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Livelihood Security Among Refugees in Uganda: Opportunities, Obstacles, and Physical Security Implications

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Abstract

This research project was designed to investigate the challenges refugees face in securing a livelihood, to understand the extent to which the United Nations, the government of Uganda, and various aid groups are able to assist refugees in achieving self-reliance, and the capacity that refugees have to empower themselves. It also endeavors to expose any disparities between nationality groups, and the impact of these differences. Furthermore, this project aims to explore the impact of refugee livelihood security on regional physical security and community stability.

The study found that despite international and national policies, and efforts by both non-governmental organizations and refugees to promote livelihood security, the lack of resources available to these offices, the unfavorable business and living conditions inhibiting refugees, and the pervasiveness of dependency prevent long-term solutions for livelihood security and self-reliance from being implemented. It further concludes that the cycle of poverty and dependency will likely continue, especially among Congolese refugees who are the least successful nationality group in securing their livelihoods, unless long-term empowerment and capacity building plans replace short-term handouts as a solution to income and food insecurity. Lastly, regional violence, particularly regarding rebel movements, cannot be addressed until basic human insecurity, including livelihood security among refugees, is also acknowledged and ameliorated. [*excerpt*]

Keywords

Uganda, refugees, livelihood, security

Disciplines

African Languages and Societies | African Studies | Agricultural and Resource Economics | Community-Based Research | Critical and Cultural Studies | Demography, Population, and Ecology | Ethnic Studies | Family, Life Course, and Society | Gender, Race, Sexuality, and Ethnicity in Communication | Income Distribution | Inequality and Stratification | International and Area Studies | Peace and Conflict Studies | Place and Environment | Race and Ethnicity | Race, Ethnicity and Post-Colonial Studies | Social and Cultural Anthropology | Social Influence and Political Communication | Social Welfare | Work, Economy and Organizations

Comments

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(*Lake Albert, Congolese Border, Kyangwali, Hoima District, Uganda- Photo taken by author)

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Livelihood Security Among Refugees in Uganda: Opportunities, Obstacles, and Physical Security Implications

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Acronyms

AAH-I	Action Africa Help-International
ADF	Allied Democratic Forces
AGDM	Age, Gender, Diversity Mainstreaming

ARC	American Refugee Committee
COBURWAS	Congolese, Burundians, Rwandans, and Sudanese
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
FDLR	Forces Démocratiques du Libération Rwandese
FRC	Finnish Refugee Council
GBV	Gender Based Violence
IGA	Income Generating Activities
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
NGO	Non-Government Organization
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
RLP	Refugee Law Project
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
SLRC	Secure Livelihood Research Consortium
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SRS	Self-Reliance Strategy
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
VSLA	Village Savings and Loan Association
WFP	World Food Program
YARID	Young African Refugees for Integral Development

Abstract

This research project was designed to investigate the challenges refugees face in securing a livelihood, and to understand the extent to which the United Nations, the government of Uganda, and various aid groups are able to assist refugees in achieving self-reliance, and the capacity that refugees have to empower themselves. It also endeavors to expose any disparities between nationality groups, and the impact of these differences. Furthermore, this project aims to

explore the impact of refugee livelihood security on regional physical security and community stability.

Research for this study was conducted in Kyangwali and Nakivale Refugee Settlements in Uganda, as well as in Kampala, using 30 individual interviews, nine focus group discussions and group interviews, and field study results obtained through an internship with an implementing partner of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

The study found that despite international and national policies, and efforts by both non-governmental organizations and refugees to promote livelihood security, the lack of resources available to these offices, the unfavorable business and living conditions inhibiting refugees, and the pervasiveness of dependency prevent long-term solutions for livelihood security and self-reliance from being implemented. It further concludes that the cycle of poverty and dependency will likely continue, especially among Congolese refugees who are the least successful nationality group in securing their livelihoods, unless long-term empowerment and capacity building plans replace short-term handouts as a solution to income and food insecurity. Lastly, regional violence, particularly regarding rebel movements, cannot be addressed until basic human insecurity, including livelihood security among refugees, is also acknowledged and ameliorated.

Introduction

The intent of this research is to explore what livelihood opportunities are available to refugees in Uganda, what challenges prevent refugees from utilizing these opportunities, to uncover any disparities and discrepancies between nationality groups, and to investigate the physical security implications of refugee disempowerment on a personal, local, and regional level. Research was conducted through an internship with an implementing partner of the UNHCR and through interviews and focus group discussions with refugees and NGO personnel, primarily in Western Uganda at two of the largest refugee camps in the nation. The subjects of the study are representative of seven countries in Eastern Africa, specifically the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, South Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, and Eritrea. In terms of content, the focus of the study was on rural refugees living in Uganda's long-term settlements, though urban refugees were also consulted to provide perspective on the different challenges facing refugees without agricultural backgrounds. The aim of the study is to discover the obstacles that prevent both refugees and aid agencies from securing livelihoods for the nearly

200,000 refugees living in Uganda. Furthermore, this project explores the importance, on a personal, local, and regional level, of empowering refugees, and concludes that human insecurity among vulnerable populations must be addressed in order to eradicate violence in war-torn regions.

Background

History of Conflict and Proxy Wars

Conflict in the Congo

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the conflict that eventually deteriorated into the current humanitarian crisis began in 1994 after the post-genocide flight of two million Hutus across the border into DRC, though the emergency influx of Congolese refugees that is currently impacting Uganda's refugee settlements did not begin until mid-2011. ("Q&A: DR Congo conflict," 2012; "UNHCR Global Appeal 2013 Update," 2013) By August 2012, there were more than 40,000 Congolese refugees in Uganda displaced by violence caused by various rebel groups, most notably the M23 rebels, Allied Democratic Forces, and Forces Démocratiques du Libération Rwandese, creating a total of 190,000 refugees from DRC, South Sudan, Somalian, Burundi, Rwanda, Ethiopia, and Eritrea. ("Q&A: DR Congo conflict," 2012; "UNHCR 2013 Uganda Country Operations profile," 2013; Matsiko, 2013.) As of November 2013, emergency convoys continue to transport refugees from the Congolese border to long-term settlements such as Kyangwali and Nakivale.

Conflicts in Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia, Ethiopia, and Eritrea

Ongoing crises in South Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Burundi continue to produce refugees, though not to the extent that the violence in the Congo has done. ("UNHCR Global Appeal 2013 Update," 2013) Continuing conflict in newly independent South Sudan is caused primarily by violence between the majority Nuer groups allied with the Sudanese government, and the minorities, allied with the Sudanese People's Liberation Army rebel group. (Brewer, 2011) The crisis in Somalia began in 1991 with the overthrow of the president, at which point the country fell into 20 years of anarchy in which competing warlords were the only source of political authority. ("Somalia Profile," 2013) Years of drought and famine further destabilized the country, during which time the Islamic insurgency of 2006 took place, introducing the terrorist groups al-Shabab and al-Qaeda to the country. More than 20 years after Eritrean independence, a border conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia that originated in 1998 continues to

negatively affect the civilian population prompting the flight of more than 100,000 people, escaping at a rate of as many as 4,000 people per month. (Gebreluel, 2013) Finally, the conflict between Hutus and Tutsis in Burundi, much like that in Rwanda, originated during Belgian colonization, and was exacerbated first by the influx of Rwandan Tutsi refugees in 1959, then by the flight of Hutu refugees into Rwanda following attacks by Burundian Tutsis in 1963. (“Burundi Profile,” 2013) More Hutu massacres followed in the years 1972 and 1988, proceeded by a Tutsi massacre in 1993. Following the 1994 Rwandan genocide, in which Hutu militiamen killed 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus, conflict between the two groups continued until 2008 when a peace agreement was officially signed, though reports of violence continue to surface. (*Ibid.*)

Proxy Wars: Uganda, Sudan, Rwanda, and the Congo

According to the United States State Department, Uganda is a “force for regional stability” and “advocate of cross-border solutions to security issues,” which is immersed in a complicated network of regional proxy wars that are further deteriorating the security of states in conflict. (“Country Reports of Terrorism 2012, Uganda,” 2013) During the 20 year insurgency, from 1986 to 2006, led by Joseph Kony and the Lord’s Resistance Army in Northern Uganda, President Museveni supported the Sudanese rebel group, Sudan People’s Liberation Army in an effort to undermine the federal government in Khartoum. (Brewer, 2011) Meanwhile, the government of Sudan supported the LRA’s insurgency by supplying them with advanced weaponry and funding in an effort to weaken the Ugandan government. (*Ibid.*) More recently, Rwanda has been accused of supporting the M23 rebels in the Congo, a predominantly Tutsi, Kinyarwanda-speaking group opposing the government in Kinshasa which, in turn, is allegedly supporting the Forces Démocratiques du Libération Rwandaise, a Hutu rebel group comprised of former genocidaires opposing Kagame’s government in Kigali. (“Q&A: DR Congo conflict,” 2012; Kelley, 2013; *Rwanda in a Show of Might*, 2013)

Refugees and Recruitment in Uganda

Sudanese Refugees

During the SPLA rebellion in southern Sudan, Sudanese refugees in settlements located in northern Uganda, as many as 50,000, were vulnerable both to recruitment by the SPLA and to attack by the LRA due to their proximity to the southern border of Sudan. (“Uganda: SPLA Recruits in Ugandan Camps,” 2001)

Rwandan Refugees

During his rebellion, President Museveni recruited troops from among Rwandan refugees in Uganda, including Rwandan President and former leader of the Rwandan Patriotic Front, Paul Kagame. (Dallaire, 2005, 93-96) The RPF itself was created among the 'Rwandan Tutsi diaspora' in Uganda which was then mobilized to invade Rwanda in 1990. (Mamdani, 2002, 164)

Existing Literature

Livelihood Security in Conflict

In examining existing literature published about livelihoods in conflict by the Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium, the Humanitarian Policy Group, and research conducted through the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, major themes emerge, notably the loss of capital, the adoption of risky livelihood practices and coping mechanisms, and affected populations' vulnerability to violent mobilization. It is indisputable that violent conflict creates a "major barrier to development", and leads to "severe education losses[,] household asset depletion[, and] psychological deterioration." (Mallet, Slater, 2012) How civilians respond to conflict situations, however, varies. Civilian responses include risk minimizing strategies, such as limiting time spent away from safe locations, restricting movement, and in extreme cases, may involve joining insurgencies and rebel violence to avoid becoming victims of those groups. (*Ibid.*) As noted by Ohlsson (2000), "A current common feature of many... livelihood conflicts is that the rank and file of most atrocious militias around the world are filled by large cohorts of young men who have been subjected to rapid devaluation..." (3) Other survival strategies include, risk-avoidance, risk spreading and diversifying, and engagement in the existing market through entrepreneurship and self-employment, though as Mallet and Slater (2012) note, in conflict situations, all livelihood decisions are "coerced" by violence. (2) In livelihood conflicts in particular, young men are vulnerable to mobilization for violent political cause, as seen in Kosovo and Rwanda in the 1990s, when extremist groups were able to exacerbate existing tensions and exploit dissatisfaction with the current political economy for the purpose of committing genocide. (Ohlsson, 2012) Therefore, as Jaspars and O'Callaghan (2010) conclude, improving opportunities for livelihood security is, at its core, a protection strategy for those experiencing conflict.

Refugees and Conflict

Previous studies of refugees in conflict identify refugees as a source of great human potential, but also a possible threat to physical and economic security. Studies conducted by UNHCR and independent researchers have examined the impact of livelihood and human security on physical security in refugee-populated areas in , specifically in terms of refugee relations with the host community. As Jacobsen (2002) observes, “when refugees are allowed to gain access to resources and freedom of movement, and can work alongside their hosts to pursue productive lives, they would be less dependent on aid and better able to overcome sources of tension and conflict in their host communities.” (95) In other words, refugee’s opportunities for long-term livelihood security have implications both for their own human security and for their hosts. However, without long-term livelihood security, protracted refugee situations place economic pressure on their host communities, and stress limited resources such as such as land, capital, resources donated through international aid, and employment and income opportunities, causing an increase in tension and conflict with the host community rather than a mitigation. (Crisp, 1999) As UNHCR’s report suggests, this increasing tension and livelihood insecurity can lead to physical insecurity in the form of domestic and community violence, sexual violence, criminal activity and theft, violence among refugees, and violence between refugees and locals. (*Ibid.*) To address these human and physical insecurity issues, Jacobsen (2002) suggests more resourceful and creative approaches to securing livelihood in protracted refugee situations that addresses the human capacity refugees present, and utilizes their potential to increase rather than threaten the human security of their host communities. (Jacobsen, 2002)

Refugees in Uganda

The government of Uganda has several policies to promote standards of living and livelihood security of refugees under their care, including universal primary education, land allocation, and a more recent Self-Reliance Strategy, the purpose of which is to “to improve the standard of living of the people of refugee hosting districts, including the refugees,” through empowerment and equitable resource distribution among refugees and nationals. (“Development Assistance for Refugees for Uganda Self-Reliance Strategy: Way Forward,” 2003) While the government’s SRS policies, the subject of several recent studies, have been criticized as undermining refugee well-being in favor of Ugandan governmental objectives, specifically aid from the international community, the policy itself is not solely responsible for the difficulties

refugees encounter in pursuing self-reliance. (Kaiser, 2005) Bureaucratic restraints, specifically on refugees' freedom of movement also plays a significant role in inhibiting livelihood security and self-reliance. Restrictions on movement limit refugees' opportunities to participate in the local workforce, depletes resources through high transportation costs, and leaves refugees politically and socially isolated from their host communities. ("Working Paper #7, Refugees in Kyangwali Settlement: Constraints on Economic Freedom," 2002)

Objectives

1. To determine what opportunities for livelihood security and self-reliance are available to refugees in Uganda,
2. To further identify obstacles preventing refugees from attaining livelihood security and self-reliance,
3. To compare the successes of different nationality groups among refugee populations in Uganda,
4. To examine the extent to which livelihood insecurity contributes to physical insecurity, locally, nationally, and regionally.

