumentalisation occurred based on the type of labour they undertook as well as the social and political purposes they served. The self-reliance

assistance provided to refugees was pivotal to this instrumentalisation.

The Greek case demonstrates the instrumentalisation of refugee self-reliance assistance, which in many ways came to a head through the primary means of supporting refugees: agricultural settlement. As we have seen in Greece, refugees were mainly agriculturally settled due to the country's emphasis on rural development as a path to modernisation. Therefore, under the guise of self-sufficiency, refugees were put to work in regions where agricultural production was desired, and became the farmers Greece so badly needed to recover after the war. However, refugees' economic value came in the form not of agricultural subsistence but cash crop surplus, as they grew crops such as tobacco for Greece to sell on the international market. Yet the focus on cash crops – meant to bolster trade and improve the Greek economy – ultimately had disastrous effects on many refugee farmers, who found themselves near starvation and unable to repay loans when tobacco prices later dropped. In this way, although undoubtedly beneficial to many of its beneficiaries, refugee self-reliance assistance pursued outside aims and interests, and refugees' own achievement of self-reliance was not always the primary focus.

Refugee self-reliance assistance was central to the attainment of both political and economic aims, as land reform was undertaken in order to provide the GRSC with enough land upon which to settle refugees. The Greek government sped up land reform in late 1924 in order to provide the GRSC with more land upon which to settle refugees, thereby deepening a linkage between the commission's work and the reform.[274] However, the

[274] Mazower, 'Greece and the inter-war economic crisis'. P. 77.

main impetus for pursuing the land reform was not to promote refugee self-reliance but to prevent the radicalization of peasants and prevent political uprisings. As Mazower states,

> [Greek Prime Minister] Venizelos reali[s]ed that the creation of a large class of peasant smallholders might defuse peasant radicalism, prevent the formation of a peasant-worker bloc, and do much to secure the social stability of the Republic. This was the thinking which lay behind the land reform of the 1920s, which benefited refugee and indigenous farmers alike, and which provided a cause in which the League of Nations and the Greek authorities combined to provide a notable instance of a decisive and far-reaching reshaping of the economy.[275]

As the above quote demonstrates, and similar to the struggle to separate economies from states, it is difficult to parse out political from economic – and humanitarian – aims. Both a political and economic impulse underlay many of the decisions targeting refugees, and the government's concern at quelling potential unrest by refugees through employment in rural settings.

The emphasis on land for refugees also served a further purpose. Greek Prime Minister Venizelos, who served several terms from 1910-1920 and from 1928-1933, sought to 'modernise' Greece through economic and constitutional reforms in part by providing land for refugees to farm on. Venizelos instrumentalised refugees as a political platform and used refugees' productive power to uphold the ruling political elites through economic growth that refugees largely spurred on. He also pushed through the naturalization of refugees due to their support for him and his belief that they would politically support him if they were to become citizens – which served to smoothly enable not only their right to work but their right to vote.[276]

[275] Ibid. P. 75.
[276] Kritikos, 'The agricultural settlement of refugees'.

In addition to providing economic support to the country, the agricultural settlement of refugees became a means to use this population to claim land and populate newly-gained territories after World War I. For example, in this period Macedonia was an important crossroads for trading that was sought after by Bulgaria, Serbia, Rumania, Greece and Turkey, all of which believed they had claim to part or all of the region.[277] Greece used newly arrived refugees to 'colonise' the newly acquired territories of Macedonia – heavily facilitated by the GRSC and other refugee assistance. Between 1924 and 1929, the GRSC was provided 812,592 acres of land upon which to settle more than half a million refugees primarily in the northern provinces of 'New Greece'; 90% of refugees were settled there, mainly in Macedonia and Thrace.[278] As one report states,

> *The Government colonization scheme in Macedonia* is providing land, draught animals, housing, seed and a limited amount of food for the refugees that are being settled in New Greece. The scheme is to provide the refugees with land heretofore not cultivated by the owner and to assist a refugee to settle himself on the land and become self-supporting.[279]

In this way we see that the result of refugees becoming 'self-supporting' was multi-pronged – not only were refugees meant to live independently from relief aid through agricultural production, and thereby act as a beneficial workforce feeding the Greek economy, but in so doing help to 'colonise' Macedonia, the territory Greece so fervently sought to claim. Refugees were therefore drawn into the economics of statecraft not only through forced displacement but through their so-called 'rehabilitation' in their new homeland. In large part, this process occurred due to the Greek government, agencies, and

[277] Psomas A. (1974) The Nation, The State and the International System: The Case of Modern Greece. Thesis. Proquest Dissertation Publishing. P. 158.
[278] Pentzopoulos, D. (2002) The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and Its Impact on Greece. London: Hurst & Co. P. 107.
[279] Salmon, B. P. (1924) 'The Report', Folder 1, Writings, 1923-1924. Brainerd P. Salmon Papers, Hoover Institution Archives. P. 3. [emphasis added]

commissions that led refugee assistance at the time and, as previously discussed, preferenced rural settlement. Refugee self-reliance occurred in line with the Greek government's aim to increase agricultural production while refugees served an additional purpose as bodies physically occupying the territory of New Greece.[280]

International actors also benefitted from the concept of refugee self-reliance. Through the refugee assistance provided, the concept of refugee self-reliance, designated as settlement and rehabilitation, was instrumentalised as a means for economic gain for host countries coupled with international economic gain. In Greece this occurred through the aforementioned growing of cash crops for export and import as well as through the provision of loans at both the international and national level. Countries such as the US and UK sought to restore pre-war international trade relations with Greece and therefore pushed for economic reform through international loans.[281] As previously discussed, the second Refugee Loan of 1927 demanded that two-thirds of the funds went towards Greece's budget and financial reform and only one-third towards refugee assistance – despite the loan's justification being the creation of refugee self-reliance. Loans justified as constituting refugee assistance thereby conceptually instrumentalised refugee self-reliance in order to further embed Greece in the international capitalist system through the

[280] The extraction of refugees' economic and non-economic surplus value through their utilization as labourers and as means to occupy territory also occurred in other countries during the interwar years. In Bulgaria, national authorities '"used" their immigrants and refugees in the same way as did the other Balkan nations—namely, to populate deserted or economically important areas, or to change the ethnic composition of the population of certain areas in order to create an overwhelming Bulgarian majority, especially in precarious border areas.' Source: Detrez, R. (2015) Refugees as Tools of Irredentist Policies in Interwar Bulgaria. In *Migration in the Southern Balkans*. Pp. 47-62. Springer International Publishing. P. 53.

[281] Rawlins, E.C.D. (1922) Report on the Industrial and Economic Situation in Greece, to April, 1922. Department of Overseas Trade. Commercial Secretary to H.M. Legation, Athens with the assistance of H.M. Consular Officers at Patras, Crete, Volo, Corfu, Salonica and Syra. R395 League of Nations Archive, Registry Files, 1919-1927, Section: No 10. Series 25480 to 26389. Files 42710 to 27191.

reform and measures that dictated their financial growth (such as external financial stipulations tying Greece to the gold standard).

Additionally, loan provision to both refugee farmers and entrepreneurs at the national level also addressed the national and indeed international threat of radical socialist ideology; in 1925, the National Bank stated that its lending had:

> …led tens of thousands of petty bourgeois refugees into production and regular life, creating from this passive element autonomous tiny economic units, rather than falling inevitably and fatefully victims of diverse subversive propaganda whose end result would be grievous constitutional and social disturbances, if not uprisings.[282]

The alignment of Greece's financial system with liberal international standards therefore offered the opportunity for refugees' individual prosperity through loans and the creation of enterprises, and in this way fostered a preference of the free market over socialism.[283]

International actors also benefitted from receiving refugees based on their labour capacity. Faced with extreme labour shortages in Europe, the resettlement of refugees abounded in post-World War I France and other countries through ILO's employment-matching scheme.[284] This scheme utilized refugee labour according to countries' economic demands, thereby demonstrating the ulterior aims of refugee self-reliance to contribute to host country economies as well as refugees themselves. However, as the Great Depression reduced job availability, the utilization of refugees as 'imported' labourers was reduced, suggesting refugees' limited utility at times when employment was not needed or

282 Dritsa, M. (1990) Βιομηχανία καί τράπεζες στήν 'Ελλάδα τοῦ μεσοπολέμου, Athens 1990, ρ. 336. Cited in Mazower, M. (1992) The refugees, the economic crisis and the collapse of Venizelist hegemony, 1929–1932. *Deltion Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon [Bulletin of the Centre of Asia Minor Studies]*, *9*, 119-134.
283 Kritikos, The agricultural settlement of refugees', P. 337.
284 ILO (1928) 'Refugee Problems and Their Solution'. P. 68.

available.

The Latent Reserve Army of Labour

Through the preferencing of different types of assistance – agricultural settlement when countries such as Greece sought to develop through rural agricultural outputs, employment-matching when countries such as France experienced labour shortages and had a need for workers – we see that refugee self-reliance assistance is not neutral or innocuous, but is instead deployed for interests beyond fostering self-reliance. Examining the material instrumentalisation of refugees offers the means to understand refugees within the larger capitalist system at the time as refugees were used as surplus labourers who were, through assistance, artificially 'plugged in' to fill existing labour gaps or trained in vocations desirable for host countries and industries.

Greek refugees as well as other refugees at the time were treated as a latent reserve army of labour who were embedded into economies in ways and at times useful to particular countries such as Greece and France. Similar to the incorporation of peasants into the wage economy that was and continues to be a feature of capitalism, we see in the interwar years the beginning of a growing trend to incorporate refugees into the capitalist workforce. At this point in history most refugee self-reliance assistance was concentrated in rural areas, demonstrating the rural economic focus and development course of Greece and other countries in this period. Therefore, in particular contexts such as in Greece, this manifestation of a latent reserve army differs from Marx's original conceptualisation of the term, as refugees were utilised for agricultural production rather than seeking work in

urban areas due to a *lack* of available agricultural work. This concept also differs from the original usage as the majority of Greek refugees had been engaged in agriculture in Asia Minor prior to their expulsion, thereby demonstrating a continuity rather than a shift in their livelihoods in Greece. While most were resettled in agricultural settlements in Greece and continued their farming, the focus of this farming expanded beyond subsistence to include the growing of cash crops. Many refugees therefore transitioned from subsistence farmers to commercial farmers, with the support and, indeed, the urging of both the GSRC and the Greek government through seeds, land, new agricultural methods, and readily accessible bank loans. However, as we saw above, the growing of cash crops such as tobacco eventually impeded upon refugees' self-reliance as they found themselves unable to repay loans and without enough subsistence crops to survive. Regardless of where they found work, it is notable that for refugees this process of expansion into the modern economy was largely facilitated by refugee assistance agencies themselves, which sought to create self-supporting populations that were capable of contributing to host countries.

Conclusion

The Greek refugee response sheds light on the ways that both refugee assistance and refugee self-reliance were instrumentalised in the interwar years. Refugee self-reliance assistance served multiple ends, not only 'rehabilitating' refugees but populating territories and creating economic gain at both the national and international level. This occurred through both the means and type of assistance designed to foster refugee self-reliance, and through the actions of refugees themselves, who became members of the

latent reserve army of labour. Refugee self-reliance assistance instrumentalised refugees' efforts towards self-reliance in ways that largely benefitted states and the elites within them. The result was the incorporation of both refugees and host states such as Greece into the modern capitalist economy, demonstrating refugee self-reliance assistance as a form of welfare and an arm of modern capitalism, and refugees as economic and political pawns who were used to support the capitalist system and the nation-state system that arose alongside it. During this time, refugees were a largely agrarian workforce that produced cash crops to boost the Greek economy and contribute to the rekindling of international trade. To a limited extent they were also individually drawn into the capitalist market system through loans to become entrepreneurs and grow cash crops, which for some led to a market dependence that threatened their self-reliance.

Refugee self-reliance assistance at this time was more inclusive than in later eras, as refugees were employed within its structure through various assistance positions, and at times had the option to settle in urban or rural areas. A variety of factors contributed to this inclusive approach, including the League's own funding constraints, the common host state policy of naturalizing refugees, and an overall context of limited government welfare intervention. Refugees were also largely conceptualised as economic immigrants, which at different times enabled and hindered the support they received. The fluctuating assistance that refugees received, such as resettlement based on employment opportunities and support for urban or agricultural work at different times, demonstrates the importance of exogenous factors such as changing global economic contexts in achieving resettlement and refugee self-sufficiency.

Reflecting broader humanitarian shifts, the conception of refugees as workers began to change in the 1930s as refugee settlement was cast as a humanitarian imperative towards vulnerable groups. Partly in response to restrictionism, humanitarianism in the late 1930s shifted from serving identity groups to offering aid based on need to vulnerable populations.[285] This shift occurred alongside the professionalization of humanitarianism and growing technocratic and top-down means of rehabilitating refugees. The result, as we shall see in the following chapter, was the gradual surpassing of the role of refugees in their own relief by foreign employees within increasingly planned settlement schemes.

The interwar years, although distinct in many of its responses to refugees, also incubated practices that defined the following era as throughout this period the League, the ILO, and assistance agencies gained important experience that was built upon after World War II. The start of the war in 1939 brought a virtual halt to refugee assistance, yet the post-war years saw a dramatic departure from the bottom-up, no-charity philosophy that had once defined the main international institution's response to refugees.

[285] Barnett, M.N. (2011) Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism. Ithaca: Cornell. P. 94.

Chapter 5. Refugee Self-Reliance Assistance in Post-Colonial East Africa

Introduction

After World War II ended, and throughout the rest of the 1940s and early 1950s, the Allies concentrated efforts on repatriating or resettling the 10 to 12 million displaced persons scattered across Europe. Both the successes and the failures of the League of Nations, which dissolved in 1946, paved the way for the UN, an international institution more structured, influential and broader in scope than the League had ever been. In 1951, UNHCR superseded the International Refugee Organisation (IRO) and UNRRA, which had originally addressed war-related European displacement.[286] With World War II nearly two decades behind them, and the 'Clear the Camps'[287] campaign freshly closed, the international refugee regime moved from Europe to Africa. A contemporary of Dr Ruth Parmelee, a man named Tristam Frederick Betts began working in Africa just as the wider international refugee regime did, spending much of his time both prior to and after decolonisation in Tanzania, the focus of this chapter.

[286] In-progress research on the role of UNRRA in the 'rehabilitation' of refugees suggests that vocational training and other interwar years' self-reliance practices continued in Europe after World War II and may have influenced later self-reliance practices, as well. However, it was beyond the scope of this thesis to cover this work in detail. For more information, see: UNRRA (1946) UNRRA: structure and operations. London.; UNRRA (1950) UNRRA: the history of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. New York: Columbia University Press.; Pettiss, S. (2004) After the shooting stopped: The story of an UNRRA welfare worker in Germany 1945-1947. Victoria, B.C.: Trafford.

[287] 1959-1960 was designated as 'World Refugee Year' by the United Nations and was the year in which the displaced persons camps in Europe were to be closed.

Only a certain type of person eschews the title of 'scholar' and nods in approval at the description of 'gadfly'.[288] Yet box upon grey box in Oxford's Refugee Studies Centre archives detail Betts' work, a man who, friends and colleagues agree, would have rather had the latter title. 'Despite a somewhat crusty exterior,' a journal dedication reads, 'the humanitarianism in his heart was not easily disguised, and motivated all his best work.'[289] Betts became the Oxfam Field Director for East and Southern Africa in 1962, thereby beginning two decades of work in refugee resettlement. Vociferous, critical, and adamantly honest, Betts wrote scathing reviews of ill-conceived rural development plans, multiple papers for international conferences pertaining to refugees, and reams of refugee settlement reports. Together, the papers comprising the T.F. Betts Collection paint a strikingly thorough picture of refugee assistance in Africa from the 1960s to the 1980s. Pointillism of sorts, the collection reveals the mundane inner workings of settlement administration as well as provides an overarching analysis of trends in refugee assistance (including repeatedly unaddressed problems) that most other relevant archives lack. It is this collection, along with UNHCR and ILO archives, that form the empirical basis of this chapter.

This chapter focuses on refugee self-reliance assistance in East Africa from the 1960s to the late 1970s. I examine the assistance provided to refugees and the reasons behind it,

[288] The Oxford English Dictionary defines a 'gadfly' as 'A person who annoys or criticizes others in order to provoke them into action'. Source: OED (Oxford English Dictionary) (2017) Definition: Gadfly. Oxford: OUP.
[289] Hawley, E. (1984) Dedication to Tristram F. (Jimmy) Betts (1908-1983) Scholar, Humanitarian, Gadfly. Africa Today, Refugees and Integrated Rural Development in Africa, 31(1): 3-5.

the partners UNHCR worked with (including ILO and the World Bank), and national and international agendas that influenced the nature of self-reliance assistance. I argue that refugee policy in Africa in this time period can neither be divorced from the colonial history that only so freshly preceded it nor the global capitalist expansion encompassed within the post-war 'development project'. I attempt to demonstrate parallels and continuities between colonial practices, development, and the refugee self-reliance assistance that later took place on the continent.

I focus on refugee assistance in Tanzania between 1964 and 1979 as a case study for dominant refugee assistance practices at the time. I first sketch the changing role of UNHCR and other agencies in refugee assistance and outline the dominant assistance approaches in Africa through the case study of Tanzania. In my discussion I provide more information on the colonial precedents of these practices and their linkages to wider development aims. I then analyse these practices through presenting larger macrostructural and historical factors, including the impact of colonialism, and employ the theoretical concepts of welfare, instrumentalisation, and industrial reserve army of labour to help explain refugee self-reliance assistance at the time.

Context

Due to conflicts arising from African decolonisation, the number of African refugees rose throughout the 1960s and 1970s. This contributed to the adoption of the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, which expanded the definition of refugees beyond

Europe, and led the Organization of African Unity (OAU)[290] to state in 1968:

> one of the most acute refugee problems today is to be found on the African continent. Judging from the great numbers involved, the extent of the economic and social misery and dislocation, and the consequent human tragedy it has generated, the problems certainly constitutes "one of the most agonising and complex problems from which African society is suffering".[291]

Refugee assistance in Africa remained similar to assistance provided during the interwar years through a focus on self-reliance through agricultural production. Programmes were initially hands-off and in this way further emulated those implemented by the League. UNHCR's objectives for African refugees in the first half of the 1960s are reflected in statements by UNHCR High Commissioner Schnyder, such as in the 1964 opening statement to the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme:

> It will soon be possible to discontinue the distribution of foodstuffs to all [Rwandan] refugees whom we have been trying to settle in their country of asylum. *The main objective - which is to enable these refugees to provide for themselves as soon as possible* - is now well on the way towards being achieved… Another equally encouraging fact is that… the countries of asylum have also recognized the value of these additional human resources. *The attitude adopted by Tanganyika, for instance, and by other countries of asylum shows that Governments reali[s]e that these refugees, so far from being a long-term burden, are rather a valuable asset for the future economic and social development of their countries.*[292]

[290] An examination of the OAU's engagement with refugees is beyond the scope of this thesis. For an overview of these history, see: Sharpe, M. (2011) Engaging with refugee protection? The Organization of African Unity and African Union since 1963. UNHCR New Issues in Refugee Research, Research Paper No. 226. Geneva: UNHCR.

[291] OAU (1978) Organization of African Unity: Final Report: Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems, 9-18 October 1967, December 1978. P. 7.

[292] Schnyder, F. (1964) Opening Statement by Mr. Felix Schnyder, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme, second special session, 28 January 1964. 28 January. Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/uk/admin/hcspeeches/49f81111e/opening-statement-mr-felix-schnyder-united-nations-high-commissioner-refugees.html. [emphasis added] Such assertions of aiming to foster refugee self-reliance are repeated in further statements, e.g.: '…what we have to do is to enable these refugees to become self supporting as soon as possible, and to make a useful contribution to the economic and social life of their country of asylum.' Schnyder, F. (1964) Statement by Mr. Felix Schnyder, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to the Thirty-seventh Session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), 1 May. Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/uk/admin/hcspeeches/3ae68fb81c/statement-mr-felix-schnyder-united-nations-high-commissioner-refugees-thirty.html.

In the early 1960s, as UNHCR began operating in Africa, a policy of material assistance was instated which superseded the agency's emphasis on legal protection. Although disputed internally, UNHCR's funding was initially so limited that material assistance programmes were highly limited in content and scale, and mainly viewed as emergency rather than long-term relief.[293] Initially, UNHCR programmes targeted refugee self-reliance by offering land, tools and seeds—a strategy known as basic minimal assistance. In instances where food aid was provided, the agency aimed to cut it off as soon as possible. However, this assistance rarely led to economic self-sufficiency,[294] and, as we shall see, the programmes that replaced it provided both more support and more regulation.

In contrast to the interwar years, refugees were no longer settled in urban or rural areas best suited to their background and skills, but instead were expected to live in settlements. UNHCR's mandate at the time was to only protect and provide assistance to these refugees unless a host government specifically requested them to, a policy which led to criticism.[295] Although 'self-settlement' or 'spontaneous settlement'[296] was acknowledged as one form

[293] Loescher, G. (2001) The UNHCR and World Politics: A Perilous Path. New York: Oxford University Press. P. 118.

[294] Stein, B. (1990) 'Refugee Integration and Older Refugee Settlements in Africa', Paper presented at the 1990 meeting of the American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, Michigan State University. P. 13; Loescher, 'The UNHCR and World Politics'. P. 122.

[295] Coat, P. (1978) 'Material Assistance: Some Policy Problems Reviewed in the Light of Robert Chambers' Evaluation Reports'. Geneva: UNHCR.

[296] This was defined in the 1967 African Conference as: A process whereby a group of refugees settles down in the country of asylum either in existing villages or by establishing new villages, in or near the area of arrival, which is usually inhabited by a population of similar ethnic origin, by arrangement with the local chiefs and other leaders of the local population, as well as with representatives of the central government, but only with ancillary material assistance from the outside. Source: Betts Collection (1967b) 'Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems Addis Ababa', 9–18 October 1967. Betts Collection, Bodleian Social Science Library, University of Oxford: Box no. 15, General Work: 12. P.14.

of land settlement for African refugees, and an estimated 60% of African refugees were self-settled,[297] refugees in cases were forcibly removed from the 'spontaneous' settlements they had created and instead brought to organized, planned settlements. However, due in part to harsh prohibitions and regulations, a common strategy of refugees included leaving settlements to find work elsewhere.[298] A 1970 ICVA report cites a growing 'exodus of refugees from the settlements' in Eastern Africa, noting with concern reasons such as interior politics, poor agricultural conditions and high taxation.[299] Many of the settlements that eventually became self-sufficient experienced a dramatic decline in population before becoming stable.[300]

Although agricultural production was predominant in the 1960s, UNHCR proponents of greater assistance, such as the UNHCR High Commissioner Felix Schnyder, also advocated for a comprehensive development approach that included local host communities and contributed to host country economies. Known as 'zonal development' or 'integrated rural development', this was in essence a repackaging of livelihoods programmes from the interwar years. The ambit of refugee assistance and self-sufficiency therefore began to include infrastructure development for entire areas hosting refugee settlements, now modelled partly on the World Bank's integrated rural development

297 Ibid.
298 Betts, T.F. (1969) 'Sudanese Refugees in Uganda—The Position in May 1969', Report of Advice on Zonal Rural Development, Oxfam, 13 May.; UNHCR (1970) Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, UNHCR Reports to General Assembly, 1 January. United Nations General Assembly Official Records: Twenty-Fourth Session. Supplement No. 12 (A/7612). Geneva: UNHCR.
299 ICVA (1970) 'ICVA Working Group on Integrated Rural Development: Summary Record of the Third Meeting International Council of Voluntary Agencies, January 6', Betts Collection: A10.13.(33a), Rural Development Background, Box no. 13. P. 2.
300 RPG (Refugee Policy Group) (1985) Older Refugee Settlements in Africa: Final Report. Washington, DC: Refugee Policy Group.; Stein, 'Refugee Integration'.

settlements.[301] Zonal development targeted both refugee and host populations, and included the building of roads, schools, and health facilities in addition to agricultural production. As early as 1962, UNHCR focused on integrated rural settlement as a form of development. Writing of such settlements in Togo, a UNHCR report stated:

> The aim of such a development plan would be the creation of one or several series of new settlements. To make these settlements really self-supporting the plan would have to include road-building, irrigation and/or drainage and would have to be completed (as soon as the first income is earned by the refugees) by building adequate accommodation for the settlers. In each of the larger settlements a primary school would need to be established, and in each group of settlements a dispensary, a small vocational training center, and if possible a community center should be set up. The new settlements would thus become the centers of development for the whole area.[302]

As the above quote demonstrates, integrated zonal development sought to 'develop' both refugees and locals and in this way contribute to both national and international development. Although this passage refers to one country in particular, it in fact succinctly summarises reports from across Africa which sought to implement similar development plans in the 1960s and 1970s, thereby demonstrating a 'roll-out' of similar methods of development across the continent.[303]

In part due to varied experiences in zonal development, organisations working in Africa sought to establish best practices for refugee settlement. As part of this aim, in 1967 the Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems was convened in Addis Ababa (the Addis Ababa Conference). As Betts writes,

> The Conference accepted that refugee self-sufficiency at mere subsistence levels could not be considered as conclusive. *Zonal development was required both to*

[301] Loescher, 'The UNHCR and World Politics'. P. 122.
[302] UNHCR (1962) 'Summary Report on the Refugee Problem In the Republic of Togo'. HCR/RS/23IRev.1. P. 5.
[303] Betts Collection, 'Compiled Reports'.

> *consolidate the refugee settlements and to integrate them into the local economic and social system.* Furthermore, such development prompted by the refugee presence should contribute effectively to the overall development of the country of asylum; thus the surrounding population must be ensured an equal share of the advantages accruing.[304]

While settlements fit into national development plans, they embodied international ones, as well. UNHCR's African refugee settlements became embedded in the larger 'development project' in myriad ways such as zonal development. Western development aid increased in the 1960s, in part as developing countries such as the Group of 77 became more strident in advocating for it;[305] refugee assistance was also overtly premised on development rather than just emergency relief during this time. Indeed, through zonal development, refugee settlements acted as focal points for international development schemes that influenced host societies, as well.

Public services and infrastructure were improved in large part *in order* to increase agricultural outputs of export crops such as tea and tobacco.[306] Through the production of cash crops, national economies were to be improved and international trade was envisioned to increase. In this way, both 'underdeveloped' countries and those residing within them could be further integrated into the international capitalist economy. Through agricultural production in rural settlements, refugees provided an important source of labour in 'under-developed' areas of the country while following a policy of containment

[304] Betts, T.F. (1984) Evolution and Promotion of the Integrated Rural Development Approach to Refugee Policy in Africa. Africa Today, 31(1): 7-24. P. 12. [emphasis added]

[305] The Group of 77 is the 'largest intergovernmental organization of developing countries in the United Nations which provides the means for the countries of the South to articulate and promote their collective economic interests and enhance their joint negotiating capacity on all major international economic issues within the United Nations system, and promote South-South cooperation for development.' Source: Group of 77 (2017) Webpage. Available at: http://www.g77.org/doc/. (accessed November 3, 2017)

[306] Lele, U. (1975). *The design of rural development. Lessons from Africa*. London: Johns Hopkins University Press. P. 12.

within settlements. In this way, the utilization of refugee labour through assistance intended to foster their self-reliance remained strikingly similar to that provided in countries such as Greece and Bulgaria during the interwar years – with the critical caveat of increased levels of the regulation and control of refugee agency.

One reason partially accounting for this is the nearly exclusive Western control of the international refugee regime. By the late 1960s in East Africa, foreign workers were almost solely directing and implementing refugee rehabilitation, in stark contrast to the former role of European refugees and host country nationals in these matters. Africans were not employed within UNHCR in the 1960s and the agency's organisational partners had little prior experience in Africa.[307] In Tanzania major refugee projects were undertaken throughout the country yet it was mainly donors who decided which projects would be implemented, meaning that the Tanzanian government provided only their final approval. Individual refugee suggestions or requests were rarely taken into consideration; in one rare case in the early 1960s UNHCR and another assistance agency approved refugees' requests for roofing material for settlement churches.[308] However, later requests for the same were denied.

Paradoxically, very little research was undertaken on those refugees not involved in any form of international assistance – that is, refugees who truly *were* self-reliant. There existed little information beyond rough estimates of those outside UNHCR's ambit.

[307] Loescher, 'The UNHCR and World Politics'. P. 119.
[308] Daley, P. (1989) Refugees and Underdevelopment in Africa: The case of Barundi refugees in Tanzania. Thesis (DPhil), Oxford: University of Oxford. P. 133.

Chambers criticizes UNHCR for this oversight, stating that the needs of 'self-settled refugees' and those in non-institutionally planned 'spontaneous settlements' were overlooked.[309] This lack of research, he writes,

> presents an arena for broad prejudices and convenient rationalizations [by] problem-minimizing bureaucrats who might argue that 'no news is good news' [and] dyed-in-the-wool do-gooders who might argue that 'no news is bad news.' The simple fact, however, is that usually no one knows. No news is no news.[310]

One result of this lack of research was an ongoing focus on refugees in settlements, who were helped by a bevy of international assistance actors according to their own beliefs of what appropriate assistance constituted. As Daley writes of the period, 'In the final analysis, Africa's refugee policy is not really a reflection of foreign policy choices or even of domestic policy, but of the prevailing interest of the major donors to the United Nations. It is therefore not surprising that in a neo-colonial age, African states have no independent refugee policy.'[311]

A variety of social and economic factors account for this institutional structure. Just as the recession in the 1930s led to the engagement of more foreign non-refugee employees in refugee relief, the 1960 recession affected the refugee regime similarly. Indeed, a report from the Addis Ababa Conference stated 'every State is anxious to safeguard its employment market…As a result, states have been known to employ European expatriate staff on contract basis, rather than African refugees'.[312] Eriksson et al. echoed this, noting

[309] Chambers (1976) 'Rural Refugees After Arusha'. UNHCR. Mimeographed. Geneva: UNHCR.
[310] Ibid. P. 7.
[311] Daley, 'Refugees and Underdevelopment'. Pp. 106-107.
[312] Betts Collection (1967b) 'Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems Addis Ababa', 9–18 October 1967. Betts Collection, University of Oxford: Box no. 15, General Work. P. 12.

that African governments preferred to employ foreign experts instead of refugees, as their salaries were frequently paid through development assistance programmes instead of their own national budgets.[313]

The 1967 Conference explicitly recommended foreign NGOs as implementing agencies due to the apparent lack of skilled African development staff.[314] In addition to barring refugees from employment, the implementation of this recommendation meant that host country national governments were effectively precluded from controlling aid policies. Western donor funds went in most cases through Western inter-governmental agencies or NGOs employing mainly Westerners. This structure and the outcomes it contributed to can be further seen through the below case study of Tanzanian refugee settlements.

Self-Reliance Assistance in Post-Colonial Tanzania

Although war in Europe had come to an end, the so-called 'post-war' period was not reflected across the globe. Instead, beginning in the 1940s and increasing in the 1950s and 1960s, wars for independence from colonial rule raged across Africa. From Algeria to Mozambique, independence movements sought to claim control of their country, often leading to violent civil conflicts that created mass refugee flows. As a UN Trust Territory since 1947, Tanzania's path towards independence occurred mainly through political

313 Eriksson, L.G., Melander, G. and Nobel, P. (eds) (1981) An Analysing Account of the Conference on the African Refugee Problem, Arusha, May 1979. Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute. P. 29.
314 Betts Collection (1967b) 'Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems', Recommendation 8.

negotiation[315] and a notably peaceful process led it to become an independent country on December 9, 1961. Julius Nyerere, the charismatic leader of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), became president and furthered a unique agenda of African socialism known as *ujamaa* (roughly translated from Swahili as 'brotherhood' or 'extended family'). *Ujamaa* became the basis of national development, and led to the nationalisation of factories and plantations, collective villages for agricultural production, and an economic, political, and social emphasis on self-reliance. This stance extended to refugee assistance, as well. In this way Tanzania presents an unique context of strong nationalism as well as international involvement through refugee self-reliance assistance, often embedded within national development assistance.

Despite having avoided violent conflicts of its own, shortly after independence in 1961, Tanzania had several significant refugee influxes that lasted up to the 1980s. It became known as a generous host country, due in large part to Nyerere's commitment to a refugee policy founded on humanist principles and a belief in Pan-Africanism.[316] During the 1960s and 1970s, approximately 45,000 Mozambican refugees were settled in five camps in the Southern regions of Lindi and Ruvuma. The majority repatriated in 1974 following Mozambique's independence, and international aid focused on the Western border regions along Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Zaire, and Zambia. Altogether, an estimated 200,500

[315] Lohrmann, U. (2007) Voices from Tanganyika: Great Britain, The United Nations and the Decolonization of a Trust Territory, 1946-1961. Berlin: Lit Verlag.
[316] Nyerere, J. (1968) Ujamaa. Essays on Socialism. Nairobi: Oxford University Press. P.103.

refugees from these countries arrived in Tanzania at different times.[317] By 1987, 90% of the refugees in Tanzania were concentrated in the Kigoma, Tabora, and Rukwa regions.[318]

Starting in 1964, the Lutheran World Federation (LWF), through its local partner, the Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service (TCRS) implemented most refugee projects in Tanzania through tripartite agreements between the Government of Tanzania (GoT), UNHCR, and LWF/TCRS. After agreements were signed, UNHCR coordinated the provision of basic assistance such as food, medicine, and transport through the World Food Programme and UNICEF.[319] Through these partnerships, TCRS became the sole operational agency for UNHCR-financed projects;[320] in this way it became what implementing partners are to UNHCR today. Across Tanzania, settlements became sites for community and rural development projects led by a myriad of international organizations including ILO, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and members of the International Council of Voluntary Organisations (ICVA), which often worked in tandem to achieve their aims. Jointly-led programmes by UNHCR, Oxfam, UNDP, the World Bank, and host country governments were also undertaken in parts of Africa such as the Mwese Highlands refugee settlement in Tanzania and the Canguzo area of Burundi.[321]

[317] Refugees from Rwanda arrived between 1959-64, from Zaire in 1964 and onwards, from Burundi in 1972 and onwards, and from Uganda between 1971-1985. Source: Daley, 'Refugees and Underdevelopment in Africa'. P. 142.
[318] Daley, 'Refugees and Underdevelopment in Africa'. P. 140.
[319] Ibid. P. 128.
[320] TCRS [Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service] (1971) Annual Report 1971. Betts Collection, Bodleian Social Science Library, University of Oxford: Box 53. Tanzania: Rural Settlement Planning [394]. P. 3.
[321] Betts, T.F. (1969) 'Sudanese Refugees in Uganda—The Position in May 1969', Report of Advice on Zonal Rural Development, Oxfam, 13 May. P. 150.

Refugee Self-Reliance Assistance Practices

In Tanzania and beyond, the practices of refugee self-reliance assistance in many ways mirrored those of the interwar years, with refugees largely engaged as agricultural labourers, and self-reliance envisioned as occurring through both subsistence and cash crop farming. Like the majority of refugee cases in Africa at the time, refugees were encouraged to create or join agricultural settlements, through which they were intended to become self-reliant. These settlements were generally embedded within larger development projects. Main assistance practices, such as agricultural production and vocational training in settlements, continued, yet occurred with little emphasis on accommodating or promoting the existing livelihoods strategies of refugees. A 1967 overview of the work of 20 organizations comprising the ICVA demonstrated little focus on livelihoods activities, but instead on the administration of food and medicine and the promotion of basic education.[322] Few microfinance programmes were implemented; the funding of those that were came from international donors through aid agencies rather than from refugees themselves.[323] The few livelihood-focused projects invested in cash crops as the main means to self-sufficiency, demonstrating institutions' and host states' main focus of integrating refugees into national economies in this way.[324] Alternative

[322] ICVA (International Council of Voluntary Agencies) (1967) Assistance to African Refugees by Voluntary Organizations Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems Addis Ababa, October 9-18. Afr/Ref/Conf. 1967/No 13, Betts Collection, Box no 15, General Work.
[323] IORD (International Organisation For Rural Development) (1971) International Organisation for Rural Development: Annual Report 1970. March, Brussels, Betts Collections: Background, Box 13: 37.
[324] ICVA, 'Assistance to African Refugees by Voluntary Organizations'.

settlement livelihoods schemes such as cooperative shops were largely run by camp staff and thus could not rightfully be seen as refugee enterprises.[325]

Unlike refugees in other countries, Tanzanian refugee settlements acted as prototypes for – and in some cases became – the *ujamaa* villages that were the hallmark of African socialism.[326] Essentially collective agricultural settlements which were initially voluntary and later became enforced, *ujamaa* villages were the basis of Tanzanian economic and social development in the 1960s and 1970s. Refugee settlements initially for Tutsi refugees from Rwanda and Mozambican refugees built in the mid-1960s are considered examples for the *ujamaa* villages of the following decade and in this way profoundly influenced Tanzanian national development.[327] After refugee groups such as the Mozambicans returned home in 1974, settlements housing them were turned over to the Tanzanian government and then became official *ujamaa* villages. As Tague notes, '[D]espite the fact that Ujamaa has been seen as a distinctly Tanzanian endeavor, these villages were built not by Tanzanians, but rather through Mozambican refugee labor.'[328]

Self-Reliance Assistance in the Mwese Refugee Settlement

Ujamaa and refugee settlements further merged through integrated zonal development. The Mwese refugee settlement in Western Tanzania for Rwandan refugees exemplifies

325 Morsink (1971) Report on Training and Employment (TRE). Betts Collection: Compiled Reports and Reviews of East African Refugee Settlement Schemes (Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, 1971–1976), Betts Collection: General Box 1. P. 5.
326 Tague, J. (2012) *A War to Build the Nation: Mozambican Refugees, Rural Development, and State Sovereignty in Tanzania, 1964-1975*. University of California, Davis.
327 Tague, 'A War to Build the Nation'.
328 Tague, 'A War to Build the Nation'. P. 4.

the dominant zonal development assistance model at the time. The settlement was envisioned as a model for further refugee settlements in Tanzania's undeveloped rural areas and became a site where local, national, and international development aims converged through integrated rural development. Refugee labour was at the crux of this and served both national and international, and conceptual and material, ends.

The first tripartite agreement between UNHCR, the GoT, and TCRS was made in 1964 for the Mwese refugee settlement with financial support from Oxfam. Villages meant to accommodate 100 families were built across a 100-acre site on the Mwese Highlands which offered one acre of cultivation adjacent to families' houses and two further acres near the village. A hospital was built, which was meant to serve 10,000 people, and an existing building was converted into a police station.[329] Although originally envisaged to house 10,000 refugees, by 1968 only 3,000 had settled there. Refugees were initially provided with free food, clothing, and medical services, but the aim of the settlement was to produce enough food for the refugees to become self-reliant, which was defined at the time as meeting their own subsistence requirements. Therefore, a gradual process of withdrawing free rations and clothing was instituted, and by late 1966 and 1967 the majority of families were able to produce enough food for themselves. A small number had even managed to produce surplus to sell.[330]

[329] Oxfam (1968) Tanzania: A Pilot Scheme of Agricultural Development for the Mwese Highlands in Tanzania. Betts Collection, Bodleian Social Science Library, University of Oxford: Box no. 398. 53A.
[330] Ibid.

In 1968, when refugees were largely able to control their own subsistence, grander international plans were created for the Mwese settlement: in the name of increasing self-reliance, the World Bank stepped in. The Bank had long been involved in Tanzania's agricultural development, including promoting the concept of integrated development programmes and supporting them through a 'combination of inputs and extension to increase crop production with an arsenal of supporting infrastructural and social service investments (marketing, education, water supply, road maintenance, etc.)'.[331] Regarding the Bank's plans with refugees, one archival report prepared by the World Bank and funded by Oxfam noted in a segment entitled 'Future Orientation':

> *The settlement of a group of alien refugees, inexperienced and not necessarily inclined towards agriculture, in a remote and wholly undeveloped location, inevitably presents great difficulties.* All things considered, the progress made so far at Mwese is quite creditable. The point has now been reached, however, where Government feels that the people of the area, including the settlers and a few previous residents, should be able with appropriate assistance to lift themselves above bare subsistence level and *to become more self-reliant and productive farmers. To this end, the Government requested the Agricultural Development Service of the World Bank to assist* in the preparation of a pilot project for development of the Mwese area.'[332]

This pilot project aimed to create surplus agricultural output and thereafter an organized marketing system. According to Tanzanian government policy at the time, all agricultural produce sales were made through primary cooperative societies, in which members pooled resources and labour for agricultural production. It was envisioned that a new primary society would be created at Mwese to enable the sale of surplus maize and beans.[333] Refugee farmers would receive in-kind loans in seeds, fertilizer and other material instead

[331] Payer, C. (1983) Tanzania and the World Bank. Third World Quarterly, 5(4): 791-813. P. 797.
[332] Oxfam (1968) 'Tanzania: A Pilot Scheme'. P. 3. [emphasis added]
[333] Ibid. P. 8.

of cash, and would ‘repay’ these loans through adequate levels of produce, which they would then hand over to the Development Officer of the scheme. The main benefits of the scheme were perceived as follows:

- A previously unutilized 10,000 acres of land would be ‘harnessed for production’
- Agricultural production to stimulate the national economy
- Revenue to central and local government, thereby ‘ensuring that refugees do not remain a permanent burden to Government’
- Integration of refugee and ‘local Tanzanian settlers’
- Small cash surplus for refugees awaiting settlement, who would be employed by the scheme
- The training of local staff in the ‘development of simple planned agriculture which is an essential ingredient of sound agricultural development elsewhere in Tanzania’
- The scheme could act as a pilot for the development of up to 100,000 acres in the region[334]

In this way we see the planned integration of refugee labour and agricultural outputs into the national system of production. As the report stated, ‘In the past the investment in refugee settlement schemes has normally produced only a subsistence type agriculture which has made little contribution to the national economy and has not raised the low state of morale among the participants. This scheme is planned to overcome these problems.’[335] Just as refugees in Greece were encouraged and assisted to become farmers in order to meet their own subsistence needs and produce cash crops for their host country’s economy, so were refugees across Africa encouraged to do the same.

[334] Ibid. P. 12.
[335] Ibid.

One way that refugee settlements became the sites of larger plans to integrate African countries further into the international economy was through initiatives to introduce refugee populations into cash economies. International actors such as the World Bank and the ILO became involved in not only improving agricultural production but setting up marketing societies and increasing refugees' circulation of small amounts of capital. These strategies were labelled as assistance targeting the self-sufficiency of refugees. One 1971 UNHCR evaluation report on Tanzanian and other East African settlements, for example, criticises measures taken to restrict the livelihood initiatives of fishermen, tailors, and craftsmen who did not want to farm – not because of a restriction of refugees' rights but due to the fact that it was considered a 'misconceived' policy for accruing profit:

> based on the false assumption that the agricultural self-sufficiency of each refugee is the best way of reaching overall goals of economic viability. Considerable cash incomes can be achieved even within the very restricted market along the lake shore. The cash returns to labour time spent fishing are many times more than the returns from growing crops. If substantial cash surpluses were earned they could be used for purchasing grain from other areas and for encouraging the development of more commercialized local food production.'[336]

Through this logic we see the criticism of forced farming due to its economic inefficiency, and the advocacy for diversified (and self-chosen) livelihoods arising due to the potential for cash surplus rather than out of respect for refugee agency. Ultimately, the report concludes, 'The key to all these activities is the development of cash surpluses which can form the basis of circulation for exchange. In the long run a cash based farm economy is

[336] Feldman (1971) Report in Dependence/Initiative Section—1. Betts Collection: Compiled Reports and Reviews of East African Refugee Settlement Schemes (Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, 1971–1976), Betts Collection: General Box 1. P. 41. [emphasis in text]

needed for a balanced and viable socio-economic system in the refugee settlements.'[337] This report echoes much of the 1960s and 1970s development discourse on modernisation, and in so doing suggests the strong degree to which refugee assistance was embedded in visions of the international economic integration of the so-called Third World.

Although Tanzania was – to a more and lesser disputed extent – a socialist country until the 1980s, this in no way made it a site of capitalist exception. Instead, the World Bank was involved with financial structuring beginning in the 1960s, nearly two decades before its heavy involvement in stipulating Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). As we have seen, the World Bank was also involved in recommending projects for refugee settlements, as it was in the case of the Mwese Settlement. Other international entities such as the ILO also presented plans for vocational centres and other activities in line with the socialist vision of the country, demonstrating a larger international acceptance of Tanzanian policy while retaining a focus on private, market-based activities. From project proposals and reports involving refugees as well as just Tanzanians, the macro-socialist vision of the country does not appear to impede on these 'international experts' understanding of capitalist accumulation. Reports from the era are littered with the same statistics and projections of income and capital surplus as broader development plans at the time, as well as similar visions of modernization and the need for expertise. As one 1969 ILO report on rural settlement stated:

> This document stresses the fact that Tanzania has to face realities: [it is] an economy based on agriculture with insufficient capital to invest in factories or modern machinery and an inadequate number of skilled and experienced workers,

[337] Ibid. P. 58.; Feldman, D. Appraisal of the Economic Viability of Four Refugee Settlements in Southern Tanzania Confidential (final draft) Report – for internal use only. Neldner Archives, Bodleian Social Science Library, University of Oxford: RSP/NELD/LT 59.44 FEL.

> but with land in abundance and people willing to work hard for improving their living conditions…The main barrier to its agricultural progress lies in the fact that farmers do not possess sufficient knowledge and technical training. The rural young people are not attracted by farming but by urban life and as a result there is a general exodus that creates social and economic problems of great importance. It is as urgent to train villages as it is to raise the general standard of the rural population.[338]

Strategies promoting refugee self-reliance and livelihoods became infused with the broader political and intellectual thought of a post-war development order focused on 'progress', defined by Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and the introduction of new populations into liberal economies. Through offering an agricultural workforce that provided targeted value to national host governments and Western countries promoting development, refugee assistance at this time retained the interwar years' emphasis on subsistence farming and cash crop growing. However, we also begin to see an increased importance placed on refugees' involvement in a cash-based economy. The ILO and World Bank appear to be the strongest proponents of this, discussing the need for refugees to sell products from within settlements and for the creation of refugee cooperatives and marketing societies.[339]

What these shifting self-reliance practices also demonstrate is a larger shift of rural 'undeveloped' populations moving from agricultural subsistence to a dependence on markets and, ultimately, wage labour. As such, the definition of refugee self-reliance – previously perceived as agricultural subsistence – began to both expand and contract.

338 ILO (1969) Tanzania: Rural Prevocational and Vocational Training in Tanzania. Betts Collection: Box 53, [399]. Pp. 7, 10.

339 Oxfam (1968) 'Tanzania: A Pilot Scheme'.; ILO, 'Tanzania: Rural Prevocational and Vocational'; TCRS (1972) Annual Report. Betts Collection, Bodleian Social Science Library, University of Oxford: Box 53. Tanzania: Rural Settlement Planning [394].

Although, as we have and will continue to see, the dynamism of the concept of self-reliance, this period of refugee assistance paralleled larger development processes occurring around the globe after World War II. As industrialization began to be favoured over agricultural production, peasants – both voluntarily and by force – became wage labourers. Refugees were not exempt from this process.

Although agricultural production was widely promoted and perceived as the predominant aim of integrated rural development projects, there was also criticism of these large-scale, capital-intensive schemes. Writing in the 1980s but reflecting on the decades prior, Betts discussed the need for refugee censuses, particularly identifying refugees' skills, in order to offer 'opportunities for alternative employment beyond the drudgery of cash crop production'.[340] He also advocated a different policy approach that involved 'placing greater reliance on the creation of comparatively small peasant communities, unified and supported by cooperatives, covering agricultural credit, marketing and supply. Governments should be persuaded to give high priority to cooperative training and organization.'[341] Discussing the problem of low rural wages in East Africa, he suggested an income target for the chosen areas of development, calculated from the national average and a percentage that would be gained from the advanced development to come. He conceded, however, that raising wages could pose a problem for major agricultural schemes essentially built off cheap labour. He writes,

> [P]resent policies of low seasonal wage rates for migrant seasonal labor drawn from more poverty-stricken areas and otherwise dependent on a marginal subsistence existence is scarcely consistent with the surge of national development

[340] Betts, T. F., & Pitterman, S. (1984). Evolution and promotion of the Integrated Rural Development approach to refugee policy in Africa. *Africa Today*, 7-24. P. 18.
[341] Ibid. P. 15.

> to which it is hoped that the new development-oriented program will make a significant contribution.[342]

The above statement exemplifies the issues of many development schemes at the time, both those 'integrated' ones as well as those solely designed for local populations. The purported aim of such projects was the development of regions in order to move the populations within them from 'dependency' or subsistence self-sufficiency to what could be considered 'surplus self-sufficiency', wherein refugees were able to participate in a cash economy. However, the actual practices involved were often little more than the exploitation of impoverished Africans, refugee and local alike. Refugees filled an important gap in rural labour, such as with Mozambican refugees in Tanzania, many of whom had followed a rural migration route established by colonial powers.[343] In the 1970s, an influx of Angolan refugees into Zaire replaced the labourers who had moved to Kinshasa, the new capital, thereby enabling agricultural expansion and the provision of food to new urban areas.[344] Similar examples of refugees filling agricultural labour shortages and contributing to vital food production is also documented in Zambia, Tanzania, and Sudan.[345] Despite this contribution of labour, wage payment for refugees was not guaranteed.

[342] Ibid. P. 15.
[343] Tague, 'A War to Build the Nations'.
[344] Betts & Pitterman, 'Evolution and promotion of the Integrated Rural Development approach'. P. 16.
[345] Ibid.

The Structure of Refugee Self-Reliance Assistance

In contrast to the largely hands-off settlement approach of the League in the interwar years, overwhelmingly negative reports of East African refugee settlements in Tanzania, Burundi, and Rwanda between 1971 and 1976 cite a highly authoritarian administration that restricted refugees' livelihoods strategies and the overall effectiveness of rural development plans.[346] Refugees were not employees or delegates of organizations such as UNHCR but instead mere 'beneficiaries'. They were not only discouraged, but actively punished for having any livelihood other than an institutionally mandated one—usually farming.

Vocational programmes and settlement classes, ostensibly to teach skills to enable self-reliance, ultimately contributed to perpetuating power disparities between refugees and settlement staff. Foreign-led 'Settlement Community Development Programmes' were instituted to teach and train refugees according to designated methods. At the Rutamba Settlement in Tanzania, established in 1965, these programmes included:

> [O]fficial urging . . . to engage in certain types of agriculture and in block farming, or to introduce certain kinds of crops; 'softer' methods used include 'classes' and 'clubs' for women and youth and to a lesser extent demonstrations, for instance, of food preparation.[347]

Such directive programmes occurred in conjunction with stringent regulations surrounding refugees' own livelihood practices. Some of these rules were host country

[346] Betts Collection, 'Compiled Reports and Reviews'.
[347] Trappe, P. (1971) Social Change and Development Institutions in a Refugee Population: Development from Below as an Alternative: The Case of the Nakapiripirit Settlement Scheme in Uganda. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

policies, such as a policy shift that prohibited refugee marketing organizations in Tanzania. This resulted in a dependency on outside co-operative societies to buy their crops and an attendant lack of refugee ownership over their source of income; as one settlement impact assessor remarked, 'As the refugee farmers were not able to join these societies so they were unable to exert any pressure on the societies to provide them with an adequate service.'[348]

Many other harmful policies came from within the settlements themselves.[349] Supported by UNHCR and the LWF, in 1967, the settlement held 8,000 refugees struggling to become self-sufficient.[350] Refugees at Rutamba were originally intended to grow cashew nuts as the main cash crop, but this expanded to others in an effort to raise refugees above the subsistence level. However:

> Most [refugee] farmers questioned said they were prevented by the settlement authorities from extending their fishing activities. The main rationale behind discouraging fishing is the desire to maximise the cultivated area of the settlement. *Fishing . . . is tolerated only if it does not interfere with the agricultural projects. The use of coercion is considered normal, and refugees are put into prison if they fail to provide expected labour requirements for projects* such as the establishment this year of 400 acres of block farms to grow more rice, beans and cassava.[351]

In instances this coercion seemed to occur out of paternalism, as demonstrated through a private letter to Mr. Neldner, the TCRS director, from the TCRS Agricultural Programme Supervisor in response to a damning UNHCR evaluation report of Tanzanian refugee settlements. 'The [report] writer indicates that the settlement management says that non-

348 Morsink, 'Report on Training and Employment'. P. 5.
349 RPG (Refugee Policy Group) (1985) Older Refugee Settlements in Africa: Final Report. Washington, DC: Refugee Policy Group.
350 ICVA, 'Assistance to African Refugees'.
351 Trappe, 'Social Change and Development Institutions'. P. 10. [emphasis added]

agricultural enterprises should not interfere with the agricultural work,' he starts out, 'I agree that it should be like that, but it is very easy to get a society of non-agricultural workers looking down upon agricultural workers. It is also a security for the refugees to grow enough food for themselves.'[352] Through this excerpt we see both an awareness of and a disregard for refugee agency, and particularly that of refugees who previously held professions other than farming. The letter continues:

> It is serious that people are put in prison if they don't work on the communal farm, but it is a fact that people along the lake mainly grow cassava and *they have to be pushed to change this*. As said before there should be done something to improve the fishing in Lundo but *fishing does not need to be increased in the cultivating time, but mainly in the dry season.*[353]

Here we find a similar contempt for refugees' own self-reliance strategies, with the agricultural programme supervisor tacitly accepting the use of imprisonment as a means to change the agricultural activities of refugees. It is clear that fishing, if tolerated at all, is not conceived as an appropriate activity when cultivating could instead be taking place. Further control is evident from the general conclusions of the programme supervisor from the UNHCR report:

> The people who have made the comments have talked much about the negative aspects in the settlements and not talked enough about the positive sides. This is a very important thing and the field staff should be told that they have to be careful about making negative remarks.[354]

The dearth of refugees and local experts involved in settlement structures drastically impacted the mandated self-reliance practices employed, and led to a variety of social and

[352] Jernaes, J. (1971) Letter to Mr. Neldner, Regarding Mr. Feldman's Report 25th September. Neldner Archives, Bodleian Social Science Library, University of Oxford. RSP/NELD/LT 59.44 FEL.
[353] Ibid. [emphasis added]
[354] Ibid.

practical problems.[355] As Betts repeatedly called out in reports and speeches, due to ignorance and a lack of site planning, plots were often too small for more than subsistence farming and officials disregarded both important preliminary soil quality surveys and necessary planting times.[356] Innovative and ultimately destructive technologies such as bulldozers impeded successful crop production through scraping away rich topsoil, leading only cassava to grow in some Tanzanian settlements.[357] Despite multiple reports of 'land exhaustion'[358] in various settlements, a main focus remained on cultivating cash crops such as tobacco and improving means of agricultural production. A 1971 assessment of Tanzanian settlements states:

> The more general conclusion is that the potential of the agricultural infrastructure has not been effectively utilised. This is mainly because of a lack of experience of those controlling them, and the inadequate information provided…In retrospect, it does appear that a large amount of the settlements' infrastructure and therefore the 'cost' of settling the refugees, can be primarily explained in terms of the capital support needed to maintain project staff. Their limited technical expertise, and their limited access to technical information available locally has meant that there have been few long term benefits from such expenditures.[359]

This top-down authority and lack of expertise was accompanied by an absence of communication with refugees and locals and the virtual suppression of refugee agency from decision-making and implementation roles as well as from the aforementioned undertaking of self-reliance and livelihoods. The administration of the Rutamba settlement is representative of top-down post-war refugee livelihoods assistance.

[355] ICVA (1969) 'Zonal Development Planning in Africa: Summary Record of an ICVA Ad Hoc Meeting, March 20', Betts Collection: J10.13(33r), Rural Development Background, Box no. 13. P. 1; Betts Collection (1971–76) Compiled Reports and Reviews of East African Refugee Settlement Schemes (Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, 1971–1976), Betts Collection: General Box 1.; RPG, 'Older Refugee Settlements'. P. 99.
[356] Betts Collection, 'Compiled Reports and Reviews'.
[357] Feldman, 'Report in Dependence'. P. 2.
[358] IORD, 'International Organisation for Rural Development'. P. 11.
[359] Feldman, 'Report in Dependence'. P. 5. [emphasis added]

Although refugee settlement leaders were elected, they wielded no true power. Of Rutamba, Trappe writes:

> There is no participation by refugees in the management of the Settlement. The sixty-five 'leaders' play only a rather passive role in the organisation…The Settlement Commandant and his staff…adopt the system of pure direction from above.[360]

In part through descriptions such as that above, settlement reports, budgets, and critiques can reveal much about the inner workings of refugee settlements and their relationship with outside donors and international organisations, but often fail to describe refugees' own attitudes and strategies towards the policies and situations imposed upon them. Although the period of analysis here is restricted to the 1960s and 1970s, ethnographic research and oral histories undertaken with refugees in Tanzania by scholars such as Liisa Malkki and Patricia Daley in the 1980s provide useful information on the 'bottom-up' perspectives of refugees in settlements still structured similarly to the time period examined here. Malkki's ethnography of Hutu refugees from Burundi in the Mishamo Refugee Settlement and Kigoma Township in Western Tanzania between 1985-6, for example, deals with many of the same issues relating to agricultural production and coercion noted in earlier settlement reports.[361] Quotes from two informants in particular illustrate how some refugees experienced the settlement administration and the agricultural production expected of them:

> There exist different kinds of camps. There are military camps. In these military camps there are Commandants, those who command the soldiers. Then there are refugee camps and settlements. A military camp is commanded, but a refugee camp is not. But I ask you: Who has the Commandant? It is we, refugees, here. Elsewhere, for example in the refugee settlements of Rwanda and Zambia, there are no Commandants. It is the refugees themselves who direct the affairs of the

[360] Trappe, 'Social Change and Development Institutions'. P. 2.
[361] Malkki, L. H. (1995) Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Consciousness among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania. Chicago: University of Chicago.

> settlement, with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. So, here this is not a settlement. This is a camp which has a Tanzanian Commandant. It is he who controls what happens in the camp. It is he who – in the name of the government – controls cultural, economic, and political affairs. It is the Commandant who decides. So, in our opinion, this is a camp. But UNHCR and TCRS do not want to say *camp* because the word has bad connotations…army, all that. They always want to say *settlement*.'[362]

> And we left Burundi for this? Nothing has changed…we cultivate for the whole country…We are the granaries of the Tanzanians. If we have a sack of beans, we cannot sell it to our friend. The government says to us that it is to be sold at two and a half [shillings] to the cooperative shop of the village. Same with the maize. Then the trucks of the NMC come to buy them. We, we do not go to Mpanda to sell them. They come here…We are qualified workers, and they know it…They do not want us to leave their country. We cultivate a lot, they eat a lot. We feed all the poor regions of Tanzania. From the big stores in Mpanda, food is taken to all regions of Tanzania. Now they say that we are nothing but immigrants who came in search of new, good land to cultivate, but it is not true. We have become their slaves. We have been given a pet name here, "the tractors." They benefit by us. This is the wherefore that they do not want us to leave here. They tell you that the refugee will say, "I am a refugee of hunger because I did not have enough land to cultivate [in Burundi]." Lies!'[363]

These quotes, although not representative of all refugees in Tanzanian settlements, are striking in the parallels they present to UNHCR evaluation reports from over a decade earlier, where discussions of the use of coercion by settlement administration to grow crops are cited at multiple settlements. The first quote in particular alludes to the authority of the settlement administration, and the Commandant in particular. Both quotes illuminate a sense of anger over refugees' seeming inability in the settlement to make decisions for themselves and take control over their own livelihoods. However, the cultural specificity of both assertions must also be taken into account, as Malkki notes the longstanding issue of slavery as central to the Hutu-Tutsi relationship in Burundi.[364] It is

[362] Hutu Refugee Informant, quoted in: Malkki, 'Purity and Exile'. P. 117. It should also be noted that Tanzania's refugee policy became notably more stringent following the 1978-1979 Uganda-Tanzania war.
[363] Quoted in: Malkki, 'Purity and Exile'. P. 120.
[364] Ibid.

also notable that at this point in time refugee settlements in Tanzania had largely been 'handed over' to the Tanzanian government; however, as the above quote depicts, it seems that this transfer of administrative power had done little to change the previously existing unequal power relations between settlement staff and inhabitants.

Were such refugees truly becoming self-reliant in the process of agricultural production? This, after all, was the stated aim of such initiatives, alongside regional development. Settlement reports paint a bleak picture. Out of the 117 settlements established in Africa, UNHCR declared only 30 of these self-sufficient between 1966 and 1982.[365] Of these, 21 received renewed aid in this period, and eight enough aid to make their true self-sufficiency debatable.[366] Pitterman notes that until 1972 local integration was the 'major policy objective' of UNHCR and that approximately three-quarters of UNHCR's material assistance efforts were funded through UNHCR's General Programme.[367] In contrast to contemporary understandings of the term, local integration largely referred to the creation of self-reliant refugee settlements, or barring that, the mere acceptance of refugees in host countries of the Global South, rather than the largely urban integration the term today connotes.

By the late 1970s refugee settlements were failing in their self-reliance aims, and the majority of encamped refugees remained dependent on foreign assistance.[368] Stein

[365] Stein, 'Refugee Integration'. P. 3.
[366] Ibid.; RPG, 'Older African Settlements'.
[367] Pitterman, S. (1984). A comparative survey of two decades of international assistance to refugees in Africa. *Africa Today*, 25-5. P. 29.
[368] RPG, 'Older Refugee Settlements'.

discusses the solidarity of many host countries into the mid-1970s with refugees fleeing independence struggles following colonialism;[369] however, as the decade went on, the number of refugees from independent states rose and voluntary repatriation became less common. Indeed, funding priorities also shifted towards emergency relief in the following decade; as Pitterman stated, 'the priority accorded relief aid indicates that durable solutions are increasingly difficult to achieve'.[370]

The combination of increased refugee numbers without corresponding rates of repatriation, as well as increased Western restrictionism, led to the convening of the first of multiple international conferences addressing refugees, development, and self-reliance in 1979. The Pan-African Conference on the Situation of Refugees in Africa (Arusha Conference) discussed the refugee 'problem' in Africa and promoted African-based solutions for it. Agricultural production and vocational training in refugee settlements were recommended as a way to attain 'self-sufficiency' and contribute to a region's overall development.[371] These self-reliance initiatives remained in line with host country national development aims, as demonstrated through a conference report stating that, '...integration should include vocational training related to the planned manpower needs of the Government,' and that integrated settlements would enable, 'payment of tax by refugees on [the] same basis as for locals.'[372] While still supporting national development, two further conference in the 1980s, the International Conferences on Assistance to

[369] Stein, B. N. (1986) Durable solutions for developing country refugees. *International Migration Review*, *20*(2), 264-282. P. 265.
[370] Pitterman, 'A comparative survey'. P. 29.
[371] Regional Refugee Instruments & Related (1979) Recommendations from the Pan-African Conference on the Situation of Refugees in Africa, Arusha (Tanzania). 17 May 1979. Available at: http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b37214.html. [accessed 26 September 2018]
[372] Ibid.

Refugees in Africa (ICARA I and II), brought refugee self-reliance to the forefront of global discussions on international burden-sharing.[373] While voluntary repatriation remained the preferred durable solution – 'the ideal, best, preferred, most desirable solution'[374] – local integration as the second most desirable option remained clear, echoing the conclusions of the 1967 Conference. Achieving refugee self-reliance remained a key part of this aim.

Despite the failings of many settlements and the documented deleterious effects of authoritarian administrations, the main recommendations of the Arusha Conference were for agricultural development programmes and vocational training according to the needs of the host government.[375] The 'effective involvement of refugees in the integration and development process'[376] was recommended, yet it was the 'officials administering refugee affairs' who were encouraged to develop best practices for refugee self-reliance.[377] These recommendations, therefore, were simply reiterations of practices already in place and did not acknowledge the role that those 'officials' played in the emerging status quo of settlement dependency. They furthermore served as a basis for the livelihoods programmes encompassed within Refugee Aid and Development (RAD) and later initiatives to be discussed. It is in this top-down way, despite the increased emphasis on

[373] Gorman, R. (1986) Beyond ICARA II: Implementing Refugee-Related Development Assistance. *International Migration Review, 20*(2), 283-98.; Gorman, R. (1987) Taking Stock of the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA II). *Journal of African Studies, 14*(1), 4-11.; ICARA I and II are discussed in more depth in the 'context' section of the following chapter.
[374] Stein, B. N. (1986). Durable solutions for developing country refugees. *International Migration Review*, *20*(2): 264-282. P. 269.
[375] Regional Refugee Instruments & Related, 'Recommendations from the Pan-African Conference', paras 1b, 3c.
[376] Ibid., para. 3d.
[377] Ibid., para. 4.

post-development and the participatory chassis, that refugee self-reliance assistance continued to be conceived in programmes and settlements led by main institutions such as UNHCR, ILO, and UNDP in the decades following.

Discussion

As we have seen in this chapter, the international refugee assistance that began in Africa in the 1960s carried over many of the interwar practices to foster refugee self-reliance. After World War II and particularly in freshly post-colonial countries in Africa, refugees continued to be assisted as agricultural labourers. The main self-reliance assistance practice was agricultural settlement, which included livelihoods trainings often geared towards the improvement of agricultural practices. Similar to the interwar years, rural settlements were formed with the hopes of refugees becoming self-reliant through agricultural production, mainly through cash crops. Through zonal development, refugees also became involved in regional public works projects to 'develop' rural areas of host countries. Yet the structure of assistance changed significantly, excluding refugees from positions within organisations and bypassing their influence on the methods intended to foster self-reliance. The assistance practices most focused on individuals – micro-finance loans and employment-matching or job placements – were also largely lost, as was the focus on settling refugees in urban areas or encouraging refugees to self-settle.

Drawing and expanding on the history documented above, this section discusses the wider premises that gave rise to the particular aims and practices of refugee self-reliance assistance in Eastern Africa in the 1960s and 1970s, and employs the concepts of welfare,

instrumentalisation, and reserve army of labour to analyse the larger trends refugee self-reliance assistance in Tanzania reflected.

Refugee Self-Reliance Assistance as International Welfare

In the early 1960s, as discussed in the chapter, UNHCR began operating in Africa and instated a policy of basic material assistance, which included food, shelter, and basic agricultural tools. Similar to the League's High Commission, UNHCR fully advocated a policy of self-reliance in these early years of assistance to African refugees, seeking to help refugees become self-reliant mainly through agricultural settlements which provided houses, tools, and training. Its focus remained on legally protecting and practically helping refugees become self- or otherwise employed, yet this was implemented almost solely through methods promoting agricultural productivity as demanded by dominant economic thought.

In contrast to the interwar years, this assistance was provided without expectation of repayment and instead constituted a framework for the provision of hand-outs that is still associated with refugee assistance today. Also at this time, Western states became more involved in citizens' welfare and economic wellbeing, as institutional and state assistance in general increased significantly after the war, furthering what Barnett depicts as a 'shift from state-as-night-watchman to the state-as-caretaker'.[378] In this way, the ambitions of refugee self-reliance assistance rose alongside that of the Western 'welfare state', which

[378] Barnett, M.N. (2011) Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. P. 99.

promoted access to social as well civil and political rights through state programmes within an amalgam of democracy, capitalism, and welfare.[379] Wider international assistance reflected heightened 'international responsibility' and states' focus on a 'common humanity' and 'international community',[380] with the aim of advancing international cooperation based on mutual interests. The wellbeing of those beyond the boundaries of nation-states increased in importance, reflected in the rise of the 'development project'.

International welfare to refugees in East Africa during this time upheld the dominant process of accumulation through agricultural production for international export, as evidenced through the case study of Tanzania. This aligned with and benefitted the country's national development plan. As Nyerere stated in the 1967 Arusha Declaration, widely known as the marker of the beginning of the country's focus on socialism,

> From now on we shall stand upright and walk forward on our feet rather than look at this problem upside down. Industries will come and money will come but their foundation is the people and their hard work, especially in AGRICULTURE. This is the meaning of self-reliance.[381]

The backdrop of Tanzania's focus on agriculture was import substitution industrialization, which began in the 1960s and continued until the country's neoliberal shift to SAPs in the mid-1980s.[382] Emblematic of the development strategies of African countries in the

[379] Marshall defined the social component as the right to 'a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being' (Marshall 1950{1964}: 69).
[380] Barnett, 'Empire of Humanity'.
[381] Nyerere, J. (1967) The Arusha Declaration. Section: 'Hard Work is the Root of Development'. Available at: https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/nyerere/1967/arusha-declaration.htm. [November 1, 2017] [emphasis in text]
[382] Mendes, A. P. F., Bertella, M. A., & Teixeira, R. F. (2014) Industrialization in Sub-Saharan Africa and import substitution policy. *Revista de Economia Política*, *34*(1): 120-138.

1960s, Tanzania sought to nationally produce the goods they had once been forced to import. Profits from agriculture were to go towards the financing of national industries, which in turn would further develop the country.[383] In this way, the economic, political, and social value of refugees intertwined, as their agricultural labour embodied Nyerere's emphasis on 'the land and agriculture; people; [and] the policy of socialism and self-reliance'.[384] This focus was anti-colonial and anti-exploitative in nature, premised on creating a self-reliant Tanzania and an independent Africa unshackled by foreign capital. Refugees were a component of this, as through ujamaa 'utilization of refugee labour was intentionally part of Tanzanian development strategy'.[385]

As earlier discussed, refugee settlements have been called the 'prototype' for ujamaa, the collective villagisation that became the basis of agrarian change in Tanzania in the 1960s and 1970s.[386] These agricultural settlements and the locus they constituted for integrated rural development embedded the means and aims of refugee self-reliance within a larger national and Pan-African project of self-reliance. *Ujamaa* itself represents a complex convergence of national, regional, and international aims. As Lal writes:

> Rather than amounting to a circumscribed exercise in nation building, the Tanzanian project significantly overlapped and intersected with larger global dynamics surrounding the end of empire and the attempted imposition of a bipolar world order…The Tanzanian emphasis on the village, preoccupation with family as a metaphor and basis for political community, promotion of self-reliance, and anxiety about security were all multivalent conceptual features that responded to changing domestic and international conditions, built on indigenous political thought, and drew from a range of outside sources.[387]

383 Nyerere, The Arusha Declaration.
384 Nyerere, The Arusha Declaration. Section: 'Hard Work is the Root of Development'.
385 Daley, 'Refugees and Underdevelopment in Africa'. P. 79.
386 Tague, 'A War to Build the Nations'.
387 Lal, P. (2017) *African socialism in postcolonial Tanzania: Between the village and the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 28-29.

Modes of refugee assistance in the country reflected this convergence of influences, as well. While refugee settlement projects may have been acceptable to Tanzania's vision of collective rural agricultural development, they also fed international aims of capitalist accumulation, often along colonial lines. The US and UK were among those countries eager to 'develop' Africa according to their vision of an international economy, maintain allies against Communism, and ensure the continuity of export and import relations. The crops grown in settlements were mainly cashew nuts, tobacco, and sisal, which corresponded to the country's previous and ongoing international exports. In 1969, Tanzania's principal export market was the United Kingdom, which received 30% of all exports while the countries of the European Economic Community received 20% and North America 10%,[388] reflecting a continuity in colonial trade relations. Many East African refugee self-reliance settlements' promotion of mono-crop cultivation for national exportation in the 1960s and 1970s can therefore be attributed to both colonial economic legacy and wider international economic aims. In cases, as earlier discussed, refugees were forced to forego alternative means of self-reliance in favour of growing these cash crops, illustrating a heavy-handed coercion and paternalism arguably at odds with the concept of fostering self-reliance.

Yet this self-reliance assistance helped refugees engage in production in ways useful to host countries and thus served to alleviate worries that hosting refugees would 'burden' societies. The conditionality of productivity with which refugees were often received by host countries is evident in a confidential note by the UNHCR High Commissioner

[388] ILO, 'Tanzania: Rural Prevocational and Vocational Training'.

regarding a meeting with the Kenyan Secretary of Foreign Affairs in 1966:

> He [the Secretary] expressed concern over the fact that a great many of these refugees did not appear to want to work. This was the main reason why Kenya had been reluctant to admit them. Dar es Salaam [for example] was fast becoming a town of beggars, since many of the refugees preferred to receive hand-outs so as to continue to lead an idle life, rather than get a job. This created a social and economic problem which could easily get out of control in the large urban centers of East Africa.[389]

The increase of development aid in the 1960s sought to address the 'social and economic problem' that refugees' lack of employment constituted, and contributed to refugee assistance becoming more overtly premised on long-term welfare rather than just emergency relief. This extended refugee assistance into broader arenas of societies and economies such as their integration into cash economies, illustrating its longer-term aims. These strategies also sought to satisfy donor countries unwilling to provide everlasting emergency relief.

In addition to meeting economic aims, international welfare also satisfied the demands of capitalist social reproduction through the types of programmes employed. Similar to the influence of welfare programmes on interwar year assistance, many assistance initiatives for African refugees were borne out of social security and social development programmes premised alternately on anti-Communist efforts and colonial humanitarianism, and often focused on the issue of labour.[390] Integrated rural development programmes encompassing refugee self-reliance assistance illustrate how

[389] UNHCR (1966) Saddrudin Aga Khan. Note for the File (Confidential). August 4, 1966. UNHCR Archives, [Sadruddin Aga Khan (Deputy High Commissioner)] Archives. 11/1-1/7/43**.** Fonds 11/Series 1/Box 69 ARC-2/A40.

[390] Cooper, F. (1996) Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa. CUP: Cambridge.

international welfare for refugees reflected and furthered social and economic agendas of the time. As we have seen, these programmes were based in part on World Bank projects and supported national and international development ideals in various ways, such as focusing on ‘progress’ through capital circulation, and targeting entire populations rather than individuals. However, it is little known that they were themselves inspired by welfare-driven community development programmes with roots in the United States in the 1930s and development efforts in Africa by the British Colonial Office.[391] As Lacroix writes,

> The community development concept was seen, both by the United States and the United Nations as a democratic means to bring about economic, social and political developments…It was designed to encourage self-help efforts to raise standards of living and to create self-reliant communities with an assured sense of social and political responsibility.[392]

In 1960 over 60 countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia had national community development programmes, which emphasised social cohesion and welfare, with economic development considered secondary. The importance initially laid on ‘social and political responsibility’ came in large part as a reaction to the threat of Communism and the destabilisation it posed; in this way community development programmes served a larger purpose than just self-reliance – for communities within the United States and those around the world embedded in Cold War politics by proxy.

Whereas community development was driven by a desire for community cohesion in the face of Communism, by 1965 these programmes were discontinued in favour of an

[391] Lacroix, R. L. (1985) *Integrated rural development in Latin America* (Vol. 716). B. Mundial (Ed.). Washington, DC: World Bank. P. 8.
[392] Ibid.

integrated rural development approach that was seen 'as a means to foster economic growth among the rural poor and a way to achieve a more equitable distribution of the fruits of economic development.'[393] In this way we see rural development shift from a predominantly political strategy for fighting Communism to a politico-economic one aiming to combat Communism by increasing wealth and prosperity through economic growth. Indeed, this strategy was employed internationally as well as domestically. As early as 1961, when Tanzania became independent and was created through merging Zanzibar and Tanganyika, the US offered support to the country: the US Ambassador in Tanzania reported to Washington that 'Nyerere's United Republic has given us the initial political framework with which we can work' and therefore urged the US State Department to offer Nyerere 'the maximum quiet support from the beginning'.[394] Despite being a socialist-oriented state allied with the Soviet Union during the Cold War, Overseas Development Assistance funding to Tanzania rose from zero per cent of GNP to 22% between 1975 and 1997.[395] Refugees were implicated in this funding as particular African host countries received Western development aid intended for refugees in exchange for aligning with the West in ideological proxy Cold Wars.[396] In this way both host and donor countries instrumentalised international welfare to refugees, the funding of which became a smoke screen for supporting governments susceptible to Communism.[397]

[393] Lacroix, '*Integrated rural development in Latin America*'. P. 10.
[394] Quoted in: Mentan, T. (2017). *Africa in the Colonial Ages of Empire: Slavery, Capitalism, Racism, Colonialism, Decolonization, Independence as Recolonization, and Beyond*. Bamenda: Langaa RPCIG. P. 274.
[395] Dunning, T. (2004). Conditioning the effects of aid: Cold War politics, donor credibility, and democracy in Africa. *International organization*, *58*(2): 409-423. P. 416.
[396] Loescher, 'UNHCR ad World Politics'.
[397] ibid.