Justification

On a personal level, understanding the role of human insecurity in international conflict is both a passion and an essential first step in a career of scrutinizing the emergence of violent intra-state conflict, terrorism, and rebel activity.

Institutionally, the various organizations responsible for these refugees' safety and security must analyze the effectiveness of their approaches and adjust accordingly to ensure efficient use of their limited resources.

On an international level, there are currently 190,000 refugees in Uganda as a result of multiple, protracted conflicts in neighboring and nearby states, some within 50 kilometers of their countries of origin. The enormous human capacity of these refugee settlements and the risk of refugee involvement in violent conflict requires investigation to prevent the escalation or renewal of violence in an already volatile and insecure region.

Methodology and Ethical Considerations

Locations

Original research for this project was conducted primarily in Kyangwali Refugee Settlement in Hoima district, which hosts approximately 20,000 refugees primarily from the

Congo and South Sudan, but was supplemented by research conducted in Kampala and Nakivale Refugee Settlement in Isingiro District, which hosts more than 56,000 refugees from the Congo, Somalia, Rwanda, Burundi, Eritrea, Ethiopia and South Sudan. (Project Description for AAH-I - Uganda, 2012; “Nakivale,” 2013) The data collected in Kampala provides a comparative perspective of urban refugees while interactions with refugees in Nakivale provided the majority of refugee input, and allowed for a more diverse analysis of various nationality groups, due to easier accessibility of refugees, communication with existing contacts within the refugee community, and greater population size and diversity of refugees in the settlement.

Methods

Kyangwali

Within Kyangwali, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the administrator of Congolese, Burundians, Rwandans, and Sudanese, a refugee-founded self-empowerment group also known as COBURWAS, with the livelihood representatives from the Office of the Prime Minister and their primary livelihood implementing partners, Action Africa Help-International, and the Finnish Refugee Council. AAH-I’s nutrition specialist was also interviewed in a semi-structured format. Further information was gathered by attending three focus groups, two of which were organized by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and their implementing partners for the purpose of conducting a camp wide evaluation. Both groups consisted of Congolese and Sudanese men, representing the first and second most populous nationality groups in the settlement. The first group, men above the age of 18, was focused on the issues of livelihood and environment, included roughly 20 participants (the number of men present fluctuated), and lasted two hours. The second group focused on livelihood, employment, and health issues, included 18 male participants above the age of 40, and lasted one and a half hours. The third group, a village savings and loans group comprised of 22 Congolese women, was mobilized by social workers for an hour long discussion at the request of the Community Services branch of AAH-I specifically for this project.

In addition to these focus groups with refugees and interviews with OPM and NGO personnel, the researcher’s understanding of refugee issues, settlement administration, and role of the UNHCR, OPM, and their implementing partners was enhanced by experiences gained during a two week internship period with AAH-I, while staying with employees of AAH-I. While interning at AAH-I, the researcher also obtained copies of UNHCR’s reports “Protection

and Mixed Solutions for Refugees and Asylum Seekers,” and “2013 Age Gender Diversity Mainstreaming Findings and Refugee Priorities for 2014, Kyangwali Refugee Settlement,” which serve to supplement and triangulate data collected by the researcher. In the period of 12 days as an intern, a total of 5 interviews were conducted representing the government of Uganda and 3 NGOs, one founded and administrated by refugees, one funded by the government of Finland, and the other an independent organization operating in multiple countries in the East African Community. Additionally, 3 focus groups were conducted representing refugees of both genders from the Congo and Sudan, by far the two most prevalent groups in Kyangwali.

Nakivale

The primary method of research within Nakivale was communicating with refugees from different nationality groups, through individual interviews, group interviews, and focus groups depending on availability of the respondents, with the assistance of a Somalian community worker, and a Congolese translator, both refugees. In total, 19 interviews and 4 focus groups were conducted with refugees from the Congo, Somalia, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Burundi, and southern Sudan. Since the Congolese comprise the majority of the settlement’s population, 7 semi-structured interviews were conducted with refugees from DRC of both genders and a variety of socio-economic security levels, from businessmen to community leaders to unemployed youth. A focus group of 15 Congolese, both men and women was also organized through social workers in the community. These interactions are supplemented by an informal group interview conducted by the researcher in October, before the designated research period, at which over 50 Congolese refugees were present. The next largest group, the Somalians, were represented by a focus group, again of 15 people, but with only 3 men present. Rwandans and Burundians were represented by a focus group that fluctuated in size from 7-10 people, mostly men with one female. Due to the small population size, geographic distribution, time constraints, and logistical considerations, interviews were used in place of focus groups when communicating with Ethiopian, Eritrean, and Sudanese refugees. In total, 5 Ethiopians, 2 Eritreans, and a South Sudanese woman were consulted for a comparative view of business practices and livelihood opportunities of each nationality group, despite their small population within Nakivale. Additional insights were provided by a Somalian community worker and a Congolese translator who facilitated and translated these meetings.

These interactions were enhanced by informal communications with employees of the Office of the Prime Minister and the American Refugee Committee, including a site visit to an ARC funded livelihood project. As in Kyangwali, the observations and experiences gained through living in Nakivale's base camp with OPM personnel provided insight into the perspective of Nakivale's staff members.

Kampala

Supplementary interviews conducted with a representative of the Refugee Law Project, the founder and administrator of Young Africans Refugees for Integral Development, and 2 refugees benefitting from YARID, one male and one female. These interactions provide a comparative view of livelihood security between urban and rural refugees, which is integral to understanding the perspective of the refugee population of Uganda, as there has been a five-fold increase in the past five years of the number of refugees in Kampala, and since over half the world's refugees now live in urban areas. (Kaiser, 2005; Mallet, Slater, 2002)

Other Methods

In addition to the first-hand research conducted in Kyangwali, Nakivale, and Kampala, due to time constraints resulting in a very limited time in each designated location, an email interview was conducted with a representative of UNHCR, and a phone interview was conducted with a security studies expert rather than in-person interviews.

Translators were required for seven of the focus group discussions and group interviews, nine of the individual interviews, and the site visit. Employees of AAH-I and ARC, a Somali community worker, and a Congolese translator served as interpreters.

When the environment allowed, a recorder was used so the interview could be replayed and analyzed at a later date, to ensure correct quotation and interpretation.

Secondary sources, used to understand the context of the study and existing literature, as well as to triangulate data, were compiled from, among others, the US State Department, working papers and analyses published by UNHCR and the Refugee Law Project, publications of the Secure Livelihood Research Consortium, the International Migration Institute at the University of Oxford, publications of American University Cairo, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, and independent research reports published in various publications. These scholarly sources were supplemented by updated reports provided by BBC

News Africa and al-Jazeera, news sources based in Great Britain and Qatar, and *The Independent* and *The New Vision* in Uganda.

Summary

Overall, 30 interviews lasting 20-40 minutes, 8 focus group discussions and group interviews lasting 1-2 hours, and a site visit were conducted with representatives of 6 NGOs with livelihood projects, the government of Uganda, the UNHCR, and over 100 refugees. Of the 6 NGOs, 2 are refugee founded and administered, 2 are funded by Western countries, 1 was founded and is administered by Makerere University School of Law in Uganda, and the last is regionally based independent organization. A representative of the Ugandan government, specifically the Office of the Prime Minister, Ministry for Disaster Preparedness, Management, and Refugees, was also consulted, as was a representative of the UNHCR, the international authority on refugees. Of the refugees contacted, roughly 67% were Congolese, 13% were Somalian, 8% were Sudanese, 6% were Rwandan, 4% were Ethiopian, and 2% were Eritrean. Exact numbers and percentages are impossible to calculate due to the frequent fluctuation of refugees present, and the fact that the focus groups conducted by the UNHCR included both Congolese and Sudanese refugees with no record of how many men from each group were represented. These percentages are roughly equivalent to the percentages of refugees and asylum seekers in Uganda's refugee settlements between 2012 and 2013. According to UNHCR estimates Congolese refugees comprise 67% of the population of refugees and asylum seekers, Somalians comprise 13%, Rwandans comprise 9%, Sudanese comprise 8%, and Ethiopians and Eritreans each comprise 1%.

Challenges

Several limitations prevented full utilization of the resources available to conduct this research, including limited accessibility of refugees in Kyangwali, language barriers, logistical complications caused by the emergency influx of Congolese refugees, delays caused by malaria, UNHCR and OPM administrative restrictions, frequent travel, unreliable data, and politically sensitive material. Kyangwali's base camp is at the front of the settlement, not within walking distance of most villages which prevented frequent visits to refugee communities. Language barriers were overcome with the use of translators, however, the use of translators influences the material acquired from interactions with refugees, since the information is often paraphrased, and subject to the interpreters' biases. This research was conducted during an emergency influx of

Congolese refugees in Kyangwali, which limited the number of vehicles available to do research in the field at Kyangwali, resulting in several cancellations and rescheduling of interviews. In addition, the researcher contracted malaria and was unable to conduct interviews for two days in Kyangwali. The bureaucratic processes required to contact UNHCR and OPM prevented full access to these offices and limited communication with UNHCR to email interactions. Frequent travel between the three locations also inhibited scheduling interviews, resulting in a phone interview instead of an in-person interview. Additionally, examining primarily interviews with refugees with no professional background, whose testimony is subject to their biases, undermines the reliability of information, particularly, statistics shared by refugee respondents. Finally, due to the politically sensitive nature of the topic, controversial or potentially dangerous research questions were avoided.

Ethical Considerations

In working with refugees it is imperative to remember that they are vulnerable, have experienced hardships and trauma, and may be experiencing research fatigue. As such it is important to consider that they may be reluctant to share sensitive personal information without seeing visible results of the research conducted in their communities. Additionally, the topic of physical security is a delicate topic and must be approached with caution to avoid exacerbating underlying tension. To address these concerns, a Local Review Board was required to approve the project, and thereafter all interactions with refugees were first approved by supervisors at AAH-I Kyangwali, or OPM Nakivale and politically and emotionally sensitive questions were avoided during personal communications with refugees.

Findings and Analysis

Opportunities for Livelihood Security and Self-Reliance

Refugees in Uganda have several opportunities for secure livelihoods both within the support structure of refugee settlements and even in Kampala, where refugees often do not qualify for UNHCR assistance and protection. The government of Uganda, in partnership with the UNHCR, has implemented multiple policies to provide opportunities for livelihood and self-reliance among refugees, while NGOs such as Refugee Law Project, American Refugee Committee, Finnish Refugee Council, Congolese Burundians Rwandans and Sudanese, and Young African Refugees for Integral Development implement micro-financing, vocational

training and education, and empowerment programs, all of which increase refugees' capacity to achieve income and food security.