The Instrumentalisation of Refugee Self-Reliance Assistance

Refugee self-reliance assistance led to the material and conceptual instrumentalisation of refugees' aims towards self-reliance, the former of which occurred mainly through their agricultural work in settlements to produce cash crops. The creation of refugee settlements in which refugee livelihoods were carefully dictated contributed to this instrumentalisation, as well. As discussed above, both host governments and Western economies benefitted from these agricultural settlements in various ways.

Refugee self-reliance was also conceptually instrumentalised to aid Tanzania's national development agenda as well as the broader Western development project. As also discussed in the previous section, the activities of rural settlements for refugees in many ways echoed President Nyerere's vision of African socialism. Refugee settlements aimed first and foremost to foster self-sufficiency, which was intended to occur on a collective basis through the creation of self-sufficient refugee settlements. This intention particularly aligned with Nyerere's focus on agriculture as the basis for the development of Tanzania and for national self-reliance, and thus practically and conceptually furthered the possibility of attaining these.

Refugee self-reliance assistance also promoted the social tenets of international development, themselves underpinned by economic aims to open up new markets and expand the international economy. Refugee self-reliance was conceptually instrumentalised as it was intended to occur in the name of and through strategies

promoted by the ideologies of modernisation and progress. This occurred through the target beneficiaries of self-reliance as well as the instruments and training expected to foster it, such as planned settlements and tools such as bulldozers. At this time refugee assistance and broader development assistance was informed by US internationalists within the UN, ILO and elsewhere, who – by both broad thought and tangible donor funding – advocated economic growth and mass prosperity over social reform and individual social welfare.[398] Refugee assistance targeted *collective* refugee self-reliance in the 1960s and 1970s, and focused on settlement self-reliance rather than individual self-reliance. This strategy therefore aligned with the dominant development focus on mass well-being and a primary interest in the development of countries as opposed to the individuals within them.

Relatedly, the ruling post-war economic theory, Keynesianism, advocated strong government intervention in order to improve citizens' welfare; during this time, refugee assistance through integrated rural development provided social services to whole regions, thereby utilising this 'international welfare' for refugees and citizens alike. In turn, refugee assistance sought to 'modernise' not only refugees but the entire regions they lived within; in Tanzania, refugees tested new forms of hybrid maize, distributed as a form of refugee assistance through TCRS, and received health education from Community Development Workers that emphasized 'village hygiene and improved food preparation methods'.[399] We therefore see an instrumentalisation of both the concept and practice of

[398] Jensen, J. (2013) US New Deal Social Policy Experts and the ILO, 1948–1954. In: *Globalizing social rights: The International Labour Organization and beyond*. Palgrave MacMillan. 172-189. P. 185.
[399] TCRS [Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service] (1967) Annual Report 1967. Betts Collection, Bodleian Social Science Library, University of Oxford: Box 53. Tanzania: Rural Settlement Planning [394]. P. 3.

refugee self-reliance by Western governments and international organisations, which used the ostensible goal of self-reliance as an entry point to enact 'progress' in regions housing refugees and local Africans alike.

Future-oriented development was not the only factor impacting refugee self-reliance assistance in Africa. In Tanzania, assistance was shaped not only by international and national aims but by the colonial history and enduring colonial mentality of practices and processes in African countries at the time.[400] Much has been written about neo-colonialism in Africa but much less about the impact of colonial practices on assistance to African refugees. It is of course hard to discern the remnants left behind *by* the colonial period from the colonial mindset and practices that aid and development organisations brought *to* Africa. However, three particular aspects of colonial rule in Tanzania remained hallmarks of development assistance for both refugees and citizens in Africa. Firstly, cash crop production and cooperatives were part of an *economic* system of production, which colonial immigration policies had previously sought to uphold through control: 'Population influxes, if managed and redistributed like transferable commodities to suit agricultural need, were the panacea to perennial labour shortages.'[401] After World War II, the British faced a high demand for labour on sisal and rubber estates in then-Tanganyika and therefore created refugee camps near migration routes – a 'conditioning camp system'

[400] It is beyond the scope of this thesis to conduct the thorough process tracing and excavation of colonial archives that would be required to provide extensive primary evidence for this claim. I therefore rely primarily on secondary literature and make connections to information in the archives and their parallels to colonial actions and behaviour. Although this was not the main focus of my thesis, the role that the history of colonialism, and by extension racism, played in African refugee assistance at the time should not be overlooked and deserves to be the focus of future research.

[401] Chaulia, S. S. (2003). The politics of refugee hosting in Tanzania: from open door to unsustainability, insecurity and receding receptivity. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *16*(2), 147-166. P. 151.

– with the aim of drawing refugees in as labourers.[402] While Nyerere's refugee policies were welcoming and humanistic, they also sought to make use of refugee labour in a similar way; Chaulia writes of Tanzania at the time, 'Arguably, development policies of a freely administered nationalistic government were quite different from crude extraction and transfer of wealth under the colonial yoke, but the utilitarian intentions of hosting immigrant labour were more or less consonant with those of the pre-independence era.'[403]

Secondly, *political* governance structures involved embedding local Africans, including refugees, into hollow administrative structures and committees. Thirdly, *social* attitudes and beliefs of African refugees alternated between and merged into a racist paternalism and ideals of self-governance that justified not only the pre-independence colonial rule but intervention in the name of development assistance thereafter. Chaulia writes that,

> [T]he British considered themselves the most liberal, humane and enlightened empire-builders, who were helping the natives attain self-governance through indirect rule and delegation of local authority to natives, as opposed to the Belgians and the French who were only interested in exploitation.[404]

Deutsch writes of the public sphere in Tanzania under colonial rule as an integral site for the creation of colonial consent by Tanzanians, which was achieved in part through the 'repetitive display of power' that formal public meetings and local councils comprised.[405]

[402] Orde-Browne, J. (1946) Labour Conditions in East Africa. London: HMSO. P. 49.
[403] Chaulia, S. S. (2003) The politics of refugee hosting in Tanzania: from open door to unsustainability, insecurity and receding receptivity. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *16*(2), 147-166. P. 156.
[404] Chaulia, S. S. (2003). The politics of refugee hosting in Tanzania: from open door to unsustainability, insecurity and receding receptivity. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *16*(2), 147-166.; This position was summarized in 1929 by Jan Smuts, British war cabinet member and South African Prime Minister, 'The British Empire does not stand for the assimilation of its peoples into a common type, it does not stand for standardization, but for the fullest freest development of its people along their own specific lines…We will preserve Africa's unity with her own past and build her future progress and civilization on specifically African foundations.' Quoted in: Mamdani (1996) Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism. Princeton: Princeton University Press. P. 5.
[405] Deutsch, J.G. (2002) Celebrating Power in Everyday Life: The Administration of Law and the Public Sphere in Colonial Tanzania, 1890-1914. Journal of African Cultural Studies, 15(1): 93-103. P. 101.

Similar displays of ceremony and hollow power were created through the formation of Refugee Councils in refugee settlements in the 1960s and 1970s. As Deutsch writes of colonial authorities, 'The government knew that in order to be recognized as a legitimate authority, colonial rule had to be rooted, at least to some extent, in the everyday life of both rulers and subjects alike.'[406] In refugee settlements this took the form of meetings between refugee leaders and settlement administration, but with little effect of equalizing power relations. As discussed in the chapter, livelihoods and educational trainings led by international agencies provided an avenue to 'teach' refugees everything from farm skills to cooking, and in this way asserted a paternalistic dominance over everyday activities. The paradox of this 'assistance' to foster self-reliance through the virtual suppression of refugees' own agency is evident, and led to a further estrangement of refugees from the very work intended to lead to their independence.

Refugees as a Reserve Army of Labour

Refugees in Tanzania became a latent reserve army of labour through their agricultural work. Particularly as urbanization rose in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s, refugees were perceived as a useful rural labour force that could fill gaps in the agricultural workforce by citizens who had migrated to urban areas.[407] Yet markedly different from Marx's conception of a reserve army of labour was the lack of monetary compensation these

[406] Ibid. P. 95.
[407] Due to refugee populations primarily congregated in rural rather than urban areas for work, this conceptualisation of a latent reserve army of labour holds similar contrasts to Marx's original conception as the previous chapter discussed. See the section on the reserve army of labour in the discussion of Chapter 1.

refugees received: although the majority of refugees were treated as de facto workers in UNHCR assistance schemes, they were unpaid as they were meant to grow subsistence crops alongside cash crops in order to become self-reliant – thereby supporting African host countries in their national self-reliance as well as contributing to Western aims of expanding the international economy. In this way we see an instrumentalisation of both the aim and practices of fostering refugee self-reliance, wherein refugees' self-reliance was once again intended to occur in conjunction with, and even became subservient to, larger national and international plans.

During this time the perception of refugees changed from the migrant labourers of the interwar years to dependent refugees in need of external help to become self-reliant. The inherent contradiction of this construction of African refugees was that these dependent beneficiaries were treated as a latent reserve army that was expected to work and become self-reliant. This appears to have been resolved through an understanding by assistance agencies and host and donor governments that trainings and dictated livelihoods refugees would help achieve self-reliance. This stance therefore demanded external 'experts' to help refugees successfully make this transition, thereby justifying the suppression of refugees' own self-reliance strategies.

In part this construction can be attributed to a paternalism present within both the interwar and post-war years, which became prominent after World War II as humanitarian organizations advanced into bureaucratized, permanent entities and those such as UNHCR expanded from emergency response to the 'development' of both vulnerable national and

refugee populations.[408] This shift coincided with the exclusion of refugees from employment within the very institutions mandated to serve them, as well as with the creation of top-down assistance programmes by ‘experts’ who had little knowledge of the regions they worked in.[409] As refugee assistance moved into Africa, refugees were not employed within assistance agencies such as UNHCR but became the ‘beneficiaries’ of emergency and development assistance. As documented above, refugee settlements were often led by an authoritarian administration that disregarded refugees’ own self-reliance practices and other forms of agency.

This shift in construction was also influenced other changes in humanitarian assistance. Building on the trend that had emerged before the war, organizations increased humanitarian aid on the basis of need and protection, rather than identity and employable skills.[410] Long discusses this shifting conceptualisation of refugee resettlement as concretized through those European refugees who did not meet migration criteria due to illness or age, and remained in Displaced Persons camps after World War II.[411] Indeed, by the time the so-called ‘last million’ European refugees were resettled in the 1950s, the resettlement of refugees as workers had become the exception rather than the norm.[412] Yet a passive refugee identity persisted in African refugee assistance despite the explicit intention for refugees to become self-reliant through working. Indeed, the contrast in depictions of the Greek refugees of the interwar years to the Tanzanian refugees of post-

[408] Barnett, ‘Empire of Humanity’.
[409] Betts Collection, ‘Compiled Reports and Reviews’.
[410] Barnett, ‘Empire of Humanity’.
[411] Long, ‘When Refugees Stopped Being Migrants’. Pp. 13–15.
[412] Ibid.

colonial Africa is striking. Despite the agricultural provenance of the majority of both populations, post-World War II settlement documents focus on the need to 'develop', to 'teach', to 'train' African refugees, whereas the general resilience of Greek refugees during the interwar years was emphasized in similar organizational reports.[413]

Conclusion

As refugee assistance moved into Africa and other newly independent countries, organisations such as UNHCR entered (post-)colonial landscapes of humanitarianism and domination that greatly influenced the implementation of livelihoods schemes and settlements. Despite limited investment in resources, the structure of refugee self-reliance assistance in Africa changed from the interwar years' institutional accommodation and reliance on refugee livelihoods to the authorization of restrictive livelihoods measures in the name of the broader post-war goals of development. The result appears to be a refugee assistance ensnared in a colonial mindset of paternalism and at the same time striving to contribute to a forward-thinking (but similarly paternalistic) vision of development, one premised on the self-reliance and modernization of not just refugees or other 'underdeveloped' populations but entire countries and, indeed, the African continent as a whole.

By 1980 Africa hosted more than 4 million refugees – a third of the world's refugee population. However, only $70 million of UNHCR's budget was earmarked for the

[413] See as a comparison reports from the Betts Collection, 1971-1976, with the Palmeree Documents and reports from High Commissioner Fridtjof Nansen.

continent compared to $105 million for the one million South East Asian refugees, suggesting a limited regard for these protracted African refugee populations.[414] More broadly, the impacts of the 1973-1975 global recession led to a 'deep capitalist crisis' that was,

> first and foremost a reflection of the inability of world capitalism as instituted under US hegemony to deliver on the promises of a Global New Deal'. This led to 'a liquidation of the labour-friendly and development-friendly international regime of the preceding thirty years in favour of a capital-friendly regime…Under the new regime, the crisis of capitalism quickly turned into a crisis of organized labour and of the welfare state in rich countries, and of the crisis of Communism and of the developmental state in poorer countries'.[415]

By the 1980s Tanzania itself had largely abandoned its aim of national self-reliance, and liberalisation measures undertaken by the World Bank in the mid-1980s stripped the country of many forms of collective welfare.[416] A 'renegotiation of the state's obligation to and contact with displaced populations' and more restrictive refugee policies ensued.[417] Caught between competing local, national, and international economic and social interests, it is therefore perhaps not surprising that by the late 1970s refugee settlements in Tanzania and elsewhere in Eastern Africa were failing in their self-reliance aims, and

[414] However, this number was still notably higher than the funding refugees had been allotted two decades prior when assistance in Africa began.; D'Souza, F. (1980) The Refugee Dilemma: International Recognition and Acceptance. Report No. 43. London: Minority Rights Group. P. 7.
[415] Silver, B. and Arrighi, G. (2000) "Workers North and South", in L. Panitch and C. Leys (eds), The Socialist Register 2001 . London: Merlin Press, pp 53 – 76. P. 56.
[416] The effect of SAPs on Tanzania is summarized in the following exchange between Nyerere and the head of the World Bank and staff: "Why have you (Tanzanians) made such a mess of things?" he was asked by the Bank's experts who were alluding to the economic situation in Tanzania. Nyerere replied: "The British Empire left us a country with 85% illiteracy, two engineers and twelve doctors. When I left government, we had 9% illiteracy, and thousands of engineers and doctors. I left government 13 years ago. At that time our per capita income was double what it is today. [Now] We have a third of children who lack schooling, while health and public services are in ruins. During those 13 years, Tanzania did everything that World Bank and the IMF demanded of it." And Nyerere returned the question to the experts: "Why have you made such a mess of things?"' Quoted in: Caplan, P. (2007) Between Socialism & Neo-Liberalism: Mafia Island, Tanzania, 1965-2004. Review of African Political Economy, 34(114): 679-694. P. 680.
[417] Hyndman, J. (2000) Managing Displacement: Refugees and the Politics of Humanitarianism. London: University of Minnesota Press. P. 182.

the majority of encamped refugees remained at least partially dependent on foreign assistance.[418] A combination of poor soil, a policy of encampment that restricted refugees' access to local economies, and ill-trained authoritarian settlement administrators all acted as contributing factors to the widespread failure of institutionally-planned refugee self-reliance.[419] By this point *ujamaa* as a policy had also failed, and integrated rural development programmes were criticized by the World Bank and other donors for their ill-planned structure and implementation – despite having been largely guided by these same actors.[420]

For refugees in particular, despite increased assistance and more funding for UNHCR programmes than ever before, there was less successful institutionally-instated refugee self-reliance in the Global South. The seeds, tools, housing, and training refugees had received, meant to foster their reintegration (or, in many cases, integration for the first time) into agricultural production and the market economy, instead largely acted as a guise for the exploitation of refugees as workers. Unpaid and trapped in settlements, refugees in Tanzania and beyond appear to have been subordinate to an assistance focused on 'modernisation' and 'development' and were instrumentalised for economic aims far grander than that of their own self-reliance.

418 RPG, 'Older Refugee Settlements'.
419 Easton-Calabria, E. (2015) 'From Bottom-Up to Top-Down: The 'Pre-History' of Refugee Livelihoods Assistance from 1919 – 1979'. *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 28(3): 412-436.
420 As Payer writes, 'There is one very curious aspect of the World Bank's criticisms of Tanzanian agricultural policy which cannot be emphasised too strongly. This is that Tanzanian agricultural strategies over the past decade, and many of the particular policies and projects singled out for criticism…were not only financed by the World Bank but, according to insiders' accounts, in many cases were shaped by World Bank advice and conditionality.' Source: Payer, 'Tanzania and the World Bank'. P. 803.

Chapter 6.
Refugee Self-Reliance Assistance in Cold War Pakistan

Introduction

It is a long journey from Tanzania to Pakistan, but refugee self-reliance assistance made the trip. In so doing it changed continents as well as focus, becoming more centred on urban areas and market-based assistance than the predominantly agricultural assistance focused on in East Africa and Europe. It was also actively militarised, set in a context of Cold War proxy conflict on which the previous chapter did not focus. Afghan refugee camps consequently became sites of sanctuary for both refugees and the Afghan resistance movement (often indiscernible from each other), and the concept and practices of refugee self-reliance assistance were deployed for new, often contentious, ends.

'The world's most effective refugee-warrior community' – a moniker that displays both respect for and misunderstanding of Afghan refugees in Pakistan during the 1980s.[421] These so-called refugee-warriors were deemed to be fighting a Jihad, a Holy War, against the Soviets invasion of December 1979. The prevailing discussion of these refugees centres around militarisation and security, reflecting the overt militarisation of refugee camps by Afghans as well as of the international refugee response itself, which is widely

421 Zolberg et al. (1992) Escape from Violence: Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World. Oxford: OUP.

acknowledged as having funneled arms and funds to the *mujahideen*, the so-called Afghan freedom fighters.

Although the predominant depiction of Afghans at that time is of an autonomous nation-in-exile, little work has hitherto focused on the international assistance programmes that sought to support their everyday independence. In particular, programmes aiming to foster their self-reliance have been neglected, as have the broader economic trends influencing the changes in assistance during the period. The widely told story of the Afghan refugee warrior in Pakistan is therefore incomplete. Cold War politics cannot fully explain the overwhelming presence of the United States in refugee relief, nor the international community's overriding involvement in the 'rebuilding' of Afghanistan after the Soviet withdrawal. Nor can it explicate the international humanitarian community's strong focus on self-reliance assistance to Afghan refugees in Pakistan. To understand this story, we must also include the role economics played in the Cold War, and how shifting conceptualisations of welfare in the US and UK made their way to the refugee camps of South Asia. We must consequently follow funds from the US to the 'refugee tented villages' of Pakistan and on to the near-deserted villages of Afghanistan, as well as trace the rise of neoliberalism and how American President Reagan's and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's economic policies 'trickled down' to international assistance across the globe.

In striking contrast to many other refugee groups such as those in Africa, Afghan refugees in Pakistan during the 1980s are largely construed as a successfully self-reliant population.

This has been attributed to their close cultural ties with many Pakistanis, their work ethic, and, significantly, the large amount of funding provided by Western donors for their assistance during their first decade in exile. Due to the predominance of Cold War influence and the scale of assistance and the main actors involved – including UNHCR, the World Bank, Oxfam, and a plethora of other INGOs – Afghan refugees in Pakistan provide a compelling case study to examine the relationship between refugee self-reliance assistance and larger international economic aims and interests. As Novak states, the length of stay and sheer number of both Afghan refugees and NGOs in Pakistan 'profoundly transformed pre-existing social, political and economic contexts as well as the hierarchies within them.'[422]

This chapter presents three phases of self-reliance assistance for Afghan refugees in Pakistan between 1979 and 1995, each of which corresponds to shifts in economic trends and broader international development. In particular, the stages demonstrate a shift from Keynesian economics to neoliberal assistance models. I first provide a case study of a major UNHCR/World Bank project focused on refugee income-generation, which reflected Keynesian tenets similar to those of interwar public works projects. I then demonstrate a paradigmatic shift to neoliberal forms of assistance in the 1980s, focusing primarily on discussions of refugee dependency syndrome and self-reliance as psycho-social support, and a shift of self-reliance from a tool of economic development to a protection mechanism for vulnerable populations such as women.

[422] Novak, P. (2011) The institutional incompleteness of empire. *Central Asian Survey*, *30*(3-4): 389-406. P. 391.

In examining self-reliance assistance to Afghan refugees in Pakistan, an understanding of changes to US and UK welfare systems based on neoliberal influences provides important parallels to assistance and illuminates the potential provenance of changes occurring to this 'international welfare'. In the discussion I examine the ways that the self-reliance assistance provided to Afghan refugees in Pakistan actually served the developmental interests of the Government of Pakistan (GoP) and the political aims of Western donors, particularly the US. Crucially, it served these interests according to the shifting dominant economic thought of the time. The discussion section reviews this history through my theoretical concepts of instrumentalisation and reserve army of labour; the broader economic trends of the era; and explores parallels between Anglophone Western welfare systems and refugee self-reliance assistance, both of which were heavily impacted by the rise of neoliberalism.

Context

In the early 1980s UNHCR High Commissioner Hartling held meetings with UNHCR officials to define the agency's 'refugee aid and development strategy', a by-now familiar means of providing refugees with income generation through host country national development projects. However, it was presented as a new strategy arising out of vehement criticism by African states at the attention refugees from countries like Afghanistan received while African refugees – and the states that hosted them – were comparably neglected.[423]

[423] Loescher, 'UNHCR and World Politics'. P. 227.

This frustration on the part of African states about unequal burden-sharing led to two international conferences on refugees: the 1981 and 1984 International Conferences on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA I and II) which sought to compensate African host states through greater international burden-sharing. During ICARA I, UNHCR introduced 'Refugee Aid and Development' and proposals to facilitate refugee self--reliance through development assistance.[424] This discourse brought refugee self-reliance to the forefront of global discussions on international burden-sharing to combat constructions of refugees as 'dependent' and 'burdens'.[425] Self-reliance was promoted as an integral form of development to address protracted refugee situations, and emphasised in the RAD assistance strategy. The ICARA RAD strategy stipulates that it

> is development-oriented from the outset; enables refugees to self-sufficiency; move[s] towards self-reliance and helps least developed host countries to cope with the burden that refugees place on their social and economic structures; provides benefits to both refugees and to the local population in the areas where they have settled; and, is consistent with the national development plan of the host country.[426]

From this description we can clearly conclude that RAD aimed to benefit refugees, host states, and locals in refugee-hosting regions. It is also apparent that self-reliance assistance to refugees was intended to align with host country national development plans. In this way it differed little from the aims of this assistance in previous decades. RAD gained some traction in the early 1980s, particularly during ICARA I and II, and was endorsed

[424] Loescher, G., Betts, A., & Milner, J. (2008) *The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR): The politics and practice of refugee protection into the 21st century*. London: Routledge.
[425] Gorman, R. (1993) Refugee Aid and Development: Theory and Practice. Westport: Greenwood.
[426] Cited in Stein, B. (1994) *Returnee aid and development*. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Central Evaluation Section. Geneva: UNHCR.

by the UNHCR Executive Committee in 1984.[427] However, it did not spread as a mainstream strategy, due in part to ICARA I and II's failure to achieve funding for development projects and increase international burden-sharing.[428]

UNHCR had assumed that altruism would lead states to fund projects aiming to achieve refugee self-reliance.[429] Many states, however, 'against the background of a general decline in public sympathy for the situation of the asylum-seeker' were reluctant to give at all.[430] Although $570 million was pledged, the majority of ICARA funds was earmarked and not materialized.[431] Indeed, the only pledges made by Northern donor states during ICARA I and II occurred due to strategic interests by the US to provide support for anti-Communist refugee groups.[432] Compassion fatigue alongside new emergency crises such as the Ethiopian famine left little attention for addressing the needs of protracted refugee situations and development assistance for refugees was placed behind the priority of emergency relief.

That is, in most of the world.

427 Loescher et al., 'UNHCR Politics and Practice'.
428 Gorman, R. F. (1986) Beyond ICARA II: Implementing refugee-related development assistance. International Migration Review, 20, 283-298.; Loescher et al., 'UNHCR Politics and Practice'., Betts, A. (2009) Development assistance and refugees: Towards a north-south grand bargain?, Oxford, Refugee Studies Centre.
429 Betts, A. (2009) *Protection by persuasion: International cooperation in the refugee regime*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
430 UNHCR 1982: Article 10.
431 Loescher et al., 'UNHCR Politics and Practice'. P. 42.
432 Lischer, S. K. (2005) *Dangerous sanctuaries*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.; Betts, '*Protection by Persuasion'*.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and the resulting three million Afghan refugees in Pakistan proved to be an exceptional situation in terms of both funding for refugee assistance in general and self-reliance projects in particular. Despite repeated discussions on RAD at UNHCR, a UNHCR/World Bank project for income-generation for Afghan refugees in Pakistan (expanded on below) and a similar Bank project in Sudan were notable exceptions to a refugee assistance approach that ultimately consisted of 'care and maintenance' in refugee camps. This can largely be attributed to Cold War politics, which saw Western states such as the United States paradoxically utilising Afghan refugees as both victims of Communism and as 'Cold War Warriors'.[433]

In the mid-1980s discussions on Refugee Aid and Development became more overt with the advent of Jean-Pierre Hocke as High Commissioner. Hocke was critical of UNHCR's previous assistance approaches which had left millions of refugees stuck in camps, and became determined to more closely link refugee assistance with development approaches. Just a few months into his tenure, Hocke made a trip to refugee-hosting regions of Pakistan. He stated:

> UNHCR must proceed along two major lines of action. First, we must react to existing and new refugee crises with a three-pronged approach that combines effective emergency response, the prompt establishment of basic services, and early action in respect of income-generating activities that will quickly put the refugees back on their feet. Second, and almost simultaneously, we must embark on a systematic and dynamic search for solutions to end the problem, so that the refugees need not be refugees indefinitely.[434]

433 Loescher, 'UNHCR and World Politics'. IRC documents in particular demonstrate Cold War ideology.
434 Hocke, J. (1986) Statement by Mr. Jean-Pierre Hocké, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, at the Informal Meeting of Permanent Representatives in Geneva of States Members of the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme (ExCom), 13 June. Geneva: UNHCR.

Hocke's statement is reminiscent of the League of Nations' approach to refugee assistance, which sought to combine emergency relief with development assistance at the beginning of displacement. Hocke's mention of 'solutions' also alludes to the political focus on 'root causes' of displacement that would become a feature of UNHCR's approach to refugee assistance in the 1990s and beyond.

In the same speech, Hocke cited the UNHCR/World Bank project in Pakistan for Afghan refugees as a model of development assistance, and succinctly outlined the advantages of merging refugee self-reliance with national development:

> Where such projects can be successfully implemented in the context of the host country's national development plans, they achieve a triple benefit: they maintain the refugees' self-respect and sustaining their will to return home; they offer development opportunities to the local population; and they permit the host country to limit the damage caused by large influxes and to inherit, wherever possible, a tangible legacy when the refugees leave their soil.[435]

Here Hocke presents the 'triple bottom line' of refugee self-reliance assistance – its potential to support refugees in supporting themselves while helping local hosts and the development of their host country as a whole.

UNHCR's focus on development – at least on paper – continued throughout the decade.[436] However, similar to other discursive shifts we have already seen, the language of the often similar assistance programmes by UNHCR and other institutions to foster refugee self-

[435] Ibid.
[436] See speeches and statements by UNHCR High Commissioners Paul Hartling and Jean-Pierre Hocke, available on the UNHCR website at: https://tinyurl.com/yd9fzyul [Paul Hartling] and https://tinyurl.com/ycpb3kbp [Jean-Pierre Hocke].

reliance changed yet again. In the 1980s, no longer was ‘integrated rural development’ or ‘zonal development’ cited as a goal; instead, the aim was refugees’ ‘income-generation’ and ‘economic self-reliance’[437] in ways that also targeted ‘national development’ or ‘economic development’.

In a 1988 address to the UN Administrative Committee on Coordination, Hocke resumed his discussion from previous speeches. He emphasized the integral link between refugees and development, stating, ‘One cannot any longer deny the linkage between mass displacement and missed development…Development is not an irrelevancy in refugee affairs: it is rapidly becoming the central factor in our ability to resolve refugee problems.’[438] He backed up his argument through citing the financial costs that could be reduced through a developmental focus, as well as the benefits that host countries could accrue. He also summarized a linkage between refugee self-reliance and development that became apparent in the late 1980s and constituted yet another phase of refugee self-reliance assistance: that of targeting self-reliance assistance to so-called vulnerable groups such as disabled refugees. Hocke stated:

> As we look toward a strategy for a new UN Development decade, we need the help of development agencies to ensure UNHCR does not remain a voice crying in the wilderness to include refugees in such a strategy. We are all aware of the priorities favouring the “poorest of the poor” in development projects - women, children, the handicapped, the disadvantaged and the dispossessed. These very

[437] Economic self-reliance is ‘the capacity of refugees to provide for their own economic support and the support of their families.’ Source: Martin, S. F. and Copeland, E. (1988) Making Ends Meet. Washington, D.C.: Refugee Policy Group. P. 1. The report provides various explanations for the increased emphasis on economic self-reliance for refugees: ‘First, there is a perception that increased self-reliance will facilitate durable solutions. With greater capacity to provide for themselves, the refugees will be better prepared to return to their countries of origin if conditions permit, or integrate into the local society if settlement in the country of first asylum or a third country is possible.’

[438] Hocké, J. P. (1988) Speech by Mr. Jean-Pierre Hocké, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to the United Nations Administrative Committee on Coordination, New York, 24 October. Geneva: UNHCR. [n.p.]

> groups, most deserving of development assistance, are also UNHCR's concern. There is nothing vague or theoretical about them for us. This is where we labour every day. These are who the refugees are.[439]

One key 'vulnerable' group were women, who became a larger focus of assistance in the 1980s and into the 1990s. Indeed, the early 1990s represent a turning point in both the articulation and the operationalization of commitments towards gender equality internationally including the World Conference on Human Rights in 1993, the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action in 1993, the creation of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights post in 1993, and the ways in which mass atrocities in Rwanda, Bosnia, and elsewhere drew international attention to the specific ways in which both violence and the responses to it are gendered.[440] These conferences, declarations, and decisions caused programmatic shifts in international development and humanitarian action with regard to gender and rights-based assistance approaches.

The following sections of this chapter delve deeper into many of the topics mentioned in the statements above through the case study of Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

Refugee Self-Reliance Assistance to Afghan Refugees in Pakistan

The late 1970s and early 1980s saw the onset of the 'Second Cold War', the end of the period of détente, and the deterioration of US-Soviet relations. Whereas Western policy

[439] Ibid.
[440] Also in 1993, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women. In 1994, the UN appointed a Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women and in 1995, the UN Secretary General appointed a senior advisor on gender issues. The Fourth World Conference for Women was held in Beijing in 1995, which led to the Beijing Declaration and the Beijing Platform For Action, both of which list commitments towards women's empowerment and gender equality.

had previously focused on a strategy of Soviet containment, the 1980s introduced the so-called 'Reagan Doctrine', in which the US reaffirmed an allegiance to those countries resisting the Soviet Union.[441] This policy shift led to the support of freedom fighters such as the *mujahideen* and to formerly unfavourably viewed states such as Pakistan.

After the 1978 coup of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, over three million Afghans fled to Pakistan.[442] Approximately 1.5 million others fled to Iran, living largely without international assistance. However, Pakistan quickly received millions in aid. This support stood in stark contrast to its previous international isolation, which had arisen in large part due to its negative human rights record and its nuclear weapons research. The assistance it gained can be partially attributed to its geopolitical significance – the 1979 fall of the Shah left the state increasingly vulnerable to Communist influence, and the US saw Pakistan's potential to provide assistance to curb Soviet expansion.

Assistance to Afghan refugees in Pakistan was UNHCR's largest project for much of the 1980s, with programming both drawing on previous efforts and paving the way for those that would be implemented in the latter half of the 1990s and beyond. Several features of

[441] The Reagan Doctrine is epitomized by Reagan's statement that, 'We must stand by all our democratic allies. And we must not break faith with those who are risking their lives—on every continent, from Afghanistan to Nicaragua—to defy Soviet-supported aggression and secure rights which have been ours from birth.' Source: Reagan, R. (1985) Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union, 6 February.

[442] 400,000 Afghans had fled to Pakistan by December 1979 and another 200,000 to Iran. By December of 1980, the number of Afghan refugees was estimated at 1.9 million, making it the largest single group of refugees in the world. UNHCR (1997) http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/publications/refugeemag/3b680fbfc/refugees-magazine-issue-108-afghanistan-unending-crisis-biggest-caseload.html

assistance to Afghan refugees have been widely analysed, including the geopolitical significance of the international assistance for both Western powers (mainly the US) and the Government of Pakistan,[443] as well as larger social and political projects of domination that refugee assistance represented.[444] The militarisation of refugee camps in Pakistan and the political instrumentalisation of refugees have also been examined in detail.[445] Hyman, for example, argues that exiled Afghan political parties' rise in influence was one 'effect of the Pakistan system of distribution of international relief aid to ever-increasing numbers of Afghan refugees'[446] while Terry cites that the United States and Saudi Arabia provided direct financial support amounting to $1 billion USD to the mujahideen in 1986 alone.[447]

Self-Reliance Assistance Practices to Afghan Refugees

Despite hosting three million Afghan refugees for over a decade, Pakistan never became a contracting party of the 1951 Refugee Convention. Instead, it developed and implemented its own refugee policy through the States and Frontier Regions Ministry (SAFRON), to which international agencies such as UNHCR had to adhere. This enabled Pakistan to largely retain control over how – and to whom – assistance was given. UNHCR and other international agencies in coordination with SAFRON, a Division of the Ministry of State and Frontier Regions of the Government of Pakistan (GoP), provided emergency relief and self-reliance programmes. Assistance was mainly provided in the

443 Khan, I. (1998). Afghanistan: a geopolitical study. *Central Asian Survey*, *17*(3), 489-502.
444 Novak, P. (2011). The institutional incompleteness of empire. *Central Asian Survey*, *30*(3-4), 389-406.
445 Zolberg, A. R., Suhrke, A., & Aguayo, S. (1992). *Escape from violence: Conflict and the refugee crisis in the developing world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.; Terry, F. (2013). *Condemned to repeat?: The paradox of humanitarian action*. Cornell University Press.
446 Hyman, A. (1987). The Afghan politics of exile. *Third World Quarterly*, *9*(1), 67-84. Pgs. 69 – 74.
447 Terry, 'Condemned to repeat?'.

Baluchistan and Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) regions, where the majority of refugees were located.

The two main refugee assistance actors in Pakistan besides the GOP were UNHCR, which began operations in Pakistan in April 1979, and the United States, the largest donor government. UNHCR's 'Humanitarian Assistance Programme for Afghan Refugees in Pakistan' was the largest assistance programme in the world at the time and was mainly centred on the NWFP. The World Food Programme (WFP) provided food aid, while UNHCR provided emergency assistance and, in tandem with NGOs and entities such as the World Bank, development and income-generating projects to foster self-reliance.

Initially, the GOP was reluctant to receive assistance from other NGOs but gradually accepted more specialized organisations into the country. While the GOP headed relief and assistance operations through SAFRON, a Chief Commissionerate for Afghan Refugees (CAR) was also formed to address refugee issues as well as area administrators in charge of five ARVs each. In addition to these government entities, assistance was provided through bilateral, intergovernmental, UN and non-state organisations, and by 1983 UNHCR and CAR were working with 17 NGOs.[448] However, CAR implemented approximately 70% of programmes for Afghan refugees funded by UNHCR.[449]

[448] Magnus, R. H. (1987) 'Humanitarian Response to an Inhuman Strategy', in Grant M. Parr and John G. Merriam (eds) Afghan Resistance: the politics of survival. Boulder: Westview.
[449] Millwood, D. (1995) The Rädda Barnen Training Unit: Community-based social work with Afghan refugees in Pakistan. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 64.14 MIL in: Box FA/FP Afghans in Pakistan, 59.3-64. P. 10.

In accordance with Pakistan's refugee policy, Afghan refugees were recognized as *prima facie* refugees and so were provided the rights to work and freedom of movement. They were not, however, allowed to purchase land or even initially to farm. Many lived in what were called Afghan Refugee Villages (ARVs) or Refugee Tentage Villages (RTVs), essentially settlements that allowed freedom of movement.[450] The majority of refugees were Pashtun, the dominant ethnic group in both Afghanistan and Pakistan, although minority groups included Baluchi, Nuristranis, Tadjiks, Hazaras, Uzbeks, Turkmen and Mongols.[451] It was generally assumed that Afghans were able to integrate more successfully than many other refugee groups often can, due in part to the majority's shared culture and a corresponding 'historical sympathy' that enabled Afghans to assume they would be taken in by their Pashtun neighbors.[452]

In contrast to both the historical and contemporary perception of many refugees, Afghan refugees were described in multiple reports as a self-reliant and proud population. Indeed, some reports attributed the freedom of movement allowed by the GoP as stemming from an awareness of their imperative for self-reliance. 'To encourage the refugees to stay in camps,' a US Committee for Refugees report stated,

> [T]he government's policy is to provide material relief assistance only to those residing in the camps. But the Pakistanis, who know the Afghans well, do not attempt to coerce these proud and independent-minded people to stay in camps.

450 As one report described: 'The tents typical of camp life soon gave way to katcha houses, built by the refugees themselves (with bricks of dung, grass and wheat stalks, mud and water). The camps became villages and refugees' houses were often intermingled with or indistinguishable from similar dwellings of local inhabitants. Each village-camp housed some 10-20,000 inhabitants and was composed of numerous compounds, usually surrounded by a high wall to prevent passers-by looking in.' Source: Millwood, 1995: 8-9.

451 Millwood, D (1995) 'The Rädda Barnen Training Unit: Community-based social work with Afghan refugees in Pakistan'. Save the Children, RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 64.14 MIL in: Box FA/FP Afghans in Pakistan, 59.3-64. P. 7.