National and International Policies

Uganda's Office of the Prime Minister, Ministry for Disaster Preparedness, Management, and Refugees has implemented a national policy regarding land allocation for refugees as part of a Refugee Self-Reliance Strategy, mandating that a plot of 50 by 100 meters of land for cultivation and housing be allocated for families of one to five people, while families of five to nine qualify for two plots, and families of nine or more receive three plots. (Respondent 34, Personal Communications, November 19, 2013; "UNHCR Global Appeal 2013 Update, Uganda," 2013; "Development Assistance for Refugees for Uganda Self-Reliance Strategy: Way Forward," 2003) In addition to land allocation, Ugandan policy permits refugees to seek employment anywhere in the country. (Respondent 40, Personal Communications, November 27, 2013) On an international level, the UNHCR encourages long-term livelihood strategies in which "refugees engage in income generating activities for their self-sustenance" including income and food security. (*Ibid.*) These policies fall under UNHCR's international protection mandate which requires that refugees' fundamental human rights, such as physical and mental wellbeing and access to food and other basic needs, are provided for both in short-term relief aid, and longer-term livelihood security. (*Ibid.*)

Protection and assistance services from OPM and UNHCR extend beyond land allocation and national law to include oversight of physical and legal security issues, material support for refugees, and coordination of NGO activity. ("UNHCR Global Appeal 2013 Update, Uganda," 2013) Newly arrived refugees, according to OPM policy, are entitled to basic non-food items such as blankets, mats, cups, plates, soap, and food aid provided by the World Food Program. ("Uganda Emergency Update Covering Congolese and South Sudanese Emergency," 2013) While administering the distribution of food and non-food aid, UNHCR, in partnership with OPM and its NGO implementers, conducts periodical evaluations of settlements in Uganda to evaluate existing policies, identify changing priorities, and plan future policy. By their philosophy, since "refugees are at the center of the decision making process," consistent communication with each community within the settlement informs UNHCR policies. ("2013 AGDM Findings and Refugee Priorities for 2014 Kyangwali Refugee Settlement", 2013) These evaluations include an annual Age and Gender Diversity Mainstreaming study which determines

policy priorities for the following year, and assesses supplementary programs meant to support “stable and functional community systems and structures that promote active refugee self-management, participation and involvement in the settlement programmes, sustainable livelihoods, and strengthened community...” through equitable access to education, resources, and infrastructure. (*Ibid.*, “2012 Project Description for AAH-I -Uganda,” 2012)

Education and Training Opportunities

The displaced living in Uganda have access to both formal and non-formal educational and training opportunities offered by NGOs, the government of Uganda, and by other refugees, whether they are located in settlements or in an urban environment. The government itself provides a formal primary school education to all refugees that encompasses “functional literacy and numeracy programs” and integrates literacy and numeracy with “socioeconomic, civic, technical, occupational, scientific, and life skills.” (Respondent 18, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Bonfiglio, 2010, 4) In addition, OPM awards a small number of scholarships and sponsorships to both refugees and Ugandan children through implementing partners, though these opportunities are few, and dependent on the availability of funding. (Respondent 34, Personal Communications, November 19, 2013) These efforts are complimented by those of NGOs, which implement personal and community development programs, professional and vocational training in “road building, construction, clothes making and tailoring, forestry and agriculture, maintenance, mechanics, trade, and craftwork.” (Bonfiglio, 2010, 5)

In Nakivale, the ARC, one of two livelihood implementing partners in the settlement, provides money management training programs to refugees in addition to funding livelihood projects. (Respondent 17, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013) Similarly, in Kyangwali, AAH-I implements training programs designed to increase refugees’ livelihood capacities, management skills, and business strategies. (Respondent 35, Personal Communications, November 20, 2013) Specific projects include resource management education, training in business skills, savings and loans, and vocational skills in agriculture and animal rearing. (*Ibid.*; Respondent 36, Personal Communications, November 21, 2013) While these efforts generally target groups, such as village savings and loans group of women without husbands, AAH-I has used an individual training approach to teach community leaders, or “extension workers” within the settlement, providing them with the skills and resources to

educate and train others in their community. (*Ibid.*; Respondent 35, Personal Communications, November 20, 2013; Bonfiglio, 2010, 23) The second of two livelihood implementing partners in Kyangwali, the FRC, also provides vocational training and money management classes, as well as a Functional Adult Literacy project that teaches refugees English and Swahili. (Respondent 37, Personal Communications, November 21, 2013; Bonfiglio, 2010) Even refugees living outside the UNHCR support structure in Kampala have access to NGO-provided English and Swahili courses, money management workshops, and training navigating local laws through the Refugee Law Project. (Respondent 5, Personal Communications, November 7, 2013) In addition to these services, the RLP also advises clients with business plans individually on how to operate efficiently within the legal system. (*Ibid.*)

When these programs have been insufficient, refugees themselves have taken the initiative to organize their own non-formal education and training programs, providing an even wider range of opportunities for education and acquisition of vocational skills. In Kampala, for instance, YARID, a refugee-founded and administrated empowerment group, offers English classes, literacy classes (particularly for women and girls who are illiterate due to cultural educational disparities), computer literacy and social networking courses, business management training, and vocational training programs which are also targeted at women. (Respondent 6, Personal Communications, November 8, 2013) Individual efforts have also been made by refugees to “run [schools] in private homes and communal spaces like churches and outdoors” including English and Swahili classes at Sunday schools and vocational training in skill sets such as jewelry making. (Bonfiglio, 2010, 4; Respondent 11, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 43, Personal Communications, November 11-13, 2013) Other forms of non-formal schooling include religious and cultural education, such as the informal Islamic education program run by an unemployed Ethiopian refugee in Nakivale, and the Burundian cultural heritage group organized by a women's savings and loans group in Kampala. (Respondent 20, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 5, Personal Communications, November 7, 2013) According to Bonfiglio (2010), despite the presence of adequate pre-schools and primary schools, non-formal schooling is a common supplement among refugee communities both in Kampala and Kyangwali settlement. As of 2008, there were 31 non-formal education programs in Kampala, 24 of which were run by refugees, while in

Kyangwali there were 38 programs, 9 of which were run by refugees, to supplement the settlement's 5 primary schools and sole secondary school. (Bonfiglio, 2010, 15)

Micro-financing and Livelihood Projects

Refugees, both in settlements and urban environments, have benefitted from micro-loans and livelihood projects provided by the implementing partners of UNHCR and independent NGOs, specifically business ventures, and agricultural and livestock projects. In Nakivale settlement, the ARC provides inputs and funding for projects in each sector of livelihood development: business, agriculture, and livestock. (Respondent 16, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013) One such project, a piggery in New Congo funded by ARC's livelihood sector, demonstrates the income potential and long-term benefits of these livelihood projects. A total of 10 Congolese families will earn income from the pigs, in the short-term by selling the piglets of their four pregnant sows for 12,000-30,000 shillings each, and in the long-term by butchering their livestock for profit in the same facility. (*Ibid.*) From these basic inputs, which included the sows, a pen funded and constructed by the ARC, and continual monitoring of the pigs' health and maintenance of the facility, 10 families will obtain a secure, sustainable livelihood. (*Ibid.*) Another respondent, also in Nakivale, cited opportunities for refugees to apply, in groups of five to 10 families, to be given basic inputs such as poultry, goats, or micro-loans of 500,000 shillings from the UNHCR, OPM, and their livelihood implementing partners. (Respondent 22, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013) Finally, according to a representative of the RLP, persons with disabilities in Nakivale have been given sewing machines by international donors, while older refugees were provided with goats and ducks for rearing. (Respondent 5, Personal Communications, November 7, 2013)

Similar opportunities for micro-loans and livelihood projects, provided by AAH-I and the FRC among others, also exist in Kyangwali settlement. According to the livelihood representative of AAH-I, income generating activities available to refugees include the cultivation of mangoes, jackfruit, maize, and beans, and the rearing of livestock such as goats, oxen, and poultry. (Respondent 35, Personal Communications, November 21, 2013) In addition to providing basic inputs for these livelihood projects, AAH-I currently covers the cost of transportation of improved seeds from Hoima to Kyangwali, a 15,000 shilling fee, which has increased the yield of beneficiaries' crop, and improved the efficiency and profitability of their agricultural projects. (*Ibid.*) The livelihood representative of FRC also cited group applications

for funding and providing inputs for income generating activities such as goat rearing, beekeeping, ox-plowing, piggeries, poultry raising, and baking as an opportunity for livelihood security among refugees. (Respondent 37, Personal Communications, November 21, 2013) Out of 12 applications for such loans and livelihood projects in the past year, FRC was recently able to grant 5 which amounts to 41% project fulfillment as compared to the ARC in Nakivale which receives over 300 applications for livelihood projects, and is only able to allocate a small fraction of the loans and inputs required. (*Ibid.*; Respondent 16, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013) The efforts of AAH-I and FRC, though they are the primary implementers of livelihood projects in Kyangwali, are supplemented by other aid groups such as World Hunger Hilfe, a German NGO with a presence in Uganda, which is responsible for distributing “agricultural seeds and tools” in several villages within the settlement. (“Uganda Emergency Update Covering Congolese and South Sudanese Emergency,” 2013)

In Kampala, where refugees are separated from the UNHCR’s agriculturally-based support structure and their implementing partners’ funding, the RLP helps donor organizations, such as the FRC, identify potential recipients of inputs such as sewing machines and micro-loans. (Respondent 5, Personal Communications, November 7, 2013) For instance, six women’s groups and a group of persons with disabilities have gained the opportunity to tailor through the donation of industrial and design sewing machines by international benefactors. (*Ibid.*) Other desired businesses ventures requiring inputs or loans in Kampala include jewelry and craft production, cloth vending, and charcoal stove manufacturing. (*Ibid.*) Providing inputs and loans to established groups, the RLP representative observed, is often more effective than loaning to individuals because it benefits more parties, and because groups that identify “collective benefits as opposed to individual benefits” tend to be more accountable with their resources. (*Ibid.*)

Empowerment Programs

Unlike micro-financing programs and livelihood projects requiring starting inputs, which are funded predominantly by international NGOs, refugee empowerment programs are often refugee driven, though they are supported both by NGOs and national policy. Refugee-founded and administrated organizations, such as YARID in Kampala and COBURWAS in Kyangwali, are primarily focused on refugee empowerment through community building, education, and skill-building. Groups such as RLP and the FRC, in addition to providing monetary support, inputs, and education and training opportunities to refugees, encourage refugees to problem-

solve among themselves, and to take responsibility of their livelihoods. YARID, founded to address the suffering of urban refugees who fall outside of the UNHCR support systems, administrates education and training programs in addition to youth programs designed to empower refugees through sports, which help young urban refugees ease the “tension” of their situation. (Respondent 6, Personal Communications, November 8, 2013; Bonfiglio, 2010)

Similarly, COBURWAS, a refugee-led group focused on promoting leadership, education, entrepreneurship, and empowerment among inhabitants of Kyangwali, encourages and logistically supports children pursuing their education, provides mutual support among refugees seeking education and employment, and empowers women through advocacy and financial independence. Specifically, COBURWAS has provided monetary and logistical support for students pursuing higher education by working in agriculture to support students in Kyangwali, opening a private school to ease pressure on Kyangwali’s public school system, raising money to transport and board students at secondary school in Hoima where schools benefit from Uganda’s Universal Secondary Education initiative, and encouraging children to pursue their educations to the fullest extent possible. (Respondent 4, Personal Communications, November 4, 2013) Women are also empowered through COBURWAS’ anti-violence program which advocates against domestic violence, encourages women to become financially independent through business ownership and employment, and provides the basic inputs and skills necessary to pursue financial independence. (*Ibid.*) Finally, COBURWAS advocates for unity and cooperation between different nationality groups, including but not limited to Ugandans, Congolese, Sudanese, and Rwandese, because regardless of country of origin, all refugees are “struggling... to be better than today.” (*Ibid.*)

Independent NGOs, including RLP and the FRC, also encourage refugee self-support and independence. As explained by a RLP representative in Kampala, upon its foundation, the organization provided individual assistance to refugees until it was decided that “individual counseling sessions were re-emphasizing the victim mentality,” at which point they switched their model to organizing and promoting mutual support groups. (Respondent 5, Personal Communications, November 7, 2013) The purpose of this arrangement was to allow “people with similar issues [to] support each other rather than waiting for individual visits,” which proved more harmful to their emotional recovery than beneficial. (*Ibid.*) As a result, support groups are now able to identify signs of trauma, and are equipped to support each other within

their groups without relying on support from outside organizations. (*Ibid.*) In fact, these support groups were so successful that refugees began forming them on their own prerogative, either as a coping mechanism among vulnerable groups such as ‘women at work’, HIV/AIDS positive refugees, and torture survivors. (*Ibid.*) In the past, RLP provided internships and loans for income generating activities to refugees before determining that the recipients saw these inputs as “donations” rather than their own money. (*Ibid.*) As a result, RLP encouraged a “savings culture” through the existing support group networks, and educated participants on the benefits of growing savings and earning income via interest on loans to other parties. (*Ibid.*) As noted by the respondent, the increased responsibility over their money greatly increased the accountability with which it was used, especially when loaning within the community in which a refugee’s relationships and status are cemented. (*Ibid.*) In a similar approach to RLP, the FRC addresses livelihood concerns through common interest groups and participatory rural appraisals, and encourages refugees to develop their own “plan of action” to address their livelihood concerns rather than relying on guidance and aid from outside sources. (Respondent 37, Personal Communications, November 27, 2013) According to FRC’s livelihood representative in Kyangwali, 20 income generating activities, both in agriculture and livestock, were funded in 2 years, and the project leader was given training to allow them to pass their experiences and knowledge on to the other members of their group. (*Ibid.*)