452 Interview, Jon Bennett, Former head of ACBAR, 4/12/2017.

> The refugees are free to move about as they please; some go to find work in the surrounding villages; some gravitate to the larger towns and cities; and some go back across the border to fight.[453]

Between August 1979 and the end of September 1987, UNHCR's budget in Pakistan in both cash and kind was $583.8 million USD.[454] This high number continued into 1988, when Pakistan was allotted $48.8 million USD by the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme at its 38th session held in October 1987 – the highest of any refugee assistance programme.[455] Overall, it has been estimated that the international community contributed $300 million USD annually to assist Afghan refugees in Pakistan throughout the 1980s, of which $230 million USD was provided by the UN, NGOs, and bilateral donors, with another $70 million by the GOP.[456] However, after 1990 this number fell dramatically, signifying 'donor fatigue', a decrease in vested geopolitical interest, and humanitarian interest elsewhere in the world.[457]

Assistance provided to refugees by this suite of actors went through several distinct shifts throughout the 1980s and early 1990s before largely stopping. In particular, self-reliance assistance changed from an economic strategy to a tool of protection that simultaneously focused on the material and psychosocial wellbeing of 'vulnerable' Afghan refugees, primarily disabled people and single women. Three main phases of self-reliance assistance to Afghan refugees overlapped with different stages of more general NGO involvement

[453] US Committee for Refugees (1985) Afghan Refugees: Five Years Later, January, RSC Cardbox: FA/FP Afghanis in Pakistan, 1-36.1/9; FA/FP 30 USCR.
[454] Hocké, 'Speech by Mr. Jean-Pierre Hocké'. P. 1.
[455] Ibid.
[456] Bennett, J. (n.d.), Afghanistan: Cross-border NGO coordination. ICVA. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 59.4 BEN in: Box FA/FP Afghans in Pakistan, 59.3-64.
[457] Millwood, 'The Rädda Barnen Training Unit'.

with refugees. After an initial period focused on relief, the early 1980s marked a period of focus on income-generation by UNHCR and other agencies, often through waged employment. The mid-1980s saw an increased recognition of 'refugee dependency syndrome' (a purported dependence on humanitarian aid), which led to a wider range of self-reliance strategies beyond waged employment. Familiar to those of us aware of the earlier history of refugee self-reliance, these practices included vocational training and micro-finance as well as production and marketing schemes, and environmental conservation efforts.[458] However, beginning in 1987 and more pronounced from 1989 onwards, began a pivotal shift in refugee self-reliance assistance from aiming to support the economic independence of all Afghan refugees in RTVs to providing targeted assistance to vulnerable people, defined as those for whom self-reliance was harder to achieve. The following sections review these phases of assistance in more depth, providing case studies to illustrate the main practices of the time.

1979-1985: Emergency relief and Waged Employment

Beginning in 1979, emergency assistance in the form of food, shelter, and healthcare was provided to Afghan refugees through NGOs and the GOP.[459] The GOP categorized assistance into direct and indirect forms. Direct assistance included support for basic necessities such as food, shelter, clothing, and household goods while indirect assistance

[458] Sinclair, 1993: 392.
[459] At this time, assistance was mainly relief and undertaken primarily through the UN and GOP with only limited NGO involvement. The organisations that were involved were largely those with an already established presence in the country, including Catholic Relief Services, Oxfam, and CARE. These organisations began health and income-generating programmes along the Pakistan-Afghan border in new refugee camps.

encompassed broader needs such as healthcare, education, veterinary aid, and income-generating projects.[460] In the first few years of the influx, the GOP provided monthly distributions of food and basic provisions to the refugees, though these were often inadequate and irregular. Aid distributions increased from 1980 with the launch of large-scale programmes by the UN and INGOs, with the GOP supplementing these with a monetary allowance to registered refugees.

Although emergency assistance was provided by various NGOs throughout the duration of the refugee crisis, many NGOs quickly began offering longer-term assistance designed to improve the lives of both Afghan refugees and, in some cases, the surrounding Pakistani populace. Save the Children, the International Rescue Committee (IRC), and UNHCR funded projects offered income-generating activities of various sorts with a concentration on medical aid and training.[461] These activities were mainly provided in the NWFP, where the majority of refugees were concentrated in RTVs or cities such as Peshawar. 1980-1985 was characterized in part by cross-border assistance in Afghanistan largely funded by the US, much of which provided covert military aid to mujahideen in Afghanistan to fight the Soviets.[462]

[460] Economic Impact of Afghan Refugees in NWFP. Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, Peshawar, March 1988. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 65 ASH.
[461] Baitenmann, H. (1990). NGOs and the Afghan war: the politicisation of humanitarian aid. *Third World Quarterly*, *12*(1): 62-85. P. 65.
[462] Terry 2013, Baitenmann 1990. Indeed, from 1980-1985 the military assistance from the CIA to the mujahideen grew from $30 million to $285 million, which were matched in 1984-1985 by Saudi Arabia. Source: Bennett (n.d.) Afghanistan: Cross-border NGO coordination. ICVA. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 59.4 BEN in: Box FA/FP Afghans in Pakistan, 59.3-64. P. 1.

During this time, interest in the Afghan refugees remaining in Pakistan increased as well. A pivotal International Labour Organization (ILO) study published in 1983 entitled ‘Tradition and Dynamism Among Afghan Refugees - A Report on Income-Generating Activities for Afghan Refugees in Pakistan’ identified potential projects to enable refugees to ‘rely on themselves in the long-term, thereby lessoning the burden on the Government and the international community for their continued care and maintenance’.[463] The study found high levels of unemployment amongst the refugees despite their participation in a wide range of economic activities. Unemployment was attributed to limited markets, a dearth of suitable tools, and an unavailability of high-quality raw materials for production. The ILO study proposed a variety of projects, including basic vocational and rural skills training, builder’s teams, kitchen gardens, poultry, silk production, handicrafts marketing, activities to ‘increase the self-reliance of refugee women in fulfilling their basic needs’, and small-scale industries such as tailoring and carpentry that could meet some percentage of material assistance for refugees that UNHCR and other assistance agencies imported internationally.[464] UNHCR’s shifting emphasis from care-and-maintenance[465] to self-reliance after this point was largely attributed to the ILO report, which was credited with saving UNHCR funds: ‘[I]n 1983,

[463] ILO (1983) ‘Tradition and Dynamism Among Afghan Refugees - A Report on Income-Generating Activities for Afghan Refugees in Pakistan’. Geneva: ILO.
[464] ILO, ‘Tradition and Dynamism’. The report states, ‘Currently these goods are partly imported from outside the area. Even if a tiny fraction of shoes, quilts and stoves could be produced by a group of selected refugees, this could create a significant and assured market for their craftsmen and small enterprises.’ P. 140.
[465] ‘Care-and-maintenance’ is ill-defined but generally refers to the ongoing provision of humanitarian relief in protracted refugee situations. It became a common term in UNHCR documents as refugee situations grew protracted in the 1970s, in particular, and into the 1980s.

the amount obligated was U.S. $85.5 million; in 1984, the amount allocated is estimated to be $75.3 million; the projected amount for 1985 is $61.5 million'.[466]

This first period of self-reliance assistance saw a return to earlier practices of the interwar years. Refugees were employed to construct stores, clinics, schools, and even produce relief goods such as bedding and clothing.[467] Public works programmes such as the World Bank scheme expanded on below offered a means to employ refugees while contributing to the development of Pakistan, and were followed by similar programmes implemented by agencies such as the German Technical Cooperation Agency (GTZ).[468]

However, in contrast to refugees in countries such as Tanzania and Greece, Afghan refugees in Pakistan were forbidden from purchasing and farming land. For many refugees – of whom one survey estimated almost 70% were farmers[469] – this was particularly devastating to both their self-reliance and their dignity. Men previously engaged in agricultural were forced to become unskilled casual labourers, a shift that one NGO described as a 'radical change in lifestyle' as '[i]n the Pushtun value system, activities connected with agriculture rank considerably higher than [those of] crafts and commerce'.[470] Arising from Pakistan's regulations, Afghan refugees were essentially

[466] US Committee for Refugees, 'Afghan Refugees: Five Years Later'. P. 10.
[467] Sinclair, M. (1993) NGO Income Generation Programmes for Afghan Refugees in Pakistan
Journal of International Development, 5(4): 391-399. P. 392.
[468] In particular, infrastructure projects that supported Pakistan and provided a means for aid to 'go beyond emergency humanitarian aid' were preferred. Ullrich, W. (1993) Long-Term Aid: GTZ Projects for Afghan Refugees. Focus Section, gate 3/93 [Magazine]. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 59.3 ULL D106904.
[469] Christensen and Scott (1987) Survey of the Social and Economic Conditions of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan. UNRISD. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 65 CHR in: FA/FP 65-65.25.
[470] Millwood, 'The Rädda Barnen Training Unit'. P. 10.

forced-fed into the wage-labour economy, aided in large part by self-reliance assistance led by INGOs.

UNHCR/World Bank Project

One of the largest and most renowned income-generating programmes for Afghan refugees in Pakistan was a joint UNHCR/World Bank project initiated in 1982, formally called the 'Income Generating Project for Refugee Areas'. Due to its meticulous monitoring, documentation, and feasibility studies implemented in line with World Bank standard practice, the project became recognised internationally as a model for refugee-hosting countries seeking to support refugees while contributing to national development. In 1988, UNHCR High Commissioner Hocke used the project as a 'classic example' of the benefits that development and refugee agencies could gain through collaboration:

> Here the combination of UNHCR, a respected development agency (the World Bank), and highly productive refugees working with local Pakistanis on environmental projects, among others, has produced a success formula that speaks to other development agencies, as well as to refugee situations in other parts of the world.[471]

The 3-year project sought to employ both Afghan refugees and Pakistanis in labour-intensive development activities that would benefit refugee-hosting regions of Pakistan.[472] An estimated 70% of labour was provided by Afghan refugees with the costs of labour comprising 62% of the project budget of $20 million USD.[473] The main areas of

[471] UNHCR (1988) Speech by Mr. Jean-Pierre Hocké, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to the United Nations Administrative Committee on Coordination, New York, 24 October, 1988.
[472] Dupree, N.H. (1988) Demographic Reporting on Afghan Refugees. Modern Asian Studies, 22(4): 845-865.
[473] Dupree, 'Demographic Reporting on Afghan Refugees'. P. 857.

focus were reforestation, watershed management, and the building or upgrading of irrigation systems and roads. Each of these projects worked towards the long-term economic sustainability of regions, resource conservation, and the skill-building and employment of refugees.[474] As one report explained, the project:

> aimed at compensating the damage caused by the refugee presence as well as gradually reducing refugee dependency on external aid. The underlying concept here is multi-purpose; generating temporary employment, restoration of damage done to Pakistan's ecology and developing ecologically viable resources which will advance national development in the refugee areas.[475]

The importance of income-generation for refugees through these projects is repeatedly stressed in project documents, such as a Bank appraisal report that estimated that over the period of the project Afghan refugees could increase their income by an estimated 25%.[476] Quarterly reports were prepared for SAFRON and the Bank, 'which included specific data on the employment effects of the project…The extent of refugee employment and the average wage earned from project works was assessed through sample surveys of labo[u]rers at worksites undertaken by UNHCR officers.'[477] As one UNHCR report positively states, 'Labour content and refugee participation rates continue to grow, and are high…In brief, the objectives of these sub-projects have been fully met and an

474 The sub-projects were designed by the World Bank; financed for in part by UNHCR and donor countries including the US, Canada, and Germany; and implemented by provincial government departments in Baluchistan and NWFP. Forty sub-projects were implemented; of these, four focused on reforestation or watershed improvement, nine sought to improve and upgrade 28 canal roads, three focused on upgrading secondary roads, and twenty-four strengthened irrigation channels and village infrastructures in order to provide flood protection to 47 flood-prone areas. Source: The First Income Generating Project for Refugees Areas: Project Overview. Source: UNHCR. (c1986) RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 65.1 WOR in FA/FAp 65 – 65.25.

475 UNHCR Assistance Programme for Refugees in Pakistan. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 59.3. UNHCR in FA/FP 59.3 A-Z.

476 WB (World Bank) (1983) Staff Appraisal Report, Pakistan – Income Generating Project for Refugee Areas. World Bank, appraised on behalf of UNHCR. December 6, 1983. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 65.1 WORLD BANK in FA/FP 65-65.25. P. 35.

477 UNHCR (1986) The First Income Generating Project for Refugees Areas: Project Overview. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 65.1 WOR in FA/FAP 65 – 65.25. P. 13.

improvement in the ecology is clearly visible.'[478] Indeed, so successful was the initial 3-year project that a second 3-year phase was initiated with 91 sub-projects in October 1987, equaling over $40 million USD.[479]

The UNHCR/World Bank project is notable for several reasons. First is its purported success, which by all documented accounts employed refugees, albeit on short-term contracts, and developed rural areas of Pakistan. While the projects specifically targeted refugee-hosting regions of the country, the projects themselves often fell in line with the GoP Five Year Plan, such as the increased funding provided for unpaved rural roads that aligned with the country's Sixth Five Year Plan.[480] Although this project was the Bank's first which focused on refugee employment, several other World Bank projects were already being implemented in Pakistan in the early 1980s, many of which targeted the same sectors as the UNHCR/World Bank project.[481] In this way, both national and international plans for economic development merged – with refugees at the forefront of such undertakings. Thirdly, as previously noted, the public works nature of the project emulated refugee assistance undertaken over half a century earlier in Europe, and to a lesser extent refugee self-reliance assistance after World War II in Africa.

Despite this longer history, many of these projects were perceived as UNHCR's first foray into development. As one report states:

[478] Ibid.
[479] Hocké, 'Speech by Mr. Jean-Pierre Hocké'.
[480] Staff Appraisal Report, Pakistan – Income Generating Project for Refugee Areas. World Bank, appraised on behalf of UNHCR. December 6, 1983. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 65.1 WORLD BANK in FA/FP 65-65.25.
[481] These included the Baluchistan Minor Irrigation and Agricultural Development Project (Cr. 1243-PAK), the SCARP-Mardan Project (Cr. 877-PAK) and the Hazara Forestry Pre-investment Project (Cr. 755-PAK). Source: WB, 1983: 4-5.

> The primary role of UNHCR in the Afghan refugee situation is to coordinate international aid and to oversee or supervise implementation of relief efforts; it does not have an operational role. Nevertheless, its *function has broadened in the past two years to include project activities that fit more appropriately in the category of development assistance as distinct from refugee assistance*. In this respect, *the program in Pakistan presents new challenges, questions, and opportunities for UNHCR as it assesses the role it should take as the lead refugee agency in a changing and complex world*.[482] [emphasis added]

Therefore, despite similar aims and practices, prior experience does not seem to have been drawn upon for the UNHCR/World Bank and other refugee income-generating projects at the time; instead these newer projects were heralded as 'new models' for merging refugee assistance and national development programmes, thereby reflecting a long-standing lack of institutional memory in refugee assistance.

1986-1989: Dependency Syndrome and Psychosocial Support

In June 1985, an article published in National Geographic was accompanied by arguably the most iconic photograph of an Afghan circulated in Western discourse,[483] the eminent photograph of 'Afghan Girl'. The article states:

> There is a change in the air in Peshawar this year, and I sense a turning point. Pakistan is saturated with refugees, and compassion is drying up. Pakistanis, who opened their country in the name of Muslim hospitality and the Pashtun tradition of *panah*, or asylum, are now faced with the largest refugee population in the world.[484]

[482] US Committee for Refugees (1985) Afghan Refugees: Five Years Later. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP Afghanis in Pakistan, 1-36.1/9; FA/FP 30 USCR. This was due in part to the general trend of at least one employed family member per household.
[483] Schwartz-DuPre, R.L. (2010) Portraying the Political: National Geographic's 1985 Afghan Girl and a US Alibi for Aid, Critical Studies in Media Communication, 27:4, 336-356.
[484] Denker, D. (1985) Along Afghanistan's War-torn Frontier. *National Geographic* Magazine, June 1985.

While reports prior to 1986 were often optimistic about Afghan refugees' transition 'from emergency toward self-reliance',[485] in the mid-1980s discussions of 'refugee dependency syndrome' arose alongside doubts of the effectiveness of self-reliance efforts. Replacing the original hospitality was an increasing frustration by Pakistanis in NWFP over the size of the refugee population, the length of their stay, and deteriorating security conditions due to an increased number of terrorist bombings.[486]

This marks the beginning of the second phase of refugee self-reliance assistance: a concentration on income-generating activities through entrepreneurship rather than waged employment, to counter a fear of refugees' 'dependency' on international assistance.[487] To a certain extent, this perception of refugee dependency was empirically grounded. A survey undertaken by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) in 1987 found that, regardless of their previous occupation, nearly two-thirds of Afghan men and one-ninth of women were gainfully employed in Pakistan.[488] However, this work was generally low-paid, part-time, and irregular, prompting assertions from multiple sources that Afghan refugees were dependent on both work and aid in order to survive, neither alone being significant enough for basic necessities.[489] The UNRISD

[485] Morton, J. (1992) The Socio-Economic Status of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan: An Overview. UNHCR Islamabad, May. RSC Cardbox: FA/FAP 65.1 MOR – in FA/FP 65-65.25. See also Christensen (1983) on refugees in Baluchistan.
[486] Getler, M. (1987) 'For Afghan Refugees in Pakistan, Welcome Mat is Wearing Thin'. Washington Post, September 11. UNHCR, 100.PAK.AFG.
[487] Discussions of 'refugee dependency' also occurred earlier in the decade, though not with as much prevalence as later. See: Boesen, I. (1983) From Autonomy to Dependency: Aspects of the 'Dependency Syndrome' among Afghan Refugees. Paper presented at the BIA (Bureau International d'Afghanistan) Conference on Afghan Refugees in Geneva, Nov. 4-6, 1983. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 65 BOE in FA/FP 65-65.25.
[488] Christensen and Scott, 'Survey of the Social and Economic Conditions'. Pp. v-vi.
[489] Millwood 1995; Morton, 'The Socio-Economic Status of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan'.

survey showed that given refugees' income levels the majority would be in 'dire stress without aid',[490] demonstrating the limited extent to which self-reliance was occurring. Another side of the story was that, according to one report, many households had only one male family member working in Pakistan at a time, as many men took turns participating in the *jihad* in Afghanistan for several months. This meant that households earned much less than they might otherwise have and were using assistance to supplement lost wages.[491]

Many donors and organisations took issue with refugees' ongoing receipt of assistance. Emblematic of many reports on behavioral and physical symptoms of 'dependency syndrome', The US Committee for Refugees wrote:

> Recently, experts on Afghanistan who are studying the refugee population have reported that *the essence of Afghan character – their pride in being independent and self-sufficient – is in danger of being destroyed*…Another study reports that many of the refugees, especially those who are Pushtun, have developed the *psychosomatic symptoms associated with the psychological malaise known as "dependency syndrome"* – various aches, coughs, unidentifiable fevers, hyperacidity, and digestive troubles. Pashtuns are particularly affected because agricultural or land-based pursuits – culturally so important to them – are, for the most part, not permitted to them in Pakistan.[492] [emphasis added]

The phenomenon of refugee dependency and the international humanitarian community's response to it demonstrates that refugees' unwillingness or inability to work was considered an ailment, with employment their panacea. In response to reports such as that excerpted above, increased efforts to foster refugee self-reliance through multifarious projects arose. In 1985 the IRC was requested by UNHCR to initiate self-reliance projects

490 Christensen and Scott, 'Survey of the Social and Economic Conditions'. Pp. 11-12.
491 Millwood, 'The Rädda Barnen Training Unit'.
492 US Committee for Refugees, 'Afghan Refugees: Five Years Later'. P. 8.

in RTVs. Following discussions with refugees on their ideas for income-generation, a construction project began in 1986. Refugees built multiple health units, including replacing IRC tent clinics with permanent buildings, as well as dug wells and built diversion dikes. The project was followed by one for carpentry and welding, which built more than 10,000 school benches for refugee schools across the NWFP and then opened an automobile repair shop.[493] Handicrafts centres for women were opened in several camps, though two centres were closed following disapproval by camp elders.

While many discussions on refugee dependency syndrome blamed refugees, several humanitarians and researchers refuted this purported phenomenon. A 1985 Refugee Policy Group document sardonically entitled 'The Refugee Dependency Syndrome: Physician, Heal Thyself!' interrogates the underlying issues of this so-called syndrome, writing, '…while there is consensus that a problem concerning self-reliance exists, there is much less clarity about what the origin of the problem is.'[494] The article goes on to provide various explanations for refugees' lack of participation including the fact that:

> The refugee assistance system is directly involved in a wide range of areas of refugees' lives, including decisions about what kinds of food people will eat and how much, the kinds of housing they will have, the protection they will receive, their health care and education, their employment opportunities, and many others. Refugees who enter the official refugee assistance structure are confronted with a powerful, wide-ranging system which has primarily been created and designed by non-refugees. Further, the main policies and program[me]s of such systems

[493] Special Report: Integrating Programs: Education and Self-Reliance. Quarterly Report – April-June, 1988. International Rescue Committee Pakistan Programme. A/FP 59.3 IRC, in: Box FA/FAP 59.3 A-Z
[494] Clark, L. (1985) 'The Refugee Dependency Syndrome: Physician, Heal Thyself!'. Refugee Policy Group. RSP Documentation Centre, A 59.1 CLA. The report opens ironically in the format of a doctor's report: 'Symptoms: Lethargy. Lack of Initiative. Acceptance of handouts with little attempts at self-sufficiency. Frequent complaints, especially about the lack of generous outside help. Diagnosis: Refugee Dependency Syndrome. Where Found: Reported by refugee assistance workers in countries around the world.' P.1.

> typically take shape during the emergency relief phase, which bodes ill for refugee self-reliance.[495]

Nancy Hatch-Dupree, a prominent researcher of Afghan refugees, echoed the report in slightly blunter terms:

> Thousands of rupee notes and other commodities are distributed indiscriminately [in certain RTVs], and only fools would fail to take advantage of such handouts and seek more from the next visitor. Outsiders must, therefore, share in the blame for these manifestations of dependency.[496]

This discourse of refugee dependency fomented an increased focus on self-reliance assistance as a form of psycho-social support to refugees between 1987 and 1989. In contrast to the 'proud, independent refugee' of the early 1980s, Afghan refugees – and indeed, other refugees around the globe in protracted situations – now became people in need of treatment. Vocational training for psycho-social well-being became their therapy, and income-generation their cure.

Whereas the early 1980s had focused on employment and therefore primarily targeted Afghan men in areas of work such as construction, by 1988 the recipients of self-reliance assistance had shifted to so-called 'vulnerable groups' such as disabled refugees – those refugees in need of extra support to participate both socially and economically.[497] According to one report, 'vulnerable' refugees were those for whom self-reliance was harder to achieve, and generally constituted 'the unregistered, widows, women, elderly, children, and disabled'.[498] Self-help activities became a vehicle through which to promote

[495] Clark, 'The Refugee Dependency Syndrome'.
[496] Dupree, N.H. (1988) Demographic Reporting on Afghan Refugees. Modern Asian Studies, Vol. 22(4): 845-865. P. 857.
[497] This is apparent in Hocke's 1988 speech excerpted at the beginning of this chapter.
[498] Bloxom, L. (1991). Promoting self-help solutions by vulnerable Afghan refugees in Pakistan: the development of a community process. Raedda Barnen/UNHCR Trust Fund, Peshawar, Pakistan. Afghan Digital Libraries:

psycho-social wellbeing as well as support for income-generation. As Millwood describes:

> The plan that developed was concerned primarily with the psycho-social welfare of the refugees rather than their material needs and was based on ideas of self-help and community participation. It envisaged a network of social workers and self-help groups in the camps, with a team of Pakistani government officials to identify needy people – widows, children lacking one or both parents, the elderly, the sick, the disabled – and promote self-help efforts, including income-earning projects.[499]

Organisations such as Rädda Barnen (the Swedish branch of Save the Children) opened training units in Peshawar 'to promote community-based social work in the refugee settlements' by training Pakistani social workers from the Social Welfare Cell who worked alongside UNHCR.[500] One Rädda Barnen report discusses a programme known as 'the safety net' that provided assistance to 15,000 vulnerable households in the form of vocational training, micro-finance loans and small-scale income-generating activities. Community volunteers identified vulnerable refugees, assisted by 'animators' (trained refugees) in each refugee village, and partially implemented by the district coordinators of CAR. As the report states:

> All these groups are also heavily involved in motivating the refugees for self-help activities and enhanced self-management in running the basic services necessary for the future existence of the refugee villages. In this context RBTU, as being the third party in this triangle of co-operating partners, has responded to the needs of this programme by training more animators for the rural areas and focusing on training in social animation, organising self-help through the social welfare committees and general awareness training of vulnerable groups with focus on women and girls.[501]

http://afghandata.org:8080/jspui/bitstream/azu/3970/1/azu_acku_pamphlet_hv640_4_a28_b569_1991_w.pdf

[499] Millwood, 'The Rädda Barnen Training Unit'.

[500] Ibid.

[501] Blomqvist, U. (1995) Follow-Up Study on the Impact of the 1993 Evaluations of the Rädda Barnen Training Unit [RBTU] in Peshawar, Pakistan. The Emergency Standby Team (Swedish Save the Children), December. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 625.25 BLO – in FA/FP 62-62.25.

The report depicts refugee self-reliance assistance not as a wage-based employment approach but as a psychosocial protection scheme aiming to 'socially animate'[502] refugees out of their supposed apathy through the creation of self-help groups.

This description contrasts starkly with earlier descriptions of self-reliance assistance, both those targeting Afghan refugees as well as refugee populations in earlier eras. Here we see psychosocial welfare at least ostensibly placed above material wellbeing, yet achieved through income-generating and other self-help efforts. Significantly, not just trained (foreign) social workers and Pakistani officials but refugees themselves in the form of members of self-help groups were recruited for this undertaking.

In addition to purportedly fostering refugee agency, this concept of self-help was also a means to shift the responsibility of both assistance and self-reliance onto refugees themselves, facilitated by both the concepts of vulnerability and dependency. Indeed, the focus on vulnerable groups aligned with the main aim of UNHCR's 1987 humanitarian assistance programme in Pakistan, which, agreed upon with the GOP, was the 'promotion of self-help activities, income generation and…vocational skill training'.[503] The intended objective of these projects was 'to lesson the refugees' dependency on external assistance'.[504] As part of this strategy, the GOP established through the Commissioner for

[502] As the report states, 'The promotion of self-help activities starts with unity organizing, encouraging and helping villagers to define the problem they want solved, and to identify resources available to them. This process is called social animation.' Source: Rädda Barnen (1992) Workshop on Assistance to Disabled Refugees. 4-8 October. Peshawar, Pakistan. Available at: www.tinyurl.com/yaeeaj75. (accessed July 1, 2016)
[503] UNHCR (n.d.) UNHCR Assistance Programme for Refugees in Pakistan. Geneva: UNHCR. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 59.3. UNHCR in FA/FP 59.3 A-Z.
[504] Ibid.

Afghan Refugees a 'Social Welfare Cell' funded by UNHCR to identify vulnerable refugees and promote 'community self-help activities'. The NWFP was divided into twelve Social Welfare Cell districts led by district coordinators for social services.[505] ILO played a large role in identifying and implementing multiple projects for these populations, which included 'kitchen gardening, poultry raising, development of home industries and marketing of products, conservation of domestic energy, village tree planting and agriculture plots'.[506] Other international organisations continued to assist in the implementation of income-generating projects and self-help activities, particularly for women, as well as undertook identification of the 'neediest refugees'.[507]

Refugee self-reliance assistance was profoundly affected by the 1988 Geneva Accords,[508] the peace treaty which signified the beginning of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and a marked increase in NGO cross-border activity into Afghanistan. Despite assertions of refugees' ongoing need for assistance, UNHCR and other INGOs reduced it, with the UNHCR budget for Afghan refugee programmes declining from US $43 million in 1988 to US $33 million in 1990 – almost a 25% reduction.[509] As one Rädda Barnen report stated, 'The phase-out policy of UNHCR assistance to the Afghan refugees has led to an emphasis on support for increased self-reliance and targeted assistance to the most

[505] Rädda Barnen, 'Workshop on Assistance to Disabled Refugees'.
[506] Ibid.
[507] Ibid.
[508] On April 14, 1988, representatives of the GOP and Government of Afghanistan signed bilateral agreements with the aim of ending the war in Afghanistan, followed by a 'Declaration on International Guarantees' signed by both the US and the Soviet Union Source: Klass, R. (1988) Afghanistan: The Accords. Foreign Affairs, Summer Issue.
[509] ACBAR. (1990) Overview of NGO Assistance to the People of Afghanistan. Agency Coordinating Body for Afghan Relief, Peshawar, Pakistan. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 59.3 ACB in FA/FP 59.3 A-Z.

vulnerable groups'.[510] In this way, the economic correlation between budget cuts and the promotion of self-reliance programmes is made explicit even as this assistance continued under the guise of 'social welfare' and 'social animation'.

1989-1995: Self-reliance as a protection tool

At the end of the decade, refugee self-reliance increasingly emphasised vulnerable refugees' ability to feed themselves in the wake of food rations rather than increase their mental well-being. Assistance was construed as shifting from a psycho-social strategy to a so-called protection tool for the most vulnerable beginning in 1989 and continuing into the mid-1990s. The 'neediest' were protected through ongoing material assistance as well as targeted for self-reliance programmes such as vocational training. This continued to take the form of organizing self-help groups amongst refugees, now to also 'protect the rights of the vulnerable groups'.[511]

NGO reports paint different pictures of the state of refugee self-reliance at the end of the 1980s and early 1990s. Some reports from Rädda Barnen explain that many families were by this point self-reliant and that it was largely the 'extreme cases' that still required aid, while others discuss the challenges that those agencies remaining in Pakistan faced in supporting refugees on an increasingly minimalist budget. Regardless, the impact of these reductions in assistance was profound enough to alter the discourse of refugee self-

510 Blomqvist, U. (1995) Follow-Up Study on the Impact of the 1993 Evaluations of the Rädda Barnen Training Unit [RBTU] in Peshawar, Pakistan. The Emergency Standby Team (Swedish Save the Children), December. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 625.25 BLO – in FA/FP 62-62.25.
511 Rädda Barnen, 'Workshop on Assistance to Disabled Refugees'.

reliance itself. Rather than being defined mainly as income-generation, self-reliance was described by agencies in direct relation to reduced rations. One 1992 report stated, for example, '"Self-sufficiency" [is] defined as the ability of refugees to *maintain a minimum standard of living in the event of withdrawal of food aid*, is a function of income, household size, expenditure and definitions of poverty lines.'[512] [emphasis added]

The first food aid cuts to refugees, as previously discussed, occurred in the mid-1980s and continued to occur in the early 1990s.[513] These reductions primarily occurred due to the end of the Cold War and the West's decreased interest in supporting the mujahideen's proxy war, as well as due to a shifting focus to the rebuilding of Afghanistan and the repatriation of Afghan refugees. A NGO report from 1995 written in the aftermath of a series of cuts to food aid discussed the challenges that agencies faced due to the sudden changes in modes of assistance, stating:

> It is a heavy task to motivate the refugees for self-reliance in this final stage of assistance especially with a population, where these concepts are not well clarified, and 15 years of free hand-out relief policies have created passivity and a growing "dependency syndrome". The skills and resources within the refugee communities themselves have not been properly used or developed. A lack in linking the refugee assistance to more long-term development programmes including the surrounding local communities is also a serious obstacle to achieving sustainability in the provision of basic community services once the outside support is withdrawn.[514]

[512] Morton, 'The Socio-Economic Status of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan'. The report goes on to state: '"Self-sufficiency can be defined in many ways. It is taken here to mean the ability of Afghan refugees to reach a certain minimum standard of living in a hypothetical situation where food aid had been withdrawn and where they benefitted from no more subsidies than comparable Pakistani populations. It is thus a function of: Household income (which in turn depends on availability of work); Household size and dependency ratios; Expenditure patterns, and Definition of poverty lines.' P. 21.
[513] Millwood, 'The Rädda Barnen Training Unit'.
[514] Blomqvist, 'Follow-Up Study'. P. 5.

Despite the issues cited above, those refugees known as the most 'vulnerable' received the most support to become self-reliant. One so-called 'vulnerable group' particularly targeted was Afghan women. Although their targeted assistance increased in the late 1980s and early 1990s, a particular focus on the cultural complexity of assisting Afghan women is discussed throughout the 1980s. Countless reports from assistance agencies discuss the struggle of implementing programmes targeting women, demonstrating an under-explored aspect of refugee self-reliance assistance – its often heavily gendered nature.

Similar to the assistance provided in previous eras, Afghan men in Pakistan were provided with training in areas such as construction or driving while women were trained to sew or undertake other home-based activities. However, reports from the 1980s document extreme reactions to women seeking to become self-reliant in nearly any capacity. This was largely a result of the practice of *purdah*, the almost total seclusion of women. For many religious leaders and other refugees, purdah was an important means to uphold traditional values and 'ensure that "the honour of the fighting man" would not be avowed'.[515] Women were not expected to become self-reliant as it was considered men's duty to provide for women.[516] Support by assistance agencies to foster the former was often viewed as an unacceptable violation of values. As one IRC report states, 'The cultural factors that make the Handicraft Project difficult also make it the most

[515] Ullrich, W. (1993) Long-Term Aid: GTZ Projects for Afghan Refugees. Focus Section, gate 3/93 [Magazine, etc, unclear] RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 59.3 ULL D106904. P. 18.
[516] ARC (Austrian Relief Committee for Afghan Refugees) (1988) Annual Report 1987. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 61 ARC in: Box FA/FP Afghans in Pakistan, 59.3-64. Pp. 6-7.

necessary.'[517] Despite the vastly altered lives of Afghan refugees in Pakistan, many agencies perceived Afghans' traditional values as reinforced instead of loosened – despite the difficulties of thousands of women who no longer had the economic support of male relatives.[518]

The result of these cultural restrictions was a limited ability for assistance agencies to offer livelihoods trainings, childcare, and literacy courses for women and schooling for girls. Two of the IRC handicraft centres were forced to close due to unrest owing to the opening of a Mother Child Center which then expanded to anger over the health clinic and handicrafts centre. As one report stated,

> In order to quell the rebellion, the Commissionerate for Afghan Refugees and IRC representatives met with the camp elders and agreed to discontinue the Handicrafts Program in these camps and close the Mother Child Center to women in return for being allowed to keep the health clinic open to women. The closure is for an indefinite period.[519]

Earlier reports on the handicrafts project cite it as being 'the most difficult' of the five self-reliance projects that IRC ran due to the conservatism of some refugees regarding the direct aid of women.[520] To accommodate these views, male personnel were strictly forbidden from entering the centre and the project was clearly marketed as a means for women to gain income within their own homes.[521] Yet the finished goods could still become controversial, as in the case of a single woman whose extended male relatives

[517] IRC (International Rescue Committee) (1987) International Rescue Committee Pakistan Program, August. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 59.3 IRC in FA/FP 59.3 A-Z. P. 56.
[518] ARC, 'Annual Report 1988'. Pp. 6-7.
[519] IRC (1988) Special Report: Integrating Programs: Education and Self-Reliance. Quarterly Report – April-June. International Rescue Committee Pakistan Programme. RSC Cardbox: A/FP 59.3 IRC, in: Box FA/FAP 59.3 A-Z. P. 33.
[520] IRC, 'International Rescue Committee Pakistan Program'.
[521] Ibid.

ultimately refused to sell her goods at the local bazaar as local Pakistani men and Afghans from other tribes were buying the items: 'To see crafts their women had made going out of the home into the possession of other men was unacceptable. Though this woman had no other way to support her family, it is still not acceptable.'[522]

In this way, we see the provision of self-reliance assistance being mediated or denied based on the belief-systems of those refugees with the most authority, demonstrating its heavily contextualized nature as well as the power relations that dictate it – relations between not only agencies, governments, and refugees, but between refugees themselves. The larger cultural beliefs of international agencies are also revealed, reflecting a tension between assisting a refugee group and imposing particular values. This focus on rights and equality continued in the 1990s under the broader discussion of 'gender', reflecting a larger trend in international development.[523]

The treatment of Afghan women presents a lucid example of the receptivity of help being culturally mediated to the detriment of many, which in turn reflects wider refugee assistance as a culturally mediated phenomenon with biases often not seen by assistance actors. This can be seen through agencies' emphasis on refugee dependency syndrome in

[522] ARC, 'Annual Report'. P. 9.
[523] A Rädda Barnen report from 1995 states, 'Gender is now introduced as a development concern to be used as a tool to identify the different needs of women, men, boys and girls. In this way a process has been started, which aims at integrating the gender aspects in the implementation of all training activities. At field level new training packages have been introduced focusing on raising the awareness of the basic rights of women and girls… Much more advocacy for and support to female field workers is called for to back up a development of activities organised and run by women themselves.' Source: Blomqvist, U. (1995) Follow-Up Study on the Impact of the 1993 Evaluations of the Rädda Barnen Training Unit [RBTU] in Peshawar, Pakistan. The Emergency Standby Team (Swedish Save the Children), December. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 625.25 BLO – in FA/FP 62-62.25. P.2.

the 1980s and gender equality in the 1990s, as well as the heavy emphasis on the repatriation of Afghans after the end of the Cold War, expanded on below.