Income Generating Activities

While refugees may possess different skill sets than locals in Uganda, they still face many challenges to employment. However, despite these difficulties, refugees have managed to find alternative sources of income despite the unfavorable job economy. These sources of income include working, for Congolese and Rwandan refugees, for Somalian business owners and individual refugees looking for hire, receiving money from family members abroad to buy inputs, goat and poultry rearing, planting maize and other crops, growing a small supplementary garden to increase food security and income, and selling food outside of a formal business structure. (Respondent 1, Personal Communications, 3 October, 2013; Respondent 2, Personal Communications, October 31, 2012; Respondent 3, Personal Communications, 31 October, 2013; Respondent 11, November 12, 2013; Respondent 34, Personal Communications, Nov 19)

Obstacles to Livelihood Security and Self-Reliance

Despite generous national policies on behalf of the OPM, administrative and material support from UNHCR, micro-financing, education, training, and empowerment projects by NGOs, and efforts by refugees to address their livelihood insecurity, many obstacles remain to prevent self-reliance. In terms of securing income, even skilled refugees face widespread unemployment, limited access to education and training, discrimination, exploitation, and competition over limited resources. Other challenges include the burden of fees and taxes, a lack of start-up capital and resources for businesses and livelihood projects, unfavorable market conditions, loss of property, restrictions on movement, non-agricultural backgrounds, dependency and despair, and a lack of resources on the part of the UNHCR, OPM, and implementing partners. In addition to challenges preventing income security, further obstacles restricting access to food security also prevent self-reliance among refugees. These obstacles include insufficient handouts, insufficient land allocations and plot size reductions, soil infertility, pests, inability to perform physical labor, and dangers collecting fuel and firewood for cooking.

Income

Unemployment despite skills

Regardless of country of origin, length of stay in settlements, or education level, the majority of refugees consulted cited having a steady source of income before becoming refugees. The Congolese, Somalians, Sudanese, Rwandans, Burundians, Eritreans, and Ethiopians all overwhelmingly refer to steady jobs in their homeland, though many have been unable to find work within Uganda. Among Congolese in Nakivale and Kyangwali settlements, 24 were agriculturalists, eight were business owners, three were students, two were pastoralists, two were unemployed, one was a housewife, and one was too young to work before they fled DRC. (Respondent 10, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 11, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 12, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 13, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 14, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 15, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 26, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013; Respondent 27, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013; Respondent 28, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013; Respondent 29, Personal Communications, November

13, 2013; Respondent 30, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013) According to the representative of YARID, urban Congolese refugees, much like their rural counterparts, were well-educated in their homeland but, due to shifting languages in schools and the differing school infrastructures, Ugandan schools often do not recognize Congolese schools' credentials, preventing them from using their degree to find work. (Respondent 6, Personal Communications, November 8, 2013)

Among the Somalians in Nakivale, four women were housewives, two were butchers, two were clothes salesman, one was a student, one was a pastoralist, one was businessman, one was a nurse, another a hotel keeper, another a fortune teller, and the last a mechanic. (Respondent 9, Personal Communications, November 11, 2013) These results, which convey diversity of employment, work experience, and education, coincide with the findings of a similar study done in Cairo which concluded that "Somalian [refugees] have informal work sector backgrounds or are educated." (Al-Sharmani, 2003, 29) The Rwandan community, also in Nakivale, includes a former student and a former farmer. (Respondent 25, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013) Among Eritreans there were two former businesswomen, and in the Ethiopian community, there are 4 former business women and one retired government official. (Respondent 18, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 19, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 20, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 21, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 22, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 23, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 24, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013) In total, of 63 respondents asked about their former employment status, only two were unemployed in their country of origin.

By comparison, within the settlements, only 13 of at least 150 refugees consulted had a steady income earned as a result of their business ventures. According to informants, including a Somalian community worker and a Congolese translator, there are only 20 Somalian formal businesses out of 20,000 families; interestingly three Congolese and Rwandan respondents claimed they earn their income by working for Somalians washing clothes, renting land, or working for their businesses. Only 14 Rwandans and 6 Burundians out of 1,000 families have a source of steady income, only three out of 20 Eritrean families have a business, and five out of 80 Ethiopian families earn a consistent income. (Respondent 1, Personal Communications 3

October 2013; Respondent 9, Personal Communications, November 11, 2013; Respondent 11, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 13, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 15, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 18, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 22, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 25, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013; Respondent 26, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013; Respondent 27, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013, Respondent 28, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013; Respondent 29, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013) The Congolese, being the largest, most diverse population in the settlement is harder to analyze however within one village in the Old Congo, there were four hotels and seven businesses, which, by one respondent's estimate constitutes only a portion of the 50 businesses run by refugees in the neighborhood. (Respondent 26, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013) In a small shopping area known as 'Kigali,' at least 30 Congolese and Burundian refugees own businesses as well as 12 Rwandans, the total profits of which, according to one Rwandan business owner, provide income for roughly 200 people. (Respondent 31, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 32, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013)

Limited access to education and training

In spite of Uganda's universal primary school education mandate, several factors still inhibit refugees' access to education and vocational training including a lack of facilities, restrictive fees, and personal considerations that affect a family's decision to send their children to school. First and foremost, education is limited by lack of facilities. In Kyangwali settlement, refugees have access to five primary schools, only one secondary school 13 kilometers away from the farthest village with no available boarding facilities, and no vocational training facilities. In Nakivale there is only one secondary school and one vocational school, built in 2012. (Bonfiglio, 2013; 2012 Project Description for AAH-I-Uganda. *United Nations High Commission for Refugees*, 2013; 2013 AGDM Findings and Refugee Priorities for 2014 Kyangwali Refugee Settlement. *United Nations High Commission for Refugees.*, 2013; Brewer, 2011) During a focus group, Congolese refugees in Nakivale expressed their concerns that the primary schools are overcrowded, with as many as 150 children per class, resulting in three years of study with no educational benefits, a lack of concentration on the part of the students, conflict

within the school, and eventually dropout. (Respondent 15, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013) In fact, these facilities are so overcrowded, the desks seat six students each, twice the number of students allowed by national policy. (2013 AGDM Findings and Refugee Priorities for 2014 Kyangwali Refugee Settlement. *United Nations High Commission for Refugees.*, 2013) Another example of the magnitude of overcrowding can be seen in the Kyangwali school system, where “a total of 1,323 pupils have registered within Marembo Primary School, which at present has only four classrooms.” (*Ibid.*) Similarly, the only secondary school available to the 60,000 refugees in Nakivale settlement is also overcrowded with a staggering 300 students per class according to a separate group of Congolese respondents. (Respondent 1, Personal Communications, October 3, 2013)

Recent field surveys conducted by the UNHCR and their implementing partners concluded that refugees’ access to education and vocational training is further inhibited by “high school dropout due to limited access to both secondary and vocational schools,” and absenteeism after the designated lunch hour due to the lack of food facilities within the schools. (2013 AGDM Findings and Refugee Priorities for 2014 Kyangwali Refugee Settlement. *United Nations High Commission for Refugees.*, 2013) These surveys further concluded that youth have inadequate access to proper schooling experience a “lack of training on livelihood skills, self-reliance, and group activities, [and] little interest in community participation,” and called for an increase in both educational and vocational training opportunities. (*Ibid.*, 6) The situation for refugee children in Kampala is no better, where many families are not provided with the services and protection of the UNHCR, and where schools are often unable to find room for unregistered refugees. (Bonfiglio, 2010)

In addition to the lack of facilities, there are hidden fees outside of the tuition cost covered by the government of Uganda. While many families are able to send all of their children to school, at least for their primary education, other families struggle to pay for all of their children’s school fees, due to the cost of sitting for exams, the fees required to replace lost or stolen school supplies, and the costs of school uniforms all of which frequently restrict refugees’ capacity to send their children to school. (Respondent 17, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 19, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 26, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013) This concern was voiced by one Congolese woman in Kyangwali who, out of her six children, was only able to send two to school because

of the cost of their uniforms. (Respondent 36, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013) Not only are the costs high for impoverished Ugandans and refugees, even during primary school when tuition is free, but there are very few scholarship and sponsorship opportunities available to provide alternative sources of tuition for advanced education or vocational training. (Respondent 33, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013) To further compound the challenges face by urban refugees, according to Bonfiglio (2010), those living Kampala are legally ineligible for scholarships and sponsorship, which further inhibits the education and integration processes of refugees facing discrimination and language barriers.

The final factor limiting students from attending school exists on a more personal level. Parents cite that their children are reluctant to go to school, and discouraged from pursuing their education because they fear being beaten by their teachers who have lost control of their large classes. (Respondent 15, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013) Female students, in particular, may also be reluctant to attend school due to the risk of sexual harassment or abuse on the part of male teachers, and because of the lack of sanitary materials necessary to attend school during their menstrual cycles, exposing them to embarrassment and stigmatization. (“2013 AGDM Findings and Refugee Priorities for 2014 Kyangwali Refugee Settlement,” 2013) An Ethiopian man explained that his son could not attend school due to medical issues and weakness, which renders the walk to school too far and hazardous to his health to attend. (Respondent 20, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013) Finally, children suffering from malnutrition and food insecurity struggle in school due to “stunted” brain development which affects their concentration in classroom settings, and prevents retention of academic material, leading to dropouts. (Respondent 33, Personal Communications, November 19, 2013)

Discrimination, exploitation, and conflict

Refugees face serious social and economic crises when they arrive in Uganda, as a result of discrimination by locals and other nationality and ethnic groups within the settlements, exploitation at the hands of other refugees and Ugandan nationals, and conflict over limited resources, particularly land, with other refugees and neighboring Ugandans. Despite the fact that “refugees who migrate to urban areas tend, on the whole, to be more highly educated, and more resourceful,” as seen in Kampala where 70% of refugees have been educated at the secondary school level, 30% are educated at the university level, and frequently have backgrounds as “academics, researchers, engineers, teachers, and musicians,” urban refugees face equal

discrimination as refugees with agriculturalist backgrounds, if not more. (Buscher, N.D., 22) It has been noted by multiple analysts that refugees in Kampala “have talents, skills, and abilities which would enable self-sufficiency” if protection was more readily available outside of settlements. (“Working Paper #16, ‘A Drop in the Ocean’: Assistance and Protection for Forced Migrants in Kampala,” 2005) However, the reality is that, despite their qualified backgrounds, urban refugees in Kampala face “serious problems” accessing employment, due to legal and social restrictions of the labor market, and competition with nationals for work which compounds discrimination towards refugees. (Respondent 6, Personal Communications, November 8, 2013; Respondent 24, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Buscher, N.D.)

According to the administrator of YARID, the majority of refugees in Kampala had no specific job strategy in mind when they arrived, but chose to flee to Kampala because they did not have an agricultural background with which to earn a livelihood within the settlements. (Respondent 6, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Buscher, N.D.) Ultimately urban refugees competing for jobs with nationals fare unfavorably regardless of their qualifications, because of language barriers and because Ugandans generally prefer to hire unemployed nationals over refugees. (*Ibid.*) Within the settlements, discrimination is not as visible because refugees do not interact with locals as regularly, however perceived discrimination on the part of the Congolese community is prevalent. In interactions with the Congolese in Nakivale, it became clear that the Congolese believe that the offices responsible for their welfare such as UNHCR, OPM, implementing partners, police forces, and lawyers, favor other nationality groups, especially the Somalians, over them. In a group interview, they claimed that between 2009 and 2011, OPM resettled 100 Somali families, while only resettling two Congolese families. (Respondent 1, Personal communications 3 October, 2013) While this claim of discrimination by Nakivale authorities cannot be triangulated or verified, the tension that it exposes between the Congolese and Somalian communities, and between refugees and controlling offices, is worth noting.