The Early 1990s: Repatriation and the 'Afghanisation' of NGOs

Funding reductions to refugee assistance primarily occurred due to the end of the Cold War and the West's decreased interest in supporting the mujahideen's proxy war, as well as a shifting focus to the rebuilding of Afghanistan and the repatriation of Afghan refugees. The decrease in funding was blamed in part on 'donor fatigue', yet many humanitarians were under no illusions on the decreased geopolitical interest in the region as a factor of shifting post-Cold War utility and dynamics. As one aid worker discussing increased violence by Afghans passionately wrote,

> I don't blame the Afghans for feeling angry. Nor do I fault their dependence on Western aid: More than 60 private charities, a bevy of United Nations agencies and the US Agency for International Development operate hundreds of projects for Afghans, both inside Afghanistan and in the Pakistan-based refugee camps. The total humanitarian aid budget for the Afghans is more than $200 million a year. Annual covert military aid to the mujahideen has been at least that amount. Time and again, I wonder if all this aid has hurt more than helped the Afghans…[524]

The withdrawal of assistance had myriad effects on the ground, including the loss of Afghan jobs attached to aid and development agencies, and the cutting of UN rations in refugee camps. ACBAR condemned the reduced rations, stating that Afghan refugees in 1990 still constituted the largest refugee group in the world and that, 'Reducing assistance to refugees as an incentive for them to return to Afghanistan is in contradiction to the

[524] Rose, C. (1991) 'Biting the Hand…'ICWA Fellow, Institute of Current World Affairs. Peshawar, Pakistan, 15 September 1991. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 60 ROSE in: Box FA/FP Afghans in Pakistan, 59.3-64. Pp. 2-3.

internationally accepted principle of voluntary repatriation'.[525] The coordinating body criticized the aim to, effectively, starve Afghan refugees back into their country. Despite such criticisms, the interest of international donors increasingly shifted from refugee assistance in Pakistan to repatriation, reintegration, and rehabilitation programmes in Afghanistan.[526]

Aid and development agencies in Pakistan and Afghanistan were part of a much broader shift of engaging in not only assistance but reconstruction and nation-building. Building on a shift in dominant development discourse towards participation and civil society in the 1980s, refugee self-reliance assistance in the early 1990s was explicitly linked to liberal impulses to create or restore democracies in countries torn apart by war. Civil society became a main focus of development and was perceived as the key to both development and the protection of human rights.[527] As UNHCR High Commissioner Sadako Ogata ushered in the 'decade of voluntary repatriation', not only repatriated refugees but the agencies that moved in to assist them became embedded in these larger liberal projects. The incorporation of NGOs into broader aims was also linked to the professionalization of NGOs in Pakistan, which ultimately led to a loss of local knowledge and a freedom to implement programmes as aid and development workers saw fit.[528]

525 ACBAR (1990) Overview of NGO Assistance to the People of Afghanistan. Agency Coordinating Body for Afghan Relief (ACBAR), Peshawar, Pakistan 1990. RSC Cardbox: FA/FP 59.3 ACB in FA/FP 59.3 A-Z.
526 Blomqvist, 'Follow-Up Study'. Pp. 5-6.
527 Edwards, M. and Gaventa, J. (2001) Global citizen action: lessons and challenges. *Edwards and Gaventa, Global Citizen Action*, 275-87.
528 Bennett, 'Afghanistan: Cross-border NGO coordination'. Pp. 15-16.

Self-reliance for most Afghan refugees at this time was now defined in accordance with their (perceived) need for food aid, yet the early 1990s also saw a notable shift in the broader conception of Afghan independence through a process known as the 'Afghanisation' of NGOs. After the Soviet withdrawal, and as development work inside Afghanistan became more feasible, there was a notable reconfiguration in refugee assistance emblematic of wider humanitarian trends promoting local participation. Afghan NGOs were formed and ultimately filled a void caused by decreasing international funding for assistance to Afghan refugees and repatriates, receiving international acclaim for their 'successful' participation in implementing assistance.[529] However, this process was also useful for donor countries such as the United States, which was eager to rebuild Afghanistan, reduce funding, and be free of obligations in the region. Supporting Afghan NGOs was a means to this end, and through the Afghanisation of NGOs we see a larger expression of a reliance on community that the 'self-help groups' and 'social animation' of the previous years promoted.

Afghan-led assistance within Afghanistan also provided tangible benefits for development, such as wider access to populations, a clearer understanding of the context and needs, and a stronger ability to navigate varying political tensions than Western NGOs.[530] According to a 1991 feasibility study report on rural reconstruction in

529 Novak, P. (2013) The success of Afghan NGOs. *Development in Practice*, *23*(7), 872-888. P. 873. Novak (2011) states, 'Afghan NGOs function as a key site of negotiation, contestation, and adaptation of the various, often contradictory, discourses and interests permeating humanitarian assistance...' Source: Novak, P. (2011) The institutional incompleteness of empire. *Central Asian Survey*, *30*(3-4): 389-406.

530 Holtzman, S., O. Herbison, and A. Qayum Ada. (1990) "A Discussion on Afghan Involvement in Reconstruction and Relief Activities." Peshawar: GTZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Technische Zusammenarbeit)/ACBAR (Agency Coordinating Body for Afghan Relief).

Afghanistan, only 1.5 percent (266) NGO employees listed with ACBAR were expatriates; 92.9 percent were Afghans and 5.6 percent were Pakistanis.[531] However, it was noted that the 'expatriates are often in key managerial positions and that few expatriate NGOs are under Afghan management', reflecting an ongoing disparity in power relations between international agencies and those they were mandated to serve.[532] The Afghanisation of NGOs sought to rectify this disparity, yet power relations did not disappear. Many Afghan NGOS were headed by Soviet-educated people, and an estimated 75% were engineers who had been trained in the Soviet Union in infrastructure and agriculture. Thus, the majority of development projects in Afghanistan were initially in these areas.[533] However, the UNDP sought governance organisations that could contribute to the building of a stable democracy, and became attracted to the Afghan diaspora residing in Western countries such as the United States. Many Afghan expats thus moved to Peshawar and trained Afghans there; in so doing they promoted Western values of statebuilding as well as financial and organisational management and thus served ideological as well as practical agendas.

Discussion

In the previous parts of this chapter, I detailed different stages of refugee self-reliance assistance to Afghan refugees in Pakistan between 1979 and 1995. In so doing I demonstrated a striking shift from the intention of assistance agencies to foster refugee

531 Weiner, M., Banuazizi, A., Barfield, T., Choucri, N., Gakenheimer, R., Moavenzadeh, F., Rothenberg, J. (1991) A Feasibility Study Prepared by the Reconstruction Group of the Center for International Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. PN-ABS-658-90358. P. 63.
532 Ibid.
533 Interview, Jon Bennett, 11/24/2017.

self-reliance through wage-based employment in the early 1980s to the conceptualisation of refugee self-reliance a decade later as support to vulnerable refugees struggling with cuts to food rations. In this discussion, I present the larger economic and social backdrop to these shifts. The pivotal economic shift in the Western (non-Soviet) world from a Keynesian to a neoliberal model profoundly impacted diverse sectors of society around the world, including US and UK social welfare systems, international development, and, I posit, refugee self-reliance assistance.

In the following sections I employ the theoretical concepts of international welfare, instrumentalisation, and reserve army of labour to examine how global economic restructuring affected Afghan refugees – those in employment, those self-employed, and those out of work – in Pakistan throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. Using the case study of Afghan refugees in Pakistan, I argue that domestic welfare and economic discourse trickled down to refugee self-reliance assistance through international development, including through structural adjustment programmes. Thus, refugee self-reliance assistance came to echo dominant practices of American and British domestic welfare and neoliberal discourse.

International Welfare

Values of individualism, an anti-dependency mindset, and an increasing focus on so-called 'vulnerable populations' became especially apparent in refugee self-reliance assistance in Pakistan throughout the 1980s, all of which strongly echo contemporaneous

neoliberal doctrine governing welfare in the US and UK. These suggest strong parallels between Western stances on domestic welfare under neoliberalism on one hand and changes in the aims and practices of refugee self-reliance assistance on the other.

Domestic welfare in the US and UK was profoundly affected by changes in the international economy.[534] Beginning in the early 1980s doubt was cast on the sustainability of the international financial system's economic growth, in part after two oil crises led to widespread indebtedness throughout the world in the 1970s.[535] The world economy was considered by many to have permanently changed, which was seen as a catalyst for the acceleration of neoliberal policies and doctrine.[536] This period saw a Western shift from Keynesianism as the leading economic theory to neoliberalism, which demoted public goods and community in favour of individual responsibility and the privatisation of previously state-owned industries. Neoliberalism was furthermore characterised by policies promoting government deregulation and free trade while limiting government spending, and an emphatic doctrine of self-reliance, self-determination, and freedom.[537]

534 Somers, M. R., & Block, F. (2005). From poverty to perversity: Ideas, markets, and institutions over 200 years of welfare debate. *American Sociological Review*, *70*(2), 260-287.
535 Barsky, R. B., & Kilian, L. (2004). Oil and the Macroeconomy since the 1970s. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *18*(4), 115-134.
536 Berger and Beeson (1998) Lineages of liberalism and miracles of modernisation: The World Bank, the East Asian trajectory and the international development debate. *Third World Quarterly*, *19*(3): 487-504. P. 490.
537 Reagan, R. (1981) Inaugural Speech. January 20, 1981. *Speaking My Mind: Selected Speeches*. Available at: https://www.hispacultur.org/audiobook/963881782/download-first-inaugural-address-january-20-1981-ronald-reagan.pdf.

A self-reliance discourse became evident in domestic welfare assistance in the US and UK, which in essence focused on ways to help the domestic poor survive without state benefits. Western conceptualisations of welfare in the 1980s increasingly took the form of individual employment through training and education to prepare welfare recipients to enter the workforce (known as 'workfare' programmes). Although these programmes began in earlier decades, it was in the 1970s and 1980s that US workfare programmes became compulsory for welfare recipients who were no longer to be 'rehabilitated' but rather forced to act 'responsibly' through work.[538] During the 1980s, for example, 40 US states created welfare-to-work programmes providing education and training to the poor. This trend coincided with an increased emphasis on 'do-it-yourself' rhetoric and practice, such as the UK's rise of 'big society' discourse. Peters writes of the impact of neoliberalism on education in the UK, noting a shift 'from an emphasis on a relationship based on professional authority [between welfare officers and recipients] to an emphasis on self-empowerment and self-help based on training, education, and the development of "personal skills"'.[539]

The US and UK were major humanitarian donors, opponents of Communism, and wielded considerable influence over entities such as the World Bank[540] and the International

[538] Mittelstadt, J. (2005) *From welfare to workfare: the unintended consequences of liberal reform, 1945-1965*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. Pp. 169-170.
[539] Peters, M. (2001) Education, Enterprise Culture and the Entrepreneurial Self. Journal of Educational Enquiry, 2(2): 58-71. P 62.
[540] This became especially true with the nomination of Tom Clausen, former president of Bank of America, to lead the World Bank in 1981, replacing Robert McNamara. For example, a 1982 report by the US Department of the Treasury stated about the Bank: 'The international nature of the World Bank, its corporate structure, the solidity of its administrative team, and its strong voting structure have assured a strong consistency between its policies and practices and the long term economic and political objectives of the United States.' Source: USA (1982) *United States participation in multilateral development banks*. Washington (DC): Department of the Treasury. P. 59.

Monetary Fund (IMF); thus, their rhetoric and policies influenced development thought and practice around the world. The closely linked nature of the US government and the development work of the World Bank and other multilateral financial institutions at the time is illustrated in a 1982 US Department of the Treasury report:

> By promoting economic and social development in the Third World, accelerating market orientated economic policies, and preserving a reputation of impartiality and competence, MDBs [multilateral development banks] encouraged developing countries to participate more fully in an international system based on liberalized flows of trade and capital...This signifies the expansion of opportunities for American exportations, investments and finance.[541]

This rising influence of neoliberal thought on development can be seen through the changing application of the concept and practice of self-reliance to citizens and refugees alike. Against the backdrop of a discourse of emancipation, the Cold War, and the financial austerity of the global recession, it was market engagement and entrepreneurship – rather than strong state-sponsored welfare programmes – which were presented as means to combat the poverty of populations around the globe. A speech excerpt from US President Ronald Reagan illustrates this well:

> The societies which have achieved the greatest and most spectacular economic progress in the faster time have not been the biggest, nor the richest in terms of resources; nor certainly have they been the ones controlled most strongly. *What these societies have had in common is the trust in the magic of the market. Millions of individuals making their own decisions in the market will always allocate resources in a better manner than any planning process of centrally planned government.*[542]

As the participation of governments was rolled back, the subjects of self-reliance shifted accordingly from governments to individuals in developing countries, with assistance

[541] Ibid. P. 48.
[542] New York Times (1981) Reagan Talk to World Bank and I.M.F. September 30. Availabe at: https://www.nytimes.com/1981/09/30/business/reagan-talk-to-world-bank-and-imf.html.(accessed February 24, 2017) [emphasis added]

increasingly aiming to help beneficiaries survive without government support.

Yet how did economic policies and welfare doctrine that originated in Western countries such as the US make their way to countries such as Pakistan, and ultimately to refugees? The answer became apparent in 1979. For Afghans and their Pakistani hosts, the invasion by the Soviet Union was the pivotal event of the year. Yet the end of the 1970s also marked the beginning of another pivotal upheaval, though one meant to aid the economy: the structural adjustment loan.[543] These loans epitomise neoliberal policies in development and were offered to developing countries by international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF. Premised on policy conditionality, including financial regulations, trade liberalisation, and the privatisation of state enterprises, these loans also significantly reduced the reach of the state in the welfare of citizens, including in social services. This gap led to increased service provision by civil society, including international organisations. In the 1980s both the IMF and the World Bank were committed to restructuring developing country economies through these Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). Pakistan was not exempt from this economic intervention.

Despite a recent history of socialism,[544] on November 24, 1980, the Government of Pakistan signed an Extended Fund Facility through the IMF that continued until 1983.

[543] Easterly, W. (2005). What did structural adjustment adjust?: The association of policies and growth with repeated IMF and World Bank adjustment loans. *Journal of development economics*, *76*(1), 1-22.
[544] For most of the 1970s (1971-1977), Pakistan had been ruled by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the Pakistan's People's Party (PPP). The PPP charter emphasized the importance of development through a socialism that integrated Islamic values, with some reforms initially restricting the power of the elites. Bhutto attempted widespread nationalization measures, which saw the share of the public sector in total investment rise from 5% in 1971 to 74% in 1977. After nationalization, the efficiency of industry, large-scale manufacturing, and

Five years later, in 1988, Pakistan established two new programmes, a Structural Adjustment Facility and Standby Arrangement, ending respectively in 1990 and 1992.[545] These 'reforms' began with the reduction of measures limiting the private sector, but quickly became more pronounced: by 1988, the public sector share of total industrial investment had gone from 74% in 1977 to a mere 18%. Reforms of Pakistan's financial markets and banking sector began in the late 1980s,[546] and in 1990 liberalised exchange controls, allowing foreign currency deposits by both residents and foreigners,[547] as well as other reforms meant to attract foreign investment and integrate Pakistan into the world economy.[548] As discussed in this chapter, refugees were embedded in World Bank development projects that sought to increase the possible economic exploitation of regions of Pakistan that had previously lacked infrastructure and faced environmental degradation. These projects ultimately served to 'Westernise' Pakistan's economy and, by proxy, the refugee assistance offered within the country.

agricultural production declined. Source: Anwar. T. (2002) Impact of Globalization and Liberalization on Growth, Employment and Poverty: A Case Study of Pakistan. WIDER Discussion Papers-World Institute for Development Economics (UNU-WIDER), No. 17. P. 1. See also: Qureshi, S. (1980). Islam and development: the Zia regime in Pakistan. *World Development*, *8*(7-8), 563-575.

545 The Express Tribune (2016) Pakistan-IMF Ties: A Chequered History. August 5. Available at: https://tribune.com.pk/story/1156145/pakistan-imf-ties-chequered-history. (accessed November 30, 2016)

546 The goals of Pakistan's financial reforms were to: '(i) to liberalize interest rates by switching from an administered interest rate setting to a market-based interest rate determination; (ii) to reduce controls on credit by gradually eliminating directed and subsidized credit schemes; (iii) to create and encourage the development of a secondary market for government securities; (iv) to enhance competition and efficiency in the financial system by recapitalizing and restructuring the nationalized commercial banks and allowing private banks to enter the market; and (v) to improve prudential regulations.' Source: Khan, A.H., Hasan, L., 1998. Financial liberalization, savings and economic development in Pakistan. Economic Development and Cultural Change 46, 581–598. P.582. For more, see Khan, S.R., Aftab, S., 1994. Assessing the impact of financial reforms on Pakistan' s economy. Pakistan Journal of Applied Economics 10 (1–2), 99–116.

547 Bonaccorsi di Patti, E. and Hardy, D.C. (2005) Financial sector liberalization, bank privatization, and efficiency: Evidence from Pakistan. Journal of Banking & Finance, 29: 2381–2406. P.2385.

548 Anwar, T. (2002) Impact of Globalization and Liberalization on Growth, Employment and Poverty: A Case Study of Pakistan. WIDER Discussion Papers-World Institute for Development Economics (UNU-WIDER), No. 17. P. 2, 3.

The economic reforms Pakistan undertook are also important to highlight due to the influential relationship with the US and other Western support that they evince: in each of the downturns of US aid, particularly in the early 1970s (due to Pakistan's uranium enrichment facility) and the late 1980s (with the Soviet withdrawal of troops in Afghanistan), Pakistan gained recourse to IMF funding with US support.[549] This suggests that the US 'stop-go' assistance was supplemented with IMF 'safety nets' in times of low US assistance levels. In this way, we see the instrumentalisation of Pakistan by Western actors according to geopolitical interests, and can better understand the incentivizing role that funding to the Pakistani government for refugee and development assistance may have played.

Domestic to International Policy Shifts

International welfare to refugees changed in part as an outcome of these structural adjustments in Pakistan and refugee-hosting countries of the Global South. Humanitarian assistance became increasingly channeled through international NGOs rather than host states, and reductions in service provision necessitated a narrower focus on those 'vulnerable' refugees incapable of living independently from humanitarian aid. Assistance agencies were entwined with the implementation and results of economic policies, as the types of assistance they offered refugees and other populations shifted according to the demands of donors, host countries, and, ultimately, the needs of the global

[549] Ehtisham, A. and Mohammed, A. (2012) Pakistan, the United States and the IMF: Great game or a curious case of Dutch Disease without the oil? Asia Research Centre Working Paper, no. 57. London School of Economics.

economy. Thus, international welfare echoed domestic welfare practices of aligning itself according to larger economic interests.

As donor governments reduced funding for protracted refugee populations, higher importance was placed on the ability of these populations to live without aid and become self-reliant. Refugee self-reliance assistance shifted from a Keynesian public works model targeting collective self-reliance and socioeconomic equilibrium to individual vocational trainings and an emphasis on entrepreneurship. For example, refugee self-reliance assistance in Pakistan was first enacted through public works projects targeting regional development through building roads and other infrastructure funded by international donors before it shifted to an individualized, urban approach. In theory this latter approach would stimulate local economies and enable refugees to partake in monetary circulation without the support of international agencies, which faced dwindling funds from disinterested donors as the Cold War ended. Hence refugee policy was revealed as more a facet of vested donors and less an outcome of addressing refugees' actual needs.

However, similar to Western 'workfare' programmes, by the mid-1980s, refugees in Pakistan were encouraged to gain the skills needed to find or create jobs themselves, rather than have them offered directly. Particularly after the end of the Cold War, when funds for Afghans declined and national and international labour demands shifted, education and training programmes were reconstructed to deliver the skills and productivity needed in a changing and increasingly competitive international economy.[550]

[550] Peters, M. (2001) Education, Enterprise Culture and the Entrepreneurial Self. Journal of Educational Enquiry, 2(2): 58-71. P 65.

An emphasis on self-empowerment was applied in Pakistan through the creation of so-called refugee self-help groups, the members of which were encouraged by international organisations to work together for income-generation. They demonstrate a departure from the top-down rhetoric of self-reliance assistance in authoritarian East African refugee settlements in the 1960s and 1970s, yet also demonstrate – despite an enlightened discourse of empowerment – a continuation of 'trainings' and 'education' for refugees. Through these self-empowerment programmes, reduced support by assistance agencies was legitimised as a means to respect refugee agency and avoid refugee dependency syndrome.

Correspondingly, Afghan refugees in Pakistan saw an increase in support for small-scale economic participation as 'refugee entrepreneurship' became a prevailing theme.[551] Funding increased for vocational training in areas such as business and cottage industries such as weaving and animal husbandry.[552] Refugees were also provided with increased opportunities for small loans to start or expand businesses. These practices supported the social reproduction of refugees as individual workers rather than a collective workforce, and upheld the neoliberalism doctrine of individualism, with the subsequent presumed responsibility for refugees to become self-reliant on their own.

[551] Rolfe, C. and HARPER, M. (1987) Refugee enterprise: It can be done. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
[552] ILO, 'Tradition and Dynamism'.

Dependency and Welfare

Writing of neoliberal 'market-like arrangements' of welfare and education in the UK, Peters writes:

> These new arrangements provide an increasingly accepted social recipe for individualizing the social by substituting notions of civil society, social capital or community for state. *At the same time, however, they carry the combined dangers, on the one hand, of pathologising and stigmatizing those who are structurally excluded from the labour market*, and on the other, of weighing down with debt…the next generation.[553]

The stigmatisation of those unable to economically contribute to society reflects a further key tenet of neoliberal discourse apparent in refugee assistance: a condemnation of dependency as the original sin of free-market thinking. This reflects a long-running debate in Western social policy on 'welfare dependency', with right wing groups arguing that the provision of long-term welfare creates dependency, and left wing groups challenging this implied view of the poor, instead arguing for the maintenance and extension of welfare policies.[554]

This conservative discourse is evinced in refugee self-reliance assistance through discussions of so-called 'refugee dependency syndrome', which were paramount in the second half of the 1980s. Dependency syndrome reflected a pathologisation of refugees who were not working and those who remained (at least partially) reliant on humanitarian assistance. This became evident in Pakistan as shifts from the employment of refugees in

553 Peters, M. (2001) Education, Enterprise Culture and the Entrepreneurial Self. Journal of Educational Enquiry, 2(2): 58-71. P 62. [emphasis added]
554 Harvey and Lind (2005) 'Dependency and Humanitarian Relief: A Critical Analysis.' London: Humanitarian Policy Group, Overseas Development Institute.

public works programmes in the early 1980s to the individual entrepreneurship trainings of the late 1980s and early 1990s were reinforced by a changing discourse of proud, independent Afghans to dependent refugees. In this way, the construction of Afghans shifted from workers in need of jobs to refugees requiring outside support such as 'social animation' to reach their own exogenously defined potential. Outside intervention such as trainings to encourage market engagement were legitimated, as was a larger process of accumulation through urban, market-based activities.

Notably, the condemnation of dependency was not confined to unemployed Americans, Brits, or Afghans in Pakistan, but instead became cosmopolitan in protracted refugee situations across the globe. Discussing refugees in Africa in the 1980s, Stein stridently highlights the detrimental consequences of refugee dependency and how this phenomenon cripples refugees' independence:

> Failure to become at least self-supporting would mean lives of dependency and a loss of self-respect...The longer the time that they are in camps…dependent and depressed, the harder it is to eventually make the refugees into independent integrated participants in society. Dependency is socially and psychologically damaging to refugees.[555]

As this quotation illustrates, dependency and indignity are intertwined, purportedly constituting an inability for refugees to become 'independent integrated participants in society'. In this way, dependency syndrome acted as contrived legitimation: of refugees as failed workers within capitalism who needed to be both emotionally and practically rehabilitated.

[555] Stein, 'Refugees and Economic Activities in Africa, Research Report,' P. 5.

Vulnerable Populations of Refugees

In Western countries such as the UK, the costs of national social protection can be temporarily deferred onto future citizens through national debt; however, in refugee assistance, the more common method is for assistance to simply be reduced. One result of movements towards reducing aid, partially as an outcome of refugees' purported dependency on assistance, was that refugee self-reliance assistance in the late 1980s and early 1990s targeted so-called 'vulnerable populations'. This emphasis can be seen as the third key tenet of neoliberal doctrine: an outcome of a model of assistance which assumed refugees' ability to become self-reliant through employment or entrepreneurship regardless of individual circumstances, and correspondingly sought to reduce levels of funding for humanitarian assistance such as food aid. The shift of self-reliance assistance from placing able-bodied men into employment to fostering the creation of small cottage industries for the most vulnerable demonstrates both a recognition of and a means to address the phenomena of those refugees who struggled to live independently in a competitive, market-based system.

The simultaneous reduction of assistance and targeting of the most vulnerable echoes welfare cuts in the US and Western Europe in the 1980s, as the 'decline' of the welfare state necessitated the directing of resources ostensibly to the most marginalized and economically depressed.[556] Notably, this conceptualisation of refugee vulnerability arose as humanitarian aid began to be withdrawn, suggesting a larger dynamic of refugee self-

[556] Esping-Anderson, G. (1990) 'The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism'. London: Polity Press.

reliance as a means to reduce aid to the majority of refugees. In this way, and as will be discussed in the following chapter, self-reliance began to be framed as an exit strategy for assistance agencies and donors whose funds and gaze had turned elsewhere.[557]

The Instrumentalisation of Refugee Self-Reliance Assistance

As the capitalist system sought to restructure Southern economies to expand globally, both structural changes and wage-labour subjects who were productive according to the needs of the global economy were needed. Envisioned as both producers and consumers, the ideal neoliberal subject was independent from state support and humanitarian assistance yet reliant on the market to earn daily subsistence as well as personal fulfillment. Aligning with this rhetoric, self-reliance assistance to refugees in Pakistan changed according to the needs and visions of the capitalist system, directing refugees' surplus value towards those areas most beneficial for the economy. International welfare in the form of trainings and targeted assistance supported the social reproduction needed in the changing economic structure. In these ways, refugees were economically and conceptually instrumentalised.

First, as has been discussed, Afghan refugees worked in programmes and partook in trainings led by assistance agencies that targeted national development according to larger international economic dictates. Through these, refugees in Pakistan contributed to the national economy while also being involved in global economic restructuring as

557 Easton-Calabria, E. and Omata, N. (2018) 'Panacea for the Refugee Crisis? Rethinking the Promotion of Self-Reliance for Refugees'. Third World Quarterly, 1-17.

entrepreneurs and labourers in development projects, including those led by the World Bank.

Second, through the humanitarian and self-reliance assistance they received, refugees were instrumentalised as political pawns of Pakistan and of the West to fight Communism. Of Pakistan's instrumentalisation of refugees, Terry writes,

> Pakistan was the first beneficiary of the legitimacy that often flows from international humanitarian action. As host to millions of refugees, the Pakistani government became pivotal as interlocutor between the international community and the refugees. The Pakistani president, General Zia, rapidly capitalized upon this… Zia was turned by the refugee flow from an international pariah into a "respectable" statesman...Pakistan's public image greatly improved as a result of its role as host to some three million refugees, and the hospitality accorded to the predominantly Pashtun refugees helped to defuse the Pashtunistan [irredentist] issue. Moreover, the loyalty accorded to Zia by the refugees under the Pashtun tribal code, Pashtunwali, obliged them to defend their host in times of difficulties or hostilities.[558]

The US sought to support Afghan refugees through aid channeled through assistance agencies in order to strengthen the *mujahideen's* opposition to the Soviets. In addition to other forms of support, providing humanitarian as well as self-reliance assistance to refugees in camps in Pakistan helped Afghans earn livelihoods and ostensibly lead self-reliant lives in exile – particularly those refugees left behind by fighters within Afghanistan. It also supported the *mujahideen* agenda of a free and independent Afghanistan. However, the United States strongly benefited in this proxy Cold War as the fight for free market capitalism over a government-controlled economy played out on foreign soil. American instrumentalism of Afghan refugees was enacted in large part through refugee assistance agencies themselves, which were instrumentalised through but

[558] Terry, 'Condemned to Repeat?'. P. 66.

also benefitted from American funding in exchange for adherence to foreign policy goals. These included CARE, Catholic Relief Services, the Church World Services, and the IRC.[559]

Furthermore, as discussed in greater detail above, refugees became trained – 'socially reproduced' – as de facto neoliberal subjects through an increased emphasis on vocational training and entrepreneurship that promoted individual rather than collective economic independence, and non-reliance on humanitarian assistance. Refugees were to become entrepreneurs and flexible workers who would simultaneously support themselves and consequently reduce the demand for external donor funding. This expectation aligned with conceptions of an idealised neoliberal workforce able to fend for itself in the market without the need for government or other protection. A practical emphasis on particular types of labour was upheld through the condemnation of so-called refugee dependency and a focus on supporting the 'most vulnerable' refugees to become self-reliant. In this way, those refugees unable or unwilling to work became pathologised as dependent and marginalized, and thus in need of extra support to become the labour market subjects that neoliberalism demanded.

Reserve Army of Labour

As refugee self-reliance assistance changed throughout the 1980s, refugees were correspondingly operationalised as different types of reserve armies of labour. In large

[559] Baitenmann, 'NGOs and the Afghan War'. P. 69.

part this can be explained by the different populations of Afghan refugees whom self-reliance assistance targeted. In the first half of the decade public work programmes such as the UNHCR/World Bank scheme focused on able-bodied men who were employed as manual labourers. These refugees can be considered members of the floating reserve army, defined as workers who are unemployed or are unable to continue working. Referred to as the 'unemployed pool', unemployment for this group was considered to be temporary ('conjuctural unemployment') and circumstantial rather than constant.[560]

The majority of Afghan refugees in Pakistan were Pushtun, an ethnic group for which agricultural activities including pastoral nomadism were economically and culturally important.[561] However, the Government of Pakistan forbade Afghans to farm, thus depriving many of their traditional livelihoods. In light of this policy, Afghans were forced to find alternative means of subsistence. Assistance agencies' programmes offered various means to do so through what is by now a familiar story of employment in sectors and projects that were also helpful to Pakistan. Given these opportunities, some Afghan refugees were pulled out of the floating reserve army into the active labour army; however, critics of these assistance projects assert that the wages paid were too low to truly allow refugees and their families to subsist.

After the mid-1980s, however, refugee self-reliance assistance began to target 'vulnerable' populations. This rhetoric essentially targeted marginalised members of

560 Marx, K. (1867) Das Kapital. Chapter 14, Counteracting Factors, Section IV. London: Penguin Publishers.
561 Titus, P. (1998). Honor the Baloch, buy the Pushtun: Stereotypes, social organization and history in Western Pakistan. *Modern Asian Studies*, *32*(3): 657-687. P. 671.

refugee populations who were not able to be productive within the capitalist system. These refugees comprise what Marx termed ‘the paupers’ – those too young, old, physically compromised, or sick to work. As donor budgets were cut for refugee assistance in Pakistan at the end of the decade, efforts increasingly focused on training refugees in ‘social animation’ to become, essentially, community activists, and to organise self-help groups premised on creating income-generating activities through social welfare committees.[562] Self-reliance assistance sought to support the poorest refugees through these groups as they were the most reliant on aid and therefore the least ‘marketized’ population, primarily due to their lack of access to resources as minorities within the refugee population. However, the activities they were encouraged to create were generally small-scale and home-based, thereby calling into question the extent to which these people could be expected to move into the active army of labour. Rather, they remained members of the stagnant reserve army of labour, surviving haphazardly through informal and part-time work. Despite this, by the early 1990s, self-reliance assistance had concretised into a tool to aid the most vulnerable; in this way, even the poorest of refugees were trained to become self-reliant neoliberal subjects expected to earn livelihoods so as to survive without outside support.

Conclusion

The self-reliance assistance provided to Afghan refugees in Pakistan from 1979 to the early 1990s demonstrates the influence of Western economic and social welfare trends on

[562] Blomqvist, ‘Follow-Up Study’.

development aid to refugees. During this period refugees were deployed as labourers useful to the rising neoliberal global economy while other Western-armed and funded refugees fought the Communist economic model as part of the *mujahideen*. Engaged first in large-scale development projects funded by the West, and then supported to become individual entrepreneurs capable of navigating the market alone and without humanitarian assistance, Afghan refugees were economically and conceptually instrumentalised through their own and assistance agencies' efforts to foster self-reliance. With parallels to the decline of the Western welfare state, self-reliance assistance sought to create productive subjects able to survive without government or other assistance. The purported fostering of Afghan refugees' self-reliance during this time aided the fight against Communism and the global expansion of a neoliberal economic model that condemned dependency and lauded self-reliance, regardless of the individual and collective needs and capabilities of the populations it targeted.

Chapter 7.
Urban refugee self-reliance assistance in Kampala, Uganda

'[D]evelopment aid has a great...potential in terms of assisting the empowerment of refugees and enhancement of productive capacities and self-reliance...allowing them to be instrumental in... contributing positively to the development process...'
(UNHCR Framework for Durable Solutions for Refugees and Persons of Concern, 2003)

Introduction

In 2015 former UNHCR Deputy High Commissioner Alexander Aleinikoff published a policy brief entitled 'From Dependence to Self-Reliance', which focused on 'changing the paradigm in protracted refugee situations'. 'A new narrative is needed,' he proclaimed, 'one that emphasises the potential of refugee populations to contribute to both their host and origin communities.'[563] Despite this assertion, little new language or suggestions appears in the brief. He writes, for example:

> Humanitarian actors may also consider ways to better support livelihood development at the individual level (such as coherent approaches that sequence social protection and access to capital) or larger-scale projects (such as infrastructure initiatives) that aim to improve the local economic environment in which refugees must act.[564]

[563] Aleinikoff, A. (2015) From Dependence to Self-Reliance: Changing the paradigm in protracted refugee situations. Washington, D.C.: Migration Policy Institute.
[564] Ibid. P. 1.

Yet this individual focus on refugee self-reliance and livelihoods has persisted since the 1980s, as the previous chapter detailed. Large-scale public works and infrastructure projects also do not represent a new departure from refugee self-reliance assistance. Importantly, much of Aleinikoff's rhetoric rests on a simplistic and problematic binary of self-reliance and dependency which assumes that dependency should naturally progress to self-reliance. He writes, for instance: 'If long-term dependence (represented by the phrase "care and maintenance") is the problem, then fostering self-reliance is a plausible solution. The question is how to make self-reliance acceptable to host communities and of interest to funding states.'[565] Despite the debatable logic that self-reliance can 'solve' dependency, the question Aleinikoff poses is pertinent to ongoing discussions on refugee self-reliance and reflects the subject of many contemporary UNHCR documents, as well. This chapter delves into these topics through an examination of refugee self-reliance at the level of host communities and how the global discourse of refugee self-reliance is implemented locally.

This chapter's main empirical material juxtaposes 'global' narratives on refugee-self-reliance with the local implementation of assistance through a case study of urban refugee self-reliance assistance in Kampala, Uganda. It draws on an examination of global guiding documents on refugee self-reliance in the new millennium and three months of qualitative fieldwork on urban refugee livelihoods in 2015, following the inclusion of Uganda as one of UNHCR's priority countries for livelihoods initiatives driven by the 2014-2018 Global Strategy for Livelihoods. The chapter focuses more broadly on the self-reliance assistance

[565] Ibid. P3.

– more commonly discussed at the time as 'livelihoods assistance' – offered to urban refugees since 2009, when the *UNHCR policy on refugee protection and solutions in urban areas* granted refugees the right to reside in urban areas and advocated for their protection in these spaces. As a result of this policy, many organisations began livelihoods operations in urban settings, offering business training as well as specific skills training such as tailoring or arts and crafts. In contrast to refugees in camps, refugees in urban areas do not receive material assistance such as shelter and food, but are instead expected to become self-reliant through entrepreneurship. Livelihoods trainings are the main source of support they receive to do so. These trainings thus take on a heightened importance as they are essentially what urban self-reliance assistance constitutes.

Through the use of contemporary qualitative fieldwork, the methodology of this chapter represents a departure from the previous chapters of this thesis. While the historical chapters focus largely on refugee self-reliance from the perspective of international institutions, this chapter delves into how these macro institutional practices and discourses permeate the micro, local level of refugee self-reliance assistance as enacted by international, national, and local NGOs and CBOs, including organisations led by refugees themselves (hereafter *refugee-led organisations*). This scope of research presents an opportunity to understand the extent to which the discourse present in policy and other guiding documents reflects and is suitable for the 'on-the-ground' reality of providing assistance to foster refugee self-reliance today. As will be further explained below, Uganda's global standing as a model country for refugee self-reliance means that significantly more resources have been poured into self-reliance assistance than in many

other countries; thus the assistance provided there can be considered 'state of the art'. In particular, a case study of livelihoods trainings in Kampala offers a means to examine some of the contextual factors that facilitate or constrain the fostering of refugee self-reliance regardless of heightened support from international agencies.

This contemporary case study also enables analysis of refugees' own responses to livelihoods training and other self-reliance assistance in a way that was rarely possible through archival research. This chapter therefore seeks to ameliorate the 'top-down' nature of previous chapters. However, I only focus on urban refugees and thus do not examine the particularities of fostering refugee self-reliance in settlement or camp economies.[566]

In the following sections I present refugee self-reliance assistance from the 1990s, where the previous chapter ended, up until 2015. In particular I examine international trends and initiatives that influenced global self-reliance discourse and practice at the time of fieldwork. I then present the refugee livelihood programming and policies, and the state and results of livelihoods trainings on the ground in Kampala. I overview the content and main details of these trainings, as well as highlight their contradictions: the results they offer as opposed to what they are promised to provide. I then examine the challenges surrounding these trainings, which stem both from the local context as well as the

[566] For more information on contemporary refugee self-reliance in camps, see: Omata, N. (2017) *The Myth of Self-reliance: Economic Lives Inside a Liberian Refugee Camp* (Vol. 36). Berghahn Books. For more information on refugee economies in Ugandan settlements, see: Betts, A., Bloom, L., Kaplan, J. D., & Omata, N. (2014) *Refugee economies: Rethinking popular assumptions*. University of Oxford, Refugee Studies Centre.

institutional structure of livelihoods assistance. The discussion section presents the wider economic and social context that this assistance is embedded within, examining refugees as part of the global reserve army that has emerged as a key facet of globalization.

Context

In the 1990s many refugee populations such as the Afghans began to return home, yet conflicts in other parts of the world began. The repatriation of refugees in the first half of the 1990s was largely due to the resolution of the Cold War,[567] yet the decade also saw the start of the so-called 'New Wars'[568] of the post-Cold War era, characterized by ethnic fighting and conflict in the name of identity politics as well as violence between state and non-state actors. The 1994 Rwandan genocide and the ensuing Congo Wars stand as examples, and resulted in the sudden influx of hundreds of thousands of refugees into Uganda, the focus of this chapter, as well as other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Despite UNHCR High Commissioner Ogata's call for the 1990s to be the 'decade of voluntary repatriation', by the end of the decade UNHCR had 22.3 million people of concern, with 1999 deemed 'one of the most challenging years in UNHCR's history'.[569] Crisp discusses UNHCR's focus on voluntary repatriation at this time, writing,

> To the extent that UNHCR was concerned with livelihoods issues during the 1990s, then the organization's interest and involvement was very much focused on the reintegration of returnees in countries of origin – rather than self-reliance

[567] Based on UNHCR figures, more than 9 million refugees repatriated between 1991 and the beginning of 1996. Loescher, 'UNHCR and World Politics'. P. 280.
[568] Kaldor, M. (2005) 'Old Wars, Cold Wars, New Wars, and the War on Terror'. Lecture given to the Cold War Studies Centre, London School of Economics, February 2.; Duffield, M. (2014) Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security. London: Zed Books.
[569] UNHCR (2000) The Global Report 1999. Geneva: UNHCR.

> amongst refugees in countries of asylum. Working on the assumption that repatriation now represented the only feasible solution to large-scale refugee situations, during this period UNHCR began to emphasize notions such "sustainable reintegration," "returnee aid and development", and the "relief to development gap."[570]

As refugees were returning to their countries of origin, they had the right to work which was denied to them in many host countries, thus enabling livelihoods programming to emerge in the form of repatriation, reconstruction, and peacebuilding projects. The founding principles of returnee aid and development included that reintegration assistance was most effective when an entire community, and not just refugees or IDPs, received support; that local development should be encouraged and dependency discouraged; and that the gap between humanitarian and development assistance should quickly be bridged.[571] In this way, many elements of the strategy emulated past principles in addition to providing a basis for future refugee self-reliance and livelihoods strategies. Short-term projects known as Quick Impact Projects often centred around income-generation, and provided important livelihoods and coordination experience for UNHCR and UNDP.[572]

[570] Crisp, J. (2003) UNHCR, refugee livelihoods and self-reliance: a brief history. 22 October. Geneva: UNHCR. Available at:
http://www.unhcr.org/cgibin/texis/vtx/search?page=search&docid=3f978a894&query=jeff%20crisp.
(accessed July 1, 2018) Crisp also posits that UNHCR gained valuable experience in self-reliance through reintegration programmes, a topic which is explored further in Skran, C. (*forthcoming*) 'Refugee Self-Reliance and Entrepreneurship in Post-Conflict Reintegration: The case of UNHCR and Female Returnees in Sierra Leone', in a Special Issue on 'Rethinking Refugee Self-Reliance', Journal of Refugee Studies, forthcoming 2019.

[571] For more on returnee aid and development, see: Crisp, J. (2001) Mind the Gap! UNHCR, Humanitarian Assistance and the Development Process. *The International Migration Review*, 35(1): 179.

[572] Quick Impact Projects were part of a larger peace process known as CIREFCA from 1989-1994, which served to link the self-reliance and livelihoods of refugees and displaced populations with peace and democracy. For more information, see: Betts, A. (2006) *Comprehensive plans of action: Insights from CIREFCA and the Indochinese CPA*. UNHCR New Issues in Refugee Research Working Paper no. 120. Geneva: UNHCR, Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit.

In the second half of the 1990s, returnee aid and development was superseded by a larger focus on post-conflict reintegration, which in turn led to efforts to address the gap between humanitarian assistance and long-term development. The so-called Brookings Process beginning in 1999 was led by UNHCR and the World Bank and arose out of a recognition of the ongoing relief-development divide in strategies and programming and the need for greater and more effective coordination between humanitarian and development actors.[573] The efforts of the Brookings Process demonstrated a renewed partnership between UNHCR and the World Bank, as well as a broader focus on engaging refugees and IDPs in development. As many projects were income-generating in nature, the process also paved the way for the broader focus on livelihoods that emerged in the 2000s.

The new millennium brought an emphasis on refugee self-reliance in the form of 'refugee livelihoods', defined by UNHCR as the means through which refugees 'secure the basic necessities of life, such as food, water, shelter and clothing'.[574] Self-reliance was presented as a way to achieve livelihoods, which in turn was perceived as fostering local integration. This came in part through an international effort led by UNHCR to facilitate multilateral special agreements on refugee solutions, known as the Convention Plus Initiative, which took place between 2002 and 2005. Taking place on a larger scale than similar past conferences such as ICARA I and II, the Convention Plus Initiative was

[573] Focusing on post-conflict regions, projects included the Georgian Self Reliance Fund managed by the World Bank and implemented by OCHA, UNDP, UNHCR, and the Swiss Government, created to support Georgian IDPs in reintegration and local integration. Others included the 'Imagine Co-Existence' community-based income-generating activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Rwanda. Source: Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme (2001) Reintegration: A Progress Report. Standing Committee 20th Meeting, 15 February. UN Doc. N. EC/51/SC/CRP.5. P. 200-201.
[574] UNHCR (2014) Global Strategy for Livelihoods. Geneva: UNHCR. P. 7.

premised on Northern states' desire to reduce Southern asylum seekers and the increased burden-sharing Southern states solicited.[575]

One of the three main strands of Convention Plus was 'Targeted Development Assistance' (TDA), essentially a 'repackaging' of 'Refugee Aid and Development' and characterised by constructions of refugees as displaced people and humans holding human rights, as well as potential security threats. In this way, Convention Plus reflected the broader UN discourse of the time, itself connected to attempts to increase global stability and security in the wake of the 2001 terrorist attacks in New York.[576]

One effect of the increased securitisation of migration was restricted asylum options, as Northern industrialised countries became less and less inclined to resettle refugees.[577] Convention Plus sought to address this restrictive climate by focusing on supporting refugees in their region of origin. Ruud Lubbers, the UNHCR High Commissioner at the time, discussed this as well as the financial incentive of TDA:

> UNHCR is proposing a more coherent, wide-ranging effort by donor states to support refugees in their original host countries, and to find solutions by helping them return home, by resettling them to other countries or by helping them to start new lives locally in their region of origin. But all this requires development assistance that would increase the self-reliance of refugees and benefit the countries that host them, thereby reducing the pressures to seek asylum further afield. Indeed, each dollar or euro spent on solutions for refugees in regions of

575 Betts, 'Protection by Persuasion'. For more information on Convention Plus, see also: Betts, A., & Durieux, J. (2007). Convention Plus as a Norm-Setting Exercise. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 20*(3), 509-535.

576 The 2005 UN Secretary General report cited for example the UN's aims to: 'strengthen development, security and human rights issues...On the development front...reinvigorate the Millennium Development Goals...On security, the goal is to adopt new ways of dealing with threats to international peace and security...' Source: UNHCR 2005/2005 UN Secretary General report.

577 Koser, K. (2007) Refugees, Transnationalism and the State. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 33(2): 233–254.; Van Hear, N. (2012) Forcing the Issue: Migration Crises and the Uneasy Dialogue between Refugee Research and Policy." Journal of Refugee Studies, 25(1): 2–24.

origin would have double value. That this is not happening is shameful and makes no financial sense.[578]

The TDA strand of Convention Plus resulted in several projects in Sub-Saharan Africa, including in Uganda, Zambia, and Ethiopia.[579] Although these projects were presented as 'examples of targeting development assistance in practice', no framework of understanding between states was achieved despite agreement that more needed to be done to involve refugees in development. In 2005 the work of the Convention Plus Unit was mainstreamed into other UNHCR divisions and units, and it is largely remembered as a coordination exercise rather than a successful initiative connecting refugees to development.[580]

Despite the lack of large-scale TDA outcomes from Convention Plus, a focus on refugees in development through livelihoods and self-reliance continued throughout the decade. Indeed, between 2000 and 2009, approximately 12,000 pieces of literature by academics and practitioners discussed refugee livelihoods—over double the number published the decade prior.[581] Refugee livelihoods emerged as a main topic within debates surrounding rights-based approaches,[582] urban support programmes,[583] and microfinance for

[578] Lubbers, R. (2003) Op-ed by Ruud Lubbers, UN High Commissioner for Refugees. June 20. Geneva: UNHCR. Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/uk/news/editorial/2003/6/3ef2e9094/op-ed-ruud-lubbers-un-high-commissioner-refugees.html. (accessed November 15, 2017)

[579] UNHCR (2005) Progress Report: Convention Plus. High Commissioner's Forum, 8 November. FORUM/2005/6. P. 2. Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/uk/protection/convention/4371c24c2/progress-report-convention-plus-forum20056.html. (accessed November 15, 2017)

[580] Ibid. P. 4.

[581] ProQuest. (2014) 'Graph of Search Results: Refugee Livelihoods', http://tinyurl. com/RefugeeLivelihoodsGraph. Accessed 12 June 2014.

[582] Crisp J. (2003) No Solution in Sight: The Problem of Protracted Refugee Situations in Africa, Center for Comparative Immigration Studies (CCIS) Working Paper No. 68. CCIS: San Diego.

[583] FIC (FEINSTEIN INTERNATIONAL CENTER) (2012) Refugee Livelihoods in Urban Areas: Identifying Program Opportunities—Case Study Egypt. Boston: Feinstein International Center,Tufts University.

refugees.[584] The UNHCR's Livelihoods Unit was established in 2008 and from 2010 to 2012 UNHCR's budget for Livelihood Programming increased by 66 per cent.[585] As UNHCR writes:

> [T]here has been a surge in the scale of livelihoods efforts across UNHCR operations in recent years. The global budget planned for livelihoods activities grew by more than 25% between 2011 and 2012 and by another 15% in 2013. In 2012, 18 operations had budgets ranging from USD 4 million to USD 24 million for livelihoods activities. In 2013, 87 operations conducted livelihood interventions, up from 79 in 2012. These programmes primarily benefit refugees (62%), followed by IDPs (22%) and returnees (13%). The greatest share of funds is invested in vocational and skills training, promoting entrepreneurship, supporting agriculture, livestock and fisheries, and strengthening access to financial services or microfinance.[586]

The practices of the UNHCR Livelihoods Unit have been labelled 'innovative' in development literature,[587] yet previous chapters of this thesis reveal that these assistance practices have occurred since the first international institutional responses to refugees by the League of Nations in the 1920s. As this thesis discusses, these practices have remained largely consistent from the 1920s up to today, as have international institutions' and host governments' aims for refugee assistance to lead to both refugee self-sufficiency and host country economic development. However, the current era focuses more on vocational training and micro-finance as a way to promote entrepreneurship rather than on fostering self-reliance through subsistence agriculture, as was more common in the interwar and post-WWII period. The tension between the rhetoric and implementation of refugee self-

[584] Bartsch, D. (2004) 'Microfinance and Refugees'. Forced Migration Review 20: 20.; Foy, D. (2006) The Appropriateness and Effectiveness of Micro-finance as a Livelihoods Intervention for Refugees. London: Refugee Livelihood Network.
[585] UNHCR (2012) Livelihood Programming in UNHCR: Operational Guidelines. Geneva: UNHCR. P. 14.
[586] UNHCR (2014) 2014-2018 Global Strategy for Livelihoods. Geneva: UNHCR. P. 14.
[587] IFAD (2003) 'Five Microfinance Projects Meet the Rural Pro-Poor Innovation Challenge, http://www.ifad.org/ruralfinance/poverty/rppic.htm. (accessed 11 August 2014); Foy, 'The Appropriateness and Effectiveness of Micro-finance'.; IRC (2012) Urban Refugees, International Rescue Committee Pamphlet, http://www.rescue-uk.org/sites/default/files/20.11.12%20Urban %20refs%20for%20ECHO%20advocacy%20event%20_0.pdf. (accessed 11 August 2014)

reliance assistance is further explored in the following case study of urban refugee livelihoods trainings.

Refugee Self-Reliance Assistance in Kampala

Uganda, a small country in East Africa, is widely considered to be one of the world's most progressive host countries, allowing refugees the right to work and freedom of movement and promoting self-reliance through national strategies since the 1990s.[588] As of 2015, when this research was undertaken, it hosted 500,000 refugees and asylum seekers, making it the third largest refugee-hosting country in Africa.[589] The majority of its refugees come from the Great Lakes region, including the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, and South Sudan. In recent years, Uganda has received increasing attention internationally for the livelihoods and self-reliance opportunities it affords refugees. As a purported 'model country' for refugee self-reliance, it is therefore a fitting field site to examine contemporary refugee self-reliance assistance practices.

Refugee self-reliance assistance in Uganda has been overtly focused on since the late 1990s, and its evolution sheds light on the application of global self-reliance agendas in a national context. In 1999, the Government of Uganda and UNHCR jointly launched the country's Self-Reliance Strategy (SRS), and in 2003 Development Assistance for

588 The 2006 Refugee Act and 2010 Refugee Regulations provide the legal and regulatory framework enabling refugees with the Right to Work and Freedom of Movement, while the Refugee Settlement Model enables refugees to live in settlements, not camps, and provides refugees with access to agriculture land for food production. Additionally, Uganda is party to the 1951 Refugee Convention, 1967 Protocol, 1969 Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Convention, and the 2015 Refugee Policy.

589 UNHCR (2015) Uganda hosts record 500,000 refugees and asylum-seekers. 18 December. Geneva: UNHCR.

Refugees (DAR), part of the 'way forward' for the SRS. The SRS aimed to 'empower' refugees as well as nationals in refugee-hosting regions to support themselves, and 'establish mechanisms…[to] ensure integration of services for the refugees with those of the nationals.'[590] DAR, in turn, aimed to actualise the SRS and 'address some of the problems of poverty and under-development in refugee hosting districts which could promote further peace, security and stability in the region'.[591] It was created in line with the High Commissioner's Framework for Durable Solutions for Refugees and Persons of Concern, which developed protection tools such as DAR as part of Convention Plus. The framework described the broader DAR agenda as improving burden-sharing, increasing self-reliance for refugees, and enabling a better quality of life for both refugee and host communities. The incorporation of refugees into development was a central tenet of DAR and the ongoing search for durable solutions:

> [T[he needs of refugees and returnees have not systematically been incorporated in transition and recovery plans by governments concerned, the donor community and the UN system. Refugees and returnees are often not part of the national development planning. Ignoring the needs of displaced populations in development planning and most importantly, their positive contribution to society may result in returnees becoming a possible source of instability to the country's rebuilding efforts.[592]

Such quotes illustrate the purportedly limited extent of refugees' engagement with development, despite the wide-ranging efforts documented in previous chapters of this thesis. The potential for refugees to be not just agents of development but of conflict and

[590] Government of Uganda (GoU) & UNHCR (2004) Self-Reliance Strategy for Refugee Hosting Areas of Moyo, Adjumani and Arua Districts of Northern Uganda (SRS). Geneva: UNHCR.
[591] Ibid. P. 6.
[592] UNHCR (2004) Framework for Durable Solutions for Refugees and Persons of Concern. Geneva: UNHCR. P. 4.

instability is also reflected here, illuminating how a focus on reducing violence was linked to development.

The development efforts in Uganda are described positively in many policy documents of the time; as one UNHCR report describes, 'SRS, over time has also helped in "attitude change" amongst refugees and host communities alike – from free handouts to self-help and capacity building.'[593] However, critiques of the SRS and DAR demonstrate that while UNHCR promoted 'empowerment' and 'self-reliance' through livelihoods and economic activities, these were impossible to attain without the right to work and right to freedom of movement, which were not granted to refugees at the time. Research also found that policies to promote self-reliance, such as reductions in food rations, were detrimental to refugee beneficiaries.[594] As Kaiser writes,

> The SRS evidently seeks to integrate refugee services into district service provision and from the point of view of the elimination of wasteful parallel structures of refugee assistance, this makes good sense. However, the expectation that refugees will achieve and sustain 'self-reliance', in the absence of any substantial interventions designed to address the main obstacles to this goal, is less obviously well founded. The policy dialogue around the SRS in settlements usually fails to discuss such obstacles. How can refugees produce a surplus when their plot is too small, the soil exhausted, or when the rains fail to come, as in 2005?...[595]

Uganda's legal context changed with the 2006 Refugee Act, which recognised human rights conventions and broadened refugees' rights, providing the ability to work and move

[593] UNHCR (2003) Development Assistance for Refugees (DAR) for Uganda Self Reliance Strategy - Way Forward. Report on Mission to Uganda 14 to 20 September 2003, RLSS/ DOS Mission Report 03/11. P. 3.
[594] Meyer, S. (2006) *The 'Refugee Aid and Development' Approach in Uganda: Empowerment and Self-reliance of Refugees in Practice*. UNHCR Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, UNHCR New Issues in Refugee Research Working Paper Series, No. 131.
[595] Kaiser, T. (2006) Between a camp and a hard place: rights, livelihood and experiences of the local settlement system for long-term refugees in Uganda. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, *44*(4): 597-621.

freely between camps and urban areas. This theoretically addressed many of the critiques of the SRS but also meant that an important gap arose in the service provision to refugees in urban areas, as NGOs had up to that point mainly worked in settlements in Uganda. It was largely after the 2009 introduction of the UNHCR Urban Refugee Policy that the majority of UNHCR's urban implementing and operational partners in Uganda began offering livelihoods trainings. At the time of this research, most organisations had engaged in this work for five years. Uganda was also in the midst of finalising a new national self-reliance strategy for refugees, which includes the promotion of urban livelihoods trainings.[596]

This self-reliance strategy is known as the 2016-2020 Refugee and Host Population Empowerment (ReHoPE) Strategic Framework, formulated by UNHCR on behalf of the United Nations Country Team and World Bank. It is considered one of the most progressive strategies in recent years involving refugees, host communities, and development. However, its aims are remarkably similar to that of the SRS. It too focuses on developmental 'solutions' for refugees and aims to integrate refugees into existing institutional structures, as well as capitalize on their inclusion in the 2015/2016-2019/2020 National Development Plan II. Refugees' integration into national services is seen as having the potential to improve refugees' lives in a variety of areas, from providing access to loan services, more comprehensive healthcare, and government-sponsored livelihoods trainings. It epitomises the development approach that UNHCR has increasingly taken in recent years, and is an effort to close the longstanding 'relief-

596 UNHCR (2015) Webpage: UNHCR country operations profile – Uganda. Geneva: UNHCR.

development gap'. It is considered an important pilot for the durable solution of local integration in host countries where refugees are provided with basic rights. However, at the time of this research it had not yet been implemented in Kampala.

When this research was undertaken, Uganda had recently been selected as one of thirteen priority countries for livelihoods in the UNHCR 2014-2018 Global Strategy for Livelihoods, the main guiding document on livelihoods and self-reliance at the time. As such, it was to be provided with additional funding and guidance on fostering refugee livelihoods and self-reliance. Notably, the term used repeatedly in the strategy document is 'economic self-reliance'. This is nowhere explicitly defined but is described as attainable through generating employment, job information and placement, skills and vocational training, entrepreneurship, and financial services.[597]

One of four five-year global strategies targeting different areas of UNHCR's work, the global strategy aims to define UNHCR's aim for implementing livelihoods programming, provide a global overview of UNHCR's implementation of livelihoods programming, and guide national and local livelihoods strategies.[598] The guidelines consolidate many of the principles from the 2012 *UNHCR Livelihood Programming Operational Guidelines,* such as advocating for refugee rights and assisting refugees in accessing the services and tools needed for self-reliance. Building self-reliance at all stages of displacement is cited as key for helping people live with dignity; fostering livelihoods is presented as a central strategy in achieving this.

597 Ibid. P. 32.
598 UNHCR, 'Global Strategy for Livelihoods'. P. 8.

A main focus of the 2014 global strategy is on linking refugees to markets as well as 'scal[ing] up livelihoods programming'.[599] One important strategy for generating employment is by 'Identify[ing] new markets, value chains and potential employers for skilled refugees, including artisans, education or health care workers, technicians and other professionals.'[600] This includes job information platforms and job counselling services. It is notable in the attention it gives to refugees *after* skills training, as well as those seeking to utilise skills from previous livelihoods.

The following sections of this chapter are based on fieldwork in Kampala examining urban livelihoods trainings for refugees. The research was undertaken over three months between April and June 2015.[601] The study is mainly qualitative and includes interviews with 119 refugees and 12 staff members from eight different organisations serving refugees in Kampala. As discussed in the methodology section of the thesis introduction, the research employed a mixed-methods approach consisting of semi-structured in-depth interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs), basic demographics interviews, and non-participant observation. Livelihoods trainings at four organisations were observed, and individual refugees were also 'followed' in the process of their livelihoods creation, from participating in trainings to opening their own businesses. In an effort to better understand both trends and divergences in livelihoods trainings and outcomes across organisations,

599 Ibid. P. 8.
600 Ibid. P. 28.
601 Note: Ethical review was undertaken by the National Geographic Society as part of the grant review process and approval for the grant was given based on meeting all criteria, including ethical considerations. Ethical permission was granted by the University of Oxford on 5.4.2019 after submission of a CUREC 2 form to the International Development Research Ethics Committee and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Committee.

themes arising from the research are presented in aggregate rather than in detailed case studies of each organisation's livelihoods training.

The following section presents research findings on livelihoods trainings in Kampala undertaken through two of UNHCR's most prominent operational partners in the city, the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) and Finnish Refugee Council (FRC), and UNHCR's only implementing partner in Kampala, Interaid Uganda (henceforth, *Interaid*). As operational and implementing partners, these organisations can be seen as representing the local instantiation of UNHCR's self-reliance and livelihoods discourse, although only Interaid is directly funded by UNHCR. JRS is an international Catholic organisation that supports refugees and other forced migrants through emergency aid, livelihoods and language training, and advocacy. It began offering livelihoods trainings in Kampala in 2010 with the aim of helping shift assistance from 'care and maintenance' to self-sufficiency.[602] It provides a means to examine the discourse and programming of a faith-based international organisation. In contrast, FRC is a religiously and politically independent organisation that has operated in Uganda since 1997 and in Kampala since 2009. Its initial programmes were English lessons followed by business trainings. Interaid has implemented Kampala's Urban Refugee Programme under a tripartite agreement between UNHCR and the Government of Uganda since 1995; despite its esteemed role as UNHCR's implementing partner, it has a very negative reputation across Kampala's refugee communities, with allegations of corruption and frustration over long wait times for documents, trainings, and meetings.

[602] JRS (2010) Uganda: JRS offers new training opportunities for refugees. 16 April. Available at: http://en.jrs.net/news_detail?TN=news-20100421061545. (accessed December 15, 2017)

Findings from the livelihoods trainings of three refugee-led organisations, the Bondeko Refugee Livelihoods Centre, Young African Refugees for Integral Development (YARID), and Hope of Children and Women Victims of Violence (HOCW) are also presented. Each of these organisations is run by Congolese refugees and focuses their work on livelihoods acquisition for refugees in the respective areas of Kampala in which they operate. Despite being vastly under-represented in literature, refugee-led organisations are widespread in Kampala and offer a variety of services to refugees.[603] Amongst Congolese organisations such as those researched here, livelihoods trainings comprise their main activities. While YARID and HOCW are more formalised than Bondeko Centre, all three organisations offer similar trainings (see Table 1. below) and face ongoing challenges with organisational sustainability. Each of their leaders, for example, discussed needing more training resources such as further skills development for teachers and basic materials (e.g. cloth, notebooks) for trainings.[604]

Research scope and limitations

The majority of refugees interviewed (84%) for this study were Congolese, which means a main limitation of this research is that of representativeness. The highest population of refugees in Uganda by nationality is Congolese (approximately 42%),[605] yet the data is not representative within the Congolese refugee community. Due to the lack of records

[603] For more information on refugee-led organisations, see the Forced Migration Review (2018) Special Supplement on Refugee-led Social Protection. Oxford: Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford.
[604] Interviews, Bondeko Centre leader (5/15/2015), HOCW leader (5/16/2015), YARID leader (5/20/2015).
[605] UNHCR (2015) UNHCR Planning Figures for Uganda. Geneva: UNHCR.

on participants kept by institutions, it was often not possible to gain accurate numbers of trainees or break them down by demographic. Limitations therefore occurred due to the sampling method employed and the focus on livelihoods arising after trainings undertaken at specific institutions. Corresponding to this, refugees interviewed were not evenly spread out across Kampala's neighborhoods but instead mainly situated in the areas of Najjanankumbi, Nsambya, and Ndejje. Lastly, the qualitative nature of this study precludes the opportunity for detailed quantitative findings that a longer period of data collection and a primarily quantitative focus might have led to.

Self-Reliance Assistance Practices

On the side of a dusty road, Justin sits and tells me about his ongoing struggles to practice medicine. Nursing, his profession in the Democratic Republic of Congo, from which he fled years ago, is now barred to him because he cannot afford to have his certifications translated into English. He also has not been able to find any organisation to support him in doing so. He lives and volunteers as an advisor at the Bondeko Centre, where he offers support and advice to the centre's members. However, he is too afraid of being penalized to offer medical advice or care. He shares, however, that Interaid, UNHCR's implementing partner in Kampala, knows that he is a nurse and has even requested his help:

> InterAid gathered all the refugee nurses for a meeting but trained us only to sensitise refugees in malaria.… refugees must go all the way to InterAid just to get paracetamol. Or they go and wait two days to go to Mulago [Uganda's national referral hospital] for malaria. But there are many nurses here. We can diagnose and treat from right here at the Center![606]

606 Interview, Bondeko Center, Kampala, 6/20/2015.

The experience Justin relayed is echoed in the stories of many refugees in Kampala. Particularly for those who enter urban areas such as the bustling, sun- and dust-streaked streets of Kampala, informal work is their only option, despite being trained in a particular profession in their country of origin. Once doctors, nurses, lawyers, and teachers, many refugees are forced to become entrepreneurs in manual vocations in which they have only limited skills. Many refugees who had gained professional qualifications in their country of origin struggle to pay the fee to have their documents translated and notarised, or had lost their documents in flight. These challenges, combined with Kampala's limited formal market, means that often even desperately needed professions in the country are excluded from refugees.

Rather than significant investment in enabling refugees to regain their former occupations, the international community has chosen to invest in livelihoods trainings as a main self-reliance assistance practice in urban areas. The lack of other pathways to utilise the existing skillsets of many refugees means that these livelihoods trainings are in high demand. Common livelihoods trainings in Kampala include arts and crafts, business skills, computer trainings, and tailoring. Additionally, more specific trainings such as mushroom-growing, catering, and baking have emerged. The livelihoods trainings observed for this research were in business, tailoring, arts and crafts, and hairdressing. Micro-savings groups were also observed, and members interviewed. Information on other trainings offered by organisations was obtained through interviews with trainers and participants. Table 1 presents an overview of training types and the organisations that offered them.

The majority of participants in livelihoods trainings have no prior experience in the skills they are acquiring. This is due both to refugees' own inability to reconstitute their former livelihoods in Kampala as well as organisations' preference to train refugees without experience in the particular livelihoods skill they aim to acquire. JRS and InterAid actively screen potential participants for past livelihoods experience in training areas, seeking to support people in learning entirely new skills. They explained this as an effort to support vulnerable people, such as those without any experience in viable livelihoods, as well as a way to keep their trainings cohesive and streamlined. The refugee-led organisations YARID and Bondeko Centre lead trainings similarly, although less stringently pick participants while HOCW adjusts training durations based on participant's existing skillsets. Table 1 below details the main livelihoods trainings offered to refugees in Kampala.

Table 1. Livelihoods Trainings for Refugees in Kampala

Training Types	***Organisations Offering Trainings***
Arts & Crafts	4 (HOCW, JRS, InterAid, YARID)
Baking	1 (Bondeko Center – initiated through FRC)
Business	4 (Bondeko Center, FRC, HOCW – initiated through FRC, YARID)
Carpentry	1 (JRS)
Catering	1 (JRS)
Cobbling	2 (Bondeko Center, InterAid)

Computer Skills	4 (FRC, HOCW InterAid, YARID)
Hairdressing	4 (FRC, HOCW, InterAid, JRS)
Mushroom Growing	2 (FRC, HOCW – initiated through International Rescue Committee)
Pedicure/Manicure	1 (InterAid)
Tailoring/Fashion & Design	4 (Bondeko Center, HOCW, JRS, YARID)
+ Micro-savings/loans group	4 (Bondeko Center, HOCW, InterAid, JRS)

The number of refugees trained every year per organisation varies. At any given time, JRS is training 120 refugees in its five livelihoods areas, while FRC trains 600 refugees per year in two cycles of business classes, and smaller numbers of refugees in other sectors. Refugee-led organisations train between 30 and 300 refugees per year. Interaid was the only organisation interviewed that does not directly implement livelihoods trainings but instead offers them through existing service providers. Refugees apply at Interaid for a particular training, and successful applicants are then matched with an organisation offering trainings near the refugees' location.

The number of participants per training ranges from six to thirty, depending on the amount of space and available materials. For example, the tailoring training at the Bondeko Centre is held by three volunteer teachers who are fellow refugees. During the time observed, 12 refugees (nine women, three men) were taking part in a six-month training. Due to the limited number of sewing machines, the trainees were split into three groups and four participants undertook training for three hours twice per week.

The nationality of participants is most diverse in trainings led by INGOs. JRS trainings have a mixture of Congolese, Rwandan, Burundian, and South Sudanese refugees. FRC also support these nationalities but generally holds trainings that are de facto separated by nationality, as trainings take place in areas of Kampala with high concentrations of particular nationalities. The same is true of the refugee-led organisations interviewed, which mainly serve Congolese refugees. An exception, however, is HOCW, which aims its activities towards the community the organisation is based in, and estimates that 30% of training participants are local Ugandans.

It was not possible to accurately break down participants by gender, as organisations had varying levels of documentation on participants. However, 80% of the participants in the trainings observed were women. The exception was business trainings, where participants' genders were more evenly divided. The high number of female participants in livelihoods trainings was considered problematic by several organisations, which discussed male refugees' complaints about the minimal training available in 'male' professions. To address this, JRS began a carpentry program in June 2015, and InterAid planned to offer trainings in mechanics, electric installation, and plumbing beginning in 2016.

Notably, both institutional and refugee-led organisations cited the genesis of trainings as driven by refugees' desire to work; as one Interaid Protection Officer stated, 'Livelihoods are the most important issue among refugees.'[607] JRS, InterAid, and FRC had conducted

[607] Interview, Interaid Protection Officer, 16/6/2015.

needs assessments and identified livelihood skills as a major need of refugees, while refugee-led organisations created trainings based on anecdotal evidence. JRS offers three months of emergency assistance for food and rent to eligible refugees, but recognised that refugees needed more sustainable assistance after this time. As the JRS livelihoods coordinator stated, 'Refugees asked to fish for themselves, instead of being handed the fish.' Several initiatives led by refugee-led organisations began with support and training from the International Rescue Committee (IRC) and FRC and thus were influenced by these organisations into beginning trainings in potentially unsuitable sectors. Mushroom-growing and business trainings were initiated by IRC at HOCW, while FRC helped start mushroom-growing, business trainings, and baking at Bondeko Centre. The organisation African Centre for Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture Victims (ACTV) also provided four sewing machines to the tailoring group at Bondeko Centre, although this was to strengthen and not start the existing training.

One popular training takes place at JRS, which rests in a strikingly quiet street in the city, just up and off a big hill filled with crowded trucks and boda-bodas. The main buildings rest around a grassy courtyard that never seems to be used; the bulk of the activity occurs behind doors or buildings. Behind one of these buildings, just above a sloping dirt field that stretches down to a chain link fence, is the hairdressing livelihoods training. Dembe,[608] the Ugandan trainer, weaves in between students sitting alternately on small stools in patches of shade or standing above their seated counterparts wielding scissors, yarn, and hair extensions. The students – 30 women in total varying from teenagers to

[608] Not her real name.

women in their thirties – generally spend most of their morning practicing new styles on each other, with Dembe occasionally bringing the group together to instruct on a particular topic. Sometimes she demonstrates the proper angle with which to hold scissors; another time students gather around her as she weaves a student's hair into an intricate plait, pointing out the particular pattern she follows.

Dembe's students are a mixture of nationalities, mainly Congolese and South Sudanese. Her English is loud and slow, but many of the lessons take place through demonstration and practice. The training itself lasts a year and is held five days a week full-time. Each of the students applied to take part and were interviewed by JRS staff, who emphasise they seek to match candidates' personal interests and visions for the future with a specific training. Two specific aspects of the hairdressing training stand in contrast with JRS' and other organisations' livelihoods trainings: first, students are provided with an internship in a hair salon in Kampala after graduation, and, second, most of these students secure a job once they finish their training. This was attributed to hairdressing being a competitive skill in Kampala, which has small hair salons scattered across the city, as well as to the fact that the internship students are placed in provided a means to access and build on an established network of both employers and clients. The relatively small amount of material needed to work as a hairdresser also helps; as the JRS training coordinator explained of hairdressing, 'After training you don't need capital, because the capital is your hands.'

However, many refugees trained in other skills or at other organisations are not so lucky.

On the outskirts of Kampala, after the giant shopping centre ("Freedom City") on Entebbe Road and past goats and cows ambling on dirt side streets, is the refugee-led organisation Hope of Children and Women Victims of Violence (HOCW). Bolingo, the founder, is a Congolese refugee who started HOCW out of a recognition of the particular vulnerabilities faced by women and children. Interestingly, in contrast to the majority of refugee-led organisations I interviewed in Kampala, HOCW serves both refugees and Ugandans. The organisation offers a variety of support, including children's activities, English lessons, and livelihoods trainings. These trainings are known as the "Community Collective" and began with a tailoring training in 2013.[609]

The tailoring training was initiated by an international volunteer that bought a sewing machine that 20 people started being trained on. Due to the high level of interest, HOCW requested more sewing machines from an international women's organisation and received two more machines.[610] Later that year in September, a South Korean volunteer came to help with livelihoods trainings. Recognising the need for resources, he started a crowdsourcing campaign through Gofundme and was able to raise $5,000 USD. 12 new sewing machines and 3 design machines were bought with this money, as well as cloth and stools for trainees to sit at.[611] Therefore, although this and other trainings were initiated out of refugees' interests, they were partially enabled through volunteer donations and initiatives, as well. This highlights the importance of both resources and

[609] Interview, Bolingo, HOCW Founder, 6/12/2015.
[610] Ibid.
[611] Ibid.

social networks for refugee-led organisations undertaking livelihoods trainings. It also echoes larger findings on the crucial nature of different forms of capital for refugees' livelihoods. Griffiths posits that social networks can support refugees in accessing additional resources to bolster livelihoods, for example, while Amisi's study on urban refugees in Durban finds that social networks helps refugees avoid exploitation and abuse, and access informal forms of support such as self-help groups.[612]

The Challenges of Creating Livelihoods

Resources donated or pooled to offer livelihoods trainings do not guarantee that refugees are able to find or create jobs *after* their training. Each organisation interviewed had conducted needs assessments of refugees that reflected refugees' desire for skills training and micro-finance loans. However, despite being a priority country for livelihoods programming, neither the Government of Uganda, UNHCR, nor any of the organisations interviewed had at the time of research conducted a market assessment of Kampala.[613] This precluded knowledge of viable sectors for refugees to become skilled in, and ultimately calls the impact of trainings into question. This lack of knowledge is reflected in refugee informants' livelihoods struggles, which often centre around finding markets

[612] Griffiths, D. J. (2000). Fragmentation and consolidation: the contrasting cases of Somali and Kurdish refugees in London. *Journal of refugee studies*, *13*(3), 281-302. Pp. 283, 293.; Amisi, B., (2006) 'An Exploration of the Livelihood Strategies of Durban Congolese Refugees'. New Issues in Refugee Research, UNHCR Working Paper No. 123. Geneva: UNHCR.
[613] The most recent UNHCR document related to livelihoods is the *UNHCR Operational Guidelines on the Minimum Criteria for Livelihoods Programming,* published in 2015. The guidelines demonstrate UNHCR's emphasis on refining livelihoods programming, and seek to establish criteria when planning, implementing, and monitoring livelihoods programmes. This includes the establishment of baseline and market assessments, and a 3-5 year context-specific livelihoods strategic plan. However, at the time of research these guidelines were not being implemented in Kampala.

in which to sell their goods and services. This problem stems from a variety of factors, including an oversaturated informal sector with few opportunities in the formal sector and, more recently, barriers that the specific legal context of Kampala poses (expanded on below). The high unemployment rate and high level of poverty are compounding factors that reflect the need for creative solutions in identifying and accessing markets. As one participant in the tailoring training explained:

> We are trying to become self-reliant but not that many of us are. We are facing many challenges. Some of us women have husbands that drink alcohol and eat the money. When we have skills like sewing, our problem is getting capital. With the savings group this is solved a little. We produce good items, good quality! We can compete with Ugandans but another problem is the markets…we cannot find the markets…[614]

Refugees' struggle to foster livelihoods was also acknowledged by livelihoods trainers and employees of JRS and other organisations, who saw their roles as helping 'enhance livelihoods' but often were not certain of training outcomes. As the JRS Livelihoods Coordinator stated, 'Emergency help is the short-term and this is the long-term to give skills so that refugees can work.'[615] However, when I inquired about the monitoring of training participants after training, the coordinator admitted that JRS had only recently begun keeping track of how many people found or created viable jobs for themselves. This was openly discussed as an important and currently missing component of demonstrating training 'impact'. This lack of data was common across all organisations interviewed, with an exception being FRC, which had undertaken a monitoring study on post-training livelihoods success. The study provided fairly positive figures, showing that 69% of livelihoods groups formed through FRC are viable, 20% break even, and 11%

[614] Interview, training participant, 20/5/2015.
[615] Interview, JRS Livelihoods Coordinator, 15/6/2015.

collapse. It was therefore estimated that 70% of refugees use the skills gained to start businesses after finishing trainings.[616] While this could be considered a significant success, 85% of refugee informants I interviewed who create their own informal business struggle to make regular profits, as a result of lack of capital to expand,[617] and struggle to access markets, often due in part to enforcements from the local city authorities. Therefore, while they may have businesses in some form, they do not necessarily have *successful* businesses that generate enough income to meet basic needs or anything beyond them.