Refugees in settlements and urban areas both are also confronted with structural violence, unreliable income, and exploitation, physically and economically. A clear example of the underlying tension between the Somalian and Congolese community manifests itself in accusations that Somalian business owners exploit Congolese women in their employ, forcing

them to “play sexy” before they will be given their wages. (Respondent 1, Personal Communications, October 3, 2013) Other Congolese women engage in *de facto* prostitution, allegedly finding work within the Somali community in exchange for food for their children. (*Ibid.*) Women of every nationality group, particularly widows and the unmarried, face extensive sexual violence, and often lack access to health care or treatment when subjected to attacks. (*Ibid.*, Respondent 2, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013; Respondent 3, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013)

Within settlements, refugees attempting to sell their production at a profit have cited being cheated by middlemen responsible for transporting goods to outside markets, who manipulate the prices, sometimes with such ingenious methods as using rigged weighing scales, or keep a disproportionate amount of the profit for themselves. (“2013 AGDM Findings and Refugee Priorities for 2014 Kyangwali Refugee Settlement,” 2013; Respondent 2, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013; Respondent 3, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013) Refugees who voluntarily relocate outside of their designated settlements, known as self-settled refugees, have more economic freedom and mobility, and generally enjoy greater financial viability despite paying taxes and contributing to the local economy, but are also more vulnerable to exploitation as they have no legal status once they leave the protection of the UNHCR support structure. (Working Paper #4, *Free to Stay, Free to Go? Movement, Seclusion and Integration of Refugees in Moyo District*, 2002) In fact, as Jacobsen (2002) suggests, the self-settled “pursue livelihoods under conditions of double insecurity” due to their vulnerability as refugees, and their lack of legal standing. (100) Finally, urban refugees, given their economically disadvantageous position and ignorance of local laws and judicial systems, are at risk of legal prosecution and arrest for tax evasion, and often lose their products when caught. (Respondent 5, Personal Communications, November 7, 2013; Respondent 6, Personal Communications, November 8, 2013) Additionally, unemployed refugees searching for food, or engaging in prostitution and criminal activity are vulnerable to arrest, again due to structural violence that prevents them from pursuing safer livelihoods, and a lack of understanding of Uganda’s laws and judicial infrastructure. (Respondent 10, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 6, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013)

Finally, refugees experience competition and conflict both with other refugees and with locals, all of whom are competing for the same limited resources, most notably aid, employment

or income, and land. As Jacobsen (2002) attests, in areas afflicted by conflict and poverty, “every humanitarian input, from food aid to new roads to loan capital, becomes a contested resource.”

(113) Within Kyangwali and Nakivale, the most contested resource is land, which causes disputes between refugees of different nationalities or vocation, and especially between refugees and locals, some have whom have recently been evicted to accommodate the incoming flux of Congolese refugees. Conflict arises within the settlements when agriculturalists and pastoralists attempt to utilize the same land, or when livestock under pastoralists’ care threaten, damage, or destroy agriculturalists’ crops. (Respondent 34, Personal Communications, November 19, 2013) Even pastoralists compete amongst themselves over use of communal grazing land provided by OPM. (*Ibid.*) With the recent influx of Congolese, settled and newly arrived refugees, often from the same nationality group, find themselves in competition for everything from land, to firewood, to food aid. (Respondent 36, Personal Communications, November 21, 2013) Similar conflicts exist between refugees and Ugandan nationals, especially contestations over land. “Scarce employment” in the Ugandan labor market coupled with “inadequate land even amongst host communities” has led to accusations that refugees are entitled to more land than nationals in the area. (Respondent 40, Personal Communications, November 27, 2013) According to *The Independent*, an unaffiliated Ugandan newspaper, the recent surge of new Congolese arrivals has led to the controversial and forceful eviction of up to 60,000 Ugandans in Hoima district in August, 2013, creating a new population of internally displaced persons. (Matsiko, 2013) It should be noted, however, that the displaced believe the government’s motivation for eviction was to gain access to their oil-rich land rather than settling Congolese refugees. (*Ibid.*)

Expenses and OPM taxes

A common challenge facing refugees of all nationality groups in both settlements and rural settings is the demand placed on their minimal income by fees and expenses, and on their small businesses and livelihood projects by government tax collection. Several refugees, including Congolese, Somalians, and Ethiopians in Nakivale and women from a Congolese village savings and loan association in Kyangwali, cite the costs of school supplies, particularly providing uniforms and replacing lost items, and child-rearing expenses as a burden to their income despite the availability of universal primary education. (Respondent 2, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013; Respondent 13, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 18, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 36, Personal

Communications, November 21, 2013) Within the settlements, even small business owners, agriculturalists, and pastoralists who earn a steady income see a profit loss due OPM taxes, which disproportionately affect their income as a result of an isolated, weak economy within the refugee community. (Respondent 2, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013; Respondent 28, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013; “Working Paper #4, Free to Stay, Free to Go? Movement, Seclusion and Integration of Refugees in Moyo District,” 2002; Kaiser, 2005) Self-settled refugees in Kampala, likewise, pay taxes despite their lack of legal status. (“Working Paper #4, Free to Stay, Free to Go? Movement, Seclusion and Integration of Refugees in Moyo District,” 2002)

Lack of start-up capital, inputs

Yet another common obstacle to refugee self-reliance is the absence of start-up capital and resources necessary to initiate business, agriculture, and livestock projects. Refugees from different nationality groups and with varying degrees of success in livelihood security universally acknowledged that refugees were unemployed, not because of insufficient skills or work experience, but because they lacked the necessary inputs, such as raw materials, capital, access to credit and micro-loans, and necessary legal documentation, to start businesses or livelihood projects. (Respondent 15, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 20, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 21, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 27, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013; Respondent 28, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013; Respondent 30, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013; UNHCR 2012 Project Description for AAH-I Uganda, 2013; Respondent 5, Personal Communications, November 7, 2013) Even village savings and loans associations, such as the one interviewed in Kyangwali, struggle to save enough money to satisfy their long-term livelihood strategy, due to a lack of steady income. (Respondent 36, Personal Communications, November 21, 2013) Additionally, refugees coming from different backgrounds and countries of origin do not trust each other enough to share or combine the resources necessary to start livelihood projects. (Respondent 23, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013)

Unfavorable market conditions

Refugees who do earn regular income through business, agriculture, and livestock have no guarantee that their labor will be profitable, due to a slow, isolated economy, and

redundancies in product availability. With little freedom to interact with outside markets or affect policy change, businessmen are restricted to the settlement economy, where consumers are few and impoverished. (Respondent 23, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Kaiser, 2005) Since refugees have access to the same inputs and resources, there is very little market for bartering since agriculturalists and business owners often sell identical products, all at low prices determined by buyers, preventing healthy market competition. (Respondent 3, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013) As a result, according to two Ethiopian respondents, even when granted loans businesses and community enterprises “often fail” due to lack of income. (Respondent 22, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 23, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013)

Loss of property

Another serious threat to income is the loss of property required to earn a living. Livestock, especially poultry, goats, and cows, are vulnerable to disease, theft, and loss due to poor containment or mismanagement. (Respondent 2, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013; Respondent 22, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 23, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; “2013 AGDM Findings and Refugee Priorities for 2014 Kyangwali Refugee Settlement,” 2013) Agriculturalists, in turn face the potential loss of their crops to roaming livestock, and risk losing their harvest to theft, especially if their plot for cultivation is separate from their residential plot. (Respondent 22, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 23, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013)

Restricted Movement

Refugees registered within settlements such as Kyangwali and Nakivale require permission from the camp commandant of OPM to leave the premises, whether it be to search for work, education, or trade. (Respondent 1, Personal Communications, October 3, 2013; “Working Paper #7, Refugees in Kyangwali Settlement: Constraints on Economic Freedom,” 2002) Another constraint on mobility is the relatively high cost of transportation to nearby towns, generally 12,000 shillings to travel between Nakivale and Mbarara, and 15,000 to move between Kyangwali and Hoima. However, most desired business and educational opportunities are to be found in Kampala, which requires an additional 10,000 to 20,000 shillings to achieve. (Respondent 21, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Kaiser, 2005) Finally, poor road conditions due to inadequate maintenance or heavy rains provide another logistical

constraint on refugee movement. (Respondent 2, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013; “2013 AGDM Findings and Refugee Priorities for 2014 Kyangwali Refugee Settlement,” 2013)

No background in agriculture

Uganda’s generous land policy is beneficial to many incoming refugees with agricultural backgrounds in their country of origin, however a 500% increase in the number of urban refugees in Uganda in the past 5 years indicates that the diverse employment backgrounds of incoming refugees may require a more diversified approach to self-reliance strategies. (Kaiser, 2005; Mallet, Slater, 2002) Several respondents from the Ethiopian and Somalian communities in Nakivale indicated that, not only have they not been allocated the land mandated by government policy, but that they would not have the background in agriculture necessary to cultivate, even if they had land. (Respondent 23, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 9, Personal Communications, November 11, 2013) Refugees from urban backgrounds, however, tend to choose self-settlement in Kampala over probable unemployment in a settlement. Official registration with UNHCR, though, requires refugees to prove both that they are unable to provide for themselves in a settlement, and that they can “cater for themselves” in an urban environment. (Respondent 6, Personal Communications, November 8, 2013)

Dependency

One of the most pervasive and detrimental obstacles to refugee self-reliance is the detrimental mindset caused by despair and dependency. Affecting refugees of every background, an unproductive or resigned attitude can impede all efforts by refugees and NGOs to provide livelihood security opportunities to refugees. Comments made by refugees, such as the assertion refugees are ‘instantly put down’ when they find success, or that OPM encourages incoming refugees to beat existing refugees, is harmful to their potential, and to their relationships with the offices who are in the best position to provide them with livelihood security. (Respondent 1, Personal Communications, October 3, 2013; Respondent 3, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013) Even when asked about opportunities to overcome unemployment and poverty, or potential solutions to ameliorate these issues, responses given included claiming there are no accessible opportunities for self-reliance, that there are no known solutions to address their concerns, or that what resources they have access to are insufficient. (Respondent 14, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 15, Personal Communications, November

12, 2013; Respondent 16, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013) Of 32 interviews and focus groups conducted with refugees, seven included reference to World Food Program handouts as the respondent's sole source of income, and an eighth, an interview with a businesswoman revealed that those without businesses in her community live only on handouts. (Respondent 11, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 12, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 15, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 17, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 19, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 20, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 21, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 30, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013) An additional two respondents suggested resettlement to a third country as their primary solution to their livelihood insecurity. (Respondent 3, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013; Respondent 15, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013)

Personnel from NGOs in both Kyangwali and Nakivale have also indicated that the disempowered mindset acts as a barrier to livelihood security and self-reliance. COBURWAS, for instance, cited one of its challenges empowering refugees was a lack of community involvement and participation. (Respondent 4, Personal Communications, November 4, 2013) The livelihood representative of AAH-I referred to the "mindset" or "psychology of being refugees" and dependency as an impediment to the implementation of livelihood projects, explaining that, if they believe they can resettle to a third country they lose the motivation to work. (Respondent 35, Personal Communications, November 20, 2013) In the meantime, they grow accustomed to being given their food and other basic needs resources, making them unwilling to engage in self-help projects. (Respondent 40, Personal Communications, November 27, 2013) Similarly, a RLP respondent explained that the original model of the organization was changed from one-on-one counseling to a support group structure when it was discovered that consistently receiving help from RLP served to "reinforce [their] victim mentality," as they see NGO personnel as a "solution to their problem." (Respondent 5, Personal Communications, November 7, 2013) Refugees also struggle to move past their short-term mentality. Those who have grown accustomed to handouts and immediate solutions tend to be unenthusiastic about projects that require outputs, as they are more accustomed to selling inputs, such as non-food items and handouts "to address their short term needs." (Respondent 34, Personal

Communications, November 19, 2013; Respondent 35, Personal Communications, November 20, 2013; Respondent 37, Personal Communications, November 21, 2013) This lack of perspective, aside from being unsustainable, can have other consequences, such as unbalanced diets that result from the quick sale of a harvest without aforethought to meal preparation in the future. (Respondent 33, Personal Communications, November 19, 2013; “UNHCR 2012 Project Description for AAH-I Uganda,” 2012) One notable difference between refugees in settlements and those who are self-settled in non-refugee communities is that the self-settled are more financially independent, are able to make long-term plans and strategies, and are completely self-sufficient; it is predominantly refugees in settlements who have become overly dependent after “years of external assistance.” (“Working Paper #4, Free to Stay, Free to Go? Movement, Seclusion and Integration of Refugees in Moyo District”, 2002)