Access to markets and capital

The barriers that many refugees cited to fostering livelihoods after trainings demonstrates the importance of national and local contexts in the fostering of self-reliance. The struggle for refugees to access markets across sectors in Kampala is exemplified by refugees engaged in arts and crafts, as many organisations and refugee informants cited this business area as 'non-essential' and dominated by Ugandans. Craft skills' lack of practical applicability was explained by one Sudanese refugee, who stated, 'These goods are the extras, but here people do not have money for extras, for beautiful things.' An UNHCR Livelihoods Officer echoed this, writing,

> I would also be critical of organisations and projects that pursue handicrafts. Unless the project is a major tourism destination, which Uganda is not, we are

[616] Interview, FRC Project Officer [2], Kampala Urban Project, 11/6/2015.
[617] This is consistent with broader struggles for Africans to access capital for entrepreneurship. See: Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (2015) 2014 Global Report. GEM. Available at: http://www.babson.edu/Academics/centers/blank-center/global-research/gem/Documents/GEM%202014%20Global%20Report.pdf. P. 13.

> merely "trinketif[ying]" an entire workforce and providing occupational therapy to people.

Despite this, arts and crafts trainings were offered by all organisations interviewed, and are very popular for female refugees in particular. Arts and crafts trainings occur three to five times a week for three to six months, depending on the programme. They often focus on learning how to make paper bead jewellery, purses, shoes, sisal earrings, and cloth bangles. The knowledge that refugees gain in these trainings is vast, yet the majority of refugees post-training – even three years later – are unable to make a livelihood from this. Many are discouraged and frustrated. Barriers are faced at different stages, depending on the amount of capital they start with. Some struggle to buy enough material to make even one handbag, and have formed groups to combat this lack of capital. However, once made, profits must be shared amongst group members, which also proves challenging. 60% of refugees are able to buy material and make products, but struggle to sell them. This is due to various factors, such as lack of English skills, an exclusion from trade shows and exhibitions due to xenophobia, and not having a registered business with a storefront.[618]

Registering businesses in permanent locations is a multifaceted and important factor in job success and livelihoods creations in Kampala. Refugees from all sectors believe that they could sell more products and market themselves better if they were able to rent a small stall or container, simply because their business would then have a 'face'. Despite their desires, this is impossible for most, as they lack the capital to pay three months of rent upfront and organisations rarely offer this form of tangible support post-training.

[618] Interviews, Refugee Informants 19-30, 1/5/2015-30/6/2015.

Eugenie, a charismatic Rwandan woman and JRS arts and crafts trainer, was trained in making jewelry and handbags after she arrived in Kampala in 2008. She explains the informal way that she was able to gain a formal job as a livelihoods trainer:

> I made a friend who helped me learn these skills, and then another friend who charged me only 300 Ugandan shillings to teach me. After the training, this friend gave me beads, pliers, and metal clips so that I could make these on my own. I made 20 necklaces at a time and started selling them to door-to-door at people's houses and their offices. The money I made, I saved some, bought food, and left the rest to buy more jewellery [material]…I started my own jewellery making group for lady refugees, and then in September 2010 was asked by JRS to become a trainer for crafts...[619]

Eugenie now teaches arts and crafts at JRS every weekday morning from 8.30-12.30 pm to 30 students, who undertake 8-week training courses. Her current class was comprised of 22 students, 12 women and 10 men. She feels frustrated by how hard it is for her students to find work and sell wares after their training:

> Since 2011 I have trained over 150 students and in my heart I feel it is useless. We need to help raise our voices where we are not: How can we make money through art, get capacity-building skills, and a permanent exhibition?[620]

This quote illustrates the breadth of support refugees need in order to create viable businesses, ranging from networks ('We need to help raise our voices where we are not') to skills training to sustainable forms of marketing, such as through a permanent exhibition. However, Eugenie also attributes some of the failure of her students' livelihoods to the structure of assistance, which she perceives as largely corrupt and exclusive of refugees:

> Right now aid goes from the 50th floor to the 1st. We don't want that…It's time for people from abroad to come and work with us directly. Because we're not working with Interaid, OPM…we're not. They'll make budgets and budgets but no money will reach refugees.[621]

[619] Interview, Eugenie, JRS Livelihoods trainer, 6/12/2015.
[620] Ibid.
[621] Ibid.

Rather than truly build on refugees' capacities, such as supporting them in translating certificates of existing skills, she feels that organisations purport to foster livelihoods through trainings that may or may not leave refugees in as equally of vulnerable situations as they were in before. In this way, those actors tasked with helping refugees foster self-reliance are instead considered to utilise the concept as a means to gain funding for themselves.

Local Authorities and Livelihoods

In addition to teaching at JRS, Eugenie has a registered arts business that she would like to become a permanent workshop. She takes skilled former students and pays for their labour, and then seeks to sell their goods. Every other Saturday, the group gathers on Eugenie's living room floor, beading necklaces and stitching handbags while they discuss business challenges and next steps. I joined them on several Saturday mornings to hold focus group discussions about their work. 12 former students were there, only two of them men. The discussion with this group revealed a lack of access to capital and to markets as their main challenge, nine out of the 12 also sought to sell their own goods individually, as well. In contrast to when Eugenie first began selling goods door-to-door, refugees and other petty traders are now restricted from selling wares informally around the city. For people striving to make their income through selling small pieces of jewellery or handbags, this is especially challenging as the small amount of profit they make from this work is often not enough to formally register businesses.

In 2011, the Kampala City Council Authority (KCCA) created a law that prohibits the selling of goods in public spaces without a business license or petty trading (hawker) permit. The KCCA law is applied equally to refugees and nationals. More stringently enforced in the last year, KCCA officials now move through Kampala in plainclothes, stopping street sellers and at best confiscating their goods or fining them, or at worst imprisoning them. This formerly took place only in the city centre, but has increasingly occurred in all areas of Kampala.

This has heavily impacted both refugees and nationals. The majority of refugees survive through the informal sector and still attempt to sell their products on the street, because they feel they have no other option. Many echoed the sentiment of one informant, who stated, 'I still go to sell, but I am fearing. KCCA comes…they take all from you, they beat you…sometimes you go to prison.'[622] Indeed, the behaviour of KCCA has become violent enough that a local organisation, African Centre for Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture Victims (ACTV), held an one-day awareness training in 2015 with 30 KCCA law-enforcement officials on the concept of torture and the anti-torture law.

The challenge that KCCA poses also extends to organisations helping refugees. As one FRC employee stated, 'KCCA is one of our biggest problems we face in our livelihoods section.' To exemplify this, she explained that half of the businesses run by women belonging to a FRC-sponsored savings group were demolished in December 2014:

[622] Interview, KCCA refugee informant, 5/10/2015.

> In Kisenyi [a neighbourhood in Kampala] KCCA demolished the roadside businesses of these women. They were selling vegetables and fruit, jewellery, dried fish. They do not make enough to rent a small shack so they just sit on the ground and sell like many others. But KCCA came and destroyed…It was very demoralising and traumatic for these ladies, and some were even beaten and chased away. Now they struggle to repay their loans to the savings group, which means the whole group suffers. They do not know what to do, and they come to us for help but we are also constrained…we talk with other NGOs and are trying to make a new strategy but it is hard when this is the law.[623]

Organisational responses to the KCCA law vary. The issue has grown pressing enough that the Refugee Law Project (RLP) has held a series of stakeholder meetings with KCCA, in an attempt to negotiate and highlight the challenges this law posed to refugee informal business owners. KCCA had not previously been aware that refugees counted among the business owners in Kampala. However, while sympathetic, KCCA insisted that any exceptions were impossible. Instead, certain days where it is 'legal' to sell on the streets have been declared, but these average only a few days a month at most and therefore offer very few the chance to make a livelihood solely in this way. These meetings also discussed creating gazetted areas where people including refugees could legally sell goods, such as the large Usafi market in town. However, the promised construction of six modern markets to provide legal selling space to vendors across Kampala has yet to materialise. Although refugees had different reactions to the idea of selling in markets, many worried that it wouldn't be viable, due either to competition or a lack of customers.

InterAid also reported that 25 refugees who had been assisted by them in starting livelihoods were arrested and detained in 2015 for hawking in the city center. It plans to address the barrier posed by KCCA through renting out several stalls for refugees in local

[623] Interview, FRC Project Officer, Kampala Urban Project, 10/6/2015.

markets and paying the first three months of rent. FRC has dealt with the challenge by paying for the licenses of three livelihoods groups for one year. Although helpful for some refugees, neither of these options is sustainable for these organisations on a wider scale, particularly given their current livelihoods funding. Part of the discussions with KCCA has included negotiating a reduced license fee for refugees; this seems helpful on a wider basis yet it is unclear if it will materialise. For the refugees of Kampala, KCCA represents one of the biggest barriers to creating sustainable small businesses – and, thus, to becoming self-reliant. The members of Eugenie's business discussed the near impossibility of a sustainable livelihoods through arts and crafts given the risks of hawking jewelry. As one participant explained, 'We can make good money with just a few nice necklaces if we can move freely…I used to go to big businesses and sell to ladies at lunchtime but now I get chased.'[624]

The result of KCCA enforcement is the constraint of selling space for refugees and vulnerable nationals in Kampala. InterAid estimates that 95% of refugee businesses are unregistered, partially due to the burdensome and expensive process of business registration. In order to become a registered business, refugees must undergo an often lengthy process of paperwork, which averages around 225,000 Ugandan Shillings (about 75 US dollars). This registration fee is in addition to the costs of renting a selling space, for which paying three months of rent upfront is standard. The cost of rent generally ranges from 250,000 (70 USD) to 750,000 (200 USD) Ugandan shillings. However, it is impossible for many urban refugees to obtain their own space to sell from, as many

[624] Interview, Arts and crafts business member, 10/5/2015.

struggle to earn even the public school fee of 10,000 UGX per term (approximately 3 USD).

Fostering Livelihoods, Promoting Protection?

Ultimately, KCCA's law infringes on the protection space available to refugees in Kampala. This is especially relevant for female refugees, as hawking jewelry, fruit, and clothes are common livelihoods for women. Rukiko, a Congolese woman from Goma, seeks to circumvent KCCA's law by selling the majority of her goods while walking through neighbourhoods at night. She has been in Kampala with her husband and four daughters for five years. Her husband was a businessman who owned a general store in Goma and travelled regionally for trade; Rukiko was the store manager. However, the government kidnapped her husband for four years, and although he was released, he remains in hiding in Kampala. This means that Rukiko is the family's sole breadwinner. She strives to do this by selling jewellery and other small goods around Kampala, but stopped doing so during the day after her wares were taken twice by KCCA. Now she sells at night, but was recently raped by two Ugandans while doing so. Despite this, she continues to sell jewellery and hairnets in the evening, as this is the only way she can support her family.

The gap between the rhetoric and reality of fostering livelihoods is thus significant and exists in different ways across the many sectors refugees are trained in. It is made further evident when refugees' livelihoods in Kampala are compared with a suite of UNHCR

guiding documents on refugee self-reliance, which frame self-reliance and livelihoods as both a right and a tool to prevent the derogation of other rights.[625] This discourse presents refugee self-reliance as a natural state offering security and wellbeing to refugees. As UNHCR writes, '[Livelihoods activities] provid[e] goods and services to a market economy based on cash exchange or barter. Work provides the basis for their food security and self-reliance, *adding stability, prosperity and peace to the community at large*.'[626] In this view, work leads not only to self-reliance but regional security and community cohesion, thereby benefitting host countries as well as refugees.

However, at a declaratory policy level, the concept of self-reliance in the 2011 UNHCR operational guidelines was much narrower than earlier definitions, more focused on economic dimensions, and more explicitly linked to aid reduction and the short-term nature of UNHCR assistance: staff were for instance reminded that any cash or food assistance 'be short-term and conditional and gradually lead to self-reliance activities'.[627] This approach, in fact, led to growing criticism or at least skepticism of the policy. Patricia Ward writes that the problem was primarily one of application because 'achieving self-reliance is case-dependent on the political and social context of the country [of] asylum'

[625] Documents include: UNHCR (2005) Handbook for Self-Reliance. Geneva: UNHCR.; UNHCR (2011) Livelihood Programming in UNHCR: Operational Guidelines. Geneva: UNHCR.; UNHCR (2011) Encouraging Self-Reliance. Geneva: UNHCR.; UNHCR (2011) Promoting Livelihoods and Self-Reliance: Operational Guidance on Refugee Protection and Solutions in Urban Areas. Geneva: UNHCR.; UNHCR (2014) Global Strategy Implementation Report. Geneva: UNHCR.; UNHCR (2014) Global Strategy for Livelihoods 2014-2018. Geneva: UNHCR.; UNHCR (2015) Operational Guidelines on the Minimum Criteria for Livelihoods Programming. Geneva: UNHCR.

[626] UNHCR, 'Global Strategy for Livelihoods'. P. 7. [emphasis added]

[627] UNHCR. (2011) Promoting Livelihoods and Self-reliance: Operational Guidance on Refugee Protection and Solutions in Urban Areas. Geneva: UNHCR.

and refugees' ability to access' those rights.[628] While the international discourse on refugee self-reliance discusses fostering livelihoods as a means to increase refugee protection, and thus for UNHCR to fulfil its mandate, stories detailing destruction by KCCA echo Ward's findings by demonstrating the significant extent to which local contexts influence the attainment of refugee livelihoods and self-reliance, and ultimately their protection.

Local and International Discourse on Self-Reliance

The discourse used by both refugee participants and organisations regarding refugee livelihoods and trainings in Kampala largely echo guiding documents on the topic, such as the conceptualisation of trainings as a key step to self-reliance. Participants perceived trainings as a way to learn new skills to help them survive in Kampala; as one refugee explained, 'The livelihoods training is to give us knowledge on how to becom[e] self-reliant. Knowledge on how to create an income generating activity.' A FRC employee explained the role of trainings similarly:

> We are trying to reduce poverty here through self-reliance. Trainings are one way to do this because refugees can strengthen their business skills and manage the competition of Kampala. We want to give new skills to people, who were maybe farmers before but fear being in settlements and can't grow crops in the city. They need to learn something new to survive here.[629]

Interview responses overall demonstrate that livelihoods trainings are perceived by participants, trainers, and other members of organisations as useful overall for the

[628] Ward, P. (2014) 'Refugee Cities: Reflections on the Development and Impact of UNHCR Urban Refugee Policy in the Middle East'. 33(1): 77-93. Available at https://academic.oup.com/rsq/article-abstract/33/1/77/1570430. P. 79. (accessed 29 June 2018)
[629] Interview, FRC Project Officer, Kampala Urban Project, 10/6/2015.

fostering of refugee self-reliance. Some organisational staff qualified positive statements, such as the UNHCR officer who expressed doubt about the value of arts and crafts trainings, yet none suggested trainings be replaced with other forms of livelihoods support.

However, due to the local context of constrained informal work in Kampala, the value of these livelihoods trainings – which largely teach skills for the informal labour market – as well as the level of responsibility of organisations promoting 'illegal' work must be questioned. Indeed, one significant point of departure from the contemporaneous global discourse on refugee self-reliance and that at the local level in Kampala is the notable absence by training participants of perceiving these trainings as contributing to their dignity and protection. Instead, participants from all areas seek training to gain or improve their livelihoods, and cite paying for food, rent, and school fees as predominant reasons for needing to earn money. In this way, the aim of joining a livelihoods trainings is humble: survival to makes ends meet in the city. Interestingly, the main necessities refugees cited as aiming to buy through income generated from training skills are those covered by the international community in camps and settlements, thus suggesting that trainings merely – and in the best case – help refugees make ends meet rather than increase protection or significantly advance in income or career.

Non-Economic Benefits of Livelihoods Trainings

Although organizational employees were generally evasive about the outcome of livelihoods trainings for refugees, they were quick to cite benefits aside from the direct applicability of trainings. One repeated example was the importance of the certificates awarded upon completion of a livelihoods training. These certificates are useful documents for demonstrating skills and are often one of the only forms of documentation that refugees have after flight. A FRC employee mentioned, for example, several refugees who had returned to the organisation to personally thank her, stating that attaching copies of training certificates to CVs had helped them secure jobs.[630] This demonstrates the value of helping refugees gain 'institutional' recognition of any kind, and can be an important means to help them enter the formal sector.

Even when refugees are unable to develop viable livelihoods directly after trainings, all participants cited the positive effects of trainings on their lives. Trainings provided refugees with a structure for their day, a chance to make friends and form networks, and a way to feel supported in starting a new life in a foreign place. Theories on integration and social interactions emphasise 'processes of social connection within and between groups',[631] which livelihoods trainings provide through creating spaces for refugees to meet each other. In this way, although trainings are mainly centred on refugees and not interactions between refugees and the host population, they still contribute to integration,

630 Interview, FRC Training Officer, 7/6/2015.
631 Ager, A. and Strang, A. (2008) 'Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework', *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 21(2), pp. 166-191.; see also: Putnam (2002) *Democracies in Flux: The Evolution of Social Capital in Contemporary Society.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. P 5.

defined as comprising various networks and linkages between an individual and members of the same group, a state and institutions, and the surrounding society.[632] The social and psychosocial effects of livelihoods training, although hard to quantify, therefore cannot be underestimated.

The myriad challenges of fostering livelihoods in Kampala after participants' completion of livelihoods trainings demonstrate that this form of support is not the panacea for most refugees that refugee self-reliance discourse commonly espouses. A lack of understanding of the on-the-ground reality, under-resourced programmes, and limited attempts to investigate the impact of trainings (likely due in part to limited programme funding) means that livelihoods trainings rarely achieve their purported intention to support refugees' successful livelihoods creation. This was apparent in statements by informants, who commonly lamented their inability to create jobs that could cover the cost of food, rent, and educational supplies for their children. Yet without a means to access material support from organisations, refugees are reliant on the help they can receive – even when it does not go far enough to be helpful, or reflects larger trends of dubious outcomes, as discussed below.

[632] Ager, A. and Strang, A. (2010) 'Refugee Integration: Emerging Trends and Remaining Agendas', *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 23(4): 589-607.; Putnam, R.D. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community.* New York: Simon and Schuster.; Putnam, R.D. (2002) *Democracies in Flux: The Evolution of Social Capital in Contemporary Society.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Discussion

Although urban refugees in Kampala are considered self-reliant by the international community, this and other research has found that their lives and livelihoods remain precarious, and that even after becoming skilled through a training they struggle to earn enough to cover basic necessities. The extent to which this reality aligns and diverges from global discourse on self-reliance, including on protection and dignity for refugees, deserves critical reflection. This discussion reflects on these findings through the concepts of international welfare, instrumentalisation, and reserve army of labour.

International Welfare

Previous chapters of this thesis have examined consistencies between refugee assistance and Western social policy, noting an alignment between the needs of capitalism and the support available to integrate unemployed workers into specific sectors of economies. Here I extend the analysis provided in Chapter 5 by examining the extent to which current refugee self-reliance assistance holds similarities to neoliberal trends present in development discourse and domestic welfare assistance in the Anglophone West.

In particular, livelihoods trainings place refugees under the 'protection' of the market, as livelihoods purportedly offer a path to self-reliance through sustainable work and thus a lack of need for international assistance. Current forms of refugee self-reliance assistance parallel contemporaneous trends in broader welfare assistance in the US and UK, which seek to relieve national welfare programmes of beneficiaries through similarly supporting

citizens to work, sometimes to the point of making benefits contingent on this. However, efforts to assist refugees in entering Kampala's market are fraught with myriad challenges and contradictions, and ultimately represent a disappointing gap between the rhetoric of refugee self-reliance and its on-the-ground reality.

Refugees as Urban Market Subjects

Through the practice of offering livelihoods trainings to refugees in urban areas instead of material items, humanitarian assistance becomes linked to work rather than 'hand-outs'. In this way, refugees are supported to rely not on the international community for assistance but instead on the market itself. This echoes ongoing practices of self-reliance assistance from the previous century but also holds specific parallels to contemporaneous welfare provision in the US and UK. This includes the American 1998 Workforce Investment Act, which aimed to implement programmes to prepare youth and unskilled adults to enter the workforce,[633] and the UK's 2012 Welfare Reform, which sought to reduce welfare spending, in part through increasing employment training and opportunities.[634] These agendas were bolstered by a rhetoric of dignity through work. UK Prime Minister David Cameron stated, for example, 'Compassion isn't measured out in

[633] US Government (1998) Workforce Investment Act of 1998. Public Law 105-220-Aug 7. Available at: https://www.congress.gov/105/plaws/publ220/PLAW-105publ220.pdf. (accessed August 1, 2018)
[634] Critiquing the contemporary concept of 'workfare' in UK politics, which original meant reforms forcing welfare claimants to work in exchange for benefits, Grover writes, for example: '… 'workfarism' [now] represents a reorientation of social policy to make it more 'in tune' with neoliberal growth, for example, the facilitation of flexible labour markets through social policy in the pursuit of a competitive edge in global markets. In this sense social policy has become central to economic restructuring aimed at supporting 'free' markets, rather than being concerned with protecting universal rights that were associated with Keynesianism.' P. 18.

benefit cheques – it's in the chances you give people. The chance to get a job.'[635] Such statements – also present in US discourse at the time[636] – encapsulate the role of education and training in what has been termed 'enterprise culture'. As Peters writes,

> At one and the same time enterprise culture provides the means for analysis and the prescription for change: education and training are key sectors in promoting national economic competitive advantage and future national prosperity. They are seen increasingly as the passport for welfare recipients to make the transition from dependent, passive welfare consumer to an entrepreneurial self.[637]

International welfare for refugees through livelihoods trainings operates in a similar way, promoting neoliberal ideals by training individual refugees as entrepreneurs, rather than, for example, facilitating their entry into formal markets through recertification or expanded professional employment options. This reflects the neoliberal tenet of individualism and entrepreneurialism, as well as emphasises the responsibility of refugees to support themselves through their own job creation. Similar to the discussion of Afghans in Pakistan in the previous chapter, refugees are socially reproduced to become independent market subjects integrated into local economies.

This form of reproduction evokes Marx's discussion of capital production through wage labour as a system that is perpetuated by subjects without the necessary use of direct

[635] The Telegraph (2012) David Cameron's welfare speech in full. June 25. Available at: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/david-cameron/9354163/David-Camerons-welfare-speech-in-full.html. (accessed September 15, 2018)
[636] As Speaker of the US House of Representatives Paul Ryan stated, 'Our goal must be to help people move from welfare into work and self-sufficiency'. See Tirado, L. (2015) America's 'welfare state' is shameful: the UK shouldn't follow our lead. The Guardian, 18 November. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/nov/18/us-welfare-shameful-uk-public-services-private-profit. (accessed September 1, 2018)
[637] Peters, M. (2001) Education, Enterprise Culture and the Entrepreneurial Self. Journal of Educational Enquiry, 2(2): 58-71. P. 60.

force.[638] Yet, perhaps most violently of all, he posits, is the way it serves to elide the chains it creates through their presentation as natural: dependence on capital through wage earnings is one of the 'self-evident natural laws' of capitalism, and thus is rarely disputed. Marx writes,

> The advance of capitalist production develops a working class which by education, tradition and habit looks upon the requirements of that mode of production as self-evident natural laws…In the ordinary run of things, the worker can be left to the "natural laws of production", i.e. it is possible to rely on his dependence on capital, which springs from the conditions of production themselves, and is guaranteed in perpetuity by them.[639]

A dependency on financial capital through wage-labour work and market engagement is similarly normalised in contemporary discourse on refugee self-reliance in both guiding documents and discourse surrounding livelihoods training in Kampala. Importantly, although UNHCR documents discuss the challenges, barriers, and limits to supporting refugee self-reliance, nowhere is the merit of introducing refugees to markets questioned. Instead, refugees are instrumentalised as a means to 'enhance local markets' and livelihoods programmes themselves 'will strive to strengthen the local market by providing an injection of labour, consumers, and traders'.[640] A main aim of the 2014-2018 UNHCR Global Strategy for Livelihoods, for example, is to 'Identify new markets and value chains for agricultural products, assist producers in production and marketing.'[641] Thus, a focus on linking refugees to markets is consistent regardless of the nature of their work. The drop-down menu of UNHCR's Livelihoods webpage offers readers the

[638] Marx holds compelling views on the level of self-reliance that is attainable under capitalism. 'Self-emancipation', or personal liberation, is a running theme in Marx's work, for he viewed the self-emancipation of the proletariat as inherent to the proletariat revolution; his opinions on self-reliance, in contrast, largely come from his negative views on the dependency that wage-labour capitalism induced on its workers.

[639] Marx, K. (1867) Das Kapital. London: Penguin Publishers. P. 899.

[640] UNHCR, 'Global Strategy for Livelihoods'. P. 11.

[641] UNHCR, 'Global Strategy for Livelihoods'. P. 28.

opportunity to learn about 'safe value chains', 'wage employment', 'micro, small and medium enterprises', the 'Graduation Approach', and 'Private Sector Engagement', thereby similarly presenting livelihoods assistance as a means to introduce refugees to markets, finance, and business.[642] Refugees participate in urban market engagement as a main means of accumulation in an era premised on the modern urbanization of capital in part through urban entrepreneurialism.[643] In this way, refugees play a larger role than just enacting their own self-reliance: they contribute, either as workers or abandoned beneficiaries, to the project of global capitalism itself.

International welfare for refugees in Kampala socially reproduces refugees as small-scale market subjects in the informal sector who become self-reliant through entrepreneurship and pose no threat to Kampala's limited formal market. Yet the irony of this stance is the lack of practical steps offered to refugees in Kampala to enter and compete successfully in the local market. Notably, there is a lack of market assessments by organisations to determine which livelihoods trainings might most effectively offer viable livelihoods. The paucity of follow-up support to refugee entrepreneurs after trainings in the form of micro-finance is also striking given research on non-displaced populations that indicates that the level of start-up capital is a strong predictor of business success.[644] As non-nationals, refugees face more barriers than nationals in accessing formal finance, meaning that

[642] UNHCR (2018) Livelihoods. Webpage. Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/uk/livelihoods.html. (accessed September 14, 2018)
[643] Harvey, D. (1985). The urbanisation of capital: studies in the history and theory of capitalist urbanisation.; Louis Moreno & Hyun Bang Shin (2018) Introduction: The urban process under planetary accumulation by dispossession, City, 22(1): 78-87.
[644] See Bates, T. (1997) Race, Self-employment, and Upward Mobility, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.; Fairlie, R.W. and Robb, A. (2008) Race and entrepreneurial success: Black-, Asian-, and White-owned businesses in the United States. Cambridge: MIT Press.

access to capital through entities such as aid and development agencies becomes more necessary. Yet despite awareness of refugees' need for loans and grants in order to start or grow businesses, such capital access by refugee-serving organisations remains inadequate in Kampala.[645] This lack of practical support to better enable successful refugee entrepreneurship is compounded by a lack of widespread programming to help refugees access markets or address significant barriers such as efforts to formalise the local economy through restrictions enforced by KCCA.

The result is limited efforts to truly help refugees competitively enter the local market. Problematically, the emphasis on refugees as individuals and entrepreneurs ultimately places the onus of self-reliance and economic mobility solely on themselves, minimising the structural factors of poverty that refugees encounter in host countries the world over. Rather than achieving self-reliance with 'dignity' after participating in livelihoods trainings, refugees in Kampala often end up in informal work, which may be exploitative or dangerous and usually is not lucrative enough to bring them out of poverty. Despite working, refugees struggle to pay rent, feed their families, and send their children to school – in short, to meet the basic necessities that comprises UNHCR's definition of 'livelihoods': the means through which refugees 'secure the basic necessities of life, such as food, water, shelter and clothing'.[646]

[645] For more on the provision of micro-finance loans in refugee contexts, see: Easton-Calabria, E. & Omata, N. (2016) Micro-finance in Refugee Contexts: Current scholarship and research gaps. *Refugee Studies Centre (RSC) Working Paper Series*, no 116. Oxford: University of Oxford.
[646] UNHCR, 'Global Strategy for Livelihoods'. P. 7.

This reflects one of the problematic paradoxes of current refugee livelihoods and self-reliance programmes: the lack of discussion on the quality of life afforded to those whom become 'self-reliant'. Duffield critiques broader development for supporting populations in achieving only a limited level of improvement in life circumstances, writing:

> …one of the problems is that for the non-insured humanity, international intervention in support of the underdeveloped state promises little. What are being reconstructed are *human* security rather than forms of *social* security states. Compared to the welfare safety-nets and social insurance of consumer society, the future being scripted for the larger part of humanity is a more basic non-material stasis of self-reliance...[647]

The perpetuation of this 'basic… statis of self-reliance' is further evident in Kampala through what organisations are *not* doing to foster refugee self-reliance: rather than providing refugees with both material and livelihoods support, helping refugees gain access to the formal market through offering trainings in areas necessitating highly skilled workers, or significantly addressing structural barriers to entrepreneurship, organisations provide trainings in low-skilled areas of generally small financial returns and fail to help refugees in a widespread manner beyond these trainings. The level of interest in the welfare of these refugees is debatable given the fact that the impact of trainings is only rarely tracked by these organisations. This calls into question the ultimate aim of livelihoods support to refugees in Kampala and the interests they actually serve.

[647] Duffield, M. (2008) Global civil war: The non-insured, international containment and post-interventionary society. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *21*(2): 145-165. P. 161.

The Instrumentalisation of Refugee Self-Reliance Assistance

I argue that refugees are conceptually instrumentalised by humanitarian agencies and international donors through activities such as livelihoods trainings that support largely unattainable visions of self-reliance. The global discourse on refugee self-reliance and the local discourse surrounding livelihoods trainings in Kampala largely align in that both state intentions for refugees to become self-reliant through market engagement. However, to assume that simply providing livelihoods trainings is enough to foster self-reliance is to ignore the significant – and increasing – barriers to employment that many refugees in Kampala and elsewhere face.

Research undertaken by Zetter and Ruaudel indicates that many of the world's refugees are unable to fully exercise their right to work due to restrictive host governments which are reluctant to allow refugees to enter labour markets due to a fear that refugees will take away jobs available to citizens.[648] These considerable legal and political constraints are often not adequately reflected in the implementation of self-reliance and livelihood assistance for refugees. UNHCR and other relief agencies tend to approach the issue of livelihoods and self-reliance from a technical perspective without taking appropriate steps to account for the constraints on refugees' rights and entitlements.[649] While practical implementation is undoubtedly important (such as providing livelihood trainings), the

[648] Zetter, R. and Raudel, H. (2016) Refugees' Right to Work and Access to Labor Markets – An Assessment. Part I: Synthesis (Preliminary). KNOMAD Working Paper and Study Series. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
[649] Omata, N. (2013) Repatriation and Integration of Liberian Refugees from Ghana: The Importance of Personal Networks in the Country of Origin. Journal of Refugee Studies, 26(2): 265–282.

provision of such support makes sense only when refugees have enabling environments to pursue economic autonomy.

Indeed, the environment in which trainings in Kampala take place does not necessarily support refugees' 'entrepreneurial selves'[650] to emerge. Despite the generous laws that Uganda affords refugees, livelihoods opportunities for refugees in Kampala are so constrained that InterAid projects that refugees will begin leaving the city within one to two years. It was explained that, '…[L]ife in Kampala is growing more expensive. The cost of living is growing, and these new by-laws of KCCA are also pushing people away. We [InterAid] expect that soon many refugees may not be able to manage life in Kampala.'[651] This is particularly significant given that Uganda is considered one of the best places for refugees to live in the world.[652]

Refugees become instrumentalised by the international donor community through livelihoods training themselves when the outcome they are intended to create remains at odds with the reality of refugees' lives in their aftermath. Framing these trainings as a reasonable step towards self-reliance runs the risk of providing aid organisations with a justification for reducing assistance to long-term refugees – without the economic structures, policies or protection measures in place to truly foster self-reliance. UNHCR writes, 'Investing in livelihoods activities helps reduce the costs associated with the

[650] Peters, 'Education, Enterprise Culture and the Entrepreneurial Self'.
[651] Interview, Interaid Protection Officer, 5/20/2015.
[652] Hattem, J. (2017) Uganda may be best place in the world to be a refugee. But that could change without more money. *The Washington Post.* June 20. Available at: https://tinyurl.com/ycfryldz. (Accessed September 15, 2018)

provision of aid and protection.'[653] While saving funds is not inherently problematic, the provision of trainings without corresponding support or evidence-based research becomes a cost-effective exit strategy which leaves refugees without follow-up support and programmes, and ultimately at the 'mercy' of the market.

Significantly, this exit strategy has already occurred in Uganda: funding from UNHCR immediately started declining after the inception of the Self-Reliance Strategy.[654] In her study on the Kiryandongo refugee settlement in Uganda, Kaiser illustrates how UNHCR was involved in a process of 'handing over' responsibility for the settlement to the Ugandan government, arguing that the refugees were approaching self-reliance.[655] Before its handover, UNHCR had carefully constructed Kiryandongo's reputation as 'the most successful settlement in Africa'[656] so as to justify its withdrawal. Kaiser notes that this transfer of responsibility from UNHCR to the host government seems to have been driven by impending budget cuts for this refugee settlement rather than by refugees' true independence.

If a main intended outcome of livelihoods trainings is to save international organisations money, then it may not be problematic for donors that trainings in Kampala rarely match market demand and lack the necessary follow-up of capital investment or market access. After receiving livelihoods training, refugees often remain in Kampala and struggle to

[653] UNHCR (2015) Livelihoods, Webpage. Geneva: UNHCR.
[654] Meyer, S. (2006) *The "Refugee Aid and Development" Approach in Uganda: Empowerment and Self-reliance of Refugees in Practice*. UNHCR Working Paper Series, no. 131.
[655] Kaiser, T. (2000) UNHCR's Withdrawal from Kiryandongo: Anatomy of a Handover. New Issues in Refugee Research, UNHCR Working Paper, no. 32. Geneva: UNHCR.
[656] Ibid. P. 12.

become self-reliant, thus relieving the industrialised North of the 'burden' of these refugees crossing into their countries and either entering the economy or 'draining' social services. The government of Uganda is also lauded internationally through the enabling environment it provides refugees, and thus receives funding and positive acclaim it may otherwise not accrue. In this way, the concept of refugee self-reliance is also instrumentalised for the benefit of government officials rather than for the widespread well-being of refugees themselves.

Reserve Army of Labour

Attempts to insert refugees into local and national host country economies such as Kampala's through livelihoods trainings treat refugees as members of the industrial army of labour. Refugees are generally not active members of this army for their work is informal and often erratic. Instead, despite the existence of livelihoods trainings, refugees in Kampala largely remain members of the stagnant reserve army. Marx defined this population as 'a part of the active reserve army but with extremely irregular employment' including informal or part-time work that pays below average wages. Many of the members of the stagnant reserve army were considered by Marx to be paupers, people whose precarious work condition or inability to work often left them in destitution. Pauperism constituted for Marx 'the lowest sediment of the relative surplus population' and he wrote that 'Pauperism is the hospital of the active labo[u]r-army and the dead weight of the industrial reserve army.'[657]

[657] Marx, 'Das Kapital'. P. 167.

As members of the stagnant reserve army of Kampala, refugees also become members of the global stagnant reserve army – the unavoidable surplus population engendered by capitalism and fuelled by globalisation. Since the 1970s, the capitalist economy has increasingly globalised production, contributing to the larger process of globalisation. The appeal of low-waged workforces in the Global South to multinational corporations has led to the 'great global job shift' from the Global North to South, with production and manufacturing largely taking place in low- or middle-income countries.[658] Workers in the Global South who have increasingly taken over jobs from those in the Global North are perceived as part of the global reserve army of labour, characterised by polarised wages between high-income and low-income countries.[659]

Although often excluded from Northern labour markets, refugees are not exceptions to the global reserve army of labour. Many are 'depeasantised' through flight and join the informal economy in urban areas in their host countries or are prevented from doing so through stringent host country restrictions, such as the lack of freedom of movement that restricts many of the world's refugees to lives of encampment. In urban areas, as this chapter has presented, refugees are expected to join the economy in order to survive, but

[658] This shift is posited to have occurred due to the internationalisation of monopoly capital, occurring through the international rise of multinational corporations and the increasing concentration of production globally. Source: Bellamy, J.; McChesney, R.; Jonna, R. (2011) The Internationalization of Monopoly Capital. Monthly Review, June.
[659] Although Marx died before writing his intended book on world trade, he did allude to globalisation in his discussion of the general law of accumulation expanding to the global level. Marx understood that capital in higher-income countries would make use of cheaper labor in other countries, and that more exploitation would occur due to high numbers of surplus labourers in them. Regarding trade relations, 'the privileged country receives more labour in exchange for less,' while, 'the poorer country gives more objectified labour in kind than it receives.' Source: Marx, K. (1867) Das Kapital, vol. 3. London: Penguin. P. 345.

are in fact not provided with the tools or resources to do so effectively. Whereas many of the urban poor in industrial hubs in the Global South are recruited to join low-paying jobs in factories such as those led by multinational corporations, people living in largely non-industrial cities or countries like Uganda face a different story. Rather than becoming the lowest rung of the active labour army through their contribution to the global economy, refugees join the stagnant reserve army.

While members of the global reserve army of labour can be useful to Northern employers as both high- and low-skilled active labourers, the global stagnant reserve army serves capitalists and Northern economies, as well. In an increasingly transnational world, the stagnant reserve army consists of members generally too poor, old, sick, or otherwise marginalised to pose threats as international migrants. Instead, living in slums and working haphazardly in the informal economy, many members simply constitute the urban informal working poor of the Global South, with no recourse for onward movement and thus posing no hazards as foreign vagrants, 'welfare thieves', or competition for nationals in northern markets. This population, therefore, remains 'contained' geographically by their poverty.

Duffield writes that, 'containment functions as a global perimeter fence both separating and reproducing the generic life-chance divide between the developed and underdeveloped worlds' and what he terms 'insured and non-insured populations.'[660] He writes of the strategic nature of development and the political function that the 'constant

[660] Duffield, M. (2008) Global civil war: The non-insured, international containment and post-interventionary society. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *21*(2), 145-165. Pp. 146-7.

rediscovery' of poverty serves, which is presented as fostering threats to liberal order and as the antithesis to progress. It is, therefore, the population of 'paupers' belonging to the stagnant reserve army that development targets and which refugee livelihoods trainings seek to assist.

Conclusion

When we examine the global rhetoric of refugee self-reliance assistance and how it is implemented at the local level in Kampala, we learn that livelihoods are presented as one important pathway to self-reliance but fall short of offering the security and economic stability that discourse commonly espouses. The livelihoods trainings offered to refugees provide them with skills but not with start-up capital or access to the markets they need to create viable businesses. Livelihoods trainings in Kampala are under-resourced and largely unsuitable for the local economy. Refugee-serving organisations also do not adequately address the local law enforced by KCCA of registering businesses and only selling goods with proper licenses.