Limited aid capacity

Despite their best efforts, the offices of UNHCR, OPM, and NGOs lack the resources necessary to fully address the issues refugees face. Monetary funding in particular is insufficient to support all the livelihood needs of refugees in Ugandan settlements. (Respondent 37, Personal Communications, November 21, 2013) For instance, in Nakivale, the ARC received over 300 applications for livestock livelihood projects this year, but fewer than 20 were funded. (Respondent 16, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013) Of the 20,000 refugees seeking to earn a livelihood in Kyangwali, AAH-I was only able to provide plowing oxen to five families; the number was reduced to four when a pair of oxen died. (Respondent 35, Personal Communications, November 20, 2013) The UNHCR, funder of all implementing partners’ projects, has a budget of \$68,600,000, which amounts to approximately \$34 dollars per refugee per year, of which \$8,690,273 was spent on community empowerment and livelihood. (“UNHCR Global Appeal 2013 Update, Uganda,” 2013) As a UNHCR official acknowledged, they receive “inadequate funding to... develop [the] capacity of refugees in income generating activities as well as starter kits to utilize vocational skills acquired.” (Respondent 40, Personal Communications, November 27, 2013) Additionally, an increasing population caused by the influx of new refugees and natural growth “continues to stretch donor resources.” (*Ibid.*)

Food Security

Kyangwali has been referred to as the “net supply of food for the region” due to its fertile location, however due to limited food aid resources, reducing plot allocation sizes, soil over-

usage and infertility, pests, some refugees' inability to perform physical labor, and shortages in fuel and firewood, food security in these 'food baskets' is not always a guarantee. ("UNHCR 2012 Project Description for AAH-I Uganda," 2012)

Insufficient handouts

Reflecting the underlying dependency that affects refugees throughout the country, by far the most commonly cited threat to food security is insufficient handouts from the UN World Food Program. In interactions with respondents from all nationality groups, the inadequacy in quantity and quality of handouts was the most common obstacle to food security identified. At least 15 refugee respondents listed insufficient handouts, particularly for large families, as the primary cause of their food insecurity. (Respondent 1, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013; Respondent 2, Personal Communications, October 21, 2013; Respondent 3, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013; Respondent 11, Personal Communications November 12, 2013; Respondent 24, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 25, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013; Respondent 28, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013; Respondent 30, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013) Refugees often consider their monthly allotment of food aid to be their only source of income, and in some cases, organize it as such. Respondents refer to "economizing" their food aid to ensure it lasts until the next shipment, and acknowledge selling their handouts, either for profit or to barter for a different selection of food or non-food items, either within the settlements or in Kampala where they can be sold for a higher price. (Respondent 2, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013; Respondent 24, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013 33; Jacobsen, 2002)

While handouts are never a sufficient source of food security, some refugees face greater challenges than others. For instance, several Rwandan refugees in Nakivale have no ration cards, which are required to receive handouts. (Respondent 25, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013) Certain villages are less accessible to the WFP vehicles, influencing the reliability of the delivery schedule. (2013 AGDM Findings and Refugee Priorities for 2014 Kyangwali Refugee Settlement) Logistical and administrative errors can delay the delivery of food aid, as seen in Nakivale where deliveries were recently withheld for two months, twice the normal waiting period for handouts. (*Ibid.*; Respondent 30, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013) Finally, long-term refugees face a continuously decreasing rations the longer they spend in Ugandan settlements, since OPM and UNHCR expect settled refugees to develop a

supplementary source of food. (Respondent 11, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013) However, by that point they are accustomed to living predominantly on handouts. As explained by the livelihood representative for OPM in Kyangwali, the offices are aware that handouts are inadequate to be the solitary source of food among refugees, and further acknowledge that they do not have enough resources to increase handout allotments. (Respondent 34, Personal Communications, November 19, 2013) In comparison, self-settled urban refugees living outside of the UNHCR support structure do not have access to any handouts, nor do they have plots of land designated for food cultivation, and must therefore find a source of income to provide food for themselves. (Respondent 6, Personal Communications, November 8, 2013)

Insufficient land

Despite the generosity of the Ugandan government's land policy, refugees who "used to have hectares" of land for cultivation feel very limited by their modest land allotments, and are further restricted by the inconsistent allocation of land by OPM, particularly during the current emergency influx of Congolese, and as a result of a recent OPM policy change authorizing the reduction of current plot sizes. (Respondent 11, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013) While refugees are meant to have access to land, referred to by the UNHCR as refugees' "only livelihoods opportunity," and their primary resource for food security, several refugees claim that not only do they lack the government-mandated land, but that they are forced to rent land from other families, specifically Somalians, to work in agriculture. (Respondent 13, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 14, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 15, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 23, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 25, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013; Respondent 30, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013) Several refugees acknowledged ownership of the plots on which they have constructed their homes, but insist they are too small to be useful for profitable cultivation, and that they are insufficient to provide food for their families. (Respondent 1, Personal Communications, October 3, 2013; Respondent 12, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 15, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013) Among the displaced who do own land, the reduction of plot sizes by OPM was cited as yet another obstacle to food security, as the inability to expand the area of cultivation limits the yield of the plot and profits gained from harvest. (Respondent 2, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013; Respondent 3, Personal Communications, October

31, 2013; Respondent 33, Personal Communications, November 19, 2013; Respondent 35, Personal Communications, November 20, 2013) As a result, the 2013 field survey conducted by the UNHCR recommended that the government of Uganda “reconsider” the current reduction, or “withdrawal” of land to improve refugees’ income and food security. (“2013 AGDM Findings and Refugee Priorities for 2014 Kyangwali Refugee Settlement,” 2013)

In Nakivale specifically, refugees representing both the Congo and Ethiopia claimed that they have no land at all with which to grow food, and that incoming refugees also lacked plot allocations, leading one Congolese woman to conclude that “there is no land left in Nakivale.” (Respondent 13, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 30, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013; Respondent 23, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013) As a UNHCR representative in Mbarara confirms, there is “inadequate land even amongst host communities which has bred conflicts with nationals arguing that refugees have more land...” (Respondent 40, Personal Communications, November 27, 2013) Meanwhile, in Kyangwali, the recent evictions of 60,000 Ugandan nationals executed in the name of accommodating incoming Congolese refugees despite the objections of UNHCR’s country representative in Uganda, imply another shortage of workable land. (Matsiko, 2013) However, according to a representative of OPM Kyangwali, the current emergency influx of refugees from DRC has slowed the land allocation process down, not because of a land shortage, but because of the time required to locate and designate plots. (Respondent 34, Personal Communications, November 19, 2013) This explanation of the delay by the Office of the Prime Minister in Kyangwali lends credibility to the speculation that the locals were evicted, not to make room for incoming refugees, but because the area from which they were forced is rich in oil. (Matsiko, 2013)

Soil infertility, pests

An immediate consequence of limited plot sizes and land overuse is the loss of soil fertility, cited by the UNHCR as a challenge to productive farming during the 2013 settlement evaluation. (Respondent 2, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013 “2013 AGDM Findings and Refugee Priorities for 2014 Kyangwali Refugee Settlement,” 2013) While refugees have attempted to rotate the crops planted on each plot, the overuse of the land and the destruction of crops caused by termites and other pests have significantly limited yield. (*Ibid.*)

Inability to work

In a focus group conducted with Congolese and Sudanese men over the age of 40 in Kyangwali, they cited old age, health problems such as ulcers and stomach problems, hunger, and malnutrition as issues that frequently prevent refugees from working in agriculture. (Respondent 3, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013) As a the nutrition specialist of AAH-I explained, the “disease burden” of stomach maladies, malnutrition, and weakness caused by hunger are themselves consequences of food insecurity, which is exacerbated when refugees lack productivity or are unable to work. (Respondent 33, Personal Communications, November 19, 2013)

Fuel and firewood shortages

The final obstacle to food security referenced by refugees and UNHCR analyses is inaccessibility of fuel sources, particularly firewood, due to the risk posed to women who are required to collect it. As a result of overuse, forests within safe walking distance of refugee villages have been depleted, requiring inhabitants to venture farther away from their homes to collect firewood. (Respondent 2, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013; Respondent 3, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013) According to respondents in both settlements, incidents have been reported of violence against women who leave the safety of their villages in search of firewood, resulting in the broken arm of one Congolese woman in Nakivale, and regular harassment if not assault or rape, of women of all nationality groups in both Nakivale and Kyangwali, sometimes perpetrated by “hostile” incoming refugees. (Respondent 1, Personal Communications, October 3, 2013; Respondent 3, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013; Respondent 36, Personal Communications, November 21, 2013) Poor road conditions and proximity to uninhabited areas causes great fear among the refugee women with the responsibility of obtaining firewood or charcoal, however the lack of alternative fuel sources requires them to undergo these risks to cook. (“2013 AGDM Findings and Refugee Priorities for 2014 Kyangwali Refugee Settlement,” 2013; , Respondent 3, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013)

Potential Solutions

When asked whether issues of income and food security are addressed within the community, respondents’ answers indicated that, while livelihood security concerns are discussed as a group, they expect solutions to be implemented from the offices of UNHCR, OPM, and their partners. Among their suggestions are administrating education and training

programs, offering micro-loans and starting inputs, providing employment opportunities over handouts, sensitization and advocacy initiatives, and deemphasizing resettlement.

Community approach

Settlements in Uganda, such as Kyangwali, have UN-supported structures in place to allow refugees to solve their issues autonomously, including a Refugee Welfare Council, Food Management Committee, and Production and Environmental Committee to address livelihood security concerns. (“UNHCR 2012 Project Description for AAH-I Uganda,” 2012) In addition, refugees are free to congregate to discuss the obstacles they face in trying to secure income and sufficient food supplies. Refugees from each nationality group often designate community leaders and spokesmen who can advocate on their communities’ behalves to UNHCR and OPM. (Respondent 13, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013) However, despite the availability of community leaders and local support structures to communicate their ideas, refugees “sit and wait for food,” believing there are no solutions to overcome their income insecurity. (Respondent 15, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 25, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013) Exceptions include Eritrean and Somalian refugees who tend to address their livelihood insecurity and subsequent conflict on their own, through community self-management, sharing resources, and creating a network for food and money between the settlements and stronger economies in Kampala. (Respondent 9, Personal Communications, November 11, 2013; Respondent 24, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 21, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013)

Education and Training

Among the various ideas suggested by refugees for addressing income disparities and food insecurity was improving access to education and training opportunities within the settlements. Refugees in Kyangwali expressed interest in scholarships for schooling past primary education for the children of vulnerable families, extending universal education past primary school, offering training in keeping livestock, civil administration, and initiating savings and loans for widows and large families. (Respondent 2, Personal Communications, November 31, 2013, Respondent 3, Personal Communications, November 31, 2013) In Nakivale, refugees and UNHCR settlement survey recommendations suggest providing vocational training programs and basic inputs for businesses such as tailoring, sensitization regarding the use of alternative fuel sources, micro-loans or scholarships to make these vocational training programs more

accessible, improving classroom facilities, promoting community involvement in education system, and providing the displaced with a basic education of national laws, business practices, licenses, and negotiating to pay loans and expenditures in installments rather than in bulk. (Respondent 9, Personal Communications, November 11, 2013; Respondent 12, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 15, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 25, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; “UNHCR 2012 Project Description for AAH-I Uganda,” 2012, Respondent 5, Personal Communications, November 7, 2013)

Micro-loans and inputs

As previously mentioned, many refugees are unable to find a steady source of income once in refugee settlements, despite their existing skill sets, due to a lack of start-up resources. Respondents in both Kyangwali and Nakivale cited the need for micro-loans and basic inputs to successfully start business ventures, such as shops and restaurants, within settlements. (Respondent 9, Personal Communications, November 11, 2013; Respondent 25, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013) These suggestions coincide studies that conclude that micro-credit schemes in neighboring countries like Sudan, the Congo, and Kenya have greatly improved livelihood security in situations of conflict and vulnerability. (Jacobsen, 2002) Buscher (N.D.) further suggests extending these micro-financing and capacity building opportunities to urban and self-settled refugees since current initiatives provide “savings, consumer loans, household loans, business loans and micro-insurance that can be tailored to the unique needs of the refugee population” which would, in turn, integrate refugees into local economies for mutual benefit. (27) Other suggestions from refugees, UNHCR analysts, and independent scholars include providing enhanced “*muzungu*” seeds to increase crop yield, and supplying tree seeds and energy saving stoves to improve accessibility to fuel sources, preventing violence against women collecting firewood. (Respondent 2, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013; Respondent 3, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013; “UNHCR 2012 Project Description for AAH-I Uganda,” 2012, Respondent 15, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Jacobsen, 2002) It should be noted, however, that in addition to requesting loans for business ventures and basic inputs to start businesses with existing skill sets, several refugees cited the need for increased handouts from the WFP, increased land allocations, pesticides, and preservatives as solutions to address their unemployment, poverty, and food insecurity.

(Respondent 2, Personal Communications, October 31, 2013; Respondent 12, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 30, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013; Jacobsen, 2002)

Employment opportunities over handouts

Refugees in both Nakivale and Kyangwali expressed interest in being provided with employment opportunities by the settlement offices rather than continually receiving handouts and benefitting from donor-funded projects. They suggest that the offices instead use their funding to employ refugees as construction workers, research assistants, and community social workers. (Respondent 11, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013; Respondent 2, Personal Communications 31 October, 2013; Respondent 25, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013; Respondent 30, Personal Communications, November 13, 2013) Recent UNHCR settlement evaluations also recommended hiring at least 6 refugees as community social workers. (“UNHCR 2012 Project Description for AAH-I Uganda,” 2012)

Sensitization and advocacy

In addition to education, training, micro-financing, and employment initiatives, NGO personnel recognize the need for sensitization and advocacy programs to inform refugees of their rights and resources. Recommendations compiled from a 2013 UNHCR settlement evaluation, communications from the OPM, and independent researchers indicate a need for refugee awareness about energy saving stoves, tree planting, food preparation demonstrations and monitoring initiatives to ensure refugees maintain balanced diets, and long-term income strategizing and saving over short-term sales of inputs and handouts; after all “selling goats to drink” is not sustainable. (*Ibid.*, “2013 AGDM Findings and Refugee Priorities for 2014 Kyangwali Refugee Settlement,” 2013; Respondent 34, Personal Communications, November 19, 2013)

In addition to educating refugees about the resources available to them and proper management techniques of inputs and materials, advocacy within the local and national governments to protect refugee rights and opportunities is essential. Scholars and analysts have encouraged advocating for increased land and market access both locally and internationally, advocacy for refugee rights within the host community such as uninhibited movement, access to markets and land, legal documentation, right to property, and right to physical security. (Jacobsen, 2002; Buscher, N.D. “Working Paper #16, “A Drop in the Ocean”: Assistance and

Protection for Forced Migrants in Kampala,” 2005; “2013 AGDM Findings and Refugee Priorities for 2014 Kyangwali Refugee Settlement,” 2013)

De-emphasis of resettlement, recognition of urban and self-settled refugees

As one Eritrean businesswoman stated, refugees who are set on resettlement “kill themselves waiting” rather than finding a steady job within the camp. (Respondent 24, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013) Rather than allowing refugees to believe they will be resettled, she suggests the offices give refugees a realistic view about their chances of being relocated to a third country so they can reintegrate, repatriate, or make a livelihood within the settlement. (*Ibid.*) The RLP similarly recommended in a 2005 working paper that the UNHCR recognize self-settled refugees because it is a more “viable alternative” to resettlement despite the lack of NGO support. (Working Paper #18, “There are no refugees in this area”: self-settled refugees in Koboko, 2005)

Comparing Livelihood Security between Nationality Groups

In examining the successes and experiences of each major nationality group found in Ugandan refugee settlements, several trends become clear. First, that the Somalians tend to be the most well organized, self-sufficient and successful in earning income. Secondly, it is clear that the Eritreans and Ethiopians, though not as well-connected as the Somalians, are generally successful earning livelihoods within the camp, though a factor in their high success rate is their low population size. Next, Rwandans and Burundians have had varying success earning income and starting businesses though their success rate is more difficult to pinpoint as a result of a larger, more dispersed population within the settlement. Finally, the Congolese are noticeably more disempowered and dependent than their counterparts in other nationality groups, though no clear explanation is apparent. To a certain extent, the varying degrees of success between these two groups coincides with inter-nationality tension in the settlements.

As seen in Nakivale and Kampala, as well as in the results of an independent study conducted in Cairo, Somali refugees tend to have very strong social and economic networks both in neighboring countries and in diasporas. (Al-Sharmani, 2003) As a result of strong communal relations, they are relatively successful starting small businesses such as selling clothes, food, and household goods. (*Ibid.*) In Nakivale, there are at least seven Somali non-formal clothing vendors that were earning their income in the base camp alone, and several Congolese and Rwandan refugees claim that they earn their money washing Somalis’ clothes,

or renting their spare land for cultivation. (Respondent 1, Personal communications October 3, 2013; Respondent 25, Personal Communication, November 13, 2013) Similarly, in Kampala, the administrator of YARID noted that Somalians prefer to be separate from other communities...,” while an independent scholar observed that in Kampala, “the Somalis tend to fare better than both the Congolese and Burundians” as a result of these strong socio-economic connections and their self-contained money management. (Buscher, N.D., 21)

By comparison the Ethiopians and Eritreans, though not as well-known for their strong international connections like the Somalians, are relatively successful in terms of earning income due to their stronger business backgrounds and resourcefulness. Of 20 families, Eritreans are only aware of one business within the settlement, but statistically they have a stronger economic presence than even the Somali community, with a 5% business ownership rate over the Somalis’ 0.1% rate. It should also be noted that another Eritrean respondent who had no formal businesses within the settlement has two side businesses, as a trader and a shopkeeper, outside of Nakivale. In the past she also owned a coffee shop in Kampala, but the transportation fees and cost of living were too high for her to continue a business there. (Respondent 24, Personal Communication, November 12, 2013) The Ethiopians, by contrast claim to have five businesses out of 80 families present, for a rate of 6% business ownership. All of the Ethiopians and Eritreans interviewed except for one Ethiopian man had found a method of earning income, whether it be by volunteering as an interpreter in Mbarara, or selling products in a small informal business, or traveling to Kampala to perform odd jobs there. (Respondent 18, Personal Communication, November 12, 2013; Respondent 19, Personal Communication, November 12, 2013; Respondent 20, Personal Communication, November 12, 2013; Respondent 21, Personal Communication, November 12, 2013; Respondent 22, Personal Communication, November 12, 2013; Respondent 23, Personal Communication, November 12, 2013; Respondent 24, Personal Communication, November 12, 2013)

Rwandans, Burundians, and Sudanese in Nakivale and Kyangwali tended not any more or less successful than the Ethiopians and Eritreans, though they were more agriculturally oriented. Within the base camp, however, Rwandans were successfully engaged in informal small business ventures, including restaurants, taxi businesses, and shops. (Respondent 25, Personal Communication, November 13, 2013) Within ‘Little Kigali,’ a street with over 40 businesses near base camp that provides income for at least 200 people, 12 businesses were run by

Rwandans. In the context of Kampala, the Congolese administrator of YARID mentioned that Rwandans are typically able to break through the language barrier faster than their counterparts due to Kinyarwanda's similarities to Luganda, the local language in Kampala, as they are both Bantu languages. (Respondent 6, Personal Communication, November 8, 2013) Burundians also have several shops and small businesses within 'Little Kigali,' though an exact number could not be triangulated. Finally, the Sudanese in Nakivale have the highest percentage of small businesses per population, as three out of 10 remaining families have businesses. (Respondent 17, Personal Communication, November 12, 2013) In Kyangwali, by comparison, the majority of Sudanese interviewed were agriculturalists, who were interviewed together with Congolese respondents, making it impossible to determine the exact number of Sudanese present at the time. Livelihood implementing partners in Kyangwali, specifically AAH-I, and the FRC, both attested that the Sudanese in Kyangwali are "quick to learn," and are more likely to succeed with loan projects and inputs than the Congolese. (Respondent 35, Personal Communication, November 20, 2013; Respondent 37, Personal Communication, November 21, 2013)

Lastly, the Congolese, who comprise over 60% of the country's refugees as of 2013, despite their large numerical presence, are the most obviously disempowered group encountered during this study. (Mallet, Slater, 2012) While Kinyarwanda speaking Congolese refugees have a lingual advantage due to its proximity to Luganda, as they are both Bantu languages, Congolese struggle the most to find secure livelihoods, and have the most notably disempowered attitude. (Respondent 6, Personal Communication, November 8, 2013) As one Eritrean woman stated, Ethiopians, Somalians, and Eritreans "[do not] like to be idle", and therefore frequently help each other find work. (Respondent 24, Personal Communication, November 12, 2013) The Congolese in Nakivale, she observed, travel to Kampala much less often. (*Ibid.*) Similarly, in Kyangwali, both primary livelihood implementing partners, AAH-I and FRC, have observed that micro-loans and livelihood projects are more likely to fail due to the Congolese' propensity to sell inputs rather than utilize them for long-term benefit. (Respondent 35, Personal Communication, November 20, 2013) Instead, NGOs find that they "have to pull them" into projects, and find that they tend to be less willing to work than the Sudanese. (Respondent 37, Personal Communication, November 21, 2013) Unlike the Somalians, who are known for their strong inter-community ties and self-reliance, the Congolese have very scattered, weak, unreliable networks, limiting their ability as a group to be self-dependent, though various

churches in Kampala are known to host and assist Congolese refugees. (Buscher, N.D.) As a result of their financial insecurity, Congolese women in Kampala “engage in the riskiest livelihood activities,” selling their products door-to-door, and “exposing themselves to harassment, rape, theft, and arrest.” (*Ibid.*, 22) Not only does this underlying disempowerment affect the work of NGOs and the livelihood opportunities of the Congolese, it has impeded the inter-national relations between the Congolese and Somalians, predominantly because the Congolese believe that settlement authorities favor Somalians in court cases, resettlement selections, and livelihoods projects. (Respondent 1, Personal communications, October 3, 2013) One notable exception to this trend is a Village Savings and Loan Association comprised entirely of Congolese women who began their fund with 2,000 shillings and have now saved over 500,000 for a maize grinding machine and for resources for their families. (Respondent 36, Personal Communication, November 21, 2013)

Physical Security Implications and Consequences

The deep-rooted human insecurity at the basis of the refugee crises in greater East Africa has serious implications for physical insecurity at personal, local, and regional levels, and is responsible for numerous other social problems such as malnutrition, alcoholism and drug abuse, idleness, and education gaps that increase refugee vulnerability to violent activity.

Physical Insecurity

As outlined in a UNHCR analysis of sources of insecurity in refugee-populated areas of Kenya, there are five levels of violence including domestic violence, sexual violence, robbery, nationality-based violence within the settlement, and violence between refugees and locals. (Crisp, 1999) Refugees and host communities experience diverse forms of violence as a result of competition for limited resources and the exacerbation of underlying social problems.

On a personal level, refugees face a myriad of physical security threats. To begin, many Congolese refugees in Nakivale and Kyangwali, both located on the border of their country of origin, fear personal attacks from aggressors across the border. Congolese respondents in a group interview in Nakivale, explaining the extent of the threat posed by their proximity to the Congo, claimed that 90% of their community had been attacked personally before they fled DRC. (Respondent 1, Personal Communications, October 3, 2013) Even a Congolese beneficiary of YARID in Kampala believes she can never repatriate. (Respondent 8, Personal Communication, November 8, 2013) The number of personal attacks is impossible to triangulate, but the fear of

personal retaliation in one's country of origin was a common theme in Kyangwali, Nakivale, and Kampala, especially among Congolese. (Respondent 5, Personal Communication, November 7, 2013; Respondent 1, Personal Communications, October 3, 2013; Respondent 17, Personal Communication, November 12, 2013) Within the community, domestic violence, prostitution, and criminal activity, the result of idleness, marital conflict, and poverty, also threaten the physical security of individual refugees. Idleness and a lack of education further exacerbate dissatisfaction and poverty among refugees leading to alcohol and drug abuse and violence. As explained by the administrator of YARID, boys who suffer from idleness and substance abuse are more likely to become violent, leading to serious injury or arrest. (Respondent 6, Personal Communication, November 8, 2013)

According to numerous respondents, the sudden change in gender roles caused by displacement in conflict, specifically the need of women to become primary breadwinners, causes conflict at home where idle men and youth with no occupation feel their social value is threatened which, in turn, can lead to sexual and gender based violence and child abuse. (*Ibid.*; Respondent 24, Personal Communication, November 12, 2013; Respondent 35, Personal Communication, November 20, 2013; "UNHCR 2012 Project Description for AAH-I Uganda," 2012) Women in particular are put at further risk when, as a result of unemployment, they "engage in survival sex work." (Respondent 5, Personal Communication, November 7, 2013) As they often do not have the power to negotiate for safe sex they can easily become pregnant, suffer rape and trauma, or fall victim to sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDs. And yet, with no other source of income and feeling pressured to feed their family, women and girls frequently fall victim to the sexual structural violence or, in some cases are married early to provide income for their parents, often illegally. ("Working Paper #20, 'Giving out their daughters for their survival': refugee self-reliance, 'vulnerability', and the paradox of early marriage," 2007) Similarly, young men and boys who are homeless refugees, suffering, and desperate for food, can easily become criminals or smugglers when provided with no alternatives for income. (Respondent 6, Personal Communication, November 8, 2013; Jacobsen, 2002)