Refugee participants are assumed to have the ability to become entrepreneurs after trainings but generally lack the necessary follow-up support to create sustainable livelihoods. Many remain unemployed or with haphazard livelihoods, and thus face little to no improvement in welfare upon completion of a training. The 'mismatch' of skills that these trainings offer, combined with the lack of investment in necessary resources for entrepreneurship represent at best negligence by organisations and at worst the

undertaking of programming without the expectation of impact – in other words, the use of livelihoods trainings as a cost-effective exit strategy that mainly benefits international humanitarian and development agencies seeking to reduce the financial burden of protracted refugee situations. The protection that self-reliance is purported to offer refugees thus deserves critical examination as refugees ultimately become members of the urban, informal working poor – the stagnant reserve army of labour about which Marx wrote.

The structural constraints faced by refugees in creating livelihoods in Kampala are reminiscent of the legal environment that impeded refugee 'empowerment' and 'self-reliance' before the 2006 Refugee Act was passed. These restrictions serve as a reminder that refugee livelihoods and self-reliance depend on access to resources and networks, which institutions, laws, and policies inhibit or engender. Indeed, these challenges evoke Meyer's 2006 critique of the SRS, which centred on an approach that 'proposes refugee empowerment without taking into account the social, political and economic context.'[661] This is particularly problematic as in this research, members of national and international organisations – and even refugees themselves – stressed the importance of livelihoods creation as a means to access basic necessities, including food, shelter, and education for children. In this way, engagement in Kampala's local market becomes a substitute for a functioning social welfare system – or for the provision of assistance and protection by international organisations such as UNHCR.

661 Meyer, 'The 'Refugee Aid and Development' Approach in Uganda'. P. 22.

Yet in the current age of globalisation, high unemployment and growing informalisation in the Global South, it is little wonder that livelihoods trainings cannot live up to their rhetoric. Instead, as the case of urban refugee livelihoods trainings in Kampala demonstrates, the 'fostering' of refugee self-reliance is ultimately the normalisation of urban refugees living unassisted, impoverished, and confined to informal work with few chances for upward economic mobility.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

> Surviving on humanitarian assistance and short-term support is not sustainable. To thrive, not just survive, refugees need opportunities, to join and strengthen the fabric of the communities that host them…The Declaration adopted in New York represents a shift in the way we help refugees. It encourages policies that let refugees live and work legally among the local population, policies that benefit refugees and host communities alike. Specifically, it calls on host countries to include refugees in national development programmes so that they are not treated as a separate group excluded from national plans…[662]

This statement by UN High Commissioner Filippo Grandi was prepared in support of the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF), the current large-scale approach to protecting refugees in the face of mass forced displacement today. This thesis opened with an overview of the CRRF, including its aim to develop the self-reliance of refugees. And yet the empirical material of the previous chapters challenges contemporary assistance efforts such as this, which envision themselves as innovative in their aim to link refugees, work, and national development.

This thesis has contributed a historical perspective to the topic of refugee self-reliance. I have explored questions of continuity and change in assistance to foster refugee self-reliance, highlighting similarities and differences in assistance throughout a history that is commonly seen as beginning 35 years ago with the 1979 Arusha Conference instead of

[662] Grandi, F. (2018) Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework. Video speech, available at: http://www.unhcr.org/uk/comprehensive-refugee-response-framework-crrf.html. (accessed September 1, 2018)

nearly a century ago. As part of this aim, I detailed both the specific practices intended to foster refugee self-reliance, its constructed 'beneficiaries' (such as vulnerable refugees or refugee entrepreneurs), and also demonstrated that refugee self-reliance assistance has evolved in parallel with broader trends in global economic and political history.

My thesis shows that refugee self-reliance assistance primarily treats refugees as a source of labour. In different eras, there were multipronged efforts to foster refugee self-reliance through various forms of labour while simultaneously boosting host countries' infrastructure and economic development. The aims of linking refugee self-reliance and national development have therefore remained consistent throughout the history of the international refugee regime, although the means to do so have changed.

The critical Marxist perspective I bring to this history illuminates the role of capital in shaping refugee self-reliance policy, and treats refugee self-reliance assistance itself as a form of 'international welfare' intimately connected to the capitalist system. I utilise the concept of a reserve army of labour to shed light on the uses of refugees through the assistance ostensibly designed to foster their self-reliance, which in fact instrumentalises them through the extraction of both material and conceptual surplus value.

Empirical Findings

This thesis makes a primarily empirical contribution to historical work in Refugee Studies. While Refugee Studies is certainly not bereft of historical research, many of the historical

studies in the field have been restricted to narrow time periods.[663] Those presenting larger history, such as Barnett's history of humanitarianism,[664] often serve as institutional histories either by design (e.g. the history of Oxfam's work on gender, including with refugees[665]) or default.

In this thesis I have sought to accomplish more. Although I, too, was often restricted to institutional archives, I utilised personal archives for my first three chapters and primary research with both refugees and institutions for my fourth chapter. In this way I endeavoured to capture both the granular workings of programmes as well as the immediate and rawer insights that journal entries, letters, and confidential reports that employees of assistance agencies such as Dr. Ruth Palmeree and T.F. Betts offered. These figures are notable in both their work with refugees as well as their extensive documentation of assistance, and in this way are valuable and under-utilised resources in the history of refugee assistance in the 20th century.

Along with a focus on history, I offer a critical addition to existing work on refugee self-reliance and livelihoods. As discussed in the theory chapter, the majority of the work in this area is technical and does not critically engage with current policies or conceptualisations of terms such as self-reliance. Important exceptions to this include

[663] E.g. Skran C. (1995) Refugees in Inter-War Europe: The Emergence of a Regime. Oxford: Clarendon Press.; Gatrell, P. (2005) *A whole empire walking: refugees in Russia during World War I*. Indiana University Press.
[664] Barnett, M.N. (2011) Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
[665] Porter, F., Smyth, I. A., & Sweetman, C. (Eds.) (1999) *Gender works: Oxfam experience in policy and practice*. Oxford: Oxfam.

Kaiser, Meyer, and Hunter,[666] yet these pieces were written before the introduction of the 2009 Urban Refugee Policy and thus do not reflect changes in the rights afforded to (or at least promoted for) refugees. Omata's recent book on Liberian refugees in Ghana is an important up-to-date addition to this literature that this thesis situates itself beside.[667] My findings reinforce his claim that, unless more widely discussed, the 'universal celebration of refugees' livelihoods, social capital and self-reliance will continue to disguise the flaws of existing humanitarian response to prolonged refugee situations.'[668]

However, what unfortunately remains largely lacking for much of the history I detail is the perspective of those refugees receiving assistance. In some instances books such as Clark's 'Twice a Stranger' and more recent anthropological studies such as Malkki's and Daley's work on refugees in Tanzania, and Hirschon's study of Greek refugees in Kokkinia, Greece, shed valuable light on how refugees themselves were impacted by self-reliance assistance.[669] In others, exciting archival discoveries such as the letter by the Greek refugee Ignatios Tsakalopoulos to the League of Nations provided further information. However, it was in part due to the paucity of refugee perspectives that I chose to bring this thesis 'up to the present' and conduct primary qualitative research with refugees in Uganda. As I reflected on in the methods section of my introduction, archival research can be understood as an ethnography of the past while contemporary

[666] Kaiser, 'Between a Camp and a Hard Place'; Meyer, '*The "Refugee Aid and Development" Approach in Uganda*'; Hunter, 'The failure of self-reliance'.
[667] Omata, N. (2017) *The Myth of Self-Reliance: Economic Lives Inside a Liberian Refugee Camp*. Oxford: Berghahn.
[668] Ibid. P. 157.
[669] Clark, B. (2007) Twice a stranger: How mass expulsion forged modern Greece and Turkey. London: Granta.; Malkki, 'Purity and Exile'.; Daley, 'Refugees and Underdevelopment'.; Hirschon, 'Heirs of the Greek catastrophe'.

ethnographic research can act as an archive of the present. Through employing both archival and ethnographic methods, I sought to complementarily utilise both historical and contemporary research in order to provide a fuller picture of how refugee self-reliance assistance has changed over time.

I also sought to mitigate the 'top-down' nature of institutional archival research through my subject matter itself. Instead of taking the concept of refugee self-reliance for granted, I instead question both its meaning and application in practice. I do not assume that assistance to foster refugee self-reliance is inherently beneficial for refugees or even designed to be so; instead I cast a critical eye on institutional self-reliance practices as well as point out instances in which refugees' own practices of self-reliance were discouraged or discarded. Indeed, the inspiration for this thesis began when I first read archival reports on refugees in Tanzania in the 1970s who were being put in the camp prison for fishing or carving instead of farming – I was stunned by the blatant suppression of refugee agency in order to fulfil the ulterior motives of crop planting for national exportation. A repeated disregard of refugees' own skills and self-reliance strategies solidified for me the importance of delving deeper into critical questions such as for whom and with which results self-reliance for refugees has been and continues to be promoted.

This history demonstrates that the main practices to foster refugee self-reliance – agricultural settlement, vocational training, micro-finance, public works, and employment-matching – have remained consistent since the inception of the international refugee regime, although particular practices have been paramount in different eras.

Large-scale vocational training in the form of livelihoods training has, for example, re-emerged since the 1980s after being largely dormant since the Second World War. However, refugee self-reliance assistance has since its inception shifted from emphasising the placement of refugees into formal work, such as the ILO's employment matching scheme in the 1920s, to promoting refugees' informal work through livelihoods training and entrepreneurship today. There has also been a shift from focusing on refugees' agricultural livelihoods to urban (self-)employment.

Throughout the history of refugee self-reliance assistance, focus has shifted from supporting the collective self-reliance of populations, including those living in refugee settlements, to promoting individual forms of self-reliance, such as providing livelihoods trainings to foster individual entrepreneurship. Refugee self-reliance assistance from the interwar period up to the early 1980s demonstrates a focus by assistance agencies on collective self-reliance at the level of communities, such as the growing of cash and subsistence crops in rural Tanzanian settlements. However, the self-reliance assistance practices after the mid-1980s de-emphasised this approach, in part due to urbanisation. For example, self-reliance assistance for Afghan refugees shifted in the 1980s to vocational training targeting individuals as entrepreneurs rather than addressing mass unemployment through public works projects. This individual focus has extended to the present day, illustrated by the primary emphasis on livelihoods trainings as self-reliance assistance for urban refugees in Kampala. These changes in self-reliance assistance's intended beneficiaries stem in part from a larger neoliberal shift in development from

collective efforts to address poverty and inequality to focusing on individuals' ability to navigate adversities alone.

Examining the *longue durée* of refugee self-reliance reveals parallels to broader shifts in development and welfare practice, such as strengthening the protection that states are capable of offering to fostering self-reliance in the *absence* of states. Western welfare reforms have progressively stripped welfare programmes of their core linkages to central governments, and instead increasingly advocate beneficiaries' reliance on the market through their own employment to attain basic necessities. The 1980s saw a shift in both domestic and international welfare to neoliberal modes of self-reliance assistance that promote market engagement through individualism and entrepreneurialism over Keynesian-esque collective employment initiatives. Through these livelihoods and self-reliance initiatives undertaken by the international refugee regime, I posit that the main 'solution' for refugees is challenged: refugee assistance does not only aim to restore people into the nation-state system but into *economic* systems, as well.

My findings also demonstrate that refugee self-reliance assistance was bottom-up and largely ad hoc during the interwar years yet became part of top-down, technocratic development efforts after World War II. In the 1920s and 1930s, refugee self-reliance played a central role in refugee assistance, exemplified through the employment of refugees in the High Commission for Refugees and Nansen Office, refugee funding of the Nansen Stamp Fund, ILO's employment-matching scheme and efforts to place refugees in urban or rural areas based on past livelihoods. After World War II, refugee self-reliance,

and thus the role of refugees themselves, became ancillary, with the predominant focus shifting to host country development. Refugees were forced onto agricultural settlements that implemented block farming for cash crops, and were incarcerated if found engaging in alternative methods of self-reliance. In this way, the international refugee regime changed from being inclusive towards refugees to largely exclusive, further evidenced through the declining employment levels of refugees by assistance agencies as the League's High Commission was eventually replaced by UNHCR. While interwar era assistance assuredly instrumentalised refugees, it also necessitated the role of refugees as active participants in the fostering of their own self-reliance in both entrepreneurial and organisational capacities, the periods thereafter involved refugees more passively as beneficiaries. Refugees in Tanzanian settlements in the 1970s, for example, were part of 'hollow' leadership structures while Afghans in the 1990s were rarely in leadership positions within NGOs designed to promote their independence.[670]

Concomitant with this was the reconceptualisation of refugees from capable workers (with skills that may have differed from the primary interests of their host countries) to members of a vulnerable population. Since the new millennium the construction of refugees has arguably shifted back towards refugees as active agents with skills and value to contribute to host societies, with repeated calls for refugee 'participation'.[671] However refugees are

[670] Weiner, M., Banuazizi, A., Barfield, T., Choucri, N., Gakenheimer, R., Moavenzadeh, F., Rothenberg, J. (1991) A Feasibility Study Prepared by the Reconstruction Group of the Center for International Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. PN-ABS-658-90358. P. 63.
[671] See for example the language in: UNHCR (2017) A Guide to Market-Based Livelihoods Interventions for Refugees. Geneva: UNHCR. The document opens with: 'Refugees are people with marketable skills and abilities, and a strong motivation to build their own livelihoods.' (n.p.)

rarely embedded in assistance efforts in ways other than as beneficiaries and in this way the international refugee regime maintains largely exclusionary programming.[672]

This thesis documents trends in refugee self-reliance assistance through identifying and exploring 'model' self-reliance programmes in different countries, yet it can in no way be considered a thorough history of refugee self-reliance assistance. In addition to only documenting four cases across nearly a century, my analysis of practices and trends was largely dominated by the League of Nations and UNHCR – Western international assistance agencies. A radically different view of refugee self-reliance assistance during this time period may have become apparent had this thesis focused instead on faith-based or indigenous conceptualisations and practices of self-reliance. This gap opens up an exciting potential area of further study.

The case studies I chose are also not comparable in terms of definitions of refugees or the scope of study – nor was this my intention. Ethnic Greek refugees arising out of a permanent population exchange and naturalized as Greek citizens were likely conceptualised by their host state Greece very differently than Afghan refugees were by Pakistan, who in turn shared a distinct cultural identity with their hosts not emulated in other cases. I also was not able to focus on a specific refugee nationality in my case study of refugee self-reliance in Tanzania and Uganda, meaning that the 'recipients' of self-reliance were more varied in some case studies than in other. Given these obvious points of disjuncture, I sought consistency through identifying and exploring model programmes

[672] Easton-Calabria, E. (2016) 'From Participation to Partnership: Refugee-Run Organisations as Important Actors in Development'. *FMR,* Issue 52, pp. 72-74. Oxford: University of Oxford.

to foster refugee self-reliance in different eras, as heralded by dominant actors in refugee assistance and the wider public at the time. This uniformity of focus allowed me a coherence across time and space, and I argue, demonstrates the consistency with which refugee self-reliance has been present throughout the history of the international refugee regime.

Contribution of Theory

In this thesis I make two contributions to critical theory in Refugee Studies: first, I apply a Marxian approach to both archival and contemporary empirical material, and second, I offer an integrated theoretical framework of international welfare based on Marxist-inspired critical welfare studies according to Ferguson et al., who analyse welfare according to the classical Marxism tradition.[673] This vein of critical welfare studies provides a Marxian critique of how social support can serve other interests besides those of its beneficiaries, and thus offers a useful lens through which to examine refugee self-reliance assistance. To the best of my knowledge, this perspective has not previously been brought to Refugee Studies.

The holistic critical theoretical perspective this thesis takes demonstrates the utility of Marxian frameworks for analysis in International Development and Refugee Studies, and contributes to work linking humanitarianism and capitalism, such as that by Ashworth

[673] Ferguson, I., Lavalette, M., & Mooney, G. (2002) *Rethinking welfare: A critical perspective*. London: Sage.

and Haskell.[674] Although Marxism is seeing an academic 'comeback' in some form, many scholars are still loath to employ Marxist concepts in their own work. Based on the contribution this perspective made to my thesis, I argue the value of a Marxian approach and have striven to demonstrate the value of specific Marxist concepts throughout. In so doing, I intend for this thesis to contribute to critical theoretical discussion and reflection in Refugee Studies.

Creating a theoretical framework of international welfare offered a means to examine refugee self-reliance assistance's connections to the needs of the capitalist system as it has evolved over the last century. It also created a lens through which to better understand how refugee assistance links refugees to the needs of capital. Critical welfare studies posits that aspects of welfare integral to upholding functions of the capitalist state are processes of accumulation, reproduction, and legitimation/repression.[675] I therefore sought to identify these elements in refugee self-reliance assistance in the programmes and projects I researched, in order to ascertain whether this assistance acted as a form of welfare for refugees. This analysis was complemented by historical parallels between refugee self-reliance assistance and Anglophone Western welfare systems. I drew on US and UK welfare systems due to these countries' high level of influence in shaping international development discourse.

[674] Ashworth, J. (1987). The relationship between capitalism and humanitarianism. *The American historical review*, *92*(4), 813-828.; Haskell, T. L. (1985a) Capitalism and the origins of the humanitarian sensibility, Part 1. *The American Historical Review*, *90*(2), 339-361.; Haskell, T. L. (1985b) Capitalism and the origins of the humanitarian sensibility, Part 2. *The American Historical Review*, 90(3), 547-566.
[675] Gough, I. (1980) Thatcherism and the welfare state: Britain is experiencing the most far-reaching experiment in 'new right' politics in the western world. Marxism Today, pp. 7- 12. P. 9. Note: Gough draws on James O'Connor's analysis of welfare and capitalism: O'Connor, J. (1973) The Fiscal Crisis of the State. London: St James Press.

My interest in viewing this history through a Marxian perspective arose first out of what I perceived as a problematic linkage in current rhetoric on refugee livelihoods and self-reliance to the economic rather than the holistic wellbeing of refugees. Based on the technical, economic focus of most policy and programmatic literature on the subject, the relevance of refugees' linkages to economies was clear. An economic emphasis on refugees and refugee assistance is present in work by scholars such as Duffield and Castles but generally focuses more broadly on migrants and thus bypasses the opportunity to critically reflect on refugees' roles in economies as well as the specific role of refugee assistance in incorporating refugees into them. The focus of my thesis on the assistance provided to foster refugee self-reliance provides an in-depth historical and contemporary examination of these roles, thereby bringing a much-needed critical and empirically-grounded perspective to refugees and economies.

Notably, an international welfare theoretical framework is not limited to an analysis of refugee assistance but instead can be extended to other sectors that entail provider-beneficiary relationships in the international sphere. These include humanitarianism, development, and even the field of health. Refugees provide a powerful case study for examining the power relations present in the provision of international assistance, and this theoretical framework offers Refugee Studies in particular an opportunity to engage with Marxist concepts through a structural examination of refugee assistance.

Within my theoretical framework I expanded on Marx's concept of surplus value to include material and conceptual surplus value. With these concepts, I sought to identify the gains of actors beyond refugees themselves, notably host and donor governments and international assistance agencies; I termed this instrumentalisation. In addition, I employed Marxist theoretical concepts in the spirit of the classical Marxist tradition. The concept of reserve army of labour offered a means to identify the ways that refugees have been embedded into economies as labourers. Through the different varieties of labourer that Marx presents – the latent, floating, and stagnant reserve army of labour – it is possible to examine different forms of instrumentalisation related to efforts to foster refugee self-reliance. For example, ethnic Greek refugees in interwar Greece were involved in boosting Greece's economy as a latent reserve army that provided agricultural benefits. While this usage differed from Marx's original conceptualisation, in that workers were in agricultural rather than urban areas, it retained the focus on the use of labourers according to gaps in the labour market and thus was a similar application of the concept as other analyses, which range from feminist critiques to modern economic analyses.[676] In contrast to the work of the latent reserve army, the informal and haphazard work of urban refugees in Kampala incorporates them in to the local and global economy as a stagnant reserve army, which contributes largely through their *non-contribution* as informal labourers who remain too poor to migrate onwards or pose significant threats to Kampala's local economy. My employment of these concepts throughout the thesis

[676] See for example: Bruegel, I. (1979) Women as a reserve army of labour: a note on recent British experience. *Feminist Review*, *3*(1), 12-23.; Kalpagam, U. (1985) Women and the Industrial Reserve Army: A Reappraisal. *Social Scientist*, 95-115.

demonstrate their application in different contexts and scopes multi-layered potential to capture refugees' utility as workers to different actors in various contexts.

While the focus of this thesis is critical simply due to the nature of questions posed, the Marxian examination of refugee self-reliance assistance contributes a specific critical lens to the field. Applying this lens to the history of refugee self-reliance allowed the tracing of refugees' material and conceptual surplus value, thereby accounting for both economic, discursive, and other ways that refugees were instrumentalised. As I delved deeper into Marx's work and literature applying Marxist concepts, a further valuable and what I argue necessary component of this lens became evident: Marx's focus on systemic wholes. Drawing on Hegelian philosophy, Marx discussed this as the *totality* of systems, wherein even seemingly disparate elements of economies or societies were in fact connected. For the purposes of this thesis, this particular viewpoint provided a means to examine connections spanning the 'productive work' of refugees in settlements and global macro-economic changes as well as the particular practices of refugee self-reliance assistance and parallels to contemporaneous Anglophone Western welfare systems. This theoretical approach therefore offered the means to examine micro-situations, such as particular refugee assistance programmes, without losing sight of their relevance to and influence by macro trends and events. Through case studies detailing specific refugee self-reliance programmes in particular time periods, this work extends the macro analyses offered by scholars such as Duffield and Castles, which critically discuss refugees within capitalism systems but rarely provide specific case studies to substantiate their claims.

At the same time, I also experienced limitations with the theoretical framework I employed. The many strands of Marxism and corresponding slew of critiques were often difficult to parse through; indeed, I could have written an entire thesis focusing on how particular elements of Marxism might be applied to study refugees. Instead I chose to create a looser theoretical framework that captured the materialist spirit of Marxism without delving into the ideology of revolution or incorporating in the work of many of Marx's successors. By drawing on concepts from the classical Marxist tradition, I felt best able to do justice to my empirics and not obscure them in theory.

In an effort to stay true to my empirics, the scope of the theoretical concepts I employed varied greatly between chapters. In my first empirical chapter, for example, I focused on the role that the rise of the modern nation-state system and corresponding international economy played in refugee self-reliance assistance. This focus was much narrower by my fourth empirical chapter on contemporary refugee livelihoods in Kampala, Uganda, which centred analysis on the urban local economy and refugees' resulting roles as a stagnant reserve army of labour. While the ability for a theoretical framework to vary scope between the micro and macro is undeniably a strength, it also meant that I was sometimes forced to make hard decisions about how to capture the granularity of specific chapter contexts through theoretical concepts while still ensuring the overall coherence in scope throughout the thesis. For example, although I employed the concept of the stagnant reserve army of labour for both Afghan refugees in Pakistan and urban refugees in Kampala, I focused on different aspects of these concepts and, as my cases themselves demonstrate, different scopes (i.e. the particularity of one nationality of refugees in a

country versus many nationalities in one particular city). Ultimately, I sought to 'follow' my empirical material as much as possible, and utilise those concepts which best allowed the story I had found in the archives to emerge.

In part, challenges in applying theory also arose out of my largest methodological limitation: the differing amounts of primary material accessible from different time periods. While institutional material was available throughout the 20th century and into the present, it was harder to access other primary documents for my first case study in the interwar period. Due to language and funding limitations, I was unable, for example, to visit local archives in Greece which hold collections of testimonies and personal documents by refugees themselves. For the first half of the 20th century there was also a limited amount of primary documents available as well as less secondary literature focusing on these time periods to draw on. In contrast, beginning in the 1980s and in particular with the creation of Refugee Studies as a discipline, the amount of secondary academic material burgeoned. This coincided with increased amounts of primary material by institutions, as the professionalization of humanitarianism and the ease of computers led to increased levels of documentation, including the increased availability of online archives. Therefore, while I had less material to select from and analyse for my first case study, the sheer volume of archival availability for my third case study in particular necessitated strict discernment about which programmes to focus on. Another inevitable component of my archival research was my reliance on different forms of archival cataloguing, which meant that I often was not sure what I would discover in particular

grey boxes or files. While this was both challenging and exciting, it ultimately means that my narrative is shaped by what I found in the archives as well as what I didn't.

A further theoretical challenge I encountered was the necessity of situating my framework within the structuralism versus agency of Marxist approaches. As the spectrum of Marxism that I reviewed in my theory chapter demonstrates, perspectives on 'whodunnit?' vary greatly even among Marxists. At times, the tension between structure and agency could not be fully resolved through my empirical material. Archival reports on refugee assistance programmes rarely reveal individual actors beyond the author, or denote how specific agencies or programmes fit within the larger constellation of assistance. While the latter was often possible to understand after extensive research, I still felt unable in most cases to claim knowledge of intentions or of catalysts that set changes to refugee self-reliance assistance in motion. This posed challenges in answering my third sub-question focused on identifying the interests that refugee self-reliance assistance served in particular time periods. To this end, process tracing or researching the work of particular influential individuals within institutions or in policy formation may have revealed more; however, my ultimate aim with this thesis was not to explain *why* changes occurred but rather to explain *how* the conceptualisations and practices to foster refugee self-reliance assistance changed over time. Although I believe I was successful in answering my main research question, the inability to definitively attribute these changes to particular actors or structures was unsatisfying. Instead, I sought to demonstrate parallels wherever possible and appropriate, such as linkages in the scope and practice of refugee self-reliance assistance and contemporaneous welfare programmes.

Practical and policy implications

More than a decade ago Jeff Crisp wrote, 'Since its inception…refugee studies has been notoriously ahistorical. Preoccupied with the latest emergency and with the plight of living people, researchers in this area of study have all too rarely looked into the past.'[677] This still rings true for the discipline, particularly in literature regarding refugee self-reliance and how best to foster it. Without knowledge of past assistance practices we are unable to identify either truly novel innovations or draw on lessons from past assistance efforts that may be beneficial today. Instead, we risk succumbing to what Scott-Smith terms 'humanitarian neophilia', wherein supposedly new methods connected to markets and technology are perceived as cures that ultimately pose threats to the independence that humanitarianism has long held as a core principle.[678] This thesis has sought to address this gap through detailed historical case studies on 'models' of refugee self-reliance assistance, which were often conceived of as new at the time of implementation. Through these case studies, 'reincarnations' of similar practices are clearly evident.

Zonal development, which became popular in the 1960s and 1970s in Africa, is a fitting example of the reincarnation of past refugee aid and development programmes that have occurred throughout the history of the international refugee regime. Sometimes, these repetitions have been obscured by discursive changes, such as from the 1920s

[677] Crisp J. (2003) No Solution in Sight: The Problem of Protracted Refugee Situations in Africa, Center for Comparative Immigration Studies (CCIS) Working Paper No. 68. CCIS: San Diego. P. 223.
[678] Scott-Smith, T. (2016). Humanitarian neophilia: the 'innovation turn'and its implications. *Third World Quarterly*, *37*(12): 2229-2251. P. 2233.

'rehabilitation' and 'self-sufficiency' to the 1960s 'animation' of refugees, yet strategies virtually identical to zonal development appeared under other names in the 1980s and more recent decades. However, zonal development has been largely forgotten and these later programmes remain largely ascribed to the 1979 Arusha Conference.

Examining where solutions are needed in refugee assistance with knowledge of this history is important, for, in cases, the failed rural settlements of the 1960s and 1970s have become the refugee camps of today, with many persisting practical challenges. Ongoing problems include inadequate planning for refugee camps, such as lack of soil testing, and a disregard for refugees' own methods of livelihoods creation. Kaiser's examination of long-term Sudanese refugees in Uganda, for example, discusses problems of soil quality and inadequate settlement plot size[679] — precisely the same issues as reported by Betts on the same population in 1960s Uganda.[680] In 2010, UNHCR cited 'lack of early planning' as a major issue in responding to displacement,[681] echoing discussions and disappointing results from previous decades.

A lack of historical awareness also occludes knowledge of protracted challenges in camp administration and programme implementation where change would be most beneficial. More comprehensive knowledge of historical refugee assistance diminishes the critiqued ahistoricity of Refugee Studies and also offers opportunities for the critical examination of discourse and practice in refugee aid and development. Analysing the longer history of

[679] Kaiser, 'Between a Camp and a Hard Place'.
[680] Betts, 'Sudanese Refugees in Uganda'.
[681] UNHCR (2010) Concept Note: Transitional Solutions Initiative—UNDP and UNHCR in Collaboration with the World Bank. Geneva: UNHCR. P. 7.

refugee self-reliance assistance in particular offers insight into the administration design that better enabled successful refugee self-reliance in the past, and the construction of refugees that accompanied it. The long-standing practical and social issues highlighted here continue to negatively affect refugee assistance and point towards areas in need of different approaches. Most significant is a change from the bottom-up to top-down administration and implementation of agricultural settlements, vocational training, and microfinance and income-generating projects that persist today. These findings warrant not only more comprehensive historical research, but a closer examination of current efforts that may be termed 'innovative', for this research suggests that the structure of self-reliance assistance needs more attention than what is being provided—findings relevant for broader consideration in both policy and practice.

Reflecting on older African settlements, a 1985 Refugee Policy Group report stated 'Refugee participation may be the concept with the worst ratio of rhetoric to reality in the entire refugee assistance system'.[682] The relevance of this statement to refugee self-reliance assistance today makes it important to question how current practices within the sector addresses the abiding lack of affected community participation. Despite a contemporary emphasis on participatory approaches within refugee assistance, new partnerships have largely been forged outside of affected communities,[683] instead of evaluating and adjusting the structures through which assistance is provided. Findings from a recent Oxfam consultation of refugee-led and other civil society organisations in

682 RPG (1985) Older Refugee Settlements in Africa: Final Report. Washington, DC: Refugee Policy Group. P. 104.
683 UNHCR, 'Global Strategy for Livelihoods'.

refugee-hosting countries found that local organisations continue to be neglected in policymaking and other decision-making processes surrounding refugees.[684] Similarly, UNHCR's 2014–2018 Global Strategy for Livelihoods aims to promote affected communities' rights of work and development through participation, yet nowhere states refugees or other displaced people as potential partners in these endeavours.[685] In this way, despite a discourse of refugee capability in UNHCR's Livelihoods Unit, programme implementation is reminiscent of post-war administration in that it is still driven by actors other than refugees themselves. The current rhetoric of refugee agency is important, but has yet to be actualized within the institutional implementation of assistance, and participatory and inclusive approaches remain underemployed.[686]

The findings of this thesis also make several contributions to policies on refugees' right to work and other policies focusing on fostering refugee self-reliance. First, this thesis provides historical and contemporary evidence demonstrating how refugee self-reliance assistance is linked to larger economic and social trends, and thus does not exist in a vacuum. Instead, these case studies demonstrate how refugee policies around work and self-reliance are created not just for refugees but in light of various national and international economic and other interests.

684 International Refugee Congress (2018) International Refugee Congress 2018 Consultation Report. Istanbul: Oxfam Turkey. Available at: http://www.refugeecongress2018.org/resources-files/Consultation_Report_2018_March_03.05.2018.pdf. (accessed May 5, 2018)
685 UNHCR, 'Global Strategy for Livelihoods'.
686 Betts, A. and Bloom, L. (2013) The Two Worlds of Humanitarian Innovation, RSC Working Paper Series, 94. Oxford: Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford Department of International Development. P.3.

This thesis has explored both the benefits and harms of linking the process and outcome of refugee self-reliance to ulterior interests, and thus provides further lessons for both policy and practice. For example, refugee self-reliance assistance during the interwar years sought to help refugees become commercial farmers able to grow cash crops such as tobacco to boost Greece's export economy. Refugees were encouraged to take out loans in order to do so, but faced challenges in both loan repayment and in feeding themselves and their families when cash crops such as tobacco rapidly dropped in prices on the global market. I discuss this in the chapter as a form of instrumentalisation, wherein an ulterior motive is achieved through efforts to foster refugee self-reliance.

Ultimately, it is crucial for policymakers and those working to uphold and promote just rights for refugees that the longstanding multi-pronged nature of refugee self-reliance assistance be recognised. It is my hope that the risks that come with this, such as cash crop farming that impedes subsistence farming and thus refugees' ability to access food, and rapidly declining funds that force assistance agencies to make hard choices about provisions for 'vulnerable people', will be more concretely discussed through the evidence provided in this thesis. This work therefore contributes to calls for refugee policies that are not dictated by ulterior considerations but instead arise out of refugees' core needs and capabilities, as they themselves define them.

Future directions

This thesis ends with several beginnings for further projects. Empirically, much remains to be unearthed in archives. In particular, a more in-depth exploration of how specific programmes and policies relating to refugee self-reliance assistance were formulated would provide a clearer understanding of how individuals, particular contexts, and the interactions between international agencies and host country governments guided decision-making around how best to foster refugee self-reliance at different times. To this end, an in-depth study of the creation and evolution of a particular programme or policy could provide a clear snapshot that could then be compared and contrasted with other studies.

This thesis also raises the crucial question of how refugees themselves define self-reliance. Although this was explored to a certain extent in my study of urban refugees in Kampala, extensive qualitative research on this would greatly add to contemporary discussions of refugee self-reliance and livelihoods. This would complement the small body of existing work focusing on refugee agency in relation to these topics.[687]

[687] See Barbelet and Wake (2017) Livelihood strategies of Central African refugees in Cameroon. London: Overseas Development Institute (ODI); Field, J., Tiwari, A.D., Mookherjee, Y. (2017) Refugee Self-Reliance in Delhi: The Limits of a Market-Based Approach, Pp. 37-72. In: Making Lives: Refugee Self-Reliance and Humanitarian Action in Cities (eds Fiori, J. and Rigon, A.) London: Humanitarian Affairs Team, Save the Children; For non-academic explorations of refugee perspectives, see Ground Truth Solutions (2018) Should I stay or should I go? 30 January. Available at: http://groundtruthsolutions.org/2018/01/30/should-i-stay-or-should-i-go/. (accessed March 1, 2018)

Theoretically, this thesis demonstrates the utility of a Marxian approach in the study of refugees. While only concepts drawn from the classical Marxist tradition were employed here, a breadth of theoretical tools from Marxist scholars that span the material to the ideational could be used to understand different aspects of refugee assistance relating to such topics as power, discourse, and the economy. Utilising Marx also offers the possibility to develop integrated theoretical frameworks that draw on other theorists. A small body of theory for example employs both Marx and Foucault, arguing that Marx allows examination of the 'why' of power while Foucault answers its 'how', with Foucault's genealogical analysis seen as separate from but complementary to Marxist theory.[688] Such theoretical integrations could serve to more comprehensively analyse both historical and contemporary refugee situations, and could perhaps address some of the theoretical limitations I faced in ascribing actors to particular processes.

Among other possibilities for practical next steps, this thesis also offers the potential approach of revisiting the idea of 'collective' self-reliance. Currently, refugees' self-reliance is largely viewed as an 'individual' or 'private' matter, which leads to a reduced emphasis on the communal attainment of self-reliance and even risks exacerbating inequalities amongst refugees. As highlighted in my empirical chapters, however, for much of its history the international refugee regime focused on self-reliance beyond the level of the individual. Today the international refugee regime may again benefit from

[688] See Jan Selby, J. (2003) *Water, Power and Politics in the Middle East: The Other Israeli–Palestinian Conflict.* London: I.B. Tauris.; Fraser, N. (2003) From discipline to flexibilization? Rereading Foucault in the shadow of globalization. *Constellations*, *10*(2), 160-171.; Smart, B. (2013) *Foucault, Marxism and critique*. London: Routledge.

supporting collective aspects of refugees' economic autonomy – without neglecting a responsibility to provide enabling environments and necessary resources.

Final Word

Ruth Palmeree provides a refugee in Greece with a loan to buy seeds in the 1920s. T.F. Betts advocates that another in 1970s Tanzania sell his wood carvings, a craft he brought with him from Burundi. UNHCR employs an Afghan refugee in Pakistan in 1988 as a social animator. The Jesuit Refugee Service trains a woman in Uganda in arts and crafts in 2015.

And then?

Based on the findings of this thesis, the purported intended endings of these stories – self-reliance – are not assured. Crops may go bad or the international market demand can suddenly drop. Settlement administrators may forbid particular livelihoods activities, or a host country may crack down on informal work. An international assistance agency may face funding cuts or withdraw completely. After three months, a new business may fail.

And so?

The stories in this thesis and its larger narrative demonstrate that refugee self-reliance is a dynamic concept and practice. Its institutional history in the 20th and 21st century reveal much – continuities and changes; suppression and resurgence; links to larger social,

political, and economic processes. Different strategies have been preferred by host and donor governments and international assistance agencies over time, with varying motives and results. Archival research reveals that contemporary practices have been employed, sometimes successfully, since the 1920s. Yet their structure and form of implementation have changed. And the concept itself has changed meaning, at one point being defined as the 'natural' ability to live without institutionally-provided aid, and at another as food security in the face of cuts to assistance. Its shift in wording, notably from the common term of 'self-sufficiency' to 'self-reliance' over time, as well as related terms such as 'rural animation' and 'self-help', demonstrates more of a repackaging than an authentic innovation of these practices. These terms may complicate its tracing but do not obscure its persistence as a valuable concept in the international refugee regime.

As we enter the next chapter of refugee self-reliance assistance, with self-reliance a 'pillar' of the CRRF and the employment of refugees in Europe perceived as crucial, it would be wise to remember that definitions and practices of this assistance do little to explicate how refugees define and live out *their own* self-reliance. This thesis reveals the persistent neglect of refugee agency over nearly a century of self-reliance assistance, and thereby the largest contradiction of this history. Indeed, following the interests and activities of refugees themselves, rather than those of instrumentalising benefactors, may be the most successful means found yet to support refugees as agents rather than subjects of self-reliance.

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