Locally, divisions from various countries of origin follow refugees to settlements across the border and manifest themselves in the form of discrimination and segregation among refugees. (Respondent 1, Personal Communications, October 3, 2013) These tensions are exacerbated by competition over limited resources both within the settlement and between

refugees and Ugandan nationals, especially when land is taken away from existing refugees and locals to be given to incoming refugees. (Respondent 35, Personal Communication, November 20, 2013; Respondent 36, Personal Communication, November 21, 2013) During the current influx of Congolese refugees in Kyangwali, rumors of fights between existing and incoming refugees circulated throughout the settlement. (Respondent 3 Personal Communication, October 31, 2013) Finally, serious conflicts arise between refugees and locals over limited resources, especially land, causing a “serious concern and a threat to peaceful coexistence...” (Mallet, Slater, 2012, 2) Many Ugandan refugee settlements are located in impoverished areas of Uganda, stoking tensions over the food aid and land allocations provided for refugees. (Crisp, 1999) Furthermore, the poorly trained police forces and unreliable judicial system, combined with the diverse make up of the settlements, particularly the cohabitation of refugees from conflicting groups, heightens the sense of insecurity. (*Ibid.*) Additional conflicts are sparked between agriculturalists and pastoralists when they compete over the same plots of land, specifically when agriculturalists’ crops are eaten by livestock when communal grazing land is insufficient. (Respondent 23, Personal Communication, November 12, 2013) In the business sector, business owners can be targeted due to their steady income, as was the case with an Eritrean coffee shop owner within Nakivale who has been threatened by armed thieves at her shop multiple times. (Respondent 24, Personal Communication, November 12, 2013; Respondent 21, Personal Communication, November 12, 2013) Self-settled refugees in towns and cities like Mbarara, Hoima, and Kampala also face the fierce competition with nationals over business opportunities and resources. (Respondent 5, Personal Communication, November 7, 2013)

In terms of national and regional security, threats caused by the porous borders, the proximity of refugees to their countries of origin and groups that are responsible for their displacement, and the high concentration of refugees facing human insecurity and economic vulnerability increases the risk of recruitment, abduction, cross-border violence, and criminal activity. Youth are particularly vulnerable to abduction or recruitment into sex slavery and child soldiering, as explained by RLP in Kampala, UNHCR analysts, and a regional security expert. Children and adolescents in Kampala are “randomly” abducted or “recruited into rebel ranks” because of their youth, energy, vulnerability, and their easy manipulation; one such trap for hungry, impoverished young people is “[the promise] of employment.” (*Ibid.*) However, according to Buscher (N.D.), the choice to join a rebel movement may, in fact, be a rational, risk-

minimizing decision, as joining insurgencies protects the victims from further violence from that group.

Historical precedent in Uganda indicates that large refugee populations in close proximity to their country of origin are at risk of rebel recruitment, as seen in the conflict southern Sudan, and the Rwandan rebellion led by President Kagame. (Respondent 41, Personal Communication, November 30, 2013) International policy dictates that refugees should not be within 50 kilometers of their country of origin, however that policy is currently being violated in Uganda, increasing rebel groups' access to refugees, and increasing regional insecurity caused by refugee's proximity to conflict zones. (*Ibid.*; Hovil) Citing three previous studies, Jacobsen (2002) concludes that, in protracted refugee situations, security issues for the host community and refugees "can include military incursions from the sending country, increased local crime and violence, predation on refugees and the local community by warlords and bandits, and often an increasing in organized crime including gun running, drug smuggling, and human trafficking" due to the fact that refugees and survivors of conflicts often "rely on illicit activities of varying degrees of seriousness to support their livelihood." (105)

However, despite the potential security threats, Uganda has an "international obligation" to welcome all refugees regardless of nationality or background; though they screen for combatants and rebels, particularly groups like FDLR, M23, and ADF, it is difficult for them to determine who is involved in rebel activity with such fluid borders. (Respondent 41, Personal Communications, November 27, 2013) Within Uganda, according to a UNHCR analysis and an independent security expert, the current influx of refugees raises concerns about the possibility of "the spread of firearms, increased levels of crime and social unrest," as refugees in past conflicts in the Congo have been used as vehicles to smuggle and conceal guns and military equipment. (Crisp, 1999, 17; Respondent 41, Personal Communications, November 27, 2013)

Other Consequences

In addition to direct security threats, social issues that increase refugees' vulnerability to manipulation and mobilization by rebel groups and criminal organizations, such as malnutrition, alcoholism and drug abuse, and idleness further complicate Uganda's border security situation. Within the settlement, children are frequently malnourished from consuming the same, low quality foods causing stunted physical and mental development, dropouts from school, and decreased concentration. (Respondent 2 Personal Communications, October 31, 2013; "UNHCR

2012 Project Description for AAH-I Uganda,” 2012; Respondent 33, Personal Communications, November 19, 2013) And yet, despite a 35.6% chronic malnutrition rate in Kyangwali, the health centers are understaffed with nutrition employees. (“UNHCR 2012 Project Description for AAH-I Uganda,” 2012) This problem is particularly acute among those refugees who do not benefit from the WFP, especially urban refugees. (Respondent 6, Personal Communications, November 8, 2013) Another source of vulnerability caused by disempowerment and idleness is alcoholism and drug abuse, which can lead to increased domestic and community violence, and unilaterally inhibits healthy living and responsible financing. (Respondent 24, Personal Communications, November 12, 2013)

Conclusion

The conclusions of this study are threefold: first, that the short-term policies and limited resources available to the UNHCR, OPM, and their partners, while useful, are insufficient to combat the significant obstacles facing refugees, and are further inhibited by the ongoing distribution of handouts. Secondly, livelihood disparities between nationality groups, particularly between the Somalian community and Congolese community, indicate the potential for conflict and unrest within long-term settlements in Uganda. And finally, as historical precedent indicates, disempowered, vulnerable groups not only waste enormous human capacity, but can become significant security threats to the host community, and the conflicted region if mobilized by extremist groups. As such, it is in national and international interests to address livelihood insecurity and refugee disempowerment, not only to secure the human capacity that exists in long-term refugee settlements, but to prevent the escalation of regional conflicts.

Recommendations

1. Sensitization about resources available and communication with refugees: There is currently a “giant gap” between the UNHCR’s policies and refugees’ awareness of available resources. (“UNHCR Global Appeal 2013 Update, Uganda,” 2013) The offices of OPM, UNHCR and their implementing partners would benefit from increased communication with refugees to explain the availability of resources, take pressure off of their limited supplies, and encourage self-reliance over NGO-driven livelihood initiatives.

2. Access to education, training: As “education affords students hope, promotes, psycho-social well being and cognitive development, improves self-reliance, and reduces risk of recruitment into dangerous activities,” it is imperative both for the refugee community and hosts that

refugees have access to educational and vocational training opportunities past primary school to ensure they have the capacity to be self-reliant. (Bonfiglio, 2010, 9)

3. Micro-loans and employment opportunities: Focus should be shifted from short-term continuous investments such as handouts, and slowly redirected towards refugee-driven, single-investment livelihood projects including micro-financing and employing refugees in settlement projects.

4. Access to outside markets and freedom of movement: Additionally, refugees should have clearer access to outside markets, both to inform their business decisions and expand their .

5. De-emphasize resettlement: As refugees prefer resettlement, it is important to encourage alternative durable solutions, including “[finding] meaning here” rather than waiting forever to be settled in a third country. (Respondent 5, Personal Communications, November 7, 2013)

6. Ensure equity between refugees and hosts: As refugee settlements are often located in impoverished areas, among populations facing the same educational and livelihood barriers as refugees, projects such as those implemented by AAH-I to strengthen the host community’s livelihood capacity should continue to be supported and expanded.

Appendices

I. Respondents

#	Respondent(s)	Location	Date
1	Group Interview-Congolese Men and Women (50+)*	Nakivale	October 3, 2013
2	Focus Group for UNHCR AGDM-Congolese and Sudanese Men 18+, Livelihood and Environment*	Kyangwali	October 31, 2013
3	Focus Group for UNHCR AGDM-Congolese and Sudanese Men 40+, Livelihood, Employment, and Health*	Kyangwali	October 31, 2013
4	Interview-Administrator of COBURWAS	Kyangwali	November 4, 2013
5	Interview-Representative of Refugee Law Project	Kampala	November 7, 2013
6	Interview-Founder and Administrator of YARID	Kampala	November 8, 2013

#	Respondent(s)	Location	Date
7	Interview-Beneficiary of YARID, male	Kampala	November 8, 2013
8	Interview-Beneficiary of YARID, female*	Kampala	November 8, 2013
9	Focus Group-Somalians and Livelihood (15)*	Nakivale	November 11, 2013
10	Interview-Congolese woman #1, hotel owner*	Nakivale	November 12, 2013
11	Interview-Congolese Community Leader, wife of local religious leader*	Nakivale	November 12, 2013
12	Interview-Congolese woman #2, unemployed*	Nakivale	November 12, 2013
13	Group Interview-Congolese Household, 2 men and 1 woman*	Nakivale	November 12, 2013
14	Interview-Congolese man #1, rents plot of land*	Nakivale	November 12, 2013
15	Focus Group-Congolese (15)	Nakivale	November 12, 2013
16	Site Visit-Piggery in New Congo	Nakivale	November 12, 2013
17	Interview-Sudanese woman #1	Nakivale	November 12, 2013
18	Interview-Ethiopian woman #1, business owner	Nakivale	November 12, 2013
19	Interview-Ethiopian woman #2, house wife of community leader	Nakivale	November 12, 2013
20	Interview-Ethiopian man #1, unemployed	Nakivale	November 12, 2013
21	Interview-Eritrean woman #1, coffee shop owner*	Nakivale	November 12, 2013
22	Interview-Ethiopian man #2, shop attendant in Kampala	Nakivale	November 12, 2013

#	Respondent(s)	Location	Date
23	Interview-Ethiopian man #3, community leader	Nakivale	November 12, 2013
24	Interview-Eritrean woman #2, trader	Nakivale	November 12, 2013
25	Focus Group-Rwandans, Burundians and Livelihood*	Nakivale	November 13, 2013
26	Interview-Congolese man #2, small business owner*	Nakivale	November 13, 2013
27	Interview-Congolese man #3, businessman*	Nakivale	November 13, 2013
28	Interview-Congolese man #4*	Nakivale	November 13, 2013
29	Interview-Congolese woman #3, unemployed	Nakivale	November 13, 2013
30	Group Interview-Congolese Women (5)*	Nakivale	November 13, 2013
31	Interview-Rwandan man #1, business owner	Nakivale	November 13, 2013
32	Interview-Rwandan woman #1, businesswoman	Nakivale	November 13, 2013
33	Interview-Representative of AAH-I, Nutrition	Kyangwali	November 19, 2013
34	Interview-OPM Representative, Livelihood	Kyangwali	November 19, 2013
35	Interview-Representative of AAH-I, Livelihood	Kyangwali	November 20, 2013
36	Focus Group-Congolese Village Savings and Loan Association (20)*	Kyangwali	November 21, 2013
37	Interview-Representative of FRC, Livelihood	Kyangwali	November 21, 2013
38	UNHCR 2012 Project Description for AAH-I Uganda	Kyangwali	NA

#	Respondent(s)	Location	Date
39	2013 AGDM Findings and Refugee Priorities for 2014 Kyangwali Refugee Settlement	Kyangwali	NA
40	Email Interview-UNHCR Livelihood Representative, Mbarara	Mbarara/Nakivale	November 27, 2013
41	Phone Interview-Security Studies Expert	NA	November 30, 2013
42	Informal Interviews-Somalian Community worker	Nakivale	November 11-13, 2013
43	Informal Interviews-Congolese translator	Nakivale	November 11-13, 2013

*required use of interpreter

II. Consent Form

Dear Participant,

Thank you for agreeing to participate in my study. I am an undergraduate student currently with the School for International Training's Post Conflict Transformation study abroad program based in Gulu. I am currently conducting a 4-week research project, the main aim of which is to explore the opportunities for training, financial empowerment, and self-reliance available to refugees in Uganda.

You should understand that your participation is completely voluntary. You are free to avoid any questions or discontinue the interview whenever possible given that some questions may involve politically and/or emotionally sensitive material. Also, important to note is that the outcome of this research will be an academic research report that could be accessed at the SIT offices located on Plot 54, Lower Churchill Drive, Gulu. These findings may also be shared with associated institutions (including but not limited to UNHCR and Refugee Law Project) in Uganda and relevant groups in the United States.

Thank you again for your participation!

Consent:

Name of Participant: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

I give permission to use my name in the report (circle one) YES NO
 I give permission to use my official title in the report (circle one) YES NO
 Name of student: Karen Norris
 Contact information: karenSIT2013@gmail.com

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